

EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

MR. DICK POPE, FOUNDER OF
CYPRESS GARDENS

HON. EDWARD J. GURNEY

OF FLORIDA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, April 15, 1970

Mr. GURNEY. Mr. President, I wish to note the 70th birthday of one of Florida's great boosters, Mr. Dick Pope, founder of Cypress Gardens.

For nearly a third of a century, Dick Pope has devoted his time, energy, and keen imagination to the growth of the State of Florida and to his own creation, Cypress Gardens.

Cypress Gardens is located in the heart of Florida 50 miles from Tampa and Orlando. When Pope first conceived his now famous gardens, the area was little more than swamp, with an old abandoned yacht club bordering on Lake Eloise.

Pope took this swamp and created a horticultural masterpiece. The gardens are now visited by over a million and a half people yearly.

Dick Pope was born in Des Moines, Iowa, on April 19, 1900. He moved to Florida with his family in his boyhood.

In 1932, he founded Florida Cypress Gardens and opened the first attraction to the public in 1936. In 1938, he added an electric boat ride through the Gardens' winding canals, and in 1947 began four daily water ski shows.

He and Julie have two children, Dick Jr., president of Cypress Gardens, and Adrienne Watkins.

Pope has been vice chairman of the Florida Development Commission and chairman of its tourism committee. He also is currently chairman of the tourism committee for the Florida Council of 100, a director of the Florida Travel Council, and president of the Orange Blossom Trail Association.

He was chairman of the tourism committee of the Florida State Chamber of Commerce from 1960-64, chairman of the Florida Advertising Commission, and first organized the Florida Attractions Association, which is devoted to maintaining quality attractions throughout the State.

In addition to these officers, Pope was appointed president of the Florida World's Fair Authority in 1964 and 1965, was named a vice president for life of the American Water Ski Association.

Pope has received countless awards from Governors, chambers of commerce, advertising associations, national travel councils, cities, counties, realtors, motel and hotel associations, a university, the American Cancer Society, and the USO, for his outstanding contribution to each.

I congratulate Dick Pope on the occasion of his 70th birthday and wish him continued good health. He has brought great credit to Florida and deserves the thanks of the State.

BASIC MINING LAW PROVIDES
MAXIMUM BENEFIT FOR THE
GENERAL PUBLIC

HON. WALTER S. BARING

OF NEVADA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 15, 1970

Mr. BARING. Mr. Speaker, the following article on the mining laws of the United States is worthy of the attention of my congressional colleagues as this is a massive industry which is so vital to our national defense.

The Public Land Law Review Commission, of which I am a member, is deeply engrossed in studying and improving the current mining laws for the betterment of the Nation and the American people.

Congress will, at a later date, review the recommendations of the Public Land Law Review Commission sometime after the Commission makes its report to the President this summer. I feel that my colleagues who are not directly affected in their respective House and Senate committees, or their home districts and States, by mining laws, should take the time to read the article entitled "Basic Mining Law Provides Maximum Benefit for the General Public." The article is written by three of my good friends, who are actively engaged in the mining industry, Robert G. Dwyer of Salt Lake City, Utah; William J. Forman of Reno, Nev. and C. Robert Cox of Reno, Nev. The article was first printed in the April 1970, edition of the Natural Resources Section Journal of the American Bar Association.

The article follows:

BASIC MINING LAW PROVIDES MAXIMUM
BENEFIT FOR THE GENERAL PUBLIC

(By William J. Forman, Robert G. Dwyer,
and C. Robert Cox)

INTRODUCTION

On June 30, 1970, the Public Land Law Review Commission will report to the President and the Congress on its recommendations and suggested changes of the Public Land Laws of the United States. The mining laws and mineral leasing laws are a part of the Public Land Laws and their revision will greatly affect the mining industry of the United States. The purpose of this paper is to present the advantages of maintaining the present basic mining law in order to obtain the maximum benefit for the general public.

I. An American institution

The mining laws were founded by our ancestors and are a part of our American heritage. Through wars, prosperity, depression and national growth the mining laws have allowed the mineral industry to expand and grow to meet the demands for metals for world consumption. How can the mineral industry, operating under laws developed by a young and inexperienced nation, keep pace with the rocket age of today? The answer is simple. This system is based on the philosophy of "free enterprise"—the foundation of our American way of life. It is a giant step from the days of the burro and prospector to the days of the landing

on the moon by the astronauts, yet the mineral industry of this great nation has met this challenge and provided this nation with all the minerals and metals vital to its survival. The basic mining laws also met and answered this challenge and have allowed the industry to go forward at a fantastic pace.

II. Brief history of mining law

Beginning with the Act of July 26, 1866, the government of the United States adopted a policy that all the mineral lands of the public domain should be free and open to exploration and occupation, that rights which had been acquired in these lands under a system of local rules, with the apparent acquiescence and sanctions of the government, should be recognized and confirmed, that titles to at least certain classes of mineral deposits or lands containing them might be ultimately obtained. Following the enactment of the 1866 Act, the Congress passed the 1870 Act relating to placers. Thereafter, on May 10, 1872, by an Act "To promote the development of mining resources of the United States", Congress reaffirmed the policy of the government as to the exploration, development and purchase of its mineral lands by its citizens, or those who had declared their intention to become such. Since 1872 this policy of the government has continued generally. There have been some departures such as the Leasing Act of 1920 but in the main, so far as hard minerals are concerned, the principles adopted by Congress in 1866 have continued to the present time.

The underlying theory of these acts was that one who discovered a buried and unknown mineral deposit in the public domain should have as a reward for discovery of this resource of our nation the right to acquire for a nominal price title to the mineral deposit, together with the right to use so much of the surface as might be needed for mining and related purposes.

III. General criticisms of 1872 Mining Act

There have been many criticisms of the 1872 Mining Act and its workings, but generally the critics have focused their attention on the Act's abuses and technical difficulties and the resulting effect on the management of the public domain by the Bureau of Land Management. Nevertheless, the principal purpose of the Act—to build up a vigorous domestic mining industry which would produce the minerals to supply the needs of the American people—has been accomplished by the practical operation of the basic mining law.

With the advent of the creation and studies being made by the Public Land Law Review Commission there has been certain agitation by a number of groups to repeal the national mining law and to substitute a system of leasing in its place.

In January of 1969, the Department of the Interior, under the direction of Stewart L. Udall, Secretary of the Interior, filed a brochure with the Public Land Law Review Commission entitled: "The Mining Law—An Antiquity in Need of Repeal". This was followed, shortly before Mr. Udall went out of office, with a letter directed to the Commission in which Mr. Udall reaffirmed his previous views and took the position that the mining laws operate as an outright giveaway of vital national resources and stated that after eight years in office he had come to this conclusion that the most important piece of unfinished business on the Nation's natural resource agenda was the complete replacement of the

mining law of 1872, and that this law had become the—

"* * * major obstacle to the wise conservation and effective management of the natural resources of our public lands. * * * Many other problems in the administration of the public land laws are rooted in the mining law. * * * Put simply, this obsolete and outdated statute inhibits the best kind of multiple-use management. It operates as an outright giveaway of vital national resources. At the same time it harms the American mining industry. It not only fails to meet the needs of today's mining industry; it retards the industry's development. By its lack of security of tenure during the pre-discovery period, the mining law inhibits the use of highly sophisticated but expensive modern exploration techniques to probe for deep, hidden deposits. Its discovery requirement militates against the maintenance of rights in low-grade deposits as reserves for future development."

He offers as a solution the complete repeal of the 1872 Act and the substitution of a leasing act which he proposes to the Commission.

When Walter J. Hickel succeeded Stewart L. Udall as Secretary of the Interior, following the change of administration, the Department made a distinct about-face on the question of the leasing versus location. In a letter to the Public Land Law Review Commission, Secretary Hickel stated that the Mining Act of 1872 has had some abuses and that there is, undoubtedly, a need for a modification and updating. He further stated, in part, that:

"However, it is not the villain that it is so frequently portrayed. Perhaps the most important function this law performs is the stimulation of individual incentive to seek out and develop valuable minerals which are essential to the continued growth and prosperity of this nation."

He has further taken the position that answers to the valid objections to the law can be met and he is satisfied that we can devise a workable revision of the mining law of 1872 without sacrificing the best qualities of the old law and stifling needed exploration and development while still insuring appropriate consideration for necessary conservation and multiple-use management. Included in his letter are suggestions for changes which retain the basic principles of the mining law of 1872.

Certain other groups such as the wildlife groups, sportsmen's groups and other groups, seeking to use the public domain for their particular activity, have filed recommendations with the Public Land Law Review Commission. In general, these groups have favored a leasing system. Insofar as these groups are concerned, it would appear that most of them have as their object not so much the regulation of the mining industry but to prevent the public domain's being used for mining purposes instead of for their particular recreational object. This attitude overlooks the fact that the public domain belongs to all of the people of the country and not to one particular group. It has its importance for recreational uses but to restrict the use of the public domain for mining to promote the interests of the bird watchers and sportsmen falls far short of accomplishing the greatest good for the greatest number of people of our country, and overlooks the great economic benefit to the country as a whole of a viable mining industry. In a recent study conducted in the State of Utah relating to "Mined-Land Reclamation", it was determined that only two-hundredths of one per cent of the state's entire surface was disturbed by mining. The amount of the public domain which is used for actual working mines is such a minute portion of the 700 million acres included within its boundaries

that there exists plenty of land for carrying on the activities of these groups outside of the mineral lands intended to be worked under the 1872 Act.

IV. Suggested changes and answers to specific objections to the 1872 Mining Act

(a) *Surface Rights:* One of the principal criticisms of the mining law is that it has been abused and land has been acquired thereunder for purposes other than mining. The brochure filed by the Interior Department under Secretary Udall argues that the mining laws have been abused and have been used to obtain land for summer resorts, subdivisions, blocking access, "hold-ups", timber and urban development. The instances in which these abuses have taken place are as a whole relatively scarce. Such infrequent abuses are not a good argument for the repeal of the mining laws.

The American Mining Congress points out that unpatented claims located after 1955 are prohibited to be used for any purpose other than prospecting, mining or processing operations and uses reasonably incident thereto; and that the United States has the right on these claims to dispose of the vegetative resources and to manage other surface resources except mineral deposits subject to location under the mining laws of the United States. This clearly, insofar as unpatented mining claims are concerned, limits the right of a locator to abuse the privilege of locating mining claims and confines him to the purposes for which the mining laws were enacted. While this does not provide for the continuation of such restrictions after patent, it is suggested by the American Mining Congress that it would be appropriate as a condition of transfer of fee title to the surface to require payment of the fair market value thereof by the patentee. This would eliminate the basis for complaints that mineralized ground has been sought under the mining laws not for the development of minerals but rather to gain access to the surface resources. The suggestion further follows that the patentee would have the right to use the surface and surface resources for mining and related activities and the government would continue to own the surface and to manage the resources unless at the time of the issuance of the patent or within five years after its issuance the patentee elected to acquire full title by paying the fair market value for the surface. By such an amendment Congress would remove any incentive for one to locate a mining claim other than for purposes of mining.

(b) *Uniformity and Location of Claims.* The mining laws have been criticized for the difficulty of finding anything of record from which one can definitely ascertain their location and also for the uncertainties that are created by the distinction between placer and lode claims. Most all interested parties agree that if a new type of claim is created which abolishes the distinction between lode and placer claims and requires the new location to be made according to legal subdivision and a record thereof made in the particular county where the claim is situated, this would go far, insofar as future claims are concerned, to answer these objections.

(c) *Extralateral Rights.* Complaints have also been made that the mining laws and the allowance of extralateral rights have provided uncertainty as to exactly what an owner had in the way of rights where the vein departs from his own land. The American Mining Congress in its statement to the Public Land Law Review Commission advocated the abolition of extralateral rights and the creation of a new type of claim located so that the rights of the locator would be bounded by vertical lines downward through the boundaries of his claim.

(d) *Abandoned Claims.* Complaint has been made by the Department of the Interior of the cost to the government of clearing the public domain of abandoned mining claims. As to existing claims, this problem will continue to exist in the absence of further legislation. But as to future claims, if the proposals concerning the location of new claims by legal subdivisions is adopted, a definite determination of future claims should not be troublesome. The American Mining Congress has suggested an amendment to the mining law that should go a long way toward clearing the government's title to abandoned claims. It recommends the amendment of the mining laws to provide that a mining claim is conclusively presumed abandoned if some notice or other instrument is not filed in the appropriate county office by or on behalf of the owners of the mining claim at least once every three years. This conclusive presumption would make a contest to clear the record unnecessary.

(e) *Exploration Claims and Discovery:* It has been suggested that the statutory prerequisite of "discovery" prior to locating a claim has made the tenure of the prospective locator uncertain. In the present state of the search for minerals by the most advanced techniques the criticism has some merit. Most of the valuable surface exposed minerals have probably already been discovered. However, concealed deposits of unknown but possibly great proportion remain to be explored and utilized. The exploratory claim proposed by the American Mining Congress would provide that one searching for mineral deposits might locate exploration claims on the public domain which may be 160 acres or less. It would not require a mineral discovery for location. However, these claims would preempt the ground from location of regular mining claims or subsequent exploration claims. Such claims could be held for a maximum period of five years, provided that during the first three years at least \$10 for each acre so claimed would be required to be expended on exploration and at least an additional \$20 to be spent in the remaining two years for each acre so claimed. Verified reports would be required, giving the work performed, and filed with the appropriate county office. If a mineral discovery was made, a conventional mining claim could be located and thereafter a survey of the claim should be recorded in the county recording office so that the location on the ground might be definitely identified.

Discovery of a valuable mineral deposit is required for a valid mining location. In the article entitled: "The Prudent Man's Changing View of Discovery Under the Mining Laws of the United States", which appears in the *Natural Resources Lawyer*, Volume 11, number 2, page 109, (May, 1969), it is advocated that the prudent man test be again adopted as the basis for a valid discovery as opposed to the marketability test. This article states, in part, as follows:

"However, to clarify the confusion resulting from the Coleman case, it is suggested that consideration be given by the mining industry to a study of possible legislative enactments to guide the courts in upholding the 'prudent man' test as originally set forth in *Castle v. Womble* as the rule of discovery under the mining laws of the United States."

(f) *Assessment Work and Discovery Pits:* There have been complaints regarding the various ways in which states require discovery pits and assessment work to be performed. Consideration should be given to the adoption of uniform requirements, substituting drilling, geological, geophysical, geochemical, mapping and surveying work instead of the old requirements of the early state laws.

V. Leasing versus basic mining act

The best way to demonstrate why the leasing system is not desirable for hard minerals is to compare it with the Basic Mining Act.

Basic mining act

1. Controlled by "free enterprise", which has proven successful in making the United States a world leader.
2. Encourages individual initiative, research and private property rights.
3. Undergone the tests of time, including court litigation, national growth and expansion, wars, prosperity, depressions and has met the challenge of the rocket age.
4. Under the present mining law any individual can locate a claim and most of the major mining operations in this country are the result of individuals locating claims and receiving a reward for their efforts.
5. Development of low-grade deposits has proven successful under present mining act. The "free enterprise" system, competition and the fact that any individual can go on the public lands and locate a mining claim, all contribute to the success of the mineral industry, which is dependent on the basic mining laws.

Lease system

1. Controlled by the government and the Department of the Interior, which constitutes an impediment to natural resource discovery and development by private enterprise.
2. Encourage larger government, more rules and regulations, destroys private ownership and indirectly increases taxes.
3. Untried and not proven by the solid lessons of history.
4. Limited by competitive bidding which would tend to eliminate the small prospector entirely.
5. Costs of lease system would make the development of low-grade ore deposits prohibitive because of initial increased costs due to competitive bidding.

Although the above comparison focuses only on the major advantages of the basic mining law over leasing, it must be reiterated that any disadvantages and abuses of the 1872 Mining Act can be cured by amendment to the existing laws. In such a situation, it would seem to be the height of folly to scrap a system that has so successfully built up the mining industry and the economy of the country for over 100 years and substitute therefor a system that does not give much promise of successfully and dynamically carrying on the industry as to future exploration. A system of leasing will effectively eliminate the small operator, increase the costs of exploration, reduce the incentive for investment and open up an area of possibly endless litigation. As a result, future exploration and in turn resource development will be curtailed by the leasing system. For example, as late as 1954 Congress acknowledged that governmental leasing had proved detrimental to the atomic energy program, and the reservation was deleted to make those materials subject to location under the mining laws.

The discovery of new mineral deposits and the exploitation of them is vital to keep up the production of such minerals. It is only by reason of the new technological progress made in recent years in the methods of discovery and in methods of mineral treatment that production figures have been able to keep up and even exceed previous records. Each year it becomes more difficult to find new discoveries of minerals that will supplant the exhaustion of properties operated in the previous years. It must, therefore, be concluded that at a time when our nation's resource demands are at a peak in terms of economic and defense needs, we cannot afford to abolish a proven system which can be corrected by suggested legisla-

tive changes and substitute in its place a system which promises reduced resource development at increased governmental costs.

VI. Federal, State, and local economic benefits

In the parting letter of Secretary Udall he criticized the mining law of 1872 as an outright giveaway of vital national resources. Mineral resources have no economic significance to the country nor do they develop taxable wealth so long as they are locked up in the public domain. It is only when they have been discovered, developed and mined that they become a source of taxable wealth in the economy of the nation. The government of the United States, as well as the local governmental bodies, have a large stake in the mining industry. When mineral deposits are mined, the government partakes of the fruits of such mining by its income tax law and other tax laws. Likewise, the local and state authorities through the taxation of plants, sales taxes, severance taxes or proceeds of mines taxes (which most states have) become partners in the profits of the industry without risk or the expenditure of their moneys. The industry must take the risks and the chances of loss. Once the new source of wealth is mined, all government subdivisions of the place where the deposit is located become the beneficiaries of the risked capital invested by the industry. This is a far cry from being a giveaway plan.

The 1969 figures for the mining industry in the western states show a production, excluding oil and gas, of products worth approximately 3½ billion dollars. Any curtailment of this production is bound to affect the economic condition of the states where mining takes place. It will affect the local and state taxes that can be levied, as well as income taxes of the federal government. It affects employment levels in the various mining companies and it is bound to have a very deleterious effect on the economy of those western states which have a large stake in the mining industry. Thus, the mining industry has and will continue to pay its own way under the basic mining laws. In so doing, it is an integral part of federal, state and local economies.

VII. Conclusion

In a recent brochure of the Nevada Bureau of Mines entitled: "Nevada's No. 1 Basic Industry", in commenting on the significance of mining, it was stated:

"The importance of the mineral industry to the national and State economy as well as to man's everyday life is not always apparent unless one stops to ask himself where he would be without it—without iron and steel, oil and gas, coal, building materials. . . *The very strength of a nation can be measured in the production and use of its mineral products.*

"For every child born in the United States, years of research and applied technology are required to provide him with the tons of ore, pounds of metal, and barrels of oil he will use in his lifetime. It is an unremitting cycle.

"Significance of the mineral industry may be gauged by these facts:

"On a national level:

"*Nearly one-half of the national industrial labor force is employed in metal-working industries.*

"*About one-half of the value of output of all manufacturing activities in the U.S. is from metal-working industries.*

"*More than one-half of all railroad freight traffic in the United States is made up of raw mineral materials.*

"On State level:

"*Total impact of the mineral industry on the economy of Nevada is \$450,000,000 a year.*

"*Among Nevada's basic industries, mining is three times greater than agriculture, its nearest competitor.*

"*Approximately 80 percent of all rail freight revenues originating in Nevada comes from the mineral industry.*"

The impact of the mineral industry on the economy of the other western states could be similarly compared.

In an article written in 1967 by Edward H. Peplow, Jr., entitled: "Land Lessons From the Past", and published in "Pay Dirt", an Arizona publication, the author states, in part, as follows:

"Thus I submit to you that the Mining Law of 1872—no matter what faults it may be found to have in other areas—had one magnificent asset which must not be discarded under any circumstances. Over the years it has fostered the operation of the free enterprise system. It has engendered intensive research; it has promoted expansion of existing properties; and it has fostered conservation in the truest sense of the term—the orderly, efficient and profitable development of the natural resources of the United States for the benefit of every American."

The mining industry has been represented before the Public Land Law Review Commission by the American Mining Congress as its spokesman. In the brochure filed with the Commission, they consider their most important recommendation is that the provisions of the mining laws be retained which allow the acquisition of title to mineral deposits by mining location and patent.

The Public Land Law Review Commission has had excellent studies made of the matters here involved and it is hoped that their recommendations, which are to be made in June of this year, if adopted, will be of such a nature that the mining industry can continue as a vital industry on the domestic scene and that its future will be as bright as its past.

ARTICLE BY HENRY J. TAYLOR ON
TV VIOLENCE

HON. STROM THURMOND

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, April 15, 1970

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, much has been said lately about the news media slanting the news through the editorial selection and the emphasis which certain topics are given through repetition and prime placement.

Although the TV networks in particular have sharply denied such activity, a fine example of this bias was recently analyzed by the nationally known columnist, Henry J. Taylor, a former U.S. Ambassador and distinguished journalist.

In a column which was published on the editorial page of the State newspaper in Columbia, S.C., Mr. Taylor points out that the networks, by preaching violence and destruction, are inviting the radicals and terrorists to ply their dangerous trade. Mr. Taylor points out that through the great exposure given to riot inciters such as Abbie Hoffman, Stokely Carmichael, Dan Watts, and others, the networks are actually giving lessons in terrorism to the young. Mr. Taylor says:

Surely every internal and external enemy we have knows the advantages of destroying the country's faith in itself from within.

The kind of program material which

the TV networks are presenting is doing exactly this.

Speaking of CBS President Robert D. Wood, Mr. Taylor asks:

How can CBS's Wood and the other moguls conceivably pretend that millions listening throughout their young lives to the presented Abbie Hoffmans and constantly viewing violence are not influenced toward violence and crime?

Mr. Taylor is asking the right questions, and the networks have yet to give satisfactory answers.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that Mr. Taylor's article, entitled "TV Gives Exposure to Radicals," published in the State newspaper of Tuesday, April 7, 1970, be printed in the Extensions of Remarks.

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

[From the State, Apr. 7, 1970]

TV GIVES EXPOSURE TO RADICALS—MEDIUM OFTEN MAKES INFAMOUS MEN FAMOUS

(By Henry J. Taylor)

Convicted Chicago 7 riot inciter Abbie Hoffman is doing just fine, thanks to TV. Preaching violence and destruction, the networks, of course, invite him on again and again.

While the pseudo-sanctimonious CBS, NBC and ABC moguls dignify the Abbie Hoffmans and the networks' Neanderthal standards as a whole, Fox TV film executive Alan Silverbach recently let the truth out of the TV bag.

Said Silverbach: "There's a tremendous viewer reaction to violence, rape or murder. Everybody wants to look over everybody else's shoulder. It has viewer-appeal and, you know, we want the largest number of eyeballs per dollar."

CBS-TV network President Robert D. Wood revealed a little complication, however, when offering Hoffman on the Merv Griffin show. Hoffman committed a very photogenic piece of illegal desecration by wearing a shirt made from an American flag.

CBS let Hoffman do this, and taped the show. But the CBS Legal Department put a bug in Wood's ear. The lawyers told him state courts had ruled such desecration a suable crime, as if, in fact, CBS shouldn't have known that Hoffman himself was arrested in Washington in 1968 for this same act of wearing the shirt to a House Un-American Activities Committee session.

Wood announced that Hoffman's shirt would be electronically blanked out—but not Hoffman.

TV has made nearly all these infamous men. Surely, TV made famous infamous Stokely Carmichael. And TV unashamedly is reaching anywhere to put their vicious propaganda on the air. How come TV reached all the way to Dar es Salaam, Africa, to put on the air the venomous spleen of Carmichael? Did you see the hour-long interview with fugitive Eldridge Cleaver in Algiers? Why?

Newsworthy? My eye! Anybody, literally anybody—some anonymous destroyer who is certainly not newsworthy at all—can achieve a nationwide news spot just so long as he is condemning the United States, our institutions, a judge in some court, a university or the forces of law and order.

Or if the networks can possibly find protesters fighting in our streets you can be sure the TV cameras will seek them out. They'll concentrate on policemen swinging clubs; and usually omit the provocations. You can predict the camera fade-out before you see it: bleeding people being dragged away.

Surely, every internal and external enemy we have knows the advantages of destroying a country's faith in itself from within. They're as old as the Trojan horse. Don't the great networks, getting a free ride on the public's airwaves, have any responsibility at all?

The other night I was on a two-hour TV discussion program with New York Negro leader Dan Watts, the editor of The Liberator newspaper. Detailing how country-destroyers operate, he observed: "Who doesn't know that youth is always and everywhere their No. 1 target?"

TV is the third parent in your home. How on earth can conscientious parents face its dreadful competition? We pay immense sums to educate our children. Yet millions of the same youth spend more time at the feet of the TV set than they spend in school. And the villainy they are taught on the TV they are practicing.

Do you know exactly how to take over a school or systematically incite a street riot? Do you know exactly how to make an explosive cocktail or homemade fire bomb or grenade? Watch CBS, NBC or ABC. Our youth are given daily lessons in criminal actions—watching TV, the most powerful medium any civilization ever had.

How can CBS's Wood and the other moguls conceivably pretend that millions listening throughout their young lives to the presented Abbie Hoffmans and constantly viewing violence are not influenced toward violence and crime?

The TV mayhem has grown so immense that one national association dedicated to better broadcasting estimates that before the average child reaches 15 he or she witnesses some 12,000 TV murders and deaths. In one week alone, in just one city, it found that the TV stations showed nearly 800 acts of violence.

With the TV networks in there pitching day and night, we are the victims in an attack so obviously systematized, uniform and relentless that its purpose is clearly the destruction of the United States.

FARMERS WANT A CHANGE IN PROGRAM DIRECTION

HON. PAUL FINDLEY

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 15, 1970

Mr. FINDLEY. Mr. Speaker, almost all farmers in the 20th District of Illinois seem to favor major changes in farm programs. More farmers favor a gradual change to a program of cropland retirement and market-based prices with special aids to small farmers than any other alternative now under consideration by the Congress. That is the result of a survey I have recently taken of the farmers in my district.

A total of 2,042 replies were received in a boxholder type mail-in survey, which asked farmer opinion of new farm program choices and their choice for a payment limitation. It also asked questions relating to pesticide control; use of Government tariffs and quotas to keep foreign farm goods from U.S. markets; trade with Eastern Europe and Communist China; the incidence of rural poor; full-time Federal assistance for Future Farmers of America programs;

and the volume of livestock disease losses during the past 2 years.

I am pleased with the large number of farmers who favor a new approach in Federal farm programs—an approach I feel is long overdue to help bring about a healthy, profitable agriculture with prices of farm goods based more on the conditions of the marketplace and less dependency by farmers on Government program payments.

A total of 723 or 35.4 percent of the respondents selected a 5-year transition program to phase-in a massive long-term cropland retirement program replacing gradually the present commodity programs. With this program, crop loans would be based on market prices and special aids would be available for farmers grossing under \$5,000 a year to help them gain the necessary skills for off-farm employment if they choose to participate. This plan, which I have introduced as H.R. 9009, has since been cosponsored by a bipartisan group in both the House and Senate now totaling 45 and is endorsed by the American Farm Bureau Federation.

Just 4.3 percent, or 89 responses, favored continuing the present program, but 671, or 32.8 percent, favored continuing the present program with adding a limit on the total Government payments a farmer could receive each year.

The recently disclosed USDA plan of an acreage set-aside program, permitting farmers greater freedom to plant nondiverted cropland, received just 6.1 percent, or 126 favorable responses.

The coalition program of increased Government program payments and price supports, coupled with acreage bases and diversion requirements, was favored by 510 respondents, or 24.4 percent.

An overwhelming number of farmers favor establishing a limit on farm program payments at \$20,000 per farm per year with a limitation plan of \$5,000 per crop annually being the second choice. A total of 834 farmers favored the \$20,000 annual limit; 382 favored \$5,000 per crop; 282 favored \$10,000 per crop; and 246 favored a graduated limit with a maximum payment of \$110,000 per crop for each of a maximum of three crops.

Some farmers selected more than one choice of programs and payment limits which results in totals of more than 2,042—which was the number of replies received—and 100 percent. Analysis of the survey results is based on the choices indicated on the 2,042 survey forms completed and returned.

This is the first survey I have taken of farmers alone in my district, and I am gratified with the cooperation received. The results of this survey should be very helpful to congressional leadership, especially at this juncture when basic decisions are being made in the Agriculture Committee of the House of Representatives.

Each person responding gave details of his farming operation. A complete breakdown of the choices of the respondents, by size of farming operation, as well as the survey question and an-

swer selections, is included as a part of my remarks:

SURVEY TOTALS

1. Here are the principal proposals now before Congress on new farm legislation.

| | Number | Percent |
|--|--------|---------|
| Please check the one you like best: | | |
| (a) 5-year transition program: Simultaneously phase-in massive cropland diversion (voluntary, 5- to 10-year contracts) replacing present commodity programs; establish crop loans (based on market prices) for orderly marketing and special aids (to gain off-farm income) to farmers who gross under \$5,000 a year..... | 723 | 35.4 |
| (b) Continue present programs without change..... | 89 | 4.3 |

| | | |
|--|-----|------|
| (c) Continue present programs but add a limit on the total Government payments a farmer can receive each year..... | 671 | 32.8 |
| (d) Retain Government payments and land-diversion provisions at present levels but permit farmer greater freedom to plant nondiverted cropland; establish \$110,000-per-crop limit on individual payments..... | 126 | 6.1 |
| (e) Raise Government payments and supports high enough to guarantee 90 percent of parity (\$1.58 bushel) for corn, 100 percent (\$2.79 bushel) for domestic wheat, 75 percent (\$2.80 bushel) for soybeans, with acreage bases and diversion requirements for each commodity, similar to present programs..... | 510 | 24.4 |

If an annual limit is established on Government payments, what level do you prefer? (382) \$5,000 per crop; (282) \$10,000 per crop; (834) \$20,000 per farm; (246) Graduated limit, with top of \$110,000 per farm.

| | Yes | No |
|---|-------|-------|
| 2. Should use of DDT, 2,4,5-T and 2,4-D be prohibited?..... | 693 | 1,107 |
| 3. Should the Government use quotas, high tariffs to keep out agricultural products from foreign countries?..... | 1,245 | 587 |
| 4. Should the Government permit cash sales of farm products to Eastern Europe and Communist China?..... | 1,124 | 736 |
| 5. Are there poor families in your community which should receive more assistance than they are getting?..... | 442 | 1,285 |
| 6. Should the Federal Government re-establish full-time staff support for Future Farmers of America?..... | 885 | 837 |
| 7. Have you or your neighbors suffered serious livestock disease losses during the past 2 years? (If so, give details)..... | 567 | 1,282 |

OPINIONS BY SIZE OF FARM

| | Under 100 acres 219 (10.7 percent) | | 100 to 199 acres 331 (16.2 percent) | | 200 to 399 acres 543 (26.6 percent) | | 400 and over 619 (30.3 percent) | | Not classified 97 (4.8 percent) | | Nonfarmers 227 (11.1 percent) | |
|---|---------------------------------------|---------|--|---------|--|---------|------------------------------------|---------|------------------------------------|---------|----------------------------------|---------|
| | Favored | Percent | Favored | Percent | Favored | Percent | Favored | Percent | Favored | Percent | Favored | Percent |
| 1. (a) 5-year transition program as embodied in H.R. 9009 sponsored by Representative Findley and others..... | 80 | 36.5 | 108 | 32.3 | 192 | 35.3 | 219 | 35.3 | 37 | 38.1 | 97 | 42.7 |
| (b) Continue present programs without change..... | 5 | 2.3 | 23 | 6.9 | 22 | 4.0 | 29 | 4.6 | 2 | 2.0 | 7 | 3.0 |
| (c) Continue present programs and add a payment limit..... | 87 | 39.7 | 112 | 33.8 | 194 | 35.7 | 165 | 26.6 | 39 | 40.2 | 84 | 37.0 |
| (d) Set-aside plan for greater freedom of planting on non-diverted cropland and \$110,000 payment limit per crop..... | 12 | 5.9 | 19 | 5.7 | 31 | 5.7 | 38 | 6.1 | 9 | 9.2 | 17 | 7.4 |
| (e) Raise payments and price supports with acreage bases and diversion requirements for each crop..... | 39 | 17.8 | 104 | 31.4 | 148 | 27.2 | 165 | 26.6 | 14 | 16.5 | 40 | 17.6 |
| \$5,000 per crop..... | 63 | 28.7 | 56 | 16.9 | 101 | 18.6 | 57 | 9.2 | 15 | 15.4 | 60 | 26.4 |
| \$10,000 per crop..... | 24 | 10.9 | 51 | 15.4 | 99 | 18.2 | 72 | 11.6 | 12 | 12.3 | 24 | 10.5 |
| \$20,000 per farm..... | 84 | 38.3 | 118 | 35.6 | 235 | 43.2 | 289 | 46.4 | 34 | 35.0 | 67 | 29.5 |
| Graduated limit w/\$110,000 per farm limit..... | 12 | 5.4 | 35 | 10.5 | 56 | 10.3 | 112 | 18.0 | 9 | 9.2 | 22 | 9.6 |

| | Under 100 acres | | 100 to 199 acres | | 200 to 399 acres | | 400 and over | | Not classified | | Nonfarmers | |
|--|-----------------|-------|------------------|-------|------------------|-------|--------------|-------|----------------|-------|------------|-------|
| | Yes | No | Yes | No | Yes | No | Yes | No | Yes | No | Yes | No |
| 2. Should use of DDT, 2,4,5-T and 2,4-D be prohibited?..... | 129 | 64 | 130 | 161 | 152 | 326 | 110 | 454 | 36 | 43 | 136 | 65 |
| 3. Should the government use quotas, high tariffs to keep out agricultural products from foreign countries?..... | 131 | 63 | 215 | 84 | 351 | 135 | 367 | 199 | 57 | 25 | 128 | 85 |
| 4. Should the government permit cash sales of farm products to Eastern Europe and Communist China?..... | 124 | 78 | 177 | 123 | 310 | 194 | 370 | 211 | 50 | 36 | 111 | 94 |
| 5. Are there poor families in your community which should receive more assistance than they are getting?..... | 68 | 112 | 72 | 198 | 97 | 374 | 117 | 432 | 19 | 61 | 69 | 106 |
| 6. Should the federal government re-establish fulltime staff support for Future Farmers of America?..... | 95 | 90 | 115 | 156 | 244 | 214 | 312 | 229 | 41 | 42 | 78 | 106 |
| 7. Have you or your neighbors suffered serious livestock disease losses during the past two yrs?..... | 29 | 163 | 85 | 221 | 173 | 339 | 228 | 364 | 19 | 57 | 33 | 138 |
| TGE..... | 14 | ..... | 59 | ..... | 115 | ..... | 137 | ..... | 10 | ..... | 20 | ..... |
| Cholera..... | 1 | ..... | 6 | ..... | 10 | ..... | 15 | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... |

WEST VIRGINIA TO OPEN NEW PIPESTEM STATE PARK—CONSISTS OF 4,000 ACRES OF SCENIC TERRAIN—OFFERS WIDE RECREATIONAL ACTIVITIES AS PART OF 61,000 ACRES OF STATE PARKS

HON. JENNINGS RANDOLPH

OF WEST VIRGINIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, April 15, 1970

Mr. RANDOLPH. Mr. President, West Virginia, the land of beauty, emphasizes tourism. Four of the Nation's five largest metropolitan centers and 55 percent of the country's population are within 500 miles of our State's borders.

West Virginia has opened a new 4,000-acre park, Pipestem State Park, near Hinton. This brings to nearly 61,000 acres the land occupied by our 23 useful State parks.

Pipestem, the newest addition to this recreational complex, offers one of the finest settings in the Southeast. Together

with Twin Falls, Hawks Nest, and Canaan Valley State Parks, Pipestem is part of West Virginia's \$13 million park expansion program.

Ed Johnson, the able editor of Wonderful West Virginia, published by the West Virginia Department of Natural Resources, recently wrote an article on Pipestem for newspapers throughout the State.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that Mr. Johnson's story, which appeared on March 15 in the Herald-Advertiser, Huntington, W. Va., be printed in the RECORD.

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

PIPESTEM

(By Ed Johnson)

With 4,000 acres of scenic Mountaineerland, threaded by the twisting 1,200-foot deep canyon in Summers and Mercer Counties, imaginative architects who planned tourist-luring facilities to fit the terrain—and sweetened by an investment of \$13 million—you have Pipestem State Park, which makes its debut this year.

If this great recreational complex—unquestionably one of the finest in the East—did not have the complete "come-on," it is only 10 miles from huge Bluestone Lake, famous for fine fishing, water sports, and complemented by popular Bluestone State Park.

By mid-summer, Pipestem is expected to throw open its gates and say welcome to West Virginians and the nation.

Pipestem, along with Twin Falls, Hawks Nest and Canaan Valley State Parks, is a part of West Virginia's multimillion dollar park expansion program.

The colorful name Pipestem is no misnomer: I remember when I literally came in on the ground floor. Architects, our own engineers, feasibility experts and surveyors were crawling over the landscape. Troy Gattrell, now park superintendent, took me down to Pipestem Creek, cut a limb from a bush which is said to have been used by Indians and early settlers as pipestems for their stone and clay pipes. The generous and round pith in the limbs make them well suited for pipes.

Ahead of everything are its golf courses, often called the backbone of convention draws, with two seasons of play behind them. A championship 18-hole and a par-3 course. On both courses, the golf course architect skillfully used the terrain and man-made

lakes, valleys and trees as natural hazards. White sand bunkers complete the layout.

Lush and long tees for the professional and the novice have been carefully cultivated by two years of professional care. There are no steep holes for the short-of-breath to climb, yet every hole is a challenge. On the par-3 course, the 10,000 square-foot greens are believed to be the largest for a par-3 in the world. One thing for sure, there are no more beautiful courses in the world, including the best of Florida, Nassau, and Pebble Beach. Green fees are moderate.

Golf course clubhouses are admittedly plush . . . well-manicured, practice driving tees, putting greens. Perhaps the most distracting hazard around the courses is the incredible scenery, making it hard keeping your eyes on the ball.

Heart of Pipestem is its stately 113-room main lodge. Sitting at the brink of Bluestone Canyon, the picture-window views of scenic panoramas are breathtaking. The native stone and concrete structure has two dining rooms, meeting rooms, shops, indoor swimming pool, and sauna baths.

Other facilities of the big park complex include 24 year-round recreation cottages, most of which have two bedrooms and tent and trailer sites with comfort stations.

An intriguing addition to the park complex, expected to be in operation next year, is the Mountain Creek Lodge, a 30-room structure located at the bottom of Bluestone canyon. Access to this facility will be by aerial tramway which will sweep 3,600 feet to the bottom. Contracts have been let for the construction of the 10-car tramway. Upon completion of this river lodge, horseback riding will be available in this secluded area along with fishing in the Bluestone River, famous for smallmouth bass.

A prime attraction of the park's recreation area is an Olympic-size swimming pool with regulation diving boards. To complete year-round recreation use, an ice skating rink is available to winter sport enthusiasts.

Other features of Pipestem include a 500-seat Amphitheater, Visitor's Center, country store, craft center, championship archery range, riding stables, 16-acre fishing lake, and an observation tower.

The average elevation of Pipestem is 2,500 feet, and with 4,000 acres there are interesting woodland trails and countless scenic views.

The park's facilities can comfortably accommodate a convention of 400. Look for Pipestem State Park, with its complete features and scenic beauty, to become one of the popular playgrounds of the East—and so handy to West Virginians.

OKLAHOMA'S PROUDEST RESOURCE: ITS PEOPLE

HON. CARL ALBERT

OF OKLAHOMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 15, 1970

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, the Honorable Dewey Bartlett, Governor of Oklahoma, has designated April as "Speak Up for Oklahoma" month. One of my young constituents, Miss Cathy Dennis, 200 North 6th, Comanche, Okla., who is 17 years of age, has done this so well in an essay she wrote recently that I would like to share it with my colleagues in the House of Representatives. I in-

clude Miss Dennis' essay at this point in the RECORD:

OKLAHOMA'S PROUDEST RESOURCE: ITS PEOPLE

(By Cathy Dennis)

RED PEOPLE, "Work conquers all"

Will Rogers, Mistletoe—

These are images of Oklahoma.

A state rich in

Oil, minerals,

Soil, industry—

Yet the greatest of the riches Oklahoma claims is

PEOPLE.

Great, small,

Famous, humble,

Oklahoma has great people.

Why out of

Wealth, industry,

Resources, scenic beauty

Does Oklahoma choose her people as her pride?

Because people cannot be

Bought, sold,

Designed, manufactured,

To suit the blueprint of men.

A state's people may be known as

Rich, smart,

Extremist, conservative,

But our people have the greatest title of all: "Friendly!"

Throughout the nation we are called

Hicks, Okies.

Squares, Clods,

But if that's what the people of Oklahoma really are—

Then those names are titles fit for royalty; because only a friendly state is a state with good people!

Highways can be built, buildings can be designed,

money can be obtained, businesses can prosper, but people are what they are.

What good are

Highways, buildings,

Businesses, riches,

without people who live, really live—

Not just pretending to live while at the same time hiding behind

Social masks, political fronts,

Business faces, false smiles.

A state of people afraid to

Laugh, feel,

Cry, live,

is a cold state that can claim only material things.

Oklahoma's people do

Live, laugh,

Feel, cry,

because Oklahoma people are real people

Many people from many places agree that

Friendliness, hospitality,

Humbleness, Sincerity,

are easily found in our state,

not only in word—but in action.

Oklahomans will open to another

their homes as well as

their hearts.

Common people, aristocrats,

Ranchers, businessmen,

are able to live harmoniously with

their fellowman.

Oklahoma's history shows examples of our

success stories;

common people becoming national

Mickey Mantle, Jim Webb,

Roger Miller, Patti Page,

Steve Owens, Don Grieve,

Jim Thorpe, Tom Stafford,

Carl Albert, Henry Bellmon,

Dale Robertson, Jane Jayroe,

Bud Wilkerson, Gordon Cooper.

Even though all states have people who become great.

Oklahoma has an excess of great

people who never become famous.

Though some of Oklahoma's people may not always know proper etiquette, how to order foreign food, who to "brown nose", when to give up, this does not make them less

Proud, competent,

Modern, intelligent,

for a wise man knows that friendly people who really care, are worth more than gold as a resource.

Though all Oklahomans are not perfect. Oklahoma can claim a stable people.

Hardworking, visionary,

Capable, determined.

The average Oklahoman is God-fearing, and honest.

These people want to do the right thing—not try to pick the edges of "right" until it has raveled and can be:

Pulled, questioned,

Changed, distorted,

until harmful wrongs become accepted as modern progress.

Our ideas of right and wrong have changed

very little in proportion to many people's modern thinking.

Oklahoma has a history of good people.

Our pioneers gave us a proud heritage. They

Traveled far, worked hard,

Increased in patience, never gave up.

The Indians before them also add to the proud heritage of Oklahoma's people.

Today, many Oklahoma people have much the same spirit of the pioneers.

Get acquainted with your neighbor.

Make friends, lend a hand,

Seriously be concerned.

The pioneers of Oklahoma developed

Strength of character, love of life, Concern for good, determination to progress.

which was in turn passed on to and instilled in the Oklahomans of today.

They developed a sense of being concerned, getting involved, not too busy to help out.

Today, even though they are busy, many Oklahomans take time to

Lend a hand,

Help others help themselves.

Material possessions, public esteem,

social cliques, financial position

are not as important to most Oklahomans,

as are the basic good things life has to offer.

Being a fairly young state, Oklahomans have few past ideas that are detrimental influences.

We have few

Old traditions, unwritten laws,

Eighteenth century social conflicts,

Inborn prejudices,

therefore, the people are more able to think clearly for themselves, rather than have the past decide their attitudes and actions.

and sets about unassumingly to

Encourage, support

Assist, contribute

to those things which protect the rights of any citizen of our country.

Air pollution is not a problem to the average Oklahoman,

Literally, emotionally,

Visually, psychologically,

Just as our air is clear, so are our minds, free to

Function unpolluted, fresh,

Uncluttered, clear.

Oklahoma—a great state with great people.

A friendly type of people, a sincere type of people.

A straightforward type of people, a good kind of people.

Oklahoma should remain cognizant of her proud resource, people, because the

people are the state, and the people are the greatest to be found.

CONCURRENT RESOLUTION PASSED BY SOUTH CAROLINA LEGISLATURE TO RETAIN U.S. COAST GUARD SELECTED RESERVE

HON. STROM THURMOND

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
 Wednesday, April 15, 1970

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, it has come to my attention that the Bureau of the Budget has eliminated funds in the fiscal year 1971 budget to maintain the U.S. Coast Guard Selected Reserve. This unprecedented proposal violates the Reserve Forces Bill of Rights and Vitalization Act. It strikes a drastic blow to our national security.

Mr. President, I have expressed my concern and disapproval of this action to the Director of the Budget, to the Secretary of Transportation, and to the Commandant of the Coast Guard. I regret to advise my distinguished colleagues that the responses to my inquiries are less than satisfactory.

The Selected Coast Guard Reserve consists of all the wartime mobilization billets which had been set by the Congress at 17,500 personnel for fiscal year 1970. To carry out its assigned wartime missions the Coast Guard must be able to mobilize sufficient numbers of trained personnel within the first 30 days of mobilization. The elimination of this capability can only result in a serious threat to our national defense.

Mr. President, it is significant to note that the Coast Guard Commandant reported to the Senate Appropriations Committee on September 30, 1969, that this Selected Reserve force was required. Apparently, 4 months later the Commandant was instructed to change his mind.

There are many defense experts who are opposed to this unrealistic action. This proposal summarily discontinues this vital national security reserve force before the Congress has had an opportunity to act. In my opinion, this preemptive action which has had a disintegrating effect on our Coast Guard Reserve usurps the authority of the Congress. I strongly recommend the funds be restored.

It is reassuring to note that the Legislature of South Carolina has recognized this serious risk and opposes the proposed action. The Senate and the House of Representatives of South Carolina have passed a concurrent resolution calling upon the U.S. Congress to "ensure the continued operation of the U.S. Coast Guard Reserve." I concur with this resolution.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the concurrent resolution passed by the South Carolina Legislature to retain the U.S. Coast Guard Selected Reserve be referred to the appropriate committee, and I ask unanimous consent that the concurrent resolution be printed in the Extensions of Remarks.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, the concurrent resolution will be referred to the Committee on Armed Services; and, with-

out objection, the concurrent resolution will be printed in the Extensions of Remarks.

The concurrent resolution passed by the South Carolina Legislature ordered to be printed in the RECORD, is as follows:

CONCURRENT RESOLUTION OF THE SOUTH CAROLINA LEGISLATURE

A concurrent resolution to memorialize Congress to enact suitable legislation to ensure that the U.S. Coast Guard Reserve shall continue in operation

Whereas, there is at this time every indication that the United States Coast Guard Reserve shall in the near future be discontinued; and

Whereas, the Coast Guard Reserve has contributed greatly to the military preparedness and the protection of the coastal areas of this country; and

Whereas, in the event of an emergency or national disaster it would still add greatly to the protection of our coastal areas. Now, therefore,

Be it resolved by the House of Representatives, the Senate concurring:

That Congress be memorialized to enact without delay suitable legislation which shall ensure the continued operation of the United States Coast Guard Reserve.

Be it further resolved that copies of this resolution be forwarded to the President of the United States, to each United States Senator from South Carolina, each member of the House of Representatives of Congress from South Carolina, the Senate of the United States and the House of Representatives of the United States.

SCHOOLS: BICKEL'S "NEW PATERNALISM" MASKS A NATIONAL RETREAT

HON. AUGUSTUS F. HAWKINS

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
 Wednesday, April 15, 1970

Mr. HAWKINS. Mr. Speaker, those concerned with equality and education will be interested in the following paper written by a white southerner, Charles Morgan, director, southern region of American Civil Liberties Union.

His remarks analyze an article written by Yale Prof. Alexander M. Bickel and published in a recent issue of the *New Republic* concerning approaches to Federal school desegregation cases and the weakness of this administration's commitment to the right of every child to an integrated quality education.

The article follows:

SCHOOLS: BICKEL'S "NEW PATERNALISM" MASKS A NATIONAL RETREAT

Professor Alexander M. Bickel's article in *The Article of national retreat: a convenient, if gossamer, cover under which bona fide racists, black and white, and the merely mistaken men of South and North might respectfully gather prior to an all-out and undistinguished attack on desegregation.*

The Article cited no new facts nor were new facts even assumed; the few factual statements made were for the most part wrong and at best half-right. The professor thought today as he thought and wrote yesterday; but in an altered national context. The Article was more than a scholarly dissection.

THE ARTICLE WAS A TRIGGER

Professor Bickel may not have understood the use to which his thesis would be put. He does not seem to understand much about the

South. The South is not a land of cultural pluralism. The South may be a microcosm of the country and it does have internal variances, but its characteristics are not those of New York or Chicago or Los Angeles or San Francisco. There is and has been no large Southern population of Catholics, Jews, Italians, Irishmen, Puerto Ricans, or voluntary black immigrants. The South is an area of simple racial dualism. But the Article seeks application of a national racial solution, and an ineffective non-working solution at that, to areas that are essentially different.

The South had slavery by law. The South had segregation, *apartheid*, by law. This is why the South has been treated differently by the Supreme Court. The South is different. That is why it should be treated differently. That is why the Northern "solution"—if that be what *de facto* segregation is—will not work in the South. Not, if it were uniformly applied across the land, would it result in much other than at best the ultimate disfranchisement and at worst the dispatch of the nation's black population.

A graduate of New York's City College, and the Harvard Law School, Professor Alexander M. Bickel was the ideal man to write *The Article* and the *New Republic* the perfect place for it to appear. He is well known in "liberal" circles, is not a bigot, teaches at the Yale Law School, and has been consistently critical of the Warren Court's major rulings (for school desegregation and one-man-one-vote state legislatures).

Criticism of the Warren Court seems a necessary ingredient of demonstrable scholarship among some law professors who feel that if they are not brighter than the court—which is, of course, the true teacher as well as maker of constitutional law—then they are either not bright enough to teach or, alternatively, to be appointed to the court if fortuitously asked.

BLESSING TO SEGREGATIONISTS

To white segregationist Southerners *The Article* was a blessing. That it was primarily extracted from a series of lectures delivered at the Harvard Law School and published as *The Supreme Court and the Idea of Progress* and that Mr. Bickel's primary life concern often seems to be analysis of the scope of the power of the Supreme Court mattered little. For if a Yale professor writing in the *New Republic* questioned the limit of that power, so did the white South, and if he coincidentally believed in racial justice and they did not then that was all the better for him and them.

White Southern politicians, although caricatured and stereotyped by many non-southern liberals, have learned to deal with educated Northerners on the basis of the Compromise of 1877. They simply struggle along for years losing battle after battle, fighting as guerrillas until they finally but very politely win. As they turn America away from its stated goals they mind their manners, as did even Ross R. Barnett, who felt compelled to say when turning James H. Meredith away from the University of Mississippi, "I do so politely."

Coupled with this sense of politeness—the brightest of them deplore ax handles, tactically at least, and assaults on children—there is the certain knowledge that Northerners have their own mythology. This they recognize and manipulate.

PERPETUATING MYTHS

For example: Mythologically, the article assumes that the legislative (which Southern-controlled committee of Congress?), executive (which agency?) and judicial (which Southern federal district judges?) branches of government for years favored a policy of school desegregation. The article argues that integration (as though we had tried it and consequently someone knew) "creates as many problems as it purports to solve."

The professor (of legal history, who teaches a course on public schools) mentions only one of the "many problems": the moving of whites to the suburbs.

Both the professor and his Connecticut senator, Abraham Ribicoff, place some reliance on the premise that "everybody seeks in the schools some sense of social, economic, cultural group identity." This premise is, of course, a product of Northern big-city Americans and white minority ethnic-group thinking. Relying on "cultural pluralism," as Stokely Carmichael did in proposing Black Power and citing Jewish Power and Irish Power as their models, is a common failure of many of those who deal with the South on the basis of non-Southern experience. They forget that in the South there was no melting pot and there is little pluralism of any kind, be it ethnic or religious. Racial problems are as different from those included in the Bickel-Ribicoff experience as the Negro's heritage of illiteracy is different from the Jewish immigrant's literate, if foreign-language, heritage. There can be little parallel between the urban experience of white ethnic Americans and the experience of American blacks. Although Hitler required armbands to identify the Jews, blacks have a sure knowledge that their armbands are worn on their faces.

A POLITICAL TOOL

Professor Bickel frets over "the tipping point of resegregation" and "what the Nixon Administration has been trying to tell us." What President Nixon has been trying to tell us is simply: "White folks, vote Republican; we can do it better than Wallace can—and we can do it more politely." The "tipping point of resegregation" occurs when members of the professor's and my race are in a minority.

Since the professor does not approve of one-man-one-vote reapportionment cases he does not propose (or even acknowledge) that school district lines, like county and electoral district lines, are merely creatures of the state and some day may be ignored by courts seeking to integrate urban and suburban school populations.

Rationally and wrongly the article adopts the sweetly reasonable approach of the new paternalism. It notes that "leading ('leading' what? who? where? why?) elements in urban communities" would not accept "large-scale efforts at integration." (What Northern liberal even thought of giving "leading white elements" in Southern communities a choice?) The white and New Paternalism seems to implicitly assume that blacks because of skin color have good sense. As white Southern housewives relied on their maids the New Paternalists rely only upon "militant" blacks. The new paternalism refuses to grant blacks an equal right with whites to be damned fools and to be told they are damned fools.

The new paternalist calls for the upgrading of slums and slum schools as though that goal were somehow shown to be attainable either by our history or our present inclination . . .

The article says "no one is certain that it (massive integration) is worth the cost" as though "no one" were "certain" when, in fact, some are quite certain that it is worth almost any cost. Strangely, although "the cost" of upgrading slum schools is incalculable, the professor does not even consider the question of whether or not white taxpayers will pay that cost.

The professor does not believe or does not understand the simple lesson of history culminating in *Brown v. Board of Education*: In this country racially separate schools simply cannot be equal. To put this in more common terms:

"White folks ain't going to pay for schools where white children don't go."

"Kids learn more from kids than they do from teachers;" and

"White folks have the money and the government and the police and the troops and there is no way for black folks to get the money for all-black schools from white folks."

The Article and the book from which it was drawn became simultaneously available. In *The Supreme Court and the Idea of Progress* the professor, who like many well educated and rational men is dedicated to the "restraints of reason," rationalizes reason into every event. For example, he somehow finds that the presidential "election of 1960 was a vote of ratification of the court's holding in *Brown v. Board of Education* as then understood." But that is not quite the way those who lived in the South and worked in the 1960 campaign recall it. Sen. John F. Kennedy's then problem nationally was to cut the black vote away from Mr. Nixon. This was accomplished by, among other acts, a telephone call from his brother Robert to a DeKalb County, Georgia, judge seeking the release of the Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr. from jail.

The white South voted for a Democratic Catholic it believed not committed to civil rights against a Republican Protestant it believed favored *Brown*. That the white South was wrong about both men does little to restore confidence in Professor Bickel's approach to fact and opinion. Indeed, the Professor's presumed national ratification of *Brown* "as then understood" resulted in the receipt of 15 electoral votes by Virginia's late apostle of "massive resistance" Sen. Harry F. Byrd—and he, Sen. Byrd, didn't even make a speech.

FACTS WON'T GO AWAY

The book also contends that "(w)hat the *Brown* opinion ultimately envisioned seems for the moment unobtainable and is becoming unwanted" (again, professor, by whom? and, even if so, so what? and didn't we stop asking what was wanted when Orval Faubus said "no"?). Continuing, the book says that "little is known to support the assumption of *Brown v. Board of Education* that a segregated education hurts the Negro child." Nothing supports "the assumption of *Brown v. Board of Education*" other than the reasoning and evidence of the pre-*Brown v. Board of Education* teacher pay, graduate and law school, and undergraduate school decisions, including *Sweatt v. Painter* (the Texas Law School case) and more obviously the millions of uneducated black men and women in the North's urban ghettos, two-thirds of whom were born and reared below the Mason and Dixon Line.

As a legal historian dedicated to "the restraints of reason," the professor needs, as Mr. Justice Holmes put it, "education in the obvious more than investigation of the obscure."

RACISM ENCOURAGED

There are, of course, other assumptions that may soon be made rather than "the assumption of *Brown v. Board of Education*." The primary assumption waiting in the wings is that the Negro child is inferior to white children and that this inferiority is genetic. That might be a shocking assumption to Mr. Bickel but, unfortunately, it is an assumption to which some "rational" scientists will no doubt devote their "rational minds." As in other times of rising racism, these opinions will be based upon "research" and accepted by many.

In his Harvard Law School lectures (the book) the professor unemotionally referred to "crowds" outside the Ocean Hill-Brownsville decentralized experimental school district and "crowds" outside the schools of Little Rock. That paragraph was lifted from the book and included word for word in the article. But there was one change. In the ar-

ticle—as may be the case in a more formally and legally segregated America—the "crowds" have become "mobs."

Tragically, the professor follows his mentor, Mr. Justice Frankfurter whom he served as law clerk in his desire that the Supreme Court not declare promises it cannot keep and then fall back from them. As he puts it in the book, "the Court . . . is not a place for the half-loaf that is better than none."

SOME WILLING EXPLOITERS

The tragedy is that the article was more damaging to the prestige of law, as opposed to the original desegregation order and to the judiciary, than the collected speeches of George Corley Wallace, including those in which he referred to federal judges as "dirty, carpet-baggin', scallywaggin', integration', bald-faced, race mixin' liars." The article provided "learned" liberal justification for the withdrawal of federal desegregation pressures and primary support for, at most, "the half a loaf which is better than none."

Within a week after the article appeared, it began to receive the praise it deserved. *Human Events*, the organ of right-wing Republicanism, said it was "of particular interest to supporters of the anti-busing amendment." The professor was a "Northern liberal," said *Human Events*, and the article "buttressed (Stennis' and his fellow Southerners') anti-busing arguments." "According to Stennis and Co.," *Human Events* continued, this is all the South is really asking—and this "Southern formula" was not from George Wallace, but Yale University and the liberal *New Republic*."

There followed a gaggle of columnists and others: Stewart Alsop, who based his *Newsweek* views in part on those of "leading Negroes" Ben Holman, Dan Watts, and Julius Hobson (to *Newsweek* it was merely "Requiem for a Liberal Dream?"); Vermont Royster of the *Wall Street Journal*, "Forced Integration: Suffer the Little Children"; and Roscoe and Geoffrey Drummond, "Emphasis on Quality Education."

By Feb. 14, 1970, the President who had remained aloof (allowing Spiro T. Agnew to enter the risky field of racial politics) openly joined the "separate but quality" chorus.

THE STRUGGLE MUST GO ON

On Feb. 21, 1970, *Human Events* returned to the article, noting that ". . . Bickel appears to lean toward a position that would end legal segregation but permit *de facto* segregation, even in the South." The article contained "guidelines," said *Human Events* which "some quarters" "suggested" that the President propose in order to meet the school crisis and the threat of Mr. Wallace.

February, 1970, was to have been the month of final compliance with *Brown v. Board of Education*. But by Feb. 28, 1970, Connecticut's (and the professor's) Sen. Ribicoff had become so deeply involved in the article's aftermath that to an Atlanta *Constitution* reporter "parts" of his "rhetoric" "had the ring of a Southern politician's oratory."

Our most effective voices have been stilled by assassins' bullets. We are in a minority not merely in the South but in the nation. Friends from the more easy and glamorous days of risk—a day or a week or a month or a march in the South—left us long ago and now, partly in frustration at their own inability to effect change, partly in rebellion against the system (a system rejected by too many and in large measure never tried) have become advocates of old solutions.

The enemy is no longer the racism of the statehouse. The opponents are now those who occupy the White House and in tragedy enter a field of politics in which they, too, are destined to lose if simply because they lack the hatred required to effect a successful Southern strategy. (To white South-

ern segregationists they will soon seem but "an effete corps of impudent snobs.")

But most of us, white and black alike, who joined in the 1950s and 1960s will stick it out. We know that men have warred for thousands of years over questions of religion. And we know that race, unlike religion, can be seen. We know that separation means defeat. We have seen those separated from our society. We know that the old have moved from the county poor house to the urban nursing home or the central state hospital; the alcoholic failures to their Bowery, or off the streets to the city jail; the mentally ill to asylums now known as mental hospitals; lawbreakers to jails and prisons; non-conformist juveniles to reform schools; Indians to reservations; Japanese Americans to detention camps; and Negroes to urban ghettos. In each instance we term the confinement that which it is not. We offer minimum service, get the offensive person out of sight, and give a dose that saves our conscience but that binds the outcast to the benefit.

But we shall not surrender merely because there is a new President on the block, an old idea in town, a new slavery in the wings, a new generation of despair.

We will win not because of rationality. For what was there rational in a young Negro ministers' hopeless boycott of a bus company? What was rational in students ordering a cup of coffee in a five and dime store? What chance was there in the streets of Birmingham? What rationality was there in those raised clubs at Selma's Edmund Pettus Bridge? We will win simply because we must.

ECONOMIC HEALTH OF INDEPENDENT DRUGGISTS

HON. GALE W. MCGEE

OF WYOMING

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, April 15, 1970

Mr. MCGEE. Mr. President, for some years, we in Congress have been disturbed by the growth of practices which threaten the economic health of the Nation's independent druggists. These practices include the dispensing of drugs by physicians and the development of a financial interest in drug operators on the part of some physicians.

Recently, the Senator from Utah (Mr. Moss), chairman of the Subcommittee for Consumers, addressed the convention of the National Association of Retail Druggists, held in Washington, and discussed these practices along with issues affecting both merchants and consumers. I believe that Senators will be interested in the remarks of Chairman Moss. I ask unanimous consent that they be printed in the Extensions of Remarks.

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

CONSUMERISM AND ITS IMPLICATION FOR THE RETAIL DRUGGISTS

(Speech of Senator FRANK E. MOSS)

Good afternoon, I am happy to meet with you at this luncheon meeting. The invitation extended to me by your officers to address this Conference on National Legislation and Public Affairs is appreciated. I hope that you are having an enjoyable conference and that I can add something that is of both interest and worth to you.

I understand that your association represents the owners of some 40,000 retail drug

stores. I suppose your members can be classified as both professionals and as small businessmen. You are certainly an integral part of the health profession and yet you are faced with the problems of the small businessman in a world of innovation and technological change. It is most appropriate that you are meeting in Washington to discuss national legislation and public affairs and to analyze its implications for your organization and its individual members.

In considering these matters I would remind you that the health of your own businesses depends in large measure upon how well you serve your customers—how well you look after both their health needs and are considerate of their economic well-being. In this age of computers and mass merchandising the rights of consumers have all too often being disregarded. In the past, consumers have been the silent majority, but this is no longer true. Today the consumer movement is front and center. Consumers are stirring. They are insisting upon their rights in the marketplace. Historians will refer to the 1960's not only as the space age and the age of the computer, but will also label it as the age in which the consumer finally came into his own.

A new term—"consumerism" has taken root, and it has evolved into a marketing ethic that can no longer be disregarded by businessmen. Consumers in their dealing with the business community seek a secure physical environment for themselves and their families and just economic treatment in the marketplace. As independent retail druggists, you should be aware of these tremendous forces and be in a position to capitalize upon them. In fact your business success depends upon it.

The modern consumer movement was launched on March 15, 1962, when President John F. Kennedy delivered a special consumer message to Congress. In that message he reminded Congress that consumers are our largest economic group, accounting for two-thirds of all spending; and yet consumers are the least organized of any economic group.

To fulfill this "consumer obligation" the President proclaimed four basic rights for consumers: The right to safety, the right to be informed, the right to choose, and the right to be heard.

Last November in his special consumer message President Nixon said that, "Consumerism is a healthy development that is here to stay."

It should be clear to everyone that "consumerism" is not a partisan issue. It is not an issue that will fade away and die. It is a vital issue with which all businessmen must be concerned. I do not feel that "consumerism" is a cause for alarm by honest businessmen doing a good job. Its impact will be primarily upon unscrupulous businessmen and I would think that honest business will welcome relief from having to compete with their unscrupulous counterparts.

For the past eight years, Congress has been passing legislation that may be considered the Magna Charta of consumer rights. Let me review briefly some of the laws which we have passed. The consumer's right to safety has been fostered through such laws as the National Motor Vehicle and Traffic Safety Act of 1966, the Child Protection Act of 1966, the Toy Safety Act of 1969, the Natural Gas Pipeline Safety Act, the Radiation Control for Health and Safety Act, the Flammable Fabrics Act, the Clean Meat Act, the Clean Poultry Act, and now comes the Clean Fish Act.

The consumer's right to information has been legislatively protected by the passage of the Cigarette Labeling Act, the Fair Packaging and Labeling Act of 1966, and the Truth-in-Lending Act of 1968.

Legislative proposals fostering the consumer's right to choose and the consumer's

right to be heard were proposed in the 1960's, but those legislative proposals did not reach maturity. Therefore, as I see it, consumerism in the 1970's while continuing to protect the consumer's right to safety and the right to be informed, will focus upon the consumer's right to choose and his right to be heard. The way in which these rights are guaranteed will depend upon the way the business community responds to some extent to the phenomena of consumerism during the 70's.

Now let me give you some idea of what may happen on the legislative front in those areas of most concern to you.

The Senate Consumer Subcommittee has a tight schedule of hearings for this second session of the 91st Congress. We jumped the gun by resuming oversight hearings on the Fair Labeling and Packaging Act on January 16, three days before the new session convened, and we have had seven days of hearings on this and other measures since that time. We intend to continue this pace all during the spring and summer, which should allow us to resolve a number of consumer problems this session.

The introduction of the Fair Packaging and Labeling Act states that "informed consumers are essential to the fair and efficient operation of the free market system." I subscribe to that premise, and I will do what I can to insure that the implementation of the Fair Packaging and Labeling Act, does in fact help create informed consumers.

The 1966 law did make several advances. It required that standards be set for "small", "medium", and "large" packages; that "servings" standards be set; that "cents off" and other labeling claims be bona fide; and that vital ingredient data be put on labels.

Our hearings are focusing on the way in which this truth-in-packaging act assists the consumers in comparing prices or his right to know.

American consumers are becoming increasingly anxious to find the best buy, not only because they have become better educated, but because with inflation they are in no humor to lose a few more pennies out of their shrinking dollar because of any Houdini labeling or packaging tactics. I hope that as businessmen you are sympathetic with the consumer's plight in this regard, although I am sure that you have your own problems. Your customers are faced with boxes and bottles which continue to shrink as prices go up and up. Consider their mental calculations as they try to figure out which of the several brands is cheapest and which size is the best buy.

Consumers are entitled to be able to make meaningful price comparison while shopping. American consumers are, therefore, asking for fewer sizes of standard weight or measure in packages or containers so that they can more easily compare prices. To the extent that they are successful merchants should be helped by not being forced to stock so many different sizes.

In this connection, I would like to mention two proposals that are being seriously promoted by consumer groups. One, is for the adoption of the metric system to replace the English system, and the other is for unit pricing. These two proposals are interrelated and tend to support one another.

In today's marketplace, with its fractional ounces and multiple unit pricing, it almost takes a mathematical genius, equipped with a computer to determine the best buy. Unit pricing would go a long way in simplifying this problem for the consumer. It would require retailers to inform customers in a meaningful way about how much they are paying for the common unit of measure of a given item.

Several experiments are currently being conducted on the best method to make this information available to shoppers. Unfortunately, little empirical information is

available on the costs vs. the benefits involved. Cornell University is currently conducting a study that should develop figures that will be helpful in our legislative efforts. However, let me encourage you as an association to take the lead in making unit price information available to your customers.

While I am on this topic, I would like to point out that the adoption of the metric system with its base 10 would simplify the computations involved. Our children learn the metric system in school, but are seldom called upon to use it in the real world. While there would be problems associated with its adoption, they are not insurmountable. In fact, the United States is the only major country in the world not making the change.

Another bill that may also affect most of you is the consumer products guaranty bill—the so-called and widely proclaimed warranty bill. This legislation, introduced by Senator Magnuson and myself, would end the warranty game with its built-in obsolescence and expensive repair rackets where the 25¢ part is free, but the labor to replace the free part may cost \$30.00.

The bill would require the maker of a performance guarantee to repair or replace within a reasonable time and without charge malfunctioning parts. The maker could not require the consumer at his own expense to bring his refrigerator across town or mail his toaster to the other coast. The maker must pick it up and deliver it himself. Further, it would require no magic words in order to create a guaranty. A promise, description, or demonstration of a product's performance by a vendor that induces a consumer to purchase it is sufficient to create a guaranty of that performance. Finally, it would no longer permit the giving of an express, but limited guarantee to be a vehicle for cutting of a consumer's legally granted right to rely on implied guaranties.

Under the provisions of the bill a manufacturer or retailer cannot side-step his apparent obligations by riddling the guaranty with page after page of fine print exclusions. The bill would require everyone who guaranties consumer products to play by the same rules—by imposing minimum guaranty standards—companies would have to compete with each other by lengthening guaranty periods, not by adding a few fine print exclusions or imposing several more burdens.

Now I should make it clear that Senator Magnuson and I are not requiring a manufacturer to give a performance guaranty. All we say is that a guaranty, if given, ought to mean something, and that it should mean what you and I expect "guarantee" to mean.

This guaranty bill is designed to protect the consumer's right to information and also his right to choose. The bill is drafted in such a way that disclosure of warranty and guaranty becomes possible. This augments the consumer's right to choose, while allowing him to discern which products are the most reliable. He also has the ability to compare the costs of that reliability for the first time because the warranty game is being played under standard rules.

Another topic that I would like to touch upon is the issue of ineffective drugs. In recent hearings before the consumer subcommittee there was testimony concerning the medical hazards and the economic costs associated with the administration of unsafe and ineffective drugs.

The statutory authority for current policies and practices in the Federal control of interstate commerce in drugs resides principally in the Food, Drug and Cosmetic Act of 1938. This act requires the manufacturer of a new drug to submit to the food and drug administration a new drug application containing information on the composition, quality, labeling, and directions for the administration of the drug together with evidence of safety under the recommended conditions of use.

In 1962 Congress amended the 1938 act. It strengthened the controls on quality, labeling and safety, and added a new requirement; that the new-drug application should also present substantial evidence of the effectiveness of the drug for the cited indications for its use.

Although the provision on effectiveness related primarily to new drugs, the commissioner of the Food and Drug Administration decided that it should also be applied retroactively to all drugs that had been marketed between 1938-1962. Some 7,000 drug formulations were in this status, and of these, it was estimated that about 4,000, involving some 300 distinct chemical entities, were still on the active market.

The responsibility for evaluating these drugs was contracted out in 1966 to the Division of Medical Sciences of the National Academy of Sciences-National Research Council.

Ten thousand claims for some 2,824 drugs were studied and evaluated by the academy panels during the 2-year period. Drugs marketed prior to 1938 were not subject to the review. Because many of these drugs have a number of different dosage forms and sizes, the number of actual drug preparations studied was nearer to 4,000. Most are prescription items, but about 15 percent are sold over the counter.

The Academy submitted recommendations to FDA on individual drug products starting in October 1967 and the final report was issued last year. According to these reports, 7 percent of the drugs studied were ineffective.

Testimony before the subcommittee indicated that most of the drugs found to be ineffective are still on the market. In response to my inquiry to the FDA, they wrote that they had initiated actions to remove about 200 of the drugs from the market. However, most of them are still on the market, pending the outcome of litigation or administrative hearings instigated by drug manufacturers.

I was told that little information had been made available to doctors concerning those drugs which were judged ineffective. I, therefore, wrote each doctor and hospital in Utah and told them that while I didn't have the expertise to evaluate the Academy's findings I did want to call the study to their attention. I also sent them a list of the ineffective drugs. I have a number of these lists available and also a reprint from the FDA papers discussing the study. If any of you would like this material, you may come up after the luncheon and get a copy.

The Poison Prevention Packaging Act, now pending before the subcommittee, might also be of professional interest to you. This bill, S. 2162, would authorize the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare to set standards for child resistance containers and to require their use for hazardous household products that are frequently ingested by children under six years of age. You are aware of the tragedy this bill is intended to halt—small children are notoriously curious and indiscriminate. They put things in their mouths; innocently sample new substances. Statistics in this area are not firm; but they suggest that each year up to 2 million children in this country swallow some substance that is poisonous to them and upwards of a million require emergency medical treatment. Three hundred twenty-five children died from accidental poisoning in 1967—the last year for which complete mortality data are available. Many children are terribly injured—handicapped for life—inflicting great cost and suffering on their families.

Child-resistance containers offer a straightforward remedy to this problem—by definition they are containers that children cannot open.

Our investigation into this legislation has shown it to be a promising approach. Early

models of child-resistant containers have reduced ingestion by about 90% in two large scale tests. Many more innovative designs have appeared during our investigation. And, very interestingly, the cost of child-resistant containers is low—presently available safety closures would increase the cost only ½¢ to 1¢ per closure.

The poison prevention packaging act is evidence that Congress is learning the lesson of safety—a lesson that is intrinsic to your profession. Child-resistant containers offer very significant protection to children. Their major cost appears to be the cost of showing the public how to use them. Complaints are to be expected at first to be sure. But, again relying on the large scale study at Madigan General Hospital in Tacoma, Washington, after a few months of dispensing child-resistant containers, the pharmacy experienced only a few complaints per thousand. The ½¢ to 1¢ cost appears to be a small price to pay.

Now let me turn to the subject of S. 1575. I am sure that most, if not all, of you recognize this as the Regulation of Trade in Drugs Act which I join with Senators Hart and Magnuson in sponsoring and which we introduced in March of last year.

As you know, of course, many of us in the Congress are greatly disturbed by the growth of a number of practices across the country which could seriously threaten the economic future of community pharmacy in America. The public, and I think some legislators, forget from time to time that the pharmaceutical services which we almost take for granted would disappear as we now know them, if the small business aspects of independent pharmacy are overlooked. Unless the climate for the pursuit of small business is preserved, comprehensive pharmaceutical and other services which the local drugstore brings to the community may indeed become a thing of the past.

America's druggists have never feared competition which is fair and just and which tests the service, interests, management skills and economic ability of the owners and operators of community drug stores.

I am concerned, however, about the growing practice of physician-dispensing and the development on the part of some physicians, of a pecuniary interest in pharmaceutical operations. I know that this is also of serious concern to you.

For some five years now, congressional examination has shown that an increasing number of physicians, despite codes of ethics, seek to increase their personal income position by entering into arrangements, of one sort or another, to make money by selling pharmaceuticals. No one, of course, seeks to deny another of honorable gain, but where serious questions of conflicting interests arise, we must consider barring certain kinds of practices. Physicians enjoy a unique trust in that they select both the quantity and kind of drugs which patients must have. These decisions should, it seems to me, be made solely on the basis of what is best for the patient. The patient, in turn, must also be free to select where and from whom his drug needs are to be satisfied.

But some physicians have used their privileged prescribing position to either influence where purchases are made, or have acted to gain financially from such transactions. For example, some doctors have purchased small companies or repackaging operations. Others have established pharmacies and directed their patients to them. Still, others have encouraged special arrangements with pharmacies in exchange for certain considerations. These practices are not in the interests of the public, nor in the interests of community pharmacy.

The regulation of trade in drugs act, S. 1575, would correct these abuses by prohibiting physicians from benefiting financially from the dispensing of drugs and devices

and would bar certain forms of ownership and lease arrangements which appear to give rise to questions of conflict of interest. Physicians could purchase, just as anyone can, stock issued to the investing public by drug companies or other operations, but they would be barred from making private agreements which lead to practices that abuse the public trust.

The legislation recognizes that there are circumstances when physician-dispensing is a valid practice, such as in the case of an emergency, in single-dose units, or where other community pharmaceutical services are not available to the patient. Occasional dispensing would also be allowed under the legislation. But the doctor-merchant should not be permitted to continue. I might also add that the bill establishes a clear-cut federal policy toward physician-dispensing in the case of federally-aided programs. Federal financing participation would not be authorized to underwrite the costs of dispensing of drugs and devices which were provided under any of the conditions specified in the bill.

The bill, I believe, represents an important step in correcting the abuses which have been uncovered in recent years in the area. It also sets the tone for the future by separating the responsibilities of doctors and pharmacists in providing for the drug needs of patients. Let me assure you that we are doing all we can to guarantee that this legislation gets a fair reading in the Congress. The continued support of the National Association of Retail Druggists and other pharmaceutical organizations is vitally needed, however, if we are to overcome the inertia which has thus far prevented this and similar legislation from enactment. I urge each of you, therefore, to redouble your efforts to help us get problems of this kind before each member of both houses of Congress.

Let me assure you that I and others in the Senate are most anxious to receive your continued counsel on these matters. We will also welcome your suggestions on how we can better provide American consumers with a secure physical environment for themselves and their families and just economic treatment in the marketplace.

Thank you.

HORTON COSPONSORS LEGISLATION IN HONOR OF DR. MARTIN LUTHER KING

HON. FRANK HORTON

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 15, 1970

Mr. HORTON. Mr. Speaker, the Reverend Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., was an individual who believed that justice for all men could be realized under the law in the United States. It was this belief that compelled him to combat racism, bigotry, prejudice, and hate throughout the United States using non-violent protest.

It is in his memory that prior to our Easter recess, my distinguished colleague and cosponsor, Mrs. HECKLER of Massachusetts, introduced H.R. 16685, a bill to "provide for the issuance of a gold medal" in the honor of one of the greatest men of our time, the Reverend Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.

I believe that it is fitting that a gold medal be cast in honor of this great American. This medal would be designed and cast with the assistance of the close

associates of the late Dr. King. The finished gold medal would be presented to Dr. King's widow, Mrs. Coretta King, by the President. Mrs. King will be the recipient of a medal cast "in recognition of the outstanding services of the Reverend Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., to the cause of individual rights and the equality of men."

Two organizations dedicated to the continuation of Dr. King's work, the Martin Luther King, Jr., Memorial Fund at Morehouse College and the Martin Luther King, Jr., Memorial Center of Atlanta will be given bronze medals identical to the gold medal. The organizations will use the medals in their efforts to further the civil rights of the minorities of this Nation.

Dr. King was a man who made great personal sacrifice for the democratic ideals in which he believed. Many times he put his life on the line in sincere commitment to the rights and privileges that had been denied to his people. He had a dream of a truly open and free society which was not divided between white and black.

His nonviolent protests drew attention from the Government and the Nation to the intolerable circumstances that existed for his people in America. Non-violence has produced significant progress in the securing of civil rights for the minorities of this Nation.

I am pleased to have the privilege to cosponsor this bill which would provide for these small yet significant memorials to this man and his work.

CHIEF JUSTICE BURGER: STREAMLINE THE COURTS

HON. STROM THURMOND

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, April 15, 1970

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, I note with great pleasure that our Nation's most distinguished jurist, Chief Justice Warren E. Burger, is acutely aware of the many problems facing our judicial system. Not only is he aware of these problems, but also he plans to take steps to abate them. At the same time, he is continuing to administer the highest quality of justice possible while insuring constitutional protection for all of our citizens.

Our Chief Justice should be applauded for confronting and recognizing these problems and taking affirmative steps to solve them. I wish also to comment on the recent Supreme Court decision which emphatically states that our courts will no longer have to tolerate the contemptuous, disruptive, and discourteous actions of those who attempt to make a mockery of our judicial system.

The tremendous caseload with which our courts are faced today is clogging the wheels of justice, and unless something is done to renovate and remodel our judicial system these wheels will cease to turn. The primary factors causing criticism of our courts are the in-

creasing crime rate and the many technical rules that provide criminals with delaying tactics. In my judgment this situation is directly attributable to the previous Warren court. In a recent editorial which appeared in the State newspaper on Tuesday, April 7, 1970, one particular case is cited as exemplary of how multiple trials and appeals waste time and money, and often thwart justice. This one case involved five trials, approximately 60 jurors, and more than 50 appellate judges at a cost of more than \$250,000. This tragic waste is emphasized by the fact that after the first trial there was no doubt in the minds of any of the 50 judges that the defendant was guilty as charged. I am confident that under the leadership of our new Chief Justice, significant changes will be made and the courts will be restored to the position of respect they must enjoy to properly carry out their duties.

These procedural and administrative problems which have hobbled our Federal courts are similarly adversely affecting the quality of justice in our State courts. The old way of doing things no longer meets today's problems. However, with strong and dynamic leadership at the top of our judicial system, we can expect great progress in all the courts throughout the land.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the article, entitled "Chief Justice Burger: Streamline the Courts," be printed in the Extensions of Remarks.

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

[From the Columbia (S.C.) State, Apr. 7, 1970]

CHIEF JUSTICE BURGER: STREAMLINE THE COURTS

The word from Washington is that Chief Justice Warren E. Burger, who looks better with every passing day, is so disturbed over the plight of the courts that he wants to go before Congress with a precedent-setting "state of the judiciary" address.

The Chief Justice, we gather, wants to use this dramatic method to, among other things, take some of the drama out of the courtroom. That is to say he wants to revise the hallowed adversary system which actor-lawyers like F. Lee Bailey often use to stage judicial theatricals—sometimes to the detriment of truth and justice.

The adversary system is deeply imbedded in American jurisprudence. Other countries have abandoned it, in whole or in part, but any attempt to do so here would undoubtedly run into withering fire from the traditionalists.

Be that as it may, Chief Justice Burger appears to be ready for the fight. In a recent address, he said, "What we must weigh in the balance is the rationality of a system which is all conflict and contest . . . Our system is open to the criticism that it is too much sail with too light an anchor."

But the adversary system is only one thing in the judicial system that disturbs the Chief Justice. It strains under the modern case load; it is hobbled by procedural and administrative problems. In short it rather desperately needs a thorough modernization program.

Washington Columnist Richard Wilson reports on one case that disturbs the Chief Justice and illustrates how multiple trial and appeal cases waste time and money while often thwarting justice:

"He (Burger) cites one case in which more

than 60 jurors and alternates were involved in five trials, a dozen trial judges heard motions and presided, more than 30 lawyers participated and 50 appellate judges reviewed the case on appeals. He calculated the cost of the trial at \$250,000, and added that the tragic aspect was that every judge and every juror was fully convinced of the defendant's guilt from beginning to end."

Of course, what is true of the federal courts is also true of many state and county court systems. A number of Richland County lawyers, for example, are distressed over the local habit of creating new courts of limited jurisdiction (divorce, juvenile, etc.) instead of adding judges as needed to the county court.

Clearly a great deal of thinking and study is needed on the whole court structure. Already some interesting things are happening. At the suggestion of Chief Justice Burger, professional court administrators will be trained in advanced methods of operating the courts. Strides are being made in legal education. The Chief Justice is said to be amassing materials from which to draw recommendations in three important areas—trial courts, probation and parole procedures, and appellate courts.

Each proposed change in the system will likely be opposed in some quarters. But the leisurely old ways are no longer sufficient to meet the present-day demand, and any progressive proposal that does not trample on basic constitutional rights deserves a full hearing by the bar, the judiciary and the legislative bodies.

And if the Chief Justice thinks it wise to shatter tradition by going before Congress to dramatize his case, we see no valid reason why he should not be allowed to do so.

MARYLAND HOMEBUILDERS URGE FUNDING FOR LOW INCOME HOUSING

HON. SAMUEL N. FRIEDEL

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 15, 1970

Mr. FRIEDEL. Mr. Speaker, one of the Nation's most pressing needs, I believe, is the shortage of adequate and decent low income housing. My great city of Baltimore, like many other major metropolitan areas, has a critical shortage and is valiantly in the forefront of the fight to reverse this sad trend. This effort, I am pleased to note, has recently been aided by the Home Builders Association of Maryland.

Mr. Samuel M. Trivas, president of the Home Builders Association of Maryland, recently wrote to the Honorable George Romney, Secretary of Housing and Urban Development, pointing out in some detail the critical needs of the large metropolitan area served by the Baltimore insuring office of the Federal Housing Administration. Mr. Trivas also forwarded to the Secretary the resolution of the association calling for increased funding to meet the vital need of the area.

Mr. Speaker, I endorse this resolution wholeheartedly and include Mr. Trivas' letter to Secretary Romney and the attached resolution of the Home Builders Association of Maryland at this point in the RECORDED.

HOME BUILDERS ASSOCIATION

OF MARYLAND,

Baltimore, Md., March 18, 1970.

HON. GEORGE ROMNEY,
Secretary of Housing and Urban Development,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SECRETARY ROMNEY: As President of the Home Builders Association of Maryland, I wish to bring to your attention the very serious housing crisis which we face here in Maryland and to apprise you of the effect reduced FHA funds for our area have had in the Housing Industry, served by the Baltimore Insuring Office of the Federal Housing Administration.

A study conducted by the Association's FHA Committee shows that according to the 1960 census data and information compiled by the Cooperative Extension Service of the School of Agriculture of University of Maryland, there now exists in the 19 political subdivisions served by the Baltimore Insuring Office, a total of 149,271 substandard dwellings which include deteriorating and dilapidated housing. This Association was alarmed to learn that these substandard units represent almost 21% of the total units (711,122) now in existence in these geographical areas.

As you know, the Baltimore Insuring Office administers FHA programs in Baltimore City and 18 counties of the State (Montgomery, Prince Georges, Calvert, Charles and St. Marys counties come under the jurisdiction of the Washington, D.C., Insuring Office of the FHA.)

It is our firm belief that the plight of housing in Maryland is, in large measure, attributable to the relatively low level of funds allocated by HUD to the Baltimore Insuring Office. According to the Washington office of HUD, since 1968, when the first subsidies were allocated for the section #236 program, and until the time of this writing, the Baltimore office of FHA has received \$2,256,155 in funds. The FHA office has committed these monies to a total of 18 projects which represent a combination of (1), (2), (3), and (4) bedroom apartments.

During this same 18 month period, HUD further reiterated, the Washington D.C. Insuring Office received allocation of funds totalling \$3,988,834 or 76.7% more monies than their companion office in Baltimore.

Our present situation is as follows: As of March 1, 1970, there is filed in the Baltimore office 19 project requests for a total of 2881 units. These projects have been processed but FHA cannot and will not issue favorable feasibility reports until HUD allocates additional funds of \$2,896,100.

Needless to say, a greater allocation is required for a lesser number of units because of the fact that the maximum allowable FHA insurance rate was raised from 7½% to 8½% on January 5.

Our Association has adopted the enclosed resolution which strongly recommends that the Baltimore Insuring Office of the Federal Housing Administration be granted an adequate amount of subsidy funds. We urge you, at this time, to take the measures necessary to see that the office in Baltimore—the seventh largest city in the United States—is given funds it so vitally needs and to which, by virtue of its size and long history of under-funding, it is entitled.

Yours truly,

SAMUEL M. TRIVAS,
President, Home Builders Association
of Maryland.

RESOLUTION—LOW-INCOME HOUSING SUBSIDY FUNDING, HOME BUILDERS ASSOCIATION OF MARYLAND

Whereas, United States Government statistics indicate that we need 600,000 new low income housing units annually; and

Whereas, Congress has authorized funds for 300,000 low income housing units, and actually provided subsidy funds for only 100,000 units—one sixth of the lowest estimate of need; and

Whereas, The State of Maryland has an acute need for the immediate construction of thousands of said low income housing units; and

Whereas, the Baltimore Insuring office of the Federal Housing Administration received an allocation of subsidy funds that resulted in an enormous backlog of unfunded Section 236 project loan applications; and

Whereas, The Home Builders Association of Maryland recognizes the housing crisis and are prepared to deal with it, if provided the necessary tools including adequate subsidy funds for FHA sections 235 and 236 loans.

Therefore, be it resolved that the Home Builders Association of Maryland hereby strongly recommends that the Baltimore Insuring office of the Federal Housing Administration be granted an adequate amount of subsidy funds.

Be it further resolved that cognizant of the acute need for housing, as well as extensive time required to plan and design projects that offer decent life styles for our citizens, we urge that said funding be continued.

This resolution affirmed and passed by the Board of Directors, the Home Builders Association of Maryland, February 1970.

SAMUEL M. TRIVAS,
President, Home Builders Association of
Maryland.

Attest:

ROBERT J. BROWN,
Executive Vice President.

CITIZEN INVOLVEMENT IN ADMINISTRATIVE PROCEEDINGS

HON. EDWARD M. KENNEDY

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, April 15, 1970

Mr. KENNEDY. Mr. President, in the year that I have chaired the Subcommittee on Administrative Practice and Procedure, I have consistently been interested in exploring various aspects of citizen involvement in agency decisionmaking and amenability of agency procedures to participation by the public. Having concluded that agencies themselves afford insufficient protection of the public interest without the participation of independent, aggressive advocates, I introduced last month a bill (S. 3434) to provide for the establishment of a Public Counsel Corp. This bill has been referred to the Administrative Practice Subcommittee, and we expect to begin hearings this spring.

Public interest groups have recently involved themselves more and more in agency practice. An example is a group of law students under the name of Students Opposing Unfair Practices—SOUP, who recently appeared before the Federal Trade Commission to argue for intervention in a consent settlement proceeding. SOUP argues that the Commission's order in a deceptive practice case does not adequately protect the public interest. In its brief before the Commission, filed last month, SOUP suggests alternative approaches to fashioning the consent order in issue. Regardless

of the Commission's ultimate determination of the validity of the substance of the complaint, I believe this brief serves as a good example of the ideas and insights citizens can bring to agency decisionmaking. I ask unanimous consent that excerpts of the brief be printed in the RECORD.

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

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA BEFORE THE FEDERAL TRADE COMMISSION—TO THE SECRETARY OF THE COMMISSION

In the matter of Campbell Soup Co., a corporation, and Batten, Barton, Durstine & Osborn, Inc., a corporation.

File No. 692 3061, brief for Soup, Inc., requesting the Commission to withdraw its proposed consent order, March 20, 1970.

PART I—BACKGROUND

I. Statement of Facts.—Campbell Soup Company ("Campbell") is the nation's leading marketer of liquid soup to the consuming public. Campbell's extensive advertising utilizes virtually all media; its advertising agency is Batten, Barton, Durstine & Osborn, Inc. ("BBD&O"). Over a number of years Campbell and BBD&O have promoted Campbell's soups through an advertising program which utilizes a picture of a bowl of soup in a ready-to-eat situation. Apparently prepared in accordance with the dilution directions on the can, the soup appears to be chock-full of solid ingredients. In reality, however, a can of Campbell's soup prepared in accordance with the instructions on the can does not look like the bowl of soup in the Campbell's advertising. It is not brimming over with solid ingredients. The difference in appearance results from the practice of Campbell and BBD&O of "mocking up" the bowl of soup pictured in the advertising by placing clear marbles in the bottom of the bowl. Thus, the solid ingredients are forced to the surface, conveying the false impression that the soup contains much more solids than it actually does.

After learning about this practice the Federal Trade Commission (the "Commission") issued a proposed complaint charging the advertising as being false, misleading and deceptive because it did not disclose the use of marbles. On September 19, 1969, the Commission then provisionally accepted a consent order with Campbell and BBD&O and directed that it be placed on the public record for thirty days, until October 20, 1969, to permit interested members of the public to file comments or views concerning the adequacy of the order. Within that thirty day period, Students Opposing Unfair Practice, Inc. ("SOUP") filed five motions with the Commission concerning the adequacy of the order. * * *

PART 2—THE ORDER AS WRITTEN IS INADEQUATE TO PROTECT THE PUBLIC INTEREST

I. The Public Is Not Adequately Informed by This Order.—In order to protect the public interest from "unfair methods of competition in commerce and unfair or deceptive acts or practices in commerce," § 5(a) (6) of the Act, the Commission is required by § 5(b) to issue a complaint, hold a hearing, and issue an order to the respondent to "cease and desist" from using such methods of competition or such acts or practices if found to be engaging in them. Since § 12 of the Act specifically defines false advertising which induces or is likely to induce the purchase of foods, drugs or cosmetics as an unfair or deceptive act or practice, it appears that Congress intended the Commission to assume a greater responsibility in preventing acts or practices of this type—the type of deception involved here.

Assuming for the moment that the respondent will comply with the order, the

Commission in addition must inform the public of the particular advertisement that the order is designed to stop and why the advertisement is considered false. Such information is necessary for two reasons: First, the public is not able to ascertain on their own whether a particular advertisement correctly informs them as to the true nature of a product. Given the persuasive influence of mass advertising, discussed *infra*, at Part 6, the consumer must be made aware of the misconceptions he has as to a particular product so as to reverse advertising's impact on future purchases. Such a requirement was recognized by the Court of Appeals for the Tenth Circuit in *Kennan v. FTC* when the Court said that the public "[i]s entitled to know the facts . . . and make his own choice with respect to purchasing. . . ." 265 F. 2d 246 at 248 (1959). And by the Court of Appeals for the Second Circuit in *FTC v. Sterling Drug* when the Court said:

"The central purpose of the [Wheeler-Lea Act] is in effect to abolish the rule of *caveat emptor* which traditionally defined the rights and responsibilities in the world of commerce. That rule can no longer be relied upon as a means of rewarding fraud and deception [citation omitted], and has been replaced by a rule which gives to the consumer the right to rely upon representations of facts as truth. [citation omitted] 317 F. 2d 669 at 674 (1963)."

Second, given the limited investigative staff that the Commission has, the Commission must inform the public of specific advertisements found to be deceptive so that the public can inform the Commission of continued violations of the order and similar deceptions by other advertisers. FTC Rules § 2.2 specifically permits any individual, partnership, corporation, association, or organization to request the Commission to institute investigations in any matter over which the Commission has jurisdiction. Such feedback is necessary if the Commission intends its orders to effectively deter future violations, discussed *infra*, by insuring that the Commission will have notice of them.

How then has the Commission attempted to fulfill this responsibility to inform the public about particular false advertisements? The Commission periodically issues press releases briefly describing the nature of the false advertisement and the content of the order. It then relies on the Washington press corps and the wire services to inform the public in newspaper articles.

Such an approach is unrealistic in terms of fulfilling the informative obligation for two reasons. First, there is no guarantee that the release will be extensively printed. Relying on the editors of the relatively few newspapers who receive the releases to consider them newsworthy enough to print and then relying on the wire services to pick up such information and pass it along to a sufficient number of other newspapers who will also print it is a rather imprecise manner of informing the public. Second, even if extensively printed, there is no guarantee that such information will be adequate or will reach those members of the public actually deceived by the false advertisement. The newspapers who receive and print the press releases, summarize their contents. This creates the possibility that the articles will not state enough specific information about the particular deception or in what media the advertisement may be found. Even if quite detailed, such information may never reach the deceived consumer. As discussed in Part 6, *infra*, they probably didn't perceive the false advertisement in a newspaper. (81 percent of Campbell's advertising is in magazines and television commercials.) It is improper then to expect such a medium to convey the correct information and adequately place the public on their guard.

Footnotes at end of article.

II. Proposed Respondents Are Not Adequately Deterred by This Order.—The immediate effect that a "cease and desist" order is designed to have is stopping the respondent from further engaging in false advertising. To accomplish this effect, the Commission is authorized in § 5(1) to seek civil penalties of up to \$5,000 per day for continued violation of an order.

Assuming that the maximum fine would be a sufficient amount to deter the use of such advertising in the future, the threat of such a fine is no longer effective in assuring that the practice will be stopped. FTC Rules § 3.61 normally requires the respondent to file a compliance report with the Commission within 60 days after service of the order. However, review of compliance reports is continuing to fall behind because of insufficient manpower and outdated methods. Eleven attorneys in the Bureau of Deceptive Practices' Compliance Division are assigned to reviewing the reports submitted and investigating complaints from the public alleging violations.² No systematic check is undertaken after the report is approved. Such a hit-or-miss program can hardly be expected to be effective.

In addition, even if the respondent is found to have been violating an outstanding order, few penalties are sought for noncompliance.³ The most glaring example of the Commission's unwillingness to impose the civil penalties available for continued violation of an order is provided by the Geritol case—*J. B. Williams Co. v. FTC*, 381 F.2d 844 (C.A. 6 1967). In March 1969, almost 10 years after the initial investigation, the Commission still refused to seek civil enforcement after finding that certain commercials continued to violate the order. Knowing that if found to be violating an order, the respondent will be permitted to file a new compliance report is hardly going to encourage initial compliance.

III. Other Businesses are Not Adequately Deterred by This Order.—In order for the public to be adequately protected, the effect of the Commission's order must be not only to stop the proposed respondent from falsely advertising, but also to deter other businesses presently engaged in similar practices or considering such practices for future use. The Commission has neither the funds nor the manpower to detect and investigate all false advertising practices posing a threat to the public at a given time. Not only is detection limited almost exclusively to monitoring commercial advertising on national television, but there is a serious question whether the personnel available are being properly deployed.⁴ In the absence of increased revenue or reordered priorities, the Commission must rely on the threat of the sanctions made available by the issuance of the order plus vigorous enforcement of such sanctions in order to dissuade most businesses from considering such practices.

The present order fails to provide such a deterrent for two reasons. First, it does not provide any retroactive sanctions for initially engaging in false advertising. Any business presently engaged in deceptive advertising or considering it for future use knows that even if the Commission discovers such a practice, no sanction has been imposed in the past for engaging in the practice to begin with—no matter how flagrant and intentional the practice. We are aware of no case in which the Commission has sought a temporary injunction or the criminal penalties available under §§ 13, 14 of the Act. The Commission can only seek civil penalties under § 5(1) for continued violations of an outstanding final order. Thus, the present order would give any business engaging in such advertising the "first bite for free."

Second, as previously discussed in II, the Commission rarely seeks penalties for non-compliance. Little deterrent effect then can be expected when the Commission is as re-

luctant as it has been in the past to enforce the laws available for violations of its orders.

PART 3—AN ORDER WHICH REQUIRES AN AFFIRMATIVE DISCLOSURE OF PAST DECEPTIONS IN THE RESPONDENTS' CURRENT ADVERTISEMENTS WILL ADEQUATELY PROTECT THE PUBLIC INTEREST

I. General Description of Affirmative Disclosure.—The affirmative disclosure provision requested would be a statement within the Commission's order requiring the respondent who has falsely advertised to affirmatively state that it has used a specific method of advertising in the past which the Commission charges as or has been found to be misleading. As discussed in Part 4 *infra.*, the specific phrasing and the types of advertisements in which the disclosure must be included depend upon the seriousness of the deception and whether the order results from a consent order proceeding or a formal adjudication. The provision would also stipulate that the disclosure must be included in current advertisements for a period of time equal to the time in which the deceptive advertisements were publicized and be conspicuously displayed.

Such an order will fully protect the public interest by informing the public about past deceptions, deterring Campbell from future deceptions and deterring other businesses from engaging in similar deceptions in their advertisements.

II. An Order Requiring Affirmative Disclosure of Past Deceptions Will Adequately Inform the Public.—As was shown in Part 2, I, *supra.*, the Commission's present order includes no provision to directly inform the public of the deception that has been perpetrated upon them by the respondents' past advertisements. The Commission seeks to fulfill its informative responsibility to the public by issuing press releases describing the Commission's action against the respondents. Such an agreement is ineffective because there is no guarantee that the information within the release will be extensively printed and, if extensively printed, that such information will be adequate or will reach the members of the public affected by the respondents' practices. Therefore, the Commission can no longer rely on such a tenuous device to insure that the public is correctly informed as to the true nature of the specific product purchased.

Our proposal for an affirmative disclosure provision within the Commission's order would effectively fulfill this obligation by informing the public that their impression of the amount of garnish in Campbell's soups resulted from the use of "doctored" advertisements and that in reality it does not contain this amount. Such information would enable the public to consider what their actual purchase of Campbell's soup is based upon—past deceptive advertisements or satisfaction with the soup itself. This "direct information" provided by the "sinning" company in its own future advertisements is the only reasonable means of counteracting the probable effect that past deceptive advertising has had on their purchases, both then and in the future. See Part 6, *infra.*

III. An Order Requiring Affirmative Disclosure of Past Deceptions Will Adequately Deter Respondents from Future Deceptions.—The present threat of civil penalties for future violations of an outstanding order has been shown in Part 2, II, *supra.*, to be ineffective in deterring such violations. The respondent knows that there is little risk of being found by the Commission to have violated an outstanding order because of the lack of periodic compliance checks by the Commission and the small amount of the public aware of the order. In addition, even if found to have violated the order, the possibility exists that the respondent will be

given an additional opportunity to comply without any penalties being assessed or extensive publicity released.

On the other hand, the issuance of an order containing an affirmative disclosure requirement would exert immediate pressure on Campbell not to re-engage in such activities. Not only would more members of the public be aware of the first deception—hence more able to report future violations—but any additional publicity requirement as to other deceptions would risk a drop in future sales. The public might lose faith in Campbell's advertising if continually made aware of repeated deceptions. And for a company like Campbell who relies so heavily on mass advertising to sell its products, the risks of continuous announcements of false advertising in these advertisements would create strong pressure to eliminate such practices.

IV. An Order Requiring Affirmative Disclosure of Past Deceptions Will Adequately Deter Other Businesses from Deceptively Advertising.—As was shown in Part 2, III, *supra.*, the present order has no effect on any other business. Should other business also be found deceptively advertising by the Commission, they likewise would not be penalized for the initial deception. Knowing that the order will not contain any retroactive sanctions, they probably will not be very careful in determining the line between deception and non-deception. Given the fact that the Commission does not have the manpower or funds to stop all deceptive advertising on a case-by-case approach, it is imperative that the mere threat of being caught engaging in such practices serves as an effective deterrent not to do so.

Affirmative disclosure provides such a threat. No longer would a business receive the traditional warning by the Commission not to engage in false advertising again. Engaging in such a practice risks being discovered by the Commission and required by it to affirmatively disclose this practice to the public in future advertisements. The resulting publicity rather than the wrist-slapping by the Commission acts as the deterrent not to engage in the initial deception. A company, when in doubt about a proposed method of advertising, could request the Commission under FTC Rules § 1.1 for an advisory opinion as to whether such advertising technique is considered deceptive.

PART 5—THE COMMISSION HAS THE AUTHORITY UNDER SEC. 5 OF THE FEDERAL TRADE COMMISSION ACT TO REQUIRE AFFIRMATIVE DISCLOSURE OF PAST DECEPTIONS IN PROPOSED RESPONDENTS' PRESENT ADVERTISEMENTS

I. Congress Intentionally Gave the Commission Wide Discretion in its Choice of an Appropriate Order.—In § 5(a) (6) of the Act, 15 U.S.C. § 45(a) (6), Congress empowered the Commission to prevent violations of the Act. That section, in relevant part, states: "The Commission is hereby empowered and directed to prevent persons, partnerships, or corporations . . . from using unfair methods of competition in commerce and unfair or deceptive acts or practices in commerce." The primary method for accomplishing this goal is through the issuance of cease and desist orders, § 5(b) of the Act, 15 U.S.C. § 45(b), and agreements containing consent orders to cease and desist, FTC Rules §§ 2.31-2.34.⁵

Congress intentionally did not define either the types of practices which violate § 5 or the specific clauses an order could contain. While we are concerned in this case only with the permissible clauses to be included in the order, there seem to be at least two reasons why Congress did not define either the scope of the order or the scope of § 5 violations. The first reason is that Congress was creating the Federal Trade Commission to be an expert body in deceptive practices, and therefore the Commission would be in a better position than Congress to determine what acts were illegal and what orders would ap-

propriately stop violations. The second reason that Congress avoided defining more explicitly in the Act, was to leave the Commission enough latitude to adapt to changing times. Any attempt to categorize would have a stifling influence on the Commission. Congress may have clearly realized that the effectiveness of the Commission was directly related to the Commission's ability to respond to the circumstances of the marketplace. As the methods and techniques of fraud and deception changed, the Commission must have the power to redirect its energies without the time-consuming process of additional express Congressional direction. The effect that this should have on the Commission was eloquently stated by Commissioner Mary Gardiner Jones:

"Agencies should be encouraged constantly to re-examine and re-interpret their overall enabling statutes and their overall functions in the light of new conditions and demands emerging in their areas of responsibility. . . . The administrative agency has a genuine potential for creative action. [We should] devise means to insure that it exercises this potential to the fullest extent possible." Jones, "The Role of Administrative Agencies as Instruments of Social Reform," 19 *Admin. L. Rev.* 279, 300-01 (1967).

The legislative history of the Act, therefore, indicates Congress' clear intent to provide the Commission with the freedom to be relevant to the times. See e.g., S. Rept. No. 597, 63d Cong. 2d Sess. 13 (1914).

The courts have consistently emphasized that the Commission has wide discretion in its choice of an order. The following language from *Jacob Siegal Co. v. FTC*, 327 U.S. 608, 611-613 (1946) has been extensively cited:

"The Commission has wide discretion in its choice of a remedy deemed adequate to cope with the unlawful practices [disclosed]. . . . The Commission is the expert body to determine what remedy is necessary to eliminate the unfair or deceptive trade practices which have been disclosed. It has wide latitude for judgment and . . . [the test is what order] would in the judgment of the Commission be adequate."

Very recently, the Supreme Court said in *FTC v. Colgate-Palmolive Co.*, 380 U.S. 374, 390 (1965):

"It has been repeatedly held that the Commission has wide discretion in determining the type of order that is necessary to cope with the unfair practices found . . . and that Congress has placed the primary responsibility for fashioning orders upon the Commission."

It is, of course, true that the Commission may not exceed the authority delegated to it in the Act. This principle is firmly established in the common law, and was explicitly stated in the Administrative Procedure Act.⁶ But since the Commission's authority was purposefully made flexible and open-ended in the choice of an appropriate order, it is not likely to be presumed that any specific order exceeded or abused that authority. The courts have continually permitted the Commission to effectively use its expertise in framing orders to effectuate the purposes of the Act.

In the following discussion of the scope of the Commission's authority in framing orders, we will use the consent order and the cease and desist order interchangeably. It seems clear that the Commission may include any clause in a consent order which it is authorized to include in a cease and desist order.⁷

II. The Commission has the Authority to Execute Any Order which has a "Reasonable Relation" to the Unlawful Practices Found to Exist.—The traditional test for determining the permissible scope of administrative orders is that the court need only find a "reasonable relation" between the violation proved or alleged and the terms of the resultant order. The "reasonable relation" test was

Footnotes at end of article.

originally applied to FTC orders in *Jacob Siegal Co. v. FTC*, 327 U.S. 608 (1946). The Supreme Court articulated the test as follows, 327 U.S. at 612-13:

"The Commission is the expert body to determine what remedy is necessary to eliminate the unfair or deceptive trade practices which have been disclosed. It has wide latitude for judgment and the courts will not interfere except where the remedy selected has no reasonable relation to the unlawful practices found to exist." (emphasis added)

The Supreme Court emphasized in *Jacob Siegal, supra*, that "the test" centered on what order "would in the judgment of the Commission be adequate," 327 U.S. at 613 (emphasis added).

The Supreme Court has continually upheld the "reasonable relation" test as the appropriate test to determine the permissible scope of FTC orders. *FTC v. Cement Institute*, 333 U.S. 683, 726 (1946); *FTC v. Ruberoid Co.*, 343 U.S. 470, 473 (1952); *FTC v. Colgate-Palmolive Co.*, 380 U.S. 374 (1965).

III. An Order Requiring Affirmative Disclosure of Past Deceptions has a "Reasonable Relation" to Campbell's Alleged Deceptions.—It is important to distinguish two functions of Campbell's allegedly deceptive advertisements. One function is to motivate the immediate purchase of soup. The other function is to convey and inculcate in the viewer the impression that the soup contains a great amount of solid ingredients and is therefore an extremely nourishing and nutritious product. While these two functions are closely interrelated and the ultimate effect of both is to motivate purchasing, there is an important difference between the two. To counteract the first function (immediate purchase), the sole action the Commission need take is to effectively stop the deception. We do not dispute that the consent order as presently written adequately serves this purpose, if properly effectuated.

However, we do dispute that the consent order as presently written adequately counteracts the second function—the impression that Campbell's soup contains the amount of garnish portrayed in the deceptive advertisements. Through continued exposure to the allegedly deceptive advertisements, many consumers have been "brain-washed" with a mental picture of the amount of solid ingredients in a can of Campbell's soup. Stopping the use of these advertisements does nothing, in and of itself, to dispel this mental conception, which continues to motivate purchases even after the specific deceptive advertisements have been removed from the marketplace. The only practical and effective way for the Commission to inform the great majority of consumers who have this erroneous (perhaps subliminal) impression of the merits of Campbell's soup is for the Commission to require Campbell to themselves inform the consumer that their impressions resulted from "doctored" advertisements. This then is the "reasonable relation" between the continuing wrong to the consumer and the deceptive advertisements.

As a practical limitation on the scope of the remedy requested, an order requiring affirmative disclosure of past deceptions would only be appropriated, needed, and within the Commission's authority when the allegedly deceptive advertisements are used for both functions discussed above. Many advertisements seek only to motivate immediate purchase. For example, the "once only" advertisements to purchase a specific record album which is not available in record stores, serves only the first function. For these "limited purchase" advertisements, no affirmative disclosure of past deceptions is feasible or necessary to protect the public interest. The product is no longer being sold and the deception no longer "exists." But

Campbell's advertisements are still today deceiving the public.

IV. The Commission has Traditionally Required Various Types of Affirmative Action by Respondents.—It is too late in the day to suggest that the Commission is limited to prohibiting the specific deceptive practice found to exist or that the Commission is limited to a merely negative order.⁹

The Commission has continually used orders requiring various types of affirmative action, and these orders have been held valid by the courts. As the Supreme Court stated in *Colgate-Palmolive*, 380 U.S. at 394: "The Commission is not limited to prohibiting the illegal practice in the precise form in which it is found to have existed in the past. . . . Having been caught violating the Act, respondents 'must expect some fencing in'."

It is important to note that the consent order the Commission has executed with the proposed respondents in this case already contains a number of affirmative obligations, and is not limited to merely prohibitions.

Such obligations include: (1) the filing of one or more compliance reports,⁹ Agreement at paragraph 8. (2) the distribution of a copy of the order to each of their operating divisions. Order at 5. and (3) notification to the Commission of any proposed change in the corporation which may affect compliance obligations. Order at 5.

The Commission has required other types of affirmative action to remedy § 5 violations. Recently, the Commission ordered compulsory licensing of a patent upon a reasonable royalty basis as a remedy for § 5 violations; and the Court of Appeals for the Sixth Circuit upheld the order. *Charles Pfizer & Co. v. FTC*, F.2d 574 (CA 6 1968), cert. denied, 37 U.S.L.W. 3354.¹⁰

The Commission is also beginning to use restitution as an appropriate remedy. See *Curtis Publishing Co.*, trade Reg. Rep. ¶18, 798 (FTC June 12, 1969).¹¹

To this date, however, the Commission has not utilized the type of affirmative action we have specifically requested. Historically, the Commission has (perhaps subconsciously) been separating § 5 violations into two categories, and proceeding against each type in a different manner. The first type of § 5 violations concerns deceptive statements about the inherent nature of the product (its limitations or potential dangers), and here the Commission has often required affirmative disclosure of the limitation or potential harm. Examples of these types of affirmative disclosure orders include: (1) warning statements in advertisements for drug products which are potentially harmful or toxic,¹² (2) warning statements in all cigarette advertisements that smoking may cause death from cancer or other diseases,¹³ (3) statements in certain preparations for the treatment of baldness that the preparations are only effective for a very limited number of cases,¹⁴ and (4) statements in Geritol advertisements that Geritol will be effective in a very limited number of cases.¹⁵ All these orders have been upheld by the courts. The principle derived from them is: when the product advertised has potential dangers or is of only limited use, the advertisement must affirmatively disclose this fact.

The other type of § 5 violation concerns the nature of the advertisement itself, as distinct from the nature of the product. Traditionally, if the advertisement itself is deceptive, all the Commission has required is an end to that and similar deceptions. *FTC v. Colgate-Palmolive Co.*, 380 U.S. 374 (1965); *The Papercraft Corp.*, D. 8489 (Dec. 24, 1963). In *Papercraft*, the Commission ordered a gift wrapping manufacturer to cease and desist from:

"(1) Packaging rolls of gift wrapping paper in oversized boxes or other containers so as to create the appearance or impression that the width or other dimensions or quality of the gift wrapping paper contained in the box

or container is appreciably greater than is the fact. . . ."

A mere stopping or "correcting" of the allegedly deceptive advertisement is not enough to dispel the deception engendered by Campbell's advertisements: The deception is a continuing one. Therefore, the same principle should be applied in this case in the cases in which affirmative disclosure of product dangers or limitations was required. In those cases the courts continually reaffirmed the need for affirmative disclosure to prevent deception. In *Keele Hair & Scalp Specialists, Inc. v. FTC*, 275 F. 2d 18, 23 (CA 5 1960), the Court said: "cease and desist orders compelling affirmative disclosure are enforced by the courts when they are necessary to prevent deception." In *Ward Laboratories, Inc. v. FTC*, 276 F. 2d 952 (CA 2 1960) the Court said:

"Thus, it is obvious here why some affirmative statement is necessary to dispel an otherwise misleading statement. . . . The power of the FTC to require affirmative disclosure where necessary to prevent deception has long been recognized."

Since Campbell's deceptions will continue until counteracted by affirmative disclosure, the Commission has the authority to require affirmative disclosure. It is "necessary to prevent deception." The objective of informing the consumer of the true nature of drugs, cigarettes, hair products, and Geritol is equally applicable in the case at bar. We believe the Commission has the authority to require respondents to inform the public about the true nature of Campbell's soups.¹⁶

V. To Effectuate the Ultimate Goal of the FTC Act, Protection of the Public from Deceptive Advertisements, the Commission May Require the Affirmative Disclosure We Suggest.—Besides the authority discussed in IV, *supra*, to require affirmative disclosure of past deception, there is the authority based upon the ultimate purposes of the Act. Traditional analysis of the scope of Commission orders isolates two relevant interests, the respondent and the Commission itself. From respondent's point of view, a strong order will be an effective deterrent but may place him at an unfair competitive disadvantage. A weak order will act as no deterrent. From the Commission's point of view, a weak order encourages continued illegality by the respondent. A strong order encourages compliance with the law.

But the primary purpose of the Act (and especially the Wheeler-Lea Amendment) is not to protect the respondent from unfair treatment or to insure the efficient functioning of the Commission, but to protect the consumer from deception.¹⁷ The consumer seeks protection from deceptive advertisements, and this includes both deceptions by respondents and deceptions by non-respondents. From the consumers' point of view, a weak order encourages respondents and every other business to break the law; a strong order encourages compliance by everyone. If a company knows that if caught violating § 5 a weak sanction will be imposed, it will not be very careful about approaching the line between deception and non-deception. If, on the other hand, a company expects that if caught it will have to tell about this deception in the future, it will naturally be a great deal less willing to take a chance. From the consumers' point of view, advertising practices are to some extent the product of the degree of apprehension at being "caught" by the Commission. Since the Commission does not have the manpower or funds to stop all deceptions within its jurisdiction on a case by case method, the Commission must be able to use the threat of being "caught" as a deterrent in-and-of-itself.

It seems quite natural to assume that the available arsenal of the Commission's powers effects business behavior. We request the Commission to add another "weapon" to this

Footnotes at end of article.

arsenal for use in appropriate situations. We are not requesting that Campbell be punished or made an example of. We request that the clause be included to deter Campbell in the future, inform the public, and to deter others.

The power of the Commission is purely regulatory and not punitive, *United Corp. v. FTC*, 110 F.2d 473 (CA 4 1940), and the purpose of the Commission is protection of the public not punishment of the wrongdoer, *Gimbel Bros. v. FTC*, 116 F.2d 578 (CA 2 1941). The remedy must be such as not to punish for past transgressions, but as a means of preventing illegal practices in the future, *Nitesk Industries, Inc. v. FTC*, 278 F.2d 337 (CA 7), cert. denied, 364 U.S. 883 (1960).

Requiring proposed respondents to affirmatively disclose past deceptions is the only way the Commission can adequately protect the public from the continuing deception, is the only effective way of regulating advertising, and is the only effective way of preventing illegal practices in the future. The Commission therefore has the authority to require it.

PART 6—THE COMMISSION HAS THE OBLIGATION TO INCLUDE OUR CLAUSE IN ORDER TO PREVENT THE PUBLIC'S CONTINUING RELIANCE ON THE DECEPTIVE AD

I. Advertising's Avowed Purpose is to Persuade the Public to Buy the Product.—Two officials of the Federal Trade Commission Bureau of Deceptive Practices have stated unequivocally that "the avowed purpose of advertising . . . is not informative, but persuasive, playing up on the emotions and desires of the consumer."¹⁸

Advertising has become so important that in 1966, the nation's advertisers spent \$16.8 billion to influence the consumers' purchasing decision.¹⁹ The full impact of this figure is realized in the knowledge that the total expenditures of the nation's 25 largest cities exceeded the investment in advertising by only \$2.9 billion.²⁰

In 1968, Campbell Soup Company ranked 28th in total advertising expenditures, investing \$34,330,126 in television, radio, magazine, and newspaper communications to the public.²¹

II. Advertising is able to Move People to Action Because it Reaches a Level Deeper than Rational Understanding.—The Association of National Advertisers has stated the goal of advertising to be delivery of a sales message which stimulates the buyer to act on that message. The Association envisions this goal to comprise two stages: conveying information on the advantage or benefit which makes the product outstanding; and creating a state of mind conducive to purchase.²²

III. Advertisers Seek to Create a Loyal and Automatic Corps of Customers Displaying "Brand Recognition."—The specific strategy of advertisers consists of creating "customer loyalty."²³ This strategy requires that the consumer be educated, by comprehensive and repetitive communications, to create a compelling image of the product to which he automatically responds.²⁴ The Supreme Court recognized this as early as 1942. In *Mishawaka Rubber & Woolen Mfg. Co. v. S. S. Kresge Co.*, 316 U.S. 203, 205 (1942), the court said that the object of much modern advertising is "to impregnate the atmosphere of the market with the drawing power of a congenial symbol."

In *Smith v. Chanel, Inc.*, 402 F.2d 562 (CA 9 1968), the Ninth Circuit explicitly recognized the difference between advertisements which "communicate information as to quality or price" and advertisements which seek to create a "conditioned reflex." *Id.* at 567. The Court then said that "to the extent that conditional reflex advertising succeeds," the product "is endowed with sales appeal in-

dependent of the quality or price of the product to which it is attached; economically irrational elements are introduced into consumer choices," and the product "is insulated from the normal pressures of price and quality competition. In consequence the competitive system fails to perform its function of allocating available resources efficiently." 402 F.2d at 567.

B. The advertisement seeks secondly to create brand loyalty.

1. Brand loyalty must be built on emotional and psychological factors.

Generally, products do not greatly differ from brand to brand, so that it is difficult to make a decision on rational grounds. The time required to investigate rational criteria—e.g. price or quality—generally discourages true thought about everyday items, which are "not worth the trouble." Studies on gasoline, for instance, show that consumers do not know how to differentiate between gasoline except in the words of advertisements.²⁵ Consumers cannot define however, the terms they are using (e.g. "high-octane"); the real ground for preference seems to be colors of the gas station, good experience with servicemen, etc. Yet even such unglamorous products as flour produce high customer loyalty—73.2% of flour customers show undivided loyalty to primarily one brand.²⁶

Advertisers take their cue from these studies, and gear their campaigns accordingly. Businessmen study in detail the traits of the consumer with whom they must deal, with increasing emphasis upon psychological and sociological traits.

2. Brand awareness is created by recall and associations.

Studies have shown that the purpose of the advertiser is to make the consumer learn and retain the association between the two elements of an advertisement—the product and the brand name.²⁷ This paired-associate learning involves two stages: response (or free-recall) learning and associative learning. Thus, the learner is first taught the individual items themselves (product awareness as discussed *supra*); he then acquires free association between the pairs so that given one of the items (e.g. product), he can freely recall (by association) the other—i.e. brand.

This learning system may be put in perspective by the Watts and McGuire study showing a "light-bulb" effect regarding recall of message topic (i.e. once it's "switched on", it stays on), and a "doorbell" effect regarding recall of side and arguments, (must keep your finger on the bell to keep it ringing).²⁸ This means that what is "recalled" by the consumer in Kanungo's model is not the attributes of the product, but simply the existence of the product—i.e. the subject.

3. Associations are elicited by meaningful and pleasant images.

Gerhold and McGuire assert that even more important than the distraction quality of pictures (discussed above as useful in learning) is the pleasantness of the symbols depicted.²⁹ Thus, food advertisements are represented as luscious and "mouth-watering" (though not too complicated); or a picture of mother and child represents the happy home. These images are then recalled in the buying situation (true to Kanungo's model) when confronted with the product on the shelf.³⁰

Another important aspect of image is the extent to which the brand is associated with the meaning of the product that it represents.³¹ Newman, a Harvard Business School professor, cites coffee as an example—coffee is associated with warmth, sociality, and hospitality, and a meaningful image will utilize this association. A more relevant example is

soup—which Vance Packard asserts to connote warmth, protection, and the womb.³² A soup company which conveys the image of affection, protection, and motherhood would present a compelling and meaningful image not likely to be forgotten.

4. Associations are elicited by depiction of situations into which the viewer can project himself.

Advertisers want the viewer to identify himself with the image of brand "character"; this gives added incentive to choose one brand over another because of close associations which the consumer feels to the product. . . .

An obvious example of this is found in cigarette advertising. Tests have shown that when blindfolded, smokers are unable to identify their preferred brand.³³ Yet most smokers maintain intense loyalty to one particular brand. Cigarette advertisers have capitalized on this by playing on the consumer's self-image. Marlboro's are for rugged and masculine outdoor men; Salem's should be smoked by the youthful; Viceroy's are for the middle-aged with a youthful bent.

5. Associations are elicited most successfully in "unstructured" advertisements.

Kregman's study on thought provocations of various styles of advertisements, *supra*, indicate that the more unstructured the ad (in relation to the product discussed), the more connections the viewer makes with the setting and the individual's own life and desires. The most unstructured ads were also found to elicit by far the most thoughts expressing desire for the products. This data suggests that consumer associations of a product with an image are far more persuasive than rational appeals to product superiority. It is emotional identification which motivates choice.

6. Associations are extended to other products in the brand line.

The success of image appeal is emphasized by Joseph Fry's findings that customers prefer not just one product, but all similar products in a brand line. Brand name, in other words, acts as a medium through which consumers generalize loyalties from one category of products to another.³⁴ A consumer who has associated "bread" with Pepperidge Farm will therefore also prefer Pepperidge Farm cookies. Thus brand image has important repercussions for the whole brand line, not just the specific product with which the consumer has identified himself.

7. Advertisements impress their message and image by constant repetition.

Martineau has asserted that repetition by itself leads to forcing the brand name into the mind of the consumer.³⁵ His view was substantiated by Berg's study on the effect of repeated exposure to advertising (*supra*). Krugman also has discussed the effect of repetition, (i.e. continuous relearning, in moving some of the information into the long-term memory system (i.e. the unconscious)).

The important question remains as to what is being repeated: is it the product qualities, the brand name, or the image? For many companies, the focus seems to be on the brand name and image; Campbell, for instance, presents a different product (i.e. a different kind of soup) in each ad. The significance of this focus is highlighted by Weiss's theory that repetition (increased familiarity) increases brand awareness, but not product awareness. This means that once the consumer has been substantially exposed to advertising, his evaluation of product superiority becomes less and less important. Unless product qualities are re-emphasized for the consumer, he will tend less and less to give them their due weight in his decision processes. His choice will become more unconscious and more automatic.

C. The mass media is admirably suited to exploitation of the consumer's mind.

National magazines and national television are especially suitable for advertiser's creation of loyal and automatic customers. They are perfect instruments for a dual attack on human learning processes; through distraction and lowered resistance; and through bridging experiences with the consumer.

1. Low involvement learning is effected by unstructured pictures and commercial television.

Martineau, in his advice to advertisers, asserts that while "copy" is an assault on the beliefs of the consumer and thus meets considerable hostility, pictures do not have such built-in resistance.³⁶ "Copy", Krugman reported, is similar to learning nonsense, and thus does not stimulate great interest or motivation. Pictures, on the other hand, are more relaxing, especially when pleasurable to sight.

Krugman demonstrated the interest stimulated by picture ads in magazines by measuring pupil dilation of subjects viewing the pictures. He found that as long as the picture remained novel (for most people, the first three times of viewing), the stimulation was great; and that stimulation was greater for unstructured pictures than for pointed ads.³⁷ Many advertisers realize the value of "non-obvious" pictures; an especially successful example has been the advertising of Hathaway shirts, which often has no copy at all. People, then, enjoy looking at pictures, and enjoy most the pictures which depict more than the product advanced. To this extent, they are being distracted from the message, and let down their resistance to the assault.

Commercial television, Krugman asserts, is also a distracting or low-involvement teacher. This is especially dangerous because most people regard television as a reliable source of information.³⁸ Furthermore, many psychologists maintain that television drugs its viewers into a state of passivity, so that everything is accepted unquestionably (at least temporarily).³⁹ Krugman aptly underlines the implications of television for advertisers:

I have tried to say that the public lets down its guard to the repetitive commercial use of the television and that it easily changes its ways of perceiving products and brands without up to then changing verbalized attitudes. This adds up, I think, to an understandable success story for advertising's use of the television media. Furthermore, this success seems to be based on a left-handed kind of public trust that sees no great importance in the matter.⁴⁰

2. High-involvement learning is effected by scenes with which the viewer consciously identifies.

At some point, of course, the advertiser must deliver the message that it is his product that is being pushed. The consumer may also wish to make his decision before the catalytic purchase point. This requires that the consumer be consciously (though not necessarily rationally) persuaded to buy the brand in question.

High-involvement or conscious learning is more likely to be retained by the learner if the learner is motivated or aroused by some aspect of the product (see C.1. *supra*). He is most able to be aroused if the ad depicts a situation with which the viewer can identify. Often, this is an image of what the consumer idealized (i.e. what his needs dictate) but close enough to reality so that the situation does not appear absurd. The discrepancy between the picture and the viewer's life is the uncertainty aroused; the solution to this discrepancy is to buy the product. Thus, a housewife may become the ideal and loved wife by serving her husband a delicious meal; a husband may become "more of a man" by smoking Marlboro cigarettes.

In short, the consumer will buy the brands displaying images with which he identifies.

Colored pictures, and especially television, provide the perfect means for conveying the desired situation. Associative recall is immeasurably advanced.

D. Advertising has successfully created automatic consumers.

Advertising has been admirably successful in attaining its goal of loyal and automatic purchasers. The full horror of this success was revealed by Ruthrauff and Ryan, a New York ad agency which employed a prominent hypnotist to penetrate mental blockages to the subconscious to discover why consumers do or do not buy certain products. One subject under hypnosis was questioned as to why he preferred and always purchased a certain make of car. This man—under hypnosis—repeated word for word an ad which he had read more than twenty years earlier which he had particularly liked!⁴¹

1. Advertising has created impulse buying. DuPont Company ascertained fifteen years ago that most purchases are made on impulse.⁴² They pointed out that less than one out of five purchases carry a complete shopping list but still manage to fill up their carts. The new philosophy, quipped DuPont, is "I want it." Thus, seven out of ten purchases are impulsive.

Krugman gave a scientific explanation to this finding in his thesis that the purchase situation is a catalyst allowing unconscious beliefs and attitudes to motivate the purchase, although the attitude change may not yet be consciously verbalized. Furthermore, the accumulated attitudes and beliefs about a brand are extended to other products in the brand line, so that an impulse to buy Del Monte's pineapples may give rise to a similar impulse to buy Del Monte's waxed beans. The "impulse" is simply a message from the unconscious, prepared by the advertising's "latent learning" strategy and stimulated by the actual sight of the product.

2. Advertising has created hypnotic buying. Impulsive purchases may simply be part of the entranced state which characterizes shoppers, in a self-service retail store. James Vicary, a motivational analyst, wished to ascertain why there had been an increase in impulsive buying in supermarkets. Using hidden cameras to photograph eyeblinks as the woman shopped, he discovered that eyeblinks fell to a very subnormal fourteen blinks per minute (normal is 32 blinks per minute) which he described as a hypnotic trance, the first stage of hypnosis.⁴³ * * * though many passed within eighteen inches of it. Vicary found that at the check-out camera, the eyeblink rate began rising until at the ring of the cash register and the clerk's request for money.

IV. Campbell Soup Company Has Impressed Its Message Deep Into the Minds of the Public.

Campbell Soup Company, investing \$44,000,000 in advertising in both 1967 and 1968, increased in its 1968 sales by \$50,587,000 and its earnings by \$8,296,000.⁴⁴ * * * At any rate, Campbell clearly realized the value of communicating with the public. The means by which it communicated were the very tactics by which deep and unconscious memory is effected.

A. Food Advertising is especially conducive to associative appeal.

Women assert that their job comprises four main spheres of activity: Being a wife; raising the children; feeding the family; and general housekeeping. When asked to complete the sentence, "My family most appreciates me when . . .", 90% of the answers had to do with cooking.⁴⁵ Cooking gives the woman self-importance; it permits her role to be recognized; and provides her with the love and affection which she needs.

It is obvious that appeals to a woman's self-image of protector and mother will stimulate tremendous identification and association. All food products to that extent

have a great advantage in reaching the woman.

B. Campbell's Soup Ads exploit the housewife's emotional needs.

Campbell, ranking 28th in advertising expenditures for 1968, (33rd in terms of a percentage of sales) allocated \$8,017,953 to magazines, nearly \$20,000,000 to television, and \$2,234,273 to newspapers.⁴⁶ Its magazine patronage—23.4% of its total expenditures, centered on such magazines as *Ladies Home Journal*, *Good Housekeeping*, *Look*, *Life*, *Saturday Evening Post*, and *Parents*. * * * Three of these magazines are exclusively devoted to women; the other three are read primarily by women.

Spot (25% of expenditures) and network (32.3%) television commercials were allocated in 1968 over 22 prime time evening programs, 15 daytime and 16 children's shows. * * * 60% of its ads were presented to children or women exclusively (who alone would watch daytime T.V. shows.)

Thus, Campbell appeals first to women (through magazines and daytime shows); next women and their families (family magazines and family shows); and finally to the children. The wisdom of Campbell's allocation should be appreciated in view of the fact that favorable disposition towards the featured programs of the media predisposes the viewer to its ads.⁴⁷

1. Campbell's soup ads ensure that the brand is associated with the product.

Campbell has utilized to the fullest extent associative-learning techniques. The connotations of soup—protection, affection, and the womb—have already been discussed. Soup ads are thus inherently emotive. This image is further enhanced by bowls of soup on the kitchen table, and a hungry family—the husband and the children—smiling happily. This scene appeals directly—and effectively—to the woman's needs. It allows her to identify herself as the successful mother and wife performing her most appreciated role—feeding her family. It arouses uncertainty (as to her performance), and solves this uncertainty by recommending Campbell's soup as the solution. Arousal-solution thus enhances the learning of the message. Finally, it appeals to woman's primary motivation—the desire to feel important and appreciated. The smiling faces of the Campbell's family will motivate the woman to find this self-importance for herself.

Thus, the woman completely learns the Campbell's message: soup means self-fulfillment; and self-fulfillment is derived from serving Campbell's soup (because Campbell's "image" is the happy family).

2. Campbell's soup ads ensure that the message (the product) is impressed in the memory.

Women, according to Francesco Nicolsia, (a behavioral scientist) are especially prone to learning from pictures rather than from copy.⁴⁸ Campbell exploits this proclivity by using distracting pictures, and by symbolizing the message within the picture rather than writing it. Thus, resistance to the message is broken, and the information enters the woman's memory. As described *supra*, by Krugman, eventually the information enters the subconscious, where it becomes a motivating force in crisis (purchase) situations.

Besides the fact that Campbell's scenes are highly filled with identification, they are also fairly unstructured. That is, very rarely is the bowl of soup so emphasized as to overpower the rest of the scene. Often, the family—e.g., the children or the husband—are as important to the ad as the bowl of soup. The family scene is pleasant, and permits the woman to contemplate the better side of family life. While she is meditating, Campbell's central message—the superiority of its product—is learned without resistance and without consciousness. The woman learns that Campbell's soups are superior to other soups because of the numerous vegetables (or beans or dumplings) which it contains. By serving soup with such rich garnish, the

woman is truly performing well: not only is she feeding her family, she is feeding them soup (with all of its rich connotations); not only is she feeding the soup, she is feeding them the richest and most nutritious brand.

Thus, women are consciously persuaded to choose Campbell's Soup to attain the image of the appreciated efficient important provider; and they are subconsciously persuaded that Campbell's is a superior brand, though this knowledge may not be realized until after the purchase is made. Campbell's Soup Ads have accomplished a prodigious feat in mass persuasion, as verified by increasing sales and earnings.

V. *The Order Is Insufficient Competition for Advertising Conditioning Strategy.*—Successful advertising implants brand loyalty in the minds of the customers; as this brand loyalty becomes embedded in the subconscious, normal decision processes accede to automatic choice. When the message has been thoroughly learned, the justification for the message—product superiority—becomes decreasingly important to the consumer. Indeed, his awareness of the product has been essentially displaced by awareness—and devotion—to the brand on an unconscious (mesmerized) and emotional (associative) level.

Mesmerization of the public is substantially aided by the two direct concerns of FTC orders: deceptive claims; and communication on a huge scale. Psychologists have found that the more exaggerated the claim (within the limits of acceptability), the more the public will be persuaded to accept that claim. Campbell exploited the benefits of exaggeration in its deceptive practice, depicting its soups with an exaggerated amount of garnish. That this deception did in fact persuade its viewers is attested by its increased sales and earnings in the time period involved. The deception is not corrected by the fact that Campbell has now discontinued its practice, because the public has learned the ads too well to notice that hundreds of vegetables no longer float in the soup bowls.

Campbell Soup Company concentrates on the media best suited for mass indoctrination: magazines with especially high readership; and television (although the FTC made no finding that Campbell used deceptive techniques in its television commercials, even a casual viewing of the ads obviate the fact that some deception was used). It is difficult to estimate the number of persons exposed to the advertising, but a minimum of 30,000,000 people is evident. Even assuming that all of the newspapers and magazines who are notified of FTC orders convey this information to the public (an assumption which is far from warranted), millions of loyal Campbell customers would remain ignorant of the order. For those persons who do know of the order, their comprehension is hardly greater; for reading an announcement in a newspaper (that Campbell signed a consent order for settlement purposes only) involves a learning substantially different—and shallower—from associative and unconscious learning.

The Order, then, is completely inadequate to reach the deceived; but more important, to reach the levels of the mind in which the deception is immersed.

VI. *Affirmative Disclosure Is Required to Overcome the Conditioning Effects of Advertising.*—The Federal Trade Commission is charged with protection of the public interest. The public interest requires more than mere cessation of a deceptive practice; it requires that the harm perpetrated by the deceptive practice be undone. This constitutes the informative function of the Commission.

The Commission can not properly perform its informative function unless it notifies the persons exposed to the deceptive practice.

*** It is highly unlikely that *Life*, *Look*, *Ladies Home Journal*, or *Good Housekeeping* has ever publicized Commission orders. It is certain that television has never done so.***

It is essential that the Commission convey its finding to the persons exposed to Campbell's advertisements. This is particularly necessary in view of the penetration of brand awareness in the memory of the public. The public must be first aroused to stimulate its cognitive processes; some notice must be conspicuous in the ad to attract public attention. This is the only way to assure that the information is conveyed to the unconscious in which Campbell's deception is embedded. It is also the only assurance that consumer identification with Campbell's image be restrained (to the extent of the deception).

Thus, affirmative disclosure in every advertisement which Campbell submits—in magazines and on television—will reach the same persons who have been deceived. Further, it will attract the notice of those persons—and allow them to convey the information to the deep recesses of the mind*** This alone will assure that the public be able to exercise a rational decision on the qualities of Campbell's soups.

Wherefore, we respectfully request that the Commission withdraw its provisional acceptance of the proposed consent order and attempt to negotiate a consent agreement containing a clause requiring an affirmative disclosure in addition to the provisions included in the present agreement.

Respectfully submitted,

CYNTHIA EDGAR,
AARON HANDLEMAN,
PETER HARWOOD MEYERS,
JOHN J. SIMKANICH,
IRAN VANCE WHITE, JR.

FOOTNOTES

¹ 228 according to the Commission's Information Office.

² *The Report of the ABA Commission to Study the Federal Trade Commission* (Sept. 15, 1969), p. 44.

³ Total Civil Penalties for the period July 1964 to July 1968 of \$416,530 were imposed in only 16 cases; Cox, Fellmeth and Shulz, "The Nader Report" on the Federal Trade Commission, Appendix 9, p. 224.

⁴ *The Report of the ABA Commission to Study the Federal Trade Commission* (Sept. 15, 1969), pp. 40-45.

⁵ Other enforcement methods authorized by the Act include the use, where appropriate, of injunctions and criminal and civil sanctions. See FTC Act §§ 13-14, 15 U.S.C. §§ 13-14.

⁶ § 9 of the APA, 5 U.S.C. § 558 ***.

⁷ The Commission has treated both types of orders similarly.***

⁸ See Auerbach, "The Federal Trade Commission: Internal Organization and Procedure," 48 *Minn. L. Rev.* 383, 511-13 (1964).

⁹ One writer has pointed out that compliance reports clearly have affirmative consequences: "***" Auerbach, "The Federal Trade Commission: Internal Organization and Procedure," 48 *Minn. L. Rev.* 383, 512-13 (1964).

¹⁰ See Rushefsky, "FTC § 5 Powers and the Pfizer-Cyanamid Imbroglia: Where Do We Go From Here," or "You Ain't Seen Nothing Yet," 18 *Cath. L. Rev.* 335 (1969).

¹¹ That restitution is a remedy which the Commission is empowered to prescribe is suggested by at least two writers. Wade & Ramenshire, "Restitution for Defrauded Consumers: Making the Remedy Effective Through Suit by Governmental Agency," 37 *Geo. Wash. L. Rev.* 1031, 1058 (July 1969).

¹² *Consolidated Royal Chemical Corp. v. FTC*, 191 F. 2d 896 (CA 7 1951); *Aronberg v. FTC*, 132 F. 2d 165 (CA 7 1942).

¹³ 30 Fed. Reg. 9484 (July 25, 1965), vacated

by the Federal Cigarette Labeling and Advertising Act, 15 U.S.C. §§ 1332-39.

¹⁴ *Ward Laboratories, Inc. v. FTC*, 276 F. 2d 952 (CA 2 1960); *Keele Hair & Scalp Specialists, Inc. v. FTC*, 275 F. 2d 18 (CA 5 1960); *Wybrant System Products Corp. v. FTC*, 266 F. 2d 571 (CA 2 1959).

¹⁵ *J. B. Williams Co. v. FTC*, 381 F. 2d 884 (1967).

¹⁶ One writer has argued that since the court in modifying the Commission's order may require the sanction we suggest, the Commission may also require it: "***" Auerbach, "The Federal Trade Commission: Internal Organization and Procedure," 48 *Minn. L. Rev.* 383, 511-12 (1964).

¹⁷ See e.g., *FTC v. Colgate-Palmolive Co.*, 380 U.S. 375, 384 (1965).

¹⁸ Charlton & Lawcett, "The FTC and False Advertising," 17 *Kansas L. Review* 599 (1969), p. 617.

¹⁹ *Statistical Abstract of the U.S.* (1968) at 1782.

²⁰ *Ibid.*

²¹ "Advertising Age," Vol. 4, no. 34, Aug. 25, 1969, at 41.

²² Association of National Advertisers, *Defining Advertising Goals*, at 53.

²³ Galbraith, *New Industrial State*, at 205.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, at 206.

²⁵ Martineau, *op. cit.*, at 37.

²⁶ Social Research, Inc., for Chicago Tribune, *A Study of Motivations Relating to Soaps and Chemical Detergents*, at 4.

²⁷ Rabintra Kanungo, "Brand awareness: Differential Roles of Fittingness and Meaningfulness of Brand Names," *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 1969 vol. 53, No. 2, at 140-146.

²⁸ Watts and McGuire, 1964, in Gerhold and McGuire, *op. cit.*, at 86.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, at 85.

³⁰ Martineau, *op. cit.*, at 14.

³¹ Newman, *Motivation Research and Marketing Management*, 1957, at 60.

³² Vance Packard, *The Hidden Persuaders*, 1957, at 58.

³³ Martineau, *op. cit.*, at 50.

³⁴ Joseph Fry, "Family Branding and Consumer Brand Choice," *Journal of Marketing Research*, 1967, vol 4 (3), 237-247.

³⁵ Martineau, *op. cit.* at 9.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, at 6.

³⁷ Krugman, "Processes Underlying Exposure to Advertising," *op. cit.*, at 250.

³⁸ Marshall McLuhan, *The Medium is the Message*, New York, 1967.

³⁹ Paul Lazerfeld and Robert Merton, "Mass Communication, Popular Taste, and Organized Social Action," *Mass Communication*, ed. Wilbur Schaamon, 1960.

⁴⁰ Krugman, "The Impact of T.V. Advertising," *supra.*, at 354.

⁴¹ Packard, *op. cit.*, at 34.

⁴² *Ibid.*, at 90.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, at 91-92.

⁴⁴ "Advertising Age," Volume 4, No. 34, Aug. 25, 1969, at 74.

⁴⁵ Social Research, *op. cit.* at 23.

⁴⁶ *Advertising Age*, 40 (26) at 42.

⁴⁷ Krugman, "Processes Underlying Exposure to Advertising," *op. cit.* (57) at 249.

⁴⁸ Francesco Nicosia, *Consumer Decision Processes in the Behavioral Sciences*, 1966, at 165.

WHERE THE TAX DOLLARS GO

HON. OGDEN R. REID

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 15, 1970

Mr. REID of New York. Mr. Speaker, I include in the RECORD today a chart calculating the application of the local tax dollar in the town of Mamaroneck,

N.Y., including the villages of Larchmont, Mamaroneck, and part of Rye Neck.

The chart was prepared several weeks ago for a town meeting set up by interested residents with a view toward investigating our priorities. The meeting, cochaired by two area residents, Mrs. Linda Davidoff and Mr. William Reynolds, was moderated by Dr. James G. Emerson, Jr., and featured the noted physicist and author, Dr. Ralph E. Lapp, as its principal speaker. Others partici-

pating included State Senator Anthony B. Giffre, Assemblyman Joseph Pisani, Mrs. Christine K. Helwig, the supervisor of the town of Mamaroneck, Mayor Leo Goldsmith of Larchmont, Mayor Arthur Phillips of Mamaroneck, county legislator Thomas F. Keane, Jr., representatives from the school boards, and village trustees.

The figures speak for themselves to show not only that a majority of Federal income taxes go to the military, but also

that a substantial portion of local taxes go for military procurement and operations. In my view, considering our needs at home for decent education and housing opportunities, for pollution control, and for health research and care, these dollars must be redirected away from military hardware and toward the needs of our citizens. We need to aid the war—Vietnam. We need new priorities backed by major resources.

The material follows:

I. HOW MUCH DO LOCAL RESIDENTS PAY OUT IN TAXES?

| | |
|-----------------------------|-------------------|
| Larchmont Village tax | \$1,299,000 |
| Mamaroneck Village tax | 1,977,000 |
| Mamaroneck town tax | 4,527,000 |
| Rye Neck tax to town of Rye | 566,000 |
| Mamaroneck school tax | 8,020,000 |
| Rye Neck school tax | 1,598,000 |
| Total local taxes | 17,987,000 |

CALCULATION OF 1970 FEDERAL PERSONAL INCOME TAX, MAMARONECK TOWN AND RYE NECK

| Place | Popula- tion ¹ | 1959 median family in- cluded ² | Percent of 105 Zip code median in- cluded ³ | Per capita tax ⁴ | Total tax ¹⁰ |
|---|------------------------------|--|---|-----------------------------------|-------------------------|
| 105 Zip code area ⁵ | 565,000 | 8,427 | 100.0 | \$910 | \$514,150,000 |
| Larchmont Village | 6,900 | 11,915 | 141.4 | 1,287 | 8,880,000 |
| Mamaroneck Village in Mamaroneck tax | 12,500 | 7,327 | 86.9 | 791 | 9,888,000 |
| Mamaroneck Village in Rye tax (Rye-Neck) | 8,000 | 8,127 | 96.4 | 877 | 7,016,000 |
| Mamaroneck Town outside villages | 13,000 | 12,883 | 152.9 | 1,390 | 18,070,000 |
| Total Federal personal income tax | 40,400 | | | 1,085 | 43,854,000 |
| Total New York State personal income taxes paid by local residents at 10 percent of Federal personal income taxes | | | | | 4,385,000 |

ALL TAXES PAID BY LOCAL RESIDENTS (GRAND TOTAL)

| | |
|--------------|-------------------|
| Local | \$17,987,000 |
| State | 4,385,000 |
| Federal | 43,854,000 |
| Total | 66,226,000 |

¹ 1969, from village hall figures.
² 1969, from town hall figures. Includes collection of county and certain State taxes for Larchmont and Mamaroneck Villages except for the Rye Neck area of Mamaroneck Village.
³ 1969, from town hall figures. Includes county and locally collected State taxes.
⁴ 1969, from School Board figures.
⁵ 105 Zip Code Area includes all of Westchester except for White Plains, Yonkers, and New Rochelle.
⁶ Extrapolated from special census conducted in 1965. Assumed arithmetic population increase between 1965 and 1970 equal to actual increase between 1960 and 1965. U.S. Census Bureau Series P-28, No. 1420, June 22, 1966.
⁷ U.S. Census of Population and Housing, 1960, Census Tracts, New York, N.Y., pt. 2. Medians for places specified above computed from totals from component Census Tracts.
⁸ Calculated from col. 2.

II. WHERE DOES THE LOCAL TAX DOLLAR GO?

| | |
|--|-------------------------|
| School tax share of local taxes | 9,924,000 = 15 percent |
| Military share of local taxes: | |
| 54 percent of Federal personal income tax paid by local residents. ¹¹ | 23,681,000 = 39 percent |
| 54 percent times \$43,854,000 = \$23,681,000. | |
| Military share of local taxes | 66,226,000 |
| Vietnam share of local taxes ¹² | 8,770,000 = 13 percent |
| | 66,226,000 |

⁹ Total Federal personal income tax paid for year 1966 in 105 ZIP code area—\$343,000,000, from Internal Revenue Service, 1966 Statistics of Income, Supplemental, ZIP Code Area Data. Yields \$607 per capita of 1970 population. Figure for 1970 assumed to be 50 percent larger, equal to Budget Bureau estimated increase in personal income tax collections between Fiscal 1967 and Fiscal 1971. Per capita tax for specified places computed by applying col. 3 to \$910, on assumption that per capita Federal income tax is proportional to family income.
¹⁰ Col. 1 times col. 4.
¹¹ Military share of National Government expenditures (1969). (Source: joint Treasury Department and Budget Bureau releases, July 28, 1969):

| | Amount (millions) | Ratios (percent) |
|--------------------------------------|----------------------|---------------------|
| Total outlays | \$184,769 | |
| Less Social Security Act Trust Funds | -36,692 | |
| Total | 148,077 | 100 |
| War related outlays: | | |
| Defense Department | 77,893 | |
| Military assistance | 783 | |
| Estimated 50 percent AEC total | 1,225 | |
| Total (present) | 79,901 | 54 |
| Veterans' Administration | 7,670 | |
| Interest on public debt | 16,613 | |
| Total (past) | 24,283 | 16 |
| Grand total | 104,184 | 70 |
| All other outlays | 43,893 | 30 |

¹² See above, Vietnam spending in 1969 equal 20 percent of total Federal budget.
 Note: Special support of Vietnam operations is included in the foregoing figures, largely in Defense Department. The amount is \$29,100,000,000.

THE CONQUEST OF DISEASE

HON. EDWARD J. PATTEN

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 15, 1970

Mr. PATTEN. Mr. Speaker, the conquest of heart disease, cancer, and stroke should be made a national goal.

Over 1 million Americans are expected to die of these three diseases this year and millions more who are now alive and in good health will eventually die because of cancer, heart disease, and stroke. The toll is not only shocking—it is a national disgrace. A nation as wealthy and as ingenious as America

could conquer these three great killers, but lacks the necessary commitment and the right priority.

I am convinced that if America has the resources and scientific genius to reach the moon, it could also concentrate its efforts and funds on a goal even more important—prolonging and improving human life.

To enhance the conquering of the three diseases, I helped sponsor legislation in 1965 that expanded and intensified the battle against heart disease and stroke. Recently, I also was one of the sponsors of a bill that not only extended the program, but calls for improvement. It also supports comprehensive planning of public health services and develop-

ment, and promotes research and demonstrations relating to health-care delivery.

According to the World Health Organization, American males have a life expectancy of 66.8 years at birth—26th in the United Nations' longevity table. Females have an expectancy of 73.7 years—with a world rank of 12th. One of the main reasons for this tragic disparity is the heavy toll of cancer, heart disease, and stroke. This can be rectified with a massive attack against the three diseases.

Mr. Speaker, America is the wealthiest nation in the world, but is it the wisest when we allow three diseases to kill 1.3 million of our people a year?

GREAT AMERICAN POLITICAL
SPEECHES

HON. BILL ALEXANDER

OF ARKANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 15, 1970

Mr. ALEXANDER. Mr. Speaker, I recently received a letter from the vice president of a New York publishing company. On the assumption that similar letters have gone to many of my colleagues, I include the letter as well as my reply in the RECORD:

POPULAR LIBRARY, INC.,
New York, N.Y., April 6, 1970.

HON. BILL ALEXANDER,
Longworth House Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

SIR: For the forthcoming political campaign, we plan to prepare and publish an important paperback book anthology entitled "Great American Political Speeches." The book will contain significant addresses (of approximately 10 Senators and/or Representatives) made either in Congress or in public. Brief biographical sketches will be included and photographs of participants will be printed on the cover.

"Great American Political Speeches" will be published in conventional paperback book format, with 160 pages and a three color cover. The cover price will be 95 cents and Popular Library will distribute the books nationally.

You may want to be included in this timely book, to use copies in your public relations and re-election activities. If so, your only commitment would be to purchase a minimum of 10,000 copies at a price of 36 cents each (a total of \$3600). Half would be paid on agreement and the remainder on completion of the book. It will take approximately four months to complete the project.

Since time is short and participation must necessarily be limited, we would appreciate learning from you, as soon as possible, if you would like to be included in this volume.

May we hear from you soon?

Very truly yours,

IRVING SETTEL,
Vice President.

(P.S.—We are a major paperback publisher and have published many political biographies including books on Truman, Eisenhower, Kennedy, Nixon and others.)

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES,
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Washington, D.C., April 13, 1970.

Mr. IRVING SETTEL,
Vice President, Popular Library, Inc.,
New York, N.Y.

DEAR MR. SETTEL: Your letter of April 6 letting me know of your plan to publish a book entitled Great American Political Speeches is hereby acknowledged. Let me say immediately at the outset that not only am I not interested in your proposal, but that your presumption that I might fall for this gimmick is an affront to my intelligence.

It had always been my impression that legitimate authors were paid for their published works. Under your topsy-turvy system, however, you are asking the members of Congress to pay you for the privilege of having a speech published in your book. The implication is clear that you have little regard for the integrity of the members of Congress.

Your proposal runs directly contrary to all of the moves approved in recent years by the Congress to protect against fraudulent representation to the consumers. The Congress has clearly established itself on the side of truth in dealings between manufacturers, producers, and the consumer. And yet, you would sell space in your book while trying to convince the consumer that the speeches

were selected on the basis of merit rather than a commitment to purchase 10,000 copies of your book for \$3,600, a price that is clearly going to leave you a considerable profit.

I resent the tone of your letter, and the people that I represent have no use for such tactics.

BILL ALEXANDER,
Congressman from Arkansas
(First District).

TRIBUTE TO SOUTH CAROLINA
WIVES OF POW'S

HON. STROM THURMOND

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, April 15, 1970

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, a number of wives of prisoners of war are residing in Sumter, S.C. These courageous ladies are enduring great anxiety for their loved ones held prisoners by Hanoi. Their pain and worry are beyond measure because of Hanoi's inhumane treatment of their husbands.

Mr. President, these wives and their husbands must not be forgotten. Our Nation must find a solution to this tragic problem. World pressure must be maintained against Hanoi to comply with the Geneva Convention in the humane treatment of our men. President Nixon, Congress, the American people, and the press must be relentless in negotiating an exchange of prisoners of war.

Six of these dauntless wives in South Carolina have expressed their views of Hanoi's inhumane treatment of their men. They have formed a group to keep before the public those "forgotten men" of the war in Asia. In spite of the stress and the hardship these wives and the families are undergoing, they reflect the real spirit and determination of America.

Mr. President, I was very much impressed and deeply moved by their anguish and their wives on the POW problem. The State newspaper of Columbia, S.C., has published an excellent, full-page article about the feelings of six of these distressed ladies in the Sumter area. Their husbands' names are:

Maj. William H. Means.
Maj. Robert A. Stubberfield.
Maj. Marvin Lindsey.
Lt. Col. Bobby Ray Bagley.
Maj. Kenneth A. Stonebraker.
Lt. Col. Albert E. Runyan.

Mr. President, I have written letters to the wives of these six brave men and to others. I have assured them of my continued efforts. I call upon Senators to exert every possible effort in behalf of the Americans held prisoners.

I am confident Mrs. Runyan spoke for these wives and their husbands when she said:

At first, we were deathly afraid of the press. We felt that it might harm our husbands if we were to speak out. Now we know that it is best that we do express our opinions. The North Vietnamese have demonstrated that they are aware of world opinion.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the article and my letters to the six wives be printed in the Extensions of Remarks.

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

[From the Columbia (S.C.) State,
Oct. 19, 1969]

CAUSE FOR ANGUISH: THEIR MISSING MEN—
MORATORIUM HELPED HANOI, NOT US, POW'S
WIVES FEEL

"Our flags were flying high during the moratorium," said the wife of an Air Force pilot missing over North Vietnam, Mrs. Robert A. Stubberfield, whose husband, Maj. Stubberfield, was shot down over enemy territory in 1965, expressed the feelings of many women who wait for Hanoi to release word of their loved ones.

"I believe," she said, "that those who supported the moratorium are really hurting our country more than helping it."

Another wife, Mrs. Marvin Lindsey, whose husband was lost in the same way—and in the same year—as Maj. Stubberfield, expressed a similar reaction to the moratorium. "I believe that all the demonstrations are doing nothing but helping Hanoi," she said.

"Many of those people involved, because they don't like war in general, don't realize just how much they are hurting the morale of the men over there," she went on, then added thoughtfully, "and they simply couldn't understand how much it will hurt those men who are POWs or they wouldn't do it."

"I hate war too," she continued emphatically, "but I realize how this sort of protest can harm our position in Southeast Asia. If those who took part in the moratorium would just spend five minutes writing Hanoi and requesting humane treatment of POWs, it could really serve a good purpose."

These wives have also been following with interest the journey of other women to Paris in order to request information about the fate of their husbands. "I'd go in a minute," said Mrs. Lindsey, "if it would do any good, but we have had no reason to think that it would accomplish any purpose."

"In fact," she continued, "I heard just recently that the North Vietnamese have told these women Hanoi cannot help them. They even said that the wives should go back to the United States and protest the war if they want their husbands. I simply will not stand for that sort of thing. I will never take part in any demonstration against the U.S. government."

Eight of these wives, who hold similar views and live with their children in Sumter, have formed a group to keep before the public those "forgotten men" of the war in Asia.

"We're leading with our hearts—hearts that are broken," are the feelings of these women as articulated by Mrs. Albert E. Runyan, a member of the closely-knit group who still do not know if they are wives—or widows.

"We're not affiliated with any sort of political or military group," said Mrs. Runyan recently at an afternoon gathering of the wives. Mrs. Runyan's husband was lost in 1966. She discovered that he was a POW when she opened a national magazine and saw a picture of him being supported by a fellow prisoner.

"That's right," put in Mrs. Bobby Ray Bagley, whose husband, Lt. Col. Bagley was lost over enemy territory in 1967. No word has yet come of his fate. "We are just afraid," she went on, "that what happened in Korea will happen again. There were over 380 POWs who were simply never seen again after the fighting stopped."

These women have recently combined their efforts to keep before the American public the inhumane treatment of POWs as well as the refusal of the North Vietnamese to disclose the names of those who are still alive.

"At first," recalled Mrs. Runyan, "we were deathly afraid of the press. We felt

that it might harm our husbands if we were to speak out. Now we know that it is best that we do express our opinions. The North Vietnamese have demonstrated that they are aware of world opinion.

"I think," she continued, "That as long as they think that American opinion is divided on the war, they will show little interest in honoring humane treatment of prisoners. We have to let them know that this treatment cannot be condoned by any individual anywhere—and it is this fact that we hope to get across."

In September, a small group of these women went to Washington and visited the House of Representatives session, during which a resolution was presented condemning the treatment of POWs. They also met with two of the three prisoners who had been, for reasons unknown even to themselves, released by the North Vietnamese on August 5.

"Lt. (Robert) Frishman (USN) told us that as long as the men could hear the bombs exploding around the camp, their morale was high," and Mrs. Bagley, "When the bombing stopped, their spirits sank.

"There is," she continued, "talk of a cease fire. The North Vietnamese were supposed to reciprocate when the bombing halted, but I can't see that it has done any good."

"We all had an idea," interjected Mrs. Stubberfield, "that they were being mistreated, but after talking with the released men, now we know for sure."

In spite of all their anguish of uncertainty, though, the women are firm in their support of the U.S. involvement in the war. Mrs. William H. Means put it this way—"We should be there, but we shouldn't keep going like we are. We can't just pull out, though. There are too many who have given too much for that to happen."

Maj. Means was lost over North Vietnam in the summer of 1966. His wife has since received word that he may be among the prisoners being held. "It was this June that I was informed," she recalled in an even voice. "I was told that a prisoner who was released thinks he saw him in one of the camps."

Although Mrs. Means had, before her husband's disappearance, considered the possibility that he might be killed, she had not, she continued, thought in terms of his being captured. "It just didn't occur to me that this might happen," she said. "Before he left, neither of us talked about it. Even now, my thoughts fluctuate. It's not so much whether or not he's alive—it's whether or not he will live to be released."

"When my husband was called for Vietnam," said Mrs. Bagley, "he said, 'Now I'll be doing my duty.' We talked about the situation and I still believe we ought to be there. It is heartbreaking, though, when we see no progress."

Mrs. Stubberfield holds similar views, too. "We have," she explained, "definite involvement. My husband believed it and I do, too. He always felt that we had to stop it there or it would spread. He wants," she added after a pause, "our children to grow up free."

Although the women have been able to speak out publicly for only a short while, they admit that long before then they were actively engaged in trying to obtain information privately. "Two years ago," recalled Mrs. Bagley, "I was in North Carolina. I picked up a paper and read that the former ambassador from South Viet Nam to Hanoi was to be speaking at Lake Junaluska."

"I called him immediately and reached one of his aides. I told him who I was and why I was calling. I was hoping that he might have time to talk with me," she went on. "I was told that he would receive the message and be in touch with me. Sure enough, I got a call. Mr. (Van Tran) Chaung invited me next morning."

Mr. Bagley drove to the lake and was warmly received by the former ambassador. "I asked him if there was any way for him to find out about my husband," she said. "He assured me that everything possible was being done and that for him to contact any of his former associates in the North would place their lives in danger. He was very kind to me and I'll always be grateful for his consideration."

In addition to addressing various clubs and groups, the women have also written a letter to each of the 50 governors of the U.S. asking for help in beginning a letter-writing campaign, it says in part:

"As a concerned American and Governor of your State, we urge you to make your people aware of this great need, through news conferences, newspaper articles, and television telecasts, urging them to write. We also encourage all churches and national clubs to make this a project.

"They should be urged to write letters asking, in the name of humanity, that:

"1. All injured prisoners be released as quickly as possible.

"2. The names of all prisoners be published.

"3. Prisoners be allowed to exchange mail with their families.

"4. Prisoners receive proper diet and medical care.

"5. Impartial inspections be made immediately of prisoner facilities.

"Letters should be brief and to the point. They should not be abusive. Airmail postage is 25 cents for a letter under one-half ounce. Address the envelope to: Office of the President, Democratic Republic of Vietnam, Hanoi, North Vietnam (via Hong Kong)."

In addition, these wives have begun distributing bumper stickers that carry the message "Bring Them Back! P.O.W.s and M.I.A.s" and the women hope they will serve as a reminder to Americans of the need for remembering both the prisoners and the men who are listed as missing in action.

For these women, it has been a matter of years, since they last saw their husbands. If and when they do return, they will be different men—older men who have endured a suffering that is almost beyond comprehension. "We have had to be both mother and father to our children," explained Mrs. Bagley, "and if our men return, we may still have to be the strong one in the family. Many of them will need special care and the recovery process will be a long one.

"It won't be," she added sadly, "like they've returned from a mission and we can go off for a little vacation. They will meet their children and these are much older children than the ones they left behind."

Mrs. Kenneth Stonebraker, who is a relatively recent member of the group, emphatically added, "We have to try to get these men back. Even if mine isn't among them, I want to help the others." Her husband, Maj. Stonebraker, was shot down in 1968.

"At first," she recalled, "I just didn't want to say anything to anybody. Now I see that what we're doing is the best way. I guess if it goes on much longer, I'll even want my own TV show to keep people from forgetting these men!"

Besides the wives, there are the children who have lived in the limbo of not knowing whether or not they still have a father. Some cannot remember him—they were too young when he left. There are the Runyans—Damon (16), Tricia (14), Coreen (10), and Scott (5); the Means—Tommy (8) and Ricky (13); the Stubberfields—Debbie (17), Linda (16) and Robert (5); the Lindseys—Cathy (17), Ricky (16) and Michael (15); the Stonebrakers—Cindy (5) and Jeff (2); and there is a 13-year-old Vickey Bagley.

"I think," said Mrs. Runyan, "that in many ways our children are possibly more patriotic than others. They realize every day what

their fathers have sacrificed and how much they believed in what they were doing."

On the other hand, these children know the heartache of growing up without a father. "Several nights ago," said Mrs. Stubberfield, "my daughter asked me how she is going to be able to enjoy receiving her high school diploma if I am there alone in the audience. This should be a happy time for her—but it won't be unless he gets here."

"It's a hard thing for the children," put in Mrs. Runyan. "It hurts not to know. Not long ago I was driving Cindy (Lindsey) and my Scott to kindergarten. Scott was going on and on about his daddy and what he was going to do and things like that. I heard Cindy say, 'But we don't have a daddy.' Scott put his arm around her and said 'That's all right, Cindy, I'll be your daddy.' I cried all the rest of the way to the school."

These families, though, in the midst of all their daily heartaches, live with one constant ever-present fear; When the war comes to a stop, will they even then see their loved ones again? They are doing all they can to make sure that they will.

As Mrs. Bagley said, "We've got to convince the public that they are the only ones who can help. The army can't do it, the air force can't do it, the marines can't do it, the White House can't do it. Who's left, then? Just us—just the wives. We're the only ones who can."

NOVEMBER 4, 1969.

Mrs. ROBERT A. STUBBERFIELD,
Sumter, S.C.

DEAR MRS. STUBBERFIELD: Your statement and your picture in *The State* newspaper were very impressive. I just wanted you to know that I support the views you expressed. My heart goes out to you and the others who have waited so long.

You and your friends, whose husbands are prisoners of Hanoi, are displaying great courage and loyalty. You have my sincere admiration and respect.

Please be assured I will continue to exert every effort in behalf of your husband and others held prisoner. I am hopeful that U.S. and world opinion condemning North Vietnam for their inhumane treatment of our men will bring Hanoi to their senses.

For your information, I am attaching a copy of an extract from the Congressional Record containing my remarks and the article from the *Reader's Digest*. Also, enclosed is an extract of a recent speech I made in the Senate on the Vietnam war. If there is anything I can do for you or the others, please let me know.

With kindest regards and best wishes to you, Debbie, Linda and Robert,

Sincerely,

STROM THURMOND.

NOVEMBER 4, 1969.

Mrs. KENNETH A. STONEBRAKER,
Sumter, S.C.

DEAR Mrs. STONEBRAKER: It is loyalty and fortitude, such as yours and the other wives waiting for the return of their husbands who are held prisoners that has made America strong in times of crisis. I was very much impressed by the expressions in the *STATE* newspaper made about the war by you and the other wives who are courageously waiting in the Sumter area.

Please be assured I will continue my efforts "to try to get these men back," as you said. Our nation must take every possible measure to do this and to insure humane treatment while they are held prisoner. I sincerely hope that your husband and the others are alive and well.

Enclosed is an extract of the Congressional Record which contains my remarks on the recent *Reader's Digest* article. Also, I am enclosing a copy of another speech I made in the Senate on the war.

I hope that you, Cindy, and Jeff are doing fine. If there is anything I can do for you or the other families, please let me know.

With kindest regards and best wishes,
Sincerely,

STROM THURMOND.

NOVEMBER 4, 1969.

Mrs. BOBBY RAY BAGLEY,
Sumter, S.C.

DEAR MRS. BAGLEY: It was an inspiration to see your picture and read your views and the others in *The State newspaper*. You and the others, whose husbands are prisoners of war, deserve the maximum effort of our nation to secure the release of our men.

I was very much impressed by the page display about you and the other wives who are being so brave. As you probably know, I have spoken out many times on the floor of the Senate and in public addresses in behalf of our servicemen held prisoners by the Communists. Hanoi's inhumane treatment of our men must have the condemnation of the world. I will continue my efforts at every opportunity.

I am attaching a copy of an extract from the *Congressional Record* containing a recent speech I made in the Senate in behalf of the prisoners of war. I thought you might like to have it and my views on the *Reader's Digest* article. Also, enclosed is a copy of another recent speech I made in the Senate on the war. If there is anything I can do for you or the others, please let me know.

With kindest regards and best wishes to you and Vickey,
Sincerely,

STROM THURMOND.

NOVEMBER 4, 1969.

Mrs. ALBERT E. RUNYAN,
Sumter, S.C.

DEAR MRS. RUNYAN: I know you must be very proud of your son, Scott. It was a very touching story you related to *The State newspaper* about Scott telling Cindy Lindsey that he would be her daddy while her father was a prisoner of North Vietnam.

It was with considerable emotion that I read about you and the other wives who are bravely waiting for word of their husbands. You and your friends deserve the praise and admiration of a grateful nation. I wish all those who demonstrate for the moratorium could witness your courage and loyalty.

Enclosed is an extract from a recent *Congressional Record* which reflects my views. I thought the article in the *Reader's Digest* was a very fine one. Also, I am enclosing a copy of a recent speech I made in the Senate on the war. If there is anything I can do for you or the others, please let me know.

Please extend my best wishes to Damon, Tricia, Correen and Scott.

With kindest regards,
Sincerely,

STROM THURMOND.

NOVEMBER 4, 1969.

Mrs. WILLIAM H. MEANS,
Sumter, S.C.

DEAR MRS. MEANS: Your view, "We should be there," reflects my feelings, the President's and millions of freedom loving Americans. I salute you and the other wives who are not bitter in spite of the great suffering you and your husbands who are prisoners of war are experiencing.

The page article in the *State newspapers* which expressed the views of six of the wives waiting in the Sumter area for the return of their husbands was most impressive. I wish all those who demonstrate for the Moratorium could see the page from the *State*. The pictures and the thoughts expressed both reflect the real Americans. Our nation and our President are proud of you.

Enclosed is an extract from the *CONGRESSIONAL RECORD* which contains my remarks about the very fine *Reader's Digest* article

and the prisoner of war problem. I am also enclosing a copy of another recent speech I made in the Senate about the war. If there is anything I can do for you or the others, please let me know.

I hope that you and Tommy and Ricky are doing nicely. I know it must be very difficult for you and the children.

With kindest regards,
Sincerely,

STROM THURMOND.

NOVEMBER 4, 1960.

Mrs. MARVIN LINDSEY,
Sumter, S.C.

DEAR MRS. LINDSEY: It was with sincere compassion that I read the *State newspaper* about the wives waiting in the Sumter area for their husbands who are prisoners of North Vietnam. You deserve our nation's praise and respect for your stamina and courage.

You and Mrs. Stubberfield have been waiting for a long time. I admire your spirit and your view of the Moratorium. It takes real American determination to face such realities under such anxiety.

Please be assured I will continue to exert every effort to secure humane treatment of our men and their release. I will continue to press for the five points made in the newspaper article as I have in the past many times in the Senate.

Enclosed is an extract of the *Congressional Record* which contains my remarks about the excellent *Reader's Digest* plan to bring worldwide pressure on the Communists. Also, I am attaching a copy of a recent speech I made in the Senate about the war. If I can do anything for you or the others, please let me know.

With best wishes to you, Cathy, Rickey and Michael,

Sincerely,

STROM THURMOND.

STUDENTS SUPPORTING POLLUTION FIGHT

HON. GLENN R. DAVIS

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 15, 1970

Mr. DAVIS of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, previously, a great deal of man's history has centered about his struggle to conquer nature and hence make himself more comfortable. Now man is becoming concerned with repairing the damage done to nature by that very struggle.

Many byproducts of the conveniences making us more comfortable than our ancestors were, now threaten to turn back the clock. Pollution threatens the delicate balance of nature. We face an uncomfortable future, worse than the past, if our air and water are unclean, if our soil is worn out, if other animals and the plants are destroyed, and if the planet's beauty vanishes forever.

Pollution is everyone's business—everyone's from unborn babies to great-grandparents.

In the Ninth Wisconsin Congressional District, two young girls wrote a letter to President Nixon, expressing their awareness of the pollution problem. The sixth graders, Lynn Koch and Roberta Buck, are from room 17, Woodside School, 13780 Hope Street, Brookfield, Wis. A copy of their letter was forwarded to me by their teacher, Miss Mary Kling.

The check referred to in the letter of these two concerned young ladies was forwarded to the President.

The letter follows:

WOODSIDE SCHOOL,

Brookfield, Wis., March 18, 1970.

President RICHARD NIXON,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR PRESIDENT NIXON: We are two clean American kids who feel strongly about the pollution problem in the United States because it is we who will be growing up in this dirty, polluted world.

Because we feel so strongly, we started a program at our school. We put up posters all over the school, sent around the petitions that are enclosed, gave a lecture about pollution to each class, and collected \$57.82.

We think that this goes to show that the younger generation cares about their country and tries to do their share. Please use this money to help get rid of air pollution.

Sincerely,

ROBERTA BUCK,

LYNN KOCH,

(Sixth Grade Students).

THE POSTAL PAY RAISE AND THE FEDERAL PAYROLL

HON. DAVID W. DENNIS

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 15, 1970

Mr. DENNIS. Mr. Speaker, I am of the opinion that a 6-percent pay raise for postal employees is in order at this time and I accordingly voted for that increase when it came before the House on April 9, 1970. I regret that it apparently took an illegal strike, or a threat of strike, to produce this result, which cannot be regarded as a good precedent—but the result was just, and, because of various difficulties and disagreements, it was a just result which was overdue.

I am not of the opinion that, because a raise is due to postal workers, we must, or should, at this time extend a similar raise to other and, often, higher paid, Federal workers, including our own House employees, at a cost which has been estimated at some \$2 billion annually.

Because of this feeling I regretted that the pay increase bill originally came in under a closed rule, which permitted no amendments; and now that my colleague from Indiana, Mr. JACOBS, has afforded us an opportunity to open up the bill to amendment by voting down the previous question on a resolution to agree to Senate amendments, the effect of which amendments is to make certain that all these other and nonpostal employees are included in the bill, I am glad to take that opportunity and to cast my vote accordingly.

Only in this manner could we have an opportunity to proceed to amend the bill—as it should be amended—to remove all pay increases except those for the postal workers; and in this manner we could, as we should, do justice both to the postal worker and to the harrassed American taxpayer, who so often seems to be the congressional forgotten man.

BIBLIOGRAPHIES ON ECOLOGY,
POLLUTION CONTROL, AND EN-
VIRONMENTAL DETERIORATION

HON. JOHN D. DINGELL

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 15, 1970

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, the Bureau of Library Services of the Michigan State Department of Education has prepared a series of annotated bibliographies of information on the subjects of ecology, pollution control, and environmental deterioration.

The growing concern about the quality of our environment has stimulated a substantial number of requests to my office, and I am sure that the same is true of other Members, for information on the matters covered by the bibliographies noted above. In view of this, I include these excellent bibliographies at this point in the RECORD:

ENVIRONMENTAL QUALITY
VOLUME 1, MARCH 1970
No. 1

A select list of paperback books and government documents on environmental quality. Useful in supplementing school collections and starting small home libraries.

Battan, Louis J. *Unclean sky: a meteorologist looks at air pollution*. Garden City, N.Y.: Anchor Books, 1966. Examines relationships between air pollution and weather. Sources and sizes of pollutant particles, detection, collection and techniques for improvement are included.

Borgstrom, Georg. *The hungry planet; the modern world at the edge of famine*. New York: Macmillan, 1965. A major dilemma of modern man: the promise of too many people and the threat of too little food. Written with originality, imagination and a minimum of technical jargon.

Brown, Harrison S. *The next hundred years*. New York: Viking, 1957. Science and technology have the capability of averting tragedy in the years that lie ahead. Does man have the determination?

Carson, Rachel. *The sense of wonder*. New York: Harper & Row, 1965. A delightful book for the adult who wishes to introduce a child to the world of nature. Attractive color illustrations.

Carson, Rachel. *Silent spring*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1962. A powerful indictment of the indiscriminate use of chemical insecticides. May do for pollutants what Sinclair's *The Jungle* did for the Pure Food and Drug Act.

Coker, Robert E. *Streams, lakes, ponds*. New York: Harper & Row, 1954. A survey of inland waters and the life they contain. Authoritative.

Commoner, Barry. *Science and survival*. New York: Viking, 1966. A distinguished biologist accuses science and technology of endangering the existence of all forms of life. Clearly written, modest in tone and well documented.

Curtis, Richard. *Perils of the peaceful atom: the myth of safe nuclear power plants*. New York: Doubleday, 1969. A new and largely uncharted environmental problem—thermal pollution.

Dasmann, Raymond F. *The destruction of California*. New York: Macmillan, 1965. How a beautiful region is being debauched by its own people. An indictment of commercial greed and public apathy.

DeBell, Garnett. *The environmental handbook*. New York: Ballantine Books, 1970. Focuses on major problems of our deteriorating environment. Prepared for the first na-

tional teach-in and written with the urgency born of realization time is running out.

Douglas, William O. *A wilderness bill of rights*. Boston: Little, Brown, 1965. An eloquent statement on the need for wilderness preservation. Outlines proposal for comprehensive program.

Dubos, Rene. *So human an animal*. New York: Scribner, 1970. Is man being dehumanized by his surroundings? One of the world's foremost biologists offers thought-provoking conclusions. Pulitzer Prize awarded 1969.

Economic Research Services. *Open space: its use and preservation*. Wash., D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1968. Results of a study on the management of open space in the United States.

Ehrlich, Paul R. *The population bomb*. New York: Ballantine Books, 1969. The magnitude and immediacy of the world population problem has been underestimated. A stimulus for discussion and social and political action.

Ewald, William, ed. *Environment and change: the next fifty years*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1968. Commentaries by distinguished American, English and Continental authorities. Commissioned by American Institute of Planners.

Ewald, William, ed. *Environment and policy: the next fifty years*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1968. Recent information on a wide variety of social planning and policy problems. Prepared by specialists in government, planning, conservation, medicine, transportation and education.

Goldman, Marshall I., ed. *Controlling pollution; the economics for a cleaner America*. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1967. A good summary written in a lively style. Especially interesting are the chapters on Pittsburgh, Lake Erie and the Ohio River.

Gordon, Mitchell. *Sick cities*. New York: Macmillan, 1965. In 1980, over 90% of all Americans will live in urban areas. This phenomenally rapid growth has left in its wake critical problems which endanger the health, safety and human spirit of all urban dwellers.

Headley, Joseph C. *The pesticide problem: an economic approach to public policy*. Baltimore: John Hopkins Press, 1967. A clear, concise study of the economics involved in the use of pesticides.

Kormondy, Edward. *Concepts of ecology*. New York: Prentice-Hall, 1969.

Izaak Walton League of America. *Citizens guide to action for clean water*. Glenview, Ill.: Izaak Walton League of America. How citizens can assist in achieving the purpose of the Water Quality Act of 1965.

Laas, William. *The water in your life*. New York: Popular Library, 1967. The technological advances of our civilization are causing new water problems. The importance of water and our need for quality water are growing rapidly.

League of Women Voters of the United States. *The big water fight; trials and triumphs*. Brattleboro, Vermont: S. Greene Press, 1966. Summary of what has been achieved plus current programs. Offers guidelines for further citizen involvement.

Leinwand, Gerald, ed. *Air and water pollution*. New York: Washington Square Press, 1969. Many scientists have been concerned for years, but the general public has remained essentially apathetic.

Leopold, Aldo. *A sand county almanac*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1949. A rare addition to the library of anyone who appreciates wise and beautiful writing about nature.

Marquis, Ralph W., ed. *Environmental improvement*. Wash., D.C.: Graduate School, U.S. Dept. of Agriculture, 1966. Lectures by Senator Muskie, Rene Dubos, John Barker, John Middleton and other leaders in the field.

Marx, Wesley. *The frail ocean*. New York: Coward-McCann, 1967. The message is short

and clear—man is rapidly destroying the ocean!

Mitchell, John C. *Ecotactics: The Sierra Club handbook for environmental activists*. New York: Pocket Books, 1970. Introduction by Ralph Nader.

National Academy of Science, Committee on Resources. *Resources and man*. San Francisco: National Research Council, W. H. Freeman, 1969.

A national policy for the environment. A special report to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, U.S. Senate, July 11, 1968. (Request from Committee Chairman, U.S. Senate, Washington, D.C. 20510.)

National Tuberculosis and Respiratory Disease Association. *Air pollution primer*. New York: National Tuberculosis and Respiratory Disease Association, 1969.

Odum, Eugene. *Ecology*. New York: Holt, 1963.

Osborn, Fairfield. *Our plundered planet*. Boston: Little, Brown, 1948. The squandering of earth's natural wealth threatens a slow, sure ruin to the land and the men who live on it. A fascinating popular exposition on ecology.

Paddock, William. *Famine—1975! America's decision: who will survive?* Boston: Little, Brown, 1967. "Within a few years, the world will pass from the atomic age to the age of food. The time for planning is now. Recommended only for mature readers who are prepared to face the grim facts of the age of food." Journal of the American Medical Association.

President's Council on Recreation and Natural Beauty. *From sea to shining sea: a report on the natural environment*. Wash., D.C.: U.S. Gov't Printing Office, 1968. A broad view of our natural resources and what is being done to preserve them. Excellent illustrations. Extensive bibliography including names of organizations on state, regional, and national levels.

President's Science Advisory Committee, Environmental Pollution Panel. *Restoring the quality of our environment*. Wash., D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1965.

Reinow, Robert. *Moment in the sun: the deteriorating quality of the American environment*. New York: Dial Press and Ballantine, 1967. A moving, impassioned book about how Americans are slowly destroying the soil, water and atmosphere of our country.

Rudd, Robert L. *Pesticides and the living landscape*. Madison, Wisconsin: University of Wisconsin Press, 1964. Introduction to the benefits and hazards of pesticides. Authoritative and fair to all points of view.

Shepard, Paul, ed. *The subversive science; essays toward an ecology of man*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1969. A broad perspective on man and his environment by noted scientist writers. Examines man's relationship to nature in the past and the present, plus thoughts on the future.

Shurcliff, William A. *S/S/T and sonic boom handbook*. New York: Ballantine Books, 1970. Sonic booms are sudden, loud and startling shockwaves disturbing to people and damaging to property. They are caused by a new generation of planes flying faster than sound.

Udall, Stewart L. *The quiet crisis*. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1963. A splendid outline of the land and its people—balanced, vigorous and critical.

U.S. Department of Agriculture. *Soil, water and suburbia*. Wash., D.C.: U.S. Gov't Printing Office, 1967. Soil conservation and water resources management in urban area. One of the few recent publications in the field.

U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare. *The struggle for clean water*. Wash., D.C.: Public Health Service, No. 958, U.S. Gov't Printing Office, 1962. An introduction to water pollution as a problem in health, conservation and water resource management.

U.S. Department of the Interior. *It's your world . . . the grassroots conservation story*. Wash., D.C.: U.S. Gov't Printing Office, 1969. New national attitudes towards our environment are necessary for human survival.

U.S. Department of the Interior. *Surface mining and our environment*. Wash., D.C.: U.S. Gov't Printing Office, 1967. "The history of mankind is replete with civilizations which have tried to wrest from the land whatever was desired without regard to consequence."

United Nations Report. *Chemical and biological weapons and the effects of their possible use*. New York: Ballantine Books, 1970. A special foreword by Nobel Prize winner, Prof. George Wald, Department of Biology, Harvard University.

Warshofsky, Fred. *Poisons in the air*. New York: Pocket Books, 1966. Poisons that are making the cities of America unlivable for many people. Describes episodes when death lurked in the air and victims succumbed to pollution.

Whalen, Richard. *A city destroying itself*. New York: Thomas Crowell (Apollo ed.), 1965. How New York City is destroying itself by congestion, foul air and impure water. A call to action!

A RECENT ADDITION

A comprehensive set of recommendations for a quieter city.

New York City Task Force on Noise Control. *Toward a quieter city*. New York: N.Y. Board of Trade, 295 Fifth Ave., New York, N.Y. 10016, 1970. \$1.75 per copy. ". . . there seems to be no escape for City residents and workers from daily acoustical assaults on the senses.

"The economic health of the City suffers as well. New York based businesses find that the noisy environment hampers work and inhibits employee recruitment. This contributes to their movement to the quiet of the suburbs.

"Firmly convinced that noise is not an intractable problem that it can be brought under adequate control, the Task Force set these objectives for its study:

1. To define the problem.
2. To identify the chief sources of noise in the City.
3. To investigate the various means and resources by which noise may be reduced.
4. To establish acoustical criteria, taking into consideration the needs and requirements of the City, for its present and future residents."

No. 2

Only within the past decade have scientists, legislators and the public come to recognize pollution as a serious hazard to health and a costly economic burden meriting national attention. It damages our property, affronts our senses and lessens our enjoyment of life. Because our rising standard of living results in a greater consumption per person of energy and goods, pollution increases faster than population.

Environmental improvement

Borgstrom, Georg. *The hungry planet; the modern world at the edge of famine*. New York: Macmillan, 1965. A provocative report on the coming world's food crisis. Man's major dilemma: the promise of too many people and the threat of too little food. Written with originality, imagination and a minimum of technical jargon.

Bregman, Jacob I. *The pollution paradox*. New York: Books, 1966. 191 p. A well-researched study of pollution and the dangers to our total environment. Suggests goals for government, industry and civic groups, and includes lists of state and local pollution control organizations which can be of assistance.

Brown, Harrison S. *The next hundred years*. New York: Viking, 1957. Science and technology have the capability of averting

tragedy in the years that lie ahead. Does man have the determination?

Campbell, Thomas H., ed. *Water resources management and public policy*. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1968. 253 p. Informative materials on technical, scientific and policy issues relevant to the management of water resources. Programs are discussed, including a report on Seattle's successful Metro pollution-abatement program.

Carr, Donald E. *The breath of life*. New York: Norton, 1965. 175 p. Only a revolution in the design of automobile engines, development of an electric car or a mass transportation system can save our cities. Appraises and summarizes.

Carson, Rachel. *The sense of wonder*. New York: Harper & Row, 1965. A delightful book for adults who wish to introduce a child to the world of nature.

Cooper, Erwin. *Aqueduct empire; a guide to water in California, its turbulent history and its management today*. Glendale, Calif.: A. H. Clark Co., 1968. 439 p. A comprehensive survey of water use in the Golden State. Examines projects of the past and the present, current problems and future demands.

Cunningham, Floyd F. *1001 questions answered about water resources*. New York: Dodd, Mead, 1967. 258 p. Basic information on water and water supply for the general reader. Origin, nature and properties. Control, commercial uses and local and regional problems.

Curtis, Richard. *Perils of the peaceful atom: the myth of safe nuclear power plants*. New York: Doubleday, 1969. "Far and away the most comprehensive and sensible statement ever made about the hazards and limitations of atomic power. This book will have to be answered soberly and persuasively." David Lillenthal, Former Chairman, Atomic Energy Commission.

Dasman, Raymond F. *The destruction of California*. New York: Macmillan, 1965. 247 p. How a beautiful region is being debauched by its own people. An indictment of commercial greed and public apathy.

Ehrlich, Paul R. *The population bomb*. New York: Ballantine Books, 1969. 191 p. The magnitude and immediacy of the world population problem has been underestimated. A stimulus for discussion and social and political action.

Graham, Frank, Jr. *Disaster by default: politics and water pollution*. Philadelphia: Lippincott, 1966. 256 p. Public apathy, private cynicism and ineffective legislation have allowed the problem to develop, accelerate and reach present proportions.

Headley, Joseph C., and J. N. Lewis. *The pesticide problem: an economic approach to public policy*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1967. 141 p. A clear and concise study of the economics involved in the use of pesticides.

Helfman, Elizabeth S. *Rivers and watersheds in America's future*. New York: D. McKay Co., 1965. 244 p. Survey of the use and abuse of our rivers. Focuses on current problems and the effects of development.

Herber, Lewis. *Crisis in our cities*. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1965. 239 p. Significant and well-documented study of hazards to health in modern urban America. Focuses primarily on air and water pollution, and physical and emotional stress.

League of Women Voters of the United States. *The big water fight; trials and triumphs*. Battleboro, Vermont: S. Greene Press, 1966. 246 p. Gives a detailed summary of what has been achieved plus current programs. Offers guidelines for further citizen involvement.

Leopold, Aldo. *A sand county almanac*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1966 edition. A rare addition to the library of anyone who appreciates wise and beautiful writing about nature.

Marine, Gene. *America the raped*. New York: Simon & Schuster, 1969. An angry book reflecting a single-minded determination to dam, drain, dredge and remodel nature in the image of the slide rule. A muck-racking tour through the deteriorating landscape of modern America.

Marx, Wesley. *The frail ocean*. New York: Coward-McCann, 1967. 248 p. The message is short and clear—man is rapidly destroying the ocean!

Moss, Frank E. *The water crisis*. New York: Praeger, 1967. 305 p. The "politics of water". A behind-the-scenes view from the Junior Senator from Utah. Calls for realistic planning at all levels of government and a national water policy.

Scorer, Richard S. *Air pollution*. Oxford, N.Y.: Pergamon Press, 1968. 151 p. An informative study by a British scientist on the transport and diffusion of pollution in the atmosphere.

Still, Henry. *The dirty animal*. New York: Hawthorn Books, 1967. 298 p. Vivid description of land, water and air pollution with special emphasis on problems caused by the automobile.

Udall, Stewart L. *The quiet crisis*. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1963. 209 p. A splendid outline of the land and its people—balanced, vigorous, succinct. Recalls the men and groups who fought for preservation of our natural resources as well as the attitudes and profit-making policies which led to the present crisis.

Wolozin, Harold, ed. *The economics of air pollution*. New York: W. W. Norton, 1966. 318 p. Contributions by authorities in the fields of health and economics. Considers costs, pollution control, and related factors in the misuse of air.

Environmental pollution

American Public Works Association. Institute for Solid Wastes. *Municipal refuse disposal*. 2d ed. Chicago: Public Administration Service, 1966. 528 p. Useful information for local, state and federal officials involved in refuse disposal. Analyzes current procedures with pertinent geographic and seasonal information.

Bronson, William. *How to kill a golden state*. Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1968. 224 p. How men carelessly, thoughtlessly or ruthlessly are destroying the air, the water, the land and the forests of the once golden state of California. Over 300 photographs. Easily read and understood.

Callison, Charles H., ed. *America's natural resources*. Rev. printing. New York: Ronald Press Co., 1967. 220 p. Background information essential to an understanding of today's conservation problems. Chapters on major natural resources—soils, water, grasslands, forests, wildlife, fish, parks and wilderness.

Carr, Donald E. *Death of the sweet waters*. New York: Norton, 1966. 257 p. An accurate and reasonable survey of the water situation. Includes information on modern water uses and engineering, legal aspects, water famine, floods, irrigation and agriculture.

Carson, Rachel. *Silent spring*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1962. An indictment of the indiscriminate use of insecticides. May do for pollutants what Sinclair's *The Jungle* did for the Pure Food and Drug Act.

Carvajal, Joan. *Conservation education—a selected bibliography*. Danville, Illinois: Interstate Printers, 1968. 100 p. Excellent bibliography; classified, annotated, indexed.

Clepper, Henry E., ed. *Origins of American Conservation*. New York: Ronald Press, 1966. 193 p. Account of the historical foundations and development of programs within the conservation movement. Contributions by authorities in major field.

Commoner, Barry. *Science and survival*. New York: Viking, 1966. A distinguished biologist accuses science and technology of endangering all forms of life. Perceptive, clearly written and well documented.

Douglas, William O. *A wilderness bill of rights*. Boston: Little, Brown, 1965. 192 p. Eloquent statement on the need for wilderness preservation. Outlines proposals for a comprehensive program.

Dubos, Rene. *So human an animal*. New York: Scribner, 1969. Is man being dehumanized by his surroundings? One of the world's foremost biologists offers thought-provoking conclusions. Pulitzer Prize—1969.

Ewald, William R., ed. *Environment and policy; the next fifty years*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1968. 459 p. Recent information on a wide variety of social planning and policy problems. Prepared by specialists in government, planning, conservation, medicine, transportation, and education.

—. *Environment for man; the next fifty years*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1967. 308 p. City planning makes possible an optimum environment for urban society. A panoramic view by recognized authorities in the field.

Farb, Peter. *Ecology*. New York: Time Inc., 1968. Man versus nature. Is nature losing? Sets a high standard in popular science writing. Well chosen illustrations.

Gordon, Mitchell. *Sick cities*. New York: Macmillan, 1965. Over 90% of all Americans will live in urban areas in 1980. The quality of life in our overcrowded and underfinanced cities is reaching crisis proportions.

Graham, Frank, Jr. *Since silent spring*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1970. The disastrous effects of the careless use of pesticides, now widely recognized. This newer work examines the controversy that followed Miss Carson's book and how attitudes have altered since its publication.

Highsmith, Richard M. *Conservation in the United States*. 2d. ed. Chicago: Rand McNally, 1969. The character and extent of the nation's resources in the past and the present, plus a survey of modern conservation practices.

Landsberg, Hans H. *Natural resources for U.S. growth; a look ahead to the year 2000*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1964. 260 p. The adequacy of natural resources in the U.S. during the remainder of the century.

Marine Biological Association of the United Kingdom. Laboratory, Plymouth. *"Torrey Canyon" pollution and marine life*. London: Cambridge University Press, 1968. 196 p. For ten days, in March, 1967, the Torrey Canyon leaked 117,000 tons of oil into the sea. Pollution on this scale was unprecedented. Of interest to all who value the preservation of seashores and coastal waters.

Murphy, Earl F. *Governing nature*. Chicago: Quadrangle Books, 1967. A thoughtful and factual book dealing primarily with the renewable resources of air, water and land and the responsibilities we face in the restoration of natural conditions.

Natural resources: quality and quantity. Edited by S. V. Ciriacy-Wantrup. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1967. 217 p. Examines seven specific resource issues as well as current concepts in research, administration and conservation philosophy.

Novick, Sheldon. *The careless atom*. New York: Houghton, 1969. Lucid explanation of atomic energy and the threat of uncontrolled radioactive pollution. Written for the layman.

Osborn, Fairfield. *Our plundered planet*. Boston: Little, Brown, 1948. The squandering of the natural wealth of earth threatens slow, sure ruin of the land and the men who live on it. A skillful exposition of ecology.

Paddock, William. *Famine—1975? America's decision: who will survive?* Boston: Little, Brown, 1967. "Within a few years, the world will pass from the atomic age to the age of food. The time for planning is now. Recommended only for the mature readers who are prepared to face the grim facts of the age of food." *Journal of the American Medical Association*.

Resources for the Future, Inc. *Resources in America's future; patterns of requirements and availabilities, 1960-2000*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1963. 1017 p. Predictions are based upon careful examination of the demand for key materials, adequacy of the resource base, and requirements for the future. Comprehensive.

Roueche, Berton. *What's left; reports on a diminishing America*. Boston: Little, Brown, 1969. 210 p. Engaging prose descriptions of the author's visits to eight unspoiled areas of the United States. Skillfully imparts something of the hard reality of what we are losing.

Shepard, Paul, ed. *The subversive science, essays toward an ecology of man*. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin, 1969. 453 p. A broad perspective on man and his environment by noted scientist writers. Examines man's relationship to nature in the past and the present, plus thoughts on the future.

Smith, Frank E. *The politics of conservation*. New York: Pantheon Books, 1966. 338 p. A history of United States resource development and decision-making in conservation. Valuable background material on the national park system.

Smith, Guy H., ed. *Conservation of natural resources*. 3d ed. New York: J. Wiley, 1965. 533 p. An instructive appraisal of land and water resources, their uses and preservation. Contributions by 19 authors provide a balanced presentation.

Stewart, George R. *Not so rich as you think*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1968. The hidden price we pay for our affluent society. Illustrations by Robert Osborn.

Taylor, Gordon R. *Biological time bomb*. Cleveland: World, 1968. "An important book. I know of no other like it." Nobel Prize winner Albert Szent Gyorgy, M.D.

U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare (Public Health Service). *Free films on air pollution*. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1969.

U.S. Federal Council for Science and Technology. *Noise—sound without value*. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1968. Noise—intrudes on privacy, shatters serenity and can inflict pain.

Vosburgh, John R. *Living with your land; a guide to conservation for the city's fringe*. Bloomfield Hills, Michigan: Cranbrook Institute of Science, 1968. 149 p. Of special interest to suburbanites. A variety of practical information on soil, water and plant life for those who enjoy and wish to preserve the natural values of their land.

Wise, William. *Killer smog; the world's worst air pollution disaster*. Chicago: Rand McNally, 1968. London's deadly smog (December 1952), a day-by-day journalistic account. Forecasts potential tragedy in American cities.

Forthcoming Books to be Published During the Spring of 1970:

Bernarde, Melvin A. *Our precarious habitat*. Norton. \$6.95. (March)

Dorst, Jean. *Before nature dies*. Houghton Mifflin. \$8.95. (June)

Jaffee, Joyce. *Conservation: maintaining the natural balance*. Doubleday. \$6.95. (April)

Linton, Ron. *Terracide—America's destruction of her living environment*. Little, Brown. \$7.95. (April)

Michelson, Max. *The environmental revolution*. McGraw-Hill. \$10.00. (May)

Moynihan, Daniel, ed. *Towards a national urban policy*. New York: Basic.

Nader Summer Study Group Report. *Dry water*. Viking. \$5.95.

Reid, Keith. *Nature's network*. Doubleday. \$6.95. (April)

Revelle, Roger, ed. *America's changing environment*. Houghton Mifflin. \$6.95. (April)

Roosevelt, Nicholas. *Conservation: now or never*. Dodd, Mead. \$5.95. (March)

Zurhorst, Charles. *The conservation fraud*. Cowles. \$4.95. (March)

New York Times. *Crisis of the environment*. Five filmstrips with records, text, manuals. New York Times, N.Y., 10036. \$97.50. (April)

MICHIGAN

No. 3

Selected periodical articles and federal and State documents on the general subject of environmental quality in Michigan.

"Air pollution—a Michigan problem?" Bernard B. Bloomfield, Chief, Air Pollution Control Section, Michigan Department of Public Health, 8 p. *Free* from Michigan Department of Health, 3500 North Logan St., Lansing, Michigan 48900.

"Anti-pollution forces sharpen their attack." *Michigan Business*. Vol. 1, Nov. 9, 1968, p. 10.

Batts, H. Lewis, Jr. "Food for thought. How much environment pollution can human beings tolerate?" *Michigan Riparian*. Vol. 4, Winter 1968, p. 6-7.

Castro, Manuel. "Air pollution . . . a growing problem." *Michigan Health*. Vol. 55, Fall 1967, p. 2-7.

Chiappetta, J. "Great Lakes, great mess." *Audubon*. Vol. 70, May 1968, p. 30-45.

Chicago Tribune. *Save our lake; a Chicago Tribune campaign to end pollution of Lake Michigan*. Chicago, 1968, 44 p.

"Coho die-off research shows the deadly DDT." *North Woods Call*. Vol. 15, March 13, 1968, p. 1, 8.

"Commission takes stand against hard pesticides." *Michigan State Employees Association News*. Vol. 17, Dec. 1, 1967, p. 3.

Copeland, William R. "Joint legislative committee to study water resources problems." *Michigan Municipal Review*. Vol. 39, June 1966, p. 148-149.

Courter, Paul. "Who puts DDT in our streams?" *Michigan Farmer*. Vol. 249, March 6, 1968, p. 20-21.

"DDT banned for mosquito control." *Michigan Out-of-Doors*. Vol. 19, May 1968, p. 3, 7.

"DDT killing fish." *Michigan Out-of-Doors*. Vol. 19, April 1968, p. 3.

Douglas, William O. "Their glory is in danger." *Holiday*. Vol. 43, May 1968, p. 65.

"Dying Lake Michigan." *Newsweek*. Vol. 20, Nov. 13, 1967, p. 110A.

Eddy, Gerald E. "Clean water on the way." *Michigan Conservation*. Vol. 35, May-June 1966, p. 2-7.

—. "Water and our future." *Michigan Conservation*. Vol. 35, Nov.-Dec. 1966, p. 22-25.

"Food chain carries death, destruction through natural resources." *North Woods Call*. Vol. 15, April 10, 1968, p. 6.

"Four states approve pesticide compact." *Michigan Conservation*. Vol. 37, July-Aug. 1968, p. 8-9.

Great Lakes Basin Commission. *Annual report, fiscal year ending June 30, 1969*. n.p., 1969, 29 p.

Great Lakes Basin Commission and National Council on Marine Resources and Engineering Development. Committee on Multiple Use of the Coastal Zone. *Great Lakes Institutos; a survey of institutions concerned with the water and related resources in the Great Lakes Basin*. n.p., 1969, 58 p.

Hargitt, Mark J. "Clean water for Michigan." *Michigan Municipal Review*. Vol. 44, April 1968, p. 84-85.

"How to murder (or rescue) a lake." *Audubon*. Vol. 70, May-June 1968, p. 6.

"How to store or destroy unused hard pesticides." *Michigan Conservation*. Vol. 37, May-June 1968, p. 10.

Humphreys, C. R., ed. *Grand Traverse Bay; East Bay vs. West Bay water quality*. (Papers prepared by students in Resource Development 420 and 824, Michigan State University, 1968-1969) East Lansing: Michigan State University, 1969, 117 p.

—. *Michigan pesticides-1969*. (Reproductions of miscellaneous newspaper clip-

(pings) East Lansing: Michigan State University, 1969, 26 p.

———. *Michigan's water problems*. (Papers prepared by students in Resource Development 824, Michigan State University, spring term 1967) East Lansing: Michigan State University, 1967, 268, 83 p.

———. *Parameters of water quality*. (Papers prepared by students in Resource Development 824, Michigan State University, spring term 1965) East Lansing: Michigan State University, 1967, 474 p.

"I J C holds meetings on pollution of Great Lakes connecting channels." (Press release #44, Feb. 25, 1969) includes text of report. *Dept. of State Bulletin*. Vol. 60, March 17, 1969, p. 234-235.

"Important pesticide fight grows." *North Woods Call*. Vol. 15, April 10, 1968, p. 5.

"Lake Erie: test case in water pollution battle." *U.S. News*. Vol. 61, July 4, 1966, p. 12.

Lake Erie Clean-Up Committee. *Papers on water pollution of Lake Erie and Detroit River*. (Mimeographed, xeroxed and typescript pages, at Michigan State Library) 1962.

League of Women Voters, *Lake Erie—request or reprieve? A study of Lake Erie problems by League of Women Voters, Lake Erie Basin Committee*. n.p., 1966, 50 p., bibliography p. 48.

Little, Gene, "The pollution revolution." *Michigan Challenge*. Vol. 7, Jan. 1967, p. 13, 244.

"MSU rules out DDT." *Michigan Out-of-Doors*. Vol. 19, April 1968, p. 12.

MacMullan, Ralph A. "The case against hard pesticides." *Michigan Conservation*. Vol. 37, Jan.-Feb. 1968, p. 2-8.

———. "Clean water and quality recreation." *Michigan Conservation*. Vol. 37, Sept.-Oct. 1968, p. 2-7.

———. "Common enemy—united front." *Michigan Conservation*. Vol. 37, May-June 1968, p. 2-5.

———. "Here's how to kill pests without harming wildlife." *Michigan Out-of-Doors*. Vol. 19, July 1968, p. 17.

"MacMullan warns of pesticide dangers." *North Woods Call*. Vol. 15, Feb. 14, 1968, p. 5.

Matlock, Dayton. "What's behind a label." part one. *Michigan Farmer*. Vol. 249, May 18, 1968, p. 4-6. part two. *Michigan Farmer*. Vol. 250, July 6, 1968, p. 8-10, 29.

Michigan. Advisory Council for Environmental Quality. *Annual report (to the Governor) on findings and recommendations*. 1969, Lansing: the Council, 1969, v.p.

Michigan. Department of Conservation. *Clean water—1968*. (Six pamphlets in folder) Lansing: the Department, 1968, v.p.

Michigan. Legislature. Joint Legislative Committee on Water Resources Planning. *Study on needs for water pollution control works*. Lansing: the Committee, 1966, v.p.

Michigan. Public Health Department. *Air pollution materials*. (Six pamphlets in folder) Lansing: the Department, 1967, v.p.

Michigan. Public Health Department. "Annual Report Highlights." *Michigan Health*. Vol. 56, Spring 1968, air pollution p. 5, water pollution p. 6.

Michigan. Water Resources Commission. *Proposed water quality criteria for Michigan waters*. Lansing: the Commission, 1967, 32 p., bibliography p. 31-32.

Michigan. Water Resources Commission. *Water resource uses present and prospective for Lake Huron and proposed water quality standards and plan of implementation*. Lansing: the Commission, 1967, 98 p., bibliography p. 95-98.

Michigan. Water Resources Commission. *Water resource uses present and prospective for Lake Michigan and proposed water quality standards and plan of implementation*. Lansing: the Commission, 1967, 72 p., bibliography p. 69-72.

Michigan. Water Resources Commission. *Water resource uses present and prospective for the St. Joseph River Basin in Michigan*

and proposed water quality standards and plan of implementation. Lansing: the Commission, 1967, bibliography p. 87-89.

Michigan State Chamber of Commerce. "Air pollution action." *Michigan Challenge*. Vol. 8, Nov. 1967, entire issue, 31 p.

Omeing, Loring F. "Strengthening water pollution control." *Michigan Municipal Review*. Vol. 39, June 1966, p. 146-147, 162.

Orwig, Julie. "Industry, physicians, legislators, others seeking solutions to air pollution." *Michigan Medicine*. Vol. 67, Oct. 1968, p. 1261-1264.

"Pesticide control progress shows with new methods now in use." *North Woods Call*. Vol. 15, April 24, 1968, p. 6.

"Pesticide primer." *Michigan Conservation*. Vol. 37, March-April 1968, p. 8-9.

"Pesticide use appeal lists 'safes'." *North Woods Call*. Vol. 15, May 15, 1968, p. 6.

"Pollution—man made the problem and man can solve it." *Michigan Conservation*. Vol. 36, March-April 1967, p. 10-12.

"Pollution gets hard look by the Michigan C. of C." *North Woods Call*. Vol. 15, April 24, 1968, p. 2.

Poston, H. W. "Water pollution in the Great Lakes Basin." *Limnos*. Vol. 1, Spring 1968, p. 6-11.

Powers, C. F. and Roberston, A. "Aging Great Lakes." *Scientific American*. Vol. 215, Nov. 1966, p. 94-104, bibliography.

"Prevention of water pollution advocated." *Michigan Roads and Construction*. Vol. 62, Oct. 28, 1965, p. 8.

"Problems of water pollution aired by Sen. Hart, panel of experts at Ann Arbor." *Michigan Publisher*. Vol. 72, Oct. 1965, p. 14-18.

"Protect the air we breathe." *Michigan Health*. Vol. 52, Oct. 1964, p. 7.

Rainey, R. H. "Natural displacement of pollution from the Great Lakes." *Science*. Vol. 155, March 10, 1967, p. 1242-1243. Reply by H.C. Curl, Jr. *Science*. Vol. 156, July 2, 1967, p. 1179.

"Read the fine print." *Michigan Conservation*. Vol. 37, May-June 1968, p. 7-10.

Reed, Dan E. "What about water?" *Michigan Farm News*. Vol. 43, Oct. 1, 1965, p. 5.

Ross, Ernest F. *State supervision of Michigan local governments: the water pollution problem*. (Institute of Public Administration—papers in public administration #37) Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, 1960, 64 p.

Schrag, P. "Life on a dying lake, Erie." *Saturday Review*. Vol. 52, Sept. 20, 1969, p. 19-21, 55-56.

Schulze, Karl L. "Biological recovery of waste water." *Michigan Engineer*. Vol. 85, Jan.-Feb. 1966, p. 4-5.

"Science pinpoints insecticides impact on natural resources." *North Woods Call*. Vol. 15, April 17, 1968, p. 6.

Soet, John C. "Focus on air pollution." *Michigan Health*. Vol. 52, Jan. 1964, p. 3-6.

———. "Time to clear the air." *Michigan Conservation*. Vol. 37, Nov.-Dec. 1968, p. 2-7.

"State C. of C. faces harsh facts of pollution killer." *North Woods Call*. Vol. 15, April 17, 1968, p. 2.

"The state of our environment." *Michigan Health*. Vol. 53, Jan.-Feb. 1965, p. 14-17.

"Take a deep breath." *Michigan Bell*. Vol. 50, Aug. 1968, p. 29-31.

"That war on pollution; so far only a skirmish." *Official Michigan*. Vol. 16, Oct. 11, 1965, p. 6.

"Two of the toughest problems in state." *Michigan Contractor and Builder*. Vol. 16, June 17, 1967, p. 34, 46.

U.S. Congress. House of Representatives. Hearing before a subcommittee of the committee on government operations. July 22, 1966. *Water pollution—Great Lakes*. Part one: Lake Erie and Lake Ontario. Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1966.

U.S. Congress. House of Representatives. Government Operations Committee Confer-

ence of Illinois Congressional Delegation and Federal and State Participants. *Pollution of Lake Michigan*. Oct. 10, 1967. Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1967, 111 p.

U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. Conference in the matter of pollution of the interstate waters of the Grand Calumet River, Calumet River, Wolf Lake, Lake Michigan and their tributaries. *Proceedings*. March 2-9, 1965. Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1965, 5 vol.

U.S. Federal Water Pollution Control Administration. Conference in the matter of pollution of Lake Erie and its tributaries. *Proceedings*. 1st session. Buffalo, N.Y. Aug. 10-11, 1965. 2 vol. 2nd session. Cleveland, O. June 22, 1966. 2 vol. 3rd session. Buffalo, N.Y. March 22, 1967. 2 vol. Technical session. Cleveland, O. Aug. 26, 1968. 134 p. Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1965-1968, v.p.

U.S. Federal Water Pollution Control Administration. Conference on the matter of pollution of Lake Michigan and its tributary basins held in Chicago, Illinois. *Transcript of proceedings*. Conference session, Jan. 31-Feb. 7, 1968. Executive session, March 7-12, 1968. Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1968, v.p.

U.S. Federal Water Pollution Control Administration. Conference in the matter of pollution of the interstate waters of the Grand Calumet River, Little Calumet River, Wolf Lake, Lake Michigan and their tributaries. *Proceedings*. Technical sessions. Jan. 4-5, 1966, 2 vol. Feb. 2, 1966. 86 p. Progress Evaluation. Sept. 11, 1967, 615 p. Mar. 15, 1967. 3 vol. Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1966-67, v.p.

U.S. Geological Survey. Water Resources Division. *Water resources data for Michigan*. Part 2—water quality records. Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1965. 57 p. 1967. 94 p.

U.S. Public Health Service. Joint federal-state of Michigan conference on pollution of navigable waters of the Detroit River, Lake Erie, and their tributaries within the state of Michigan. *Proceedings*. March 28, 1962. Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1962. 3 vol.

U.S. Public Health Service. Division of Water Supply and Pollution Control. *Report on pollution of the Detroit River, Michigan waters of Lake Erie, and their tributaries*. Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1965. 341 p., bibliography p. 331-341.

"U.S. report on dying Lake Erie sets needed aids." *North Woods Call*. Vol. 15, March 20, 1968, p. 2.

Vander Velde, T. L. "Are we running short of water?" *Michigan Health*. Vol. 53, March-April 1965, p. 3-6.

Vaughn, James C. "Pollution at the southern end of Lake Michigan." *Journal of the American Water Works Association*. Vol. 61, Nov. 1969, p. 603-609.

"Water pollution, public enemy number one." *Michigan Riparian*. Vol. 3, Fall 1967, p. 5-6.

"(Water) Pollution—public enemy number one." Part two—laws and law enforcement. *Michigan Riparian*. Vol. 4, Winter 1968, p. 8-9.

"Watery grave for Lake Michigan?" *Business Week*. Oct. 21, 1967, p. 103-104, 108.

"What is eutrophication?" *Michigan Out-of-Doors*. Vol. 19, May 1968, p. 33.

"What pesticides, still studied, are doing to our world." *North Woods Call*. Vol. 15, April 3, 1968, p. 6.

"Why Detroit is wary of the 1970's." *Business Week*. Sept. 20, 1969, p. 115.

"Will Lake Michigan die?" *Michigan Riparian*. Vol. 1, Winter 1965-1966, p. 6.

Woodbury, R. "Blighted Great Lakes." *Life*. Vol. 65, Aug. 23, 1968, p. 36-45.

———. "Sewage gushes on, but something is being done; Great Lakes clean-up." *Life*. Vol. 65, Aug. 23, 1968, p. 46-47.

No. 4

A SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY FOR SCHOOLS

Early Elementary—\$25.00

Air.—Chester, Michael, *Let's Go To Stop Air Pollution*. New York: Putnam, 1968, \$2.29.

Animals.—Earle, Olive *Strange Companions in Nature*. New York: Morrow, 1966, \$3.25.

Ecology.—Friendly, Natalie *Miraculous Web: The Balance of Life*. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1968, \$3.95.

Natural Resources.—Green, Ivah *Conservation From A to Z*. Mankato, Minn.: Oddo Pub. Co., 1966, \$3.24.

Plants.—Blough, Glenn *Discovering Plants*. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1966, \$3.50; Lubell, Winifred *Green is for Growing*. Chicago: Rand McNally, 1964, \$2.95.

Soil.—Bartlett, Margaret *Down the Mountain*. New York: W. R. Scott, 1963, \$3.25.

Water.—Peterson, Ottis *Junior Science Book of Water*. Champaign, Ill.: Garrard, 1966, \$2.39.

Early Elementary—\$50.00*

Air.—Branley, Franklyn *Air Is All Around You*. New York: Crowell, 1964, \$3.50.

Animals.—Mason, Robert *The Life Picture Book of Animals*. New York: Time-Life, 1969, \$3.95; Selsam, Millicent *When an Animal Grows*. New York: Harper & Row, 1966, \$1.95.

Ecology.—Baker, Jeffrey *Patterns of Nature*. Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1967, \$3.95; Hofmann, Melita *A Trip to the Pond; an Adventure in Nature*. Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1966, \$3.95.

Plants.—Frisch, Rose. *Plants That Feed the World*. Princeton, N.J.: Van Nostrand, 1966, \$3.95.

Soil.—Talley, Naomi. *To Save the Soil*. New York: Dial, 1965, \$3.50.

Water.—Carona, Philip. *Water*. Chicago: Follett, 1966, \$1.00.

*Plus books on the \$25.00 list, \$25.00.

Middle grades—\$25.00

Animals.—Laycock, George. *America's Endangered Wildlife*. New York: Norton, 1969, \$4.95.

Ecology.—Nickelsburg, Janet. *Ecology: Habitats, Niches, and Food Chains*. Philadelphia: Lippincott, 1969, \$4.50.

History of Conservation.—Worth, Jean Man, *Earth and Change; the Principles and History of Conservation*. New York: Coward-McCann, 1968, \$3.64.

Quality of the Environment.—Aylesworth, Thomas, *This Vital Air, This Vital Water: Man's Environment Crisis*. Chicago: Rand McNally, 1968, \$4.95.

Carlson, Carl. *Water Fit to Use*. New York: John Day, 1966, \$3.86.

Marshall, James, *The Air We Live In; Air Pollution: What We Must Do About It*. New York: Coward-McCann, 1968, \$3.64.

Middle grades—\$50.00*

Animals.—Wood, Frances. *Animals in Danger: the Story of Vanishing American Wildlife*. New York: Dodd, Mead, 1968, \$4.95.

Natural Resources.—Hitch, Allen. *Conservation and You*. Princeton, N.J.: Van Nostrand, 1964, \$3.50.

Quality of the Environment.—Buehr, Walter. *Water: Our Vital Need*. New York: Norton, 1967, \$4.25; Kavalier, Lucy, *Dangerous Air*. New York: John Day, 1967, \$3.95.

Water.—Halacy, Daniel. *The Water Crisis*. New York: Dutton, 1966, \$4.95; Lewis, Alfred. *This Thirsty World*. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1964, \$3.50.

Middle grades—\$100.00*

Air.—Sootin, Harry. *The Long Search; Man Learns About the Nature of Air*. New York: Norton, 1967, \$4.95.

Animals.—Laycock, George. *Wild Refuge*. Garden City, N.Y.: Natural History Press, 1969, \$3.50; Finney, Roy. *Wildlife in Danger*. New York: Duell, Sloan and Pearce, 1966, \$3.50.

Earth materials.—Beiser, Arthur. *The Earth*. Young Readers ed. New York: Time-Life, 1968, \$4.95; Matthews, William. *The Story of the Earth*. Irvington-on-Hudson, N.Y.: Harvey House, 1968, \$4.50; Stone, A. Harris. *Rocks and Rills; a Look at Geology*. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1967, \$3.75.

Ecology.—Hirsch, S. Carl. *The Living Community; a Venture into Ecology*. New York: Viking, 1966, \$3.75; Shuttlesworth, D. *Natural Partnerships; the Story of Symbiosis*. Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1969, \$3.95.

Energy resources.—Blackwood, Paul. *Push and Pull; the Story of Energy*. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1966, \$4.25.

Food.—Hammond, Winifred. *Plants, Food and People*. New York: Coward-McCann, 1964, \$3.95; Lewis, Alfred. *The New World of Food*. New York: Dodd, Mead, 1968, \$3.25.

Natural resources.—Johnson, Thomas. *When Nature Runs Wild*. Mankato, Minn.: Creative Education Press, 1968, \$4.95.

Plants.—Budlong, Ware. *Performing Plants*. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1969, \$3.95; Klein, Richard. *Discovering Plants; a Nature and Science Book of Experiments*. Garden City, N.Y.: Natural History, 1968, \$4.50.

Soil.—Chadwick, Lee. *Seeds of Plenty; Agriculture in the Scientific Age*. New York: Coward-McCann, 1969, \$3.86.

*Plus books on the \$25.00 and \$50.00 lists, \$75.00.

High school—\$25.00

Ecology.—Odum, Eugene. *Ecology*. New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, 1963, \$3.25.

Natural resources.—Dasmann, Raymond. *An Environment Fit For People*. New York: U.S. Department of Agriculture, *Outdoors U.S.A.* Washington: Government Printing Office, 1967, \$2.75.

Land use.—Clawson, Marion. *The Land System of the United States; An Introduction to the History and Practice of Land Use and Land Tenure*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1968, \$3.75.

History of conservation.—Clepper, Henry, ed. *Origins of American Conservation*. New York: Ronald Press, 1966, \$5.00.

Quality of the environment.—Perry, John. *Our Polluted World; Can Man Survive?* New York: Watts, 1967, \$4.95.

Social implications of conservation.—Munzer, Martha. *Pockets of Hope*. New York: Knopf, 1967, \$4.50.

Planning.—Munzer, Martha. *Planning Our Town*. New York: Knopf, 1964, \$3.74.

High School—\$50.00*

Ecology.—Farb, Peter. *Ecology*. New York: Time-Life, 1963, \$6.60.

Air.—Thompson, Philip. *Weather*. New York: Time-Life, 1968, \$6.60.

Water.—Davis, Kenneth. *Water: The Mirror of Science*. New York: Doubleday, 1961, \$1.25.

Plants.—Bold, Harold. *The Plant Kingdom*. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1964, \$1.95.

Animals.—Matthiessen, Peter. *Wildlife in America*. New York: Viking Press, 1964, \$1.95.

Soil.—Farb, Peter. *The Living Earth*. New York: Harper & Row, 1969, \$1.60.

Earth materials.—McDivitt, James. *Minerals and Men; An Exploration of the World of Minerals and Its Effect on the World We Live In*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1965, \$1.95.

Energy resources.—Wilson, Mitchell. *Energy*. New York: Time-Life, 1968, \$4.96.

Quality of the environment.—Battan, Louis. *The Unclean Sky; A Meteorologist Looks at Air Pollution*. New York: Doubleday, 1966, \$1.25.

Planning.—Von Eckardt, Wolf. *The Challenge of Megalopolis; A Graphic Presentation of the Urbanized Northeastern Seaboard of the United States*. New York: Macmillan, 1964, \$1.95.

*Plus books on the \$25.00 list, \$25.00.

High school \$100.00*

Ecology.—Buchsbaum, Ralph. *Basic Ecological Resources*.—Highsmith, Richard. Pittsburgh: Boxwood, 1957, \$3.50. *Conservation in the United States*. Chicago: Rand McNally, 1969, \$9.95.

Water.—Leopold, Luna. *Water*. New York: Time-Life, 1966, \$6.60.

Plants.—Went, Frits *The Plants*. New York: Time-Life, 1968, \$4.96.

Animals.—Orr, Robert *The Animal Kingdom*. New York: Macmillan, 1965, \$9.95.

Soil.—Berger, Kermit *Introductory Soils*. New York: Macmillan, 1965, \$8.50.

Land Use.—Higbee, Edward *The Squeeze: Cities Without Space*. New York: Apollo Editions, 1962, \$2.50.

Quality of the Environment.—Carson, Rachel *Silent Spring*. Greenwich, Connecticut: Fawcett-World, 1969, \$0.95.

*Plus books on the \$25.00 and \$50.00 lists, \$75.00.

High school—\$150.00*

Ecology.—Bates, Marston *The Forest and the Sea; A Look at the Economy of Nature and the Ecology of Man*. New York: Vintage Books, Random House, 1965, \$1.65.

Water.—Cunningham, Floyd *1001 Questions Answered About Water Resources*. New York: Dodd, Mead, 1967, \$6.50.

Plants.—McCormick, Jack *The Life of the Forest*. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1966, \$4.95.

Animals.—Farb, Peter *The Land and Wildlife of North America*. New York: Time-Life, 1966, \$3.95.

Land Use.—Douglas, William A. *Wilderness Bill of Rights*. Boston: Little, Brown, 1965, \$1.95.

History of Conservation.—Udall, Stewart *The Quiet Crisis*. New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, 1963, \$5.

Quality of the Environment.—Carr, Donald *Death of the Sweet Waters*. New York: Norton, 1966, \$5.95; Goldman, Marshall *Controlling Pollution; the Economics of a Cleaner America*. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1967, \$4.95.

Social implications of conservation.—Blake, Peter *God's Own Junkyard; the Planned Deterioration of America's Landscape*. New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, 1964, \$2.95; Moss, Frank *The Water Crisis*. New York: Praeger, 1967, \$5.95.

Planning.—Mumford, Lewis, *The Urban Prospect*. New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, 1968, \$5.95.

Teachers and group leaders—\$25.00

Ecology.—Boughey, Arthur, *Ecology of Population*. New York: Macmillan, 1968, \$2.50.

Land use.—Little, Charles, *Challenge of the Land*. Elmsford, N.Y.: Pergamon Press, 1969, \$3.75.

History of conservation.—Smith, Frank, *The Politics of Conservation*. New York: Pantheon, 1966, \$5.95.

Quality of the environment.—Herber, Lewis, *Crisis in Our Cities: Death, Disease and the Urban Plague*. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1965, \$5.95.

Social implications of conservation.—Landsberg, Hans, *Natural Resources for U.S. Growth; A Look Ahead to the Year 2000*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1964, \$2.45.

Planning.—Tietze, Frederick, *The Changing Metropolis*. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin, 1964, \$2.95.

*Plus selected books on the \$25.00, \$50.00 and \$100.00 lists.

Teachers and group leaders—\$50.00*

Natural resources.—Smith, Guy-Howard, ed., *Conservation of Natural Resources*. New York: Wiley, 1965, \$9.95.

Social implications of conservation.—Landsberg, Hans, *Resources in America's Future; Patterns of Requirements and Availabilities, 1960-2000*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1963, \$15.00.

Planning.—Gallion, Arthur, *The Urban*

Pattern; City Planning and Design. 2nd ed. Princeton, N.J.: Van Nostrand, 1963, \$10.50.
*Plus books on the \$25.00 list, \$25.00.

*Teachers and group leaders—\$100.00**

Ecology.—Milne, Lorus, *Patterns of Survival.* Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1967, \$7.95.

Air.—Riehl, Herbert, *Introduction to the Atmosphere.* New York: McGraw-Hill, 1965, \$10.50.

Water.—Briggs, Peter, *Water, the Vital Essence.* New York: Harper & Row, 1967, \$5.95.

Plants.—Greulich, Victor, *Plants: An Introduction to Modern Botany.* New York: Wiley, 1967, \$9.95.

Animals.—Allen, Durward *Our Wildlife Legacy.* New York: Funk & Wagnalls, 1962, \$6.50.

Soil.—Van Dersal, William *The Land Renewed: The Story of Soil Conservation.* New York: Walck, 1968, \$6.00.

Earth materials.—Riley, Charles *Our Mineral Resources; An Elementary Textbook in Economic Geology.* New York: Wiley, 1959, \$7.95.

Energy resources.—Thirring, Hans *Energy for Man: Windmills to Nuclear Power.* Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood, 1968, \$13.50.

Social implications of conservation.—DeBell, Garrett *The Environmental Handbook.* New York: Ballantine Books, 1970, \$0.95; Mitchell, John *Ecotactics: The Sierra Club Handbook for Environmental Activists.* New York: Pocket Books, 1970, \$0.95.

* Plus books on the \$25.00 and \$50.00 lists, \$75.00.

*Teachers and group leaders—\$160.00**

Ecology.—Engle, Fritz-Martin *Life Around Us.* New York: Crowell, 1966, \$6.95.

Land use.—Schmid, A. Allan *Converting Land From Rural to Urban Uses.* Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1968, \$4.00.

Energy resources.—Park, Charles *Affluence in Jeopardy; Minerals and the Political Economy.* San Francisco: Freeman, Cooper, 1968, \$9.50.

Quality of the environment.—Carr, Donald *The Breath of Life.* New York: Norton, 1965, \$4.95; Herfindahl, Orris *Quality of the Environment: An Economic Approach to Some Problems in Using Land, Water and Air.* Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1965, \$2.00; President's Council on Recreation and Natural Beauty, *From Sea to Shining Sea; A Report on the American Environment—Our Natural Heritage.* Washington: Government Printing Office, 1968, \$2.50; Rudd, Robert *Pesticides and the Living Landscape.* Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1964, \$1.95.

Social implications of conservation.—Perloff, Harvey *Regions, Resources, and Economic Growth.* Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1965, \$2.40.

Population.—Borgstrom, Georg *The Hungry Planet.* New York: Macmillan, 1965, \$2.95.

Planning.—Mackaye, Benton *The New Exploration; A Philosophy of Regional Planning.* Urbana: University of Illinois, 1962, \$1.75.

* Plus selected books from the \$25.00, \$50.00, and \$100.00 lists.

MAN'S INHUMANITY TO MAN— HOW LONG?

HON. WILLIAM J. SCHERLE

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 15, 1970

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

Communist North Vietnam is sadistically practicing spiritual and mental genocide on over 1,400 American prisoners of war and their families.

How long?

SELECTIONS FROM THE "ENVIRONMENTAL HANDBOOK"—VI

HON. GEORGE E. BROWN, JR.

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 15, 1970

Mr. BROWN of California. Mr. Speaker, over the past weeks I have been inserting in the RECORD selected articles from the valuable "Environmental Handbook"—a Ballantine Books publication edited by Garrett De Bell.

Today, I shall conclude these insertions with some recommendations on possible avenues of action that can be taken to attain environmental quality. In addition, I am including the bibliography Mr. De Bell accumulated in preparing this book.

A week from today is "Earth Day." While the "Handbook" was specifically designed as a brief introduction to issues which will be rising on April 22, I think the book goes much farther and it gave me much insight into problems and action.

The articles follow:

ON HOW TO BE A CONSTRUCTIVE NUISANCE
(By Harrison Wellford, with assistance from James Turner and John Esposito)

Governments have been experimenting with solutions to environmental pollution for a long time. In the city of London in the fourteenth century men were put to death for violating a royal ordinance against the burning of coal in furnaces. In medieval Europe, in the American West of the nineteenth century, and in parts of India today, it has been a capital crime to foul local streams. In this country, it is safe to say that public sanctions against polluters are now somewhat less severe. In 1969 a Union Oil blow-out covered the Santa Barbara Channel with three million gallons of oil and threatened an ecological disaster for the area. The blow-out began in January; by June limited drilling in the channel resumed under authority of Walter J. Hickel, Secretary of Interior.

In July of 1969 this announcement was frequently heard on radio and TV in California: "The children of Los Angeles are not allowed to run, skip, or jump inside or outside on smog alert days by order of the Los Angeles Board of Education and the County Medical Association." These children were forced to observe this unique "rainy day" because photochemical smog, 85 percent of which is caused by automobile exhausts, had reached a critical level in the area.

Throughout 1969, the Department of Justice in Washington held a secret hearing to discuss with industry lawyers its charge that automobile manufacturers had conspired to stifle the introduction of smog-control devices on automobiles. On September 11, the department announced that it had entered into a consent decree, allowing the companies to escape federal sanctions by promising that they would not conspire any more. We have it on the best authority that no executions are expected in either case. Surely there are not many areas where governmental response to a technological peril reached its acme in the fourteenth century.

The failure of government and the in-

transigence of industry has made protection of the environment a cause where public concern about an impending crisis is matched only by public despair about what an individual can do to stop it. This feeling of helplessness carries with it the threat that, like the commuter on his daily freeway crawl, we will become indifferent through acclimatization, with pure water and clean air passing from the collective memory like a dream. Because Ralph Nader has a reputation as a man who gets things done in Washington, many people expect that he has some secret formula which can put an end to governmental paralysis and public helplessness in the environmental field. Nader has played a leading role in bringing new legislation for the protection of citizens from unsafe automobiles, exploding pipelines, impure meat and poultry, and gaseous coal mines, but there is nothing mystical or magic about his success. His pursuit of the public interest is a game everyone can play.

We shall summarize the chief characteristics of Nader's approach and then suggest some ways in which they can be applied to environmental problems.

WINNING CREDIBILITY THROUGH ACCURACY

First if you speak out for reform, you must remain free of special interests with axes to grind. Offers of support must be scrutinized to be sure there are no hidden ties. There must be no holds barred on the search for information or the use of it, even if personal financial sacrifice is required.

Second, you must do the tedious and unglamorous research which ensures that your reports are marked with the highest accuracy in the smallest details. Especially in technical areas, where established experts are quick to impute emotionalism to unestablished critics, all charges must be supported by a mountain of sifted evidence.

Third, you must amass the technical skills appropriate to the issue. Whether the problem is pesticides, auto safety, rural poverty, or air pollution, the vital issues are complex and technical. They demand the interdisciplinary expertise of doctors, lawyers, economists, scientists, engineers, and other people with special skills. Working together on task forces, such groups escape the narrow channels of graduate training and make sure that all sides of a problem are covered. The reign of the expert on environmental issues is one of the major defenses of polluters. The interdisciplinary task force concept gives credibility to research and allows the group to talk back to the expert in his own language.

IDENTIFYING THE EQUITIES

There are basic human rights at stake in environmental issues as well as social wrongs. The silent violence of pollution is an offense to moral values. Specifying the equities, the right and wrong of an issue, provides a yardstick for assessing blame and enforcing accountability of public and private officials.

Fuzzy judgments about the shared responsibility of government officials, the polluters and private citizens are simply inaccurate and encourage compromises which stultify reform. There is no natural law which gives companies the right to pollute. They assumed it and they should now bear the major burden of cleaning up after themselves. Moreover, insistence on the human rights at stake in the war on pollution helps bureaucrats get off the fence. The typical administrator sees himself as a man in the middle, an arbitrator between two competing interests. There is little incentive for him to seek out an abstract public interest on his own.

EMPIRICAL RESEARCH TO ISOLATE THE PRESSURE POINTS

The vital point of leverage in a policy arena is rarely apparent at first glance. It might be a government official or an en-

tire agency; it might be a "recognized expert"; it might be a corporation president. Finding the point or points against which to apply pressure requires hard empirical research. Without this kind of effort, internal agency or corporate decisions which determine policy for millions will remain unrecorded history. Never has there been a greater gap between library research using printed documents and empirical research inside a decision-making body. The facts of vital decisions rest in the memories of participants, in interoffice memos which are never made public, in meetings at which no transcript is taken, and in telephone calls which go unrecorded. If one is investigating a public agency, it is essential to insist that one interview personnel all the way down the hierarchical chain. Exposure to the fresh air of citizenship has been known to make some bureaucrats hysterical, but it is the only way to break through the public relations curtain so carefully drawn by the top administrators.

We are convinced that the vital points of leverage in a policy area cannot be discovered at distance sitting in a library. For example, which public official has the greatest day-to-day impact on pesticide policy? Do we look for him in the Science Advisory Council in the White House? In the pesticide branch of the Food and Drug Administration? In the Pesticide Regulation Division of the Department of Agriculture? In the Fish and Wildlife Service of the Department of Interior? Or in some obscure congressional subcommittee? Even examining agency regulations setting jurisdictions is little help. There is an interdepartmental agreement which on its face gives the Food and Drug Administration, the Public Health Service, the Pesticide Regulation Division, and the Fish and Wildlife Service a shared role in seeing that pesticides are safe for people and their environment as well as effective in use. Only empirical observations of the agencies at work would reveal that Dr. Harry Hays, director of the Pesticide Regulation Division of USDA, routinely registers proposed pesticides over the objections of the Public Health Service and Fish and Wildlife Service. He has regarded the interdepartmental agreement as a dead letter. Still further research would reveal that none of the manifold agencies involved with pesticides feels directly responsible for testing proposed pesticides for long range effects, in order to prevent the introduction of new ecological time-bombs such as DDT and 245-T. For pesticides, PRD is the point of leverage on which environmental activists should focus. As a general principle, it is futile to rail against unpleasant outcomes if one will not take the effort to master the details of the policy process which yielded the outcome. You will always end up hitting the wrong target.

THE PROPER NAME APPROACH

A study of pollution which does not name the polluters and the public officials in their sway is destined for the archives before it has been read. While weakness in institutional structure may ultimately be the culprit, the temperament and values of individual personalities in the institutional slots have immediate impact on policy. Failure to hold individuals accountable allows them to substitute corporate irresponsibility for individual consciences. For example, Dr. Hays of the Pesticide Regulation Division of USDA must be made to realize that he will lose his comfortable obscurity if he continues to neglect evidence of environmental hazards in registering new pesticides. For the purpose of getting information from recalcitrant officials, the prospect of seeing their name in print and their actions exposed is more threatening than any law. How many environmental activists know the names of the

chief polluters in their community: who is the head of the local plastics factory or public utility? On the national level, how many know the names of the men who run General Motors, U.S. Steel, or Union Oil? If pollution control is to come in time, the names of these men will have to become words not to be heard on the lips of children.

GETTING THE FACTS

On environmental problems, where there are so many *ex cathedra* claims to inside knowledge by putative experts, good information is absolutely essential. Environmental activists need reliable facts not only to inform themselves about where the problems are, but also to free public officials from specious information which convinces them that the problems do not exist. In challenging American intervention in the Vietnamese War, student critics were rebuked by their elders with the assertion that the American government must have secret information which justified its action. In the new war against environmental pollution, students now criticizing the nonintervention of government are hushed by new claims of inside information, this time coming from scientists on industry payrolls, government officials with Ph.D.'s, and cost accountants adept at demonstrating (with appropriate graphs and charts) that pollution is an acceptable cost. The insiders were wrong on Vietnam and they should not go unchallenged on environmental issues. Charles Frankel, in a recent memoir on his service in the State Department, tells it like it is. "I used to imagine," he states, "when the government took actions I found inexplicable, that it had information I didn't have. But after I had served in the government for some months, I found that the issue was more complex: often the government does know something that people on the outside don't, but it's something that isn't so."

Pollution is a crime compounded of ignorance and avarice. Ignorance exists at the very top where men in high places daily make decisions about weapons, pesticides, and pollution tolerances with only a vague idea, if any, of their ecological implications. In his memoirs, the English Prime Minister Clement Attlee admitted that he concurred in President Truman's decision to drop the bomb without knowing anything about fallout or the genetic effects of an atomic explosion, even though the genetic effects of radiation were well known in the scientific community (and H. J. Muller had won a Nobel Prize for demonstrating war as far back as 1927). To paraphrase Clemenceau, war on pollution is too serious a matter to be left to the experts, whether they are prime ministers, presidents, or the head of PRD.

Environmental activists must get information, not only to arm themselves, but to disarm the experts. Like every act in the environmental field, however, this is easier said than done. After a summer spent investigating federal agencies we concluded that the "relationship between free access to information and responsible government is very direct. All of the agencies we have studied enjoy large discretionary power over the programs they administer. Under the agency's legal structure, they can go one way or another; they can delay action, decide what portions of the law to enforce or not to enforce, and even adamantly refuse to carry out programs mandated by Congress. These agencies are more agencies of discretion than of law . . ." (Quoted from *The People's Right to Know: A Status Report on the Responsiveness of Some Federal Agencies to the People's Right to Know about Their Government*, by Ralph Nader, Gary Sellers, Reuben Robertson, John Esposito, Harrison Wellford, James Turner, and Robert Fellmeth, published in the *Congressional Record*,

September 3, 1969.) When the public doesn't have free and rapid access to information, the individual official exercising discretion often becomes progressively more attached to special interests. The reason is not far to seek. As Dean Landis pointed out in his *Report on the Regulatory Agencies to the President-elect in 1960*, "It is the daily machine-gun like impact on both agency and its staff of industry representation that makes for industry orientation on the part of many honest and capable members as well as staffs." If local and federal agencies are not to become simply service stations for pollution lobbyists, there must be countervailing pressure from environmental activists. The latent reformers in the agency must be given bargaining power with which to resist.

Unfortunately very little is yet known about the openness of pollution control agencies to public inquiry. At the federal level, citizens can invoke the Freedom of Information Act; but it has been our experience that this law, designed to provide citizens with tools for disclosure, has been regressively forged into a shield against access. Even after daily approaches with carefully reasoned requests, the Pesticide Regulation Division and the Federal Water Pollution Control Administration frequently denied us information, in blatant violation of the letter and spirit of the act. One can imagine the chances of a citizen writing in from Kansas or Oregon.

Examples of agency intransigence on access to information in the environmental field abound. Our water pollution study group asked the Defense Department for information about oil dumping. The Department of Defense has denied us access to information on the quantity of oil being pumped from the bilges of naval ships on the grounds that this data would be available only in a report containing operational data relative to military characteristics, which would therefore have to be classified. The Defense Department made no claim that the specific information requested was itself classified or in any way exempt from the Freedom of Information Act. The Defense Department is a past master of the "contamination technique"—take several doses of unclassified material that may prove embarrassing and mix them with other doses of classified information and, lo and behold, the sum is entirely classified. Civilian agencies have been quick to adopt this method.

The Federal Water Pollution Control Administration (FWPCA) has denied access to copies of research proposals that have been made to the agency but not yet accepted. The study group wanted this information in order to assess the research priorities at the agency, to determine whether there was any unfair preference by FWPCA and to see what reasons were given for turning proposals down. Frequently, information was denied on the ground that the information still had not been verified or was in incomplete form. The FWPCA gave the latter as its reason for refusing permission to a student, after a ten-day delay, to see reports on the status of water pollution abatement programs at twenty federal installations.

This request for the status reports was made after FWPCA had denied more detailed information about the entire problem on the ground that this general data would give the researcher a "warped impression." At another time the same researcher was told that release of information would endanger Interior's relationship with the Department of Defense (DOD) "because DOD is finicky about releasing figures on total sewage." Presumably, if an enemy had that information he could rush to his abacus and calculate the manpower strength of a military base on the basis of its sewage. In any case, the FWPCA considers sewage from domestic military bases a national security matter. Perhaps it

is coincidentally a national pollution matter that is the basis of the agency's reluctance.

More primitive responses come forth as an agency loses its last ready props for rationalizing the withholding of information. Relevant materials on pesticides in the Department of Agriculture disappeared, on the action of a high official, after students began researching them with permission at the Pesticides Regulation Library. The same materials had been routinely used by lobbyists for the pesticide industry before the students arrived on the scene.

We have tested these discretionary denials through negotiations with key agency officials, through talks with congressmen and reporters who take an interest in information policy, and through lawsuits in the federal courts. Generally the Freedom of Information Act has not been used by citizens to secure relief in the courts. Up to March, 1969, only three suits involving a clear claim by the public to information had been filed since the act became law on July 4, 1967. We now have six suits pending under the act. If they are successful, we hope to widen the scope of public access and set valuable precedents for groups who follow us into the federal agencies.

What advice do we have for environmental activists preparing to joust with public officials on information issues? First, remember that the citizen's right to know about his government is a frontier area of the law. Frequently public officials have a very vague idea of what the law allows them to do, but their motto, especially in the area of water pollution, is "when in doubt, deny." The only way citizens can check these discretionary denials is to challenge them in the courts. Often only the threat of a lawsuit will suffice.

Beware especially of denials based on assertions by public officials that trade secrets of private polluters are at stake. In the environmental field, the trade secret exemption, unless refined in the courts, is infinitely elastic in the hands of officialdom. A typical case recently occurred in South Carolina. A German chemical company, constructing a massive plastics and dyestuffs complex near Hilton Head, asked local conservation groups to accept on faith their claims that pollution would be controlled. To tell more, they said, would infringe on industry trade secrets. The state water pollution control authority concurred. With the ecological threat of pollution mounting daily, the courts may now be ready to balance the equities on the side of the public interest. Only challenges will tell.

Unfortunately, at the state and local levels, there is no Freedom of Information Act to invoke. Nevertheless there are several weapons you should employ. First, make "the citizen's right to know" a local issue, wrapping your rhetoric in the flag if necessary. Second, make clear to the resisting public official that you are in the anti-pollution movement for the long haul. This denies the bureaucrat his greatest defense—his ability to delay until his adversary gives up from exhaustion. Third, insist on interviewing public officials up and down the chain of command. Nothing is more unsettling to an administrator than the persistent anxiety that some unknown faceless subordinate is letting his conscience overcome his discretion.

AVOIDING THE AVENGING ANGEL SYNDROME

When national neglect of a vital issue stirs emotion, as environmental problems inevitably do, it is tempting to mount a high horse of moral indignation and approach all public officials with a "throw the rascals out" attitude. To do so is to squander opportunities for tapping the reservoirs of latent idealism which may exist in the agency. Many bureaucrats are secretly resentful at the compromises they feel forced to make. If not alienated at the outset, the prospect of out-

side support will give them strength to resist industry pressures. An ally, not an enemy, may result. No agency has a really solid front. There are always chinks in the mortar. It just takes time to find them.

OFFERING CONSTRUCTIVE ALTERNATIVES

It is absolutely fundamental that if one criticizes an official for falling from grace, one ought to give him an opportunity to climb back. For example, it is pointless to call the director of the Pesticide Regulation Division to task because the Pentagon uses 245-T in Vietnam and deformed babies result. One must propose reasonable alternatives which are within the power of the official to implement. This keeps him from passing the buck, the occupational disease of all bureaucrats.

It is now time to make specific suggestions as to where environmental activists should focus their energies in the coming months. First let us consider the regulation of pesticides. The true federal government agencies most intimately involved with pesticide control are the Agricultural Research Service (of which the pesticide regulation division is a branch), and the Food and Drug Administration. Neither has even begun to do a creditable job in the field of pesticide control, though their legal mandate from Congress is clear and has been for years. In reports by the General Accounting Office and through investigation by Congressional committee, PRD and its director, Harry Hays, have now come under heavy attack. The Comptroller General of the United States in a September 10, 1968, report to Congress said that the pesticide regulation program of the Department of Agriculture was a virtual failure. These critical reports conclude that PRD is more concerned with protecting the chemical industry from the hazards of regulation than in protecting our health and environment from hazardous chemicals. If there is to be significant reform of pesticide regulation attention should be focused on the following areas:

ACCIDENT REPORTING

The first step in keeping pesticides from injuring people is finding out what pesticides are dangerous and for what reasons. PRD cannot take this step because it makes only a half-hearted effort to compile accident reports on pesticides in use. An effective accident report would include environmental accidents, such as fish kills and the deaths of bald eagles and Peregrine falcons.

EVALUATION OF THE SAFETY OF PROPOSED PESTICIDES

PRD's failure to insure the safety of marketed pesticides is primarily a failure of concept as far as the environment is concerned. PRD has an artificially narrow view of what factors constitute a pesticide hazard. Traditionally, it has focused on the immediate dangers to those people who come into contact with the pesticide. The long term dangers to the environment and wildlife from residual pesticides have been neglected. Long term impact on human beings through mutagenic carcinogenic and teratogenic effects have been referred to FDA or are ignored altogether.

OVER-RELIANCE ON TEST DATA SUBMITTED BY INDUSTRY

At no point in the process of registering a proposed pesticide does PRD do any testing of its own. It accepts at face value data submitted by the manufacturer as to the safety and effectiveness of its products. As one PRD staffer recently told us, "the manufacturer runs the tests he wants to run, selects the results which are more favorable to him, and sends them to us. Rarely, if ever will PRD ask him to submit additional data." Ecologists are disturbed that industry tests the pesticide only for severely toxic effects on man and animals, ignoring the broader ecological consequences.

The Food and Drug Administration performance has been as ineffective as that of agriculture. FDA performs three functions in the pesticide field. First, it advises the Agriculture Department on the safety of pesticides being registered for use. Second, it sets tolerances for the use of registered pesticides; and third, it monitors the food supply to determine whether the tolerances are exceeded. It has failed in all three areas.

The FDA's advisory program on pesticide safety has not succeeded primarily because PRD has refused to cooperate. The FDA program for setting tolerances is caught in the middle of a scientific debate about excluding certain pesticides completely from food. The Mrak Commission on pesticides, which has presented a relatively conservative report on the control of pesticides to the Secretary of HEW argues that in some places, "carcinogenic response increases with increasing dose levels of the carcinogen." This view, which led to the recommendation that small amounts of cancer causing chemicals be permitted in the food supply, has been challenged by eminent scientists both inside and outside government. Such deep scientific controversy over so serious a problem can only make the consumer uneasy and ask for errors on the side of safety.

The FDA monitoring program is not only ineffective, but is scientifically controversial. The program has concluded that the amounts of pesticides in the American diet remain at safe levels. The methods used to reach this conclusion have been vigorously attacked by one FDA science advisor, who states that many widely used pesticides are left out of the testing altogether. The scientific insensitivity and regulatory failure of the FDA programs designed to ensure safe pesticide use, plus the total breakdown of standards in the Agriculture Department's pesticide registration program, explain how the silent spring is coming about and demonstrate that the public's reaction against pesticides has important basis.

In the face of all this criticism there are now superficial signs that remedial action has been taken. In the pesticide area, the Department of Health, Education and Welfare has established an interim team to implement recommendations designed to ensure that only beneficial uses of pesticides are approved. The chairman of that team is Dr. Emil Mrak, Chancellor Emeritus of the University of California at Davis, and Dr. William J. Darby, head of the Division of Nutrition, School of Medicine at Vanderbilt University. We urge participants in the Environmental Teach-In who are concerned about pesticides and anxious to influence the industrialists who produce them to focus their attention on the Mrak-Darby temporary committee. It is important to study the background of Drs. Mrak and Darby in order to learn who they are likely to go to for advice, where they will seek support for their decisions, and the nature of the biases they may entertain. It may be important to know that Dr. Mrak took no action when members of his commission asked that the financial interests of all commission members be filed for review with the commission staff. This request was prompted by the belief of some commission subcommittee members that arguments were inspired not by science, but by thoughts of financial gain.

Dr. Darby is chairman of the food protection committee of the National Academy of Sciences. Dr. Darby is on very close terms with what is called the industry committee of the industry liaison panel of the food protection committee. Recently his committee has been attacked for ignoring data linking cyclamates to deleterious effects on chromosomes. With these backgrounds Drs. Mrak and Darby may need a push from the concerned public if they are to be effective in clearing the environment of offensive pesticides.

In the fields of air and water pollution we strongly suggest that environmental activists experiment in a variety of forms to escalate the pressure for change. Using the methods which we have described, they should subject administrative agencies involved in pollution control to the most thorough scrutiny and monitoring.

There are also a number of additional roads which may open new fronts in the war on pollution. First, consider the courts. One of the country's leading environmental trial lawyers, Victor J. Yannacon recently said, "every piece of enlightened social legislation that has come down in the past fifty or sixty years has been preceded by a history of litigation in which lawyers around the country have focused forcibly the attention of the legislature on the inadequacies of the existing legislation." (*Christian Science Monitor*, October 2, 1969). The courts provide an arena in which industry lobbyists and indifferent bureaucrats are least able to exert their powers of dead center inertia. Because of this, the judicial approach to environmental issues may lead to immediate and surprisingly large-scale pollution abatement.

The class action is the most effective technique for demonstrating, by strength of sheer numbers, that the weight of the equities is on the side of environmental safety. A recent federal court decision held that the necessary "aggrieved parties" required by a class action may be environmental health groups such as conservation groups. Such groups may now become the vanguard for widespread courtroom attacks against environmental pollution. Some of the legal possibilities in this area are:

1. Product liability suits against automobile manufacturers—a manufacturer has a responsibility for injury resulting from the use of his product. This is a duty which extends to all persons who the maker should reasonably have expected to be endangered by its use. In the case of automobiles, that class of persons includes everyone who breathes the tons of carbon monoxide, hydrocarbons, oxides of nitrogen, lead and asbestos spewed out of automobiles annually. The medical evidence to develop cause-effect relationships is mounting. (For instance in a single year, doctors advised 10,000 people to move out of the Los Angeles area because of the smog problem.) Furthermore, there is mounting evidence that to put it as charitably as possible, the auto makers have not done all they could have to reduce the deadly emissions from their product.

2. Stockholders suits—stockholders could sue directors on the theory that the directors have breached a fiduciary duty to the corporation by using corporate profits in a manner which violates public policy. However, the pocketbook approach—namely that the corporation's failure to purchase and install pollution equipment may subject the company to large damage suits and possibly large fines—may have more force with the courts.

3. Actions against public officials—many public agencies with responsibility for pollution control are guilty of blatant nonfeasance. The failures, either negligent or an outright violation of the law, are not difficult to uncover. In this area, investigation at any level will produce instances of statutory violations when unprosecuted—because of the whim or laziness of an official, or because of the political power of the scoundrels, or because of their superior access to agency personnel. When simple disclosure of a misdeed brings no reform, a taxpayer suit is eminently available and, on the basis of past experiences, highly effective.

4. Nuisance, trespass, and negligence suits on polluters. These are the common law's rudimentary attempts to redress identifiable injuries caused by the external diseconomies of profit-seeking ventures. A more widespread use of these legal theories may prevent cor-

porations from engaging in the calculus revealed in the statement of one Reynolds Metals Company executive that "it is cheaper to pay claims than it is to control fluorides."

In addition to pressure on the agencies and lawsuits, we urge activists to experiment with direct action: the pressure can be kept up on both government and industry by the use of dramatic devices designed to focus on responsible individuals. The following random list indicates a few of the techniques already being employed.

1. Polluter of the week award to local industry presidents.

2. Picketing of automobile manufacturers, as was done with GM in New York.

3. Returning food wrappings and empty cans to supermarkets.

4. Handing out leaflets in traffic jams saying, "Don't you feel stupid sitting here?"

5. Raising questions and offering resolutions at stockholder meetings regarding corporate policies on environmental questions.

6. Regular training of spotlights on smokestacks belching noxious fumes in the darkness of night.

7. Persuading citizens to sign thousands of petitions for intervention at public utility rates hearings.

One recent example of this approach is the advertisement sponsored by the Campaign Against Environmental Violence in Chicago (see Appendix).

These are only a minute portion of the possibilities for direct action. As the Environmental Movement gains momentum, activists will develop many more effective techniques for dramatizing the crisis. They need be limited only by their imagination and their sense of outrage.

SUGGESTIONS TOWARD AN ECOLOGICAL PLATFORM

(By Keith Murray)

POPULATION

Stabilizing the U.S. population should be declared a national policy. Immediate steps should be taken to:

1. Legalize voluntary abortion and sterilization and provide these services free.

2. Remove all restrictions on the provisions of birth control information and devices; provide these services free to all, including minors.

3. Make sex education available, stressing birth control practices and the need to stabilize the population.

4. Launch a government-sponsored campaign for population control in the media comparable to the present antismoking campaign.

5. Offer annual bonuses for couples remaining childless and eliminate tax deductions for more than two children.

Control of world population growth is simply a matter of survival of the human race. Federal priorities must be made to reflect this fact. We propose:

1. Massive federal aid to supply birth control information, planning and materials to all countries that will accept it.

2. Foreign aid only to countries with major programs to curb population growth.

3. Increased research on birth control methods and on attitudes toward limiting births.

GROWTH

The runaway U.S. growth economy must be stabilized to halt the destruction of the world resource base before we choke in the waste products of our affluence. There should be a thorough reassessment and reversal of unlimited economic growth as a national goal. The first and most crucial step is a guaranteed annual income, to break the compulsory link between jobs and income that has been a principal stimulus to growthsmanship.

LAND USE

An entirely new framework of land-use policies is required. It must embody a land ethic that fulfills human needs and preserves natural values. Elements should be:

1. Massive use of revolving land purchase funds by government entities to (a) purchase and resell key lands with development rights retained and (b) purchase and hold for scenic, recreation or open-space purposes or to compel rational development. Employ these methods on a large scale to preserve prime agricultural lands.

2. Create ocean shoreline development commissions to plan and control development so as to preserve natural values and provide public access.

3. Drastically curb tax loopholes that favor land speculation and quick-buck development, such as favored capital gains treatment and fast depreciation schedules.

4. Institute state zoning of certain categories of land such as flood plains, shorelines, earthquake hazard zones, designated open-space lands and prime agricultural lands.

5. Rebuff the drive to relax cutting restrictions in national forests and to extend logging to wilderness-value lands; defeat National Timber Supply Act H.R. 12025; strengthen forest practices laws to protect forest lands from degradation.

Regional and basin-wide development programs should be created, funded by low-interest federal loans that would be available only to carry out an entire, comprehensive plan. Each program would include responsibility for land and water conservation, water supply, waste disposal, urban planning, agricultural aid, new cities, model cities, open space, pollution control. Existing programs would continue to function within this structure wherever possible.

OTHER

We propose the creation of a survival corps—payment of a living income to individuals who will devote full time to projects for population control, preserving the environment and environmental education of the public.

We favor massive investment in environmental and ecological education—with emphasis on creating purposeful generalists equipped to understand and solve the problems before us.

RESOURCES AND WASTE

Ways must be found to curb the U.S. appetite for goods, and to create pathways for recycling waste materials into reuse that would eliminate the "dump" as we know it. We propose:

1. A severance tax on all mineral extractions (Metcalf bill).

2. A combination of tax incentives, prohibitions and public education, designed to promote reclamation of salvageable materials; reuse of containers; reduction in the quantity of nondegradable materials (such as plastics and aluminum) loosened on the environment; large-scale composting of organic wastes.

POLLUTION

Industrial polluters should be required to pay effluent charges equivalent to the cost to society of polluting the environment.

Diversers of water for any purpose should be charged a fee for returning waste water of lower quality than when it was diverted.

There should be provision for payment of triple damages for pollution that violates laws and established standards of environmental quality.

The human race is being employed as an experimental population for unleashing new chemicals or massive technological undertakings. We call for:

1. Creation of a new federal center for testing the safety and efficacy of drugs, pesticides and food additives, and assessing their impact on the environment. This center

should be absolutely protected from the political and industrial pressures that now characterize such evaluations.

2. An absolute moratorium on large-scale technological escapades such as Project Sanguine and a sea-level Panama Canal until controls are devised and their potential hazards and prospective benefits are measured objectively.

3. A total ban on the use of persistent pesticides, especially DDT, in the U.S., and immediate steps to phase out their use worldwide; a crash program to substitute acceptable methods for control of malaria and other serious diseases.

4. Replacement of the present laissez-faire methods of promoting pesticide and herbicide use by objective and professional practices, with emphasis on integrated control.

5. Intensified research on integrated and biological control and environmental management of pests.

TRANSPORTATION

The cycle of ever increasing reliance on the automobile must be broken. Mobility should be recognized as a public right, and integrated means for long and short distance travel that do not pollute, eat up land or kill people must be widely available. Immediate steps should be:

1. Outlaw the sale of reciprocating internal combustion engines by 1975.

2. Massively shift gas taxes and other sources of revenue for freeways to urban and interurban mass transit, rational bus systems, and free or low-cost shuttle transport.

3. Progressively tax higher automobile weights and engine displacements according to a sharply rising scale.

The proposed supersonic transport plane would be wasteful, uneconomic, and would create intolerable sonic booms. No further federal funds should be appropriated for its development. United States airlines should be forbidden to use SSTs on any route; no SST from any nation should be permitted over U.S. airspace.

AGRICULTURE

Many urban and agricultural ills can be traced to the expansion of vast corporate farms which drive people off the land, destroy soil productivity and promote excessive use of harmful chemicals. We call for policies to reverse this trend and reject its false pretenses of efficiency.

1. There should be rigorous enforcement of the federal 160-acre limitation whereby an owner who contracts for the heavily subsidized water from a federal project must sell his holdings in excess of 160 acres (320 for a family). The federal government should be enabled to purchase and resell the excess lands on terms that will permit family farmers to return to the soil.

2. There should be a \$10,000 limit on subsidies to any one farm owner.

3. Unless the heavily subsidized western reclamation program returns to its aims of benefiting the many instead of the few, it should promptly be terminated.

4. The approach to agricultural subsidies should be overhauled so that they promote desirable land-use practices and curb the long-term harmful effects of factories-in-the-field.

WATER

Plans to transfer water from one basin to another should be drastically curtailed. Water should be priced according to its true value—to make waste costly and to force industry to employ conservation and recirculation methods.

Fully employ the alternatives of reclaiming water, converting seawater, reducing evaporation, and purchasing excessive agricultural water rights such as in Imperial Valley.

The California Water Plan should be halted, with no peripheral canal and no

dams on north coast rivers. Comparable schemes elsewhere, such as in Texas, should be opposed.

POWER

Power can be generated only at serious cost to the environment—radiation hazard, thermal or air pollution, despoiling of rivers, or depletion of fossil fuels. The present goal of unrestricted increase of power consumption should be reversed. Advertising and promotion to increase consumption of electricity should be forbidden. Electricity should be supplied at moderate cost for normal household needs, but additional increments should rise sharply in price. A larger share of electricity should be publicly distributed to re-establish the yardstick principle and curb profiteering by private utilities: Utility users' councils should be established at all government levels to argue the public's case for fair rates and environment protection before regulatory commissioners (Metcalf bill). A high-level review body should be created to evaluate the location of steam generating plants.

FOUR "CHANGES"

POPULATION

The condition

Position. Man is but a part of the fabric of life—dependent on the whole fabric for his very existence. As the most highly developed tool-using animal, he must recognize that the unknown evolutionary destinies of other life forms are to be respected, and act as gentle steward of the earth's community of being.

Situation. There are now too many human beings, and the problem is growing rapidly worse. It is potentially disastrous not only for the human race but for most other life forms.

Goal. The goal would be half of the present world population, or less.

Action

Social/political: First, a massive effort to convince the governments and leaders of the world that the problem is severe. And that all talk about raising food-production—well intentioned as it is—simply puts off the only real solution: reduce population. Demand immediate participation by all countries in programs to legalize abortion, encourage vasectomy, and sterilization (provided by free clinics)—free insertion of intrauterine loops—try to correct traditional cultural attitudes that tend to force women into childbearing—remove income tax deductions for more than two children above a specified income level, and scale it so that lower income families are forced to be careful too—or pay families to limit their number. Take a vigorous stand against the policy of the right-wing in the Catholic hierarchy and any other institutions that exercise an irresponsible social force in regard to this question; oppose and correct simple-minded boosterism that equates population growth with continuing prosperity. Work ceaselessly to have all political questions be seen in the light of this prime problem.

The community: Explore other social structures and marriage forms, such as group marriage and polyandrous marriage, which provide family life but may produce less children. Share the pleasure of raising children widely so that all need not directly reproduce to enter into this basic human experience. We must hope that no one woman would give birth to more than one child, during this period of crisis. Adopt children. Let reverence for life and reverence for the feminine mean also a reverence for other species, and future human lives, most of which are threatened.

Our own heads: "I am a child of all life, and all living beings are my brothers and sisters, my children and grandchildren. And there is a child within me waiting to be

brought to birth, the baby of a new and wiser self." Love, lovemaking, a man and woman together, seen as the vehicle of mutual realization, where the creation of new selves and a new world of being is as important as reproducing our kind.

II. POLLUTION

The condition

Position: Pollution is of two types. One sort results from an excess of some fairly ordinary substance—smoke, or solid waste—which cannot be absorbed or transmuted rapidly enough to offset its introduction into the environment, thus causing changes the great cycle is not prepared for. (All organisms have wastes and byproducts, and these are indeed part of the total biosphere: energy is passed along the line and refracted in various ways, "the rainbow body." This is cycling, not pollution.) The other sort is powerful modern chemicals and poisons, products of recent technology, which the biosphere is totally unprepared for. Such is DDT and similar chlorinated hydrocarbons—nuclear testing fallout and nuclear waste—poison gas, germ and virus storage and leakage by the military, and chemicals which are put into food, whose long-range effects on human beings have not been properly tested.

Situation: The human race in the last century has allowed its production and scattering of wastes, byproducts, and various chemicals to become excessive. Pollution is directly harming life on the planet: which is to say, ruining the environment for humanity itself. We are fouling our air and water, and living in noise and filth that no "animal" would tolerate, while advertising and politicians try to tell us "we've never had it so good." The dependence of the modern governments on this kind of untruth leads to shameful mind-pollution: mass media and most school education.

Goal: Clean air, clean clear-running rivers, the presence of pelican and osprey and gray whale in our lives; salmon and trout in our streams; unclouded language and good dreams.

Action

Social/political: Effective international legislation banning DDT and related poisons—with no fooling around. The collusion of certain scientists with the pesticide industry and agri-business in trying to block this legislation must be brought out in the open. Strong penalties for water and air pollution by industries—"Pollution is somebody's profit." Phase out the internal combustion engine and fossil fuel use in general—more research into nonpolluting energy sources; solar energy; the tides. No more kidding the public about atomic waste disposal: it's impossible to do it safely, and nuclear-power generated electricity cannot be seriously planned for as it stands now. Stop all germ and chemical warfare research and experimentation; work toward a hopefully safe disposal of the present staggering and stupid stockpiles of H-bombs, cobalt gunk, germ and poison tanks and cans. Laws and sanctions against wasteful use of paper etc. which adds to the solid waste of cities—develop methods of recycling solid urban waste. Recycling should be the basic principle behind all waste-disposal thinking. Thus, all bottles should be reusable; old cans should make more cans; old newspapers back into newsprint again. Stronger controls and research on chemicals in foods. A shift toward a more varied and sensitive type of agriculture (more small scale and subsistence farming) would eliminate much of the call for blanket use of pesticides.

The community: DDT and such: don't use them: Air pollution: use less cars. Cars pollute the air, and one or two people riding lonely in a huge car is an insult to intelligence and the earth. Share rides, legalize hitchhiking, and build hitch-hiker waiting stations along the highways. Also—a step

toward the new world—walk more; look for the best routes through beautiful countryside for long-distance walking trips; San Francisco to Los Angeles down the coast range, for example. Learn how to use your own manure as fertilizer if you're in the country—as the Far East has done for centuries. There's a way, and it's safe. Solid waste: boycott bulky wasteful Sunday papers which use up trees. It's all just advertising anyway, which is artificially inducing more mindless consumption. Refuse paper bags at the store. Organize park and street clean-up festivals. Don't work in any way for or with an industry which pollutes, and don't be drafted into the military. Don't waste. (A monk and an old master were once walking in the mountains. They noticed a little hut upstream. The monk said, "A wise hermit must live there"—the master said, "That's no wise hermit, you see that lettuce leaf floating down the stream, he's a waster." Just then an old man came running down the hill with his beard flying and caught the floating lettuce leaf.) Carry your own jug to the winery and have it filled from the barrel.

Our own heads: Part of the trouble with talking about DDT is that the use of it is not just a practical device, it's almost an establishment religion. There is something in western culture that wants to totally wipe out creepy-crawlies, and feels repugnance for toadstools and snakes. This is fear of one's own deepest natural inner-self wilderness areas, and the answer is, relax. Relax around bugs, snakes, and your own hairy dreams. Again, farmers can and should share their crop with a certain percentage of buglife as "paying their dues"—Thoreau says "How then can the harvest fail? Shall I not rejoice also at the abundance of the weeds whose seeds are the granary of the birds? It matters little comparatively whether the fields fill the farmer's barns. The true husbandman will cease from anxiety, as the squirrels manifest no concern whether the woods will bear chestnuts this year or not, and finish his labor with every day, relinquish all claim to the produce of his fields, and sacrificing in his mind not only his first but his last fruits also." In the realm of thought, inner experience, consciousness, as in the outward realm of interconnection, there is a difference between balanced cycle, and the excess which cannot be handled. When the balance is right, the mind recycles from highest illuminations to the stillness of dreamless sleep; the alchemical "transmutation."

III. CONSUMPTION

The condition

Position: Everything that lives eats food, and is food in turn. This complicated animal, man, rests on a vast and delicate pyramid of energy-transformations. To grossly use more than you need to destroy, is biologically unsound. Most of the production and consumption of modern societies is not necessary or conducive to spiritual and cultural growth, let alone survival; and is behind much greed and envy, age-old causes of social and international discord.

Situation: Man's careless use of "resources" and his total dependence on certain substances such as fossil fuels, (which are being exhausted, slowly but certainly) are having harmful effects on all the other members of the life-network. The complexity of modern technology renders whole populations vulnerable to the deadly consequences of the loss of any one key resource. Instead of independence we have over-dependence on life-giving substances such as water, which we squander. Many species of animals and birds have become extinct in the service of fashion fads—or fertilizer—or industrial oil—the soil is being used up; in fact mankind has become a locust-like blight on the planet that will leave a bare cupboard for its own children—all the while in a kind of ad-

dict's dream of affluence, comfort, eternal progress—using the great achievements of science to produce software and swill.

Goal: Balance, harmony, humility, growth which is a mutual growth with redwood and quail (would you want your child to grow up without ever hearing a wild bird?)—to be a good member of the great community of loving creatures. True affluence is not needing anything.

ACTION

Social/political: It must be demonstrated ceaselessly that a continually "growing economy" is no longer healthy, but a cancer. And that the criminal waste which is allowed in the name of competition—especially that ultimate in wasteful needless competition, hot wars and cold wars with "communism" (or "capitalism")—must be halted totally with ferocious energy and decision. Economics must be seen as a small sub-branch of ecology, and production/distribution/consumption handled by companies or unions with the same elegance and sparseness one sees in nature. Soil banks; open space; phase out logging in most areas. "Lightweight dome and honeycomb structures in line with the architectural principles of nature." "We shouldn't use wood for housing because trees are too important." Protection for all predators and varmints. "Support your right to arm bears." Damn the International Whaling Commission which is selling out the last of our precious, wise whales! Absolutely no further development of roads and concessions in national parks and wilderness areas; build auto campgrounds in the least desirable areas. Plan consumer boycotts in response to dishonest and unnecessary products. Radical co-ops. Politically, blast both "Communist" and "Capitalist" myths of progress, and all crude notions of conquering or controlling nature.

The community: Sharing and creating. The inherent aptness of communal life—where large tools are owned jointly and used efficiently. The power of renunciation: If enough Americans refused to buy a new car for one given year it would permanently alter the American economy. Recycling clothes and equipment. Support handicrafts—gardening, home skills, midwifery, herbs—all the things that can make us independent, beautiful and whole. Learn to break the habit of unnecessary possessions—a monkey on everybody's back—but avoid a self-abnegating anti-joyous self-righteousness. Simplicity is light, carefree, neat, and loving—not a self-punishing ascetic trip. (The great Chinese poet Tu Fu said "The ideas of a poet should be noble and simple.") Don't shoot a deer if you don't know how to use all the meat and preserve that which you can't eat, to tan the hide and use the leather—use it all, with gratitude, right down to the sinew and hooves. Simplicity and mindfulness in diet is a starting point for many people.

Our own heads: It is hard to even begin to gauge how much a complication of possessions, the notions of "my and mine," stand between us and a true, clear, liberated way of seeing the world. To live lightly on the earth, to be aware and alive, to be free of egotism, to be in contact with plants and animals, starts with simple concrete acts. The inner principle is the insight that we are interdependent energy-fields of great potential wisdom and compassion—expressed in each person as a superb mind, a handsome and complex body, and the almost magical capacity of language. To these potentials and capacities, "owning things" can add nothing of authenticity. "Clad in the sky, with the earth for a pillow."

IV. TRANSFORMATION

The condition

Position: Everyone is the result of four forces—the conditions of this known-universe (matter/energy forms, and ceaseless

change); the biology of his species; his individual genetic heritage; and the culture he's born into. Within this web of forces there are certain spaces and loops which allow total freedom and illumination. The gradual exploration of some of these spaces is "evolution" and, for human cultures, what "history" could be. We have it within our deepest powers not only to change our "selves" but to change our culture. If a man is to remain on earth he must transform the five-millenia long urbanizing civilization tradition into a new ecologically-sensitive harmony-oriented wild-minded scientific/spiritual culture. "Wildness is the state of complete awareness. That's why we need it."

Situation: civilization, which has made us so successful a species, has overshot itself and now threatens us with its inertia. There is some evidence that civilized life isn't good for the human gene pool. To achieve the changes we must change the very foundations of our society and our minds.

Goals: nothing short of total transformation will do much good. What we envision is a planet on which the human population lives harmoniously and dynamically by employing a sophisticated and unobtrusive technology in a world environment which is "left natural." Specific points in this vision:

A healthy and spare population of all races, much less in number than today.

Cultural and individual pluralism, unified by a type of world tribal council. Division by natural and cultural boundaries rather than arbitrary political boundaries.

A technology of communication, education, and quiet transportation, land-use being sensitive to the properties of each region. Allowing, thus, the bison to return to much of the high plains. Careful but intensive agriculture in the great alluvial valleys; deserts left wild for those who would trot in them. Computer technicians who run the plant part of the year and walk along with the Elk in their migrations during the rest.

A basic cultural outlook and social organization that inhibits power and property-seeking while encouraging exploration and challenge in things like music, meditation, mathematics, mountaineering, magic and all other ways of authentic being-in-the-world. Women totally free and equal. A new kind of family—responsible, but more festive and relaxed—is implicit.

ACTION

Social/political: It seems evident that there are throughout the world certain social and religious forces which have worked through history toward an ecologically and culturally enlightened state of affairs. Let these be encouraged: Gnostics, hip Marxists, Teilhard de Chardin Catholics, Druids, Taoists, Biologists, Witches, Yogins, Bhikkus, Quakers, Sufis, Tibetans, Zens, Shamans, Bushmen, American Indians, Polynesians, Anarchists, Alchemists . . . the list is long. All primitive cultures, all communal and ashram movements. Since it doesn't seem practical or even desirable to think that direct bloody force will achieve much, it would be best to consider this a continuing "revolution of consciousness" which will be won not by guns but by seizing the key images, myths, archetypes, eschatologies, and ectasies so that life won't seem worth living unless one's on the transforming energy's side. By taking over "science and technology" and releasing its real possibilities and powers in the service of this planet—which, after all, produced us and it.

Our community: New schools, new classes, walking in the woods and cleaning up the streets. Find psychological techniques for creating an awareness of "self" which includes the social and natural environment. "Consideration of what specific language forms—symbolic systems—and social institutions constitute obstacles to ecological

awareness." Without falling into a facile interpretation of McLuhan, we can hope to use the media. Let no one be ignorant of the facts of biology and related disciplines; bring up our children as part of the wild-life. Some communities can establish themselves in backwater rural areas and flourish—others maintain themselves in urban centers, and the two types work together—a two-way flow of experience, people, money, and home-grown vegetables. Ultimately cities will exist only as joyous tribal gatherings and fairs, to dissolve after a few weeks. Investigating new life-styles is our work, as is the exploration of ways to explore our inner realms—with the known dangers of crashing that go with such. We should work with political-minded people where it helps, hoping to enlarge their vision, and with people of all varieties of politics or thought at whatever point they become aware of environmental urgencies. Master the archaic and the primitive as models of basic nature-related cultures—as well as the most imaginative extensions of science—and build a community where these two vectors cross.

Our own heads: is where it starts. Knowing that we are the first human beings in history to have all of man's culture and previous experience available to our study, are being free enough of the weight of traditional cultures to seek out a larger identity.—The first members of a civilized society since the early neolithic to wish to look clearly into the eyes of the wild and see our selfhood, our family, there. We have these advantages to set off the obvious disadvantages of being as screwed up as we are—which gives us a fair chance to penetrate into some of the riddles of ourselves and the universe, and to go beyond the idea of "man's survival" or "the survival of the biosphere" and to draw our strength from the realization that at the heart of things is some kind of serene and ecstatic process which is actually beyond qualities and certainly beyond birth-and-death. "No need to survive!" "In the fires that destroy the universe at the end of the kalpa, what survives?"—"The iron tree blooms in the void!"

Knowing that nothing need be done, is where we begin to move from.

BIBLIOGRAPHY THE CRISIS

- Ehrlich, P., *The Population Bomb*. New York: Ballantine, 1968, 95¢.
Ehrlich, Paul R., and Anne H. Ehrlich, *Population, Resources, Environment: Issues in Human Ecology*, San Francisco, published by W. H. Freeman and Company, 1970.
Galbraith, J., *The New Industrial State*. New York: Houghton-Mifflin, 1969, \$6.95.
Commoner, B., *Science and Survival*. New York: Viking, 1966, \$4.50.
Carson, R., *Silent Spring*. New York: Crest, 1969, 95¢.
Rienow, R. and Rienow, L., *Moment in the Sun*. New York: Ballantine, 1969, 95¢.
Marx, W., *The Frail Ocean*. New York: Ballantine, 1969, 95¢.
Dasmann, R., *The Destruction of California*. New York: Macmillan, \$1.50.
Marine, G., *America the Raped*. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1969, \$5.95.

ECOLOGY TEXTS

- Storer, J., *Man in the Web of Life*. New York: Signet, 1968, 95¢.
Odum, E., *Ecology*. New York: Holt, Rinehart, 1969, \$3.25.
Kormondy, E., *Concepts of Ecology*. New York: Prentice-Hall, 1969, \$2.95.

ANTHOLOGIES

- Kostelanetz, R., ed., *Beyond Left & Right*. Apollo, 1968, \$2.95.
Hardin, G., ed., *Population, Evolution and Birth Control*. San Francisco: Freeman, 1969, \$6.00.
Cox, G., ed., *Readings in Conservation Ecology*. New York: Appleton, 1969, \$4.95.

Shepard, McKinley, eds., *The Subversive Science*. New York: Houghton-Mifflin, 1968, \$5.95.

Hardin, G., ed., *Thirty-Nine Steps to Biology, Readings from Scientific American*. San Francisco: Freeman, 1968, \$4.95.

Hardin, G., ed., *Science, Conflict & Society, Readings from Scientific American*. San Francisco: Freeman, 1969, \$5.75.

Schwartz, William, ed., *Voices for the Wilderness*, from the Sierra Club Wilderness Conferences, New York, published by Ballantine Books, Inc., 1969.

AGRICULTURE AND PESTICIDES

Rudd, R., *Pesticides and the Living Landscape*. Madison, Wisconsin: University of Wisconsin Press, 1964, \$1.95.

Borgstrom, G., *The Hungry Planet*. New York: Collier, 1965, \$2.95.

Borgstrom, G., *Too Many, A Study of Earth's Biological Limitations*. New York: Macmillan, 1969, \$7.95.

Miller, M. and Berg, G. eds., *Chemical Fallout*. Charles C. Thomas, \$22.50.

Rodale, J., *How to Grow Vegetables and Fruits by the Organic Method*. Rodale, \$9.95.

Rodale, J., ed., *Encyclopedia of Organic Gardening*. Rodale, \$9.95.

Rodale, Jr., *Complete Book of Composting*. Rodale, \$8.95.

Hunter, B., *Gardening Without Poisons*. New York: Houghton-Mifflin, 1964, \$5.00.

Paddock, W., *Famine Nineteen Seventy-five*. Boston: Little, Brown, 1968, \$2.35.

Jensen, M., *Observations of Continental European Solid Waste Management Practices*. Consumer Protection and Environmental Health Service, Bureau of Solid Waste Management, U.S.H.E.W. Public Health Service Publications, 55¢.

THE HUMAN ANIMAL

Vayda, A., *Environment and Cultural Behavior*. The Natural History Press, 1969, \$2.95.

Morris, D., *The Naked Ape*. New York: Dell, 1969, 95¢.

Hall, E., *The Hidden Dimension*. New York: Anchor, 1966, \$1.45.

Ardrey, R., *The Territorial Imperative*. New York: Delta-Dell, 1968, \$2.95.

Kroeber, T., *Isht: Last of His Tribe*. Parnassus, 1964, \$4.25.

Thomas, W., *Man's Role in Changing the Face of the Earth*. University of Chicago Press, 1956, \$15.00.

Dubos, R., *So Human an Animal*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1970, \$2.25.

ECOLOGICAL AWARENESS

Whole Earth Catalog. Portola Institute, \$4.00.

Leopold, A., *A Sand County Almanac*. Oxford University Press, 1966, \$1.95.

Thoreau, H., *Walden*. Mentor, 50¢.

Snyder, G., *Earth House Hold*. San Francisco: New Directions, 1969, \$1.95.

De Saint-Exupéry, *The Little Prince*. New York: Harcourt Brace and World, 75¢.

WILDERNESS, OPEN SPACE AND THE CITY
Eldredge, H., *Taming Megalopolis*. 2 Vols. New York: Anchor, 1967, \$2.45 each.

Muir, J. and Kauffman, R., *Gentle Wilderness*. New York: Sierra Club-Ballantine, 1968, \$3.95.

Jeffers, R., *Not Man Apart*. New York: Sierra Club-Ballantine, 1969, \$3.95.

Porter, E., *In Wilderness Is the Preservation of the World*. New York: Sierra Club-Ballantine, 1967, \$3.95.

Whyte, W., *Last Landscape*. New York: Doubleday, 1968, \$6.95.

McHarg, I., *Design with Nature*. Natural History Press, 1969, 19.95.

Douglas, W., *Wilderness Bill of Rights*. Boston: Little, Brown, 1965, \$1.95.

Cities, A Scientific American Book. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1965, \$2.45.

ECONOMICS

Theobald, R., *Challenge of Abundance*. New York: Mentor, 60¢.

Galbraith, J., *Affluent Society*. New York: Mentor, 1969, 95¢.

Domhoff, G. W., *Who Rules America*. New York: Prentice-Hall, 1967, \$2.45.

Murphy, E., *Governing Nature*. Quadrangle, 1967, \$7.50.

Jarrett, H., ed., *Environmental Quality in a Growing Economy*. Johns Hopkins, 1966, \$5.00.

Boulding, K., *Economic Analysis*. 2 Vols. New York: Harper: Vol. 1, *Microeconomics*, \$10.95; Vol. 2, *Macroeconomics*, 1966, \$7.95.

Mishan, *Costs of Economic Growth*. Praeger, \$2.45.

Girlyacy-Wantrup, *Resource Conservation*, University of California Press, \$6.50.

Annual Reports of Resources for the Future, Inc. list all their publications, which are very useful. Resources for the Future, Inc., 1755 Massachusetts Ave. NW., Washington, D.C. 20036.

AN ALTERNATE FUTURE

Faltermayer, E., *Redoing America*. New York: Collier, 1969, \$1.95.

Committee on Resources and Man, *Resources and Man*. San Francisco: Freeman, 1969, \$2.95.

The Environmental Pollution Panel, President's Science Advisory Committee, *Restoring the Quality of Our Environment*. U.S. Government Printing Office, \$1.25.

Goodman, P. and P., *Communitas: Means of Livelihood & Ways of Life*. New York: Vintage, \$1.65.

The Citizens' Advisory Committee on Recreation and Natural Beauty, *Community Action for Natural Beauty*, U.S. Government Printing Office.

Rudofsky, B., *Architecture Without Architects*. New York: Doubleday, 1969, \$3.95.

EDUCATION

Hesse, H., *Beneath the Wheel*. New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1969, \$1.95.

Steinhart, J. and Chernlack, S., *The Universities and Environmental Quality—Commitment to Problem Focused Education*. U.S. Government Printing Office, 70 cents.

Hutchins, R., *University of Utopia*. University of Chicago Press, 1953, \$1.50.

Goodman, P., *Compulsory Mis-Education: Community of Scholars*. New York: Vintage, \$1.95.

Goodman, P., *Growing Up Absurd*. New York: Vintage, \$1.45.

Jencks, C. and Riesman, D., "Where Graduate Schools Fall" *The Atlantic Monthly*, 1969.

Hapgood, D., "Degrees: The Case for Abolition" *The Washington Monthly*, August 1969.

Lichtman, R., "The Ideological Function of the University" *International Socialist Journal*, December 24, 1967.

FURTHER BIBLIOGRAPHIES

A Selected Bibliography: Family Planning, Population, Related Subjects. Planned Parenthood-World Population, 516 Madison Avenue, New York, New York 10022, 25¢.

1969 Publications About Planned Parenthood. Planned Parenthood-World Population, 515 Madison Avenue, New York, New York 10022, 25¢.

Carvajal, J. and Munzer, M., *Conservation Education: A Selected Bibliography*. Danville, Illinois: The Interstate Printers & Publishers, Inc., 1968, \$2.50.

A PARTIAL LISTING OF THE OUTSTANDING WILDERNESS PICTURE BOOKS FROM THE SIERRA CLUB EXHIBIT FORMAT SERIES

In Wilderness Is the Preservation of the World, selections from Henry David Thoreau, photographs by Eliot Porter.

The Wild Cascades, by Harvey Manning, photographs by Ansel Adams, Philip Hyde, David Simons, Bob and Ira Spring, Clyde Thomas, and others.

Not Man Apart, lines from Robinson Jeffers, photographs of the Big Sur Coast by Ansel Adams, Morley Baer, Wynn Bullock, and others.

The Place No One Knew: Glen Canyon on the Colorado, photographs by Elliot Porter.

Summer Island: Penobscot Country, text and photographs by Elliot Porter.

Everest: The West Ridge, by Thomas F. Hornbein, photographs from the American Mount Everest Expedition and by its leader, Norman G. Dyhrenfurth.

Baja California and the Geography of Hope, text by Joseph Wood Krutch, photographs by Elliot Porter.

Kauai and the Park Country of Hawaii, by Robert Wenkam.

The Last Redwoods and the Parkland of Redwood Creek, text by Francois Leydet, photographs by James Rose and others.

Navajo Wildlands "as long as the rivers shall run," text by Stephen C. Jett, with selections from Willa Cather, Oliver La Farge and others, photographs by Philip Hyde.

Gentle Wilderness: The Sierra Nevada, text from John Muir, photographs by Richard Kauffman.

This is the American Earth, by Ansel Adams and Nancy Newhall.

OUR CREAKY COURTS

HON. DAVID R. OBEY

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 15, 1970

Mr. OBEY. Mr. Speaker, people are becoming increasingly aware that one of the toughest problems we face in trying to reduce crime is the jam-up in our criminal courts.

The New York Times analyzed this problem in an April 7 article headed, "The Creaky Courts: Overhaul Needed To End Delays," and just the day before had printed some relevant statistics and observations.

A New York police official said in the earlier article that "we should examine the total system of justice and decide if we are willing to pay the price to make it work." The statistics bear out his feeling that the criminal justice system is losing ground all along the line:

Between 1961 and 1968, the number of reported serious crimes rose by 115 percent while arrests increased by only 53 percent. The total number of policemen rose even less—30 percent—and the ratio of police to the population remained the same.

Statistics, though, are tricky—besides which many of those arrested for robbery plead guilty to and are punished for lesser offenses, such as assault, petty theft or other misdemeanors.

The earlier article continued:

This appears to be the source of the most serious lag in bringing criminals to justice in most communities. Court backlogs have grown so huge and trial delays so long that prosecutors are under intense pressure to reduce charges in order to persuade suspects to plead guilty and avoid time-consuming trials.

Undue length of time from arrest to punishment weakens the administration of justice. As a Chicago prosecutor remarked:

Two years between a crime and punishment doesn't impress the tough kids we see these days.

Mr. Speaker, I commend the "creaky courts" article to my colleagues:

[From the New York Times, Apr. 7, 1970]

THE CREAKY COURTS: OVERHAUL NEEDED TO END DELAYS

(By Lesley Oelsner)

The courts in the metropolitan area, as nearly everyone connected with them readily admits, are overcrowded, understaffed and months behind in their work.

"If everyone who came here wanted a trial, there'd be no way to give them one," Assistant Administrative Judge Vincent A. Massi of the Criminal Court said a few days ago. His remark was in line with an assessment by George J. Beldock, then Presiding Justice of the Appellate Division, Second Department, of the State Supreme Court, who said a few days before his death on March 15 that the courts were "in a state of crisis."

What the crisis means is that the public may be hurt by a slowed-down system of criminal justice, in which it can take 12 months to put a felon into jail, and that defendants, too, may be hurt.

JUDGE ASKS REPORT

This was pointed up last Wednesday when Chief Judge Edward J. Lumbard of the United States Court of Appeals ordered state courts, district attorneys and city officials to tell him how many people have been held in jail for more than three months awaiting trial. Judge Lumbard explained:

"The delay in the trial of criminal cases, where defendants are held in jail awaiting trial in the courts of many of the counties of New York, raises serious questions of the violation of constitutional rights."

These rights include not only the Sixth Amendment guarantee of a speedy trial but also the Eighth Amendment protection against cruel and unusual punishment.

And yesterday Harold A. Stevens, Presiding Justice of the First Department, announced that 11 blue-ribbon committees had been formed in an effort to devise new solutions for the burdened courts of Bronx and Manhattan. The "level of functioning" of the courts, he said simply, has to be improved.

So while Governor Rockefeller ponders whom to select to replace Justice Beldock—a post temporarily filled by Senior Associate Justice Marcus G. Christ—many court observers are hoping he will appoint a man eager to apply new ideas and management concepts to the sprawling court structure. So serious are the courts' administrative problems, in fact, that these people aren't even discussing the judicial merits of potential candidates.

"What they ought to do is find someone with a really solid background as an administrator," said Harry Subin, a New York University law professor who has made extensive studies of the administration of urban courts. "Then they should give him an adequate staff, so he could do the job right."

The new Presiding Justice must direct an appellate court that hears 2,000 appeals and 4,000 motions a year, and must also administer the 311 judges and myriad courtrooms of 10 counties—Brooklyn, Queens, Richmond, Nassau, Suffolk, Westchester, Putnam, Dutchess, Orange and Rockland.

With the Presiding Justices of the three other departments, and the Chief Judge of the State Court of Appeals, he must set policies and regulations for the statewide court structure. And he must administer—with the Presiding Justice of the First Department, whose territory is Manhattan and the Bronx—the Criminal, Family and Civil Courts of New York City.

And nearly everywhere in this domain, elements of the "crisis" that Justice Beldock noted can be seen.

In Nassau County, in February, judges postponed "indefinitely" the trials of all defendants free on bail in order to take up cases of defendants who were in jail awaiting trial; some had been in jail for two years.

In Brooklyn's dilapidated Criminal Court, some sessions are held in judges' robing rooms, where, before the sessions begin, guards look in the closets for defendants who may have escaped.

In the Bronx, because there is no air-conditioning in the Criminal Court, windows are left open in the summer—even though the elevated trains next door are so noisy that, as one judge said, "you can't hear yourself, much less the defendant; its impossible to try a case."

And Kings County District Attorney Burton B. Roberts says he accepts pleas to reduced charges often simply because the courts are too crowded to hold trials.

A number of judges and lawyers have also pointed out problems common to most, if not all, the courts: judges so harried they often spend whole days doing no more than adjourning the cases on the day's calendars; correction facilities so overcrowded that some judges say they hesitate to sentence the people they convict; serious charges are dismissed because witnesses, after going to court a few times only to hear the case adjourned, have stopped appearing.

The pressures are so great on all concerned that one day recently Criminal Court Judge Milton Shalleck, after arraignment scores of people at an average speed of 2 minutes 2½ seconds per defendant, finally blurted out: "There is no justice here. I'm not dispensing justice."

SYSTEM WITHOUT DESIGN

"Nobody designed the system," says Lester Goodchild, administrator of the city's Criminal Court. "It just grew like this, and now you have to get it in balance."

Though few would disagree with Mr. Goodchild—nearly everyone involved with the courts has his own favorite horror story to substantiate the assessment of a "crisis" situation—there is some disagreement as to the causes and the solutions.

Some feel that the problems of the courts could be solved simply by adding judges. Others, such as Edward Dudley, Administrative Judge of the Criminal Court, say the real problem is one of space: Judge Dudley says he simply does not have enough courtrooms in which to schedule trials and hearings.

But increasingly those who work in the courts—the judges, the lawyers, the employees of the Vera Institute who conduct experimental reform projects—believe, that adding judges, courtrooms and stenographers is not, of itself, enough. For even if there were more facilities and personnel, some structural problems would still exist.

There would still be the problem of one judge sending cases to another judge's courtroom without knowing whether the latter had time to hear the cases. There would still be the problem of getting all the necessary parties to a case to appear on the same day.

But both of these problems could be solved, observers say, by the creation of a master calendar control system, in which a central office would schedule cases and, before fixing a definite date, get in touch with all the parties.

AN ENTIRE PROCESS INVOLVED

Another problem that would continue to exist would be the massive influx into the courts of criminal cases with no real merit. At present there are assistant district attorneys in the complaint rooms of the Manhattan and Bronx Criminal Courts branches to screen complaints and determine which are insufficient to be sent through the court process. Last August alone (the most recent

figures available), 1,648 cases were disposed of in this way.

But in the other boroughs, there are no assistant district attorneys in the complaint rooms, and as a result, such cases may be on the already overweighted calendars for months before being dismissed.

Judges and administrators point out still another problem that must be faced before the courts can be made to function the way they should: the inter-relationship between the police, the courts, the probation officers and the correction facilities.

"It's such a manifold problem that you can't really pinpoint one area," says Sheldon Amster, administrative assistant to the Presiding Justice of the Second Department. "Each one hinges on the other; it's like a chain reaction."

Thus when more police are added to the force, the experts say, more personnel and facilities must be added to each subsequent step of the criminal justice system. Unfortunately this does not always happen, and as a result, as Mr. Goodchild notes, "the cop who brings in a defendant and thinks the court will do something with him is kidding himself."

So to many observers, the job to be done by the next Presiding Justice of the Second Department includes many things besides listening to appeals from lower courts. Most of all he should set up some administrative reports—not only within his courts, but also, in cooperation with officials from the Police and Corrections Departments, in the criminal justice system as a whole.

Otherwise, court specialists warn, he will face far more of a crisis than the one George Beldock described four weeks ago.

"MY OWN PENNSYLVANIA"

HON. GUS YATRON

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 15, 1970

Mr. YATRON. Mr. Speaker, one of my constituents, Walter S. Farquhar, has written a poem which has been proposed for adoption as the official poem of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania.

Mr. Farquhar, a well-known, widely respected, and much loved journalist, is now 82 years old and a patient in the Pottsville, Pa., Hospital. In my judgment, "My Own Pennsylvania" merits designation as our State's official poem, for it relates to all areas of our State and chronicles Pennsylvania's prominent role in our fight for national independence.

I commend Walter Farquhar's excellent poem to my colleagues and my fellow Americans, and I insert it in the RECORD at this point:

MY OWN PENNSYLVANIA

(By Walter S. Farquhar)

There's a land which is verdant and fragrant,
Where the rivers are sparkling and clear,
And the brooks gleam in gold, white and silver,
With evergreen borders, all year.

From the heights of the broad Alleghenies,
Looking westward toward old Fort Duquesne,

Mark the waters of green Pennsylvania,
As they temper the dusts of the plain.

In the old Appalachian Highlands,
Where pine trees and hemlock abound,

And the foothills are clustered in laurel
And bright rhododendron is found.

Let me live in the land of the Lehigh,
Where the farmlands are fertile and green,
And the blossoms of flowering fruit trees
Are mingled with dogwood's white sheen.

I'll abide by the side of the Schuylkill,
At the foot of conglomerate heights,
Where the air bears the scent of the woodlands,
And fragrant arbutus delights.

All's serene on the gentle green mountains,
And the lakes where the pond lily grows,
I'll be true to the blue Susquehanna
And the dales where the Delaware flows.

In a land which was founded on justice,
Where the brave Declaration was signed,
And the words of the great Constitution
Lived on to enlighten mankind.

In the bleak Valley Forge desolation,
When spring flowers peeped up from the snow,
As they symbolized stars of the Union,
The now-mighty nation we know.

And first to defend that great nation,
Were men from the old Keystone state.
And the Gettysburg stand saved the Union,
As well as democracy's fate.

I'll enthrone in my own Pennsylvania,
In the sweet-scented land of my birth:
In the beautiful, wonderful woodlands;
The softest and fairest on earth.

SENATOR BYRD SPEAKS

HON. W. C. (DAN) DANIEL

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 15, 1970

Mr. DANIEL of Virginia. Mr. Speaker, in keeping with the sound doctrine upon which the Commonwealth of Virginia has grown to its present state of greatness, as well as with the wisdom associated with his name, Senator BYRD of Virginia continues to articulate such doctrine to the people of the Commonwealth.

Here, for inclusion in the RECORD, are a few timely observations which he has recently made:

FIGHTING POVERTY

NORFOLK.—Senator Byrd called for an overhaul of the nation's welfare system in a speech to the Salvation Army here.

During the last 25 years, with unparalleled prosperity in the United States, welfare rolls have grown by 500 per cent, he said, adding that the existing system provides no work incentive and is self-perpetuating. A new approach is needed, he said.

The Senator opposed a guaranteed income plan: "I cannot endorse a proposal to turn over taxpayers' money to able-bodied people who are unwilling to work."

REVERSE FLOW

RICHMOND.—Increased centralization of power in Washington makes government less responsive to the people, Senator Byrd said at a meeting of the Regents Club of the Daughters of the American Revolution.

"Instead of an endless flow of edicts from Washington to the people, we should have a flow of ideas from the people to Washington.

"Perhaps that would correct some of the unbalanced views that prevail in the nation's capital," he said.

SALT TALKS

NORFOLK.—Senator Byrd voiced support for the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks (SALT) but warned against over-optimism about their results.

He spoke to the Brotherhood Citation Dinner of the National Conference of Christians and Jews. Byrd serves on a special Senate subcommittee assigned to monitor the SALT talks.

He cautioned that the Russian attitude toward the SALT talks was "not encouraging."

"We live in a world of terrifying change," Byrd said.

"In a more innocent age, silos held the fodder of life; today, silos hold the warheads of annihilation."

HOUSING PROBLEMS

ARLINGTON.—A decline in the prime interest rate from 8½ per cent to about 7½ per cent was predicted by Senator Byrd in a speech here to the Home Builders Association of Suburban Virginia.

He said he based his estimate on "soundings among expert Virginians in the banking, business and academic communities."

But Byrd's survey also indicated that there is no immediate prospect of relief from the shortage of mortgage funds. Many now feel a secondary mortgage fund source, financed in part by the government, may be essential, he said.

"I think it is vital that our young people have the opportunity to purchase homes," he declared.

"If we are to begin to move toward our housing goals," he said, "we must get inflation under control and bring interest rates down to a more reasonable level."

A MODEL FOR JUVENILE CORRECTIONS

HON. CLAUDE PEPPER

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 15, 1970

Mr. PEPPER. Mr. Speaker, today I had the distinct pleasure to meet with a young man from my State of Florida who struck me as a model of what progressive juvenile corrections can accomplish.

This young man, 16-year-old Rick Gibson, from Pensacola, was sent to Marianna's Training School for Boys 8 months ago for ungovernable behavior. Today, he is a purposeful young man with an impressive vision of his future. On Monday, Rick appeared on NBC's Today show to tell the Nation about the success Florida has achieved using guided group interaction programs. This technique stresses freewheeling discussions of an individual's attitude and outlook by his peers.

And I am proud to note that Rick was considered sufficiently trustworthy to be allowed to travel to New York and back to Florida, with a stop here today, on his own, without an escort. This is dynamic proof of the success of the program and the faith the school officials have in this fine young man.

When Rick came to my office today, he was accompanied by Howard James, a Pulitzer Prize winning reporter for the

Christian Science Monitor, who has surveyed juvenile correction institutions across the Nation for a series of articles in that fine newspaper. Mr. James told me that Florida was the first State in the Nation to employ group interaction programs throughout its juvenile correctional system. I warmly agree with Mr. James that Florida's group interaction program can serve as a model for the Nation.

This program is giving the young people involved a new outlook and hope for the future. This is evident from the reduction in the rate of runaways from the Marianna facility from 168 for the 3 months of 1969 to only 23 for the first 3 months of 1970.

It seems clear to me, Mr. Speaker, that we in Congress have an obligation to support with Federal funds this kind of innovative and effective program.

Much of the credit for Florida's new approach to juvenile corrections goes to Dr. James Bax, director of the Department of Health and Rehabilitative Services, and to Mr. Jack Blanton, bureau chief for training schools.

Dr. Bax appeared with Mr. O. J. Keller, director of Florida's Division of Youth Services, before our Crime Committee last December in Miami. Both men impressed the committee with their knowledge and farsightedness in the field of juvenile corrections.

AIR AND NOISE POLLUTION PROBLEM

HON. THOMAS P. O'NEILL, JR.

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 15, 1970

Mr. O'NEILL of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, the East Boston area is presently faced with a serious air and noise pollution problem. In view of this, I have today written to the Honorable John Volpe, Secretary of Transportation, requesting that he declare a moratorium on Logan Airport construction of additional runways. My letter to Secretary Volpe follows:

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C., April 15, 1970.

HON. JOHN A. VOLPE,
Secretary, Department of Transportation,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. SECRETARY: I am writing to you regarding the text of an article which appeared in the Wall Street Journal on April 7, 1970. In this article, your stand on road construction was made quite clear, "freeways that adversely affect our environment cannot be built". I believe this policy is forward looking and long overdue. I am happy to say that I agree with you 100%.

I would also like to lend my support to a decision you made regarding the use of Federal funds for additional runways at John F. Kennedy International Airport. In a Department of Transportation news release dated March 13, 1970, you made clear that you would not approve construction projects until results of an environmental study by the National Academy of Sciences were available. I feel that it is of great consequence that the

Department of Transportation has given the highest priority to environmental factors before it gives its approval for the use of any Federal funds for transportation projects. To this policy I give my full support.

As you may know, Mr. Secretary, the Massachusetts Airport Authority is now in the International Airport. Among other things, this plan includes full development of runway 15L-33R together with parallel and connecting taxiways. To do this it will be necessary to construct a stone dike for drainage, with the area eventually being filled. Also contemplated is the full development of Bird Island Flats air cargo and support facilities. This includes inner and outer taxiways, aircraft aprons and roadways, extension of runways 4L and 9L with connecting taxiways and STOL runway 15-33. The construction plans further include multi-level roadway systems and auto parking facilities.

There are also proposed construction plans for a third tunnel in East Boston. This will add to the problems of pollution, both air and noise, with which East Boston is now overburdened.

It is my understanding that an environmental study concerning the Airport is now being done by the firm of Bolt, Beranek and Newman. To date, the City of Boston and the State of Massachusetts have not received the results of this report. I do not know if this report contains an analysis of the possible ecological effects of further construction at Logan Airport. We do know that the intended construction will affect parts of Winthrop Cemetery Road and cut through some of the Salt Flats. Until this report has been completed, I ask you to declare a moratorium on the airport construction of additional runways. You embraced this policy with regard to Kennedy International Airport, and you have shown your concern for environmental priorities in your decision relative to highway construction. I feel that in the long run your decision to stop construction will have a greater benefit to Boston and to Massachusetts and might possibly save us from making a very large mistake.

Thank you for your courtesy in this and in all past matters.

With every good wish,

Sincerely,

THOMAS P. O'NEILL, JR.,
Member of Congress.

PARIS, TEX.—OR PARIS, U.S.A.?

HON. WRIGHT PATMAN

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 15, 1970

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Speaker, the city of Paris, Tex., might with justification be referred to as Paris, U.S.A., since it is in fact the largest city of that name in the United States and in my opinion it has a greater future, relatively speaking than Paris, France—give us a decade or so for further development, with an eye on the wonderful potential offered by Pat Mayse Reservoir and its abundance of good clear mineral-free water.

Some years ago the Babcock & Wilcox people who are famous for their fine manufactured products saw fit to establish a plant in Paris, a decision which has benefited both the community and the corporation for almost two decades of progress and growth. It is my privilege to record at this point a tribute to

Paris and its many outstanding citizens from the January-February issue of the Babcock & Wilcox publication, Generator. More and more of America's astute industrial management teams are finding that towns like Paris, Tex., offer the best corporate and employee living available anywhere in the world today. My sincere congratulations to this most successful partnership. The article follows:

PARIS, TEX.

"Paris and B&W have grown together."

This was how Dr. B. M. Felty, mayor, described the long relationship that Babcock & Wilcox and the Texas town have had. "The people of B&W have been wonderful—as neighbors, as civic leaders, and as partners in making our city a better place to live."

In its 134 years, Paris, Tex., has attracted 35 major businesses. These concerns have brought their people and ideas into the community, and have grown with it.

The first permanent settlement in Lamar County was made in 1824 when John Emberson and his family settled along the Red River. Twelve years later, another settlement was made by Clairborne Chisum on the site that is now known as Paris.

George Wright is credited with establishing and naming the town, although it was a Frenchman in his employ who urged Mr. Wright to name the village in honor of his beloved Paris, France. So, halfway around the world from its namesake, is Paris, Tex., located on a ridge between the Red River and Sulphur River in a fertile area crisscrossed by creeks and streams that drain and irrigate the countryside.

The town progressed rather slowly during the first 20 years of its existence. At the beginning of the Civil War there were barely 700 people living in Paris, but the coming of the railroad marked a new era for the town, which has grown steadily since.

Although two disastrous fires, one in 1877 and one in 1916, destroyed much of the city, the citizens built back each time with their own funds and their own determination. "Smile," suggested as a slogan for the city by Henry P. Mayer, president of the chamber of commerce in 1916, was adopted by the businessmen when the embers of the conflagration were still smoldering. "Smile" has rebuilt Paris into "The City Beautiful." The new churches, two new hospitals and a splendid Italian fountain are praised by all who see Paris for the first time. Today the city is known as the "North Star of Texas," and has a population of 25,280.

During the industrial build-up of the fifties, B&W became the second industry to locate in Paris, and is the second largest there. The Power Generation division Paris works employs about 600 people, and is located in Northwest Paris on a 105-acre site.

One reason B&W chose Paris as the site of its manufacturing facility was the Red River Valley's ready supply of competent labor. Most of the original employees were engaged in farming or ranching and it was not unusual for them to dispose of their customary chores before and after work at B&W.

The Paris works' boiler components are exported to about 65 foreign countries. For this reason employees there say, "Boilers the world over bear the mark of Paris craftsmanship."

People make a town what it is and Paris is no exception. Paris has produced a number of well-known men. It is the home of Raymond Berry who established many National Football League records as a split-end for the Baltimore Colts. His father taught and coached many Paris works employees when they attended Paris High School.

Another famous Parisian is Senator A. M. Aikin. He is known throughout the state as "The dean of Texas schools," having earned this title for his efforts to upgrade the educational standards of the state. The most famous of his achievements are the Gilmer-Aikin Bills of 1949 giving teachers in the state their first salary increase.

Another well-known Paris resident is Ed Reed. His cartoons, entitled "Off the Record," appear in many newspapers across the country.

From a recreational standpoint, too, Paris has much to offer. Paris residents may enjoy concerts, museums, and libraries, of which there are four. There are five public parks with picnic and play areas; swimming pools; two golf courses; three lakes and four theaters.

A favorite activity of B&W people is the rodeo sponsored by the Babcock & Wilcox Employees Association. This is only natural since about 40 per cent of the employees live on ranches. Trophies are given for the first three places in cow riding, junior cow riding, calf roping, barrel racing, wild-cow milking, cutting horse riding, and steer wrestling events. The rodeo is usually held in conjunction with B&W's annual picnic.

B&W employees have very strong feelings about the town they work in. Bill Scarborough, works accountant, says, "Paris is a community on the move. The town is friendly and a good place to raise a family in." Jerry Coleman, works manager, says, "Paris is blessed with the natural resources of fertile soil and a good climate to support the agricultural segment of its economy, as well as having an abundant labor and water supply to support industrial growth." He agrees that Parisians are among the friendliest and most hospitable people to be found anywhere.

Robert L. Douglas and Charles F. Patterson, both of the drum and header shop, say Paris offers young people a good atmosphere to grow up in, and ample recreational activities.

Paris employees not only exhibit pride in their work, but also demonstrate pride in the Paris community. Many employees hold responsible positions in the town. David M. Griffin, personnel supervisor, is past director of the Paris chamber of commerce, past president of the Jaycees and former vice president of the Paris chapter of the Red Cross. He is also involved in the Boy Scouts and the United Fund. Spencer L. Abbett, a foreman in the section shop, is on the board of trustees of the Paris Independent schools and is also a board member of the Paris Humane Society. E. J. Shelby, foreman in the drum and header shop, is the deacon of the First Baptist Church in nearby Deport, Tex., and Jerry D. Coleman is on the advisory board at St. Joseph's Hospital and the board of directors of the United Fund.

With all this going for it, Paris cannot help but be a good place to live and work.

IN FAVOR OF PAY RAISE

HON. RICHARD C. WHITE

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 9, 1970

Mr. WHITE. Mr. Speaker, I was unable to be present at the time the vote was taken in the House on H.R. 16844, the postal and Federal employees pay raise measure. However, had I been able to be present, I would have voted in favor of the bill on final passage and against recommitment.

EARTH DAY, A TIME TO OVERCOME INTERNATIONAL POLLUTION

HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 15, 1970

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, interestingly, Lenin's 100th birthday this April 22 has been selected as Earth Day. A celebration allegedly promoted under the nobility of purpose of a mass crusade to combat pollution.

It may be accidental that some of the "Earth Day" people are overheard calling for "the destruction of the decadent capitalistic system." It may even be accidental if some of the speakers at the pollution rallies depart from their script to comment on Lenin's birthday and suggest the solution to modern man's problems can only be through a people's proletarian dictatorship.

But will anyone remind the emotionally charged youth that Lenin and his "establishment" are the greatest polluter of man? Will any of the speakers remind the innocent and misled of Lenin's indelible record of exploitation, repression, and deceit?

Earth Day could truly prove to be the great day of a new era in improving man's environment. Earth Day could become the rallying cause to those enslaved millions behind the iron curtain to also join in combatting pollution; the pollution of freemen—international communism.

A most interesting commentary on the internal unrest in the Soviet appears in the April 20 issue of the U.S. News & World Report. The article follows:

CAN LENIN'S COMMUNISM SURVIVE?—RUSSIA AT CROSSROADS

Soviet Russia stands today—in this Lenin centennial year—at a critical point in its history. Its goals are far from fulfillment and it is groping for new solutions to internal problems.

April 22 marks the 100th anniversary of the birth of Vladimir Illich Ulyanov, universally known as Lenin; creator of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and founder of the world's first Communist state.

It is decreed as a day of celebration and proclamation of the achievements of the Communist system—political, social and economic.

But expert Western observers say that the realities of life in the Soviet Union offer little cause for celebration and make a mockery of the ideas preached by Lenin—the dictatorship of the proletariat, a classless society, and the U.S.S.R. as a universal model to guide revolutionaries around the world toward development of their backward countries.

Where they failed. The record shows this: Russia's standard of living is one of the lowest among industrialized countries. The Soviet Union ranks 21st in per capita gross national products—the same position the country held 50 years ago.

Collectivization of agriculture has resulted in one of the world's most inefficient farming systems—dramatized this past winter by acute shortages of meat and even flour.

Instead of the dictatorship of the proletariat, a dictatorship of a small group of aging Communist Party bosses, backed by a vast army of bureaucrats, rules the country.

In contrast with the classless society prom-

ised by Lenin, Russia now has a society shot through with class privileges and discrimination in favor of the ruling few.

Something went wrong. The 1960s, by the Communist timetable, were to have been a golden decade for Russia, an era in which the nation would move into undisputed world leadership because of expected technological advances and economic gains. But something went wrong.

The decade that opened with Yuri Gagarin—a Russian—as the first man in space, ended with Neil Armstrong—an American—setting foot on the moon.

The decade that opened with Soviet hopes of overtaking the U.S. in production ended with Russia's economy falling further behind in growth.

Today, the Russian economy bears a striking resemblance in its basic patterns to that of the underdeveloped regions of Latin America. According to latest figures, 45 per cent of Russia's people are on the farms, compared with 48 per cent in Latin America. Some 27 per cent are in service industries, compared with 32 per cent in Latin America. And 28 per cent of the Russians are in industrial production, compared with 20 per cent of Latin Americans.

In some ways, of course, Russia is highly advanced. American military men have the greatest respect for its modern missiles, its jets, its submarines.

Even so, as the '70s open, many of Russia's scientists, intellectuals and others of the elite are recognizing that the bright promise with which the last decade began has not been fulfilled. There is much soul-searching.

These men tell each other that changes must be made. There are bottlenecks that must be broken before Russia can be steered off the road to stagnation and onto the road to broad progress.

For Soviets: a puzzle. The question is: How? Or, as Lenin said: "What is to be done?"

The problems confronting any proposal for basic change in Russia are as complex as the Russians themselves. They are not one people—as Communist theory would have it—but a number of different peoples, with different traditions, different racial strains, different ways of life, different values.

Take the Ukraine. With a population of 46 million, energetic and enterprising, steeped in proud traditions, possessed of rich resources, the Ukraine might have moved to a place as an important nation-state of Europe. Instead, it forms an integral part of the Soviet Union.

In the Ukraine, as in other Soviet republics—among the Estonians, Lithuanians, Uzbeks, Azerbaijanians, Georgians and on through the ethnic potpourri—internal problems are intensifying. For the Kremlin, the long-range implications are disturbing.

That is just one of the worries faced by the Soviet leadership. On pages that follow, categories of concern for the men who rule a troubled Russia in Lenin's centennial year are brought under analysis.

MINORITIES: OPPRESSION AND RESENTMENT

Ethnic Russians—Great Russians—dominate the Soviet Union today just as they did in the days of the Russian Empire, in the two centuries before Lenin installed his Communist system in 1917.

The Great Russians not only make up the bulk of the population in the European part of the country, but fan out in ribbons and pockets of population clear across to Siberia and the shores of the Bering Sea.

Peoples of the 14 non-Russian republics are minorities and treated as minorities—even though they now outnumber ethnic Russians. As a result, they chafe—and manifest signs of nationalism, one of which is resistance to "Russification."

Roots of rebellion. In the Ukraine, rebellion against Russian domination simmers close to the surface. For instance, at Lvov

University, Ukrainian youths have refused to use the Russian language in the classroom.

In recent crackdowns by Soviet police on Ukrainian nationalists, hundreds of intellectuals were subjected to rigorous investigations, mostly for such "offenses" as possessing non-Soviet books about the history of the Ukraine, or writing essays glorifying the Ukrainian past. After secret trials, a number were sentenced to confinement in labor camps.

In the Moldavian Republic, which borders on Rumania, a high Soviet official warned that nationalism was "very much alive" and demanded "increased vigilance" toward tourists because, he said, they could encourage nationalistic feelings.

Wholesale oppression. Anti-Russian feelings still run strong among the Baltic peoples of Lithuania, Estonia and Latvia, which were forcibly incorporated into the Soviet Union in 1940 and subjected to severe oppression by Stalin. The presence of Russians is resented and there is widespread reluctance to use the Russian language.

During World War II, Stalin deported some 250,000 Tatars from their Crimean homeland to Central Asia. An estimated 100,000 died during the forced exodus.

Under the present Soviet leadership, Tatars keep petitioning, agitating and demonstrating for permission to return to the Crimea. The Kremlin has not only rejected these pleas, but has thrown hundreds of Tatars into jail on charges of anti-Soviet activity.

Thousands of Tatars who managed to make their way to the Crimea were ruthlessly turned back after finding that Tatar village names and all other traces of Tatar culture had been eliminated.

Harassment of Jews. Soviet oppression of minorities extends in a particularly stringent way to people of the Jewish faith.

Western analysts say that the Kremlin's profound distrust of the 3 million Jews in the Soviet Union stems mainly from fear that their religious and national sentiments may cause them to put Israel ahead of their Soviet homeland, and from the suspicion that the high intellectual caliber of many Jews encourages them to question established authority.

Soviet Jews are not permitted to emigrate to Israel. They are compelled to toe publicly the Kremlin's official, anti-Israeli line. Any expression of sympathy for Israel risks persecution for "Zionism."

Jews are severely handicapped in any attempt to assert their religious identity. There are no Jewish schools, clubs or libraries. There are no Jewish newspapers and only one Jewish magazine, which publishes such Soviet propaganda as the assertion in a recent article that "Zionism operated on the same fascist thesis in whose name the Nazis threw 3 million Jews into the flames of destruction."

Moscow, with a population of 300,000 Jews, has only two synagogues. The Kremlin carved out the much-heralded "Jewish Autonomous Region" of Birobidzhan in the Far East, but Birobidzhan has only 15,000 Jews among 175,000 Russians. The official language is Russian. Jewish cultural life is virtually nonexistent. There is only one synagogue—and it has no rabbi.

An anti-Semitic work entitled "Judaism and Zionism," by Trofim Kichko, was published recently in the Soviet Union, and the author received a "certificate of honor."

"Liquidation" fears. The plight of Soviet Jews was described in a letter published in 1969 by a group of U.S. Congressmen—a letter which they said had been smuggled out of the Soviet Union by the Jewish Youth Committee of Russia. A passage from the letter:

"The Soviet Government's entire attitude toward Jews is built from beginning to end upon the aim to liquidate our people, to dissolve it in the huge mass, to destroy it."

Experts on Russia say that Soviet policies toward national minorities—relegating them

to secondary roles and frequently mistreating them—derive from the Kremlin's fear that nationalistic aspirations of the minorities could disintegrate the multinational empire inherited from Czarist days and thereby break up the power base of Soviet Communism.

Though a concerted rebellion of the minorities against Russian rule is not in the cards, the problems arising from ethnic and geographic differences are growing in scope.

Many Western analysts believe that Russia's armed crackdown on Czechoslovakia was ordered to prevent "Czechoslovak nationalism from spreading not only to other states of Eastern Europe but to the Soviet republics.

Compared with the restless minorities in the Soviet Union, Western authorities on Russia say, U.S. people, even with their serious racial problems, seem almost homogeneous.

MASS DISCONTENT: A RISING WAVE

Criticism of repression, of the ruling regime, of Communist ideology is still under tight rein—but has risen to a point which would have been unthinkable in the Stalin era and which surpasses anything seen in Khrushchev's days.

Discontent is not confined to intellectuals. Army and Navy officers, students, workers show signs of ferment.

Underground publications are being circulated to increasing numbers of people.

One, called "Chronicle of Current Events," has been appearing regularly on a bimonthly basis since April, 1968. It lists cases of infringement of civil rights of individuals, groups, national minorities. Underground organizations are springing up.

Seventeen intellectuals arrested in Leningrad in 1968 were accused of forming an "All-Russian Social-Christian Union for the Liberation of the People." The charge against a group of Soviet naval officers arrested recently was that they founded a "Union for the Struggle for Political Rights." Several senior officers of the Baltic submarine fleet have been imprisoned on a charge that they founded an underground organization.

Former Maj. Gen. Pyotr Grigorenko's political dissent led to his confinement in a psychiatric institution. Former Maj. Gen. Genrikh Altunyan was sentenced to three years in prison after he protested to the United Nations against Soviet injustices.

A protest movement involving scientists in the department of mathematical linguistics at Akademgorodok, the showcase "science city" near Novosibirsk, caused the Government to shut down the department. In the city of Gorki, five university students were expelled and drafted into the Army and four faculty members were fired—all for dissident political activity.

In Kiev, 600 workers signed a petition to the Communist Party's Central Committee, protesting inadequate housing. The next day, at a meeting in a factory, speakers for management were spat upon.

The growing militancy of dissidents was expressed in a memorandum circulated by a group of Estonian technologists, who asserted:

"We ask our Government for reforms. We are ready to keep asking for some time and to wait. But ultimately we shall demand and act. And then it will be necessary to deploy tank divisions—not in Prague and Bratislava, but in Moscow and Leningrad."

Yearning for freedom. What the dissidents are protesting, in most cases, is the lack of freedom to speak, publish and assemble freely.

The Government cracks down not only by sending offenders to prison, labor camps or insane asylums, but by economic penalties.

For instance, Alexander Solzhenitzyn, regarded by many as Russia's foremost writer, has suffered years of harassment and his works have been unpublished in the Soviet Union since 1962. Why? His books—"One

Day in the Life of Ivan Denisovich," "Cancer Ward" and "First Circle"—deal with political persecution. Last November, Solzhenitzyn was expelled from the Soviet Writers Union, which means that he is, in effect, blacklisted.

Most Western observers believe that the Soviet leadership can readily repress intellectual dissenters. More worrisome to the Kremlin, it is said, is the increasing ideological dissent among scientists.

An outstanding example of this discontent is a recent manifesto issued by the prominent nuclear physicist, Andrei Sakharov, challenging the right of the Communist Party to continue to enforce ideological orthodoxy.

Lenin believed that his revolution would end all revolutions. But some Russia-watchers in the West are convinced that now evident are the first stirrings of a new revolution—directed against the system which Lenin bequeathed.

"BROTHERHOOD": SUBJUGATION, HOSTILITY

Lenin dreamed of a "brotherhood" of Communism—a great international community of socialist states, led by the Soviet Union. Today's reality finds Russia in comparative isolation. At no time since World War II have the Soviets had so few friends around the world.

Communist China is an enemy in the East. Some experts believe that only a "balance of terror"—China's fear of Russia's nuclear weapons and Russia's fear of China's masses—prevents outbreak of full-scale war.

Communist countries of Eastern Europe are held in subjugation as Soviet satellites—kept in line only by the threat of armed intervention. In many other countries, nonruling Communist parties have repudiated Moscow's leadership.

"Enemies on all sides." Observers in the West point to this paradox: As the Soviet Union has grown stronger militarily over the past decade, it has become weaker politically. An author who fled Russia last year reports: "The more intelligent people in Russia realize that Soviet policy has produced a situation in which Russia seems to have enemies on all sides and very few friends."

Some examples of what has happened to Lenin's dream of "brotherhood":

When East German workers rebelled against their Communist Government in 1953, Russian troops marched in and crushed the revolt.

When the workers of Hungary rebelled against their Red leadership and its subservience to Moscow in 1956, Russian troops drowned the rebellion in blood.

When the Communist Government of Czechoslovakia attempted to take an independent course in 1968, the Soviet Army intervened.

Russian troops are stationed in Czechoslovakia, Poland, Hungary and East Germany. Soviet relations with Yugoslavia and Rumania are strained. Albania is an avowed enemy of Russia.

Goals still distant. Some in the West argue that Lenin, who understood the use of power, would have approved Russia's use of military force in Eastern Europe. It is argued, too, that Lenin would have been gratified by such moves as establishment of Soviet naval power in the Mediterranean and Soviet support of Cuba, a Communist state 90 miles from the U.S.

But the fact remains that after 50 years, Soviet Communism stands a long way from achievement of Lenin's global goals. To people in many countries, Soviet expansionist drives have looked very much like Czarist imperialism—and Communist "brotherhood" seems to be not a fulfillable dream but a shattered myth.

ECONOMIC WOES: SCARCITY AND SQUEEZE

Lenin prophesied that Communism would mean abundance for all. Instead, the average

Soviet citizen suffers today from an inadequate diet, shabby and overcrowded housing and a general shortage of consumer goods.

A later prophet, Nikita Khrushchev, predicted that by 1970 the Soviet Union would have passed the U.S. in total industrial production and would have the world's highest standard of living.

No such claims are being made by the present Soviet leaders. There is frank admission, in fact, that a serious slowdown in economic growth occurred in 1969, necessitating tighter state control over planning, tougher austerity measures and stricter work discipline.

Goods are priced sky-high in relation to average earnings. To earn the price of a pair of shoes, for example, a Russian must work 49 hours; an American, 4.5 hours.

Road to stagnation. If economic stagnation is to be averted in the Soviet Union, Western experts say, reforms are imperative—reforms that would depart from Lenin's theory of rigid control from the top and give plant managers greater authority.

But reform moves were abandoned because—analysts conclude—if implemented logically they would undermine the authority of the Communist Party and the powers of its army of bureaucrats.

This, it is said, points up the basic dilemma facing the Communist leadership as it strives to preserve the theories propounded by Lenin, and at the same time attempts to promote modern industrialization.

Rather than jeopardize the role of the Communist Party by introducing effective reforms—including some form of price mechanism and market economy—the Soviet leaders appear to have chosen stagnation.

The effects of the economic ills—at a time when so much is being made of the Lenin centennial celebration—confront the Communist rulers with serious worries. They find it more and more difficult to defend the Communist Party's claim to a unique, scientific understanding of the laws of social and economic development.

SOVIET FUTURE: END OF AN ERA?

In Europe, as well as in the U.S., many knowledgeable authorities say that the main question is this:

Can the present Communist system survive much longer in the Soviet Union? Answers suggested by experts vary. But there is agreement that the system based on Lenin's ideology is in dire trouble.

Michel Tatu, French specialist in Soviet political affairs, contends that "the Soviet regime in its present form is, by all the evidence, doomed in advance, and what we are currently witnessing is the end of one era much more than the beginning of a new one."

Wolfgang Leonhard, a leading West German analyst, says:

"The Soviet Union stands on the threshold of entry into a modern industrial society. The existing power structure in the U.S.S.R. is in no way suited to the new conditions and tasks. First and foremost, the development of Soviet society urgently requires a change in the economic system. . . . This means not simply surmounting the terrorist components of the system, but renouncing the all-embracing dictatorship of the party apparatus altogether."

"Tottering regime"? Andrei Amalrik, Russian historian who was arrested in 1965 and exiled to Siberia, believes that the regime is "tottering toward death." He foresees war with China between 1980 and 1985, with this result:

"The bureaucratic regime, which will be unable by its habitual half-measures simultaneously to wage a war, solve the economic difficulties and suppress or satisfy public discontent, will retreat further and further

into itself, lose control over the country and even contact with reality. A heavy defeat at the front or some major outburst of discontent in the capital—strikes or an armed clash—will suffice for the regime to collapse."

Others see the possibility of the rise of another Stalin. Anatoli Kuznetsov, a Soviet writer who defected last year while visiting London, paints this grim picture:

"An explosion—that is to say, a nationwide revolt capable of overthrowing the present regime—is impossible. The machinery of repression is too powerful for that. Nor can I see much hope for gradual democratization of the regime, because there is no real political life at all in the Soviet Union in the Western sense of the term. But there is the very real possibility of a new reign of terror, such as we knew under Stalin and such as the Russian people have known so many times in their history."

Where Lenin failed, American and European authorities point to the failures of Lenin's precepts and visions.

Lenin's vision was a "dictatorship of the proletariat." The reality is a dictatorship of the party elite.

Lenin dreamed of a "withering away" of state control. But the Soviet state exercises rigid control, enforced by police and bureaucrats.

Lenin's "classless society" never materialized. The ruling class is sharply set off from the rest—even in the educational structure. It is far more difficult for a worker's son to get an education than it is in many nations of the West.

At a time of adulation for Lenin, there is growing evidence that the masses no longer believe in the dream of a "Communist paradise." Workers and farmers, intellectuals and technicians show resentment of inequality, oppression, shortages, stifling controls over all aspects of life.

"This discontent," Amalrik writes, "now is beginning to manifest itself more and more loudly, and, in addition, many are beginning to wonder: who, in fact, is to blame?"

And Kuznetsov says that in Russia today Communism, as an ideology, "only provokes ironic and sad smiles."

The posters in Russia proclaim: "Lenin lives." But his dreams, it seems, are dead.

THE MARINE CORPS—A GREAT BRANCH OF THE SERVICE

HON. ROBERT L. F. SIKES

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 15, 1970

Mr. SIKES. Mr. Speaker, the Commandant of Marines, Gen. Leonard F. Chapman Jr., on March 28 issued a statement to general officers and commanding officers of the Marine Corps which was entitled: "Professionalism."

It is a splendid document, and it points to the fact that 5 years have passed since the first Marines landed at Danang in Vietnam to initiate the longest and in many ways the toughest war in Marine Corps history. It contains a startling statement that more than 690,000 Americans have worn the Marine Corps uniform thus far during this war, and that only 600,000 did so during World War II.

Of course it is obvious that the Marine Corps record in Vietnam is a proud one. Because of the importance and the dedication of this branch of the service, I

include General Chapman's statement in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD:

From: Commandant of the Marine Corps.
To: All General Officers and all Commanding Officers.

Subject: Professionalism.

1. Five years have passed since the 9th Marine Expeditionary Brigade landed in Danang and initiated the longest, and, in many ways, the toughest war in Marine Corps history. While diminishing in intensity, the end of this war is not yet in sight and many more months of dedicated priority effort will be required of our Corps there. More than 690,000 Americans have so far worn the Marine Corps uniform during this war and many more will; only 600,000 wore our uniform in World War II. Our record in Vietnam is one in which Marines of every age can be justly proud. It is a record made even more remarkable by the fact that a sizable number of Americans have not supported the war nor the men who fight it.

2. Now that our forces in Vietnam are diminishing under the President's program of Vietnamization, it is time to take stock and reflect on why we have done as well as we have under the most difficult circumstances we have ever experienced.

3. In my view, a principal ingredient to our success was the professionalism of the Marines who were on the rolls when the war started. That professionalism was made up of many things, but it was grounded in the belief that high standards in performance and discipline are vital to battlefield success—high standards not just in military proficiency and physical fitness, but in military appearance, in military courtesy, and in the cleanliness and squared-away appearance of the area where we live, work, and train, all a reflection of individual and group discipline. The true professional is aware that these standards are not ends in themselves, that in fact, they are the means by which we breed pride, and that pride, in turn, builds the kind of discipline that is essential to victory in combat with minimum casualties.

4. Because of the professionalism we had in 1965, Marines were ready—ready not only to deploy and move into combat, but ready to take on greatly increased individual responsibilities. Most privates became non-commissioned officers; many noncommissioned officers became officers; and many officers were rapidly promoted to higher grades. Under the leadership of those pre-Vietnam Marines, hundreds of thousands of young Americans entered the Corps and performed magnificently.

5. Now that the size of the Marine Corps is returning toward pre-Vietnam levels, it is our individual responsibility once again to insure that the professionalism of a smaller Corps can, if called upon, sustain us in whatever emergency the future may hold. In the austere years ahead, we, more than ever, need that fully combat-ready Marine force—high quality, high-spirited, professional, tough, lean, and highly disciplined.

6. It is our objective to achieve these goals during 1970, the critical year of transition, through the unrelenting personal efforts of all our officers and NCO's. We must reach this objective in addition to fighting our remaining units in Vietnam. Our principal actions, designed to tighten up and square away for the future peacetime Corps will be:

a. To enlist or commission in the Marine Corps only those who meet the highest standards.

b. To retain, to the fullest extent possible, only those who, by their performance, have demonstrated capability and dedication to the superior standards expected of them, and to separate from the Corps those who have not.

c. To pursue only those essential functions contributing directly to making the Corps a superbly effective, ready, fighting outfit.

d. To insure that the training given to each member of the Corps is designed not only for his professional development, but, more important, for the overall effectiveness of the Corps.

e. To assign to officers and NCO's challenging, demanding duties of ever-increasing responsibilities to further their development and increase their potential for leadership in any future crisis.

f. To evaluate objectively and professionally the performance of officer and enlisted personnel to insure that high standards are being met; to deal promptly and decisively with any deviations from these high standards.

g. To insure that each new Marine understands that with his uniform goes an esprit de corps based on pride in his Country, his Corps, his unit, and himself.

h. To bend every effort toward the improvement of living conditions of our Marines and their families, and to emphasize the importance of our responsibility to our Marine families wherever they may be.

7. Our success will be determined by the individual effort of each officer and NCO, and, in particular, of each commanding officer. We must renew our awareness of each Marine's importance, his performance, his conduct, his loyalty to our Corps and to our Country, his physical fitness, his appearance. Whenever degradations in any of these are observed, prompt and effective corrective action must be taken. The example set by officers and NCO's in their performance of duty, dedication, devotion to their Marines, conduct, military bearing, physical readiness, and appearance must be above reproach. We must be continually aware of the true readiness of our men and the condition of our equipment. Only in this way can we hope to maintain the dedication to our longstanding commitment to superior professionalism.

8. For the reasons I have mentioned I am requesting each of you to help me, each of you to dedicate yourself to this task, so that by the end of 1970 our Corps will continue to be, in the words of the 13th Commandant, General Lejeune, "... all that is highest in military efficiency and soldierly virtue." I know our Marines can and will meet this challenge.

9. All officers and NCO's are to be informed of the contents of this letter and the spirit in which it is written.

L. F. CHAPMAN, JR.

SALUTE TO SEA WORLD

HON. BOB WILSON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 15, 1970

Mr. BOB WILSON. Mr. Speaker, the city of San Diego looks out on the wide expanse of the beautiful Pacific Ocean and San Diegans are deeply involved in all aspects of ocean research and development. We are very proud of Sea World, which features some of the finest ocean actors and exhibitions in the world. In addition, Sea World has been very active in all fields of ocean research. I am pleased to share with my House colleagues the city of San Diego's proclamation declaring "Salute to Sea World Weekend" in honor of Sea World's sixth anniversary.

PROCLAMATION OF THE CITY OF SAN DIEGO

Whereas, Sea World in the City of San Diego will celebrate the beginning of its seventh year as one of the West's most famous visitor attractions on March 21, 1970; and

Whereas, in its past six years of operation, Sea World has given the opportunity to thousands of young San Diegans in jobs and business and therefore helped foster these young people in their pursuit of higher education and helped introduce them to business in the American economy; and

Whereas, Sea World has effectively combined an active research study of marine mammalogy and aquaria with a superb family oriented concept of shows, exhibits, and scenic rides and has entertained more than seven million residents of California and visitors to San Diego; and

Whereas, Sea World has maintained a quality of performance, appeal, and operating excellence that is a credit to our city and with all its entertaining value; Sea World has also published its findings resulting from marine study for the benefit and contribution to the science of oceanography;

Now, therefore, I, Frank Curran, the Twenty-eighth Mayor of the City of San Diego, do hereby proclaim the weekend of March 21 and 22 to be a "Salute to Sea World Weekend" in and for the City of San Diego and do urge our citizens of all ages to recognize this important sixth anniversary.

In witness whereof, I have hereunto set my Hand, this Twentieth Day of March, Nineteen Hundred and Seventy, and have caused the Seal to be affixed hereto:

FRANK CURRAN,
Mayor.

APOLLO 13

HON. GEORGE P. MILLER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 14, 1970

Mr. MILLER of California. Mr. Speaker, the editorial that appeared in the Washington Post today, and which I include for the RECORD, synthesizes the thoughts and feelings many Americans share with regard to the crew of Apollo 13. For me, the personal involvement of Americans and people everywhere is expressed most pointedly in the editorial when it says:

Since all of us shared the moments of triumph with the astronauts, we must share with them the moments of crisis, moments that they are accepting calmly and bravely, as a matter of probabilities and possibilities.

I urge every Member to reflect upon the thoughts that have been so eloquently expressed in the following editorial:

APOLLO 13: "—TO STAY ALIVE AND ON COURSE"

Until 10 o'clock Monday night, most of us had watched the space program with a complacency born of repeated success. The memory of the early disaster at Cape Kennedy and the constant reminders from the men of Apollo of the risks involved in each flight had been answered by the string of magnificent performances by craft and crew alike. Even the bolt of lightning that jarred the early minutes of Apollo 12 seemed more a demonstration of the invincibility of our spacecraft than a reminder of impending peril. Then came "a pretty large bang," from

a meteorite, or an explosion, or whatever, and suddenly we remember that three men are a long, long way from home, their lives suspended on the slimmest kind of thread. The warnings, the talk of risk and of danger, came flooding back.

Those who are in the Apollo program—the engineers, the planners, the astronauts themselves—have measured those risks many times. They knew something could go wrong anytime, anywhere. They hoped that when it did the men in the craft or the men in mission control could find a way to avoid disaster. But they had faced up to the possibility that a solution might not be found, that men might be stranded in space, that men might die—swiftly in a ball of fire or slowly as oxygen ran out. Now the rest of us must face up to these things. The risks the spacemen run are no greater, probably much less, than those we ask men to run daily in Vietnam. But they are merely more public—and more exotic. Since all of us shared the moments of triumph with the astronauts, we must share with them the moments of crisis, moments that they are accepting, calmly and gravely, as a matter of probabilities and possibilities.

What happened out there Monday night is far from the worst situation that the men of Apollo could have encountered, with a difference of a day or so. The same mishap, occurring while two men were on the surface of the moon, would have meant almost certain death, and so would have the same event, occurring during the trip home after the lunar lander had been jettisoned. Nevertheless, the situation is still touch and go. The moon landing craft, now the temporary haven for the astronauts, was not designed for that job. One slight flaw in its equipment might snap the thread on which life depends. Similarly, one slight crack in the heat shield induced by whatever went wrong Monday night could turn that small capsule into an oven as it plunges through the atmosphere at re-entry.

Thus the line between crisis and tragedy is still very thin. But it has always been so in the world in which explorers live. One slight miscalculation, one mechanical error, one unforeseen interference by nature, one human mistake and Columbus might not have discovered America, Lindbergh might not have flown the Atlantic, Hillary might not have made it up Mt. Everest. Mr. Lindbergh wrote of this in describing his epic flight:

"Looking ahead at the unbroken horizon and limitless expanse of water, I'm struck by my arrogance in attempting such a flight. I'm giving up a continent, and heading out to sea in the most fragile vehicle ever devised by man. Why should I be so certain that a swinging compass needle will lead me to land and safety? Why have I been so sure that I can hold the nose of the Spirit of St. Louis on an unmarked point on that uniform horizon and find Nova Scotia, and Newfoundland, and Ireland, and finally an infinitesimal spot on the earth's surface called Le Bourget?"

Lindbergh gave up a continent, as the astronauts gave up a planet, because he had measured the risks and found them reasonable, for all the possibility of disaster lurking around the corner—it does so every day for men and nations. So if we are going to applaud the glories, we must confront the dangers along the way. All we can do now, as that unlikely looking craft limps back from the moon, is to hope that the men who ride in it and the men in Houston who guide it can find what Lindbergh found.

"Somewhere in an unknown recess of my mind," he wrote, "I've discovered that my ability rises and falls with the essential problems that confront me. What I can do depends largely on what I have to do to stay alive and on course."

SHOE IMPORTS CONTINUE TO FLOOD U.S. MARKET

HON. JAMES A. BURKE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 15, 1970

Mr. BURKE of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, I call to the attention of the Members of the House of Representatives various news items that appeared in recent editions of the Brockton Daily Enterprise describing the shoe import crisis and the grave problems facing shoe workers and manufacturers:

[From the Brockton Daily Enterprise, Mar. 28, 1970]

SHOE IMPORTS CONTINUE TO FLOOD U.S. MARKET

BOSTON.—Shoe imports continue to flood the American market in record numbers at lower prices while domestic production lags, figures released by the American Footwear Manufacturers Association show.

Statistics reveal that 24.6 million pairs of shoes were imported into the U.S. in January an increase of 37 per cent over the figure for the average month last year.

Leather and vinyl imports or about 22 million pairs represented about half of the estimated domestic production of 44 million pairs for the month.

And while these shoes are flooding the market, the price at which they can be bought is decreasing. The report dated March 13 states that the "January, 1970, price (F.O.B.) per pair is \$1.90 or 13.6 per cent less than the \$2.20 per pair figure of 1969."

Of all the domestic types of shoes, women's footwear was the hardest hit in the past decade. In 1968-69 alone, domestic production of women's shoes decreased the most, by 17 per cent.

About the only type of domestic footwear to show an increase in production was slippers. Production in 1969 increased by 3.4 per cent while imports decreased by 38 per cent. Showing no increase or decline were men's, youth and boys', misses', children's, infants' and babies', and athletic shoes.

[From the Brockton Daily Enterprise, Mar. 31, 1970]

ELIZABETH WHELAN PREPARES STUDY ON SHOE INDUSTRY

When the League of Women Voters of Brockton holds its open public meeting on the shoe industry in Brockton, "Crisis in the Shoe Industry—Some Solutions," next Tuesday night at the First Parish Congregational Church on Pleasant St., mimeographed sheets of background material will be available to the audience.

The background material was compiled by Miss Elizabeth Whelan, foreign economic policy chairman of the Brockton League.

She is a graduate of Bridgewater State College, and has a master's degree from Boston University. She taught in the Keith school, in the Goddard Junior High School, and in the history dept. of Brockton High, where she taught "Problems of Democracy."

In December and February when the Brockton League held its Foreign Economic Policy study-discussion meetings under Miss Whelan's direction, the plight of the shoe industry under stress from the increased competition from imports came into focus, and the league decided to hold a public meeting where those affected in the shoe industry could find answers to their questions and some possible solutions to the problem.

Miss Whelan is very familiar with the shoe industry. Her father, the late Daniel E.

Whelan, was a shoemaker. He worked in the Brockton Cooperative, then London Shoe and the M. A. Packard Co. He was an officer in the Boot and Shoe Workers Union, and traveled for it as a national organizer. Miss Whelan worked summers at the C. A. Eaton Co. Her sister Louise worked at Walk-Over and another sister, Mary, worked at Thompson Brothers during summers. Both Louise and Mary also became teachers, and are both members of the Brockton League.

Co-chairman of next Tuesday's open meeting with Miss Whelan is Mrs. Margaret Tuck. Speakers will be Joseph Corcoran, president of Jones and Vining, James DeRosa, vice president of the United Shoe Workers of America, and Mr. Carroll P. Sheehan, Commissioner of the Massachusetts Dept. of Commerce and Development.

[From the Brockton Daily Enterprise, Apr. 6, 1970]

"SHOE CRISES" SPEAKERS LISTED

For the public meeting on the "Crisis in the Shoe Industry" on Tuesday at 8 P.M. in the Community Room of the First Parish Congregational Church on Pleasant St., the League of Women Voters is presenting an impressive group of speakers, authorities in different areas of the industry.

Mrs. John B. Stanbury, chairman on Foreign Economic Policy of the State League, will moderate the panel consisting of Carroll P. Sheehan, Commissioner of Commerce and Development of the Commonwealth; Joseph Corcoran, president of Jones and Vining Co.; James DeRosa, vice president of the United Shoe Workers of America; Kenneth H. Johnson, Brotherhood of Shoe and Allied Craftsmen; Mark L. Feeney, Jr., New England Footwear Assn.

Either William or Richard Tarlow will speak from their successful experience, and the Manufacturers Assn. will be represented by Executive Secretary Walter Spicer.

Following the formal remarks the meeting will be opened for audience participation. Copies will be available for distribution of a report prepared by Miss Elizabeth Whelan, retired Brockton High School teacher of U.S. History, economics and problems of democracy, who has completed research from documents and research recently reported to the Federal Government and private agencies.

Her field of concentration for her masters degree was in the field of the shoe industry particularly in connection with the development of the labor unions, as her father was one of the pioneers in the organization of the shoe workers. Since her retirement from teaching she has continued her interest and concern about one of our major industries and has been a most valuable leader in the league's studies of foreign commerce and its impact on the national as well as the local level.

Mrs. Philip Tuck has been cochairman. Mrs. John J. Svagzdys, president of the Brockton League, will welcome the guests.

[From the Brockton Daily Enterprise, Apr. 8, 1970]

SHOE INDUSTRY CRISIS CITED

(By Joe Krowski)

"A \$2.50 per hour wage against 20 cents per hour is the root of the shoe problem," asserted Carroll P. Sheehan, Commissioner of Commerce and Development for the Commonwealth in a seminar Tuesday night discussing the "Crisis in the Shoe Industry."

In a seminar sponsored by the League of Women Voters held at the First Parish Congregational Church, Sheehan along with Joseph Corcoran, president of Jones and Vining Co., Kenneth H. Johnson, Brotherhood of Shoe and Allied Craftsmen; and Mark L. Feeney, Jr., New England Footwear Assn. and moderator Mrs. John B. Stanbury chairman on Foreign Economic Policy of the State League,

discussed the problems facing the declining shoe industry on the local as well as national level.

Sheehan in the opening statement outlined the point of view the state takes regarding the shoemaker. He said it is the comparatively high wage the American worker receives in contrast with the low wage scales around the world that is creating problems in pricing American shoes. The average American shoe worker who is hard working and 52-years-old, and makes between \$150 and \$155 per week, is now faced with foreign imports and the fact of obsolescence because American factories have not modernized. The State is then forced to retrain the unemployed worker who cannot compete with foreign wages.

Sheehan finds no fault with buying foreign trade but the markup is excessive due to the inability of American retailers to find redress for defective items of foreign manufacture. This, he believes, is losing the advantage of cheap labor and in effect "exporting American jobs."

The unifying theme of the seminar was the agreement among members of the panel that the solution to the problem lies with the Federal Government and it is now beyond the scope of the state government to handle this crisis.

It was Sheehan's observation that the national government was responsible for the growth of industrial giants around the world that began in 1946 and is still continuing. "We are guided by the same policies but have failed to examine them in the light of present problems and my cry is please look at this in the light of today's problems," he continued, "because this goes beyond the shoe industry." Sheehan summed up with an admonition for the national government to "protect the home industries or otherwise we will turn into a nation of users who don't produce because we can't."

Joseph Corcoran quoted a letter from an indignant consumer who felt her consumer group of the "over 30" age bracket was being neglected by the domestic shoe manufacturers who catered to the younger buyers with stylish but uncomfortable footwear. He conceded an element of truth to her complaint and explained the difficulties in marketing shoes in this country.

Corcoran narrowed the problem into three categories which included the current tight money policies, the uncertainty of women's styles and the importing of low-cost foreign shoes.

In addressing the problem of marketing he stated that, "the American Footwear Industry, the Public Relations Department of the shoe industry, has a budget of less than \$150,000 a year. Ridiculous when you realize that their job is to present to the news media moves in the shoe industry." "Let's get out and tell the consumer why he should buy our products," was part of his answer to the problem of foreign shoe consumption in the United States.

He concluded with a laudatory appraisal of American shoe workers but he also noted that being the highest paid shoe workers in the world they are also the lowest paid of American industry.

Corcoran cited the Constitution's declaration that "Congress shall have the power to regulate commerce," and in order to save the sinking shoe industry "should take back its power over commerce."

Kenneth Johnson of the Brotherhood of Shoe and Allied Craftsmen recalled some disheartening events in the shoe industry within the past two years that affected local workers. In stressing the "impact" of foreign trade on Brockton shoe factories he noted that over the past two years the city has seen the closing of the Dartmouth Shoe Co., the Knapp Shoe Co., the Howard Foster Co., and, most surprisingly, the Victory Shoe.

Johnson called it "shocking" that one of the most modern shoe companies in America should fold. Each company was the victim of the competition of foreign trades in the shoe industry, according to Johnson.

Among some statistics that Johnson made available were projected losses of workers in the industry by 1975, and a conservative estimate of losses to Brockton shoe workers.

By 1975 we will lose an estimated 180,000 shoe workers out of a total of 250,000, and at present the conservative estimate of losses in earnings to Brockton shoe workers is \$2,000,000 and approximately \$3,000,000 worth of shoes not being shipped out of Brockton, noted Johnson.

The shoe workers union in Brockton has been working hand in hand with management to solve the problem of job security for the local shoe workers and securing the fate of the shoe industry in America. Because of the Foreign trade situation as it exists "no shoe worker can safely be sure of his job," stated Johnson and if quotas are needed this is what the union intends to seek.

In the approach to the problem of free trade it was made clear by the members of the panel that the national unions have reappraised their stand in this area because of the overall threat to all the unions by the cheaper European and Asian labor.

Mark L. Feeney reiterated the problems that beset the industry and revealed that in 1969, 29 factories had been closed with the resultant loss of jobs to over 4,000 people.

Feeney feels that the qualitative aspects of the American shoe industry, such as service ability and a quality product, should be exploited. But he felt that government protection was needed to stem the tide of foreign shoe imports.

Although the whole range of shoe interests and opinions was represented, from the public relations vehicle, the New England Footwear Assn. to labor and management, the mainstream of thought centered around the belief that the final answer rests with the federal government in Washington.

PREDATOR CONTROL PROGRAM DESCRIBED IN WASHINGTON POST ARTICLE IS PROVEN FALSE AND MISLEADING

HON. O. C. FISHER

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 15, 1970

Mr. FISHER. Mr. Speaker, the Washington Post on February 13 featured an article by a staff writer, Haynes Johnson, with this headline: "Poison Ravages Desert's Life Cycle." The article contains statements about Compound 1080, used to control depredations by coyotes that kill and maim sheep, lambs, and even young calves.

The coyote population has increased substantially the past few years, and sheep and cattle producers have suffered increased losses from this predator. In fact, coyote activity has helped to discourage sheep production and has contributed to a reduction in the sheep population in recent years.

Livestock producers have no interest in exterminating coyotes that operate in areas where livestock are not being produced. When these predators destroy domestic animals the producers must, of course, defend themselves. The only way to do this is to destroy the predators,

or at least reduce their numbers. Otherwise the economic loss becomes unbearable.

After reading the story in the Washington Post I requested an analysis of the article by the Bureau of Sport Fisheries and Wildlife of the Department of the Interior. In response I have received a communication of this nature from John S. Gottschalk, Director of that agency. The letter is factual and enlightening. It follows:

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR,
Washington, D.C., April 7, 1970.

Hon. O. C. FISHER,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. FISHER: This is in further response to your telephone inquiry about the article in the Washington Post of February 13 regarding one of our programs in Arizona.

The article dealt generally with the subject of predator control. Its principal focus was on Compound 1080, a lethal toxicant used in control of certain predators, mainly coyotes. The article's alarming tone raised serious questions about the impact of this chemical on man, on the environment, and particularly on wildlife resources. The implication was that the Federal Government, through the Bureau of Sport Fisheries and Wildlife and its Division of Wildlife Services, is conducting an irresponsible and indiscriminate killing program, using a dangerous chemical in a most hazardous manner, and that the program is conducted by incompetent personnel.

These implications are incorrect. The Bureau is not conducting an indiscriminate program in Arizona or in any other State. Compound 1080 is not being used irresponsibly, nor does it pose a threat to the environment. The program is administered and supervised by a professionally trained work force.

The Congress has directed that the Interior Department control certain species of wildlife to protect agriculture, horticulture, forestry, animal husbandry, and other such pursuits (Act of March 2, 1931; 46 Stat. 1468; 7 U.S.C. 426-426b). Under that Congressional directive, a program of animal damage control is conducted by the Bureau of Sport Fisheries and Wildlife, in accordance with an Interior Department policy which recognizes the intrinsic value of all wildlife species and the need to manage wildlife for all of the people. The policy contains a philosophy for controlling wildlife depredations in a responsible manner with consideration for the viability of the overall ecology.

Compound 1080 is a chemical toxicant used by the Bureau in controlling coyote numbers. It is highly lethal in small amounts to canids such as coyotes—less so to other animals. For coyote control, it is used in meat baits placed in late fall and picked up in early spring. Each placement is made at the request and approval of the landowner or land-managing agency, followed by a determination of need by the Bureau. All sites are clearly marked.

Compound 1080 is one of the most carefully studied toxicants in use today. Originally discovered in the mid-1800's, it was studied and developed internationally by the Public Health Service, the University of Chicago, the British Commonwealth Scientific Sanitary Bureau, and others. Bureau use began in 1944. In 25 years of use, it has not been responsible for the elimination of a single species, nor the reduction of any non-target populations. Quite obviously, eradication of coyote populations has not occurred in areas where it is used.

The Washington Post article contains a number of gross inaccuracies, one of which deserves clarification. The article stated:

"A study report submitted to the then

Interior Secretary Stewart Udall in 1964 recommended against the use of 1080 poison."

Precisely the opposite is true. The reference is to a study submitted in 1964 to the Secretary of the Interior by the "Leopold Committee," consisting of Dr. A. Starker Leopold, Chairman and distinguished wildlife biologist of the University of California; Dr. Ira N. Gabrielson, then President of the Wildlife Management Institute; Mr. Thomas L. Kimball, Executive Director of the National Wildlife Federation; Dr. Clarence Cottam, Director, Welder Wildlife Foundation; and Dr. Stanley A. Cain, Ecologist with the University of Michigan. This blue-ribbon Committee reviewed carefully the use of 1080 and pointed out problems which result from violations of regulations. Nevertheless, it concluded:

"However, if regulations for the placement and treatment of 1080 stations are strictly followed, we agree . . . that it is perhaps the most efficient and one of the least damaging methods of coyote control in open lands of the western United States."

Following through on the findings of the Leopold Committee, regulations on the use of Compound 1080 have been tightened. The policy and regulations are being strictly enforced.

The Bureau is carrying out a responsible program, directed by law. We shall carry out this and other programs in a professional manner.

Sincerely yours,
JOHN S. GOTTSCHALK,
Director.

MIDLAND GLASS HONORED FOR ANTIPOLLUTION DRIVE

HON. JOHN T. MYERS

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 15, 1970

Mr. MYERS. Mr. Speaker, it was my honor last weekend to observe firsthand the commitment of a major industry in the Seventh Congressional District of Indiana to this Nation's antipollution campaign.

The occasion was the kickoff of the antilitter recycling program of the Midland Glass Co., of Terre Haute, Ind. Public response was overwhelming with more than 1,500 persons delivering 72,261 glass bottles which will be melted and reused in the manufacturing of new bottles.

People of all age groups participated in the cleanup drive which Midland initiated in response to President Nixon's state of the Union appeal to improve the natural quality of the American environment and to concentrate research efforts to develop systems that will result in recycling of packaging materials.

Most impressive to me was the number of young people who took part in this drive to attack that segment of solid waste disposal which relates to the tons of litter we find along our highways, streets, and public areas. If we can impress this generation with the fact that individuals are major offenders in the Nation's pollution problem, then I believe we are on the road to solving this problem.

The pollution of our environment is a matter of national concern and the Federal Government has an obligation to set and enforce the highest standards of

pollution control. At the same time, the States, communities, industry, and each citizen must play a role in pollution control.

Midland Glass has voluntarily initiated a program which would become mandatory for all industry under legislation I have proposed, H.R. 16110. I hope other industries will follow Midland's lead in this effort to make America a better place in which to live.

An explanation of the Midland Glass Co., Inc., program and the results of the first antilitter campaign are outlined in the following statement prepared by Mr. H. J. Keefe, manager of the Terre Haute plant of Midland Glass:

TERRE HAUTE.—Midland Glass Company yesterday announced a program to recycle the type of glass used in convenience packaging of beer and soft drinks.

William Ware, Midland Glass Company's director of Government Industry relations, said the recycle program is his company's immediate response to President Nixon's recent State of the Union appeal to improve the natural quality of the American environment and to concentrate research efforts to develop systems that will result in the recycling of packaging materials.

Mr. Ware said that "glass, besides being one of the oldest of packaging materials, is also ideally suited to recycling".

The glass will be recycled by reducing beer and soft drink bottles to crushed glass, known as cullet, and remelted in the glass furnaces as a raw material.

The Midland Glass Anti-Litter Recycling Program is designed to attach that segment of solid waste disposal which relates to the highway and the community outdoors.

Mr. Ware, citing research of "Keep America Beautiful, Inc.", said that highway litter is made up of 59 per cent paper, 16 per cent metal cans, 6 per cent plastic, and 6 per cent glass containers.

It was also pointed out that every American is capable of producing between three quarters of a ton to one ton of solid waste per year, and this figure is increasing at a steady rate.

The Midland Glass Recycling Program offers one practical method to control and balance the influence of glass in waste while restoring a natural resource of glass as a modern packaging material.

People will be able to bring in beer and soft drink bottles of the non-returnable convenience type for reclamation. Midland will pay one half cent for the small size bottles, up to and including 16 ounce capacity, and one cent for the family size bottles, ranging in capacity from 17 ounces thru 32 ounces.

In addition to receiving cash payment for bottles delivered to the Midland plants, persons coming to the Collection Center will also have an opportunity to win a Sweepstake Prize and a Grand Prize for the greatest value of glass bottles brought to the Center on each Clean-up Day.

The first clean up day brought over 1,500 people of Midland's parking lot. Lads and lassies from 6 to 60 brought their bottles in for reclamation. Midland paid one half cent for containers up to sixteen ounces and one cent for each container of seventeen ounces or larger. The total number of bottles purchased from the public was 72,216 which was more than twice the expectations of Midland officials.

Everyone that participated was eligible for prizes. The Grand Prize, which was a \$50.00 Savings Bond, went to the Terre Haute Boys Club. The youths from this organization brought in over 7,100 bottles.

Two additional \$50.00 Savings Bonds went to Mary Tuttle and Rachael Ballard. A boys

bicycle went to Harold Kelley of Terre Haute. This lad personally brought in 4,112 bottles. A girls bicycle went to Mary Hillman of Terre Haute who brought her bottles to the plant in a little red wagon. She made several trips throughout the day.

Midland Glass wants to express their thanks and gratitude to all the youth, fraternal, civic and religious groups and individuals that contributed their time and efforts to make this a very successful event.

Since the program was accepted so well by the Community, another clean-up day has been scheduled for May 16, 1970. Midland hopes that other manufacturers will get on the band wagon and set up similar recycling programs in order that we can make this a cleaner and better America.

"Many charities and civic organizations may well find this program to be an excellent method for raising funds", he said.

When the program has proved successful and is operating smoothly, Midland Glass plans to extend the Cliffwood & Terre Haute concept to its other plant at Shakopee, Minn.

"While convenience glass containers account for a minor part of the total environmental quality problem, we at Midland Glass feel that if our industry can contribute in developing systems to recycle convenience glass packaging, other industries will be encouraged to join this effort for a cleaner, better America".

MINNESOTA SOYBEAN GROWERS GET GOVERNMENT BACKING

HON. ANCHER NELSEN

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 15, 1970

Mr. NELSEN. Mr. Speaker, my good friend, Clarence D. Palmby, Assistant Secretary of Agriculture, recently gave a most interesting speech in Mankato, Minn., on the changing soybean situation. The occasion was Minnesota Soybean Growers Day.

In his talk, Mr. Palmby stressed the continued intention of our Government to obtain the total removal of the import levy being charged by Japan on our soybeans. In fact, our Government has already been successful in persuading the Japanese to remove half this restrictive levy, effective within a few weeks.

Also pleasing to those of us concerned for the future market of this important U.S. crop was Mr. Palmby's renewed pledge, on behalf of the Government, to defend the right of U.S. soybean growers to sell in the Common Market nations of Europe without trade barriers.

I insert Mr. Palmby's entire speech at this point in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD:

WE KEEP CHANGING

Perhaps the ultimate measure of a Minnesotan's devotion to home is the degree of his eagerness to return here in February. At least, that is what some of my Washington friends think. It may be true that only a native of the upper Midwest can fully appreciate the place of winter in the harmony of things. A poet has said that winter is the mother of spring, and when spring follows a Minnesota winter you can be sure it is really official.

I am delighted to be here. It is a personal pleasure for me to have a part in Minnesota Soybean Growers Day.

Not only is this my home county, it is

a part of the Congressional District of Ancher Nelsen—a good friend of agriculture and all of us.

You particularly do me honor by affording me the opportunity to talk about soybeans, a crop that contributes much to the better life for many around the world.

Choice foods which in one way or another are derived from soybean products are almost endless in number. Because of this, I wish to exercise a great amount of latitude in talking about several things which I choose to entitle "We keep changing".

Consider for a moment the oil derived from the soybean. Compare consumption trends with competing fats and oils.

Over the past 10 years, one of the things that impresses is the decline in the use of animal fats, and the general rise in the use of vegetable oils, particularly soybean oil.

The consumption of butter in the United States continues to decline. The per capita consumption dropped from around 7.5 pounds in 1960 to 5.5 pounds in 1969. There was a dramatic drop in total lard consumption—from 11.1 pounds per capita to 8.5 pounds per capita. There has been a modest rise in consumption of edible tallow in the past decade (from 1.8 to 2.6) but not nearly enough to offset the total decline in total use of animal fats.

The production of butter, lard and edible tallow in this country totaled 4.4 billion pounds in 1960. By 1969, output had fallen to 3.6 billion pounds. Thus there was about a billion pounds less annually of butter, lard and edible tallow available for consumption at the end of the decade.

The total per capita consumption of edible vegetable oil and animal fats in the United States in 1969 totaled 51.6 pounds as compared to 45.3 pounds in 1960. Interestingly, the per capita consumption of animal fats decreased to 16.6 pounds in 1969 as compared to 20.4 pounds in 1960, while the vegetable oil per capita intake totaled 37.2 pounds in 1969 as compared to 28.5 pounds in 1960. Soybean oil accounts for 28.4 pounds of the vegetable oil portion last year as compared to 18.8 lbs. in 1960.

Total production of edible vegetable oil rose from 6.6 billion pounds in 1960 to 9.0 billion pounds in 1969. So while animal fat production was down nearly a billion pounds, vegetable oil production was up nearly 2.5 billion pounds.

Various factors figured in these changes. Cottonseed oil production declined with the drop in cotton production of recent years. At the beginning of the 1960's cotton production was running at 14.3 million bales. In 1969, the crop was 10.1 million.

The drop in lard production is related to the higher quality of meat-type hogs being produced. If you look at USDA grading standards for hogs today, you find that today's U.S. No. 3 slaughter hog is quite close in appearance to what we thought of 20 years ago as the top of the market, No. 1 and 2 hogs are of a much leaner type.

The drop in butter production is related to the long-term trend toward the substitution of margarine on the family table.

So it is plain that we are in a period of change in the use of fats and oils—as in other parts of the agriculture and food economy. *We keep changing.*

There is an overall increase in the use of fats and oils. And an increasing share of this market has gone to vegetable oils. I suspect that the general increase in the use of these products is in part a reflection of the changing eating habits of Americans—changes in the time, the place, and the frequency of eating.

We know that the use of "snack-type" foods has gone up sharply. A Department of Agriculture study a few years ago showed a definite rise in this kind of consumption. This seems to be related in part to the rising

percentage of young people in the population. From my observation, I would suspect that additional factors are television and professional football. We no longer eat three times a day; eating seems to be a continuous process, especially on week-ends.

A similar phenomenon is the growth of the so-called "fast-food" enterprises. This is the volume hamburger stand, the chicken carryout, the roast beef sandwich vendor, and a whole range of enterprises now being promoted by entertainment personalities and sports heroes.

Between 1968 and 1969, total restaurant business went up 2.8 percent—not a startling figure. But restaurant chains—and many of these are in the fast-food category—increased their dollar sales by 18.7 percent in one year. *We keep changing.*

Now let's turn to soybean meal.

It is plain that Americans are eating much more meat and poultry than was the case a few years ago. And what's more, consumers are paying less for these choice food items each passing month on a trend basis in relation to other consumer goods. This is quite a tribute to the American farmer—whether consumers realize it or not. And I am afraid they do not realize it.

Between 1960 and 1969, per capita consumption of red meat in this country rose from 161 pounds to 182 pounds with a rise in beef consumption that was most striking. Beef consumption per person went up from 85 pounds per capita to 110 pounds.

The consumption of poultry also went up in a spectacular way—from 35 pounds in 1960 to 48 pounds in 1969—a rise of one-third. Thus the combined consumption of meat and poultry went up from 196 pounds to 230 pounds per person in nine years. The average American is eating a higher quality protein diet than ever before, by far. *We keep changing.*

The steady upgrading of diets in America promises continued growth in opportunity for farmers who produce feedstuffs and animal products. To Americans, good living means meat and milk, poultry and eggs, and a rising population with rising living standards means opportunity for this sector of agriculture. Good living also seems to mean more snacks—more carryout foods.

The same influences are at work around the world. We could cite trends in Japan, in Korea, in Taiwan that add up to growing markets for feed ingredients and vegetable oils—soybeans to you! Western Europe continues to expand per capita use of animal products, although the European Community shows a disturbing tendency towards rationing high protein foods via the price technique. But this is another speech.

Our country is blessed with abundance beyond man's imagination. Of all our abundance, however, in the eyes of understanding farmers around the world, the most envied is our huge volume of soybean meal for poultry and swine rations.

Broiler producers in Rumania, Czechoslovakia, Russia, Korea and in an almost endless list of countries all over the world would like to be able to incorporate exactly the right amount of high quality soybean meal in feed formulas—the correct amount to make possible the maximum of broiler meat per ton of feed.

What then is the soybean situation mid-way in the 1969-70 marketing year?

The situation can readily be summarized. United States soybean producers will receive a record level of dollars for the 1969 crop.

The CCC loan rate was lowered 12.3%—from \$2.50 per bushel for #2 beans in 1968 to \$2.25 for #1 for 1969.

Prices received (national average) or to be received by farmers will be down 3 to 4% from \$2.42 per bushel in 1968 to \$2.32 or better.

Total disappearance will be up about 18%

from 946 million bushels in 1968 to over 1,100 million in 1969.

Total dollars received up 13% from \$2.3 billion to \$2.6.

We disappeared 87% of the 1968 crop last year. We should disappear right at 100% of the record 1969 crop this marketing year. How can this happen?

Exports of soybeans will be up 55 to 70 million bushels this marketing year—a record annual increase.

Soybean meal exports seem to be increasing at the rate of about 15% this year.

Domestic crushing is, of course, moving at an all-time high.

The availability of soybeans in the United States has been a blessing to the growing poultry and swine industry around the world. Without the availability of soybean meal the poultry and swine industry simply could not expand in the manner in which it has.

The lessened competition in the world market from Russian sunflower seed and oil has naturally contributed to the strength in the world oil market.

To an outside observer, it would seem that the pressure from within Russian for more oil in the diet of its people may be a major factor in what is taking place in the lack of availability of sun oil for world commerce.

The present healthy movement in soybeans and soybean products dare not allow the United States to relax in keeping trade channels open around the world.

Japan will be encouraged to do away with the import levy on our soybeans. Half of this levy is now scheduled to be removed on April 1. Particularly, in the light of trade balances between the two countries, Japan will be urged to remove the balance of the levy—and at an early date.

While the EEC has recognized our right to supply soybeans duty-free to the Community, we dare not relax in our determination to have this right respected in the future. Soybeans have enjoyed a growth market situation in Europe not unlike small European cars have enjoyed a growing market in the United States.

Crushing margins have been attractive to soybean processors in the U.S. during this marketing year. Returns to swine producers are also quite satisfactory and have been for several months. This is the American system.

Great forces are at work in our Nation influencing the buying habits of housewives. We are experiencing a greater recognition and increased expenditure aimed at the lower income groups in our Nation. These programs are felt in the market place.

The programs and the expenditures offer opportunities to those involved in the food industry—and you are all involved in that industry.

Profits or operating margins attract capital. You may be sure that soybean processing capacity in this Nation will expand. Plant equipment will also be made more efficient. Likewise, we shall see more capital investment flow into commercial hog production. I mention these two because each industry in its own way is of great interest to soybean producers. Soybean crushers like swine producers have a habit (after experiencing favorable returns) of over-expanding and tightening their margins.

It should always be remembered that the capacity to produce—the capacity to process—is determined by the level of capital investment flowing into production machinery.

The prosperity of your soybean industry is affected by the situation prevailing in many other industries. Your industry is affected by world events; your industry is affected by the ability of all of us to influence and help shape events and economic trends in the world. This is why it is good that you consider the broad policy questions influencing your business. It is also why I am pleased to have been with you today.

LEAD POISONING IN CHILDREN

HON. WILLIAM F. RYAN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 15, 1970

Mr. RYAN. Mr. Speaker, recently the public has become aware of a disease which has been plaguing young children in the urban ghettos at an epidemic rate.

This environmental illness is lead poisoning. It affects children between the ages of 1 and 6 who eat chips and pieces of paint which falls from the walls and ceilings in slum housing.

Symptoms of the disease are so similar to a virus or flu that often a child is not taken to a doctor until the disease has reached serious proportions. When it gets to this stage, lead poisoning can result in mental retardation, epilepsy, cerebral palsy, brain damage, and even death.

I have introduced three bills aimed at combating this needless childhood disease. This legislation has been reintroduced several times to include some 20 cosponsors. Senator EDWARD KENNEDY has introduced similar legislation in the Senate with 19 cosponsors.

H.R. 9191—H.R. 13256 and H.R. 14736 with cosponsors—establishes a fund in the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare from which the Secretary can make grants to local governments to develop programs to identify and treat individuals afflicted with lead poisoning.

H.R. 9192—H.R. 13254 and H.R. 14735 with cosponsors—authorizes the Secretary of Housing and Urban Development to make grants to local governments to develop programs designed to detect the presence of lead-based paints and requires that owners and landlords remove it from interior walls and surfaces.

H.R. 11699—H.R. 13255 and 14734 with cosponsors—requires that a local government submit to the Secretary of Housing and Urban Development an effective plan for eliminating the causes of lead-based paint poisoning as a condition of receiving any Federal funds for housing code enforcement or rehabilitation. It also requires that the plans be enforced.

I am inserting in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD an article by Miss Martha Fisher, which appeared in the February issue of the Journal of Housing. Entitled "Lead Poisoning in Children," it traces the problem of lead poisoning and the attempts to prevent and combat the disease.

I urge my colleagues to read this article. We have the power to do something about this disease. We have the means, the present pending legislation, to do something about the disease.

We must all support this attempt to stop this needless, environmental hazard.

The article referred to, follows:

LEAD POISONING IN CHILDREN

(By Miss Martha Fisher)

So began a report prepared by Baltimore health officials in 1952. Eighteen years later, delegates protesting policy statements at NAHRO's 1969 national conference raised the question: "Where does NAHRO stand on the lead poisoning epidemic that is crippling the children of America's slums—the slums our programs have failed to eliminate, the slums

our programs sometimes help to create?" (see 1969 JOURNAL No. 10, page 530).

Statistics that measure the incidence of lead poisoning and back up the "epidemic" charges are difficult to obtain and are generally estimates projected from the inadequate quantity of factual data now available. This lack of statistics does not reflect a mere lack of records but many years of undiagnosed, untreated lead-poisoned children, almost all of whom have been residents of deteriorated housing painted long ago with lead-based paint. During these many years, even though lead poisoning is considered a completely preventable disease, little public attention has been given to these poisoned children or to the hazards of the environments in which they live.

Then, in March 1969, a conference was held at Rockefeller University in New York City for the purpose of exploring the problem of lead poisoning. This conference, sponsored by the New York Scientists' Committee for Public Information and several other groups of local scientists and health officials, and attended by health officials from various parts of the country, appears to represent the first anti-lead effort to receive widespread national recognition. It was, of course, preceded by several local experiences in fighting lead poisoning and by a number of private and locally sponsored studies aimed at finding answers to the numerous questions that surround the lead issue. Especially in the last three years, neighborhood groups and professionals in a number of cities have become increasingly active in working for public support of programs for lead elimination or health care for lead poisoned children. But few of these efforts appear to have spurred any general awareness or interest in the "silent epidemic" of lead poisoning . . . until the New York conference last spring.

In the months following that conference, the amount of attention that has been focused on the lead poisoning issue has brought it recognition as a national problem requiring the country's immediate efforts. "There are" in the words of the conference report, "social, economic, legal, and technological barriers to eliminating the hazard, but as the Conference Chairman, Dr. Rene DuBois, said in summary: "The problem is so well defined, so neatly packaged, with both causes and cures known, that if we don't eliminate this social crime, our society deserves all the disasters that have been forecast for it."

While Dr. DuBois' words were harsh, they are not out of line with the sentiments of many who are involved in the campaign to eliminate lead poisoning. In the eyes of most of these critics, lead poisoning is the result of neglect, which, regardless of past explanations, they find inexcusable. It is recognized that further medical and technical research is needed for the development of improved means of fighting the anti-lead battle; yet, it is also recognized that, in spite of their several drawbacks, there are methods now available that have been proven effective. Most critics argue for the immediate implementation of these methods.

Housing Problem: Above all, spokesmen for anti-lead groups have emphasized that lead poisoning is a housing problem and that the disease will continue until the slum conditions that produce it have been eliminated. The disease begins within deteriorated buildings where painted surfaces have chipped and peeled. Small children who live in such poorly maintained houses and who suffer from "pica"—a craving for non-food substances, said to be common among young children—become attracted to the loose paint, which is often sweetly flavored with lead acetate.

Most manufacturers stopped distributing interior paints with more than 1 percent lead content about 20 years ago and the walls and woodwork of most older houses, whatever their condition, have several lay-

ers of lead-free paint overlaying old lead-based paints. But, once these many layers are chipped or begin to peel, the lead-free coverings provide no protection to the pica child.

Dr. J. Julian Chisolm, Jr. of Johns Hopkins University estimates that ingestion of two or three paint chips a day, over a three-month period, would put enough of the old lead-based paint into a child's system to cause a severe illness, which could result in death or permanent mental retardation. Of the children who accumulate enough lead to cause severe symptoms—normally convulsions and sometimes coma—25 to 50 percent eventually recover. The remaining 50 to 75 percent suffer severe brain damage or die from the poisoning.

Recently, the statistics concerning the number of poisoned children whose lives are lost has declined with the use of new treatments, which displace lead in the blood with calcium and free the lead to be excreted. These treatments, however, cannot repair any brain damage that may have occurred before the child was seen by a doctor. A citizens' committee in New York City has circulated a poster depicting a child's coffin. "Johnny is lucky," the poster says. "He died."

Many children who have consumed dangerous quantities of lead never become convulsive and are, therefore, never diagnosed and never treated. Preliminary symptoms of lead poisoning—stomach cramps, vomiting, irritability—so closely resemble milder and more familiar childhood diseases they are often ignored or improperly diagnosed. At present, there is no evidence to determine whether these milder cases of poisoning may also result in brain damage, though of milder and less easily detectable extent. If such is the case, then the level of learning achievement in schools in heavily leaded neighborhoods, and the quality of the society in which children from these neighborhoods, once grown, attempt to participate, may be severely reduced.

A few cities have initiated anti-lead programs in an attempt to halt this "social crime" but, until recently, all such programs have concentrated only on the environmental aspects or only on the medical aspect of this two-sided problem. "No city," according to Glenn Paulson, co-chairman of the New York Scientists' Committee for Public Information, "has made an adequate response."

Baltimore Has Had Program Since 1935: Baltimore's program, the oldest in the country, is generally described as one of environmental treatment. In 1935, the city's bureau of laboratories began offering free blood lead determinations to physicians and hospitals to insure proper diagnosis in lead poisoning cases. Since that time, regulations have been adopted forbidding the use of heavily leaded paint (above 1 percent lead content) in interiors. Massive educational programs have been undertaken to alert both parents and physicians of the sources and symptoms of lead poisoning. For the last 20 years, a full-time nurse has been employed by the health department to visit the homes of children known to suffer from abnormal lead ingestion and to gather samples of paint and plaster to be tested for lead content. Whenever these samples are found to contain a dangerous amount of lead, the landlord is required, under the city housing code, which prohibits the existence of any health hazard, to strip or cover all painted surfaces within reach of a child. The recommended procedure is to cover all wall surfaces with wall-board to a height of 4 feet and to scrape and repaint above that height. Woodwork, including window sills, must be burned or sanded until all old paint has been removed and is then repainted.

An awareness of the lead hazard and a policy of removing lead from the environment has, over a period of years, put Baltimore far ahead of most cities in reducing

the incidence of lead poisoning. But critics of Baltimore's efforts believe the city should do more than it has under the present program. A few observers have argued for more stringent enforcement of almost every facet of the program, including a change in the covering procedure to require complete covering or removal of lead-based paint from all wall and ceiling surfaces. Most critics, however, indicate satisfaction with the city's environmental treatment efforts but propose the addition of a mass medical program to search out and treat all children in high-risk areas who may be suffering from undetected elevated blood lead levels.

Chicago Started Program in 1966: Chicago began such a program in August of 1966 and, in spite of the fact that the number of reported poisoning cases increased as more testing was done, the city's health department was able to report that the number of deaths attributable to lead poisoning has declined steadily from 14 in 1967 to 10 in 1968 and to one in 1969. While a number of cities have resisted pressure to inaugurate large-scale screening programs on the basis that present testing methods are inadequate, Chicago has used several of the tests that are available and reports satisfaction with an atomic absorption testing unit, which yields lead-level determinations from blood samples. The Chicago health department now has two of these units, each of which can test up to 1000 blood samples per week, though the difficulties involved in collecting blood samples do not allow the department to utilize the testing units to full capacity. Lead-level tests from urine samples, which are easier to collect, are generally considered less accurate and a test to determine lead levels from snippets of hair has not yet been perfected.

In addition to its child screening program, Chicago has moved gradually—but not slowly—toward the implementation of an environmental treatment program. In January 1969, a lead paint ordinance came into effect enabling the buildings commissioner to require an owner to remove or cover any paint with more than 1 percent lead content. To effectively enforce the new ordinance, code enforcement officials were carefully informed of the significant hazards peeling paint presented. At the same time, the city's health department made a thorough study of the techniques and equipment used in its laboratories for determining lead content in paint and plaster samples. The wet chemical process previously employed was found to be unnecessarily slow and the decision was made to employ a third atomic absorption testing unit to test these samples.

As in Baltimore, the health department in Chicago has combined an intensive educational campaign with its medical and environmental programs and so far the Chicago program has produced encouraging results. A major factor in the success of the Chicago program, according to Assistant Health Commissioner Edward King, has been the willingness of various city agencies to cooperate in building an effective program for the elimination of the lead poisoning threat.

Several other cities have made a variety of attempts at establishing anti-lead campaigns but, even as in Baltimore and Chicago, these programs have encountered many barriers and many critics.

New Haven Takes Action in 1968: In the spring of 1968, the New Haven city council passed a lead paint ordinance prohibiting conditions of peeling lead-based paint and the city's enforcement agencies promised their full support to make the elimination of lead poisoning a first priority program. Power to enforce the city's housing code, however, is split between the redevelopment agency's division of neighborhood improvements, which inspects houses in renewal areas, and the New Haven health department, which has jurisdiction in all other areas. Re-

ports from various sources indicate that the need for coordination between the efforts of these two agencies and among other groups in the city has presented a stumbling block to the development of an operable program. In addition, the city's critical housing shortage has been a severe impediment to the successful enforcement of the lead-free housing requirement. As in many cities, officials fear that an order to undertake the expense of lead-covering or lead-removal will drive landlords to abandon their properties and that, once the tenants are removed from a building, vandalism will put the property in a condition that is beyond repair. Further, in spite of efforts to move with strength against the lead poisoning problem, city employees report that there is not enough money for the job. Last December, the health department received more than \$15,000 in city emergency funds to conduct a mass screening test on inner city children. The funds have enabled the health department to hire additional staff, including eight part-time neighborhood workers, who travel from door to door talking to mothers about lead poisoning and the screening programs. But there is still no money for educational campaigning—an element of the programs in Baltimore and Chicago that officials in those cities have considered vital to their success—and the emergency funds for salaries to New Haven neighborhood workers will last only until June 1970.

Rochester Starts 1969 Pilot Project: In Rochester, New York, cooperation between a number of local agencies is the basis of a pilot anti-lead project initiated last November. The program relies on community aides working out of neighborhood centers for the identification of potential lead poisoning victims. Questionnaires completed by these aides during neighborhood canvassing indicate those residences in which both lead paint and small children have been found. This information is referred to the health department, which arranges lead tests and treatment, if necessary, for the jeopardized children, and to the buildings department, which inspects the properties to verify the existence of chipping lead paint or white lead putty. Housing inspectors in Rochester perform paint analysis tests on location, using a solution of sodium sulfate. If the existence of peeling lead paint is confirmed by the housing inspector, the landlord is notified and is allowed three to five days to correct the hazardous situation. In a case of non-compliance by a landlord, the buildings department arranges to have a painting crew, maintained by the local poverty agency, perform the repair work ordered for the residence.

Rochester's regulation prohibiting peeling lead paint and white lead putty was established in March 1969 as an administrative directive clarifying a general code provision requiring clean, hazard-free ceilings, walls, and floors. As with the New Haven lead paint ordinance, the Rochester directive requires only repainting with lead-free paint after peeling surfaces have been properly prepared.

What To Do? Many lead poisoning experts question the advisability of repainting as a means of eliminating the lead source of a pica child. Obviously, sanding or burning woodwork surfaces until all old paint has been removed and paneling with wallboard or another hard material entails a much greater expense than merely covering the hazardous lead with a new coat of lead-free paint. For most cities, presented with an already critical shortage of housing, the fear that landlords will abandon their properties rather than undertake the expensive lead removal projects makes repainting an attractive alternative. But, the probability that poor maintenance will eventually result in the re-exposure of the same leaded surfaces diminishes that attraction. In addition, representatives of several agencies hold that for the child with a severe case of pica, or for

those known as "chewers," repainting may forestall lead ingestion for only a very short time. These children may chip the new paint or chew through it at a window sill or doorway and soon arrive at their original lead source. Almost everyone agrees that there is a great need for an improved technique for covering or removing the old lead paint; the point of disagreement is over the choice between those imperfect techniques now available.

New York: In New York, as in New Haven and most other cities, a lack of adequate funding has severely restricted the ability of the health department and other agencies to conduct comprehensive anti-lead programs. Critics of New York's health department, however, have accused that agency of compounding its ineffectiveness by combining an unresponsive attitude with its financial limitations. A sum of money for the anti-lead program announced in May 1969 did not become available until last November. A gift from private industry to the health department of 200 test kits for lead content in urine samples were said to have, in essence, been forced upon the department and then were given away to a neighborhood group most insistent on their use. An offer from the New York housing authority to provide relocation housing for families of poisoned children was seemingly ignored by the health department, though the authority submitted more than 200 requests for verification for lead poisoning cases. Recent reports from New York, however, indicate that there is a current attempt at reorganization of the anti-lead campaign; that at least 15 new staff members have been hired or are now actively being sought to work on the program; and that the department is putting forth its full effort in an attempt to acquire sufficient funds to conduct a uniquely adequate program.

Growing Efforts to Meeting Problems: The growing interest in the prevention and cure of lead poisoning has sparked action in many other cities. *Minneapolis* and *St. Paul* have new lead paint ordinances. The city council in *St. Louis* is currently considering anti-lead legislation and studies are being made to determine the extent of lead poisoning in that city. In the *District of Columbia*, the mayor has been presented with a memorandum outlining proposed changes to the city's housing regulations that would enable the city to require paint removal from leaded houses where a child is suspected of lead ingestion. In addition, the D.C. health department is working with the local poverty agency and several hospitals with the hope of establishing a pilot volunteer-based screening project. Statistics obtained through this project would be used to demonstrate need in an application for funding to conduct a larger scale program.

Congressional Action: On Capitol Hill, Congressman William Ryan (D), New York, and Senator Edward Kennedy (D), Massachusetts, sponsored a breakfast last fall in conjunction with the New York Scientists' Committee for Public Information to review information on lead poisoning in urban areas. Since that time, three bills, introduced by Representative Ryan have been supported by 19 other Congressmen. Two of these bills would provide federal funds for local programs to detect and treat lead poisoning and to eliminate lead paint from old houses. The third would prohibit the granting of federal rehabilitation funds to any city without an anti-lead campaign. In the Senate, a bill introduced by Senator Kennedy, incorporating proposals of the first two bills drafted by Congressman Ryan, has the backing of 19 Senators.

To Sum Up: Lead poisoning in children is not a new problem—nor a simple one. Programs of medical treatment can only be stop-gap measures unless they are accompanied by extensive lead-removal efforts. In many cities, lead-removal programs cannot be con-

ducted effectively under the vague provisions of existing housing and health codes, which frequently prohibit hazardous conditions but do not specifically forbid the existence of peeling lead paint. Money is needed for local programs and for research to develop improved techniques of detection and treatment of poisoned children and leaded environments. And, of course, new housing is also needed.

Twelve years ago the JOURNAL reprinted an article, "Death for Children Lurks in Walls of Old and Run-Down Housing," from the April 1957 issue of *Today's Health*, a publication of the American Medical Association (see 1958 JOURNAL, page 59). The author, Paul J. White, M.D., then Assistant Professor of Clinical Pediatrics, Washington University School of Medicine and Director of the Department of Pediatrics of the Homer G. Phillips Hospital, St. Louis, recalled a number of families in St. Louis who had moved from residence to residence in an attempt to protect their children from lead poisoning, only to find more and more peeling paint and chipped plaster. Dr. White predicted at that time that lead paint would follow these families until enough low-cost housing could be provided to accommodate them. "Until many more housing projects can eliminate the dangers of old houses," he said, "adequate corps of inspectors are urgently needed. . . . The ordinance on housing standards should prevent future slums." By mid-January 1970, the St. Louis city council had not yet passed an ordinance to combat conditions of peeling lead paint. In other cities, the legislative, the medical, and the housing needs required to combat the silent epidemic have been ignored over a similarly long period.

NEW LEAD TESTING DEVICE DEMONSTRATED

A new X-ray machine, designed to detect the presence of lead paint on interior walls, was demonstrated in New York on February 14. When placed against the wall of an upper West Side apartment in which two small children had contracted lead poisoning last fall, the machine registered the presence of 36 percent lead within a single layer of paint. According to New York City's deputy health commissioner, Frederick R. Kent, who was present at the demonstration, the city has agreed to buy 40 of the new machines for approximately \$4500 each.

The X-ray machine was developed by Dr. Theodore J. Kneip and Dr. Gerard R. Laurer of New York University Medical Center at a cost of \$50,000. Its main advantage will be its ability to yield an instant lead analysis. The lead detection process previously used by the New York health department required as much as five days to complete and could only be performed in a laboratory.

The new machine, however, may also have drawbacks. According to an official of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare in Washington, D.C., some limitations on its use are anticipated because of the problem of radiation exposure to inspectors conducting lead-determination tests. In addition, the two parts of the machine used in the New York demonstration come to a total of almost 40 pounds. More compact machines, however, are now being produced by Canberra Instruments, a Connecticut concern.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA COALITION ON NATIONAL PRIORITIES AND LOCAL NEEDS

HON. ANDREW JACOBS, JR.

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 15, 1970

Mr. JACOBS. Mr. Speaker, I recently had the privilege with 19 other Mem-

bers of Congress, of attending an informal hearing on the needs of the District of Columbia sponsored by the D.C. Coalition on National Priorities and Local Needs. Under the able cochairmanship of former District of Columbia City Council Chairman John Hechinger and the Rev. Channing Phillips, this hearing explored in depth the relationship of the needs of the District of Columbia to our current national priorities. Those called to testify by the coalition spoke for a wide variety of unmet needs in the District of Columbia, including housing, air pollution control, education, health care, and crime control.

It is particularly appropriate that the transcript of the coalition's hearings appear in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD at this time in view of two proposals before the House Committee on the District of Columbia, on which I serve. These proposals would provide for a nonvoting delegate for the District and establish a Charter Commission to explore the question of home rule for the District. While the catalog of unmet needs in the District is mammoth, the one theme that persisted through the coalition's hearings was the desire of the citizens of the District to confront and devise solutions for their own problems. More than anything else the record of the coalition's hearings stands as an indictment of the Congress of the United States for its failure to provide redress for the grievances of the 1 million U.S. citizens who reside in the District.

As a member of the House Committee on the District of Columbia, I was keenly impressed by the quality of the testimony at the coalition's hearing. I might point out, Mr. Speaker, that in the period I have served on the District Committee none of those who testified before the coalition hearing appeared before our committee. If we are to be charged with overseeing the affairs of the District, it seems to me that at the least we must listen to voices such as those raised at the coalition hearing. I, therefore, commend to the attention of all Members of Congress the transcript of the hearing:

D.C. COALITION ON NATIONAL PRIORITIES AND LOCAL NEEDS

Hearing, December 12, 1969, Room 2175, Rayburn Building.

COCHAIRMEN

Hon. John W. Hechinger, former Chairman, District of Columbia City Council.
Rev. Channing Phillips, Democratic National Committeeman for the District of Columbia.

WITNESSES

Mr. Robert Benson, Assistant to the President, the Urban Coalition.
Dr. Martin Shargel, President, House Staff Organization, District of Columbia General Hospital.
Mr. Julius Hobson, Member, District of Columbia Board of Education.
Rev. David Eaton, Vice-chairman, Mayor's Economic Development Committee.
Mr. John Delaplain, Economist, Mayor's Economic Development Committee.
Mr. Bruce Terris, Chairman, District of Columbia Democratic Central Committee.
Rev. Walter Fauntroy, Director, Model Inner Cities Community Organization.
Mr. John Winder, Executive Director, Metropolitan Washington Coalition for Clean Air.

Dr. George Wiley, Director, National Welfare Rights Organization.

Mr. Ricky Lyons, Student, Western High School.

Mr. Monty Freeman, Student, Western High School.

MEMBERS OF CONGRESS

Presiding: Rep. Donald Fraser of Minnesota.

Rep. Brock Adams of Washington.
Rep. Jonathan Bingham of New York.
Rep. Edward Boland of Massachusetts.
Rep. Phillip Burton of California.
Rep. James Corman of California.
Rep. William Hathaway of Maine.
Senator Harold Hughes of Iowa.
Rep. Andrew Jacobs of Indiana.
Senator Edward Kennedy of Massachusetts.
Rep. Edward Koch of New York.
Rep. Peter Kyros of Maine.
Rep. Allard Lowenstein of New York.
Senator Walter Mondale of Minnesota.
Rep. Robert Nix of Pennsylvania.
Rep. Richard Ottinger of New York.
Rep. Henry Reuss of Wisconsin.
Rep. William Ryan of New York.
Rep. Robert Tiernan of Rhode Island.
Rep. Jerome Waldie of California.

COORDINATOR

Rick Merrill.

TRANSCRIPT

Mr. HECHINGER. We certainly appreciate the attention that you have given our call to appear before you as the D.C. Coalition on National Priorities and Local Needs. Knowing you as friends of the District of Columbia, we will try to bring to you this morning what we see as the relationship of national military spending to our local needs.

Since the beginning of 1969, the concept of reordering of national priorities has made considerable headway in the United States. Propelled initially by the campaign against the ABM here in Congress, the drive for a reordering of priorities has amassed new support in Congress and among voluntary organizations. The views of these organized groups are beginning to be reflected in the general public. The Gallup Poll, for example, estimated in August that 52% of the American people believe the government spends too much on the military.

Yet, the United States—which has long possessed the military power to destroy the societies of any combination of potential enemies—continues to spend about \$80 billion a year on the military. Despite the first serious effort by Congress since World War II to review and reduce defense expenditures, the largest single slice by far continues to go for the military establishment rather than to meet human needs. The concept of reordering priorities may have growing support but it does not yet have the political muscle to overcome formidable resistance. The military-industrial complex and a public which is largely satisfied with the status quo combine to create serious resistance to change. The need now is to develop throughout the country a broadened base of political support for the concept of reordered priorities. Until this broadening takes place, the forces of change will not prevail. That is the purpose of this meeting and the others that will follow sponsored by the Coalition on National Priorities and Military Policy.

The report of the Douglas Commission on National Urban Problems is the definitive work that spells out with precision the needs of all of our cities. And for those who deal with urban problems, it is the Bible—an exhaustive compilation of what the urban crisis is and what is needed to confront the decadence that will surely destroy us.

Yet with all the documentation in this report, the recently completed report of the Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Violence, and countless other governmental and private studies, this nation is allocating

so large a part of its resources to the national defense that we are unable to sustain the high promise of our civilization.

Social justice, which should be the primary duty of a nation to its people, has become secondary to the spiraling arms race. Air pollution that fouls our atmosphere and muck coursing the river banks of the Potomac, and even our land—tarred over at a rate of 36 square miles per single mile of highway—are held hostage to unnecessary new weapons systems. We seem to produce nothing in greater volume than garbage.

Worcester, Massachusetts was able to defeat the installation of an ABM site, but we in voteless Washington are going to have to live and love the ABM. Do you know that there is more being spent for this doubtful weapon than for aid to education of any sort?

In my term as Chairman of the City Council, what most depressed me was the extraordinary capacity of Congress and the local establishment to allow a black ghetto with rat infested slums, decayed housing, and abominable overcrowding to exist within ten blocks of the White House.

Further, the District of Columbia leads the nation with the highest infant mortality rate, except for Mississippi. Washington has the unfortunate distinction of being the city with the highest gonorrhea infection rate in the United States. Out of every four families one will have an income below the poverty level. We have the second highest syphilis rate. Out of every five children receiving welfare assistance, two are illegitimate. Of children in the 9th grade here in the nation's capitol, only one out of three will graduate from high school. Out of 185 school buildings in the District, one third were constructed before World War I—a situation, I must say, that was not helped by our friend Senator Proxmire cutting \$30 million out of this year's school construction request. And I could go on and on and on.

Can we effectively deal with these problems? The answer must be no, not without a massive infusion of money taken out of the military spending sector. We must ask if there will be a reordering of our national priorities if the war in Vietnam should cease. Daniel Patrick Moynihan says, "there will be no monies, of the size that will be significant." Dr. Moynihan is correct only if one assumes continued public apathy and Congressional acquiescence to the demands of the military. The force with which we make our claim will determine the amount of monies allocated to our needs.

That is why we are here today and simultaneously in 40 other cities throughout the nation. Let us have this Town Meeting be a strong voice leaving no doubt in the minds of Congress, hopefully, and the Executive that the American city must be saved. For unless it is, as John Gardner said, and I quote, "We are not only in trouble as a nation, we are in trouble as a species. Man is in trouble, and if you are not filled with foreboding, you don't understand your time."

As you know, Congressman Fraser, I am co-chairing this meeting with the Rev. Channing Phillips, and I would like to ask if Rev. Phillips would call the first witness, I welcome the presence of and appreciate that Congressman Boland, Congressman Corman, Congressman Jacobs, and Congressman Kyros thank you so much all of you for coming here, and we hope that at such times as you wish to address questions to either Channing Phillips or myself that you will interrupt either the speaker or the proceedings.

Representative FRASER. I'd like to ask if copies of your statements will be available—it would be most helpful if we could have copies of the statements.

Reverend PHILLIPS. May I just add my feelings to those of Mr. Hechinger and so as not to delay any further call the first witness. The first witness that we are hearing from is Mr. Robert Benson, formerly the Spe-

cial Assistant to the Comptroller, Department of Defense and currently the Assistant to John Gardner, of the Urban Coalition. Mr. Benson is a graduate of the Harvard Business School and he has authored numerous articles on military and defense spending.

Mr. Benson. Thank you very much, Reverend Phillips. Members of Congress, ladies and gentlemen, today we gather to discuss local needs and national priorities—to examine the relative merits of competing demands on limited and precious national resources. If this nation's priorities today made sense, there would be no need for such a session. America's priorities today are not sensible. Out fetish for physical security against outside threats is excessive; our regard for the quality of life and the provision of human opportunity is undernourished.

But we have all frequently heard and employed such general rhetoric during the past year. What I find particularly encouraging about these hearings is that by moving away from rhetoric to a specific enumeration of untended local ills, we force a measure of accountability on the Congress and the President. As long as we talk solely in general terms, our pleas are easily ignored. When men as knowledgeable as John Hechinger, Walter Fauntroy, and Channing Phillips lay out the problems of the District in highly concrete fashion and we compare the merits of spending money to remedy these problems against the wasteful way much Federal spending is currently being squandered, our case becomes much harder to ignore.

As a citizen of the District of Columbia, I am aware of many problems of inadequate social services and physical decay, but I today leave their exposition to my better informed co-speakers. I do know one thing however: unlike some communities, Washington has no lack of ideas for solutions or will on the part of local leadership to face up to these problems. Our need is for more dollars.

That comment brings me to my own role here today. I have been asked to discuss the broad fiscal parameters surrounding the backlog of urban and environmental needs faced by the nation, with particular reference to responsibilities for securing funds through reduction of defense spending.

I will turn to defense in a moment, but I would be remiss in not commenting first on tax policy. The most spectacular move toward reordering of priorities in the past year has emanated from Congress—and it is not encouraging. The House has passed a tax bill that would provide billions of dollars in tax cuts over the next few years, and the Senate is greatly expanding that impact. What started out as a well-intentioned effort to correct serious inequities in our tax structure is developing into a monster which promises to reduce federal revenues at just the time when they are urgently needed to solve domestic problems. John Gardner said it well: "Extra dollars in the consumer's pocket won't buy him an adequate police force or good schools or clean air and water. Handing money back to the private sector is a formula for making us—as individuals—richer and richer in filthier and filthier communities, more and more sated with consumer goods in an unlivable environment—Croesus on a garbage heap."

It is absurd for the fattest, richest nation on earth to assert that it can't afford to cope with the problems that are tearing at its vitals. We can't indulge in such hypocrisy and continue to respect ourselves. We must tax ourselves to deal with what ails us.

At the same time we should move with all possible energy to reorder national priorities on the expenditure side. There are many points at which money might be saved, if anyone has the political courage to do it. Farm price and income supports run to \$4 billion a year. Highways cost us \$4 billion a year. The Bureau of Reclamation and the

Corps of Engineers spend about \$2 billion a year. And there is now talk of doubling the maritime subsidy to a billion dollars a year. One could list many other examples of expenditures that at the very least deserve searching reappraisal in the light of desperately important priorities of the moment.

But the part of the budget that most urgently calls for continuing scrutiny is the defense budget. Of the \$184 billion the government is paying out annually, some \$80 billion go for defense purposes. Thanks to vigorous public discussion, the Department of Defense has worked to reduce that figure and is now thinking in terms of \$71 to \$73 billion for the 1971 budget. But unless very strong public pressure continues, the demands of the military will be re-asserted.

Ten months ago the Council of Economic Advisors predicted that the end of United States involvement in Vietnam would bring a "peace dividend" of \$22 billion. On August 25, Daniel Moynihan reported rather wistfully that the expected peace and growth dividends "turned out to be evanescent like the morning clouds around San Clemente"—there no longer would be any peace dividend. Which prediction is correct? Is the peace dividend fact or fiction?

Either of these alternatives could prove correct. Which course is ultimately pursued depends purely on national will and purpose. That choice will affect significantly the quality of life and general welfare in the United States over the next decade. I want to see that choice made in the direction of maximizing national security—and I assert strenuously that national security will be maximized by creating a \$22 billion peace dividend, thereby implicitly cutting defense spending from the \$80 billion level requested this year by the Nixon Administration down to \$58 billion.

To get a feel for these choices and competing demands on limited funds, let's make the perhaps rash assumption that all U.S. troops will be withdrawn from Vietnam by June, 1971 and examine the 1972 budget. I might point out that since Administration review of the 1971 budget is now virtually complete, 1972 is the first budget we still have an opportunity to substantially affect.

In 1972, Federal Government revenues will be about \$220 billion. What demands will be placed on that sum? To begin with, I prudently suggest the need for about a \$5 billion surplus to help combat the continued inflation which is one of my assumptions and to leave sufficient money available for investment in housing and other private needs. Rises in population and prices will increase the cost of the 1970 package of domestic programs to \$127 billion by 1972. That is the price of the theoretically not losing further ground in addressing our domestic ills. The key question then becomes how much of the remaining \$88 billion will be sucked up by defense and how much allocated to new domestic ventures.

If the Administration is allowed to have its way, the prospects become alarming. I have carefully tried to sift through the rhetoric of Secretary Laird and other Defense Department spokesmen, and until the last two months they consistently claimed defense spending of about \$79 billion would be required in FY 1972 even assuming our complete disengagement from Vietnam. If a full volunteer army concept were adopted and implemented, the cost would rise to about \$85 billion.

This would leave only \$3 billion for new domestic ventures—not even enough for the new income maintenance program already announced by President Nixon.

How can a so-called "post-war" defense budget of \$85 billion be possible when pre-Vietnam defense budgets totalled only \$50 billion? To begin with, inflation means that the same forces we procured for \$50 billion in 1965 would cost \$67 billion in 1972.

Add on military modernization requests; new programs like the Advanced Manned Strategic Bomber, a super-hardened missile, super-silent submarines, and others; and continue programmed acquisition of the multitude of new aircraft, tanks, and ships approved this year—you are up to \$79 billion. The volunteer army takes you the rest of the way.

This explains how the military can talk about an \$85 billion 1972 defense budget. It does not begin to justify it. Such an explanation begs the question of whether these new weapons systems are really required to meet expected threats to our national security. It also fails to address the issue of whether all the forces procured in the pre-war package still make sense. We have a great tendency to focus solely on the new programs; the old programs are never requisitioned to determine whether their purpose still pertains in a changed political and technological environment. Neither, with the exception of the excellent report issued last week by the House Appropriations Committee, has the Congress or the public looked hard at management inefficiencies in the defense sector.

It is not my purpose here to offer a detailed examination of the sinew and the fat in the current or projected defense budgets. I have treated this subject at some length in recent articles in *Fortune* and *the Washington Monthly*. It is probably sufficient simply to suggest a few examples and to restate my basic conclusions which are that most of the expected modernization and performance increase requests—about \$9 billion worth—are unjustifiable; that at least \$10 billion worth of outmoded, no longer relevant defense forces could be safely excised from those we procured prior to Vietnam; and that \$3 billion could be saved by improved management efficiency on manpower and procurement.

Let me pinpoint my concerns with a few illustrative questions in each of these three areas. First, with regard to modernization and performance increase requests:

Because helicopters have proved valuable in fighting guerilla war in certain kinds of Vietnamese terrain, does it make sense to spend a billion dollars equipping all 18 Army divisions—even those prepared to fight on the open terrain of Central Europe—with a full complement of helicopters on top of their regular equipment?

Why build hundreds of F-14 and F-15 fighter aircraft at \$10-15 million per copy, involving complex electronics gear like that which hasn't worked reliably in recently purchased hardware, when we have as an alternative a simple, uncluttered \$3 million per copy fighter model which promises better performance?

After the B-70 experience showed us strategic bombers were an anachronism in a missile age, why repeat that folly by launching a potentially \$15-20 billion AMSA program?

Why build nuclear carriers, destroyers, and frigates at nearly twice the cost of conventionally powered ships when the only advantages are very minor increases in cruising speed and range of the fleet?

Switching over to outmoded, no longer relevant defense forces, consider these queries:

Does it make sense to maintain and modernize a 15 attack aircraft carrier fleet at annual operating cost alone of over \$3 billion a year—more carriers than all the rest of the nations in the world, friend and foe, possess—when the conventional war at sea scenario is no longer plausible in today's nuclear age?

How rational is it to maintain a fleet of 6 ASW carriers and to build a new multi-billion dollar airplane to put on them when performance studies show that the cheaper, land-based P-3 airplane now being phased in does a more effective job?

Is it still equitable for the United States to bear the cost of 310,000 troops stationed in Europe long after economic prosperity has been restored to our Western European allies?

Finally, looking at the kind of management efficiency issues the House Appropriations Committee has begun to take action on, reflect on the following:

Even allowing for inflation and technical complexity, might there not be something wrong with a procurement system in which we are told that \$19.9 billion cost growth was experienced over a \$74 billion baseline plan—an overall increase of 26%—in 35 major systems now being procured?

Is it really necessary to spend \$2 billion annually just moving men between assignments when this means in practice that the typical soldier receives a changed station assignment nearly once a year?

Clearly many of the practices and forces pointed out in these observations do not make sense. Substantial cuts can be made in the defense budget without adversely affecting our real security against external attack. Based on my work experience at the Department of Defense and my perception of the United States position in world affairs, I can state unequivocally that I would feel quite secure with a 1972 defense budget of \$58 billion. Such a budget would mean that \$30 billion would be available for new domestic programs.

I want to stress that a \$58 billion defense budget would not smack of unilateral disarmament, as Congressman Ford might be wont to charge, nor would it lock us into rusting old equipment. There would be room in such a budget for continuing research, development, and equipment modernization. The 1964 budget of \$54 billion, for example, included \$22 billion for research, development, and procurement. Cutsback I propose would eliminate fat and outmoded programs, not cut into the relevant sinew.

Thus we have an envelope of from \$3 billion to \$30 billion for new domestic ventures in 1972, depending on the kind of military budget we permit. For the principle alone of stemming further drift toward a national security state, it is worth struggling to push the post-war defense budget as close as possible to the \$58 billion mark. The case is made even more compelling, though, by an examination of the diversity and scope of new domestic demands on available funds.

The President's postwar planning committee provides a good initial shopping list. First they point to a \$6 billion gap between amounts currently authorized and funded for social programs already making important contributions. Two-thirds of this gap is in low-income housing, elementary and secondary education, and higher education.

On top of these, the committee offers a long list of new efforts—totalling about \$40 billion in potential 1972 spending—either totally new programs or major expansions of current domestic ventures. These do not represent far our dreaming. The list was compiled from a review of recommendations by task forces in the fields of education, health, manpower, social insurance, welfare, urban development, crime prevention, pollution control, natural resource development, transportation, space technology, and science. Some examples from the list:

\$1.0 billion to establish 350 additional comprehensive neighborhood health care centers.

\$1.8 billion to provide 500,000 additional public service jobs for the disadvantaged;

\$2.5 billion to double federal aid to elementary and secondary education.

These are not extraordinary amounts. No further monies are provided, for example, for necessary expanded housing subsidy programs. The total funds earmarked for nutrition are \$1.0 billion; yet the Senate has already approved a bill calling for a \$1.5 billion expansion of the food stamp program

alone. The Carnegie Commission on Higher Education would have us spending more like an additional \$7.7 billion rather than the President's Committee's \$3.0 billion on Federal aid to higher education. Specifically excluded from the committee's list is the much discussed idea of a comprehensive income maintenance plan, which at moderate levels likely would cost \$15-20 billion annually.

Altogether, I calculate that these new or expanded domestic program ideas would cost \$60 billion annually. I expect that no two of us here could agree on precisely which of these ventures are most critically needed. Clearly the country and the District of Columbia could progress without all of them being implemented by 1972. I honestly believe though that the alternative of doing nothing to address this vast catalog of unmet domestic needs would pose a much greater threat to our national security than paring down the defense budget to the levels I advocate. I trust that the point is sufficiently clear that domestic needs are so vast that it makes a vital difference where in the \$3 billion to \$30 billion range the so-called "peace and growth dividend" falls. This is the choice all of us must work to influence.

Mr. HECHINGER. Thank you, Mr. Benson. Representative FRASER. Another Member has just joined us, Congressman Bill Hathaway from Maine.

Representative BOLAND. What was your experience in the Department of Defense?

Mr. BENSON. I worked in the Office of the Comptroller, helping to prepare the budget, and certainly had an overview of the budget.

Representative FRASER. I think it is important to add that you are one of those who is speaking out and helping to educate many of us and contributing to a public dialog on this question, and that your work really helped us deal with some of these questions last year.

Mr. BENSON. Let me point out that despite the fact that votes were lost in the House and Senate on attempts to cut back on specific defense systems this year, and a lot of people were caused anguish as a result, in fact, I am convinced that it was the climate that was created in the Congress by people such as yourselves speaking out this year which indirectly has led the Appropriations Committee to come up with the strongest bill they have brought forward in recent years, and which has led the Defense Department and the Administration itself to go ahead and make cuts and plan for a lower budget this coming year.

It is very clear to me that had that kind of tone not been set we would not be having the cuts which we are seeing materialize at this point in time. That action was most important.

Representative FRASER. Congressman Jerry Waldie from California has joined us.

Mr. HECHINGER. Congressman Fraser, last night I was with Dr. Keyserling and he seemed to take the attitude whereas one could find the Vietnam war unconscionable and military spending high and the domestic needs great, that they were two separate issues, and that it was wrong, historically, economically, and morally, these were his strong terms, of trying to tie the two together. He said that there was no question that health conditions of the District were at a low ebb and that the educational system was as abominable but this all existed before the Vietnam war, and therefore it was incorrect to tie them together. I just bring this up at this time because it seemed in his mind that a bad foreign policy or a bad move in a military direction had nothing to do with domestic problems. I don't know whether he is noted for his guns and butter approach, but I would like to throw that out as a question to you and the Congressman as to whether let's say we are on

the right track in regard to saying that the two—domestic and military are tied so closely together that one relates to the other.

Representative NIX. What is your view on that?

Mr. HECHINGER. My view, very definitely, Congressman Nix, is that they are intimately tied together, not only in terms of money, but sort of in terms of time that a person in the Congress and the President himself has to devote to the needs of the nation. For example, there is a book out just recently, called *Let Them Eat Promises*, by Nick Kotz and it quotes President Johnson saying that he had to allow the food program to go by the board in order to get his revenue bill through—his revenue bill to support defense expenditures. I think that very definitely the whole mood of the country up to now has been to close their eyes to military spending and as a result there has been a diminution of interest and expenditure in the local area—in the domestic area.

Reverend PHILLIPS. At this time I believe Rev. Fauntroy was scheduled to speak on the crisis of the inner city. In his absence perhaps I could share with you in an unprepared fashion some of the experiences of the inner city that relate to the Vietnam war.

It was noted at the last Moratorium that few black people were participating in the Moratorium itself with their presence downtown, and we had frequent calls wondering why they were not participating. I think we ought to state for the record that lack of participation in no sense indicated a lack of sensitivity to what is going on in Vietnam.

I believe, however, that black people have been demonstrating and marching for so long that they have lost faith in that particular method for effecting change. I believe that black people are in such despair and have such acute needs that they can ill afford the kind of time that is required for demonstrations. So it is not a question of the lack of sensitivity or support for the movement to end the war in Vietnam, but the fact that a different set of priorities constrains them.

We are all aware there is a very definite tie between what is going on in Vietnam and what's going on in our inner city or what is not going on. I personally do not believe that the one is the result of the other as has often been suggested. We have heard testimony to the effect that \$30 billion could be released if the war is ended and pumped into the domestic scene. I personally believe that both what happens in our inner city and what does not happen, the war, racism, and pollution—are but symptoms of much more basic problems, problems which we are going to have to face up to sooner or later. In fact, we are really talking about an economic system, an exploitive economic system, that is not sufficiently restrained, that invites these kinds of things and creates them as side products. As long as we continue to let our economic system be such that profits dictate priorities, indeed we will have racism because we will need somebody to exploit—preferably a nigger. We need somebody we can identify so we can exploit them. Not only here, but we need the same thing abroad as we seek to control raw materials and markets. As long as we do this and create the obvious economic imbalance domestically and internationally, then indeed we have to keep military expenditures up because we are begging for the inevitable revolution which seems to be the only effective tool we have for redistributing wealth. So indeed, as long as we do not redistribute wealth, we invite war. And without that kind of threat then no creditable leader could have ever hoodwinked us into paying for the ABM trinket. We believe that we can secure ourselves through military might, but history says something to the contrary. The fact that we are not doing in the inner city what we should be doing

in terms of expending the sums on housing and for education and for welfare and for food, simply means that the monies are being spent elsewhere and that that spending is being dictated by profits.

I recall *The Washington Post* publishing the results of a survey about a year ago in which they had interviewed the heads of the major corporations who are benefiting from defense contracts. The one question they asked—the most basic question—was simply were they prepared to turn the competencies of their corporations to the rebuilding of our cities once the Vietnam War was ended. Tragically to a man the answer was No, they were not prepared to do that. Instead they were looking forward to expanded and increased profits from the military budget both in terms of procurement and research. I suggest that it is a tragedy that the major part of our society—the business sector—for all its competencies still has its priorities being dictated by profit rather than by human need.

So we don't get excited about emphasis on any war in Vietnam. We know that the best security for any nation is to present to the world the fact that a nation can indeed treat people equitably and fairly and meet the needs of its people, as well as helping its neighbors. The inner city seems to be secondary, but it's central because in that inner city lies a positive approach for ending the war. If we were dealing with human needs indeed we would not have the money to spend for the military nor would there be a need to do so.

Mr. HECHINGER. Thank you, Rev. Phillips. You know the other day someone pointed out that the military industrial complex has an element which is often overlooked and that is, Channing, the people themselves. For example, whenever there is a military base to be closed in a Congressman's district as our Navy Yard in Washington, D.C. the greatest pressure is from the people in the community who demand the continuation of the base to maintain their own economic base rather than concern themselves with what we are talking about today. How do you answer that?

Reverend PHILLIPS. I think we have to recognize that we are dealing with a different understanding of man. I don't want to get philosophical in this kind of discussion, but in fact we no longer treat man as being the kind of power-seeking, selfish, corrupt person that he can be. What we are suggesting is that certainly people seek power and they will use it to their own benefit. The only way to curb that presumably is to recognize that tendency as being quite intrinsic in man and to legislate around it.

I would like to move ahead. One of our witnesses has come in, Dr. Martin Shargel, who is President of the House Staff Organization at D.C. General Hospital. I'm sure most of you gentlemen have been aware, either by press or otherwise, of the fight to get additional funds for D.C. General.

Dr. Shargel can speak from that background about the health care crisis here in the District.

Representative FRASER. Dr. Shargel, can I suggest that you begin by giving us some background about yourself?

Dr. SHARGEL. Yes, my name is Martin Shargel, I'm a physician, I'm a fellow in internal medicine, specifically pulmonary diseases at D.C. General Hospital, Georgetown Medical Division. My background is I'm 31, married with 3 children, and I am from Baltimore and was educated there and Richmond, Va. I probably will seek private practice and an affiliation with an academic institution in the next year or so.

Today I am here to talk about death . . . not body counts or casualty figures and not

abstract statistics, but death just as frightening, just as hideous and painful. And I see this death not occasionally, but every single day and in people whose pain of loneliness, hopelessness and despair is far greater than the physical pain of their disease. The price Americans have to pay for these diseases is enormous. This price is not in terms of dollars and cents, that's easily measured; but what is immeasurable is the price in unnecessary and largely preventable and potentially curable suffering and death. Now I am not speaking only of the urban ghetto or of the squalid rural areas but of America collectively, because of what we could have done but failed to do in the area of health care. Each one of us, regardless of annual income, is indeed medically indigent, and our country is deprived of the usefulness and productivity of those citizens who are struck down by illness whose diseases long ago could have and should have been defined and made treatable and perhaps cured. The man who works hard and paid his taxes and who contributed his whole being as a citizen finds that when he is stricken down by arthritis, adequate care, what we know should have been made available to him, is often not even existent in his community. This man and his family have indeed paid the price as physical, emotional, social, and financial cripples. Where did this man go wrong? Why did his community, for whom he worked so hard, abandon him in his illness. The awful truth is that there are so many people spending his tax money who are so obsessed with war that they ignore the very individuals who elected them in the first place.

It is indeed a nightmarish twist that for some in power patriotism is napalm, bombs, mines, poison and little flag decals for windshields. Yet the more noble patriotism is concern for the health of his country. It is taking the resources of which we have so much and using them for making our citizens healthier and happier. We spend billions to kill and to kill again, but to sustain life, to better our lives, we can't keep our own children from dying of diphtheria. We begrudgingly spend but a tiny fraction of those billions. Is this behavior some sort of a curse or an absurd joke? Must we continue to work for death not life? Or are we that depraved that our nation is going to commit suicide because it's ignored our health situation for so long? How much longer will our back-breaking tax money be spent on murderous missiles instead of hospital beds, nurses, medical schools, drugs, and research facilities? With all the fantastic wealth of this country, D.C. General could not buy penicillin this year.

The American mortality rate for newborn infants is a shame in the eyes of the rest of the world. Yet we go on with bullets and blood and talk about honor in Vietnam. What could be more honorable and what could be more manly than to admit the futility of war and to redirect our energies to more beautiful tasks.

Now I would like to pose a very real question. How many of us here are willing to die of a disease for which there may be a cure except that we have chosen not to pay much attention to it? Would the leaders of our country like to be told as they lie in the agony of death: "I'm sorry, sir, but we used that research money for poisonous gases. You'll just have to die." This in fact is what has been happening for many years. This is not a fantasy. This is real and its valid, and it continues. How many people in this room would deny that if the same energy used to develop a rocket to the moon or a nuclear submarine were used to find a cure for cancer, we would have little quarrel with cancer.

The American people are starting to resent

their government for having betrayed their trust. We have a preamble which said "for the people"—not for ignoring or killing people—but for the people. If our love for doing battle has made us lose sight of our love for life and health and the pursuit of happiness then we have retreated to caveman status, and we are wasting all our time today.

Representative FRASER. Doctor, could you say a few words about the immediate problem at D.C. General Hospital?

Dr. SHARGEL. The problem at D.C. General Hospital, as I see it, is one of gross understaffing and underfinancing, and the fact that although in the last several years our finances and appropriations have risen geometrically, so too has the patient load risen even more geometrically and with a sharper curve, so that the increases in annual finances simply cannot keep up with the increases in the enormous burden of patient care. And we are little by little drowning. We do run out of penicillin. This is not pie in the sky, we are not asking for fantastic new drugs, we actually run out of penicillin. We run out of insulin. We run out of everything. As of a month ago out of 685 drug items stocked at the pharmacy we were out of a hundred of them. That's sick. The hospital is sick.

Representative BURTON. Is that due to the problem of dollars?

Dr. SHARGEL. Just to dollars.

Representative BURTON. Just to dollars—not to administration.

Dr. SHARGEL. I am not sure of all the workings of the administration. That is not my enterprise, but I do know that when I go to the pharmacy and ask for a particular drug, they tell me that they have already spent it and that they can't reorder it.

Representative BURTON. What about the understaffing? Where is the greatest problem with respect to understaffing?

Dr. SHARGEL. Well sir, you actually asked two questions. The first one about administration and the fact that I am here publicizing the needs for D.C. General are very valid. Our bosses won't publicize it though they admit privately the need to us. So in that view there is something terribly wrong in that the Health Department won't make public what they know are severe defects within that Department, perhaps for fear of criticism of themselves and perhaps the threat of the security of their own position. But nonetheless whenever we go to them and say this needs fixing, they say yes it does, but we won't ask. With regard to understaffing, the least crucial area is in physicians. We have enough doctors in General, or almost enough to do the job, if we had the ancillary personnel, the paramedical personnel, to give us adequate support. For instance, there are plenty of doctors who can order X-rays, but we don't have the X-ray technicians to take the X-rays. Similarly, the doctors can take care of a relatively large volume of patients in the wards, but the nurses are so sparse they can't get around to give them the medications that we order. And this goes on down the line to the house-keeping system, the laundry, the kitchen, and all of the other skilled and non-skilled labor forces within the hospital. They can't support the growing patient load despite the fact that the doctors can do that.

Representative BURTON. Has there been any improvement since the publicity?

Dr. SHARGEL. There has been absolutely no substantive improvement since the beginning of this publicity.

Mr. HECHINGER. May I ask, Doctor, in conjunction with Congressman Burton's question in the area of diseases whose effects and cures are known, how is it possible, as I quoted in my statement, that the District of Columbia has the second highest rate of

infant mortality and the highest rate of gonorrhea and syphilis—why has Washington with this vast expenditure been unable to contain these diseases?

Dr. SHARGEL. That is an excellent question, and without being facetious, that's exactly what we keep asking the Health Department. We asked them to find out why. We asked them to do something about it. We as physicians honestly cannot be expected to be accountants and administrators and public health workers and the jack of all trades. We would like to be given the wherewithal to do our job, and we know from our work in the hospital that we can't get around to see all the patients very often, that we don't have the right medicine, that we don't have enough help, that patients are not being cared for in other hospitals and are being dumped to us via ambulance and dying on the way. And so although I can't answer your question specifically, all I ask is that somebody competent look into it, and tell us why.

Reverend PHILLIPS. May we thank the witness, Dr. Shargel, for coming, and if there are no more questions, we ought to move ahead because we have more witnesses here.

Moving ahead, first let me welcome Congressman Burton from California and Congressman Waldie from California who have been added to our panel. The next witness to take the chair is Julius Hobson, who is an authority on the District of Columbia School Board. Historically that's the past tense.

Mr. HOBSON. Thank you very much, I am a lame duck member of the District of Columbia School Board, and I am glad to have an opportunity to talk about education as a first priority or one of the priorities of the District of Columbia. At the moment though I would rather pause and pay homage to what is my personal priority, and my first priority today is to concern myself with what's happening to the Panthers and try to join them in the District of Columbia.

But I'm here to talk about education. We are functioning within the framework of a system called public education, which I call really "programed retardation," which through time has been consigning our children, both Black and White, in the District of Columbia to the social and economic junkheap. The data proves this. The United States Congress in a report from the House Committee on Education and Labor condemned the public schools in 1966. Judge J. Skelly Wright condemned the schools in 1967; and the dropout rate, the increasing absentee rate, and the disruption in the public schools condemns them today, while the school administration and the Board of Education try to function within the framework of something called business as usual. I have a statement here which I would like to read which I think goes to the heart of what is now a pressing problem in public education.

First, I would like to say that I have received about seven or eight recent telegrams from teachers who are crying out—who are actually afraid for their own lives. The school environment is unsafe for teachers and students. And I have sought up through time to really ignore this issue of safety, saying that the process of education was bad, and that therefore if we concentrated on educating the children, the whole question of disruption and lack of faith in public education would go away. But I think it has reached the point in time where it can no longer be ignored, and I don't think any sane man now who is watching public education in this community can say that we don't have an immediate safety crisis in addition to the equally urgent continuing problem of meeting the educational needs of the District's children.

Representative FRASER. Could we take a moment to distribute copies of your state-

ment. I'd like to welcome Congressman Adams of Washington who has just joined us.

Mr. HOBSON. During the last few weeks news stories have highlighted violence in the D.C. public schools. Increasing disrespect, hostility, physical threats and destruction is a reality. However, unlike city officials and some educators, I cannot advocate punishing young people—graduating at the rate of over 5,000 a year—for being unable to function in our society. It seems far more reasonable and right to call city fathers, School Board Members and school administrators who failed to support the abolition of inequity in public education, the tract system, and special privilege.

The Chairman of the City Council, Mr. Gilbert Hahn, during his long years as a resident of the District never offered to lend his prestige, money or support to helping students read, learn to count or secure sufficient books and resources to find a positive role in society. Now he, and men like him, are offering to help control "violence" in the schools when they failed to indicate any prior interest in the welfare of students. What is the point in locking the barn door after the horse has been stolen? We are too late with too little.

Thousands of students have been destroyed or pushed out by the ruinous educational practices of the District. These students are returning to the only real place they know to vent their hostility and frustrations—the schools. Many of them are still school age—but are "push-outs," "drop-outs," or part of the nearly one-third daily "absentee count"—an indication of the growing malaise of the system.

The "answer" to the problem is not Hahn's City Council oppressiveness like wall-to-wall police at School Board meetings nor is it the Superintendent's suggestion (without plan) of community cooperation. The crisis will not be averted until the following first steps have been taken. Unless these actions are immediately initiated, I can only predict an educational holocaust, a rebellion by the young against the existing inequities and incarceration characterized by increasing student strikes and destruction. Any "answer" is two-fold—"long-range" and "short-range."

Short-range requirements.—The District should identify emergency funds. Now you notice I said identify funds because when I come to Congress to testify before a Congressional committee about public school expenditures, my statement is very short. "Don't give them more money to do more of what they are doing."

I can take any line item in the budget of the D.C. Public Schools and destroy it with the very facts upon which it is supposed to be based. No one in the District of Columbia School Administration or on the Board of Education can logically or accurately justify the amount of money spent for public education in the District of Columbia.

I like to blame Congress for anything and everything that is wrong in the District of Columbia, but, I must point out, that in this case the Congress has been very generous to the public schools in terms of money, in fact, too generous. There's never been a cost-analysis study; there's never been an independent audit; there's never been a proper justification for a single line item in the budget of the District of Columbia Public Schools since I have been on the Board of Education.

I have concerned myself with education as an avocation for the last 15 years and I am thoroughly familiar with the inadequacy and downright dishonesty of the present budgetary system. I have broken it down—line by line—gathered the data, studied the data, and presented the data to show specific examples of where it will not hold up. The

latest example was my examination of the tuition grant program, where we have thousands of dollars being spent for tuition grants for children going to private schools at public expense. When I studied these budget "lines" I found that the school administration did not know how many children were in special schools, they didn't know what the special schools were designed to do, and they were spending a total of \$678,000 a year on 302 children in such schools. Some of these schools we know were not designed to deal with children, identified by the D.C. Public Schools as having emotional difficulties.

This was just one line item in the most recent budget and one example. So I am not in favor of asking Congress for any more money for anything, because I think what is wrong with the D.C. Public Schools includes a need for the effective and equitable management of existing funds—without appropriating new funds to be funneled through the same dishonest and mismanaged system.

The District should identify emergency funds to:

1. Work with the United States Employment Service in D.C. to establish a special counseling and employment service at each high school. Young people not enrolled at the school should be directed to special counselors. Rather than slamming doors repeatedly in the face of the jobless youth, high school employment and counseling offices should offer continuing services and direction to drop-outs and graduates (similar to college placement offices). Former students should be welcome and assisted with job information, enrollment in city youth programs, and help with special health or welfare needs.

2. Select, train and employ a Hall Patrol Official in every high school, junior high school and designated elementary schools. This person should be employed full-time by the school system to patrol the halls—providing directions and assistance to students (with hall passes) and adults. Young people not enrolled in the school should be directed for help to the special counseling office. Individuals selected for hall patrol duties should reside in the neighborhood and relate to young people—they might be retired from other jobs. They should not be armed or uniformed.

3. Force the Justice Department to design an intensive program to combat the illegal drug traffic raging in the city schools rather than concentrating their resources on the persecution of political dissenters. Neither the community nor the local police alone can deal with the highly organized interstate and international aspects of drug traffic.

Now let me just pause here to say that I tried five months ago to find out what was happening in the D.C. Public Schools in terms of drugs. I could take you on any high school campus at 12:00 in the day and you could buy any drug you want. I tried to find out about the sale of drugs by talking to students, I learned little.

In fact, the only time that I have really been warned off a project in the District of Columbia was by anonymous calls suggesting that I "leave drugs alone." I have backed away from investigating drugs because it's a highly organized billion dollar operation. It seems to me that if the Federal Bureau of Investigation can't deal with the illegal sale of drugs to minors, I certainly can't. I consider it a very dangerous practice for any citizen of the District of Columbia to concern himself too closely with the question of drugs on the campus. And if you think this is not a problem, then join me any day at 12:00 noon and knock on any junior or senior high school door, and I assure you that you can easily locate some kind of drug. It is hard for me to believe that the United

States Department of Justice is both unaware of the drug traffic and of steps that could be taken to eliminate the sale of drugs now rampant in the school system in the Nation's Capital.

Let me return briefly to the last portion of my written presentation.

Long-range requirements.—1. As I have emphasized during my year on the Board, drastic educational reforms are urgent. To relieve crowding and other problems, the District should immediately investigate and develop plans to convert to a year-round educational system similar to the Atlantic Plan. Work-study employment programs should be scheduled on a year-round basis rather than forced during the summer months.

2. Any young person under the age of 21 should be encouraged to complete his high school education at public expense at evening schools sponsored by the Board of Education. Vocational education must be expanded to all schools rather than crowded into special schools.

Retraining teachers, redistributing decision making, equalizing books and resources, streamlining the budget, and improving administrative techniques are needed to avert an educational disaster. However, as long as "special privilege" remains the *modus operandi* of the school administration, then tragedy cannot be avoided. Special privilege and unequal treatment have brought us to the brink of disaster and will push us over unless we shift our attitudes and priorities.

I am very much alarmed by the business as usual attitude of the Board of Education. If you know about the history of the development of boards of education then you know that the people who sat on them in their early history were businessmen or anybody, economically independent, who had the time and could donate a couple of hours a month to Board Meetings. The superintendent ran the schools. The schools were small, and the objective was to educate the college-bound and not worry too much about the rest. But around 1960 people started to demand that we educate everybody. Thus, this same crew that was designed to float the Mayflower one day found itself on the deck of the Queen Mary. In other words, the nature of education has changed drastically, but the nature of the Board of Education remains the same.

In the District we have a 150 million dollar corporation with about 18,000 employees, 200 buildings and nearly 150,000 children, and yet lay school board members who know nothing about education, little about children and less about management are trying to run this plant two nights a month from 7:30 until 11:00 p.m. Inherent in this kind of structure and organization is the kind of failure which we are getting. It is a full-time job to even understand one aspect of education such as curriculum planning for example. It is a full-time job to deal with the question of just retiring obsolete books. It's more than a full-time job just to deal with the budget. I submit to you that this Board of Education functioning within its present framework could not succeed—even if it were composed of eleven Stokely Carmichaels.

What I am saying is that the failure is inherent in the nature of the School Board and the archaic school administration. The entrenched administration has become little more than a bureaucracy designed to maintain itself. Arthur D. Little stated in a study on the difficulty of representing disadvantaged clientele by school boards, "School Boards are handled by snowing them with information which is so voluminous as to be unintelligible." This has certainly been the case in the District.

Our schools are destroying our children, and any society which destroys its young cannot survive. We are not preparing our young people to function in an industrialized society. We aren't even preparing them to

be functional anywhere. We are destroying hope in the young and they are walking the streets by the thousands. And those of us who speak adamantly about it are charged with sprouting rhetoric, causing disunity and with having no substance.

Middle class educators are disdaining America's traditional institutions such as the United States Court of Appeals; the Congress of the United States, and the Constitution itself. If we do not uphold the United States Constitution and the Courts, if we allow the Board of Education, the city fathers, and the people in high places to flaunt the law and to violate the rights of the poor with immunity—as the Board of Education is doing in connection with Judge Wright's decision and with federal legislation—then it follows that the children are going to be disruptive, disrespectful, and distrustful of adults who talk about law and order. We should require the middle class to abide by the law just as we insist that the poor abide by the law. The Board of Education should be put in jail for its crimes against our children, as surely as any robber of any bank is put in jail for his crime.

I am now engaged in a set of studies of the entire spectrum of quantitative education which I hope to publish soon dealing with many of the line items in the D.C. School Budget. I hope that the study will cause the Congress of the United States to call the D.C. educators on the carpet and to ask them to explain new and continuing needs for federal funds.

Some of the Congressmen from my home State, Alabama, down South, are probably saddled with psychological problems of racism. These Congressmen, however, cannot be underestimated when it comes to their knowledge of the budgetary process. School Board members should make intelligent testimony which would offset racist considerations by Congressmen regarding public education in the Nation's Capital.

Thus the crisis in education is a crisis born out of maladministration and coupled with an ignorant Board of Education prevented by design from the possibility of understanding the problems, let alone finding the solutions. Thank you.

Representative KYROS. The other day I went out to Woodrow Wilson High School with which I assume you are familiar, and I spent the morning there and I was impressed by your statement about outsiders in the schools. Teachers told me that they were spending between 50 and 60 percent of their time on security because of outsiders who walk through the hallways and disrupt classes. So I commend some of your suggestions, but how are we going to put them into effect without turning the whole school system over to the police force. You say for example we ought to have individuals selected for hall patrol duty. I know in Maine we don't have this kind of problem. What I want to know is how we can attain adequate security in our schools without turning them into a kind of armed camp.

Mr. HOBSON. Well in the first place I believe in a positive approach to these young people. I went the other day to Armstrong School and talked with these young men we call "outsiders," who are returning to schools. I got a response because I approached them in a kind of positive way, showing no hostility. Neither did I approach them in an authoritarian way. I approached them rather as one human being to another. I can envision sensitive hall guards who are really there to help young people rather than to arrest them. That is why I said in my paper, *no guns and no uniforms*. There maybe individual problems which arise in the public schools which require police action. For example, if a man comes into a school brandishing a .45—that's beyond the responsibility of a hall guard. I think that policemen should only be called in tempo-

rary emergency situations where people are using weapons against individuals in schools.

The attitude toward students must change in public education. In fact, education is the only industry in the United States, or in the history of mankind that I know of, which holds the consumer responsible for the quality of its product. We say to the child you can't learn because you're Black or because you're poor, or because you don't know who your daddy is, and we really don't charge the teachers with teaching. We have all kinds of excuses. I think our attitudes toward our children have to change.

I know they can change because I came from probably the most backward school system in the country, Birmingham, Alabama in the 30's and there teachers had us thinking that we could all be President of the United States, that we were the sunrise the world was waiting for. Nobody got to the 8th grade without learning how to read. The teachers had completed—on an average—less than two years in college. They didn't have all the machines, automatic devices, counselors, urbanologists and sociologists like we have working the D.C. public schools. I think it was the human attitudes of the people in those backward schools which convinced us all that we could learn.

There may be some immediate problems which call for the law but there are surely some long-range problems which call for setting up services for these "outsiders"—young men and women—who we have failed, members of the Board of Education, the school administrators, the teachers and all those individuals charged with educating children.

Representative KYROS. What would you put into effect next Monday at Wilson High School so that teachers wouldn't be spending all their time on security so that students could walk around the halls safely, and go out to athletic contests without being attacked. What would you do specifically?

Mr. HOBSON. Well, specifically, Monday I would appoint a full time hall patrol official that I spoke of earlier. I would try to select people who are known in the community—people who would relate to the so-called outsiders coming in, as well as present students. I would call an assembly of principals and teachers and talk to them about how to be human beings and deal with children. I would talk about students' rights, teachers' rights, and the rights of the administration and the Constitution of the United States, which I have been talking about ever since I've been on the Board of Education. I would talk about how we've got to respect each other. There's a lack of respect and concern for children in the public schools and the children know it.

As to the outsiders, as I've said before, if a person comes to school with a gun the only thing I know to do is to call the cops, but the normal problems which don't involve illegal weapons should be handled by school authorities. You see, the school administration is very busy hiring new layers of deputy and duplicate Superintendents when they already have so many. Sometimes I think that the best thing that could happen would be to get these professional educators away from the children, and appoint some community people to deal with the problem.

We do not need another study by some expert proposing another long-range plan for another project funded by a gullible Congress of the United States—which seems to freely give money hand over foot to any sociologist who can write up a set of jargon which ends in everything except improvement in education.

Representative KYROS. Well, I am not sure that I agree with your last comment. What do you do about the morale of the teachers, how do you solve this problem?

Mr. HOBSON. I believe in rights for teachers' just like I believe in rights for children.

However, it appears that current methods of teaching do not lend themselves to successful education. Children get a lot of information these days, and I think a teacher's job has really changed into a coaching job. Children sometimes know more about what is going on than the teachers. Rather than standing up before a group of children imparting "facts", maybe we should spend more time coaching them in how to interpret and utilize facts in their daily lives.

I teach a class myself at the American University, many of the students in the class know more than I do, thus we learn from each other while using the community as a laboratory to investigate social problems. Everybody is challenged and it's not a weekly test situation. I think this is one method which could be tried in our public schools.

Dealing effectively with our problems in education is going to require more courage on the part of the School Board, the Congress and the District Building. We now have a Board of Education with little power, a Board that does not use the power which it has, a Board frightened by some of the men in Congress and some of the people in the District Building. Congress of course could remedy this lack of power to deal with problems in education by having home rule in this city.

Representative FRASER. Congressman Ben Rosenthal of New York has joined us, and Congressman Robert Tiernan of Rhode Island.

Representative ADAMS. We on the House District Committee are in a worse position than you are, in terms of having specific information about what should be done. In other words we have simply fought the battle of money—give a little more money because our children go to these schools. What I want to know is whether you think we should take the school system—not the administration, I think I agree with you about the administration, about what goes on now—should we take the school system and break it into either wards or individual high schools and their feeders, their elementary school, and have it run by the local community, maintaining overall financial support, because individual schools could not maintain themselves financially.

Mr. HOBSON. Well, some people call that community control, some people call it community involvement. Our position is that it is in the Democratic tradition, at least on paper, to move the question of government closer to the people. The school system has become so large, impersonal and cumbersome until the central administration seems to be failing in trying to run it.

Representative ADAMS. You say that as a question of administration, as a member of the School Board, you can't possibly know what's going on.

Mr. HOBSON. Under the present system you can't possibly know, as a member of the School Board, whether Board policies are being implemented by the school administration or not. I think if you decentralized and gave the people community control or increased community involvement, it would probably improve education for the children, but there has to be some standardization in terms of curriculum and resources.

May I give you an example of why School Board members cannot know what is going on. I received a chart from the D.C. Public Schools based on a tabulation which I gave them asking for information on all special projects¹ in public education funded from

¹For the purposes of the report "special projects" included all programs not funded/conducted on a city-wide basis: If a program did not include all schools in the same category (i.e. Junior High Schools), the program was listed in the report. Programs involving one or more schools (i.e. model schools) but not extended throughout the school system were listed.

all sources. This chart shows that we are spending millions of dollars a year on special projects. There are 130 of these experimental projects now funded in the public schools—more than 30 special reading projects—and not a single one of those projects has been meaningfully evaluated. Does it surprise you to know projects funded by the Congress of the United States in the regular budget as well as under the various Federal titles are frequently never evaluated? Do you know that reading scores in the schools where we have special reading projects are declining? Even when we pay as much as \$25,000 a year per Project Director! This is the kind of waste we have in public education.

One hundred and thirty unevaluated experiments using primarily Federal funds but also spending foundation funds and regular budget funds! Until you can get some independent evaluation, until you can get some valid information from the public school administration as to the effectiveness of these programs, a Board member can't possibly make any kind of intelligent decision on budgetary items. We don't even know which projects to expand and which to drop.

No, ladies and gentlemen, School Board members cannot get information on what's happening in public education in D.C., and Congress should stop all funding of special projects and demand some accounting from D.C. school administrators, then we can begin to make the decisions which will contribute to the education of all our children.

Representative ADAMS. What you are going to do will make it difficult for people like me and Congressman Fraser who try to get money for education in the District. We have people in Congress who say we don't want to spend money for education.

Mr. HOBSON. I know, and I don't intend to make it difficult for you, but we would prefer home rule to manage our own affairs.

Representative FRASER. I'd like to welcome three additions to our panel, Senators Edward Kennedy of Massachusetts, Harold Hughes of Iowa, and Walter Mondale of Minnesota.

Representative BURTON. What you are saying, Mr. Hobson, is that Congressmen would make darn poor Washington City Councilmen.

Mr. HECHINGER. It also doesn't say very much for those who are City Councilmen in the City Council. We have a full witness list here, Congressman Fraser, and I would like next to introduce the Vice-Chairman of the Mayor's Economic Development Committee, Rev. David Eaton, the Minister of All Souls Unitarian Church and also recently Dean at the Federal City College, and he will testify in partnership with John Delaplain, Economist with the Mayor's Committee on Economic Development. If you gentlemen will both come up here we will get your chairs.

Reverend EARON. Mr. Chairman, Members of Congress, and guests, the nuts and bolts of this testimony will be handled by Mr. Delaplain, who is an economist and has a much more systematic presentation on some of the priorities you want. His testimony is based on over a year and a half's work with the Mayor's Economic Development Committee.

I would like to take this time to put local priorities in some type of national picture without getting into areas, which have been otherwise confused, I think, conceptually. I think the highest priority which this country faces is one that we have ignored for many years, and that is to rid our institutions of racism. Time and time again we seem to have a type of, I call it, a mentality of expiation, a theological term that means to relieve oneself of one's sins by going through a certain ritual, and the ritual that this country goes through historically is that of commissions investigating, writing reports, and filing them. That ritual seems to make everybody feel better, because through the written

word, which has become the sacred document of the report, we say all the things which need to be said. People use rhetoric and say amen to it, and then we file it in some archive and very little action comes out of it. I'm not just talking about the Kerner Report in particular, but all the reports from the time that *The American Dilemma* was written way back in 1943 or 1944.

I purposely did not use the term white racism, because I think it can be better defined analytically as institutional racism. I say that because whites and non-whites in this country are the victims of institutional racism. Until the Congress of the United States and other legislative bodies begins to move courageously, I don't think it is going to be handled by any single administration. You probably know in the history of world politics that when administration becomes stronger than legislation, that you have the encroachment of tyranny and totalitarianism. This we see happening very gradually in this country where the administrative arm of government, both local and national, becomes that forceful body of implementation and legislation does not really play its watchdog role so that the intent of the legislation is in fact carried through.

If we are to rid our country in a reasonable period of time of institutional racism I don't think we can leave it in the hands of any single administration. I think Congress is going to have to write forceful legislation and interpret that legislation to the administration and appoint the various types of committees and task forces to see that the spirit of that legislation is in fact implemented.

There are many ways of doing this. I am not speaking in terms of a nebulous concept. I'm speaking in terms of a very practical situation. In terms of national priorities, if we begin to set up the type of Task Force made up of persons in the behavioral sciences, both white and non-white, who have come to basic agreement on many things that can be done in relationship with people, in terms of changing social attitudes and remotivation.

But interesting enough, we have put more money, this is where you get into your priority category, we have put a disproportionate amount of money in research and technology and the implementation of the data obtained from technology, and a very small percentage of the national resource have been put into research and implementation in the area of behavioral science. I was privy to the report of the NIH a few months ago and it was utterly ridiculous to see the very small percent of the amount of money allocated by the Federal Government for research in the behavioral sciences. I am including anthropology all the way across to psychology and so forth. All together you would count about six or seven disciplines. When we reach the point that it becomes a high priority that this country is seriously concerned with how people can better communicate, where the country is seriously concerned with how people can get along better in various types of groups, then I think we can find the resources because we do have the capabilities now of really making inroads in this area.

I'll just give you one example. From anthropology and other studies we learn that basically the Pueblo Indian is taught that the eyes are windows to the soul, and that the eyes are sacred. And because this is true never have a conversation with a man and look him directly in the eye. The Greek child from his culture is taught also that the eyes are the windows to the soul, and that the eyes are sacred, therefore always look a person in the eye when you are having a conversation.

Now what do you do when you get a Pueblo Indian and a Greek in a room to have a conversation? You look like you are going through a bout. However, there is a com-

mon denominator even though you have two different cultures. Both have accepted the premise that the eyes are sacred and that they are windows to the soul. If both know that they appreciate this fact, at least conversation can better take place. It's this type of sharing of knowledge that is already in some of the behavioral sciences. I took a way-out one like anthropology to show how it can be relevant. Sociology and psychology, for example, show us as Mr. Hobson was saying earlier, that is you can't treat a system like education in a vacuum. From my experience of having been born and raised in Washington, D.C. and having come from the District school system, I would say what we find happening in the schools cannot be resolved without looking into the housing problem, the employment problem, and the police-community relations problem. And of those three problems oddly enough I think in terms of the D.C. public schools that the police-community relations problems is the most serious problem because of so-called delinquency in the schools. Young people in this city have absolutely so confidence in the police department because people living in the communities have no say so whatsoever about policies in the Washington Police Department. We don't even have any say-so whether or not policemen live in the District of Columbia or not. And as you probably know the majority of policemen on the force are white, and the majority of the policemen on the force do not live in Washington, D.C.

The highest priority that I see locally, and this is I hope more than rhetoric, is the fact that persons in the District of Columbia cannot do anything about their condition. We are a disfranchised people. To be very candid, psychologically I have no country. I happen to just have been born in this country, but because of my experiences of denial of any meaningful participation over my own destiny politically in this city, how can I as a person born in the United States of America really feel as if he is a citizen, when I am denied all opportunity of participating in my own political destiny.

Without going through the fine speeches that many others have made, I think the highest single priority in Washington, D.C. which we came into contact with time and time again in the Mayor's Economic Development Committee was the realistic ability of individuals to feel that they can participate in their own destiny. This was through the Mayor's Economic Development report without a doubt. The report happened to have been put together in spite of this not because of it. I think the report is a good document in areas ranging from transportation to employment to housing to medical services and other things that these gentlemen may have heard. But most important the ability of the citizens of Washington, D.C. to be represented in the halls of Congress and to elect their own city government and to have a major role in determining fiscal policy and expenditures by elected officials. Until that happens I don't think that you can rely upon persons in the community to involve individuals in making the type of decisions that are the right decisions for a healthy state of affairs in the District of Columbia.

Representative FRASER. We have with us now Congressman William Ryan, Richard Ottinger, and Edward Koch, all of New York.

Representative JACOBS. In looking over the witness list, I see that no young people or students have been asked to testify, and I see a number of students here in this room, and I just wondered if they might get together and agree upon a spokesman who could then testify before us. Would that be agreeable to everyone?

Reverend PHILLIPS. I am sure that we can arrange that. It might be useful before we

question Mr. Eaton to hear from Mr. John Delaplain, also of the Mayor's Committee on Economic Development.

Mr. DELAPLAIN. Mr. Chairman, members of Congress, and guests, I would like to briefly try to relate three things: the fiscal problems of the District; the poverty problem of the District; and the opportunities. Too frequently in D.C. we view these in a single objective manner with isolated planning for each one. We do have a crisis on the fiscal side, we have a crisis in education and health, and these are poverty related. I might say on the fiscal side the rather curious thing is that we in Washington live in probably the fastest-growing urban area in the United States. Of the 20 largest urban areas the growth of income is higher in the Washington metropolitan area than in any of the others. It is also true for income in Washington by place of work, but by place of residence we have what I would classify as essentially utter stagnation. We tried to study this in some depth by taking the Social Security 1% sample data which are available and you can break this out by income group by black and white, by sector of work, by age. We find for example in D.C. that we have about 120,000 black people who work in the city in the private sector and make less than \$3000 income. This is not family income; this is individual income.

Representative FRASER. We might point out that while the Washington Metropolitan area may be one of the fastest growing in the country, within the District of Columbia itself we have utter stagnation in terms of income of the people who live here.

Mr. DELAPLAIN. Yes, but I was also saying in terms of D.C. itself in terms of place of work we have one of the fastest growing areas, also in the country. By place of residence we have this stagnation.

I think the problems of D.C. in all the areas we talk about here largely stem from the fact that we have about a 75% black population, and this population does not get very high income. I am speaking primarily about the private sector because the incomes there are much lower than they are in the public sector. And I am speaking about the 120,000 we estimate from the Social Security data, which is a rigorous 1% sample. This is a pretty high figure but this includes those that work. It does not include the unemployed or those on welfare.

When you look at the tax base data for the City we find essentially a stagnation in the tax base, which is very much wedded to the problem of income and city residence and again black city residents. You can also see this from the income breakdown by sector of work in the 200 or so sectors we studied, the very low levels that the blacks were able to get, so that discrimination in employment is a very real problem as is discrimination in housing in the suburbs.

On the fiscal problem side, the problem started to escalate in the City about 1965, when we started to meet more of our basic needs of education, health, and welfare. We have had a constant rise of about 16% per year in all of these basic sectors in the cost of government in D.C. in welfare, in education, in housing, and crime. These are the major sectors and major costs. We have a growth of the tax base itself, of some where around 2% per year, in constant dollars it is a little higher than 3½%, in current dollars, but in other words you have a very slow growth of the tax base of the city and a very rapid rise in the cost of government. The fiscal gap can be calculated in a number of ways. I estimate that it has grown from 1965 from about \$100,000,000 a year to about \$300,000,000 a year in 1970, and I estimate about \$1.2 billion a year if these trends continue by 1978.

Representative FRASER. What do you mean by "fiscal gap?"

Mr. DELAPLAIN. Well, that's in effect the

amount that has to be made up by Congress, by the Federal Government. The difference between what comes in in terms of revenue and what goes out in terms of expenditures, without counting the Federal contributions or any of the Federal loans or grants.

Since costs are rising at this rate, the tax base is rising at this rate, we are raising our tax rates, we are sort of hitting the bottom of the barrel getting a little bit more in each one of these taxes, and we are also helping to drive businesses out and losing economic opportunities through our tax policies.

Representative BURTON. Excuse me, is that an annual amount in the aid figures?

Mr. DELAPLAIN. Annual amount. Going from 100 in 1965 to 300 in 1970 to about 1.2 billion by 1978, which is a pretty large figure.

Part of the costs of the government, particularly in health—we heard some witnesses on the health and education problems—are in large part poverty related. These costs are going to have to continue. We are not doing an adequate job in any of these sectors. Our welfare standards are not high in this City. I am suggesting that these problems are basically poverty related.

Without going into depth about each of the problems that we have studied, I would like to conclude by saying that we are not in this City taking advantage of the opportunities that exist. We are not doing as good a job as we should be in using the various Federal programs. This is in part I think as David Eaton has suggested because we do not have much control of our own planning in this City. Much of the planning is done by the Federal agencies, the National Capitol Park and Planning Commission, the D.C. Manpower Administration, the Redevelopment Agency, the Housing Authority, and of course, the basic government agencies themselves. We have traditionally carried out sort of a single objective approach to our planning. We have not even attacked what I claim are the basic problems which are these poverty-related problems. We are not doing a very good job getting our residents into jobs with upward mobility. We are doing essentially no upgrading training programs. We aren't doing all that we should be in getting residents into our own City government jobs, which we do have complete control over.

There are many opportunities, as we try to point out in the Mayor's Economic Development Committee First-year Action Program, that need to be exploited. These are opportunities that are going to help raise the incomes of our city residents; they're going to help raise the tax base of this City. We're going to try to be using idle land because we've found that urban renewal is a very expensive process. We have idle land such as the Anacostia Air Base. We have a lot of idle land along the Anacostia River. We have a problem that in certain parts of the City we can raise our building heights to create more opportunity for income. We had one possibility pointed out where we could even set up an industrial park in the area of railroad track intersections where we showed that the government could afford to borrow the money for this land at private interest rates of 8%, and could give the land away to private sectors and still generate three times as much revenue in terms of property tax, income tax, and sales tax as the interest would be on the cost of that land. There are many opportunities like this that do exist in the City. Each one of these we tried to cost out in terms of what was the benefit to City resident incomes and the benefit to the City tax base. I suggest that these opportunities represent the real solution to the fiscal problems of the City. If we keep raising each one of our taxes a few percent at a time, we can keep going through this sort of a no-win game with Congress we come up with each year in trying to get approval for additional revenues, but we are faced with I think some

problems of rather large size in scale. We need to try, I think, to transfer some of these problems that are related back to the Federal Government by such avenues as the Family Assistance Plan, for example, would be one excellent kind of approach. There are shortcomings in the plan but that sort of thing would help relieve the District Government of some of its basic problems.

The figures that I quoted earlier I testified before the Subcommittee on Fiscal Affairs of the Senate and those figures on the income of the black city residents and white city residents and broken down by age are available. Thank you.

Representative FRASER. Would the Family Assistance Plan, which the Administration has recommended, in fact relieve any of the tax burdens of the District, relieve monetary pressures on the District? Have you looked at that carefully?

Mr. DELAPLAIN. Well, O.K., the main beneficiaries of the Family Assistance Plan would be the working poor and not those now on welfare.

Representative FRASER. Yes, in Minnesota, for example, while I like the idea of the Family Assistance Plan, it will not help any of our state fiscal problems at all.

Representative BURTON. That's not possible. Under the Family Assistance Plan where you have payments of \$375 a year, the maximum matching is \$22 a month per person in the AFDC caseload so they have increased the Federal contribution significantly in the Family Assistance Plan.

Mr. DELAPLAIN. Well the question is whether the contribution of the District would be reduced.

Representative FRASER. It reduces the burden on the states.

Representative BURTON. It increases the Federal contribution on the order of I would suspect 30%.

Mr. DELAPLAIN. Well, I think I would like to correct my statement, too. I think there will be some improvement because the state contribution would decline to a range of 50% to 90% of present levels. Furthermore there are a number of families not on welfare in the District that will be helped by this that should really be classed as welfare families too.

Representative FRASER. The only reason I raise the question, I like the idea of the Family Assistance Plan, but as it now stands it does not offer the total federalization of welfare programs that is necessary.

Reverend PHILLIPS. May I interrupt a moment. I understand that there is a good possibility that you gentlemen will be getting a quorum call at 12:15 or 12:30, and just on the outside chance that it might be the military budget we wouldn't want you to miss that call; I wonder if we could, since our purpose is to put before you the immense proportions of these problems and not to solve them, I wonder if we could move to the witnesses before we run out of time.

Mr. HECHINGER. The next witness will be Mr. Bruce Terris, Chairman of the D.C. Democratic Central Committee.

Mr. TERRIS. Thank you. I must say it is wonderful to find so many Congressmen who are interested enough in the District's problems to be here today.

Representative FRASER. Congressman Lowenstein of New York has just joined us.

Mr. TERRIS. Some of us who live in the District, need reassurance that there are some Congressmen who care about the District after the rather bad beating that we have taken on Capitol Hill this year—the blackmail on the freeways and the slashing of the revenue bill and the budget, the likely passage of repressive crime legislation, and the very little progress that has been made on self-government. Perhaps those of you in

the House might do your best to resist further crime legislation, such as the Administration has proposed.

Although my topic is housing I would like to start by mentioning the connection between the topic of this meeting and self-government. Although self-government doesn't require money to implement, emphasis by this country on the war in Vietnam and on military spending have in fact been some of the critical factors which prevent us from attaining self-government. And the reason I think that is true is because the time and the energy of the President, the Congress, and even the proponents of self-government is so largely spent on pre-occupation with the war and with military spending both for and against, that issues, even important issues like self-government in the District, have largely had to take second place. As an example, when I called my friends, the couple of friends that I have in the Administration, about the subject of self-government during the last few months, the reason that they give me for not putting more fight into getting self-government passed by the House is generally to point to a issue like ABM or the war surtax, which from their point of view take higher priority. So I think we are in the position that even self-government which doesn't require money is very deeply affected by the topic of this meeting.

On the subject of housing I doubt that we need to go through at any great length the crisis that exists in the District of Columbia concerning housing. The City Council made a report this past summer on housing, I believe it's the 15th report in the last half dozen or so years by government or prestigious private bodies on the housing crisis in the District of Columbia. The City Council's report, like just about every one of those other 14 reports, fails to deal with the problem. The report of the City Council says there is a crisis. It recommends a number of extremely important steps—to allow rent strikes, to license landlords, to do other things that would take the edge off the exploitation of the poor. But it does not deal with the central problem; it deals rather with the symptom of it. And the central problem is, of course, the enormous shortage of housing for the poor and near-poor which exists in the District of Columbia.

And it is no surprise that the City Council doesn't deal with this problem or that the 14 other reports don't either, because nobody knows how to deal with it. We know we can increase the rights of tenants relatively easily, we don't know how to get the vast sums of money which are needed to build housing.

Briefly, we have 300,000 people in the District of Columbia who live in inadequate housing—almost 40% of the people of the District. Half of them live in dilapidated housing or overcrowded housing; the other half pay an exorbitant amount of rent, more than 25% of their incomes. The Mayor's Committee estimates that we need 100,000 new units and 50,000 rehabilitated units to meet the problem of dilapidation and overcrowding. In other words, we are short 150,000 units, as of today, of decent housing. Now that doesn't even get into the problem of the rents that are too high. We have an absolute shortage of 150,000 decent units.

In addition, over the next decade we are going to need 50,000 more units to take care of increases in the population of the District. So we need 200,000 units—150,000 new units and 50,000 rehabilitated units. If we are going to meet this problem in 10 years, we need to build 15,000 units a year and rehabilitate 5,000 units a year.

What are we doing to meet this problem of building and rehabilitating 15 to 20,000 units a year? I think it is fair to say that we are losing ground. More units are being

destroyed than are being built, particularly more units for the poor and the near-poor. At the moment we have a little over 10,000 units of publicly assisted housing, mostly public housing, some under various other Federal programs. We are building a little bit more than a 1000 units a year of publicly assisted housing. At the same time we had an enormous drop off in housing starts in the private sector from 8500 in 1965 to 1300 in 1968 and it will probably be lower this year. In other words we had a drop of housing starts of 85%. So there is little new housing being built for the more affluent to move into so the poor can then move into the housing that the affluent left.

Meanwhile, during all this in which we have done almost nothing to build new housing, we have been destroying housing for highways—destruction which unfortunately is going to increase over the next few years—and we are destroying houses for various commercial purposes and for high rise apartments.

Now what's the hope for the future? Last year you gentlemen passed a very-much ballyhooed 1968 housing act. While the provisions look extremely good on paper, in fact, that program was drastically underfunded. The rent supplement program virtually doesn't exist at all. I don't think there are a 100 units of rent supplement in the District of Columbia. The National Capitol Housing Authority, as I am sure you know, is virtually bankrupt. It does not even have the funds to provide decent housing for its own tenants. It is now in the process of increasing rents, which means that the poor will not be able to even afford public housing. The various other Federal assistance programs that help non-profit groups are underfunded, and proposals to FHA are backed up in the local FHA Office because of lack of money. Meanwhile, interest rates are increasing and housing starts are dropping.

I think it is fair to say that there is no way to fill the housing needs of the District of Columbia over the next ten years without massive amounts of Federal money. There is no money in the District budget. The District now spends no money for housing, and, since it has its own revenue crisis, it probably is not going to be able to find large amounts of money for housing. The Mayor's Committee on Economic Development estimates that we need 165 million dollars, which is probably a very low estimate, over the next decade to subsidize housing for the poor and near-poor. That money is going to have to come, if it comes at all, from the Federal Government.

Eight years ago a couple of us started to rehabilitate some housing in the middle of the second precinct in the District of Columbia—in the middle of the Shaw area. After we had done this with private funds and with our own hands for a few years, we decided at the rate we were going we were never going to make any substantial impact on the housing problem. We decided that what we ought to be doing is turning to Federal financing, because of the slowness with which we were proceeding. I've now reached the point of wondering whether in fact, depending on federal programs isn't even slower than doing it ourselves.

I would like to conclude by saying that I think the subject which is before you today, the question of national priorities, is the identical subject as whether we are going to meet our housing problem in the District. At the moment we have no program. Not even a plan for meeting this problem. We wring our hands in the District of Columbia and say this is our number one crisis, but we do nothing about it. And we are going to do nothing about it unless somehow we from the Defense budget millions and millions of dollars for the District of Columbia

and probably tens of billions of dollars in total to meet the housing crisis in this city and other cities across this whole country. Thank you.

Reverend PHILLIPS. As time is getting short, may we hold all questions until we conclude hearing the witnesses.

Mr. HECHINGER. The next witness will be Reverend Walter Fauntroy, the former Vice Chairman of the D.C. City Council, currently deputy director of the Model Inner Cities Community Organization, and pastor of the New Bethel Baptist Church. My friend Walter Fauntroy.

Reverend FAUNTROY. Thank you, Mr. Hechinger, Mr. Chairman, and members of the Committee. I want to express my appreciation to you for this opportunity to testify at this hearing.

Representative FRASER. May I just make the comment that I have been on the District Committee for five years, and we have never had this kind of information or these kinds of witnesses presented to us.

Reverend FAUNTROY. Thank you so much, Mr. Chairman. I think it's rather trite to say that we live today in revolutionary times when people are in ferment in our cities across this country and around the world, but it may not be so trite to say that revolution has to do, as I define it, with the ownership and control of land. It has to do with freedom from exploitation on that land, and the hallmark of revolution is not so much violence and guns and fighting violently but effective change; that is the essence of revolution. And in this sense America is the home of revolution in our time because we in this country, knowing that we were being exploited, on land that was owned by absentee landlords organized ourselves and fought to free ourselves from the kind of exploitation for which people are grappling now around the world, particularly poor and black people. And the only thing about the situation in our city here and across the nation that differs from 1776 is the fact that we cannot afford in our time violent revolution. It is not a viable solution to the kinds of changes that need to be made.

So I say to quote the late President John F. Kennedy: "Those who make nonviolent revolution impossible make violent revolution inevitable." It is in that context that I want to discuss our needs in the inner city for breaking out of the urban crisis. I wonder if you would allow me to digress a minute to refer to what seems to me a glaring example of the failure of Congress to understand the needs of this country for nonviolent revolution—the despicable vote of the House yesterday on that Voting Rights Bill. That was a bill which was fought for nonviolently without burning, without looting, without violence.

People bought that bill with their nonviolent demonstrations in an effort to effect nonviolent revolution, which is what voting is. It is the means by which we change without violence, and for this Congress and this Administration to point the nation backwards beyond 1965 and repeat the action of a hundred years ago, when Rutherford B. Hayes came to power and made a deal with the emerging southern Bourbons to pull the troops out to permit the violent suppression of a nonviolent means of change which is the vote, we witness that here as a result of this action by the Congress by the House yesterday we are in trouble and the words of John F. Kennedy will again arise to haunt us: "Those who make nonviolent revolution impossible make violent revolution inevitable."

Having said that, I want to say about our local situation here that the tragedy of our priorities operating to make nonviolent revolution impossible is no more clearly seen than in the situation here in the inner city and in the ghetto. And what is required to bring about needed change is revolution:—

the change of ownership and control of land, and freedom from exploitation of those who live on the land in the inner city. The people of the inner city, the people about whom we are concerned, are as much on a plantation, as much in a colony as were the thirteen colonies in 1776 in that the land on which they live is owned by outsiders and is used to exploit them.

The fact is that, for example, in the inner city area in which we are working to reclaim land to affect what we are calling nonviolent land reform, 70% of the land is owned by outsiders. We know of many slum lords who reap 100% profit on their investments in providing housing to their renters, so that many of the people who have rented that land for 30 and 40 years have paid for it three and four times and still can be given a 30-day notice and put off the land just as we could have been put off the land by the power of the British in 1775 prior to a revolution which changed the ownership and control of that land. We in the inner city in short are trying to affect nonviolent change, and I believe that we have within the American system, within the already approved programs of the country, the tools to do it. What we lack is the commitment on the part of the people generally and the commitment of money in particular to do these things.

Let me just outline briefly what we are attempting to do and how, unless the nation orients its priorities toward this kind of land reform, we will not deal with the problems of the inner city. We are engaged in an effort through citizen planning to arrive at the acquisition of land. This kind of program requires a massive input of public funds. We are about to break ground tomorrow on a 109-unit apartment, a development on land which a year ago was owned by outsiders who would not have freed that land for development. But by the grace of God and through our work the Lincoln Westmoreland Housing Corporation, the Lincoln Church, the church of which Mr. Phillips is pastor, has been successful in providing on that formerly plantation land housing for the people in the community at a rate that they can afford to pay.

This cannot go on in sufficient quantity either in this city or any city in the nation if the Congress and the people do not review and reset their priorities. As a final case in point let me cite the fact that this Congress passed in 1968 a Housing Act which stated as its goal the provision of 26 million units of housing in the next ten years.

Congress authorized only enough money to provide half that amount for this year's quota and appropriated only a quarter of that amount. The amount, for example, provided for 2351 housing could be absorbed for the whole nation right in Shaw. Until and unless we in this country reorder our priorities so that 70 cents of every dollar that is taken for taxes is not put into military uses, until we can instead of spending \$3 billion in HUD spend \$30 billion, we are not really going to affect nonviolent revolution, because revolutionary change must come and in conclusion again if we do not make this kind of nonviolent revolution possible we will make violent change inevitable.

Reverend PHILLIPS. Thank you very much Mr. Fauntroy. In moving ahead to our next witness and reserving questions to the end, Mr. John S. Winder, who is Executive Director of the Metropolitan Washington Coalition for Clean Air, will talk on the question of pollution in the District, which is also related to the question of national priorities.

Mr. WINDER. Mr. Chairman, thank you for the opportunity to speak to you. If I may, I'd like to read from a prepared statement which expresses what I believe is the major crisis not only in D.C. but in the entire country. Environmental pollution, traditionally ignored and excused in the name of progress, is a luxury we can no longer af-

ford. Even the most rigorous opponents of pollution control who demand conclusive evidence of harmful effects of pollution can no longer be permitted to refuse controls. Facts and figures and dirty pictures of our air and water are plentiful.

A tragically accurate analogy can be drawn which compares the growing opposition to our military-industrial complex—opposition in large part to the needless war casualties around the globe. Analogously a far less known but equally tragic fact is that environmental pollution can kill. Those familiar with the air pollution literature, for example, will recognize the frequently cited cases of 62 deaths in Belgium's Meuse Valley in 1930, 4,000 deaths in London in 1952, as well as others which show that sudden high concentrations of air pollution can also kill.

In addition to the damage to health, air and other forms of environmental pollution continue to erode our property and plant life throughout this planet. The damage in this country from air pollution alone amounts to an annual cost in millions of dollars. As a result, many see the need for the development of a national priority environmental ethic in this society. This need, for example, was apparent to those who attended a public hearing on automobile air pollution recently conducted in New York City by a group of 21 United States Congressmen.

One of the organizers of this hearing, Representative Farbstein, stated: "It is obvious that two of the big four auto companies would rather continue polluting the air and endangering human lives than admit their failure to give more serious consideration to the public safety than profit." Although I support the development of this new environmental ethic, such a radical change in attitude will not occur overnight. For those who continue to refuse to consider the public interest, the fact that the economic cost of pollution control is rapidly becoming exceeded by the mere loss of profits caused by the failure to protect our environment must be stressed.

Environmental education bills and legislation to establish a Cabinet-level department of the environment are now pending before this Congress. And earlier this year the President established an Environmental Quality Council. Even beyond this Mr. Nixon recently announced that his coming State of the Union address will include as the dominant domestic theme an Administration pledge to promote environmental quality.

At least on paper this Administration is beginning to read the handwriting in our polluted air and waters. It is up to all of us, however, to participate in the effort to make these promises a reality. It would seem to follow that national priorities would begin at home, that is in our nation's capital. In respect to air pollution, however, not to mention the Potomac River and other environmental insults, this is indeed not the case. For example, last year automobile exhaust emissions contributed over 350,000 tons of carbon monoxide in this metropolitan area air.

As the concentration of automobiles in the District of Columbia, over 2600 per square mile, is higher than in any other city in the United States—it is higher than Los Angeles—there is no questioning the fact that automobile exhaust is by far the largest single source of air pollution in this area. Nonetheless, the oil-highway-auto-real estate lobbies continue to dominate in spite of conclusive evidence of environmental damage.

Only last week the National Academy of Sciences released a report which concluded that carbon monoxide in the air is a growing menace to the nation's health and should be a subject of special scrutiny by the nation's health experts. We must ask why neither the U.S. Congress nor the appointed government

for the District of Columbia has ordered a public hearing to consider the air pollution and other environmental effects of the proposed D.C. freeway system.

Upon whose shoulders rest this challenge to survival? The President of the United States recently announced that he will speak to the nation's governors next February on how to challenge young Americans to move forward on the whole subject of the quality of life in America, including the environment. To the President and to those who are not considered young Americans I would reply that we must not forget to challenge the polluters.

For the most part this nation's youth is far ahead in terms of awareness of the environmental garbage we have been bequeathed by our predecessors. They are acutely aware of the air, water, noise and other types of pollutants that have been created by those now in positions of power in our nation's corporations, and in local, state, and federal councils of governments. Young Americans have already accepted the challenge of the prevention of environmental catastrophe. They are planning a national environmental teach-in for April 22, 1970, a massive educational and involvement-oriented program which some have chosen to call "End-Day"—Environment Near Death.

In addition, students and young people are establishing countless conservation organizations and environmental law groups, such as the Greater Washington Alliance to Stop Pollution, Inc., known as GASP, to inform citizens about the causes and effects of pollution, and more importantly to seek and implement methods to prevent further environmental deterioration. The environmental activists present to this country as well as to the rest of the world the truly constructive alternative, an action program, and the only viable solution—a clean, healthy environment, an environment which their predecessors were able to enjoy but which these predecessors have ruthlessly exploited and destroyed.

We must all become environmental activists if we are to avoid what some experts have predicted with frightening certainty an eco-tastrophe. Mr. Chairman, I would like to close my remarks by sharing with you a letter I received in this morning's mail from a young Washingtonian. "I am a fourth-grade student who is very unhappy with the air and water around me. I would like to know what clean air is really like. Does it have a smell? There is a wonderful river that flows right through our city. Why can't I swim in it? I know that our air and water pollution problems cannot be fixed very quickly, but it seems nobody is even trying to clean things up. I would like to know that by the time I am grown up these things will be changed and made better." Mr. Chairman, I would appreciate it if the Congress and the D.C. government would help me answer this letter.

Mr. HECHINGER. Thank you Mr. Winder. The next-to-last witness will be Dr. George Wiley, and then I'll ask the students, who formed together as you requested, Congressman Jacobs, to be the closing witnesses. Dr. George Wiley, who is the Executive Director of the National Welfare Rights Organization, has brought the welfare plight to the forefront of the nation in terms of its priorities.

Dr. WILEY. I will be very brief this morning. It is clear that the war in Vietnam and our overbearing emphasis on an aggressive military posture in the world is a priority on death and destruction which is totally degrading to any society that calls itself a democracy. In addition, there are pressing problems here at home that require expenditure of literally billions of dollars that are presently being plowed into these wasteful and destructive efforts. We in the National

Welfare Rights Organization have said that the priority of this country should be a priority on life, a priority on promoting those things, environment, housing, health, the ability to get the food and the basic necessities of life, so that all the people in this country can live.

We have a situation where more than one quarter of the population in this country does not have an adequate basic income to meet the needs of food, clothing, and shelter. The U.S. Department of Labor Bureau of Labor Statistics has estimated that it takes about \$5500 a year for a family of four to have these basic necessities of life. In the District of Columbia the welfare payments for aid to families to dependent children are approximately \$2300 a year. \$2300 as opposed to \$5500 which is defined as enough to meet the basic necessities. In addition, I would like to cite the fact that recently the White House conference on food, nutrition, and health adopted two priority goals which I would like to just read to you:

Number one: That there is a national emergency in hunger in the United States, and I quote, there is a hunger and malnutrition emergency in this country today and therefore the President must immediately declare that a national hunger emergency exists and under existing authority must now free funds and implement existing programs to feed the hungry Americans this winter.

Number two: Guaranteed adequate income. The overriding need to alleviate hunger and malnutrition is a minimum guaranteed adequate cash income with a floor of \$5500 annually for a family of four. I submit to you gentlemen that those two problems and those two issues are fundamental issues here in the District of Columbia and that the failure of the President to respond to his White House conference in declaring a national emergency is a reflection of his continued commitment to spending billions of dollars on a military posture and on a war in Vietnam.

Secondly, on the issue of guaranteeing an adequate cash income, he actually went before the nation a few nights ago and directly attacked this proposal as something that could not even be considered. I submit to you that if we are going to do something about the starvation that exists here in the District of Columbia, that a major federal effort is necessary, an effort that changes the priorities from spending \$82 billion on defense priorities, from spending \$41 billion on a highway program that pollutes the air and that destroys housing in the inner city, a priority that spends \$6 billion on farm subsidies to farmers not to grow crops, a priority of \$30 to \$50 billion on a war in Vietnam when those moneys could be used to promote life here at home.

Reverend PHILLIPS. The two closing witnesses are the young people that Congressman Jacobs suggested testify, and I thank Congressman Jacobs for his suggestion. Their names are Monty Freeman and Ricky Lyon, both students at Western High School. The one in the long hair is Ricky Lyon and the other is Monty Freeman.

Mr. LYON. Thank you, Reverend Phillips. Mr. Chairman and distinguished congressmen. My name is Ricky Lyon. I am a student at Western High School, and on my right is Monty Freeman, also a student at Western. Monty and I could never know how bad the education is in our city because we really haven't experienced education that others have. Congressman Jacobs and Congressman Fraser have seen examples of this. They have been to the high schools in our city. The students are glad they have come. Yet we cannot get members of our own school board to do the same. We cannot even get members of the school administration to deal with their own schools. One of the congressmen

referred to the situation at Wilson High School, that students at Wilson were afraid. Students at other schools have been afraid for years now in Washington. Students at other schools have been begging for an education for many years now. The administration in our schools has done a very unsatisfactory job. They appropriated hundreds of thousands of dollars for reports and more reports and more reports. Yet when the results of those reports were in, they did absolutely nothing. This has to change. The community must control; I don't care what you call it, community control, anything. The community, the people that live around the school, should control the school. Also a student should not have to attend a school eight miles away from his home when he has one right around the corner.

Mr. FREEMAN. Thank you, Ricky. Mr. Chairman, distinguished gentlemen, Congressmen, ladies and gentlemen. I want to thank you for the opportunity to discuss with you the problems which exist in the District of Columbia educational system and throughout the country and to try to understand the change needed in America's national priorities. This afternoon I want to deal with education, the area in which I am most affected. It has been pointed out by Mr. Hobson some of the conditions under which some of the District of Columbia students live. I am speaking here today not as a representative of the students of the District of Columbia but for myself and for my friends.

I have been doing a little research in the area of education and have reached some general conclusions. There have been enough surveys and studies of District of Columbia education. I am sure that many of you are aware of the Passoff Report written in 1967 by Columbia College in New York. In there they listed many suggestions and conclusions yet very little has been done in the area which the Report suggested. *More Effective Schools*, a report given by the Washington Teachers Union of the District of Columbia schools, was an effective report dealing with the issues involved in District of Columbia education. Very little has been done about it. There have been many congressional reports, reports from committees, dealing with the District of Columbia education. Little has been accomplished.

The funds have been allocated by Congress through the federal payment plan to direct subsidies to the District of Columbia education. But the effect of those programs in session now has not been tested. Very few surveys have been conducted on the effectiveness of the programs which are instituted in the D.C. high schools or all through the educational system. This I feel is very important, for if we are spending money that we should know where the money is going, those programs which are most effective to be continued, and those programs which we are spending money for which are not being used to cut off the money, because it's ridiculous to spend more money and more money for programs which are not effective.

I will talk to you about some of my own personal experiences. In my algebra class I did not receive my book for a month and a half, the textbook. For about three weeks in November the District of Columbia students had no transportation to and from school. Finally, through going to the Congress, going up to the House of Representatives, talking to some congressmen, we were finally able to get the funds, we were finally able to have the funds allocated so that we can get bus transportation. There are many other instances which I personally experienced that others here in the room have experienced and I won't even deal with those. But there is a definite problem somewhere along the line in the school system is not being able to handle the needs of the students. It is not in the Congress. The Congress allocates

the money. The problem lies in the administration of the school system. Thank you.

Mr. LYONS. Thank you. I cannot repeat loudly enough the words of Reverend Fauntroy that nonviolent revolution can only wait a certain amount of time, and that if people are forced to a certain degree even nonviolent people can turn to violence. This is not necessary. This is not fair to us. We should not be driven to this point. The one thing we want is an education and the right to learn. And I really don't think this is asking that much. I would like to invite the congressmen to come to our schools. We want you to come, we beg you to come. We want you to see the conditions, and although we realize that you want to help us and you are helping us, it does lie with our administration and we hope that they will do something about this also.

Now, in conclusion, I would like to say that as far as non-school priorities are concerned there is one thing that we students want, and I think this is something that every conscientious citizen of Washington and the United States wants. And that is home rule now. (Applause) We must govern ourselves. We need this right and it is only fair that we may govern ourselves. So it is up to you; that's not up to the school administration. Home rule is up to you men up there, and I beg you, please give us that right. Thank you very much.

Reverend PHILLIPS. We would like now to entertain questions.

Representative FRASER. We are going to have a quorum call shortly. Let's take the next ten minutes for questions from the Members, and at the end of that time, when the Members have to leave, perhaps we can have some discussion from the citizens of the District who have come to this town meeting. Would any member of the panel like to address a question or a comment to any of the preceding witnesses?

Mr. HECHINGER. Mr. Chairman, may I just make this comment. You spoke very kindly about the fact that this kind of testimony in all your years on the District Committee has never been so well presented. I think for our part I would like to note that never in any hearing on District affairs have I seen such a great turnout of interest of the Congress—18 Representatives and 3 Senators—great concern is reflected in this, and it is very much appreciated, I can assure you.

Representative TIERNAN. I would like to point out that on the vote on Voting Rights yesterday, I think that to a man the Members in this room voted against the substitute. I would like to add to the observation made by my colleague Mr. Boland that all of this testimony today is directed to the wrong Members of Congress, and we hope the press does cover this and maybe why, Mr. Hechinger, that is why this type of testimony has not been presented to the District Committee.

Representative REUSS. Mr. Chairman, has there been testimony about Federal City College and specifically about the cutoff on expansion into a four year college?

Mr. HECHINGER. No it was not, Congressman Reuss. Not specifically today.

Representative REUSS. It might well be that the Nation's Capitol has the first land-grant university in the country, and yet according to the action just taken, in the District budget by the Congress the Federal City College forbidden to expand into a four year college. It is in effect a two year college now. Are you familiar with that?

Mr. HECHINGER. Well, we have the former Dean of the Federal City College, now the Minister of All Soul's Unitarian Church, Rev. David Eaton, who testified as the Vice Chairman of the Mayor's Economic Development Committee, who would be capable of answering that.

Reverend EARON. The history of Federal City College, as you probably know, is a very interesting history. I call it intellectual arrogance and hypocrisy that a very good man was appointed President who knew nothing about the inner city whatsoever and a Vice President who was born and raised in a rural area of Maine who was a Negro who had never worked out his own identity problem—I am being very candid—were put in primary responsibility of charting the course of a predominantly, 97.8%, black institution in an area that is predicted at this point to be approximately 76% black. Not only did they make some serious mistakes but the whole process of what I was speaking of earlier of institutional racism could easily be seen.

Now some of the points that the press has picked up about the trials and tribulations of the Federal City College were misinterpretations of what was actually happening. I can say without a doubt, having been the dean of student services and working very closely with student groups most of my life, that I have never run into a more responsible and responsive student body and leadership than I have at Federal City College, and that includes the University of Southern California, Boston University, Howard University, Morgan, and other schools where I have worked at one time or another.

I will say categorically, and if I had enough time would document it systematically, that the things that are happening to Federal City College, are direct results of institutional racism. The inability of people in key decision-making positions to understand the facts and dynamics of what's happening in that predominantly black institution where the majority of the students are either from poverty backgrounds or working full-time in government. One-half of the students at Federal City College in fact hold jobs and are trying to get a full four-year education as they go through school.

The other 50% are students who would never see higher education if it were not for Federal City College. If we had more time today, I would elaborate further that one of the nation's highest priorities using systems that have already been established has to be the systematic eradication of white racism which I prefer to call institutional racism because we have two victims, both the white and non-white communities. This is why we are talking about Vietnam.

We can see the results of institutional racism in our foreign policy. We have interceded in the domestic affairs of every non-white nation that's had a problem, from the Congo to Cuba to the Dominican Republic to Vietnam. And our institutional racism, because it teaches white superiority, has not led us to South Africa, Rhodesia, Mozambique, or Greece and we didn't go into Czechoslovakia or Hungary. This country cannot afford this phenomenon, and this is what Federal City College is the victim of.

Representative ADAMS. I would like to point out that for some period of time we have been trying to figure out how to break through our enemies and the problem that we have is that they do not receive this form of information—I don't know whether it would affect them if they did—I am hopeful, however, that the Charter Commission and the non-voting delegate that are now before the District Committee will move out before this session of Congress.

Reverend PHILLIPS. Gentlemen, if I may close this hearing today. Like the many others being held across the country it is an effort to share with those in positions of influence and power like yourselves, the deep and anxious concerns of American citizens over the immoral choices we are making as a country, by design on the one hand in Vietnam, and by default on the other hand

on the domestic scene. We believe that the count of the war dead cannot be reckoned in Vietnam alone but must also include the deaths occasioned by such things as racial friction in this country, premature deaths resulting from too little money spent on medical research and health facilities, the countless deaths from malnutrition and hunger, from pollution and slums. Perhaps most tragic is the pervasive death of hope, hope that must be reborn if America is to survive.

We have heard testimony as it relates to Washington, D.C. But we believe that Washington is a microcosm of America. Even as we have listened to this testimony, we could not help but wonder whether we are still only touching the surface, dealing with the symptoms of a basic illness—I've alluded to it before—an economic system that permits profits to dictate priorities.

I personally believe that our economic system of the wealth concentrated in the hands of the few is on a collision course with our political system of power in the hands of the many. It seems to me that we are in real danger of altering our political system to protect that wealth in the hands of a few rather than altering our economic system to preserve our democracy. As has been said, there is an inexorable movement toward remedy, toward justice, toward a humane society. The hope is that such a transition, revolution in fact, can be made with as little violence as possible. If we had representation, or even a non-voting delegate, to Congress, we would be petitioning him and the Congress through him.

If we had self-government, we could better handle those priorities even while respecting Federal interests. In lieu of those basic American political tools, we have addressed you honorable gentlemen. We express our appreciation for your presence, for your patient listening. We plead not only for national redirection but also for the hasty Americanization of Washington, D.C. If Vietnamization is good for Vietnamese, Americanization must be good for Washington. Thank you.

MORMON CHURCH HELPS INDIANS UP THE LADDER

HON. ORVAL HANSEN

OF IDAHO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 15, 1970

Mr. HANSEN of Idaho. Mr. Speaker, there is a growing awareness, both in and out of Government, of the injustices suffered by the American Indians during the past century or more.

This is not the time to attempt to catalog the grievances which these people have against a system which has denied them the minimum opportunities. The responsibility for the treatment accorded our original Americans must be widely shared.

Nor, is this the time to make extravagant promises that all of the injustices will be corrected overnight. It is wrong for us to raise hopes and to promise beyond our capacity to perform.

However, caution is not, as some charge, a euphemism for inaction. There are many things which Congress can do, and I trust will do, to broaden the social, educational, and economic opportunities available to the American Indians. This we shall do because it is right.

Fortunately, however, not all Americans have been oblivious to these wrongs. Since 1954, the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints—Mormon—has conducted an Indian student placement program, to place young Indian students from various reservations in the homes of Mormon families. These students become a part of the family, and they attend church and school with the other children. This experience has enabled many young Indians to return to their homes on the reservation better equipped to aid their people. My brother and his wife took an Indian boy into their home under this program. This provided an enriching experience for the Indian boy, as well as for all members of the family.

I would like to call to the attention of the Members of the House an article by Sandra Lundquist in a recent issue of the Intermountain Observer. This well written story documents the effect of this program on the life of one small Indian child, one of 3,100 participants in the program last year. This little Indian girl has been living in the home of Ray and Faye Andrus, with whom I am well acquainted. I was especially heartened by this story, as I earnestly believe that their type of voluntary, Christian concern for their fellow man is a most powerful force. Mr. Speaker, I enthusiastically commend this program to the attention of my colleagues and the American people:

[From the Intermountain Observer, Jan. 3, 1970]

MORMON CHURCH HELPS INDIANS UP THE LADDER; THOUSANDS OF YOUTHS FROM THE RESERVATIONS ARE LEARNING THE WAYS OF MIDDLE CLASS AMERICANS

(By Sandra Lundquist)

The six Andrus children tumbled excitedly from the car, calling to their parents to hurry.

"Oh boy, I can't wait! Just think, a real Indian!"

"Yes, but don't forget, I get her in my room first."

"Gee, I wonder what she will be like. Maybe she wears moccasins and blankets and things."

Ray and Faye Andrus wondered too, wondered what they had let themselves in for. Suppose she did wear moccasins, blankets, and things. Would their own children accept her? What about the children at school? Their hearts beating faster, they pushed open the door bearing the inscription, "The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints Indian Student Placement Bureau." Inside they found a crowd of other families on the same errand.

"Oh, yes, Mr. Andrus," said the girl at the desk, "Your student is down the hall, first door on your left."

They found her there, sitting on the edge of her chair, a small wild bird poised for flight. Her beautiful 8-year-old eyes were dark with fright, her straight, shining black hair belying her fair Irish name, Colleen. Her dress and shoes were very new. Faye's eyes softened as she held out her hand.

"Colleen, we've come to take you home."

Since that day, Colleen has completed her third school year while living in the Andrus home. The children in the small rural school just north of Idaho Falls accept her as part of the Andrus family, which indeed she is. Summers she spends with her own family on their Montana reservation.

Colleen Birdsbill and her foster family are participants in a quiet revolution taking place in the West today. There are no sit-ins, riots or headlines to mark its progress. The revolutionaries are solid, respectable couples with young families and a real desire to help people in need. Their cause is the plight of the poverty-stricken American Indian. Their weapon is love. Patience and hearts, homes and pocketbooks stretch to encompass a stranger's child.

WHY ANOTHER CHILD

How did these couples, many with large families of their own, come to invite an Indian youth to share their board and room? Lynn Welker, caseworker for the program, has lived among the Indian people in New Mexico and Canada. He says in effect:

"Hundreds of Indian children belonging to the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints, or Mormon, as it is sometimes called, live on reservations ranging from New Mexico to Canada. Living conditions are generally poor, values distorted. The family home may be a tin shack or a mud hut. Alcoholism is rampant, undermining ambition and tearing at the fabric of family life. Because the land is of such poor quality generally, the people are scattered over a wide area, making education sketchy and difficult. Boarding schools are usually the answer, with children living in dorms in an institution atmosphere, without benefit of either mother or father."

As one lovely young girl, a former placement student and now a freshman in college, says simply, "There's no opportunity for us on the reservation. We have to leave in order to get an education, to be somebody."

The Indian of old developed a set of societal values in harmony with his simple life. The land, though beautiful, could not support large numbers of people and survival was based on migration. The role of the woman has not changed much—she still keeps house, tends children, feeds the family, perhaps herds the sheep or cattle. However, the role of the father has changed drastically. Gone is his responsibility to fight to protect his family, hunt, fish and raise corn.

No longer does he plan with the other men in the tribe for religious and political occasions. Today, these functions are performed for the Indians by non-Indian specialists in ways they do not understand. Gone, too, is the fierce pride of the once-mighty red man. When asked if she knew any Indian words, one student said carelessly, "Sure. How." She possessed neither the security of a white American background nor a sense of the rich heritage of her noble people. Her knowledge of Indian language was limited to that of any other 8-year-old movie-goer.

The children are caught in a world which today is neither white nor Indian. It is a world where the values and rules of conduct are beyond the knowledge or experience of their parents. They are faced with a choice of aimless welfare or a bewildering and frightening struggle in an alien society.

In 1954 the "Mormon" Church organized the Indian Student Placement Program to combat this problem of its Indian members. The objective of the program, as stated by the Church Indian Committee, is "to provide educational, spiritual, social and cultural opportunities in non-Indian community life for Indian children. It is felt that through the example of selected Latter-Day Saints families these Indian youth will be motivated to use their experiences now and later for the benefit of themselves and their people. These experiences could provide a springboard to positions of great leadership for some students; others will become stronger and more adequate parents to their

own children. In any case, these experiences can provide the strong moral and intellectual values needed throughout his life.

DEVELOP LEADERS

The program exists mainly for the leadership development of the Indian children. Although the children benefit materially from the program, the long-term educational goals are aimed at the general development of Indian people for generations unborn.

All students between the ages of 8 and 17 who are members of the church may apply. In 1969, 3,100 were accepted. Applications are carefully screened to pick students with the greatest potential. Grades must be at least a "C" and students must show signs of enough past educational achievement to enable them to compete in a non-Indian school. Applicant must be in good health and comparatively free from emotional difficulties. Children with problems at home have greater problems living with foster families and cannot take full advantage of the leadership opportunities. And, perhaps most important of all, the student must have a great desire to participate and better himself. Billy, a fourth grader, tells of his decision:

"When they asked me if I wanted to go away from the reservation to school I had to think about it for a long time. I didn't want to go away or leave my family but I really wanted to go to a good school. I miss my family but I like school and I'm glad I decided to come."

Foster families who want to help are also carefully screened. After applying, the family's Bishop, or pastor, must state that this family is active and upholds and observes the standards of the church. If accepted, the whole family receives instruction in Indian ways and customs, the background of their student, the rules and the program and the law concerning foster care. Everything possible is done to prepare the student and family for each other. A student is not usually placed in a family where his age or sex would place him in competition with the oldest child in the family, the youngest, or an only son or daughter.

Then comes the big day! Children board buses to various reception centers where each is given a thorough medical examination. Each boy's hair is cut by volunteer barbers, and the students are examined by volunteer doctors, dentists, and nurses. Friendly church members help them freshen up and feed them and then their families arrive to pick them up. They are off on their great adventure.

New parents are then responsible for the care, teaching, training and all expenses of their new member. Although they receive absolutely no money for the care of the student, families and homes must comply strictly with state laws governing foster homes. Then, adjustment becomes the order of the day.

Gone are the carefree days on the reservation. Now Colleen faces piano lessons, homework, and her share of the family chores. She finds she simply cannot wear her Sunday shoes to school, no, not even once. She discovers that foster fathers spank Indian kids too. One 11-year-old boy saw right away that truth is preferred to tall tales, and money on your new brother's bureau is not "lost."

High school students discover it is no snap to maintain a "C" average in a new school. Parents notice Indian teen-agers can be as exasperating as their own. One girl finds she cannot sleep on a soft bed and secretly sneaks a blanket on the floor after everyone is asleep. Everyone finds Indian communication and white communications are not always on the same plane. Many children are confronted by an allowance for the first time and have trouble understanding the purpose and use of the slippery stuff. A somewhat in-

secure boy of 11 discovers, to his horror, that his foster parents are going on a short trip and leaving him with all the old insecurities to face again under the care of a nice but new "relative."

And always there is the homesickness. Occasionally natural parents are able to pay a visit, although this is not encouraged too often the first year. The situation opens problems of two sets of parents and two sets of loyalties. After Colleen's mother visited, Colleen was broken-hearted to see her go. Faye tucked her in bed, kissed her and told her they loved her, and left her to cry it out of her system. Faye finds that it takes about two months to recapture the skills and habits lost by a summer spent on the reservation.

Colleen's parents admit that it is very hard to see their children grow up away from them, they have two in the program now, but the environment on the reservation and the difference in the children when they return home makes the sacrifice worthwhile. There is no doubt that it takes a great deal of effort on the part of natural parents, foster families, and students to make the program work.

Of course, as in any program as ambitious as this, there are individuals who just can't stand the uprooting and return home. However, the number who return is very low. Almost all families concerned feel the great importance of the program and try diligently to make it a success. The caseworker is a monthly visitor and can be called on in any crisis.

Soon most Indian children make their own friends and are able to argue for their rights as fiercely as any other child in the family. Ted Wright, principal of the high school in Rigby, father of nine, and foster parent of an Indian girl says the cultural and social advantages may be as great as the education. There are five Indian students attending his school. Right from the first they seem to have been accepted. Some fit right in and become popular, others keep more to themselves, as with any other group of high school students. Because of her athletic ability, one student was chosen to assist in teaching a class in girl's basketball.

If grades slip too badly and school becomes too hard, the student may have to be returned home. One family became quite concerned over this possibility until one day a math paper came home with this note from the teacher:

"100%, Hurrah! See what Alfred can do!"

FIRST EAGLES

Many students are receiving their Eagle Scout awards, often the first ones in their tribe to reach this goal. Whenever possible, students are urged to go on to college. Brigham Young University maintains a ward, or parish, fully staffed by Indian students for the benefit of any who desire companionship with others of their race.

Some go on two year missions for the church when they reach the age of 19 or 20, carrying the message of the Mormon church to their own people.

Perhaps the best yardstick by which to measure the success of the program is found in the many students invited to return year after year to the same homes.

The advantages seem to be all in the student's favor, but what of the foster parents? Why do they invite a student into their homes? Faye Andrus says simply:

"Because the church asks us to and we want to help. Besides, we benefit too. How many children have the privilege of growing up with children of another race in their home? This teaches us all patience and tolerance. We've come to love Colleen as much as any of our own."

Is Colleen coming back again next year? "Of course!" says Faye, as surprised as if you had asked her if they planned to go on raising their own six children or the seventh one on the way.

CONGRESSMAN WILLIAM A. STEIGER DELIVERS LECTURE ON OCCUPATIONAL HEALTH AND SAFETY ISSUES

HON. WILLIAM H. AYRES

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 15, 1970

Mr. AYRES. Mr. Speaker, one of the finest young men whom I have had occasion to meet is the Honorable WILLIAM A. STEIGER of Wisconsin. He has devoted a great deal of time to the committee on which he serves, the House Education and Labor Committee. And, equally important, he had found time to inform himself thoroughly on the many and complex issues relating to the work of this committee.

At this time, Mr. Speaker, I would like to include in the RECORD the entire text of the 1970 C. O. Sappington memorial lecture delivered today by Congressman STEIGER at the American Industrial Health Conference in Chicago on the timely subject of occupational health and safety issues:

OCCUPATIONAL HEALTH AND SAFETY

(By Congressman WILLIAM A. STEIGER)

I appreciate very much your invitation to be here today.

As an organization dedicated to the examination, evaluation and improvement of the occupational health programs of business and industrial organizations, you have seen the growth of an important and specialized area of medicine.

We have, I believe, reached the end of an era in which the emphasis was on "pocket-book" or quantitative issues. Such things as minimum wage, unemployment insurance, social security and the like were the power struggles of the past. They are still important, but we are moving more rapidly toward qualitative issues—those which relate to the quality of the society and environment in which we live.

Health and safety are very much a part of the quality of our lives.

You have heard these statistics before, but they bear repeating.

In the last 25 years more than 400 thousand Americans were killed by industrial accidents and disease. Almost 50 million workers suffered disabling injuries on the job.

In 1968, there were 14,300 fatalities and 2.2 million injuries.

On-the-job injuries not only reflect an incalculable toll in pain and suffering, they cost workers billions of dollars in lost wages and deprive industry of billions of dollars in production.

There are some who correctly point to the failure of business to do its job. But it is not one sided. If we condemn some businesses for their past neglect in this area, we must also recognize that employees' organizations share some of the blame. Far too often unions have used their bargaining power for higher wages in hazardous occupations rather than for better safety techniques.

The United Auto Workers maintain a Safety Department while the AFL-CIO has none.

When members of the International Association of Machinists voted to rank the issues of the '70's, they placed on-the-job safety ninth—behind pensions, cleaner air and water and law and order.

As one witness suggested at our hearings—on the scale of priorities, safety comes right after the coffee break!

But the emphasis on safety is beginning to change, and you are all part of industrial organizations which have demonstrated

leadership and involvement and have made a significant contribution to this change.

Quality is becoming the watchword throughout our society.

The Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development predicts that the major focus of school curriculum in the 1970's is going to be a critical examination of the quality of life and society in the United States.

Ralph Nader's "Raiders" in their recently released report on the Food and Drug Administration departed from the focus of their previous reports on government regulatory agencies and addressed themselves to the broader questions of total quality of American life. The report concludes:

"Regulatory agencies, congressional bodies, courts, corporate entities, universities—none have been successful in insuring the highest quality of life possible for the most number of people. All have fallen far short of their professed goals."

More and more Americans are beginning to examine the whole environment and its effect on their lives. Thus, we are confronted with a whole new type of medicine dealing with environmental health.

When we consider that the work life expectancy for an American male is 42 years, then we realize how important the workplace is to his environmental health.

If we are agreed that we will increasingly be focusing our attention on the quality of life, the question then becomes how do we achieve this goal. Our research for answers is likely to be more complex and more challenging, than increasing the minimum wage from \$1.60 to \$2.00 per hour, and no less controversial.

In recent years Congress has enacted a number of safety and health measures—The Longshoremen and Harbor Workers Safety Act, the Metallic and Non-Metallic Mines Safety Act, the Coal Mine Safety Act, the Construction Safety Act and the Gas Pipeline Safety Act.

The Education and Labor Committee is now working on Occupational Health and Safety legislation designed to cover under federal supervision most of the workers throughout the United States.

I seriously question, however, whether the Committee has come up with an approach that will effectively improve the quality of safety and health in the nation's workplaces.

The Committee bill is based on the old "nuts and bolts" concept of safety. It is not sufficiently "future minded." And it does not provide for standards—creation by a top body of independent professionals.

The bill contains an enforcement procedure that allows a single department of the government to be the legislator, inspector, prosecutor, jury and judge of what constitutes good workplace health and safety practices.

Rather than relying on a set of clearly established standards with which all employers must comply, the bill combines specific standards with a generalized standard that can be either meaningless or confusing or both.

The bill establishes a standard-setting mechanism which in effect gives priority to industries where standards already exist. Workers in industries now covered by poor standards or not covered at all would be victims of the cumbersome procedures for setting interim and then permanent standards.

The enforcement procedure tends to make occupational health and safety a public relations battleground. It encourages confrontation rather than cooperation between employers, employees, unions and government safety personnel.

The bill contains provisions which would involve safety legislation in internal plant labor management relations. Good safety practices could thus become a hostage to the small time power maneuvering that often

marks relations between plant labor and management representatives.

You can see that I am disturbed by the provisions of this bill, H.R. 16785. We are all for safety, but clearly there are differences in how best to reach the goal of a safe and healthful work place for more Americans.

While great strides have been made in occupational safety and health, our knowledge of effective safety programs is limited. There is much we don't know about such things as: how best to motivate people to work, act and think safety; what are the most effective safety training methods for foremen, for rank and file employees, for salesmen on the road and for scientists working in laboratories—immersed in theory and likely to forget about such mundane things as regular hours or hazards to themselves and others; at what point do hundreds of chemical contaminants, singly or in combination, become hazards to health; how do we develop an early warning system that lets us know that a particularly susceptible individual may be in danger of losing his hearing, or endangering his lungs or eyes before his health is irreversibly damaged. There is a long list of questions which only research can answer. Federal law can provide for such research.

There is a great and growing shortage of professionals, subprofessionals and skills needed to make safety and health programs operative. Federal funds and facilities, especially in the Department of Health, Education and Welfare can help to fill the need.

The various state governments can do far more than they have already done in the promotion of occupational safety and development and enforcement of safety and health codes. The Federal Government can do much to help finance and encourage such state action.

One of the most crucial aspects of successful occupational health and safety legislation is the establishment of an independent Board to set health and safety standards.

The problems to be dealt with are not political. They are not primarily economic. They do not deal with issues where there are deep differences concerning policy.

To the contrary, these problems are technical. They vary from industry to industry and in some instances from region to region. The appointment of an independent standard setting Board of experts in the field will insure a continuity of effort and direction regardless of the Administration in power.

The Board was endorsed throughout our hearings by leading safety and health organizations.

It is the superior approach for many reasons:

1. **Competence:** It is obvious that five men of the highest calibre, appointed by the President, could bring to the promulgation of standards far more ability than the bureaucratic approach of an Assistant Secretary of any department of government.

2. **Breadth:** Five men of varying backgrounds and experience—management and labor, safety professionals, environmental health specialists, behavioral scientists, men from medicine, physics and chemistry—could bring a far greater breadth of outlook than any appointee having primary responsibility to a political party or a particular administration. The view of five professionals would assure that this important subject gets the attention it deserves.

3. **Objectivity:** A five-man board with a major commitment to standard promulgation can be far more objective than any bureau or section head whose primary response has to be based on day to day pressures and multiple extraneous considerations.

4. **Inter-agency Cooperation:** cooperation with other government departments, so essential where many departments and agencies are involved, can best be effectuated by

an independent board, rather than a single old-line government department, especially in view of existing rivalries between the various departments, competing with each other for men, money and programs.

5. **Applicability:** The standards developed by an independent board, after public hearings, are likely to be much more widely applicable to the hundreds of thousands of establishments of all kinds that are to be affected, than would a regulation coming from a narrowly focused staff in an established federal department which in most cases has its own supporters and detractors.

6. **Separation of Powers:** An independent board would insure that there would be separation of powers between those developing the standards and those required to carry on the inspection of business establishments. Legislating the standards would be separated from the administering of the standards—a highly desirable and widely recognized objective in most governmental activities.

7. **Precedents:** There are many sound precedents in prior congressional action for the establishment of a separate board where the subject is important, complex and in need of professional expertise. One need only recall the Atomic Energy Commission; the Federal Mediation and Conciliation Service; the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission; and the Tennessee Valley Authority. If the job is sufficiently important, Congress has in the past created an independent agency to deal with it. I happen to think that occupational safety and health is that important.

Despite the obvious merits of the Safety Standards Board, it has been attacked for a variety of reasons. In my opinion, the real reasons it was attacked are (1) the majority party in Congress does not wish to adopt a provision proposed by the present administration; and (2) some elements of organized labor prefer to have all authority concentrated in the Department of Labor—the department it regards as "its own"—rather than any independent board. As a result, the debate has often strayed from the merits into the realm of partisan politics.

While I have stressed the Board, let me make it clear that there are other factors which I believe are essential.

Yesterday, when the full Education and Labor Committee met on this legislation, I offered a substitute for the Committee bill. My substitute provides for the establishment of an independent standard setting Board and judicial enforcement. It emphasizes cooperation rather than confrontation. It encourages the states to play a constructive role. It insures due process at every step for all concerned.

It was not accepted by the Committee.

In my opinion, those who support the Committee bill have erred in thinking that the Secretary and his Department of Labor can singlehandedly achieve safe and healthful working conditions throughout the country.

A law by itself cannot provide safe and healthful working conditions. It takes good standards, enforcement, administration, and most of all it takes the cooperation of all levels of government, industry, labor and professional organizations like your own.

I think Howard Pyle, President of the National Safety Council, stated the situation accurately in his testimony before our Committee. "Unfortunately," he said, "no single action or series of actions on the part of the Congress will eliminate the occupational safety problem . . . With all due respect to the desirable effects that the promulgation and enforcement of standards can have on the Nation's occupational safety and health performance, we must recognize that the successes that have been achieved so far are largely the result of dissemination of safety information, the implementation of proven countermeasures, and education and training of employers and employees.

"Optimal occupational safety programing goes far beyond compliance with a set of standards. The promulgation and enforcement of standards will be very helpful in moving the laggards from inadequate safety to some safety, but not to optimal safety."

While I do not believe that the ideal occupational health and safety conditions can be reached solely by federal control or supervision, I think the federal government can make a contribution. What I have worked for is legislation that recognizes this contribution but recognizes the limitations as well.

The federal government can have a significant impact in your own area of industrial health. Both the Committee bill and my substitute proposal contain similar provisions in this area.

The substitute directs the Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare to undertake research, demonstration projects and experiments to improve occupational health and explore new problems in the field. It requires that within two years the Secretary must submit to Congress a comprehensive study and evaluation of occupational health problems.

The substitute authorizes the Secretary of Labor to develop and maintain a broadly-based, effective program of collection, compilation and analysis of occupational safety and health statistics.

Programs are established to provide employers and employees with information on safety and health, and essential training programs are created to provide adequate personnel to carry out the provisions of the law.

Each year, as you know, approximately 600 new substances come on the market and new manufacturing processes are introduced. The substitute bill requires the Board to issue an emergency temporary standard if it determines that exposure to a substance would result in grave danger to the employee. The Board then immediately begins developing a permanent standard to cover this substance, but the emergency situation is covered.

As I say, the Substitute and the Committee bill are in substantial agreement on the federal role with regard to industrial health.

The legislation in toto, coupled with other recently enacted measures, will have a significant impact on business and industry throughout the nation.

The Public Health Service estimates that only 15 million of the 80 million workers in the country today are employed by industries which offer the protection of health and preventive services.

Obviously, there are many, many companies and industries that do not have the kind of competence and professional talent you represent. These businesses will be faced with a very heavy burden.

Each of you will, I hope, review the provisions of both the Committee's Occupational Health and Safety bill and the Substitute proposal with great care. You are the professional who will have to implement the legislation at the local level. It is extremely important that you determine which provisions will best accomplish your goals, and that you communicate your opinion to your Congressional representatives.

In addition, I hope each of you will carry from this meeting the sure knowledge that soon your businesses and industries will be dealing with new legislation with enforcement powers.

I urge you to go to work at once. Analyze the legislation. Communicate your opinions. Carefully review your company's own health program. You realize, I'm sure, that it is not enough to simply administer physical exams and treat employees after accidents occur. You must examine the whole occupational environment and prepare an action plan for your company. With advance planning you can be ready to contribute your ideas to the standard-setting process. You can insure

that when permanent standards are set, your plant possesses an equal or even advanced level of safety, thus greatly easing the transition for your company and giving advanced protection to its employees.

I also challenge you to come to grips with the demands that the new emphasis on the quality of life will make on the occupational health profession and the medical profession as a whole.

It is widely estimated that we are approximately 50,000 doctors short of what the nation could readily use right now.

Certainly an increasing emphasis on on-the-job safety and health, preventive family medicine, medical care for the elderly, to name a few, will put a further strain on the supply of medical doctors and nurses.

To meet the demand we will need to make the most efficient use possible of existing medical manpower. This includes revising state and federal laws to help eliminate legal entanglements and barriers; streamlining recordkeeping and reporting; encouraging regional medical planning and cooperation of personnel. For the future we must consider redesigning some of our medical curricula; encouraging greater training and use of paramedical personnel; redefining job descriptions to make greater use of para-professionals.

The next few years will see a veritable explosion in all aspects of medicine and health.

We must realize that problems relating to industrial health and the quality of our environment will not be easily solved. They are subject to much emotionalism at the very time that rational thought is required. If we are to avoid oversimplification and creating more problems than we can solve, we are going to have to look to you and your organization for leadership and guidance. You must decide if you will accept the challenge and how you will meet it.

I hope you will say "YES." "YES" to working on these problems in your own company. "YES" to working on these problems on an industry-wide basis. "YES" to working with your state and federal agencies and Congress. If you accept your responsibility as professionals in the medical field to create a concern for environmental quality and health, we can achieve for all workers a better, safer and more healthful life.

**"VENCEREMOS BRIGADE"
CONFUSED YOUTH**

HON. MARIO BIAGGI

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 15, 1970

Mr. BIAGGI. Mr. Speaker, I would like to bring to the attention of my colleagues certain events, involving a group of young Americans, that are not in the best interest of this country.

At a time in history when this country is in a state of extensive soul searching, when American blood is being shed on foreign soil, when hunger and poverty prevail in the midst of affluency, and when cities and towns are suffering from the ravages of decay and indifference, we must question why hundreds of sons and daughters of Americans have decided to abdicate their domestic responsibilities and assist the economy of an avowed enemy of our society.

In the past several months, almost 1,000 young U.S. citizens have virtually turned their backs on the internal problems of our country by surreptitiously traveling to Cuba to assist in the harvesting of the

sugarcane crop there. These alleged revolutionists, mostly young and well-fed members of an organization branding itself "the Venceremos Brigade," could have expended their stored-up energies to further the recovery of America to a nation of stability, growth, and self-confidence. It appears that this kind of commitment has lost its attraction and excitement for these adventurists who have failed to establish, in their own minds, a proper ordering of social priorities.

Americans who are giving their blood in the cause of freedom abroad, as well as those of us who are laboring in the interest of our fellow citizens at home, are fully justified in questioning the purpose and intent of this group. While some may tolerantly understand the ways of confused young minds, others might not hesitate to express contempt for the actions taken by the Venceremos Brigade. Therefore, in recognition of the many Americans sacrificing their lives abroad, and in behalf of the many dedicated and hard-working citizens committed to the betterment of life in our country, I urge the members of the Venceremos Brigade to reexamine their consciences and address themselves to the programs of this Nation and the promotion of world freedom.

**THE STUDENT IN THE UNIVERSITY
AND SOCIETY OF TODAY, NO. 6**

HON. ROBERT McCLORY

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 15, 1970

Mr. McCLORY. Mr. Speaker, for those who are keeping a complete file of remarks in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD under the heading of "The Student in the University and Society of Today," I call attention to the heading "Inter-Parliamentary Union Acts on Student Unrest" in the RECORD of April 7, page 10650, under which is found the text of the resolution on student unrest adopted by the Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Committee of the Inter-Parliamentary Union at the annual spring meeting of the union held this year in Monaco.

Today I want to call attention to an article entitled "Campus Conflict and Professorial Egos" by John P. Spiegel, director of the Lemberg Center for the Study of Violence at Brandeis University and professor of social psychiatry at the Florence Heller Graduate School for Advanced Studies in Social Welfare, in the October 1969 issue of *Transaction*, a magazine of the social sciences.

Professor Spiegel's essay is directed to the examination of a now-predictable pattern of events leading to campus polarization and to ego mechanisms which he feels may predetermine lines of cleavage in student/university confrontations. The article is particularly welcome for its analysis of ego mechanisms of the faculty, a subject which seems to have received relatively little attention in the literature of campus disturbances.

I include as part of my remarks today

three stories in recent issues of the *Washington Post*. Eric Wentworth's article of April 12 reports on growing incidents of protest in the United States. Stories in the March 29 *Post* comment on student riot situations in Italy and France.

The materials follow:

CAMPUS CONFLICT AND PROFESSIONAL EGOS

(By John P. Spiegel)

Eric Hoffer: Take (former Columbia president) Grayson Kirk. Here they got into his room. They burglarized his files. They smoked his cigars. They used his shaving kit. Grayson Kirk didn't forget himself . . . I think it would have been a wonderful thing if Grayson Kirk got mad, grabbed a gun and went out there and gunned them down. I think maybe he would have gotten killed, maybe he would have killed two of them when they were jumping up, but I think he would have saved Columbia.

The eagerness of the world's best-known stevedore to have a college president kill a couple of students (and himself die in the act) may seem somewhat impulsive, as well as a dubious way of saving a university. But the irritable hostility of Mr. Hoffer's outburst is shared by more sophisticated observers of campus disorders as well. To take only two examples—those of men who happen to use my own perspective, that of psychoanalysis—consider Lewis Feuer's *The Conflict of Generations: The Character and Significance of Student Movements* and Bruno Bettelheim's testimony before the McClellan Committee's hearings on riots and civil and criminal disorders.

In his review of student movements over the past two hundred years, Feuer attributes to them a basically destructive impact, except for those infrequent occasions when their goals are taken over by the adult world. According to Feuer, the mainly undesirable effects of student revolts are a logical outcome of the students' unconscious, irrational motivations: oedipal rivalry and hostility toward their fathers, castration fears that stimulate overcompensatory aggression, homosexual longings that stimulate overcompensatory masculinity and (as the final result of all these pathological processes) a "de-authorization" of the parents.

In a similar tone, though with a different list of pathologies, Bettelheim testified in the Senate hearings that student rebel leaders were paranoid characters whose followers were adolescents who had been deprived of emotional warmth and gratification by their parents, and who were looking for an object on which to project their rage, as well as for a cause of sufficient intensity to generate the warmth of group relatedness that they had missed since earliest childhood. For Bettelheim, these grievances, left over from childhood, are much more important than the actual issues that student rebels say they are protesting about.

Feuer and Bettelheim, it seems to me, have fallen into two kinds of error. First, they find the "causes" of militant student movement almost entirely within the neurotic motivations of its individual participants, even though to the neutral observer it is very difficult to distinguish cause and effect in matters of "neurosis." It is at least possible that the dissidents' behavior is a normal response to disturbed external conditions. Will Menninger put the problem well in discussing his World War II psychiatric work:

During the war, we had frequent occasions to contrast the psychiatrists' job in civilian life with his job in combat. In civilian life he attempted to understand and treat the abnormal reactions of persons to normal situations. In military life he attempted to understand the normal reactions to an abnormal situation. One might seriously ques-

tion if our world condition does not now place many of us in a continuously abnormal situation to which we are having normal reactions, even though these by all previous standards are pathological. To such a turbulent world, one might legitimately ask, what is normal reaction? We are still unable to answer Menninger's question, I think, and this in itself should give us pause before too ready a labelling of persons or movements as "pathological."

Feuer's and Bettelheim's second error arises from their exclusive focus on just one party in what is, after all, a highly complex set of interactions. It simply isn't reasonable to raise questions about the irrational, unconscious motivations of students without also probing the behavior of faculties and administration in a similar vein. Such a procedure not only reveals, embarrassingly one would have thought, the blind spots of the observers; it also prejudices the question of where the pathology lies. When groups find themselves in conflict, it is difficult enough to determine which group is right or wrong, much less which of the groups is pathologically motivated and which is "healthy."

The processes of group formation and intergroup hostility make up the context of this article, and my aim here is to examine the functional and dysfunctional effects of the group conflicts occurring in the course of campus disorders without deploring, condemning or praising them. Reactions of this latter sort are inevitable and should certainly not be dismissed, but there is much to be said for the more neutral examination of how aggressive behavior is elicited in response to group interaction.

My colleagues and I at the Lemberg Center for the Study of Violence have had the opportunity to observe this process at work on the campuses of several American universities, and we have been repeatedly impressed with the speed and intensity with which hostility and aggression are released among all parties within the university. Retrospectively, what one sees at first is a dramatic and kaleidoscopic series of events: disruptive polarization, the sudden use of physical force, threats of more serious violence, warnings of punishment, cries of outrage, abuses of language and gaudy exhibitions of contempt, insult and calumny.

It would be easy to ascribe such sudden releases of inhibitions and repressed impulses to contagion—effect being notably infectious when exhibited at high levels of intensity.

Contagion, although undoubtedly part of the phenomenon, is too global an explanation. In addition, it affords one no leverage on the behavior aside from the usual admonitions to "Keep cool." Instead of postulating some random release of hostile energies automatically triggered by the illegal acts of rebellious students, I would argue that the suddenly appearing and often protracted antagonism and bitterness, which we have seen on so many campuses, breaks out along predetermined lines of cleavage in accordance with certain ego mechanisms that are largely outside the awareness of the participants. The argument does not ignore social and political issues; on the contrary my intention is to examine the interplay between these factors in the dispute and the psychological ones.

Since our observations were drawn from participating in or observing the process of angry polarization within groups rather than under clinical or standard research situations, we must be cautious about any formulations of unconscious motivations. But the existence of unconscious factors at work in campus disorders is supported by two easily observable aspects of the response of those concerned in the conflict: (1) the irrationality, often bordering on the bizarre, displayed by persons whose usual behavior toward each other was characterized by reasonable good

humor, even in disagreement; and (2) the forgetting, denial or discounting of the irrational behavior once the crisis had passed.

In describing campus polarization, I shall treat it as a crisis occurring in four stages, each characterized by a sequence of actions and reactions. There is a risk of overgeneralization or unwarranted stereotyping in such an approach, but whether or not the four stages to be described really fit all situations is not so important as the advantage gained through imposing some clarity and order on the dynamics of the arousal, escalation and decline of group hostilities.

THE COMING OF HOSTILITIES

The premonitory phase is characterized by slowly mounting resentment within a number of students whom I will call, for the sake of generalization, the "aggrieved" group. Their anger is aroused by the failure of the administration of the school to respond rapidly enough, or at all, to their expressed desire for change within the institution. The desired changes vary from school to school, but in general they revolve around the administrative policy with respect to three substantive issues: (1) the quality of education for black and white students, including reforms of the curriculum; (2) policies related to the conduct of war in Vietnam and the involvement of the university with military research and training; and (3) the rights of students to have a part in the determination of the institutional policy of all sorts.

In the minds of the aggrieved group there is no question of the legitimacy of the desired changes. Within the student body as a whole, however, there is a spectrum of opinion ranging from active support through apathy to opposition. For this reason, the first administrative response to the proposals of the aggrieved group is likely to be perfunctory. Meetings between representatives of the aggrieved students and the administration, if they occur at all, are viewed by the administration mainly as opportunities for the students to express their feelings in hope that this will satisfy them. No real change is expected or envisioned by the authorities.

After a certain lapse of time without progress or change, the aggrieved students begin increasingly to see themselves in an adversary role vis-a-vis the administration. The current of the times asserts itself in the thinking of the aggrieved group, sometimes aided by visits from activist student groups at other institutions. Ideas originally defined as suggestions or proposals become talked about as "demands," and with this hardening and growing spirit of militancy within the aggrieved group come changes both within the general student body and within the administration. An increasing number of students identify themselves with the goals of the aggrieved students, though not necessarily with their activism, mainly because they share the others' resentment at the failure of the administration to consider requests for change with the proper seriousness. A large portion of the student body, in other words, feels vicariously slighted.

Representatives of the administration are usually aware of the changing attitudes of the students, but they tend to misinterpret them in the light of their own stake in avoiding rapid or abrupt change. Since the goals of change are still not taken seriously, administrators discount or dismiss the entire effort through a process of labelling designed to split the student body. Leaders of the aggrieved group are called "radicals," "anarchists" and a variety of other names. In private conversation they are often identified as spoiled, pampered products of well-to-do permissive parents or as disturbed youngsters in need of psychiatric attention. Their followers among the more moderate students are regarded as well-intentioned and essentially fair-minded romantic dupes. The labelling reflects the growth on both sides of the mis-

trust and disrespect whose unconscious origins I shall examine later in this paper.

Toward the end of the premonitory phase some subtle cleavages within the administration begin to appear, though they are still papered over with politeness. Some members of the administrative group, usually from the social science department's faculty or from the counseling services, adopt a sympathetic, liberal attitude toward the changes requested by the students. They then urge, to the distress of others, that the college president, the deans, the school superintendent, or whoever stands for "officialdom," modify the rigid policy. These persons have usually been in face-to-face contact with some of the dissident students and perceive themselves as "honest brokers," presenting the students' case with intense sincerity and urgency. As a result of the advocate role of the "sympathizers," the spokesmen for the administration now shift their tactics to some degree. Representatives of the aggrieved group are seen and listened to more attentively. Some of their demands are accepted as potentially legitimate and the administrators promise to channel them through the bureaucratic machinery.

The crisis process is at this point in a paradoxical state. A temporary relaxation occurs because the aggrieved group of students believes it is finally making progress, while the administrators think they have finally defused a potential disruption. Actually, this is the calm before the storm. On both sides, the inevitable disappointment of unrealistically raised hopes is a guarantee of disaster. On the administrative side, the "channeling" procedure, at its best a clumsy matter, tends to get stalled because of uncertainties and disagreements about the best way of solving the problem or about whether it should be solved at all, in the students' view, the delays, mixed messages about what is taking place and the intimations of implacable rigidity behind a surface disguise of acceptance, all add up to a dead end: no possibility of progress.

INITIAL DISORDER

At this point, the crisis process moves toward the second phase: the initial disorder. Disillusioned, convinced that they have been deceived and that only the force of a dramatic act of protest can alter the situation in their favor, the aggrieved group begins to plan some form of disruption. At the same time, they elaborate and firm up previously (though tentatively) held hostile beliefs about the character and motives of the administration and of the social system it represents. The resulting ideological creed—for example, that the administration is authoritarian, bigoted and hypocritical and that the social system is racist, oppressive and resistant to change—thereupon is used to overcome moral scruples about the legal and ethical justification of the disruption being planned. (In saying this, I am not passing any judgment on the validity or lack of validity of the system of beliefs but merely describing a continuing process.)

So far all is prologue. The actual disorder that initiates the opening of the second phase may begin with a series of small demonstrations or with a major act such as seizing and holding a building. The students usually display contradictory moods that nevertheless fit together. They are excited and aggressive, even abusive, but fairly well disciplined; exhibitionistic; but secretive; happy because they are finally taking action, but fearful of what it may lead to; defiant and uncommunicative, yet letting it be known that they would accept communication. An aura of unity and determination expressed in publicly stated "non-negotiable demands" masks privately felt uncertainties and divisions of opinion. Despite these divisions, the aggrieved group is, at that moment, unified through the sharing of non-violating behavior; they are all in the same boat.

The usual administrative response is shock. Under the impression that the new policy of bureaucratic openness to complaints has mollified the dissident students and reassured the moderates, the administration is unprepared for serious trouble. Still, some action must be taken, if only to relieve frustration and anger. Unfortunately, the administrators are faced simultaneously with two types of decisions, neither of which is easy to make: what to do about the "non-negotiable demands" and how to deal with the disruption. Faced with this threat, the administrators have only a limited number of clear-cut options. They can:

Accept all the demands and ignore the norm-violating behavior. This capitulation by the administration promptly resolves the current situation. It is the least common solution.

Ignore the demands and throw out the offenders with the help of the police and other law enforcement agencies. Although this approach has been used, it brings about so many additional problems, particularly strong support for the militants by the moderates, that many administrators are reluctant to use it.

Ignore the norm-violating behavior while offering to negotiate the demands. Since this technique can easily be seen by the students as a "put-on" (with punishment to follow later) and since, from the side of the administration, it does not meet the challenge of illegal threat by the students, it is likely to result in a protracted stalemate. Nevertheless, it has been used.

Meet threat with threat by promising disciplinary procedures and punishments for the future while avoiding a confrontation and ignoring the demands, in the hope that the students will tire of their unproductive behavior and abandon it. Since they often do, this method can succeed.

Ignore both the norm-violating behavior and the demands by doing nothing and saying nothing. This produces an unsettling ambiguity and frustration for the students and gives the administration freedom to pursue any policy of punishment or non-punishment or to sanction, negotiate or deny any part of the demands, once the students abandon their norm-violating behavior. Any administration choosing this ambiguous policy must be certain of support from its various constituencies—faculty, trustees (or school committees), alumni and the general public—who will probably not at all understand what the administration is doing. Because of the exacting conditions for its successful execution, this policy is seldom used.

Clear-cut as these policies may be, there is too much confusion and emotionalism and too little prior experience within the administration to permit the implementation of any one of them; also there are too many audiences to be taken into account. Instead, a new struggle takes place around three, more intuitively developed positions: (1) a desire to support the goals of the aggrieved students while minimizing any loss of face to the institution for what may be interpreted as surrender. This position is usually termed "the soft line" advocated by the "doves." (2) A desire to defeat and punish the students while minimizing any loss of face to the institution for what may be interpreted as callousness or cruelty. This position is called "the hard line" advocated by the "hawks." (3) A middle ground, or temporizing position, which attempts to placate both the hawks and the doves in part and, again in part, to satisfy the demands of the students—a balancing process which requires the greatest diplomacy.

Since it takes some time for these positions to become crystallized, the administration is, for the time being, forced to delay action while contenting itself with ritualistic statements for public consumption, usually condemning the students' methods while ex-

pressing cautious sympathy for some of their goals.

MOUNTING POLARIZATION

The atmosphere now becomes increasingly acrimonious and conspiratorial; it is characterized by ad hoc committees, sudden summonses to meetings, secret emissaries mediating between rival factions, rumors and counterrumors, student manifestos and the ever-present television crews and newspaper reporters on the lookout for interesting stories.

Polarizations grow by wild leaps into increasingly extreme positions. For the hawks any attempts to negotiate with the students before those "troublemakers" yield to punishment is anathema—a betrayal of everything the school as an intellectual establishment stands for. It is the end of reasoned inquiry, the death of scholarly detachment, the beginning of the politicalization of the school and thus the *finis* of academic freedom and dispassionate search for "the truth." For them, no decisions should be taken under threat of force. Nevertheless, they hold over the doves and the "temporizers" the threat of dire predictions. With thundering fervor, they foresee a general doom and schedule deadlines for specific catastrophes. Since, as they say, it is impossible to appease the students' hunger for violence and revolution, they guarantee that should their policy lose out, another building will be seized, then another and another; next, the students will be running the institution, and in a year it will have collapsed altogether. To buttress the argument, analogies are summoned from all corners of history, with special emphasis on the Nazi and Communist movements.

In addition to such fulminations, the hawks can scarcely conceal their contempt for the doves—those "bleeding hearts," those "masochists" who, perhaps unconsciously, are out to wreck the institution. On their side, the doves show a mild but persistent abhorrence of the wrath and, in their eyes, "sadism" of the hawks. Privately they tend to believe, for the moment at least, that most of the hawks are "paranoid personalities." In meetings and public discussions, however, they try to appeal to the hawk sense of reality by portraying in detail the way the aggrieved students have experienced the institution: its irrelevance, its arbitrary rules and regulations and its unresponsiveness to student needs and especially to the need for shared communication. Such attempts at explanation are nevertheless perceived and dismissed by the hawks both as attacks upon the virtue of the academy and as apologies for deviant behavior.

Being men of the middle, the temporizers are not much persuaded by the logic of either the hawks or the doves. More realistic than the hawks about the actual extent of political influence present at the outset in the affairs of their institution, they are not so afraid of the loss of an already restricted academic freedom. Unlike the doves, they are worried by rapid social change of any sort, with its turbulence, its constant overhauling of administrative and appointment procedures, and its threat of loss of support from conservatives in the outside community. Moreover, they are drawn to the hawk position by a shared sense of indignation, though it is based on a different calculation. The temporizers have been impressed by the "liberalization" of American life in recent decades, the partial transformation of habitual "racist," "antistudent" or indifferent attitudes. Accordingly, they feel offended by the ingratitude of the aggrieved students, who in their view are "biting the hand that feeds them." This feeling is not shared by the hawks, who firmly believe that too much attention has been given the students to begin with; nor by the doves, who feel that the students have had too little attention. The function of this sense of betrayal, then, is to diminish the willingness of the tem-

porizers to listen sympathetically to the students in the course of any negotiations—an effect in line anyway with their policy of delay. The sense of betrayal is shared by many persons in the general public who ask, with genuine annoyance and bewilderment, "What do those students want anyway?"

The polarization of the third phase is painful for most participants. Old friends find themselves unable to converse; people who have scarcely met fall into shouting matches; alliances hurriedly set up come crashing down, often undermined by gossipers. Meetings based on *Robert's Rules of Order* turn into travesties of rational discussion. Peacemakers by the dozen offer their own special formula for solving everything. No decision seems well considered or objectively arrived at. The temptation to avoid or withdraw from the struggle is very strong.

RESOLUTION

Despite the appearance of chaos, the group process is actually moving toward resolution, the fourth phase of the crisis. The manner in which the crisis is resolved varies so much from institution to institution that no general description can be offered. The resolution can be either doveish, hawkish or in line with the middle ground of the temporizers. But no matter which method resolves the crisis, there is likely to be some effort made to establish negotiations with the dissident students. The students, of course, do not acknowledge that such an event is occurring, since their demands are "non-negotiable." Similarly, the administration must officially discount the process because they have usually stated publicly that no negotiation can take place under the condition of violence or threat. Accordingly, the contacts must be given another name, such as "explorations" or "clarification of demands."

There is no space to examine this process or to discuss the conflicts within the aggrieved group of students which it generates. Suffice it to say that if efforts actually are made to end the struggle, severe dissension occurs within the student group about how much or how little to settle for. Hardliners, often women adept at shaming the men, remind the group that *none* of the demands are negotiable. Moderates, arguing for a policy of realism, urge settling for what they regard as the administration's best possible offer. Extreme activists suggest escalating the disorder, while those with less taste for prolonged struggle indicate a reluctance to go on much longer. The hardening of attitudes within the student group about what policy to pursue is a process that Freud brilliantly described as "the narcissism of small differences."

An important aspect of the negotiations is the degree to which administration and student representatives at negotiating sessions miscommunicate. Identical words and expressions mean different things to the two parties. To the extent that this is the case, such sessions really are more for the sake of clarification than negotiation. In part, misunderstanding occurs because of the gap in values, beliefs and experience separating the two groups. In part, the failure of communications is due to the novelty of such occasions and the absence of any traditional or agreed-upon style of conduct for the procedures, such as characterize labor bargaining sessions. But in large part, the communication failures are also the product of unconscious psychological processes, which will be discussed in a moment.

AFTERMATH

The fifth phase of the crisis process, the aftermath, is, formally, not a part of the crisis itself. However, there are only two related aspects of the aftermath that are relevant to our purposes. The first is "the Rashomon effect." Interviewers from the media and committees reviewing the event are usually surprised by the conflicting narrations of

supposedly the same incident obtained from different persons. Certainly this is not a new finding in the history of psychology. The surprise occurs because the discrepancies are so blatant and the witnesses so credible. The second matter has to do, not with inconsistencies in what people remember, but with what they "forget." To be sure, with so much happening from hour to hour, no one can witness, much less recall the whole spectrum of events. What stands out, however, is the inability of people to remember things that they themselves have said and done and that others retain vividly in mind.

For example, after a particularly frustrating faculty meeting during the height of one campus crisis, a junior faculty member, who was a dove, engaged a senior colleague in the same department in a corridor conversation. The younger man was attempting to defend the legitimacy of the students' occupation of a campus building by drawing an analogy to the labor movement, especially its early phases when strikes, picketing and sit-ins were still matters of great controversy. During the faculty meeting, the senior professor had vigorously attacked the seizure of the building, warning of the fatal consequences to the university if it were allowed to continue. During the corridor conversation, he repeated these arguments and, with some annoyance, denied the merits of the labor analogy. When the junior colleague continued to press his argument, the hawk grew red with rage, advised the younger man not to address him by his first name, told him he didn't know what he was talking about, and then abruptly turned and left. After the crisis had died down, this incident was mentioned to the older man. He had no memory of it, denied that it had ever occurred and showed mild irritation at the suggestion that he could have behaved in such a fashion.

A similar blank wall was encountered at another university by a journalist attempting to interview a high-level administrative officer about the events of the campus crisis. The interview had started in a jovial, friendly atmosphere and continued for some time in this vein. Through others the journalist had learned that the president had made vacillating statements on the subject of disciplining the activist students, at times threatening severe punishment, at other times suggesting that only mild procedures would be used if the students left the building they were occupying. When the journalist brought this up, without revealing his sources, the atmosphere suddenly cooled. The uncertainty was interpreted by the official as "weakness" and was denied, to the surprise of the journalist who thought there must have been good reasons on both sides of the ticklish question of punishment versus amnesty. When he pursued the point, he was accused of being hostile to the university and oversympathetic to the line being adopted by the radical students. The interview terminated on a note of restrained tension.

EGO MECHANISMS

We have now come to the point where we can ask: what is it about the crisis that accounts for the forgetting, the exaggerations and the distorted, hostile interpersonal relations in which the participants become involved?

Let us begin with the dissident students who provide the apparent stimulus for the crisis. Since they constitute a group—an aggrieved group—we must examine the identifications that hold the group together and apart from the usual student groups. Obviously an extensive transformation of both the object and the nature of identification has taken place. There is among most students generally positive orientation toward scholarship, research and teaching; this is one factor in the ever-increasing number of undergraduates applying for graduate training. And in the past, at any rate, students have been able to overlook the paternalistic

behavior of their mentors, sorting out in their own minds and discriminating between the best and worst aspects of university life. On this basis, they accept their student leaders as substitutes, junior partners or intermediate figures in a ladder of positive images pointing toward the administration and toward their own futures. Now comes a gradual but traumatic disillusionment with the administration, deep suspicion of its good faith and essential benevolence, and bitterness over the failure of their petitions for the relief of grievances. Hence the previously positive side of the identification process is put to severe strain. The constraint of rules and regulations—obeyed mainly to please—becomes increasingly burdensome.

At this point it might be well to recall Freud's original remarks on the role of identification in the process of group formation. "Identification," he wrote in *Group Psychology and the Analysis of the Ego*, "is ambivalent from the very first; it can turn into an expression of tenderness as easily as into a wish for someone's removal." Then, in the first of the two essays included in *Thoughts for the Times on War and Death*, he wrote of the effects upon the intellectual community of the eruption of World War I in particularly apposite terms: "The war in which we had refused to believe broke out, and it brought—disillusionment. . . . The individual citizen can with horror convince himself in this war of what would occasionally cross his mind in peacetime—that the state has forbidden to the individual the practice of wrongdoing, not because it desires to abolish it, but because it desires to monopolize it, like salt and tobacco."

This sentiment is identical with the reactions of dissident students today to the Vietnamese war. And it seems plausible to assume that the hostile attitude toward the authority of the state and toward all who cooperate with it, including the universities, follows upon disillusionment. As a result, all authorities are seen along the model of the oppressive state. Although this perception is magnified by the newly-formed negative identifications, it is also realistic, at least to the degree that the uses of authority in schools, colleges and universities are highly anomalous for students. A school shares the incompatible features of a jail, a hospital, a retail outlet and a club. Like an inmate in a jail, the student can be put on probation or punished in other ways for infractions of rules. Like a patient in a hospital, it will do him little good to complain about the service and he must follow orders. But, like a customer, he can shop around for consumer products, hoping to accumulate a serviceable education. Finally, as a club member, he can be granted or denied admission or expelled following admission, and he is expected to contribute to and take pride in the elite status of his membership. The movement for student power can be understood as an attempt to rationalize or to eliminate some of these harassing incompatibilities.

With the, in part, realistic perception of the administration as "the oppressor," the student's ego is suddenly assailed with anxiety from three sides. From the environment, the ego must face the real possibility of punishment for the loss of respect toward authorities. From the id there is the possibility of being overwhelmed with rage, including the resurrection of long-repressed oedipal hostilities. And from the superego, there still remains the possibility of guilt. The loss of positive identification is not as deep or thoroughgoing as it may seem at first glance. In fact, the negative side of the identification is like a thin protective armor that requires constant reinforcement. Therefore, guilt feelings must be perpetually warded off.

Under these circumstances, the ego must be protected. Two defenses are available for

this purpose, and, tied together, they prove fairly serviceable. The first is identification with the aggressor—or, as one could say in this instance, with the oppressor. Anxiety is dispelled in the fashion described by Anna Freud, not through a general identification but through an imitation of the aggressor's behavior as perceived by the victim. Are the authorities insensitive, unresponsive, willing to use force (punishments) to get their way? Yes. Then so are the students, and not only toward administrative leaders, but also toward competing leaders within their group. Is the aggressor frustrating and evasive? The list could be extended, but point is clear.

But since their behavior is defensive rather than a spontaneous release of instinctual energy, it is rarely satisfying to the students, and it contains other unadaptive features. It tends to be ritualized—that is, automatically evoked in the presence of any member of the administration. Reality testing is reduced, and, as a result, the students tend to misjudge clues of receptivity and change in their opponents. Opportunities for successfully pressing their advantage are frequently lost on this account.

Because of the novelty of the defense, it is always in danger of breaking down. Another defense is then brought to the rescue: the principle of negative justice. Each member of the aggrieved group must be known to the others as equally deserving the retributions of the oppressor, lest group solidarity weaken. Thus each must provoke in the same way or to the same degree. To maintain such conduct in the face of the positive feelings being warded off—to say nothing of longstanding habits—is difficult. To be on the safe side, the aggrieved group needs to keep away from frequent contacts with the administration and to be sure that, if contacts are made, at least three members are together, watching each other and helping each other to continue to display the requisite degree of distance, coolness and unfriendliness.

In *The Strawberry Statement: Notes of a College Revolutionary*, James Kunen, who participated in the Columbia uprising, cites some amusing examples of the ambiguity of student attitudes. Kunen had made an appointment to interview Dean Herbert Deane of Columbia, a confrontation which he looked forward to with considerable malevolence and relish. Herbert Deane had provided Kunen with the title of his book. In April of 1967, a year before the uprising, Deane had made the comment, "A university is definitely not a democratic institution. When decisions begin to be made democratically around here, I will not be here any longer. Whether students vote 'yes' or 'no' on an issue is like telling me they like strawberries." After a long, friendly and candid conversation with this paragon of academic paternalism in July 1968, Kunen wrote in his diary, "God, what am I going to do? I liked Dean Deane."

Despite their defensiveness in the presence of administrators and the sometimes bizarre behavior evoked by the identification with the aggressors, the students generally display warm relations toward each other. The libidinal component which has been detached from authority figures is now directed toward the group as a whole. The resulting increase in available affectionate energy and the closeness of interpersonal relations produces a rise in group morale. Throughout much of the crisis the students' ability to display wit, humor and intellectual activity reaches unusual heights. The occasion becomes memorable in their eyes—and even in the eyes of some outside observers—because of the exuberant and often creative energies it releases. And because of some of the comic scenes acted out by all sides.

In *The Strawberry Statement*, for example, James Kunen described an incident which occurred when the Columbia students ar-

rested in the April 29 bust were taken to the 24th precinct to be booked. "Up against the wall," we are told. I can't get over how they really use the term. We turn and lean on the wall with our hands high, because that's what we've seen in the movies. We are told to can that — and sit down." The police, it turned out, merely wanted the students to sit on the chairs alongside the walls.

THE FACULTY ANALYZED

The doves within the administration are among those favorably impressed by a novel, creative aspect of student activity. Nonetheless, the doves are also under the influence of an unconscious defensive process: a variant of what Anna Freud has called "altruistic surrender." In their face-off with the hawks they are not asking for anything for themselves, as are the hawks and the students. Their motives are purely altruistic in that they want to see the students obtain a "fair shake" from the administration. For this reason they undertake, at great cost of energy and possible risk of their security, a strenuous defense of the students' cause. The unconscious motive for this position, however, is envy of the students' aggressiveness. They would like to have the role of the young students for themselves, defying the established authorities, bringing them to heel and reaping the rewards of victory in the manner of David over Goliath. The oedipal background of such an identification with the challengers is, again, a part of the constellation of motives; but in the foreground is the problem of an envy too productive of guilt to be directly acknowledged. Accordingly, to back the challengers, to take the risks without reaping the gains, to offer themselves up to the wrath of the hawks as sacrificial lambs—all these behaviors neutralize the claims of the superego.

Although the voice of the doves exerts a strong influence on the outcome of the crisis, it generates severe antagonisms. Its defensive quality is perceived by both students and hawks. Students feel that doves are defending them for the wrong reasons—that is for their own, narcissistic (or "liberal") reasons, not because of a realistic understanding of the students' position. Hawks, on the other hand, immediately perceive that behind the even-tempered and apparently reasonable arguments of the doves there exists an intense desire to humble them.

This sensitivity on the part of the hawks, which to the doveish mind looks so paranoid, is based upon a strong narcissistic defense. They are usually men who are climbed up the academic ladder from humble origins. They have obtained positions of some power and influence through hard work and the sacrifice of many pleasures, exemplifying in the process the individualistic, achievement values of American culture. Not only have pleasures been postponed, but in addition, such men have had to endure narcissistic wounds and humiliations in the struggle to rise from inferiority to relative superiority. At last, they are in a position to enjoy their hard-won privileges—that is, to have power over others, to make the decisions they have accepted from others on their way up. Moreover, in their view, they have been fairer in their own exercise of power than have their predecessors. Now, just at this moment, they suddenly find themselves challenged. They are being asked to share their power with the young, with student usurpers lacking all self-discipline and completely callow about the difficulties of obtaining power and the responsibilities of exercising it. To add insult to injury, any objection, however mild, to what they see as obvious insanity is immediately labeled evil, fascist or simply authoritarian.

Under these circumstances, with pride so largely secured by their careers and in the prerogatives of their status, the demands and behavior of the dissident students represent

direct assaults upon the hawks' self-esteem. It is as if they were being forced to return to their humble origins. The narcissistic defense then enlarges the ego by identifying its fate with that of the institution, or even with the country as a whole. If they are to be destroyed, then so is the school and the nation. This position is, after all, not so irrational as it may seem. For the attack upon the hawks is an attack upon the structure of power and the hierarchical values of superiority and inferiority concealed behind the individualism that is supposedly the hallmark of Western culture.

So far as the temporizers are concerned, their unconscious motives are more varied and more difficult to discern. Some are merely timid and cautious—that is, defending against anxiety through watchfulness and delay of action. Others are really emotionally uninvolved in the struggle, defending themselves through isolation. Still others are convinced that compromise and a Hegelian synthesis of opposites are the only effective methods of conflict resolution, techniques that always require time. Because their motives are obscure or undefined, temporizers are apt to be made into scapegoats for the frustrations felt by all. Their delaying tactics and shilly-shallying policies are seen as the reason that the crisis remains so long unresolved.

THE ISSUES

This review of the ego mechanisms and defenses elicited by the crisis is not very satisfactory. It is far from a complete inventory of unconscious ego mechanisms and it leaves too many problems unresolved. It produces the impression that no group comes off very well in the struggle. If there are no very obvious villains, neither are there any heroes. Moreover, it places me in an awkward position, since I have not aligned myself with any group. Can the investigator of such situations really remain above the fray, analyzing everyone's motives except his own? Especially if the investigator is also an academic?

It would be impossible for me to continue studying situations of violent conflict if I were not able to wear a mask of assumed detachment, as Freud put it, while identifying myself, for the time being, with any and all positions. This is essentially no different from the analyst's stance in the varied clinical situations he encounters.

However, I do have a position and it would be unnecessary and unwise to conceal it. I am convinced of the necessity of political and social change if our society is to survive. In my view, what needs to be changed is the pyramidal structuring of power in our bureaucracies, and in our communities—a stratification that arranges persons and groups in positions of inferiority and superiority. Such a change, I believe, cannot be brought about without a simultaneous change in values such that individualistic achievement can no longer be used to disguise or dilute the destructive impact of authoritarianism and elitism in a self-advertised democracy.

Given the assumption that no institutions are selftransforming, I do not believe that such changes can come about without a militant struggle in which there will be some violence. What we can concern ourselves with, then, is the effort to keep violence, like pain and psychological suffering, at as low a level as possible. The reason, in my view, that the defensive aggression and anxiety in the crisis just described are so prominent is that all concerned have been brought up to believe in the democratic disguise of authoritarian structure. In the process of trying to free themselves from this illusion or to defend it, all parties to the struggle, even the students, reveal how deeply they are implicated in it. If this is so, then the unresolved issues, both psychological and so-

cial, stem from a single source. This is what we do not yet know how to accomplish the needed changes. We know only that we are locked in a struggle in the course of which the solutions will probably emerge. But it may be of some help if all of us, psychoanalysts, historians, social and political scientists and philosophers, work together to define the characteristics, the goals and the solutions to this struggle.

[From the Washington Post, Apr. 12, 1970]

CAMPUS PROTESTS SHOW NO SIGN OF DECLINING

(By Eric Wentworth)

Contrary to official expectations, there have been at least as many campus protests this year as last.

Upheavals struck campuses from Quinnipiac College in Connecticut to the University of Arizona.

The first weeks of spring have brought a seasonal upsurge in rallies, demands and vandalism. Some of last year's prime battlegrounds are already back in the news: Cornell, Harvard and Columbia, for example.

But tallies by two research teams show the volume of protest actions was surprisingly heavy even before the current post-vacation outbreaks.

Alexander W. Astin, research chief for the American Council on Education, reports one or more incidents at 155 of 195 campuses that his team surveyed from last September through February.

Astin's figures include 175 protests against the college or university itself on 84 of these campuses, plus 260 protests involving the Vietnam Moratorium, antipollution, the "Chicago Seven" trial or other off campus issues on a total of 141.

The Chicago-based Urban Research Corp. reports its latest boxscore shows at least one protest on more than 90 campuses from Jan. 15 to April 1, or just as many as during the same period last year.

Neither group has kept tabs on the suspicious fires in ROTC offices and other campus vandalism that could not be linked directly to student demonstrations. But Astin reports that his September-February survey shows demonstrations leading to property damage in 14 cases, physical violence in 18 and one or more arrests in 24.

These figures together give the lie to the cautious optimism for a quiet year voiced by certain Nixon administration officials before classes began last fall. They also belie the assumption that campuses by and large have been relatively calm so far this year.

One reason for this assumption may be a tendency among newspapers, magazines and broadcasters to give campus protests less exposure, especially with high school uprisings vying for the limelight.

A well-placed source confides that some of the same university administrators who last year complained that press and television were giving campus protests too much attention now mutter about "suppression" of such news.

From the academic authorities' standpoint, one benefit of less public attention has been the virtual silencing of last year's congressional outcry for anti-protest laws.

But Rep. William A. Steiger (R-Wis.) warns that campus unrest is "a dormant issue, not a dead issue" on Capitol Hill. "The issue will comeback sure as shooting," he adds, if a new wave of demonstrations this spring stirs public opinion just as Congress is at work on a major new higher-education bill.

Astin and Urban Research's president John Naisbitt, among others, fear just such a wave is on its way. "I think everything points to that," Naisbitt says.

A new round of anti-war protests this coming week could offer the occasion for

major demonstrations on or near some campuses.

The Boston area may be one trouble spot. Harvard radicals harassed a committee of prominent visitors at that university's Center for International Affairs this past Thursday, and have talked of a building occupation this spring.

At Massachusetts Institute of Technology which saw repeated demonstrations earlier this academic year, one highly placed source familiar with student moods reports "a calm that is even more worrisome." It reflects, he explains, a deep sense of frustration.

Many causes that student protestors have been espousing have a familiar ring.

Of the 175 anti-institution protests Astin reports from September through February, 62 were "war-related" against such targets as ROTC, research for the Pentagon, and recruiting by the military services for defense contractors such as General Electric Co. (A GE official reports company recruiters this year visited 400 campuses, and encountered protests on about 30—most of them orderly.)

Another 42 incidents, according to Astin's survey, involved black students' demands for black studies programs, more black faculty members, admission of more black students, and the like. At Yale, blacks blocked a showing of "Tarzan the Ape Man" in March calling the film "racist."

In the West, athletic ties with Brigham Young University touched off protests at several major universities, including Arizona, New Mexico, Washington and Wyoming because of the Mormon Church's ban on admitting blacks to priesthood.

The Mormon university responded in late March with a full-page newspaper ad asserting the belief that "all men are brothers" and suggesting "the time will come" when blacks can become priests.

The other 71 anti-institution protests in Astin's tally mostly involved familiar issues of university governance (a greater student voice in policy-making), campus social rules, course requirements, tuition increases and the hiring or firing of professors.

Locally, 87 were arrested at the University of Maryland last month after a building occupation to protest the philosophy department's denial of tenure to two assistant professors.

This past week, 181 students at predominantly-black Maryland State College on the Eastern Shore were arrested after demonstrations demanding an audience with President John Williams to discuss grievances.

Preserving the environment has become a lively issue among thousands of college students as well as adults, with a wide array of demonstrations planned for "Earth Day" on April 22. By and large, however, blacks and white radicals have tended to steer clear of this movement or try to divert it to their own concerns.

"Most of the blacks and chicanos see it as a cop-out," Naisbitt observes. He refers to an incident at San Jose State College in California, where students gained nationwide attention in February by burying a new automobile to protest smog. Less noticed was a counter-protest by 75 blacks and chicanos, who according to Urban Research carried signs reading "Don't Bury the Car" and "Ecology Is Not the Issue."

Many of the protests so far this year have come on campuses already battle-scarred from previous confrontations from the mammoth Universities of Michigan and Wisconsin to tiny Voorhees College in Denmark, S.C.

But Urban Research, in a closer look at protests on 65 campuses from mid-January through early March, found roughly half occurred at previously tranquil institutions.

Like the urban riots that spread from Los Angeles, Newark and Detroit to smaller cities,

campus protests have been cropping up at obscure private colleges, two-year community colleges and even seminaries (fifty-two students at St. Thomas the Apostle Major Seminary in the state of Washington, according to Urban Research, called for a boycott to protest suspension of one student because of "scandalous" publicity when he visited a tavern to recruit entertainers for a rock show at the state reformatory).

Quinnipiac College in Connecticut, an independent school with roughly 2,000 students near New Haven, is another example of this trend.

At previously quiet Quinnipiac, a college spokesman related, students staged a one-day round-the-clock sit-in in the campus library last month while leaders negotiated a list of 16 demands with college trustees and administrators. As many as 267 slept in the library during the non-disruptive demonstration.

The students left voluntarily after resolving a number of issues, which generally concerned such matters as voting seats on the board of trustees, curriculum reform, and tuition rates.

Meanwhile, the National Student Association has been extending legal advice to restless students on such diverse campuses as Emmanuel College in Boston, Augustana College in Rock Island, Ill., Calvin College in Grand Rapids, Mich., and Fisk University in Nashville, Tenn.

One prominent educator, a veteran of campus uprisings, believes protests will be a fact of life in American higher education for many years to come. He compares it to the labor movement: People warned of a revolution at first, but have learned to live with recurring strikes.

[From the Washington Post, Mar. 29, 1970]
STUDENT RIOTS IN ITALY AND FRANCE STILL A
THREAT AFTER 2 YEARS; ROME IS CALM,
REFORMS IGNORED

(By Claire Sterling)

ROME.—One of the sadder non-events in these five weeks of search for a new Italian government has been the students' silence.

Only once has the Student Movement tried to attract political attention: the best it could do was a dispirited parade of 1,500 followers through downtown Rome.

This, then, is what remains of the big student insurrection that hit Italy two years ago well before the one in France and longer-lasting.

Spasms of violence are still reported here and there, mostly provoked by neo-fascists trying to smoke the students out. But, by and large, the *contestatori* who occupied 23 of the country's 28 universities for months on end have given up or gone elsewhere, and a student body with worse grievances than almost any in Western Europe is more or less back where it started.

There was never much in the way of practical negotiation on these grievances while the insurrection lasted. Those who spoke for the Student Movement claimed to have lost interest in an educational system serving as an "ideological alibi for a criminal capitalist society."

DESTROY, NOT IMPROVE

They wanted to destroy it, not improve it. Still, they did bully the country's "paleo-politicians" into moving a little faster on university reform, if only by the ferocity of their assault.

In the five years preceding the insurrection, a Parliamentary Committee managed to approve no more than five of 38 articles in a proposed reform bill. In the two years since, it has gotten up to 30 out of 60. But even at this stately pace, final passage would probably take another two years. An already desperate situation can hardly improve in the meanwhile.

The trouble, put briefly, is that Italy's educational currency has been debased as its economy has expanded.

ENROLLMENT TRIPLED

Built for a small, privileged caste in a 19th-century semi-agricultural society, the universities here cannot remotely meet the needs of what is now the world's 7th ranking industrial nation. They had held up fairly well until the late 1950s, turning out a highly-educated elite representing well under five per cent of the college-aged. But then came the economic miracle, an educational stampede.

In barely more than a decade, enrollment nearly tripled in universities unable to so much as seat these students, still less instruct them.

Rome University alone has 94,000 students, classrooms for 12,000 and lodgings for 300.

Its Faculty of Letters has nearly 10,000 students and seats for 1,564. Its Science Faculty has 8,558 enrolled and laboratory posts for 987. Its Faculty of Architecture lives in such cramped quarters that students race to school at six in the morning if they want a seat for a lecture at nine.

The space shortage is only one small part of the problems. A quarter of a century after Mussolini's fall, Italian universities are still regulated by a law he promulgated in 1933.

Much of the curriculum dates back to World War I, and quite a few professors give the impression of having been around still longer. Thick with intellectual mold, secure in their lifetime tenure, jealous of their status and practically unlimited powers, these "barons of the lecture-hall" run a tight closed shop, inaccessible for the most part to younger men and livelier minds.

ONLY 3,500 PROFESSORS

For a student body going on half a million, Italy has only 3,500 full professors. Most are profitably occupied elsewhere, few show up regularly to lecture, and those who do rarely depart from texts they wrote themselves 20 or 30 years ago—expensive texts, which are required reading.

Accordingly, most enrolled students would not know their professors if they saw them. Nine out of ten never set foot in the university except to take exams.

A great many stay home in the provinces throughout the academic year, coming in to school only at exam time. Except for highly technical scientific subjects, practically all the exams necessary for a degree are based exclusively on printed material in standard textbooks and lecture notes written by professors (which happen to yield them permanent royalties).

Attendance in class is not required, even as a theoretical pedagogic principle. And the idea of relying on a professor for intellectual stimulation and academic guidance provokes a certain hilarity in Italian student circles.

Many became deeply interested, during the insurrection here, in American-style seminars and classroom debate. Caught in the Italian system's inelastic confines, however, the most they could do was tinker with such theories in "counter-courses" devoted mostly to the Vietnam war, capitalist debility and the evils of neo-colonialism.

Where academic work and degrees are concerned, the overwhelming majority simply cram for exams at home by studying standard texts on their own, or pooling their money to hire a professional crammer.

The academic results were about what you might expect, until recently. With 400,000 students enrolled in 1967 compared to well under 200,000 in 1947, the number actually getting degrees was the same old 28,000—mostly offspring of the same old small and privileged caste.

THINGS ARE CHANGING

Things have certainly changed since the student uprising of 1967-68, but hardly for the better.

Frightened by the depth and breadth of student defiance, and too weak to get at the causes, the center-left government took the cheapest way out: it simply offered bargain-basement diplomas.

University doors were opened still wider, to anybody completing high school. The choice of courses became optional (especially the harder ones). Examinations were either abolished, or given to one student representing a sizable group, or simplified to high-school level, or cancelled in effect by permitting students to challenge, and reject, the results.

Numerically, the effect has been striking. Within two years, the number of diplomas issued yearly has risen from 28,000 to 40,000. What they are worth, however, may be judged from the facts that most ads offering jobs to university graduates nowadays carefully specify that degrees must date back to 1967, at least.

SHODDY DEGREES

It is a shoddy prize, and practically the only one, for a student movement that very nearly brought the Establishment to its knees. Here and there, one may find modest improvements—an occasional seminar, more communication between students and teachers, some relief from strangling academic rigidity.

But the same professorial oligarchy still rules, the lectures are still left largely to "assistants" fresh out of school, the classrooms and labs are still lacking, the courses of study still better suited to the first half of our century than the last. What with student enrollment growing 8 per cent yearly, and instant-diplomas now within reach, the Italian university as a center of research and learning may soon become a thing of the past.

Looking back, some student movement leaders begin to regret their lost chances. At the height of the occupation, they might have extracted solid reforms from a terrified Establishment, but they refused even to discuss that.

Exalted by the extraordinary response on campus they had thought they could rouse the whole workingclass to revolution.

In a sense they did: The surge of workers' militancy during Italy's "hot autumn" last year, was undoubtedly inspired by the previous year's student revolt. Once the workers got on the move, though, they wanted no part of the dilettante student revolutionaries getting under their feet—and told them so quite brusquely.

Now, in the universities, it is too late. Two years of strikes and occupations, street fights and riot, wall newspapers, Mao's thoughts, and interminable assemblies, Bach, Marcuse, and stale ham sandwiches, have left the students bored and listless.

They have not become a lasting political threat, as the Establishment had feared. A recent public opinion poll has shown that the majority of students would either cast a blank ballot today, or vote for one of the governing center-left parties. And the Communist Youth Federation here, far from fattening on the student mutiny, has dropped in membership from nearly half a million to an all-time low of 80,000.

Naturally, as student apathy increases, the sense of urgency in political circles declines. Very little breath has been wasted on university reform, during these five weeks of negotiation for a new cabinet. One wonders how much may be expended before 1980, when a student body of half a million will have become a million.

Perhaps, by then, students may at last

hit upon the only truly superlative weapon of protest which their colleagues have overlooked so far: They might merely show up for class, all of them, at the same time.

[From the Washington Post, Mar. 29, 1970]

POLICE WENT WILD ON PARIS CAMPUS

(By Bruno Frappat)

PARIS—"They've brought the Latin Quarter barricades of May, 1968, right to our own doorsteps," said one of the many spectators jostling for a better view of the action on March 3 from the small rise across the railway tracks a few hundred yards from Nanterre's law and letters faculties.

The onlookers were mostly residents of the Paris suburb and students who had prudently evacuated the campus before battle broke out.

Under a clear sky the faculty buildings were shrouded in a blue, tear gas haze. The popping of gas grenades and the general clamor were punctuated by the occasional student cry of "cops off the campus," and the chanted slogan born in 1968: "It's only a start, on with the struggle!"

The students were having a relatively easy time hitting the police, ranged in compact groups, with a hail of stones and chair legs. The police shielded their heads but were unable to avoid objects ricocheting off the ground, and most of the injured suffered leg wounds.

The students were keeping a close eye on the trajectories of gas grenades repeatedly fired at them. As soon as one landed it was immediately flung back into the police lines.

BUILDINGS EMPTIED

Little by little the two buildings finally emptied. The demonstrators, then reduced to 300 to 400, reformed on the lawn. Abandoning their makeshift weapons, they headed for the university cafeteria where other students who had taken no part in the rioting were already busy—eating.

At that point the police, who had not made a move for several minutes, charged after the students, who retreated hastily into the cafeteria. To force them out the police broke the windows and tossed in tear gas grenades.

Gasping for air, the students rushed out into the open, where scores of enraged policemen, their nerves at breaking point from hours of waiting and the tension of the battle, bludgeoned them with nightsticks, turning furiously on those who had fallen. It was here that a number of students were seriously injured.

POLICE RAMPAGE

There was panic inside the cafeteria, where all the lights went out. The diners abandoned their meal and fled in disorder. Outside they witnessed the amazing spectacle of the gendarmes intervening to protect the students from the wild wrath of the local police.

Frustrated at being unable to continue the assault, the police, ignoring their officers, vented their anger on cars parked around the campus. No automobile within their reach escaped damage: they broke windows with their nightsticks, slashed tires, and dented car bodies. An ambulance arriving to evacuate the injured students, many of whom lay unconscious, were greeted with the policemen's chant of "Hearse, hearse."

Allowed out one by one by the gendarmes the students were hesitant to leave the campus. Some who decided to brave it had to elbow their way through groups of policemen at the exit. Savagely the police seized their books and papers and trampled them furiously.

By 9 p.m. there was no one left in the cafeteria. A few students still confronted the policemen near the dormitories, but there were no more incidents.

A PRIZE-WINNING EDITORIAL

HON. EDITH GREEN

OF OREGON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 15, 1970

Mrs. GREEN of Oregon. Mr. Speaker, the new orthodoxies of the "mod generation" are disquieting not only in themselves, but also in their own lack of substance. The "mod generation" is not composed of those only under 21. But the minority—a very vocal, active minority of the "mod" age attempts to mold a structure for revolution that has no substance. It calls for freedom—freedom in sex, freedom in dress, freedom to be obscene in speech and offensive in action. This is done by a campaign of such extravagance that it ranges from the sublime to the horrible. Its purpose is said to be revolution, but its aim seems to be merely titillation.

A distinguished commentator in my home city of Portland, Oreg., has taken exception to this, and in an editorial he gave on Law Day in 1969, he eloquently presented his views. This editorial, which was presented on KXL radio in Portland, brought to John Salisbury, director of news and special projects at KXL, the principal award for 1969 in the editorial category for Law Day observances. The award is given by the Freedom Foundation at Valley Forge. I insert his prize-winning editorial at this point in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD:

RADIO EDITORIAL BY JOHN SALISBURY

This is Law Day. It is also Loyalty Day.

Tune me out and turn me off, if you so desire, because I'm going to talk about law—and about loyalty.

It won't hurt much, because I've already been tuned out and turned off by the bullies, brigands and braggarts who have decided law is no longer necessary in America, and who scoff at the very concept of loyalty.

I'm tuned out and turned off by young people in their smart pants and dirty beards who believe, somehow, they've been gifted by a God they claim is dead with some kind of omniscience which gives them sole mandate to cure the world's ills and to rule it by their own laws.

I'm tuned out and turned off by the black militants who believe guns leveled at the wrongs of bigotry will win the rights of equality.

I'm tuned out and turned off by the burners of draft cards and the trampers of flags who denounce in cowardice the names of the brave who fall in battle—the young men who didn't choose to be there but went anyway, and fought their hearts out and sometimes died believing that if their country was wrong, it went wrong trying to do right.

I'm tuned out and turned off by the far right which suspects everyone else of being disloyal—and by the new left which believes in overthrowing our government, preferring anarchy even above communism.

I'm tuned out and turned off by boys who look like girls and girls who look like ladies of the night—and by members of my generation who think long hair, sideburns and beards really open the lines of communication to their kids.

I'm tuned out and turned off by men who've lost respect for women, and women who've lost respect for themselves—and by the new sophistication which makes it permissible to tell dirty jokes in mixed company.

And I'm absolutely turned off by Polish jokes—or any others which poke unwarranted fun at race, nationality or faith.

I'm tuned out and turned off by educators who can find no way to defend their institutions except by allowing the rabble to take them over—and by professors who prefer the rabble to self-respect.

I'm tuned out and turned off by men of God doing the Devil's work because they're no longer certain where, why or how God works.

I'm tuned out and turned off by the pornographers who use liberty as a cloak for license, proclaiming their right to peddle filth as freedom of the press.

I'm tuned out and turned off by dope pushers destroying a generation of youth while proclaiming marijuana should be legalized and a trip on LSD the only way to fly.

These are some of the things which turn me off.

And what turns me on?

Whites and blacks working together to make things better for everybody.

Kids who organize decency rallies.

Students who go to school to get an education, and educators who educate.

Preachers who identify with God, and are humbled by Him.

Authors who write good books.

Clean-cut boys and pretty girls.

And people to whom law, loyalty, justice and patriotism are not dirty words—people like the great majority of Americans, young, old and middle-aged, who care and will do something about it, like tuning in and turning on to what's right with America, using it as the inspiration for overcoming what's wrong with America.

People who pledge not anarchy—but allegiance!

EDUCATIONAL BROADCASTING

HON. FRED B. ROONEY

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 15, 1970

Mr. ROONEY of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, for the last 2 days the Communications and Power Subcommittee of the House Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee has been holding hearings that would provide for the further funding of the Corporation for Public Broadcasting. One of my constituents, Mr. Sheldon Siegel, who is executive vice president of MLVT-TV in Bethlehem, Pa., and vice president for Instructional Television for the Eastern Educational Television Network, gave noteworthy testimony to that subcommittee.

I include in the RECORD the following letter written by Mr. Siegel and printed in TV Guide. I believe it gives a very clear picture of the great strides now being made in educational broadcasting:

CLASSROOM TELEVISION

As vice president for Instructional Television for the Eastern Educational Television Network, and the general manager of an educational-public-television station, I would like to assure Mr. Doan that classroom television is not a national disaster everywhere. The instructional television service offered by the nearly 30 stations of the EETN is vibrant, vital, and utilized by more in-school classrooms now than at any previous period in our 10-year history. We know we have some problems, but we're a long way from a disaster area.

PAN-AMERICAN DAY—A DAY FOR REFLECTION

HON. BENJAMIN S. ROSENTHAL

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 14, 1970

Mr. ROSENTHAL. Mr. Speaker, I am proud to cosponsor a House resolution extending greetings to the other republics of this hemisphere on Pan-American Day.

Latin America is an area with an illustrious and proud history whose ancient civilizations were far advanced long before the voyage of Columbus. Thus, the people of the Central States, most of whom are comparatively new to this hemisphere, should be grateful for this opportunity to celebrate the long association this country has maintained with our neighbors to the south.

Pan-American Day should be more than a day of celebration, however. It should also be a day of reflection—a day to consider the present state of affairs in Latin America and the nature of this country's policies toward the nations of that region.

Although the countries of Latin America exhibit great diversity, no one can ignore the stark reality of the social and economic conditions of the area as a whole:

Half of the area's population is undernourished.

More than one-third of the population is illiterate.

A mere 2 percent of the people own nearly 70 percent of the continent's wealth.

In an area where, for most countries, agriculture is still the chief means of earning a living, 10 percent of the landowners possess 90 percent of the land.

Yearly per capita is low, ranging from \$75 in Haiti to \$895 in Venezuela. When this low per capita income is coupled with rapid inflation, development is hampered by a shortage of savings and capital for investment.

Foreign exchange required for development is in chronic short supply. The area has an unfavorable balance of trade with three of its four major industrialized trade partners, including the United States.

The export earnings of many countries are dependent upon the sale of one or two primary commodities. The world price of these commodities is subject to wide fluctuations depending upon the particular year's harvest and the competition of synthetics. The consequent fluctuation in foreign exchange earnings makes planning for development difficult.

The countries in the region are heavily in debt to countries outside the area and to international organizations. The cost of servicing this debt doubled between 1961 and 1968.

Obviously, these conditions pose dramatic challenges to the countries of Latin America. If social justice is to be achieved, if the area is not to suffer the horrors of civil war and chaos, these governments must respond quickly and effectively

to the legitimate aspirations of their people.

In recent years Latin America has experienced an increase in the number of military governments—a form of government which history has shown to be one of the most unresponsive and least amenable to change. Between 1962 and 1969, 10 of Latin America's 24 governments were toppled by military coups. Nearly half of the region's 276 million people, including three of the continent's four largest countries are governed by military regimes.

While some of these coups were directed against de facto governments, a large proportion were diverted against constitutional governments. While historically these military coups have been for the purpose of maintaining the status quo rather than for the purpose of reform, in recent years younger military leaders in some countries have become forces for reform also.

Mr. Speaker, the 1970's promise to be a decade of ferment and change both in Latin America and in our own country. We must take care that our Latin American policy reflects these changes and that we avoid both paternalism and neoisolationism:

Pan-American Day is an appropriate time, therefore, for reflection and to raise some questions concerning our economic and military assistance programs.

Do our programs serve merely to express a self-righteous generosity or as payments for quiescence rather than as a means to protect our own interests by promoting progress and development?

Do our programs place excessive emphasis upon stability to the detriment of social justice?

Do our programs emphasize stability because we fear Communist subversion or because we wish to protect at all costs the \$12 billion which U.S. citizens have invested in the area?

Is development hampered by the fact that the governments of Latin America devote an average of 13 percent of their budgets to the military and if so, is the United States encouraging this expenditure unnecessarily?

Mr. Speaker, these are only some of the important and difficult questions which must be answered. I earnestly hope that Pan-American Day will serve as the beginning of a period of reflection and introspection leading to new and creative policies for Latin America.

NATIONAL LIBRARY WEEK

HON. WILLIAM A. STEIGER

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 15, 1970

Mr. STEIGER of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, this is National Library Week.

President Nixon in paying tribute to our Nation's libraries has noted the important role they have to play if we are to achieve our goal of the Right to Read for every American.

The text of the President's message follows:

THE WHITE HOUSE,
Washington, D.C., April 4, 1970.

This year National Library Week has a new dimension of significance for all Americans.

We have established a great national goal for this decade: that the Right to Read shall become a reality for all our people. And we have determined that by the end of the 1970s no child shall leave school without the skill and desire necessary to read to the full limits of his capability.

Libraries and librarians have a particularly vital part to play in the Right to Read campaign. They can offer personal guidance directing children, adolescents and grown men and women to choose from the vast array of books available those which best match their interests and abilities. And they can put young people on a path of knowledge that will delight and inspire them throughout their lives.

National Library Week is a fitting time to dedicate the vast resources of our libraries to the successful realization of our Right to Read goal. It is a time for all Americans to pledge their wholehearted support to our libraries. Working together we can hasten the day when every American will share in a right that is fundamental not only to the progress of our democratic society, but to the happiness and self-fulfillment of its citizens.

RICHARD NIXON.

HOUSE RESOLUTION 909

HON. JACK BRINKLEY

OF GEORGIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 14, 1970

Mr. BRINKLEY. Mr. Speaker, I was pleased to support House Resolution 909, with final passage coming today. Our postal employees, our civil service employees, and the members of our Armed Forces can now expect a retroactive raise in pay which I believe is fully justified; namely, a straight across-the-board increase of 6 percent. In my opinion, this is a good investment from the standpoint of the Government. Good business demands good employees; good employees command good wages; good wages require good business, completing the circle.

We must attract and retain the very highest quality of employees to serve in the Federal establishment. We have done this in our area, as evidenced by the degree of productivity; this in spite of a 21-month wide comparability gap between Government and private industry salaries. The passage of this legislation will narrow that gap.

Incidentally, the number of personnel as measured against production criteria refutes the very idea of regional wages. One nationwide standard must remain applicable, because for the postmen in Columbus, Ga., and for the postmen in Denver, Colo., the mail pouch weighs precisely the same as it does for the postmen in New York.

Certainly, the same pay should be paid for the same work wherever it is performed in this country. It costs just as much to buy an automobile or a television set, if not more, in Warner Robins, Ga., as it does in Detroit, Mich.

CXVI—757—Part 9

SMALL AIR CARRIERS FACING PROBLEMS

HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 15, 1970

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, at a time when the jumbo jets and the supersonic transports promise to revolutionize air travel around the world and bring its farthest corners within reach of travelers, smaller air carriers at home and abroad are facing a variety of problems.

Sheikh Najib Alamuddin of Beirut, Lebanon, chairman of Middle East Airlines, the largest private enterprise in the Arab world, has become a spokesman for smaller foreign airlines.

The article by Sheikh Najib is an objective one, which also expresses the responsible attitude that private business interests in many Arab lands demonstrate. The turmoil in the Middle East should not obscure the areas of communication and understanding that can be maintained in other than the political arena.

I especially emphasize, Mr. Speaker, that the business community in Lebanon has demonstrated effective leadership in economic circles and that the leaders of that nation have stoutly maintained pro-Western economic and governmental policies.

For two reasons, one to acquaint Members with the problems of smaller airlines abroad, the other to acquaint Members with strong, substantial leaders in the Arab business community, I insert an article which Sheikh Najib prepared for a recent issue of *Air Transport World*:

SMALL AIRLINES: POOL RESOURCES OR PERISH (By Sheikh Najib Alamuddin)

At the present rate of growth, the demand for air travel doubles every five years. The introduction of SSTs and Jumbo Jets, coupled with the continued growth, will not change this situation appreciably between now and the 1980's.

In a forecast made by the Lockheed Aircraft Corp., the number of passenger-miles in the non-communist world was estimated to go up from 123.5 billion in 1965 to 390 billion in 1975 and to 900 billion in 1985. Douglas Aircraft Co. estimated that an average of 340 new jet passenger aircraft will be required per year between 1967 and 1976. The value of these aircraft will be \$2.05 billion per year.

It is needless to stress the effects of these requirements on the international financial system which already suffers from the lack of sufficient liquidity. In addition to the above, about 350 all-cargo aircraft would be required by 1970 and 850 aircraft by 1975. By 1980 the number of all-cargo aircraft could go up to 2200.

The bulk of air traffic is now concentrated in North America and Western Europe. Increasing per capita incomes and decreases in fares could increase the demand for air travel in developing countries in Asia, Africa and South America; but this will not change the present patterns of air traffic significantly. In fact, by 1995, about two thirds of the non-communist world's Gross National Product will be produced in North America and Western Europe.

The most pressing need of smaller airlines is that for sufficient funds to keep pace with

the rapid technological progress. Through pressure from the aircraft manufacturers and from the giant airlines, the industry has been forced to go into supersonics at a relatively early stage. On the other hand, big jet aircraft of 250-350 seats will go into service soon. Smaller airlines, who want to maintain their position in the market, have to re-equip in the early 1970's and this puts a tremendous strain on their finances.

The raising of funds in the international markets is becoming more and more difficult, and the rates of interest are continuously going up. Down payments for aircraft vary now between 10 and 20% and interest rates are around 8% to 9%. With the increased demand for financing, interest rates are likely to go still higher.

On the other hand, the development of the air transport industry makes it imperative to have more knowledgeable managers in the fields of economics, sociology, politics and marketing. Furthermore, crews will have to be of a higher educational caliber. Training programs will become more complex and mechanization will be inevitable. All of this will increase the strain on the airlines' financing and will raise problems of recruitment, especially in developing countries where technical know-how is relatively scarce.

The additional requirements of modern air transport create an urgent need for airlines of all sizes to pool their resources and coordinate their activities. Obviously, this need is much more pressing in the case of smaller airlines. Despite this fact, however, smaller airlines in developing countries have been less active in this field; and apart from Air Afrique, very little success has been achieved.

The Arab airlines are now trying to enter into some kind of regional cooperation and have created an Organization of Arab Air Carriers (AACO). These attempts are still at an early stage, but Arab airlines have come to recognize the need for pooling their resources and have set up a number of specialized committees for this purpose. Moreover, a preliminary project has been drawn up for creating a special Arab fund for financing the equipment requirements of Arab carriers.

One pertinent question in this respect is whether airline groupings are more successful if done on a regional basis or on the basis of similarity in size and outlook. The pooling of resources is definitely easier among airlines situated in the same area. However, a joint operation requires, above all, similarity of outlook on the part of the operators and compatibility of political and economic policies on the part of the governments concerned.

AVOID SENSITIVE AREAS

As a first step, cooperation could start in new fields of activity where vested interests play a smaller role. This can be done immediately. The experience so acquired would then be extended to other fields. If smaller airlines do not treat this problem with sufficient urgency, the progress of the air transport industry will be definitely hampered. Such an unfortunate development, if allowed to take place, will affect the world economy which is dependent to a large extent on the existence of rapid and efficient systems of transportation in all parts of the world.

There is a limited number of giant airlines in the world today plus a multitude of smaller airlines. The giant airlines are studying possibilities of mergers in order to create still bigger giants; and the medium-sized airlines are considering projects for regional groupings in order to meet the competition of the giants. On the other hand, the smaller airlines of the developing countries have done very little towards the pooling of their resources. If the present trend continues, the

gap between the giants and the smaller airlines will become even wider.

This problem is similar in many respects to that of the gap between the industrialized countries and the developing nations of the world, which gap is getting wider and wider every year. The advanced and richer countries have at least realized that the growth and the stability of the world economy depend on the rapid development of the less developed countries of Asia, Africa and South America, and have been trying to help these countries achieve a faster rate of economic growth.

The giant airlines of the industrialized countries have a similar responsibility towards the smaller airlines in developing countries. Over 80% of the air traffic of the non-communist world is now generated by the USA and Western Europe. In order to survive and grow, the larger airlines should realize this fact and stop trying to exclude the smaller airlines from the international air traffic market.

The development of world air transport between now and the 1980's depends to a large extent on the acceptance of this fact by the giants who should help the smaller airlines in their efforts for pooling resources and capturing a bigger share of the international air traffic market. If this is not done the governments of the smaller airlines will resort to stronger protective measures in order to safeguard the existence of their national carriers.

AN AIRLINE A MUST

Air transport is very vital for developing economies which need fast and efficient communications with the outside world. This can only be ensured by having a strong national or regional airline. In addition, air transport has strategic and prestige value for most countries. Consequently, governments cannot allow their airlines to collapse in the face of competition from the giants. The easiest way for them is to resort to protective measures.

The trend towards protection is already under way and the forms of restriction are becoming more and more varied. Predetermination of capacity gains more and more acceptance every day and is gradually replacing the Bermuda principle as the basis for international air policy. Moreover, restrictions on fifth freedom rights are becoming more and more stringent. In several cases, restrictions imposed on third and fourth capacity are leading to restrictions on fifth freedom rights.

Unless the governments of the developing countries feel that their airlines are being helped rather than strangled, more and more restrictions will be introduced between now and the 1980's. This will put world air transport in a strait jacket and will hamper its development. Such a development is obviously undesirable. Equally undesirable is the alternative of allowing the smaller airlines to go out of existence. A strong national or regional air transport industry is an essential tool of economic development as it provides the fastest and most efficient link with the outside world.

Furthermore, air transport is often essential for bringing complementary economies together through rapid and efficient communications. The breakdown of this system could be disastrous for the world economy and, in turn, for air travel which depends largely on the continued growth of incomes in all countries. Such a development will be very harmful to everybody including the giant airlines which carry the bulk of international air traffic.

The collapse of the smaller airlines, if allowed to take place, would harm the giants in another and more direct way. The smaller airlines operate a good deal of regional routes

which the giants are not able to serve. This aspect would be accentuated with the introduction of SSTs in the early 1970's. Any disruption of the regional routes would therefore affect traffic on the international routes. On the other hand, the smaller airlines cannot survive by operating regional routes only and should therefore be allowed a fair share of the traffic on international routes.

NO. 1 NEED: EQUIPMENT

The most urgent requirement of smaller airlines is for equipment. New types of bigger jets are soon coming on the market. The first Boeing 747s are expected to go into operation by 1971. In addition, the Concorde will be put in commercial use by 1973. The introduction of these new types will definitely affect the pattern of fares and consequently of travel on international routes. The SSTs will most probably cater for business travel while the conventional jets will transport the tourists at lower fares. In order to remain in existence, the smaller airlines have to serve both markets and, consequently, would be forced to acquire new equipment.

The price of the Concorde is around \$20 million with spares and related equipment, that of the American SST about \$45 million and the Boeing 747 about \$25 million. In addition to the price of acquisition, expensive training programs have to be carried out. Few small airlines can afford such sums.

The obvious solution is for the smaller airlines to pool their resources and group themselves in larger units capable of meeting these requirements. The giants can help in this respect by encouraging such grouping and by giving them technical assistance. The experience acquired by the giants in the field of pooling and regional cooperation could be of considerable use to the smaller airlines.

On the other hand, the international financial institutions could help by providing funds at reasonable terms. The fare structure should not be geared towards meeting the needs of the giants only but should allow the smaller airlines to operate economically. Every possible effort should be expanded in order to give more prestige and usefulness to IATA and to give the smaller airlines a feeling of greater effectiveness and responsiveness to their needs.

There is already a trend towards fixing fares and rates through government action and unless the IATA structure is modified and strengthened, this trend will become even stronger. A breakdown in the operations of IATA through a mass of government orders must be avoided by all means. Some form of voluntary capacity control should be instituted by agreement among all airlines; otherwise, we might find ourselves straddled with a large number of aircraft that cannot be economically utilized. This will put a particularly heavy burden on the smaller airlines, and as most airlines are financed by public funds, governments of developing countries will consequently have less funds available for the development of their airports and their navigational facilities, which development is required by the introduction of new and more sophisticated types of aircraft.

Tourism has become an important source of income for many countries but in particular for several developing countries and their airlines. This type of traffic is directional from the richer countries to the poorer ones. Unfortunately, this is also the first line of defense in the armory of developed countries that face balance of payments difficulties. Such action does more harm to the developing countries and their airlines than it helps the balance of payments of the richer countries.

The development of air transport between

now and the 1980's will depend to a large extent on the development of the world economy and the way temporary balance of payments difficulties are faced. It is hoped that air transport will continue to develop in a world of expanding peace-time economies and that by 1980 there will be fewer but stronger airlines.

APOLLO 13: "TO STAY ALIVE AND ON COURSE"

HON. OLIN E. TEAGUE

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 14, 1970

Mr. TEAGUE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, as we follow the course of events in the flight of Apollo 13 it is well to remember that the exploration of space, as with any other exploration, not only holds challenges but dangers. The editorial today in the Washington Post does much to place the Apollo 13 flight in perspective. I commend the reading of this editorial to my colleagues:

APOLLO 13: "TO STAY ALIVE AND ON COURSE"

Until 10 o'clock Monday night, most of us had watched the space program with a complacency born of repeated success. The memory of the early disaster at Cape Kennedy and the constant reminders from the men of Apollo of the risks involved in each flight had been answered by the string of magnificent performances by craft and crew alike. Even the bolt of lightning that jarred the early minutes of Apollo 12 seemed more a demonstration of the invincibility of our spacecraft than a reminder of impending peril. Then came "a pretty large bang," from a meteorite, or an explosion, or whatever, and suddenly we remember that three men are a long, long way from home, their lives suspended on the slimmest kind of thread. The warnings, the talk of risk and of danger, came flooding back.

Those who are in the Apollo program—the engineers, the planners, the astronauts themselves—have measured those risks many times. They knew something could go wrong anytime, anywhere. They hoped that when it did the men in the craft or the men in mission control could find a way to avoid disaster. But they had faced up to the possibility that a solution might not be found, that men might be stranded in space, that men might die—swiftly in a ball of fire or slowly as oxygen ran out. Now the rest of us must face up to these things. The risks the spacemen run are no greater, probably much less, than those we ask men to run daily in Vietnam. But they are merely more public—and more exotic. Since all of us shared the moments of triumph with the astronauts, we must share with them the moments of crisis, moments that they are accepting, calmly and bravely, as a matter of probabilities and possibilities.

What happened out there Monday night is far from the worst situation that the men of Apollo could have encountered, with a difference of a day or so. The same mishap, occurring while two men were on the surface of the moon, would have meant almost certain death, and so would have the same event, occurring during the trip home after the lunar lander had been jettisoned. Nevertheless, the situation is still touch and go. The moon landing craft, now the temporary haven for the astronauts, was not designed for that job. One slight flaw in its equipment might snap the thread on which life depends. Similarly, one slight crack in the heat shield

induced by whatever went wrong Monday night could turn that small capsule into an oven as it plunges through the atmosphere at re-entry.

Thus the line between crisis and tragedy is still very thin. But it has always been so in the world in which explorers live. One slight miscalculation, one mechanical error, one unforeseen interference by nature, one human mistake and Columbus might not have discovered America, Lindbergh might not have flown the Atlantic, Hillary might not have made it up Mt. Everest. Mr. Lindbergh wrote of this in describing his epic flight:

"Looking ahead at the unbroken horizon and limitless expanse of water, I'm struck by my arrogance in attempting such a flight. I'm giving up a continent, and heading out to sea in the most fragile vehicle ever devised by man. Why should I be so certain that a swinging compass needle will lead me to land and safety? Why have I been so sure that I can hold the nose of the Spirit of St. Louis on an unmarked point on that uniform horizon and find Nova Scotia, and Newfoundland, and Ireland, and finally an infinitesimal spot on the earth's surface called Le Bourget?"

Lindbergh gave up a continent, as the astronauts gave up a planet, because he had measured the risks and found them reasonable, for all the possibility of disaster lurking around the corner—it does so every day for men and nations. So if we are going to applaud the glories, we must confront the dangers along the way. All we can do now, as that unlikely looking craft limps back from the moon, is to hope that the men who ride in it and the men in Houston who guide it can find what Lindbergh found.

"Somewhere in an unknown recess of my mind," he wrote, "I've discovered that my ability rises and falls with the essential problems that confront me. What I can do depends largely on what I have to do to stay alive and on course."

PAN-AMERICAN DAY

HON. F. BRADFORD MORSE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 14, 1970

Mr. MORSE. Mr. Speaker, I am indeed pleased for this opportunity to extend our greetings to the peoples of the other republics of the Western Hemisphere on the 80th anniversary of the Union of American Republics, now known as the Organization of American States. I share the hope of other Members of this House that all Americans—in the United States and in the Latin American countries—will achieve new levels of good will and prosperity.

Traditionally, Pan-American Day is an occasion for us in North America to renew our commitment to unity and cooperation among the American states and to look to the political, economic, and cultural ties which unite our nations. At the same time, however, it is appropriate for us in the Congress to examine the nature of our relationships with our Latin American neighbors and to make a critical and sympathetic analysis of where we are and where we want to go and what policies will be most appropriate for the future.

In this evaluation, it is important that we call upon our Latin American partners for their advice as to how we can improve our communications and our policies. In

the last year, much has been said about listening and learning in order to formulate a more informed policy toward Latin America. That is a practice that must not be abandoned. We must continue to listen—and to learn from our partners in the OAS and the Alliance for Progress—if we are to correct the imbalance which has existed in which it is primarily U.S. policymakers who have described the framework for inter-American cooperation.

I am convinced, Mr. Speaker, that by changing our approach to Latin American affairs of years past—by listening rather than lecturing—we have a chance to find the developmental mystique which has eluded the Alliance for Progress. As we are continuing to learn from our domestic experience, pride, confidence, and self-reliance have more to do with development than the nature or even the quantum of external economic assistance.

As we celebrate the 80th anniversary of the creation of the inter-American system, let us pledge ourselves to an effort to find the most positive policy, with the greatest significance for long-term development in Latin America, and let us further pledge to find it in cooperation and consultation with the nations of Latin America.

LEONARD WOLF

HON. JOHN S. MONAGAN

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 9, 1970

Mr. MONAGAN. Mr. Speaker, the death of our former colleague, Leonard Wolf, came as a great shock to me and I welcome the opportunity to join my colleagues in mourning his passage and paying tribute to him.

Leonard Wolf was a Member of the 86th Congress and he and I came to Washington for the first time in 1959 as a result of our election to that Congress.

He was vigorous and forceful and he lost no time in making his presence felt among the Members of that Congress. He was effective in representing the people of his district and of his State and he left a permanent memory among those who served with him.

After he left the Congress he went to work in the food-for-peace program and I had the privilege of meeting him in Rio de Janeiro and I learned that he was putting his energy and imagination into the task of helping the Brazilian people to achieve a growth in nutrition that would help provide a basis for the future growth of the country itself.

Although it is pointless to muse about the designs of Providence, it is difficult not to feel that Leonard Wolf was too young to die. One could not help but believe that much constructive work remained for him to do.

At any rate, those of us who were his friends and colleagues and fellow Members of the 86th Club regret deeply that we shall no longer meet him from time to time and be revived by his enthusiasm

and good humor. He contributed much to his fellow man during his life and we shall not forget him. His widow and family have my deepest sympathy and my hope that they will find great consolation in recalling the life of this good man.

DISPOSAL OF POLLUTED DREDGINGS

HON. CHARLES A. VANIK

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 15, 1970

Mr. VANIK. Mr. Speaker, the President's action today in directing a halt in the dumping in the Great Lakes by the U.S. Corps of Engineers is of course a welcome decision. Since the first Water Pollution Conference in Cleveland in 1965, I have been urging the Corps of Engineers to end the practices of dumping polluted dredged materials into the Great Lakes.

At first the Corps of Engineers was reluctant to alter or modify its dumping policies, which had the effect of spreading pollution as the pollutants gradually dissolved. Action was deferred until a study was conducted by the FWPCA to determine if the dumping practices indeed contributed to the pollution problem. In due course, such a study confirmed what we already knew. The material was indeed a substantial contributor to the pollution problem. In 1967, the administration ordered the construction of a confined area adjacent to the Burke Lakefront Airport. Later the following year, the diked area came into operation at the Burke Lakefront Airport. Last summer, the industries owning wharfage rights on the Cuyahoga River agreed to contribute for such utilization of dumping rights they would require to accommodate that portion of dredging which occurred outside of navigational channels and within wharfage areas.

The presently constructed diked areas which cost over \$2 million to construct will be filled by the end of next year. If the President intends to stand by his laudable order, it will be necessary to appropriate adequate funds to construct a diked area which will be large enough to accommodate dredgings for a considerable period of time. Such an area will cost \$5 million for Cleveland alone.

When the President's 1971 budget was submitted to the Congress early this year, I discovered that there was no budget request for the construction of adequate diked areas to receive dredged materials.

I am happy that the President implemented his order on Great Lakes dumping—by providing a suitable plan with adequate funding to meet the problem.

Following is a history of my efforts to eliminate the Federal Government as a polluter:

In a Cleveland water pollution conference in May of 1965, I charged that the Army Engineers were helping to foul Lake Erie while other federal agencies, such as the Public Health Service, were spending millions to investigate the source of lake pollution. "When these materials, including un-

dissolved pollutants, are dumped, the contamination spreads throughout the lake."

Col. R. Wilson Neff, district engineer in Buffalo replied: "If we didn't dredge the material, it would get into the lake anyway. We're just moving it out faster."

Further correspondence followed:

1. Letter to Congressman Vanik from Jackson Graham, Major General, USA, Director of Civil Works, Corps of Engineers, July 2, 1965:

"It is recognized that the disposition of dredged material outside the breakwater affects localized sedimentation rates but there is no evidence that these operations have been detrimental to shore installations or beaches. Any pollutants from the rivers and harbors which may be deposited in the lake by the dredging operation would normally be carried out by natural current action. While the dredging and disposal operation may accelerate this transport, it does not add anything to the pollution problem."

2. Letter from Congressman Vanik to Jackson Graham, July 13, 1965:

"I do not agree with your determination that this disposition of dredged material is not detrimental to the water quality of Lake Erie. There is no doubt that your methods of dredging and disposal accelerate the transport of polluted material into Lake Erie."

"I cannot understand how the United States Corps of Engineers can refuse to deposit dredged material behind a retaining bulkhead on the basis of increased cost. At this very moment, dredgings at East Chicago, Ind., harbor is being pumped behind bulkheads under circumstances where the United States Steel Corporation holds an option to buy such developed lands."

3. Letter of Congressman Vanik to Mr. Murray Stein, Chief, Enforcement Branch, Division of Water Supply and Pollution Control, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, July 21, 1965:

"It seems to me that the Federal Corps of Engineers should be made a party to the Cleveland Conference on the Pollution of Lake Erie since the Corps unquestionably contributes to Lake Erie pollution by the dumping of contaminated dredged material into the Lake Erie basin. If greater dredging expense would be involved in reducing pollution, it is well worth the price."

4. Letter of James M. Quigley, Commissioner, Department of the Interior, to Major Gen. Graham, July 29, 1966:

"It should be noted further that the enforcement conference of last August concluded that the deposit of dredgings in the lake is harmful to water quality and beneficial water uses. In the face of this and in the light of the requirements of Executive Order 11288, it would appear that the question of cost benefits . . ."

5. Letter from Congressman Vanik to General W. F. Cassidy, Chief, Corps of Engineers, August 15, 1966:

"In my judgment, the concentration of polluted materials in the dredged deposits are so great that they may warrant their eventual removal from the lake, at some future date, if the water quality of Lake Erie is to be restored to acceptable standards. Under these circumstances, the federal government is adding immeasurably to a pollution problem which is already indefensible."

6. From a "Joint Public Statement by Departments of the Interior and Army Regarding Dredging on the Great Lakes." March 1, 1967:

"Means must be found to keep the waterways open. Doing so involves dredging of polluted material. The Corps is therefore studying alternate procedures for the disposal of the polluted dredging resulting from these industrial and municipal wastes."

"The two agencies agree that joint effort is required for the development of acceptable alternative disposal means with the ultimate objective of providing leadership in the

nationwide effort to improve water quality through prevention, control and abatement of water pollution by federal water resources projects."

7. News Release of Corps, Buffalo District, May 8, 1968:

Comments of Interim Report to develop the most economical methods for management of the pollution problem that may result from dredging operations.

"This Interim Report prepared by a Board of Consultants engaged by the Corps . . . recommends the continuation and pursuit of the sampling and testing program on a more comprehensive scale."

8. Finally, two statements from a Joint Corps of Engineers-Federal Water Pollution Control Administration progress report on dredging procedures on the Great Lakes released just this January 6:

"The Corps of Engineers and the Federal Water Pollution Control Administration today reported significant progress on their joint efforts to reduce or eliminate pollution on the waters of the Great Lakes incidental to the maintenance of essential depths in harbors and channels by government and private interests."

"Both agencies recognize that polluted harbor sediments which reach the open lake can have cumulative detrimental effects upon the water quality of the lakes, and that it is in the national interest to develop a cooperative Federal-State-Local program of dredge spoil management which will minimize these effects."

WHAT DO WOMEN WANT?

HON. MARTHA W. GRIFFITHS

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 15, 1970

Mrs. GRIFFITHS. Mr. Speaker, in view of today's efforts on behalf of women and in view of the many questions asked by both men and women as to what they can do to help the cause of women, Mrs. Catherine East, executive secretary of the Citizens' Advisory Council on the Status of Women, in a speech made last year supplied a good many answers. It is an excellent speech and I would like to insert it in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD for everyone to read:

WHAT DO WOMEN WANT?

Does this topic sound a bit selfish and grasping to you—unfeminine perhaps? We have been brought up to believe that the "feminine" woman is unselfish, thinking always of others, never herself, kind, gracious, sympathetic, and cooperative—in other words, tractable. Most of us, when we want something, have to justify our desire on the basis of the benefit it will be to a member of our family, our community, our church or other organization, or to our country.

A better world for women will undoubtedly be a better world for men and children, but our first hurdle is the need to recognize openly and honestly that we want a fairer, squarer deal for ourselves, our daughters, and our granddaughters—simply because we are human beings, entitled to the same rights, respect, and dignity accorded other human beings.

There is nothing wrong and nothing unfeminine in openly seeking to be considered fully human. Whether we work for pay or as volunteers, we want our intelligence, our competence, and our views respected by our husbands and the other men and women in our social, business, or civic circles. In

a recent poll, the Ladies' Home Journal found that many women feel that their husbands treat them as "not too bright" children. All of us I'm sure know exactly what this means—we have all been treated this way by some men, if not by our husbands.

VOLUNTEER ACTIVITY REQUIRES HIGH MANAGERIAL SKILL

In addition, and more specifically, we want to serve on commissions and committees in considering the problems of today and those planning for the future. We want equal protection of the laws, legal and economic recognition of the contributions of women to the family, equal opportunity in employment, and we want a realistic respect for achievements as volunteers. Leadership ability and managerial skill of a very high order are required in many volunteer posts. It takes greater leadership and managerial skills to get a job done through volunteers than through paid employees, and volunteer groups throughout this country have some very high achievements to their credit. This type of experience should not only command respect, but it should be considered as qualifying experience when a woman is applying for paid management and administrative jobs. The Federal Government's policy is to give such credit.

How can we achieve our goals? Although there are some things we can do as individuals, most of our progress will be made through organizations, which is a point that does not need belaboring with this group. It would be nonproductive for example, in most work situations for a woman to talk about sex discrimination in general, let alone suggest that she herself was being discriminated against. Organizations could however, call on the leading employers in a city to inquire about the firm's policies and to furnish facts to counteract myths. A committee or organization representatives could develop, with the teachers' organization, questions to ask the local school board to bring out the extent of discrimination against women teachers in filling supervisory and administrative posts. The school board could also be asked about the differences in vocational training opportunities for boys and girls and differences in athletic programs for girls and boys.

In fact, there are so many changes needed in so many areas that almost any organization from the PTA to religious groups, has the possibility of being a vehicle for making this a better world for women.

EFFECT OF DISCRIMINATION IN POOR FAMILIES

Giving the poor girl and woman a better break is one of the most urgent areas of concern for two reasons:

First, the woman in the poor family, whether she is the head of the family, the working wife, or a wife not in the labor force, is a very important factor in determining the future of our cities, and indeed of our nation.

Secondly, in general the inequities are greatest at the lowest socio-economic levels. The discriminations in employment are harsher, and companionship with men, either husband or fellow workers, is much less common. The isolation of the poor woman and girl is difficult for those of us reared in the middle-class to comprehend.

Almost two thirds of all adults in poverty are women—11.2 million women and 6.9 million men. Almost one-third of all the families in poverty are headed by women, and one-third of all the children in poverty are being reared in women-headed families, and these are not all Negro families. As a matter of fact, there were in 1967 a little over one million families in poverty headed by white women and less than three quarters of a million families headed by non-white women. There were 820,000 families in poverty headed by non-white men and about two and three

quarters million such families headed by white men.

WHITE WOMEN EARN LESS THAN NON-WHITE MEN

One of the reasons such a disproportionate number of the families in poverty are headed by women in the lower earnings of women. The median earnings, that is the average earnings, of white men employed year-round full-time in 1966 was a little over \$7,000; non-white men earned \$4,500; white women \$4,100; and non-white women a little less than \$3,000 per year. In other words, half the non-white women employed year-round full-time earned less than \$3,000 and half the white women earned \$4,100 or less.

Both non-white women and white women who have finished high school earn less than white men with less than 8 years of education and less than non-white men with just 8 years of education.

In addition to earning less, the unemployment rates of women are higher than those of men, and the unemployment rates of teenage girls are much higher than those of teenage boys—among both whites and non-whites. As a matter of fact, the number of unemployed adult non-white women is greater than the number of unemployed non-white men and the number of unemployed white men and women is the same—815,000.

POVERTY PROGRAMS IGNORE WOMEN AND GIRLS

In spite of these facts, many of our public and private programs to alleviate the problems almost ignore women and girls. In Washington, for example, there are boys' clubs but no comparable clubs for girls.

The importance of attention to our pre-teen and teenage girls cannot be overemphasized. Illegitimacy is on the increase. While there has been little research on the causes of illegitimacy, psychological opinion is that greater opportunity for development of skills, strong interests, and self-esteem by pre-teen and teenage girls will undoubtedly help. This opinion is in line with my observations of girls. I have never known a girl with a strong interest in some activity, such as dramatics, art, or sports, and an opportunity to pursue that interest, to have an illegitimate baby or even to marry prior to finishing high school. Girls with strong interests don't get boy crazy.

Another problem, primarily of the poor, is the conditions in women's jails and prisons. In most communities there are very inadequate training programs for girls, providing little choice and training for only the most menial of occupations. The only study on adolescent delinquent girls, by Dr. Gisele Konopka of the University of Minnesota, found inadequate training opportunities a major problem.

PRISON SENTENCES LONGER FOR WOMEN THAN FOR MEN

Organizations in every state should examine the laws relating to length of prison sentences for men and women. Pennsylvania and Connecticut laws requiring or permitting longer sentences for women than for men for the same offense came to light in 1968 and were declared unconstitutional. In Connecticut, 26 women who had served longer than the maximum sentence for men for the same offense were released from the reformatory. In Pennsylvania as a result of review of sentences of about 200 women, most were released. Both of these cases were made possible by poverty program funds for legal aid. There had been no public outcry in either of these states by the bar associations or by the judges who certainly knew of the differences.

Strange as it seems to us, there are many responsible men in the legal profession and in the legislatures who believe that women should have longer sentences than men or are willing to countenance such laws. Of the

seven judges in the Superior Court of Pennsylvania, the Court below the Supreme Court, only one felt the law was unconstitutional. Six judges thought that the differences between men and women justified a law requiring longer sentences for women than for men. Fortunately the State Supreme Court ruled otherwise.

Within a week after the Pennsylvania law was declared unconstitutional by the Pennsylvania Supreme Court a new law, still discriminating against women but conforming with the letter of the decision, passed the legislature without publicity. A bill that would have brought the women's law in line with the laws providing for sentencing of men was under consideration by the committee. The Attorney General of Connecticut appealed the decision of the Federal District Court that the Connecticut law was unconstitutional, and withdrew his appeal only after a number of organizations indicated intent to file amicus briefs, as suggested by Senator Neuberger, who was then chairman of the Citizens' Advisory Council on the Status of Women.

MARITAL PROPERTY LAWS OFTEN LEAVE WOMEN NOTHING

There are many other areas where concerted action by organizations is needed. The Task Force on Family Law and Policy of the Citizens' Advisory Council on the Status of Women found need for drastic revision of the marital property laws. The contribution of women to the family and protection of their rights at divorce or death is very inadequately recognized in our state laws. In many states, through clever use of trusts a husband can leave his wife practically nothing. In some states he is required to leave her only the income from 1/3 of the real estate. Copies of the press release summarizing these and other recommendations of our task forces are available from the Citizens' Advisory Council on the Status of Women, Labor Department, Washington, D.C. 20210.

GIRLS DENIED EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITY

There are many other areas needing attention. Girls are not admitted to many colleges and to most graduate schools under the same standards as boys. Counseling of girls in our secondary schools and colleges is frequently uninformed and unintelligent with no recognition of the need to encourage girls to pursue their talents even if it leads to a traditionally male occupation. Over 60% of our elementary schools and 96% of our high schools now have men principals.

NEWSPAPERS VIOLATE LAW ON HELP WANTED ADS

Our newspapers are generally unwilling to comply with the advertising provisions of Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. Even though the law clearly requires abandonment of separate columns in help wanted advertising, the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission initially permitted employers to advertise in separate columns. It was not until after extended activity by women's organizations and Congresswoman Martha Griffiths, and a legal suit brought by the National Organization for Women, that the EEOC ruled that separate columns could not be used. A ruling such as this with respect to race had been issued at the first opportunity after the law became effective in 1965. It is just as illegal for employers to advertise in separate columns by sex as to advertise in separate columns by race, but most newspapers have made it difficult for employers to comply by continuing separate columns. The Oakland, California Tribune; the Baton Rouge State Times, and the Lafayette, Indiana Courier Journal have begun using a single column, and there may be others.

Many of the leading newspapers of this

country have had editorials on this subject, ignoring the existence of the law and of the comparable interpretation with respect to race, and ridiculing the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission ruling as bureaucratic bumbling. They claim that separate columns are more convenient for the readers and for the advertisers. This claim is made in spite of the fact that in any large daily newspaper there will be ads for many occupations in more than one column—by different employers. For example in the morning Post, there were ads for clerk and clerk-typist in all three columns—by different employers. For management-trainees there are 19 ads in the male column—one for a high school graduate in the male and female, and none in the female. Surely it is more convenient for a person looking for a job as a clerk-typist, for example to look under "c" in one column than to look under "c" in two or three columns. It is surely more convenient for an employer who wants to hire the best qualified persons without regard to sex to advertise in one column rather than in two or three. In fact, the only person benefitted by the present arrangement is the employer who wants to discourage women (or men) from applying for certain jobs.

The Citizens' Advisory Council on the Status of Women recommended to the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission in 1965 that they issue guidelines requiring abandonment of dual columns. The Interdepartmental Committee on the Status of Women, endorsed this recommendation. The persons making up these groups are highly responsible private citizens and Cabinet level public officials who were appointed by the President and who have had considerable experience with problems relating to the status of women. The recommendation of these groups is also ignored by the newspapers in their editorials.

WOMEN SHOULD BE APPOINTED TO GOVERNMENTAL STUDY GROUPS

In order to make headway in the areas we have discussed there are several prerequisites—several overarching considerations. First we must insist on public and private discussion with men on the role of men and women in our society and the changes we want.

We do not know why men in positions of power in our society believe that women should have longer prison sentences than men—perhaps there is some valid reason. We should have some public debate on it. We do not know why men feel it is important to give attention to the needs of deprived boys but not to the needs of deprived girls—perhaps there is some valid reason. We do not understand the real reason that newspaper publishers do not want to desegregate their ads; the reasons they give do not hold water. We do not know why public and private officials do not include women on bodies set up to study problems of the cities, problems of poverty, and changes in law, so that issues relating to the changing role of women can be brought out into the open and discussed. Isn't it astonishing that the State committees set up to study changes in abortion laws frequently include no women? My own state, Virginia, has two women out of 13 members. The men on the commission are legislators, doctors, lawyers, and ministers, but there are no women from these professions. New York state also had only two women on its committee.

The means of bringing about such a dialogue with men are not clear. Because human beings are resistant to change and resistant to facing problems, we may have to find some dramatic way of forcing men and women to consider these problems. Many women, as well as men, do not want to face up to issues. Some fear ridicule. After all, sex

is still a laughing matter in the United States, even discrimination because of sex.

NEED TO KEEP INFORMED ON WHAT'S HAPPENING

Another problem is very closely related. We must find some way for interested men and women to keep informed of what is going on. Our newspapers and magazines carry very little news of the kind we need in order to act in a timely fashion. In newspapers, such news as there is is largely in the women's pages not read by men. The Pennsylvania and Connecticut prison sentence cases received little publicity in these states and none outside, except through a newsletter of the Citizens' Advisory Council on the Status of Women. The decisions in these cases are important to women throughout the country since they are a small advance in, and furnish precedents for, extending the protection of the 14th amendment to women.

PRESS DID NOT TELL ABOUT WEEKS V. SOUTHERN BELL DECISION

Several very important Federal Court decisions interpreting Title VII of the Civil Rights Act have gone almost unnoticed in the press. In the most important, the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals held in *Weeks v. Southern Bell* that "in order to rely on the bona fide occupational qualification exception, an employer has the burden of proving that he had reasonable cause to believe, that is, a factual basis for believing, that all or substantially all women would be unable to perform safely and efficiently the duties of the job involved." The employer had claimed as a defense that the job required lifting of more than 30 pounds.

Another of the objections of Southern Bell to promoting Mrs. Weeks to switchman was that she would be subject to late hour call-outs. The Judge said "It does seem that switchmen are occasionally subject to late hour call-outs. Of course the record also reveals that other women employees are subject to call after midnight in emergencies. Moreover, Title VII rejects just this type of romantic paternalism as unduly Victorian and instead vests individual women with the power to decide whether or not to take on unromantic tasks. Men have always had the right to determine whether the incremental increase in remuneration for strenuous, dangerous, obnoxious, boring or unromantic tasks is worth the candle. The promise of Title VII is that women are now to be on equal footing. We cannot conclude that by including the bona fide occupational qualification exception Congress intended to renege on that promise."

We are particularly pleased with this decision because it came from the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals—a circuit whose decisions are seldom overruled by the Supreme Court.

In two Federal district court decisions in California and Oregon, the courts followed the same line of reasoning and held state hours laws and weightlifting regulations superseded by Title VII. The California case has been appealed to the Ninth Circuit, and I haven't heard about the Oregon case, where the appeal time is not yet up.

All of these cases are of great importance to women, to men, to unions, and to employers and worthy of note in the newspapers.

NEED INFORMATION MEDIA ON STATUS OF WOMEN

The facts about the economic status of women—earnings, unemployment, women in poverty, are important but little known, even to women; the facts about the marital property laws are not known to one woman in a thousand. Do you know as a wife where you would stand under the law as to property rights if your husband should die suddenly without a will? We have no way of finding out about pending state or Federal legislation affecting women. As in the Pennsylvania sen-

tencing law, much of the legislation directly applying to women is proposed and passed without publicity.

In California, Marian Ash is publishing a newsletter designed to keep California women informed about bills of interest, the voting records of the members of the legislature on such bills, and other items of interest to women. We need a letter like this in every state, and we need a Federal letter of this sort. I would give the highest urgency among the needs to be met to the need for news since we cannot take action until we know what is going on that affects our lives.

APPRECIATION TO MEN

We must also make it a point to show appreciation to the men who are so unselfishly interested and dedicated in correcting inequities. Some are serving on the boards of women's organizations, some are writing law review articles and amicus briefs, some are professors, some are acting as counsel in court cases, and some are Congressmen and State Legislators. We must not overlook or take for granted the many men, including husbands, who have given us a helping hand and encouragement in politics, in education, in business and in volunteer activities, knowing they may be ridiculed or their motives questioned. Most of us have known one or more such men and regard them with special fondness. We are confident their number will increase.

I hope this is not too discouraging—there is so much to be done. I have not even mentioned continuing education, household employment, or day care, which are so very important. I understand that the chief bottleneck in day care is lack of Federal funds for construction of facilities. Some women's groups are active now in seeking Federal legislation for grants for this purpose.

MASCULINISTS AND FEMINISTS

On the encouraging side, there has been great progress in the last 5 years. The women's pages of some of our newspapers have been doing a good job of informing women. We have had a few decisions in the courts extending equal protection of the laws to women, in addition to the prison sentence laws mentioned. New organizations are forming, made up of highly competent women and men leaders, dedicated to improving the status of women and girls. The established organizations are becoming more active—and let us not be afraid to be active in the pursuit of human rights. Most men have been unabashedly "masculinists" since Adam; we shall have to be unabashedly "feminists," working with the protective mantle of our organizations, until we all become full members of the human race.

ONE CHRISTIAN'S VIEW

HON. ANCHER NELSEN
OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 15, 1970

Mr. NELSEN. Mr. Speaker, sometimes Americans are inclined to overlook the very human side of the enormous struggle occurring in South Vietnam, and to lose sight of the great moral principles which motivate those who work so earnestly in behalf of the beleaguered South Vietnamese people.

As an indication of the moral faith that sustains those who serve in Vietnam, I am pleased to insert in the RECORD today a particularly perceptive letter written by the Most Rev. Paul L.

Seitz, bishop of Kontum, Republic of South Vietnam. This letter was received by one of my constituents, Mrs. N. J. Schroeffer of New Ulm, Minn., who very kindly passed it along to me as food for thought. I insert the letter at this point in my remarks:

FEBRUARY 21, 1970.

MY DEAR FRIEND MRS. SCHROEPFER: Our present hope is for peace in Vietnam—but what kind of peace? That of Poland, Hungary, that of Prague last year? That of tomorrow in Biafra? It could be that kind of peace for us.

Nevertheless we hate the war which for 29 years has never ceased here. My first word is therefore a pressing appeal to you to pray with us for the only peace worthy of the name, peace with justice and respect of human beings.

War or peace our work goes on—God willing.

Throughout the world some priests are questioning their vocations while some chase from study group to seminar seeking for—what Lord, for You? Our mission priests here in the midst of the battle are like the three children in the fiery furnace: they pray, they sing, as though the fire were not burning—as though it were the dew.

For them no problems. Having a clear faith, abandoning themselves to God they have a free spirit and clear heart. They are working in humanly impossible conditions but they know from experience that "God is the Master of the impossible". Hundreds of refugees, injured and sick are asking for our help and protection daily. They are never refused whatever we can give.

Our joy, in the small part we play in the building of the Kingdom, is increased and reinforced by your generous help, Mrs. Schroeffer. We are not alone in our desire to be of service, you are with us. Your gift makes it possible for us to bring relief to the suffering—the sick and homeless, the frightened and hungry children who come, trustingly, to us.

God bless you for your continued support which He will reward a thousandfold.

Sincerely yours in Christ,

PAUL L. SEITZ,
Bishop of Kontum.

SWEDISH RACISM OR ANTI-AMERICANISM

HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 15, 1970

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, few would have anticipated an angry white mob harrasing the new U.S. Ambassador Jerome H. Holland at Stockholm.

Are we now to understand that the land of Myrdal and Lie is only tolerant and understanding of Negroes so long as they are in the United States—and are not in Sweden?

Ambassador Holland was overly diplomatic in discounting the demonstration as an attack on his race rather than on his country.

But, the attack by a Swedish mob on our Nation's Ambassador must be considered anti-American just as was Palme's parade with the Ambassador of North Vietnam in support of U.S. defeat in Vietnam.

Or perhaps these anti-American in-

sults were merely the subtle expression of "Crown Prince" Palme's disapproval to the selection of a Negro as ambassador to Sweden.

I include a little publicized account of the Stockholm incident in my remarks: [From the Washington Post, Apr. 15, 1970]

INSULTS IN SWEDEN

STOCKHOLM.—Hecklers shouted "nigger go home" as Jerome H. Holland, the new U.S. ambassador to Sweden, rode through the streets of Stockholm to present his credentials to King Gustaf VI.

Four persons were seized by police after crowds shouted racial and anti-American insults at Holland. Security precautions were the most stringent ever accorded a new ambassador for his ritual trip to the palace.

"I had not heard this word for many years, except in the most racist areas of the United States," Holland said. "Nigger" hit completely below the belt, as these were not really anti-American demonstrations but an attack on my race."

BRINGING OUR YOUNG PEOPLE INTO THE POLITICAL PROCESS

HON. WILLIAM F. RYAN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 15, 1970

Mr. RYAN. The American Jewish Committee is the oldest human relations agency in the country. Its work throughout the years has consistently been of merit. The committee's board of governors has recently approved the recommendation of its domestic affairs committee to endorse the vote for 18-year-olds.

In addition, the board of governors has approved a comprehensive program for maximum and more meaningful participation in the electoral process by all citizens. As the committee's statement observes, in 1968 voting participation in the presidential election was only 61 percent—one of the lowest rates among democratic nations.

The committee has prepared a proposal, which it has submitted to the Bicentennial Commission, to implement a program of citizen involvement and participation in the election process. I commend this proposal to my colleagues, and urge their support for the goal which the committee sets—100,000,000 voters in the presidential election of 1976.

What is more, I most strongly endorse those recommendations which the proposal makes to achieve this goal.

First, the committee calls for eliminating "every ruse to disenfranchise the minority citizens."

Second, the committee urges the 18-year-old vote, correctly concluding that "the very presentation of our democratic way of life may depend on the success we have in bringing our young people into the political process—not only in that final act of voting, but in the full range of political action."

Third, the committee urges the abolition of State residency requirements debarring voters from participation in presidential elections.

Fourth, the committee urges steps to

facilitate voter participation, such as the elimination of illiteracy.

Fifth, the committee urges State and local governments, educational institutions, and the political parties to embark upon these efforts. In particular, I would urge my colleagues to carefully consider the committee's recommendations for our political parties.

The proposal follows:

A PROGRAM PROPOSAL FOR THE BICENTENNIAL COMMISSION: 100 MILLION VOTERS BY 1976

The American Jewish Committee agrees with President Nixon that the 200th anniversary of the birth of our nation should be taken as an opportunity to make a dedicated effort to fulfill those national aspirations yet unattained. Recognizing the importance of the electoral process as the cornerstone of American democracy, we urge that one central goal of the Bicentennial be greater participation in the political process, with special emphasis on the fullest possible exercise of the right to vote.

The AJC urges the Bicentennial Commission to initiate at once a program involving both public and private efforts to best realize the objective of full electoral participation. As a symbol of this goal, we propose that we seek to involve at least 100 million voters in the Presidential election of 1976.

In 1968, seventy-three million citizens voted their choice for President and Vice President, but there were an additional 47 million Americans old enough to vote who did not vote. This voting participation rate of 61 percent is substantially below that of most democratic nations.

We seek to increase the number of American voters, but we must seek more than an increase in numbers. There must be also an increased involvement in every phase of the political process if we desire an increased confidence in our political system.

One of the great guiding themes of our democracy is that government "derives its just powers from the consent of the governed." There is no greater single manifestation of that consent than the vote. Yet, the tragic fact is that in the 1968 Presidential election only 3 out of 5 eligible Americans registered their consent, or lack thereof, to the programs enunciated by candidates for the highest office in the land. More than one-half of the nonvoters in the 1968 Presidential election, moreover, reported that they were simply not interested in voting. At a time when the decisions of our government vitally affect all our people, the sense of alienation, disaffection or apathy that such non-participation conveys is a tragic commentary on our times. Quite simply, people who vote feel that they have a stake in and a sense of connection to the government. People who don't vote are saying that they as individuals do not count or, what is worse, that the democratic institutions do not count. Much greater efforts must be made, therefore, to persuade these nonparticipants that an individual's vote does count, and, at the same time, that it can be made more effective and meaningful.

The national participation rate of 61 percent is bad enough; the rate for state and local, including Congressional, elections is even worse. In most local elections less than half of the potential votes is cast. Every town county, and city must be brought into this national effort to increase and deepen voter participation.

Not all of the voting gap is due to indifference, of course. Obstacles to voting, whether due to racial discrimination, residency requirements, or other factors, must finally be completely eliminated.

THE 100 MILLION GOAL

As a dramatic symbol of our concerns, and as an ambitious yet realistic undertak-

ing, we recommend that at least 100,000,000 voters in the elections of 1976 be declared as a Bicentennial goal. The goal is clearly attainable:

If the present participation rate of 61 percent continues until 1976, about 8 or 9 million additional voters would participate that year as a result of population growth alone; if the 18-year-old vote is operative that year (a goal which AJC enthusiastically supports), this would add about another 5 or 6 million voters.

These two developments alone would increase the total vote to about 87 or 88 million.

Increasing the participation rate to about 70 percent from the present 61 percent would add another 13 or 14 million voters in 1976—thus reaching the 100 million goal. As the following will indicate, this should be possible if a concerted drive is conducted over the next six years.

Of the 47 million Americans who failed to vote in 1968:

About 8 million were actually registered but failed to vote;

About 8 million more were unable to register under state eligibility requirements, of whom 5 million were eliminated because of state residency rules;

About 31 million either did not even try to register to vote or were prevented from so doing, for one reason or another.

If 11 million of these 47 million had voted in 1968, the participation rate that year would have been 70%. Surely, this should have been possible.

RECOMMENDATIONS

We recommend that a broad array of programs, involving all the major groups in American society—government at every level, the educational system, the political parties, business, labor, the wide range of civic and social organizations, the media—be developed to:

1. Increase the number of people involved in the electoral process;
2. Encourage participation by a greater number of people in the larger political process, i.e., party primaries, caucuses and conventions; campaigning; voter-registration drives.
3. Enhance the quality of voter participation through a program of education in the essential processes of democracy and the great documents on which they are founded.

CLOSING THE MINORITY VOTING GAP

Due primarily to the 1965 Voting Rights Act—but due also to greater voter consciousness and confidence in the electoral process—the Sixties saw an increase of over 1½ million Negro voters in the South. The significance of this trend is clearly evident in the fact that the number of black elected officials in the 11 Southern states rose from 70 in 1965 to more than 500 in 1968. In turn, this pattern has further increased interest in the electoral process and even higher registrations can be expected in the years ahead.

But the voting participation rate for Negroes, for Puerto Ricans, for Indians, for Spanish-speaking Americans remains substantially below that of the general populace. Renewal of the Voting Rights Act for another five years (and with the addition of a national ban on literacy tests) should provide the basis for continued gains in minority voting patterns. But rigorous enforcement by the Federal government must be pursued if the full effect of the law is to be realized.

Federal law alone, however, will not produce the level of black and other minority voting needed to close the gap. Every ruse to disenfranchise the minority citizen (de jure or de facto) must be eliminated: redistricting, use of at-large elections, obstacles to becoming candidates or delegates, rigged nominating and related procedures, lack of adequate polling facilities—to say nothing of

continued use of harassment and intimidation to discourage registration or voting.

YOUTH—A SPECIAL CHALLENGE

The American Jewish Committee is pleased to note that the likelihood of lowering the voting age to 18 has been greatly increased as a result of the Senate's action in adding this provision to the Voting Rights Act. If the House should refuse to go along—and it is our hope that it will go along—then the Congress should proceed immediately to initiate the Constitutional amendment process toward the same end.

Whatever else might be said about today's youth, it is more informed and more involved in the major issues of our times than any preceding generation. But it is not sufficiently involved politically. It therefore too often looks for and adopts extra-political and extra-legal ways to correct the social ills which it perceives. The very preservation of our democratic way of life may depend on the success we have in bringing our young people into the political process—not only in that final act of voting, but in the full range of political action.

While we work toward a lowering of the voting age, it is important to cite the fact that the youngest group of those now eligible to vote actually have the lowest participation rate. In 1968, the 21–24 age group had only half the participation rate as those in their middle-age. This regrettable fact, instead of being used as an argument against lowering the voting age, reminds us rather than making the vote possible is only one-half the job facing us; we must make the vote seem relevant and significant.

RESIDENCY OBSTACLES

In the 1968 Presidential election, about 5 million otherwise eligible voters were barred from voting because of state residency requirements. In this mobile society of ours, over 20 percent of all Americans move every year. It is therefore only right that new state residents be allowed to vote in a Presidential election, regardless of the length of time they have resided in the new state.

Similarly, in state and local elections there should be the least possible restrictions on the right to vote because of residency.

FACILITATING VOTER PARTICIPATION

More important even than elimination of literacy tests is the elimination of illiteracy itself if full and meaningful participation is to be achieved. While there are of course other vital reasons for the total eradication of illiteracy in America—and this might well be a major Bicentennial program itself—greater political sophistication and discrimination requires the ability to read, to understand, to communicate.

Both government and the private sector should develop improved programs to foster better understanding of the rights and duties of citizenship and the significance of voting. Better use should be made of programs of adult education, literacy and community action which are administered, at the Federal level, by HEW, the Departments of Labor and Agriculture, and the Office of Economic Opportunity. At the State and local levels, there are innumerable activities that could appropriately add or extend citizenship education. There is almost no limit to what more could be done by the hundreds of national private organizations—religious, women's, veterans', student and youth, fraternal, etc.

The proposal for a National Election Holiday should be given careful consideration and, if found feasible, enacted in time for the election of 1976. Further study should be encouraged on most appropriate hours for registration and/or voting, location of voting facilities, greater use of absentee ballots, and every other aspect of the electoral process which could affect the level of participation. Both the business and the labor communities should examine what more they could do to increase participation.

CHALLENGE TO STATE AND LOCAL GOVERNMENTS

The Bicentennial Commission should urge every state and local jurisdiction to become part of this program. If the 100,000,000 goal is to succeed, every county in the nation should set a goal for itself—not only one for 1976, but interim goals for every year till then. Governors should charge each state Bicentennial Commission with particular responsibility for this program. As indicated above, political participation rates in many states and localities is shockingly low.

AND TO EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS

The role of education in expanding and improving the electoral process is self-evident. From the grade schools through graduate work, there is an urgent need for improved curricula, for better materials, for easier access to people and information. Efforts should be made to involve the students actively in some aspect of the political process, as well as in the classroom.

THE POLITICAL PARTIES HAVE MAJOR RESPONSIBILITY

After all is said and done, of course, the prime responsibility in a free society must be that of the political instrument itself. Government can and should eliminate barriers. But it cannot force participation. We do not seek to achieve the 99% participation rates of totalitarian regimes—at the cost of our freedom. The parties in a democratic society, moreover, must not be authoritarian or totalitarian themselves.

Each of our parties should be encouraged, during this Bicentennial period, to make an active effort to encourage young people, new voters, Blacks and other minorities, and all other groups that have hitherto remained pretty much outside of the political process, to participate in party activities, from the precinct level to the national committee level.

If each potential voter is to take that crucial step of voting on Election Day, he must not be permitted to feel that the final choices available to him were decreed by a handful of individuals, that his views and preferences had not been solicited, that the real issues of the day had not been truly involved in the selection of candidates.

Each party must examine its entire structure and its operations—to make sure that they are fully responsive to the needs and the desire of the citizens who support that party.

CONCLUSION

As the nation's oldest human relations agency, the American Jewish Committee is deeply committed to the democratic system. We are disturbed by evidences of alarming numbers of people who have abandoned faith in the ability of that system to provide justice and progress and security. Their disaffection, their alienation, their apathy is too frequently reflected in their failure to participate in the political process, especially in exercising their right to vote.

We urge the Bicentennial Commission to set as one of the goals in its general plan "to fulfill those national aspirations yet unattained" the fullest possible participation by all Americans in the political process which our Founding Fathers so carefully designed, including the power to effect changes in that process itself.

As a symbol of that greater participation, we have proposed the goal of 100,000,000 voters in the Presidential election of 1976. With such increase in numbers, moreover, we hope that at every step in the political process there will be greater and deeper involvement by more Americans. These goals will be achieved only if government at all levels, our private institutions, the media, and our educational institutions all play an active role. We are confident that, in such an effort, all of these institutions will indeed do their part. They should be challenged to do so.

GREEK PRIME MINISTER ANNOUNCES FURTHER STEPS TOWARD FULL IMPLEMENTATION OF THE CONSTITUTION

HON. ROBERT L. F. SIKES

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 15, 1970

Mr. SIKES. Mr. Speaker, through the courtesy of His Excellency Basil Vitsaxis, the Ambassador from Greece, I have a copy of an announcement by the Greek Prime Minister toward further important steps on the full implementation of the Constitution. I submit it for reprinting in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD:

At a press conference given today in Athens, the Greek Prime Minister, Mr. George Papadopoulos, announced that further steps are being taken towards the full implementation of the Constitution.

Thus:

1. As of today, Article 10 of the Constitution, until now suspended in accordance with Article 138 of the same, is brought into full effect.

This article reads as follows:

"1. With the exception of persons caught in the act of committing an offence, no one shall be arrested or imprisoned without a judicial warrant stating the reasons, which must be served at the time of arrest or remand in custody pending trial.

"2. The person caught in the act or held on a warrant of arrest, is brought before the competent examining magistrate not later than 24 hours from the time of the arrest, and if the arrest is made beyond the seat of the examining magistrate, then within the time absolutely necessary for his conveyance before said magistrate. Within three days of the time of presentation, the examining magistrate is obliged to either release the person arrested or issue a warrant for his imprisonment. This delay can be extended by two more days at the request of the person arrested in the event of force majeure which must be attested forthwith by a decision of the competent judicial council.

"3. Should both the aforementioned delays expire without any action, every jailer or other officer, whether civil or military, in charge of the arrested person, must release him forthwith. The violator of the above provisions, shall be punished for illegal confinement and shall be obliged to make good all damages sustained by the injured party and, in addition, to give satisfaction to said party by such a sum of money as provided by law.

"4. The maximum term of custody pending trial provided by law cannot exceed one year for criminal charges and/or six months for misdemeanour charges. In completely exceptional cases these maximum time limits can be further extended by six and three months respectively, by virtue of a decision of the competent judicial council.

"5. The law defines the conditions under which, through judicial decision, the State indemnifies those unjustly imprisoned or convicted."

Elaborating, the Prime Minister stated that this measure taken, will also be applied with regard to persons already detained; consequently they will be either brought to trial or released.

II. As of today, the content of Articles 12, 111 and 112 of the Constitution, suspended as such, by virtue of Article 138 of the same, is in practice being put into effect, as of now, by administrative act.

The above Articles of the Constitution concern the right of Greek citizens to be tried by judges assigned to them by the law

and the sphere of competence of both the courts-martial and the civil courts.

By the measures taken, the competence of courts martial is substantially limited and, as a matter of fact, restricted only to crimes against national security, public order and peace as well as to cases covered expressly by the provisions of Article 52 of the Press law (concerning the rekindling of past political turmoil).

All other offences whatsoever will, as of today, be dealt with by the ordinary civil courts.

III. In essence, the new steps taken by the Government towards the full implementation of the Constitution leave out, for the time being only the provisions of the Constitution concerning the organization of political parties and general and municipal elections.

It is to be noted that these Articles cannot be put into effect unless an institutional law, as provided for by the Constitution, is enacted.

With regard to the above institutional laws in general (there are others, too, pertaining to various matters), the Prime Minister stated that the necessary preparatory work is already very much advanced and that the Cabinet is considering these bills, at the pace of three per month. He further stated, that the publication of all of these laws in the Official Gazette, with no exception whatsoever, will be completed before the end of this year.

IV. The content of Article 14, Paragraphs 1 to 3, of the Constitution suspended as such by virtue of Article 138 of the same is in practice being put into effect as of now. This is done by administrative act. Paragraphs 1 to 3 of Article 14 read as follows:

"1. Everyone may express orally, in writing, in print or in any other way his thoughts with due adherence to the laws of the State.

"2. The press is free and discharges a public function involving rights and duties, as well as responsibility for the accuracy of its contents.

"3. Censorship and every other preventive measure is prohibited."

V. A new advisory body was set up, composed of representatives of a cross section of the nation as well as of various professions. Its task is to advise the Government in general and, more particularly, to contribute to the public debate on the above Bills.

VI. The Prime Minister further, informed the press conference that until May 1969 there were about 1,900 detainees. (These persons were detained, as well known, in accordance with laws enacted by Greek Parliament in the past).

By virtue of a new procedure which was recently introduced by the present Government, in favor of the detainees, their files were put under judicial review. As a result of this new procedure 365 persons have since been freed.

Some 350 more will be released within the next ten days. This will reduce the total number to about 1,200.

VII. Finally, the Prime Minister stated that the Government is proceeding according to plan and will bring about the complete and full restoration of constitutional order in the land.

WILSON HIGH SCHOOL MARCHING UNIT DESIGNATED "BAND OF HONOR"

HON. GUS YATRON

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 15, 1970

Mr. YATRON. I am pleased to announce that the Wilson High School Marching Unit of West Lawn, Pa., has

been designated as the "Band of Honor" for the 12th annual International Festival, to be held May 1-3 in Toledo, Ohio.

The International Festival defines its purpose as "more than a collection of performances, exhibits and activities. It is a symbol—a symbol of 'International Brotherhood' which is the key to world peace. It is a 'bridge of understanding' to our next-door neighbors and to our neighbors around the world. The International Festival presents and defines the statement, 'I am proud to be an American.'"

I am very pleased that this fine musical organization has been named the Band of Honor and will represent the United States at this 35-nation festival.

Under the able baton of Mr. Frank J. Ferraro and Mr. Randy R. Roy, the Wilson High School Marching Unit has gained the reputation of being one of the Nations finest high school bands. Its more than 100 trophies and awards will attest to its remarkable success in band competition. Its honors include the AAA national championship here in Washington and the coveted title of "Highest Honors Band" at the Indianapolis 500 Festival. In 1967 it was selected to represent Berks County in the inauguration parade for the Governor of Pennsylvania.

Mr. Speaker, I am very proud of the Wilson High School Marching Unit and I am confident that these fine young men and women will ably represent our country at the upcoming International Festival in Toledo.

THE SOUTHERNERS' STRATEGY

HON. AUGUSTUS F. HAWKINS

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 15, 1970

Mr. HAWKINS. Mr. Speaker, M. Hayes Mizell, director of the South Carolina community relations program of the American Friends Service Committee, has written a paper which addresses itself to the southern strategy and the current integration policies of the Nixon administration.

Mr. Mizell, a white southerner deeply involved in the struggle for equal opportunity and justice, was educated in the public schools of Mississippi, Alabama, and South Carolina. His article is an unusually perceptive one and reflects the genuine concern many of us have as to the earnestness of this administration's commitment to integrated quality education.

The article follows:

THE SOUTHERNERS' STRATEGY

(By M. Hayes Mizell)

Thirty years ago W. J. Cash analyzed the character and culture of our region in his classic work, *The Mind of the South*. Writing of the North's failure to "make over the South in prevailing American image and to sweep it into the main current of the nation," Cash observed that "far from having reconstructed the Southern mind in the large and in its essential character, it was this Yankee's fate to have strengthened it almost beyond reckoning, and to have made

it one of the most solidly established, one of the least reconstructible ever developed."

Subsequent attempts at reconstruction by the North have met with similar frustrations, for while each succeeding effort has tended to nudge the South away from its archaic social attitudes and violent past, it has left much of the South's essential character unchanged. The Southerners' perception of the North—not a geographical place but a mentality that might be found in the Northeast, the Midwest, the West; a mentality produced by detachment from involvement in the Southern experience—this perception has not been appreciably altered in the years since the middle period of this nation's history. This perception of the North has revealed that for the past century the South has been the regional object of the nation's guilt and self anger generated by a history of racism. Just as black people have been in a position to observe the hypocrisy of allegedly superior white morality because the white man underestimated the intelligence and character of blacks, so has the South been privy to the hypocrisy of Northern racial attitudes because the North has been quick to cling to stereotypes of white Southerners as inhuman and immoral in matters of race.

Because the South has historically been the national "mud-sill" the Southerners' current strategy on school desegregation is all the more baffling to the Yankee mind. What the Southerners are now doing is forsaking the stereotype behavior and rhetoric in favor of a more sophisticated and subtle approach which does not challenge but rather exploits the hypocrisy of the North.

SOUTH USING THE NORTH

The Southerners' strategy is multiple rather than singular. It consists of a series of feints and razzle dazzle maneuvers that are the last resources available to a region that has virtually exhausted what once seemed to be an endless reserve of legal innovations designed to thwart compliance with the law of the land. But in the final analysis these shadowy strategic maneuvers may prove to be more productive than the substantive attempts to preserve segregation by law. For now the South is no longer depending solely on its own resources to build the bulwark against Constitutional mandates, it is soliciting and encouraging the Yankee mentality to come to its aid. This is the logical extension of the strategy pioneered by George Wallace in his Northern tour of 1964 and which reached near fruition in 1968. The strategy is dependent upon the retreat and ambivalence of a national administration which gained power with the assistance of the South, and it likewise relies upon the confused majority of Americans for whom mortality has removed Ho Chi Minh as the adversary but who now see yellow school buses as the real enemy. The strategy is also predicated on an understanding that the so called "Southern strategy" of the Nixon administration is not really the product of shrewd Yankee manipulation of the South, but rather it is the result of the nouveau Dixiecrats having craftily made the administration and the party dependent upon the South. Here again, the servant has become the master.

STENNIS AMENDMENT

The most prominent cornerstone of the Southerners' strategy has been the Stennis amendment which provides that it shall be the policy of the United States for the school desegregation law and guidelines established by the 1964 Civil Rights Act and by the 1966 Elementary and Secondary Education Act amendments to "be applied uniformly to all regions of the United States in dealing with conditions of segregation by race, whether *de jure* or *de facto* in the schools of the local educational agencies of any state without regard to origin or cause of such segregation."

The Stennis amendment's power is perhaps more psychological than real but it is the kind of warfare in which the South is particularly adept. With the assistance of Senator Ribicoff—who correctly defined the hypocrisy of the North but in the process became an unwitting liberal accomplice to the Southerners' strategy based on a more cynical reading of the country's reluctance to turn away from hypocrisy—the Southerners have found new comrades in the struggle against the federal leviathan.

Though we can only speculate as to what the real impact of the Stennis amendment will be on school desegregation its intent is clearly to establish freedom of choice as a national policy and to maintain the *status quo* in the schools of the South. It would seem that for most districts this amendment alone would not be sufficient to thwart compliance with HEW's requirements, but of course the problem is that this amendment has set off a chain of events so that it is not a single force but a piece of the larger picture of retrenchment by this administration.

Advocates of the Stennis amendment assert that all the South wants is "equality of treatment," a phrase that has become the new sacred talisman of Southern politicians and editorialists replacing the more tattered and discredited "all deliberate speed." The Southerners' strategy is to plead for "reasonable" and "fair" treatment and to depart from the kind of openly racist rhetoric which has historically been associated with the South. Here, for example, is a sample of the new rhetoric, carefully couched in the same kind of pious wordmanship that gave us our current president:

"We have integrated our state, and we are proud of it, not just because it is the law, but because it is the American way. We recognized long ago that segregation was dead forever, that integration is the law of the land. We have implemented that belief not only in our public schools and in our systems of higher education but throughout every aspect of life in our state."

That, of course, is Louisiana's Governor McKeithen speaking through a full page ad in The New York Times and other Northern newspapers. He goes on to assert that, "We believe in civil rights," and concludes with the plea that "All we ask is equal treatment under the law; all we expect is full partnership in this great Union of ours." The intent behind such language is only slightly removed from that used by the citizens of Lamar, South Carolina, just two weeks prior to the tragic incidents of March 3. It recognizes that it is no longer fashionable for Southerners to admit that they are racists.

This rhetoric is gaining new allies for the Southerners. The allies want, just as the South wants, to make freedom of choice a national policy in a nation where both freedom and choice have been anachronisms for so many of our people.

DESIGN FOR CONFUSION

Another key component of the Stennis amendment is the effort to blur the distinction between *de jure* and *de facto* segregation. The Southerners have chosen an opportune moment to initiate such a strategy. As the urban South has begun to be confronted with the possibility of having to achieve meaningful integration the Southerners have seized upon the complexities of such a task to point out that there is really no difference between such situations in the North and South. This strategy has been strengthened by a convenient nexus with the frustration and disillusionment of citizens of the urban North who have fought for integration but have failed to find any help in the courts because of the *de facto-de jure* distinction.

But in the South at least there can be no question that the segregated school systems of urban areas are deliberate rather than

fortuitous and that they are the result of state action. The South is clearly trying to evade its Constitutional obligations by calling attention to the Supreme Court's failure to deal with the problems of *de facto* segregation. By saying that the Court has not done its job and that urban segregation in the North and the South are essentially the same, the South removes the focus of attention from its failure to comply with the law and places the burden for the lack of progress on the Court.

A similar part of the strategy is for the Southerners to gain wide dissemination of their definition of what the Court has said. Southern congressmen are able to utilize the public forum which is constantly available to them to redefine or to distort the meaning of the law. Such a forum is obviously not available to the Courts and they must rely on the opportunities provided by individual cases to explain and to clarify. Even then, the Court makes the news for only a day while the politicians can make it every day. The Southerners have been nit-picking at the language of the courts for nearly two decades, interpreting judicial dictums in their own way, and causing public misunderstanding and confusion so as to make the implementation of the court's orders more difficult. Congressman Albert Watson used these tactics in Lamar just a week before the tragic incident. The nation witnessed the result.

Because the Southerners believe that the Court has not detailed what constitutes a unitary school system they declare that they don't know what is required of a school district. Yet, I believe that if the Court provides a detailed roadmap for achieving a unitary system the South will be the first to cry that the Court has overstepped the boundaries of judicial propriety. The South knows full well the Constitutional requirements for disestablishing a dual school system and the plea for a satisfactory definition of a unitary system is nothing more than a spurious issue designed to produce more evasion and delay.

LEGISLATIVE MANEUVERS

Another part of the Southerners' strategy has taken the form of a kind of neo-integration. Missing is some of the strident rhetoric of the late fifties but the purpose of the laws is much the same. The laws are designed to do one of three things: (1) They will have little effect at the state level but they buttress the "equality of treatment" argument, (2) They provide some districts with a convenient excuse to seek delay for another year, and (3) They undercut those districts which might be moving towards establishing a unitary system.

The most popular approach towards shoring up the "equality of treatment" argument is for a state legislature to adopt almost verbatim the New York State law which provides that:

"No student shall be assigned or compelled to attend any school on account of race, creed, color or national origin, or for the purpose of achieving equality of attendance or increased attendance or reduced attendance at any school, of persons of one or more particular races, creeds, colors, or national origins."

The ploy is to adopt New York's law and then declare, as Governor McKeithen has done in his full page ads, "That is the law in New York; it is now also the law of Louisiana. We ask no special treatment; we demand no concessions. But we do seek, and expect to be treated as any other state in the nation."

Louisiana and Alabama passed the law in special legislative sessions and South Carolina, Georgia, and Mississippi passed it in regular session. The Georgia assistant attorney general said that the law means transferring students or teachers to achieve integration is illegal as is the busing of students, the pairing of schools, and the chang-

ing of school districts or zones for the same purpose. However, a federal district court judge has ruled that the Georgia law is unconstitutional. But in Mobile, Alabama, the school board delayed implementing a U.S. District Court desegregation order on the grounds that the Alabama law makes it illegal to force any student to attend any school against his wishes or against the wishes of his parents or guardians. As the school board attorney said, "There may be some question as to the constitutionality of that law, but in my view, until it has been challenged and tested and declared unconstitutional, it is valid—it is the law." This is a posture reminiscent of massive resistance and it is one which draws on the lethargy of the judicial process to seek further delay.

Tennessee and North Carolina have passed anti-busing laws which deny the use of state school buses for desegregation plans which will achieve a racial balance. Governor McKeithen has suggested that in the May session of the legislature he will veto any legislation that allocates funds to school districts where busing is being used to achieve racial balance. While we hear a lot about local control of education in the South some legislatures and state political leaders are obviously taking steps to prevent local districts from utilizing busing for desegregation even though the districts themselves might have determined that this method is the most appropriate for establishing a unitary system.

CO-OPTING ADMINISTRATIVE MACHINERY

As always the Southerners' strategy is to master and then manipulate the administrative machinery for the enforcement of the law. Soon after the creation of HEW's Office of Civil Rights the southern politicians and school officials figured out the weakness of that office's administrative enforcement procedure, and the advent of the Nixon administration made those procedures more vulnerable to political influence. In Columbia, South Carolina, the school district has been involved in the HEW compliance procedure for nearly three years and during that time it has continued to operate under a freedom of choice plan. Now the school district is appealing its case directly to Secretary Finch who has been counseled in this instance by Senator Strom Thurmond and Representative Albert Watson. Finch has said that, "I am sure that an appropriate settlement can be developed in the near future." The school district is proceeding to implement its freedom of choice plan for yet another year in anticipation that Finch will either overrule the HEW Reviewing Authority's decision against the school district or that he will negotiate a plan with the district that will require only nominal adjustments in the freedom of choice procedure.

HELP FOR THE SOUTHERN STRATEGY

Finally, the Southerners' strategy is being facilitated by those blacks who are quick to cite the need for "bi-racialism" and who point out that integration has become "the end instead of the means." While I do not believe that such a coalition is intentional, the effect is nevertheless to give hope and credibility to all of the purveyors of resistance whose calls for "fair treatment" and so-called "rational" approaches are rooted in the humor of racism and beliefs in black inferiority.

Perhaps we would do well to remember that white control comes in many colors and to reflect on those districts in the South which are run by whites but which have nevertheless offered neither quality education nor meaningful control for the mass of their white constituents.

So in spite of the cries that we "get back to education," the Southern strategists understand that when we abandon the struggle to fulfill the obligations of the law we will have merely participated in the erosion of Constitutional guarantees. We will have stripped the statute books and the judicial

precedents of a body of law that has been laboriously developed over the past fifteen years. In truth, we won't return to the business of education because we have never seriously been about that business. The Southerners understand these things. They also understand that the verbal gymnastics of highly placed lieutenants and the forthcoming "clarifications" by the mediocre commander are only deceptions which seek to avoid embarrassment rather than to promote justice.

Isolated and alone the Southerners' strategy cannot succeed, but what brings us here today is the specter that the Southerners are no longer alone. This administration has seen to that.

INVESTMENT TAX PROPOSAL

HON. PAUL FINDLEY

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 15, 1970

Mr. FINDLEY. Mr. Speaker, today I am introducing a bill to restore the investment tax credit of up to \$20,000 annually for farmers and other small businessmen for equipment acquired after December 31, 1969. It seems to me that April 15, the income tax deadline, is an especially appropriate day for introduction of this bill. The investment tax credit is not and cannot be construed to be a subsidy. Rather it is an economic shot in the arm which will stimulate economic activity in an area where it is particularly needed—the rural sections of our country. Farmers, and their business counterparts in the rural community, especially in the cash grain areas of our Nation, badly needed this kind of assistance.

The life blood of our Nation and the solution to a major problem in our cities lies in a healthy, vibrant, and prosperous rural American economy. Many of the problems of the cities can be traced to farmers and other businessmen in rural communities forced to move to the larger cities to seek employment.

When Congress passed the Tax Reform Act a year ago I was concerned that many farmers and the small businessmen who serve them would suffer severe losses because the act, as approved, did not include the Senate amendment in exempting investments of up to \$20,000 in eligible property from the investment credit repeal.

The bill I introduce today provides opportunity for farmers to improve and modernize their equipment to meet the challenges of an ever-changing and more competitive agricultural economy. One of the best ways to maintain and improve the quality of life in the country is to give farmers a chance to improve their equipment, thereby making the necessary long hours of hard work on the farm more appealing to the farmer and his family.

As farmers reduce their purchases of machinery and equipment, which they have done in sizable proportions this year, many small town businesses will be forced to close their doors. This situation can compound itself resulting in unemployment in the rural sections of the Nation, placing an even greater strain on

the larger cities as these families are forced to move to areas of greater potential employment.

Those of us representing districts which have a large number of rural and small town residents are concerned about the life of those people and the life of the communities. Those of you who represent metropolitan districts should be equally concerned as you seek solutions to growing pressures in your districts which come, in part, from living condition problems and low-profit situations in our small towns and on the farm.

UNEMPLOYMENT

HON. JAMES A. BURKE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 15, 1970

Mr. BURKE of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, I should like to bring to the attention of the Members of the U.S. House of Representatives an article that appeared in the Boston Sunday Globe, entitled "Unemployment Now Nixon's No. 1 Problem." Also I think it quite timely to include for the RECORD at this time, an editorial that appeared in the Tuesday morning Boston Globe, "Much Unemployment Is Hidden." This editorial comments on the legislation—H.R. 11620—filed by my distinguished colleague from the State of Michigan, the Honorable JAMES G. O'HARA.

UNEMPLOYMENT NOW NIXON'S NO. 1 PROBLEM
(By Thomas Oliphant)

Now that the Nixon Administration and the Federal Reserve System have joined forces to push the unemployment rate from 3.3 percent of the labor force in January of 1969 to 4.4 percent last month, the question arises—what are they going to do about it?

The answer is that they are going to do all they can, for all the obvious reasons, the most obvious of which is that this Fall's Congressional elections are only seven months away.

Unfortunately, the weapons known to be in the government's arsenal are likely to be anything but effective, for three main reasons.

First of all, genuine concern within the administration about the downturn in the economy generally and the rise in unemployment in particular, has come very late in the game.

Given the lag of at least six months between a change in monetary policy and the actual impact of the change on the economy, the effects of the Federal Reserve's extremely tight policies during all of 1969 and perhaps as much as the first two months of 1970 are apt to be with us until well into the Summer.

Secondly, any actions to spur economic activity—such as a partial lifting of the freeze on Federally aided construction projects or a less restrictive Federal Reserve policy—are almost certain to be both tentative and minor, given the fact that inflation has shown little sign of abating.

Finally, the Nixon administration continues, as its two predecessors did, to make the fundamental error of viewing unemployment and its more complicated companion, underemployment, as essentially transitional problems that can be solved by marshalling the resources of the allegedly all-powerful "private sector" and by making the present

hodge-podge of bureaucratic arrangements, called manpower programs, more rational.

The simple truth is that unemployment and underemployment have been major problems in this country since the mid-1950s. The only "progress" in combating it came between 1965 and 1969 as a direct result of the huge increase in the Defense Department's budget as a whole and in spending for the Vietnam War in particular.

In fact, the reduction in the unemployment rate during this period was accompanied by an inflation so severe that the average weekly earnings of manufacturing workers after taxes and higher prices actually declined in real terms.

"The essence of the matter," Dr. Charles C. Killingsworth, a manpower economist at Michigan State University, told a House subcommittee last month, "is that we never really solved our chronic problem of excessive unemployment, which was painfully apparent in the late 1950s and the first half of the 1960s.

"We simply masked part of it, temporarily deferred another part, and ignored the rest of it. The mask is now slipping, and the deferment is beginning to run out, and the ignored aspect of unemployment has worsened."

This mask that Dr. Killingsworth speaks about is chiefly reflected in the excessive attention paid to the "Official" unemployment rate.

"On the one hand," notes Rep. William A. Steiger (R-Wis.), who is the author of one of three manpower bills now being considered by the Congress, "That figure includes well trained workers who suffer unemployment only briefly, as well as secondary workers in families with good income.

"On the other hand, it excludes those who are under-employed and need training to raise their earnings above the poverty level."

A much better index is something the Labor Department calls "sub-employment", which includes those who have been without a job for more than 15 weeks and those who earn less than \$300 for a full year's work.

In 1966, the last time the agency looked at this problem, 9.1 million persons, or roughly 10 percent of the labor force, were classified as sub-employed. What's more, a survey of 10 urban ghettos revealed a rate of 34 percent.

Looked at another way, a government manpower task force recently estimated that there are about 11 million poor people in the country for whom better jobs would be a possible solution to their lack of money. Some 7 million of them, however, were judged to be without the education or skills necessary to compete in today's job market.

These numbers stand in sharp contrast to the one million persons, not all of them disadvantaged, who have participated in Labor Department programs under the Manpower Development and Training Act since 1962.

Even if you add those who have been helped by the government-industry program to hire the hard core unemployed, or the project to train welfare recipients for jobs, the figure would not rise by more than 500,000.

Meanwhile, more and more people enter the labor force each year. By 1980, the total is expected to hit 100 million as against about 85 million today, with some 40 million young people entering the job market during the decade.

In the face of these immense problems, the administration's actions since the unemployment rate went over four percent in February seem puny.

So far, the President has freed about \$1.5 billion in frozen Federal construction funds to be spent over the next 15 months, induced his friend, Dr. Arthur F. Burns, to lead

a modest retreat on the monetary front, and demonstrated somewhat less concern over a balanced budget for fiscal 1971 in his handling of such matters as the pay raise for government workers.

These actions are scarcely likely to stem the rise in the official unemployment rate, and they most certainly will have no helpful effects on the problems of the poor.

For the disadvantaged, Mr. Nixon urges that several manpower programs be consolidated and turned over to the states and cities in the interest of efficiency, and continues to rely on the JOBS program to get industry to hire the hard core unemployed in the face of sluggish business conditions.

MUCH UNEMPLOYMENT IS HIDDEN

Globe staffer Thomas Oliphant has disclosed in Sunday's Globe that current figures showing 4.4 percent of unemployment in the midst of a still uncontrolled inflation do not half tell the story.

Mr. Oliphant makes the point that not since 1966 has the Labor Department counted subemployed whose total earnings are less than \$300 a year. With them counted in, the correct number of unemployed is 9.1 million or roughly 10 percent of the labor force nationally, 34 percent in the ghettos.

Mr. Nixon's answer to this has been to unfreeze about \$1.5 billion in Federal construction funds to be spent over the next 15 months and to induce the Federal Reserve Board to make a modest retreat on the monetary front. But these moves so far have been as ineffective as has been his urging that cities and states, already strapped, get the Federal government off the hook by financing their own job training programs, without regard to the jobs that are not there. He also relies on business and industry (what he invariably refers to as "the private sector") to take up the slack by hiring the hardcore unemployed when business and industry are themselves going through a sluggish period.

So what then? Mr. Oliphant has noted that a workable bill (H.R. 11620), sponsored by Rep. James G. O'Hara (D-Mich.) and co-sponsored by 18 others including Rep. James A. Burke (D-Mass.) is now under consideration by the House Committee on Education and Labor. It would not only train the unskilled but provide jobs for them after they had been trained, jobs that need doing—hospital help below the level of doctor, for example, school help below the level of teacher, other help below the level of expert. It would establish as government policy the right of every man to a job paying a living wage, ensuring the circulation of dollars and assuring "the optimum use of our most valuable natural resource, the hands and brains of the American people."

The administration could do worse than to get behind this bill. The billions wasted in Vietnam would more than finance it. And Philip Stern, in Monday's Globe, has shown how another \$20 billion at least could be picked up by closing still gaping holes in the internal revenue law. But however it were financed, its cost would be negligible compared to the possible ruin of American cities which widespread dissatisfaction of millions of Americans invites.

PREJUDICE AGAINST WOMEN

HON. MARTHA W. GRIFFITHS

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 15, 1970

Mrs. GRIFFITHS. Mr. Speaker, one of America's best known and certainly wittiest economist, Mr. Paul A. Samuelson, wrote on the subject of prejudice against

women—certainly, not a laughing matter. The article which appeared in the March 23, 1970, issue of Newsweek follows:

PAUL A. SAMUELSON ON PREJUDICE

As Mayor La Guardia once said after a gaffe, "When I make a mistake it's a beaut." I know what he meant. In the course of a recent interview for The New York Times I made some derogatory remarks about the caliber of students at Sweet Briar.

If I sinned, I have been made to pay for it. My mail has been full of denunciatory letters from female liberationists who are under no vow to be ladylike. What hurts more though are the well-merited reproaches from Sweet Briar, which happens to have a strong offering in economics and rightly resents being characterized as a frivolous finishing school.

I wish I could say that I was misquoted. But even though I was woefully ignorant about Sweet Briar and used its name as a surrogate for any girl's school, that did not keep me from opening my big mouth and slurring its good name.

So *mea culpa*. There is naught to do but make humble apology, both to the institution in particular and to the feminine sex in general.

IN JOCO NON VERITAS

The incident, however, has set me to pondering. Freud claimed that much is revealed by the jests we make, and I must ask myself why, in an unguarded moment, I found myself expressing a stereotype concerning the implied inferiority of women. Since I am an economist, that naturally raises the question of why women have an economic status so unfavorable relative to that of men.

That they do have such an inferior status there can be no doubt. On the occasion that my wife's class at Radcliffe celebrated its 25th anniversary, I was able to examine the range of their incomes and to compare them with the distribution of the same class at Harvard. Although I am an experienced man of the world, I must confess to shock when I saw the cold numbers before me. The top women's salaries literally ended about where the bottom men's began.

I know you will say that many college women become wives and mothers. That you must not compare part-time earnings with those from full-time work. That one must allow for the fact that many women return to the labor market after a hiatus of many years spent in the home, and that their loss of momentum explains their pauper-like wages.

But I reply that these explanations will not wash. A class at Radcliffe has long been, if anything, even more select in such qualities as IQ and erudition than the contemporaneous class at Harvard. And many Radcliffe graduates have pursued full-time careers. Why then do they turn out to have the incomes of librarians and of teachers rather than the incomes of corporation lawyers, NEWSWEEK editors, and machine-tool salesmen?

Confronted with these undoubted facts, a defender of the status quo will say, "Women get less because they are worth less." In its usual formulation this becomes little more than a tautology, deserving of the same reply that Hemingway gave to F. Scott Fitzgerald's remark, "The rich are different from us." "Yes," said Hemingway, "they have more money." (And exactly this reply is warranted to the assertion that the poor are different; experiments with the negative income tax in New Jersey show that the poor differ primarily in the fact that they are under the Biblical curse of poverty, and in not much else.)

Somebody has written an essay with the fascinating title: "The Student as Nigger." It makes the point that students are men

with boys' incomes, who are expected to remove their hats and shuffle their feet in the presence of their superiors (if not their betters).

A woman would understand that essay. How many of them have climbed the executive ladder up to the rung marked assistant vice president only to be barred, Moses-like, from the Promised Land?

REDEMPTION

Tokenism has begun to rear its head. One or two blacks or females or French-Canadians look good on the organization chart. But do not knock it, Tokenism is the tribute that bigotry pays to conscience. If you feign a virtue, you may end up having it.

But I digress to philosophy from my task as an economist. What would be the effects of wiping out, or say for the sake of the argument, halving the earnings and productivity differentials between men and women?

Will the extra affluence of women have to come at the expense of the surplus value earned by men? Economics suggests that the removal of discriminations will pay its own way, adding to GNP about what it costs.

PUSHERS OF WORSE THAN "POT"

HON. ANCHER NELSEN

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 15, 1970

Mr. NELSEN. Mr. Speaker, Alan C. McIntosh, former publisher of the Rock County Star-Herald, has a reputation as one of America's finest rural journalists. One of his editorials, "A Tired American Gets Angry," not only won a Freedom Foundation Award, it went on to become one of the most widely reprinted editorials of our time.

In his present capacity of contributing editor of the Star-Herald in Luverne, Minn., Mr. McIntosh continues to provide a depth and insight for his readers that is, indeed, rare. I am pleased to insert in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD one of Mr. McIntosh's most recent commentaries, which appeared in the April 2 issue of the Star-Herald:

PUSHERS OF WORSE THAN JUST "POT"

We hear a lot of talk about "pushers" and how the penalties for marijuana users should be lightened and toughened on those who peddle insidious drugs.

There are pushers . . . and pushers . . . and not all of them are peddling "pot" and hard drugs. There are "pushers" who are peddling propaganda whose ultimate end is the destruction of America.

To take over and destroy America certain things have to be done. Among them are:

1. Destroy the family as the cornerstone of America.
2. Destroy the church and all it stands for.
3. Destroy law and order for 200 million Americans . . . the thin blue line of law that stands between us and anarchy.

The "pushers" for the enemies of America have done their insidious work far too well.

We have "pushers" peddling filth and pornography at us on a round-the-clock basis . . . in our so-called contemporary "literature" . . . from the moving picture screen, the stage, in mores and morals. The idea is being constantly "pushed" at our young people that man's chief aim in life is personal, instant pleasure and gratification of all hungers.

The pushers preach that decency in the traditional sense of the word is old hat . . . and only for 90-year-old squares in rest

homes . . . that "normalcy" is suspect and perversion is normal.

Too many churches have become arsenals, not just for the bombs and weapons of the Black Panthers or the Blackstone Rangers, but for strange ideologies.

We have pushers preaching strange gospels . . . among them the freakish propaganda that it is heroic to rebel . . . that it is noble to rebel against one's parents.

We hear less and less about a man called Jesus and more and more about strange concepts of religion.

We have too many pushers who prattle a pseudoscientific jargon as they tinker with that most delicate mystery in all the universe—the human mind . . . something far too precious to be ministered to by the amateur or the Saturday dilettante. Sensitivity is not the property of the young nor was it invented in the last decade.

We have pushers who have constantly preached the idea to us that this younger generation is the "smartest ever" . . . that the stinking body-odored mop-haired brigade with their non-negotiable demands really are Sir Galahads in disguise.

There's no reason for our generation to have an inferiority complex and hide our heads in shame. Ours is the generation that licked polio and is on the verge of a breakthrough on cancer. Ours is the generation that went to the moon . . . and it wasn't done by the devotees of that weird belief that there is virtue in a "pass-fail" system of measuring scholastic achievement.

Ours is the generation that made America the most affluent country in the world . . . the nation that has dared to open its gates to hundreds of thousands fleeing tyranny and seeking opportunity . . . and still does. This is the generation that dared to desegregate its schools . . . the nation that is presiding over the greatest social and economic revolution in world history.

If we must plead guilty to something then we oldsters should hang our heads and plead guilty to over-loving our children . . . of listening to those like John Dewey and his ilk and we gave them over-permissiveness. We let the pushers in the pulpits and the classrooms "con" us into believing that discipline was strictly for the birds.

The pushers did sell us a bill of goods and we are now reaping the whirlwind of mediocrity . . . the evil dividends of the "Dick-Jane" era of textbook pseudo learning.

This is not the smartest generation ever . . . if you believe in the findings of Prof. Sir Cyril Burt, who reveals how shabby our achievements have been.

Our responsibility now is not to continue our past mistakes . . . the younger generation may not be any smarter . . . our responsibility today is to come up with an education system that doesn't make our youth any dumber.

There are a lot of "pushers" in America today . . . and not all of them are pushing drugs . . . they are peddling doctrines far more deadly . . . ideologies that threaten the survival of a great nation.

U.S. IMAGE DESCRIBED AS VARYING

HON. BOB WILSON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 15, 1970

Mr. BOB WILSON. Mr. Speaker, last week, former Director of the U.S. Information Agency Leonard H. Marks, delivered a significant talk to the World Affairs Council in San Diego, emphasizing the importance of communication between the United States and Communist China.

Mr. Marks stressed that our country establish lines of communication with the 800 million inhabitants on the Chinese mainland, and outlined a program for this effort.

As a former Director of the U.S. Information Agency and as an expert in the field of communications for more than 20 years, Mr. Marks speaks with great knowledge and experience.

The World Affairs Council, which sponsored this presentation, is composed of leading citizens of San Diego, many of whom have had extensive experience in world affairs, particularly in military activities. This organization is performing a vital task in bringing to San Diego important speakers familiar with the current scene. Among other speakers during the current session have been William Foster, former Director of the U.S. Disarmament Agency, and several ambassadors from foreign countries. The next meeting will feature Under Secretary of State Alex U. Johnson.

A summary of Mr. Marks' remarks was included in the San Diego Union on March 25, 1970, a copy of which I include in the RECORD:

U.S. IMAGE DESCRIBED AS VARYING

(By Eston McMahon)

Leonard H. Marks, former director of the United States Information Agency, said last night that there is no such thing as an American image throughout the world.

Marks was the guest speaker at a dinner

meeting of the San Diego World Affairs Council in the Mission Room of the Bahia Hotel, Mission Bay.

Instead of the image, he said, "It's a question rather of what people think of the United States in a particular country at a particular time."

Elaborating on what the people of other nations think of the United States, Marks said:

"For example, when we landed men on the moon we had an image—justifiably—of a country great in scientific achievement and capable of carrying out the most difficult task ever assigned to man.

"When we have riots in our major cities, when we have a breakdown of law and order, our image is quite different. The United States, or any other country, can be judged by what it does instead of what it says."

CITIZENS AS AMBASSADORS

Then the speaker told his 150 listeners that every U.S. citizen becomes an ambassador when he travels abroad or deals with visitors from foreign countries.

Marks stressed the importance of communication between nations:

"With telephone, telegraph, radio, television, it is more vital than ever before that we communicate with those that share this world with us. When people know each other, they find they share common characteristics."

Marks said individuals of the different nations are concerned principally that they have enough food, shelter, productive employment and an opportunity to raise children to carry on the heritage of their parents.

Again referring to communication, Marks said that Communist China, with 800 million people and centuries old culture, has no communication with the other nations of the world.

Marks said that when he was chief of the USIA in 1968, he made an effort to communicate with Communist China before the November elections. He said he invited Chinese journalists to come to the United States to observe democratic process in action.

"I offered to enable them to visit any part of the country they desired and to ask questions freely and report through the Voice of America to the rest of the world what they had learned," Marks said.

REBUFFED BY PEKING

Then he added:

"In response, Radio Peking called me a tool of decadent capitalism and ignored the offer. It takes two to communicate."

The speaker was introduced by Col. Irving Salomon, president of the council.

When Marks was director of the USIA, his special assistant was Howard Chernoff of San Diego. Chernoff is now commissioner general of the United States exhibits at Expo '70 in Osaka, Japan.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES—Thursday, April 16, 1970

The House met at 12 o'clock noon. The Chaplain, Rev. Edward G. Latch, D.D., offered the following prayer:

He who is faithful with little is also faithful with much.—Luke 16: 10.

Eternal God, we pray for our Nation set today amid the perplexities of a changing order and face to face with great, new tasks. We remember with pride how our leaders in times past arose to the occasion defending our liberties and preserving our unity. We recall with love the influence of dedicated spirits who devoted themselves to the welfare of our people.

Now we come to Thee in this challenging day praying that we may have courage to meet our tasks with clarity of purpose, strength to carry our responsibilities with high honor and faith to serve our people with fine fidelity.

God bless America. Let Your healing, cleansing, and strengthening power move in our hearts as a nation and bring us together who belong together, who need each other, who can help each other and who would enjoy each other.

Bless our astronauts. Grant unto them the peace of Thy presence, unto their families the strength of Thy spirit and unto us all the assurance that Thou art

with us as they safely return to earth. 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. Arrington, one of its clerks, announced that the Senate had passed bills of the following titles, in which the concurrence of the House is requested: