

Vanwagenen, Lowell Finley
Walters, Larry David
Ware, James Gilbert
Williams, Leo Virginius, III
Williams, Nicholas Joseph, Jr.
Wolfe, Thomas Stanley
Young, James Lewis, III
Zales, William Edward, Jr.

The following-named Naval Reserve Officer Training Corps graduate for permanent appointment to the grade of second lieutenant in the Marine Corps, subject to the qualifications therefor as provided by law:

Rinschler, James W.

The following-named U.S. Air Force Academy graduate for permanent appointment to the grade of second lieutenant in the Marine Corps, subject to the qualifications therefor as provided by law:

O'Kelly, Gregory C.

The following-named commissioned warrant officers/warrant officers for temporary appointment to the grade of first lieutenant in the Marine Corps for limited duty subject to the qualifications therefor as provided by law:

Allingham, James L.	Derossett, Acie N.
Banks, Charles M.	Fisher, Carl J.
Bryant, Joseph A.	Frank, John A.
Cleveland, George C.	George, William C.
H.	Glassburner, Louis P.
Collette, James E.	Janning, William J.
Davis, Kenneth V.	Kelly, Joseph E.
Dearman, Louis D.	Knepp, William E.

Marino, Thomas H.
Mates, Joseph G.
Mauldin, Roger L.
Milton, William F., Jr.
Morris, Thomas W.
Myers, Louis
O'Connor, George E.

The following-named commissioned warrant officers/warrant officers for temporary appointment to the grade of second lieutenant in the Marine Corps, for limited duty, subject to the qualifications therefor as provided by law:

Chang, Jonah H. K.	Rivas, Frank Jr.
Cambert, Roland L., Jr.	Spurgeon, Sidney L.
Ramsey, Leamond C.	Wolfe, Richard P.

The following-named staff noncommissioned officers for temporary appointment to the grade of second lieutenant in the Marine Corps, for limited duty, subject to the qualifications therefor as provided by law:

Baker, William B.	Holt, Jack W.
Barone, Michael F.	Manning, William T.
Belcher, Jimmy E.	Marshall, George L., Jr.
Bingham, Ralph A.	Moore, Samuel Jr.
Bourque, Raymond D.	Priest, Francis J.
Casey, John E.	Saffer, Robert J.
Chavez, Connie S.	Shaw, Ellsworth A.
Fowkes, David W.	Smith, Arthur M., Jr.
Haines, Donald C.	Smith, Dennis R.
Hamilton, William H.	Thompson, Jimmie R.
Harwood, Guy B.	Whitten, Gene W.

Polk, Carl W.
Roberts, Richard J.
Rogers, Mack I.
Roquemore, Robert A.
Schell, John L.
Towers, Frank C.
Vance, Bruce W.
Wofford, James H., Jr.

The following-named officers of the Marine Corps for temporary appointment to the grade of first lieutenant:

Jeffrey H. Andrews	George C. Kahlandt
Harry K. Barnes	John B. Lafoy
Stanley N. Barton	Patrick M. Lincoln
Martin R. Bender	James L. Lowery, Jr.
David F. Bice	David A. Lutz
Wayman R. Bishop	Frank J. Martello, Jr.
III	Gordon A. Matthew
Gary L. Bruno	Terry J. McCormack
Francis J. Busam	Charles D. Mowrer
Robert W. Byrd	Lorin L. Mrachek
Robert B. Canfield	Wallace L. Mueller
Joseph F. Ciampa	Michael A. Newlin
Leonard J. Comaratta	Steven G. Pfeif
Joseph P. Cronin, Jr.	William H. Phillips
King F. Davis, Jr.	William M. Phillips, Jr.
Walter G. Ford	Sherman A. Polling
James R. Forney	Charles E. Ramsey III
John A. Furman	Billy J. Roberts
Gregg R. Garlisch	Martin E. Schechter
John C. Garrett	Allen G. Scurlock
Fred M. Greguras	William R. Seagraves
John W. Ground IV	Asher W. Spittler II
Richard A. Hagerman	Douglas R. Stanley
James E. Hatch	Steven L. Stansbury
Kenneth M. Howard	Carlton C. Steubing
Richard O. Howard	Sears R. Taylor II
Charles W. Hughes	Michael J. Teller
Stephen F. Hurst	Charles S. Williams, Jr.
William D. Jackson	Richard L. Wilroy
David H. Jacobs	James C. Zimmerman
Harry Jensen, Jr.	
Martin O. Juve	

EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

CANADIAN OIL RESTRICTIONS TO HURT BUFFALO COMPANY

HON. RICHARD D. MCCARTHY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 16, 1970

Mr. MCCARTHY. Mr. Speaker, the recent administration announcement that restrictions are to be placed on the importation of Canadian crude oil works a very real economic hardship on the Niagara frontier and on New York State. Most disturbing is the information that the domestic producers in the United States cannot provide sufficient crude oil to Buffalo industries for at least 1 year from now. If Canadian imports are cut back to the level announced, Buffalo will suffer as a result. The Ashland Oil Co., which operates a petrochemical refinery in the Buffalo area, has indicated some of the effects the import ban will have on it. I am including the statement made by Robert E. Yancy, Ashland's chief operating officer, on March 23, 1970, concerning the effects of the ban on the company. I believe that this information is of interest to all those who are interested to see a free market economy in oil reasserted:

STATEMENT BY ROBERT E. YANCY

The serious concern of Ashland Oil, Inc. relative to the President's recent proclamation applying to future imports of Canadian crude oil has been expressed to the Oil Policy Committee in Washington, according to a statement made today by Robert E. Yancey, Ashland's Chief Operating Officer.

According to Yancey, the fundamental concept of the Oil Import program adopted by the U.S. (by President Eisenhower) in 1959 was based upon national security considerations posed by dependence on foreign oil

with no restrictions on secure overland imports from Canada. Now, eleven years later, there is no evidence that the quantities of imports of crude oil and unfinished oils from Canada threaten to impair this country's national security. There being no emergency, there is no occasion for hasty action, the consequences of which could be harmful to some segments of the petroleum industry and to the consuming public. Many of these consequences seem not to be understood in Washington.

Crude oil production in the northern areas of Continental United States is in a long-term decline. On the other hand, production in the Gulf Coast area of Louisiana and Texas continues to increase at a significant pace despite the rising imports of Canadian oil. However, pipeline networks available for moving crude from Southwest producing fields to Midwest refining centers are presently operating almost to their capacity limits. A study by Ashland indicates that the present pipeline systems cannot supply the upper Midwest refining centers with enough domestic crude oil to compensate for the cutback of Canadian crude, plus the area's expanded refining capacity scheduled to go on stream the middle of this year. Expansion of these crude oil pipeline facilities from the Southwest could overcome these difficulties, but a minimum of twelve months would be required to complete such expansions due to slow equipment delivery.

Immediate cutbacks as imposed by the President could result in short-term shortages of petroleum products in the upper Midwest, including Western New York State. Specifically, shortages will be felt in liquefied petroleum gas, asphalt, low sulfur fuel oils, and petrochemical feedstocks which must be produced locally because of high transportation charges associated with distribution of these finished products. Many different industries and consumers could be adversely affected by these shortages.

The regulations as issued require substantial cutbacks of Canadian crude oil imports beginning March 1, with the first allocation

period lasting only through June 30. It is not possible for the oil industry to adjust immediately to these drastic changes since crude oil supply and transportation planning must be completed months in advance.

Due to severe weather this past winter, it would not have been possible to supply the added heating oil requirements in the Great Lakes area had it not been for the availability of Canadian crude oil to refiners in the upper Midwest and Great Lakes area where low temperatures were extreme and alternate fuels were also in short supply.

Normal requirements for distillate and residual fuel oils not only increased substantially because of the colder weather, but the severe shortage of natural gas which developed had to be supplemented by petroleum fuel oils to meet industrial and electric utility requirements. It is predicted that this natural gas shortage will be even more acute next year because of the increasing demand for fuels, coupled with the lack of reserves that can be accumulated over the summer months for subsequent winter delivery.

Even though supplementary petroleum fuels were made available, many industrial plants curtailed their operations or shut down entirely due to the shortage of fuel. Undoubtedly other industrial units would have curtailed operations had supplementary fuels not been available from those refining sources depending upon Canadian crude oil.

It is obvious that the proposed restrictions on the imports of Canadian crude oil would have serious inflationary effects. If those refiners along the Canadian border must depend upon additional supplies of crude oil from the Gulf Coast rather than Canadian crude oil because of the restrictions imposed, there could be a marked increase in consumer prices since the delivered cost of Canadian crude oil into this area is lower than the delivered cost of Gulf Coast crude oil.

Ashland's presentation illustrated the predicament of its own Buffalo, New York, refinery as a case in point. The Buffalo refinery has had no pipeline access to U.S. crude since

the antiquated Buckeye pipeline system serving that plant was shut down at the end of 1969. Since that time, the Buffalo plant has operated entirely on Canadian crude at a rate of over 45,000 b/d, supplied via pipeline directly from Canada. The proposed cutback including the restrictions adjusted to March 1, will restrict crude oil available to this plant for the next three months to about 36,500 b/d, possibly causing a substantial shortage of petroleum supplies in the Buffalo area until adjustments can be made. Even if domestic crude could be delivered to this area, its cost would be prohibitive without substantial increases in consumer prices. From the large U.S. crude oil producing areas in the Southwest, Buffalo is the most remote delivery point in the country.

Northern refineries without access to domestic crude oil and which are connected to Canadian trunk pipelines should have unrestricted access to Canadian crude oil up to the limit of existing pipeline capacity. West Coast refineries now enjoy this privilege and these northern refineries' need for Canadian crude oil is at least equally serious.

Ashland's presentation called for Canadian import levels to be adjusted from the proposed 395,000 b/d to 560,000 b/d until transportation limitations on domestic crude can be overcome. Barring this, a longer initial allocation period is required to allow for more orderly transition from Canadian to domestic crude sources, with no retroactive features.

FOREIGN TRADE HEARINGS TO BE NEXT MAJOR ITEM ON AGENDA OF COMMITTEE ON WAYS AND MEANS

HON. WILBUR D. MILLS

OF ARKANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 16, 1970

Mr. MILLS. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks and include a press release, there follows the release issued today announcing that the next major order of business of the Committee on Ways and Means, after completion of our current consideration of social security matters, will be public hearings on foreign trade:

CHAIRMAN WILBUR D. MILLS (D., Ark.), COMMITTEE ON WAYS AND MEANS, U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, ANNOUNCES TRADE HEARINGS AS NEXT MAJOR ORDER OF BUSINESS AFTER COMPLETION OF SOCIAL SECURITY, MEDICARE AND MEDICAID

Chairman Wilbur D. Mills (D., Ark.), Committee on Ways and Means, U.S. House of Representatives, today announced that, after completion of the subject currently under consideration (Social Security, medicare and medicaid), the next major order of business for the Committee will be public hearings on the subject of foreign trade, with particular emphasis on the President's foreign trade proposals, and including all other trade proposals pending before the Committee (such as H.R. 16920), as well as proposals to stimulate exports. The more precise scope of the hearings will be further defined when a detailed announcement is issued at a later date.

It is hoped that the Committee will be able to complete its consideration of amendments to the Social Security Act, including titles XVIII and XIX (medicare and medicaid), as well as the old age, survivors and disability insurance titles, by the end of April. According to the Chairman's announcement, when this subject is completed, the Committee will shortly thereafter begin these public hearings on the subject of foreign trade, probably in early May.

The purpose of this announcement is to give as much notice as possible to all interested individuals and organizations as to the timing of the public hearings on foreign trade so that all such individuals and organizations can be prepared on very short notice. In all probability, the detailed announcement relative to these hearings will not be issued as far in advance of the opening date of the hearing as is usually the case. It is, therefore, important that all interested parties be advised of this fact and be prepared on short notice for these hearings. Also, this is to advise all such individuals and organizations that after the detailed announcement is issued the Committee will be operating on a very tight schedule, in view of its heavy legislative agenda, and witnesses requesting to be heard will have to appear on the dates on which they are scheduled or else submit a written statement; testimony will have to be consolidated; and time will have to be allocated.

TWO WEST VIRGINIANS POSTHUMOUSLY PRESENTED CONGRESSIONAL MEDAL OF HONOR IN WHITE HOUSE CEREMONY—CPL. THOMAS W. BENNETT OF MORGANTOWN, W. VA., AND PFC. PHIL G. McDONALD OF AVONDALE, W. VA.—A CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTOR, BENNETT SERVED IN U.S. ARMY AS MEDICAL AIDE—AWARD PRESENTED ON 23D BIRTHDAY

HON. JENNINGS RANDOLPH

OF WEST VIRGINIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, April 16, 1970

Mr. RANDOLPH. Mr. President, two West Virginians were posthumously presented the Congressional Medal of Honor by President Richard Nixon in White House ceremonies last Tuesday. They were two of 23 young Americans who lost their lives in the struggle in Vietnam.

Corporal Bennett, a U.S. Army medic, was killed attempting to rescue a wounded soldier in South Vietnam's central highlands on February 11, 1969.

The citation presented by the President to his mother, Mrs. Gale M. Gray, reads as follows:

Although the wounded man was located forward of the Company position, covered by heavy enemy grazing fire, and Corporal Bennett was warned that it was impossible to reach the location, he leaped forward, with complete disregard for his own safety, to save his comrade's life.

Mr. President, I had the privilege of meeting with Corporal Bennett's family while they were in Washington—his mother and stepfather, Mr. and Mrs. Kermit Gray, his brothers James and George, and Martha, James' wife.

Private First Class G. McDonald of Avondale, W. Va., was also posthumously presented the Congressional Medal of Honor. Private McDonald was born in Avondale and attended school in Iaeger.

His parents are deceased and the award was presented to his sister, Mrs. Phyllis Waldron of Avondale. Private McDonald is survived by nine sisters and two brothers.

Mr. President, Tony Constantine, able newspaperman with the Morgantown, W. Va. Post, has written articles on Corporal Bennett's award. I ask unanimous consent that his article and those appear-

ing in the Morgantown, W. Va., Dominion-News be printed in the RECORD.

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

[From the Morgantown (W. Va.) Post, Mar. 17, 1970]

CONGRESSIONAL MEDAL OF HONOR TO BE GIVEN LOCAL VIETNAM VICTIM

The late Cpl. Thomas W. Bennett of this city, killed in Vietnam more than a year ago, has been awarded the Congressional Medal of Honor, the nation's highest decoration for valor.

Confirmation of the award was made today at the White House.

A Presidential aide said the presentation will be made there April 7, with a number of other posthumous awards of the Congressional Medal.

The posthumous decoration for Bennett is believed the first Congressional Medal ever received by a resident of Morgantown or Monongalia County.

The office of Rep. Harley O. Staggers said the Pentagon confirmed the award. The confirmation from the White House came through the office of Sen. Jennings Randolph.

Bennett was killed Feb. 13 of last year, while serving with the Army Medical Corps. He joined that branch of the service after having been classified as a conscientious objector.

An Army spokesman at the Pentagon declined to comment on Bennett's citation for valor. The officer explained that it has been normal policy to withhold publication until the day the awards are made.

Bennett died on a battlefield after only 26 days in Vietnam. He had left this country Jan. 5, after joining the Army in 1968.

He was a son of Mrs. Kermit Gray of Junior Avenue and the late Thurman L. Bennett. He was born April 7, 1947.

Bennett had been a sophomore at West Virginia University and active on the campus. He headed the original Code of Conduct committee, and was president of the Campus Ecumenical Council. The ecumenical house on Oakland Street has been named in his memory.

He also had been a leader of a Boy Scout Explorer post and had taught a Sunday School class.

Bennett also had been prominent as a student at Morgantown High School before his graduation in 1966.

[From the Morgantown (W. Va.) Post, Apr. 7, 1970]

NIXON PRESENTS TOM BENNETT'S MOTHER MEDAL

President Nixon today presented Congressional Medals of Honor to the families of 21 American servicemen killed in Vietnam.

Of the 21, two were West Virginians and one of the two was Morgantown's Thomas Bennett, who would have been 23 today had he lived.

Bennett, a conscientious objector who served as a medical aide in the Army, was killed Feb. 11, 1969, while serving with the Fourth Infantry Division.

Death came as he tried to rescue a wounded soldier in South Vietnam's Central Highlands.

On Feb. 9, 1969, his platoon came under heavy fire and three men fell wounded. Bennett ran through enemy fire, administered first aid, and carried the three men to safety.

During the night and following day, he continued exposing himself to heavy fire to retrieve the bodies of several men and to treat the wounded.

On Feb. 11, Bennett ran to aid one of five wounded men and, although warned it was impossible to reach the location, he leaped forward and was mortally wounded.

He died a short while later.

Bennett's mother, Mrs. Gale M. Gray, went to Washington from her Morgantown home to accept the award for her son.

His citation reads as follows:

"Although the wounded man was located forward of the company position covered by heavy enemy grazing fire, Cpl. Thomas W. Bennett leaped forward, with complete disregard for his own safety, to save his comrade's life."

Bennett is well remembered in Morgantown for his contributions to school and to college. John Young, Boy Scout executive for the Mountaineer Area Council, also has some memories of the young man.

Young pointed out that Bennett was a member of the Boy Scout movement in Morgantown for almost 10 years. He was a member of Troop 65 of Drummond Methodist Chapel 1959-61, where he achieved Star Rank. He joined the Drummond Explorer Post in 1962 and remained with the unit as an Explorer until 1966 when he came post associate adviser, a position comparable to that of an assistant scoutmaster. Young said the youth remained as an adviser until he joined the service.

He remembers Bennett as "an active youth who thoroughly enjoyed scouting and its principles which he applied to his everyday life."

Two older Bennett brothers were in scouting, with Jim serving as a songleader and waterfront director at Camp Mountaineer and George serving as a camp counselor and attaining scouting's highest rank, that of Eagle.

Cpl. Bennett was only the second conscientious objector in the nation's history to win the award. The first went to Army PFC Desmond T. Doss Jr., of Lynchburg, Va., for his actions in the Battle of Okinawa in World War II.

The other West Virginia soldier whose posthumous award was presented to his family today is Pfc Phil G. McDonald, 27, of Avondale in McDowell County.

[From the Morgantown (W. Va.) Dominion-News, Apr. 7, 1970]

HEROIC RESCUES ARE TOLD

WASHINGTON.—The White House revealed Monday why Cpl. Thomas W. Bennett of Morgantown will receive the Congressional Medal of Honor posthumously at 3 p.m. Tuesday.

The West Virginian, who would have been 23 on Tuesday, was killed trying to rescue a wounded soldier in South Vietnam's Central Highlands on Feb. 11, 1969, while serving with the Fourth Infantry Division.

His citation will read:

"Although the wounded man was located forward of the company position, covered by heavy enemy grazing fire, and Corporal Bennett was warned that it was impossible to reach the location, he leaped forward, with complete disregard for his own safety, to save his comrade's life."

Bennett, a conscientious objector, was serving as a medical aid man with the second platoon, Co. B, First Battalion, 14th Infantry Regiment.

On Feb. 9, 1969, his platoon came under heavy fire and three men fell wounded. Bennett ran through enemy fire, administered first aid, and carried the three men to safety.

During the night and following day, he continued exposing himself to heavy fire to retrieve the bodies of several men and to treat the wounded.

On Feb. 11, Bennett ran to aid one of five wounded men and, although warned it was impossible to reach the location, he leaped forward and was mortally wounded.

He died a short while later.

Bennett's mother, Mrs. Gale M. Gray, came to Washington from her Morgantown home and will accept the award for her son.

It is one of 21 medals of honor President Nixon will present Tuesday to the families of American servicemen killed in Vietnam. It is the nation's highest award for bravery.

The presentations will be made in private ceremonies in the President's oval office at 3 p.m., according to the White House statement.

Twenty-one is the largest number of medals of honor to be presented in a single ceremony during the Vietnam War.

Bennett was only the second conscientious objector in the nation's history to win the award. The first went to Army Pfc Desmond T. Doss Jr. of Lynchburg, Va., for his actions in the Battle of Okinawa during World War II.

Others to be awarded the medal of honor Tuesday include:

Cpl. Michael J. Crescenz, 19, of Philadelphia; Pfc. Phil G. McDonald, 27, of Avondale, W. Va., and Pfc. David Nash, 20, of Whitesville, Ky.

[From the Morgantown (W. Va.) Dominion-News, Apr. 8, 1970]

MEDAL CEREMONY IS BRIEF, SOLEMN

President Nixon presented the Congressional Medal of Honor to the mother of Cpl. Thomas Bennett of Morgantown yesterday in a brief, solemn ceremony.

Besides Mrs. Gale M. Gray, relatives present included the war hero's stepfather, Kermit N. Gray, and two brothers, George B. and James F. Bennett, both of Washington.

"The President was very gracious," Mr. Gray told The Dominion-News via telephone last night. "In fact, everyone has been very gracious and treated us royally."

Corporal Bennett, who would have been 23 years old yesterday, was killed while saving the life of a wounded soldier in South Vietnam's Central Highlands on Feb. 11, 1969.

A conscientious objector, he served in the Army as a medical aide.

In making the presentation, President Nixon read briefly from the citation and then shook Mrs. Gray's hand. "He was as solemn as you might expect on such an occasion," Mr. Gray noted.

The medal of honor to the local youth was one of 21 presented by the nation's chief executive posthumously yesterday in the East Room of the White House.

Only relatives of the soldiers, officers of their military units, and certain members of Congress were invited to the otherwise private ceremony.

Congressman Harley O. Staggers of the Second District attended along with two colonels and a lieutenant from Corporal Bennett's infantry regiment in Vietnam.

A paratrooper from Fairmont and another man from Clarksburg also were present.

The families were guests at a reception in the State Ballroom following the ceremony at which President Nixon made each presentation separately to the nearest of kin in each case.

A tour of the White House concluded yesterday's program.

Prior to the ceremony, the relatives were taken to Arlington Cemetery, where they watched the changing of the guard, and also to Lincoln Memorial and then to the Pentagon.

At the Pentagon the group was shown the Hall of Heroes, which includes medal winners from all wars. A picture of Corporal Bennett has been placed there.

Mr. and Mrs. Gray will return to Morgantown today.

George Bennett is working with the Federal Deposit Insurance Corp. in Washington while also completing studies for his doctorate degree. James Bennett recently transferred to Washington from Charleston with the Chesapeake & Potomac Telephone Co.

YOUNG DRUGS EXPERIMENTER
BURNS SELF TO DEATH IN FLORIDA

HON. GEORGE A. GOODLING

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 16, 1970

Mr. GOODLING. Mr. Speaker, every day some of our American youths engage in the utterly disastrous exercise of pouring themselves down the drug drain, bringing destruction to themselves and grief to those who love them.

The April 16, 1970, issue of the Washington Post presents a vivid and sad account of how one youth followed such a destructive course and includes the text of a letter written as he stood on the dark threshold of suicide.

In his death, the young man referred to in the pertinent article implored other youths to avoid the disaster that befell him, thereby hoping that others might gain from his wasted life.

Because there is a valuable lesson in this article, and because this unfortunate youth's letter carries a poignant and meaningful message, I insert the Article into the RECORD and commend it to the attention of all interested in avoiding the disaster of drug abuse:

[From the Washington Post, Apr. 16, 1970]
YOUNG DRUGS EXPERIMENTER BURNS SELF TO DEATH IN FLORIDA

GAINESVILLE, Fla., April 15.—Andy Anderson wrote a poem about his drug experiences saying, "My mind is no longer my friend. It won't leave me alone."

Then he burned himself to death.

County Judge John L. Connell made public the poem and a note in which Anderson wrote: "The drug experience has filled me with fear and doubts of myself. I cannot go on. Please try to remember my good points and excuse this final act of desperation."

The 20-year-old University of Florida junior, his body and his car doused with gasoline, burned to death Feb. 19 about 100 yards from his apartment building. A coroner's jury ruled the death suicide.

"This Christmas I had a very bad experience with drug called mescaline. I have smoked a little pot before—as many my age—but I tried mescaline only once," Anderson wrote.

"Since then I have not been in control of my mind. I have killed myself because I can no longer run my own affairs, and I can only be trouble and worry to those who love and care for me.

"I have tried to straighten myself out, but things are only getting worse."

Anderson did not direct the note to anyone, but in it he addressed his parents, Mr. and Mrs. K. C. Anderson of Lakeland.

"Please forgive me parents for quitting after you have raised me, but I cannot live with myself any longer," he said.

"You were good parents and I love you both, don't let my downfall be yours—you have nothing to be ashamed of. I made the mistake—not you.

"There is nothing but misery for all of us should I allow myself to deteriorate further.

"To those of my friends who might also think about learning about themselves with mind expanding drugs—don't.

"Learn about yourself as you live your life—don't try to know everything at once by swallowing a pill. It could be too much for your mind to handle at one time. It could

blow out all of the circuits as it did with me.

"I am too weak to fight—too proud to live forever on sympathy of others. Love, Andy."

"MORATORIUM": MARCHING ON?—OR RUNNING DOWN?

HON. PAUL J. FANNIN

OF ARIZONA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, April 16, 1970

Mr. FANNIN. Mr. President, last fall, many of us expressed our concern over the genesis of the "Moratorium" activities generated for October 15 and November 15. I felt then, and still feel, that these movements have their roots behind the Iron Curtain—and there is much documentation to substantiate that idea. Much of that information I have already placed in the RECORD.

Today, I ask unanimous consent that a memorandum concerning the Stockholm Conferences on Vietnam, held earlier this year, and a series of news releases from the Vietnam Moratorium Committee detailing their activities, the events which they say they planned, the people and institutions they are claiming as supporters and background facts on the moratorium movement, be printed in the Extensions of Remarks.

Although I question the scope and accuracy of all the information reported by the VMC—particularly in the areas of personal endorsements—the extent of these reports and activities should be available to Congress.

In the Stockholm document we see some of the intermediate and international planning, in the VMC releases we see some of the fruit.

I suspect, Mr. President, that we shall shortly see some of the energy channeled into the Vietnam issue redirected by these groups, or their successors, into the areas of environment and pollution. We have already seen some evidence of this. It is a tactic that is not hard to understand once one realizes that the important requirement in trying to foment revolution is to have an issue—the issue itself is of no particular importance, so long as you can rally extremists and espouse violence in its cause.

We must pay particular heed, Mr. President, that the needed efforts directed toward improving our environment, are not diluted, misdirected, or even used against us, by individuals and groups whose primary allegiance is neither to America nor the constitutional privileges which we enjoy.

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

STOCKHOLM CONFERENCES ON VIETNAM, JANUARY 17-18 AND MARCH 28-30, 1970

THE I.L.C. PLANNING CONFERENCE OF JANUARY 17-18, 1970

At a secret planning conference in Stockholm, Sweden on January 17-18, 1970 some 65 delegates and observers representing 18 international organizations and 21 national groups met to prepare plans for a major international anti-Vietnam conference to be held in Stockholm on March 28-30 as part of

a concerted world-wide attack on the Administration's Vietnam policies. Participants included representatives from Moscow, Hanoi and the Viet Cong's Provisional Revolutionary Government.

The United States was represented at the planning conference by three anti-Vietnam activists: Mr. John McAuliff of the New Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam; Dr. Carlton Goodlett of the Committee for International Peace Action; Mrs. Shirley Keith of the American Committee of the Movement of Peace, Disarmament and Liberty.

The delegates were convened by the I.L.C. to coordinate and strengthen the effectiveness and impact of the international anti-Vietnam movement. The movement's extensive planning network and the extremely close connection maintained between the various national anti-Vietnam groups and the Hanoi Politburo were especially clearly demonstrated in the close congruence between the points of an agreement reached in Hanoi by an I.L.C. delegation and the substance of resolutions approved at the Stockholm planning conference in January.

In a report to the Stockholm conference, Bertil Svahnstrom of Sweden described the December 1969 visit to Hanoi of a six-man I.L.C. delegation to discuss future international anti-Vietnam moves. The delegation had met with Prime Minister Pham Van Dong and with the Ambassador of the Viet Cong's Provisional Revolutionary Government (P.R.G.), Trung Cong Dong. The delegation included two American representatives: Louis Schneider of the American Friends Service Committee and James Forrest of the World Peace Council in Helsinki. According to Svahnstrom, the Vietnamese Communists and the I.L.C. delegates had decided in Hanoi to focus their next actions on: a "Vietnam Appeal" calling for U.S. withdrawals, on pressures to withdraw other allied troops, on a new international conference, on exposure of U.S. war crimes and on diplomatic and material support of the P.R.G.

JANUARY 17-18 PLANNING CONFERENCE RESOLUTIONS

The resolutions approved by the general meeting of the I.L.C.'s January planning conference faithfully reflected the points of the agreement reached earlier in Hanoi. With a declaration that "the need of the hour is to launch a new offensive, the mightiest and most united ever of the peace forces, against the Nixon war . . ." the conference agreed upon the following courses of action:

1. *The "Vietnam Appeal."* Described as "the key issue around which such an offensive can and must be built," the "Appeal" would mobilize all possible organizations and individuals at national, regional and local levels to sign a demand for "total, immediate, and unconditional withdrawal of U.S. troops from South Vietnam."

2. *The Campaign Against U.S. Crimes.* Described as "a mass campaign of denunciation of the crimes committed by the U.S. forces in Vietnam," the campaign would lean on a Commission of Enquiry to be established by the I.L.C. "in cooperation with jurists and scientists from different organizations to study and prepare a detailed report on these crimes."

3. *Campaign of Material Aid.* The I. L. C. will act as the international coordinator of a drive to collect material aid for the North Vietnamese and the Viet Cong on the basis of requirement lists given earlier to the I.L.C. delegation in Hanoi. "Millions" of demonstrators are expected by the I. L. C to be stirred into action on that day.

4. *April 15—U.S. Out of Vietnam Day.* All international and national organizations are called upon "to support the call by the U.S. New Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam for the observance of April 15 as

a special day of action against the Vietnam war."

5. *5th Stockholm Conference on Vietnam; 28-30 March 1970.*—The I.L.C. declared an open invitation to "all organizations, groups, and individuals, who are working to end the war in Vietnam" and who support the demand of the "Vietnam Appeal" "to join in preparing for and holding a new world mobilization conference to end the war in Vietnam" to be held in Stockholm on 28-30 March 1970. A special effort would be made to ensure participation of representatives of "Third World" countries and "national liberation" movements. The conference would include working groups on material aid, campaign against U.S. crimes, recognition of the P.R.G., international corporate and academic complicity, etc. The I.L.C. resolution concludes with the statement that "the Fifth Stockholm Conference on Vietnam must bring together all the old and new forces taking part in the solidarity movement; should represent the new unity of this movement; and give the necessary impetus for united actions on a new, unprecedented scale"

U.S. Participation

Two Americans, Louis Schneider and James Forrest, were members of the I.L.C.'s six-man delegation which visited Hanoi in December 1969 to receive the instructions incorporated in the resolutions of the I.L.C.'s January planning conference.

At the January conference three other American representatives played an active role as follows: John McAuliff, a former Peace Corps man and the representative of the East Coast organization of the New Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam, outlined the New Mobe's program for the winter-spring campaign in the U.S. Describing the campaign as involving local initiatives nationally coordinated by the New Mobe, he described its purpose as seeking to affect the American people, particularly the working class and the "Third World" groups. The new Mobe strategy will call for the total, immediate and unconditional withdrawal of U.S. troops and will be focused on three specific issues: (1) "repression," (2) the draft and (3) the economy. The repression focus would include discussions of the actions being taken against the Black Panthers.

McAuliff's New Mobe offensive timetable included: (1) 15 January—day of discussion against U.S. "genocide;" (2) Month of February—protests against the Chicago Conspiracy trial; (3) 14-15 March—civil disobedience at draftboards; (4) 14-15 April—protests against the "war tax;" (5) Last two weeks in April—the second phase of the "Who pays? Who profits?" campaign at stockholders' meetings of large corporations, including Honeywell, General Electric and Gulf Oil; (6) Month of May—demonstrations at U.S. military bases.

Carlton Goodlett, a Negro physician and editor from California who is the New Mobe's West Coast treasurer, opened his remarks with a discussion of the Black Panther situation in his area and went on to describe the New Mobe programs. In spite of "persecutions" and major debts, he claimed the New Mobe to have been effective, with goals already attained by the movement to include U.S. troop reductions, cuts in the U.S. military budget and U.S.G. hesitation on curbing non-violent protest. Goodlett called for further pressure against the "madness" and "illogic" of U.S. foreign policy. In calling for U.S. isolation from the world community, he criticized the Soviet Union for maintaining cultural exchanges with the U.S., for continuing the SALT talks and for selling titanium to the United States for use in U.S. space and missile programs.

Mrs. Shirley Keith, representative of the American Committee of the Movement for Disarmament, Peace and Liberty of Paris, spoke on the question of tapping "Third

World" minority groups in the U.S. such as the Blacks (specifically the Black Panthers), the Japanese Americans, American Indians, and Mexican-Americans, claimed that these groups offered a great deal of potential for expanding the anti-war protest in the U.S. and advised that they be invited to future I.L.C. meetings.

A SURVEY OF MORATORIUM ACTIVITY
BOSTON REGIONAL OFFICE
Maine

Portland: The Internal Revenue Service Headquarters will be picketed all day by persons distributing literature dealing with the war and its effect on the economy. A program of speeches on these issues will be given in local high schools.

New Hampshire

Concord: A rally will be held on the steps of the State House at 3 pm. It is expected to draw people from across the state. The rally will be preceded by a march through the city, past the draft board and the IRS Center. Among the speakers at the rally will be Jonathan Mirsky, a professor of Asian Studies at Dartmouth College. People are expected from Manchester, Nashua and Keen. Students from Dartmouth will march into Concord in a funeral-type procession.

Vermont

Bennington: Students at Bennington College will participate in the three day fast. Throughout the time they have scheduled workshops on the issue of the war and its relationship to the economy. On the 15th students will boycott classes.

Massachusetts

Boston: The center for all Massachusetts activity on the 15th will be a late afternoon rally on Boston Common. Speakers will include James Shay, who introduced legislation challenging the constitutionality of the Vietnam war into the Massachusetts State Legislature, and Georgia State Legislator Julian Bond. The Boston cast of HAIR will entertain, along with other musical groups. This rally is sponsored by a coalition of 10 Peace Groups, including the Vietnam Moratorium Committee. Participants will come to this rally from across the state. Before leaving their home-towns, they will picket IRS Centers and distribute literature. Some of the towns and cities where this will occur are:

Amherst—in addition to leafletting at IRS Center, there will be a small rally on the town common at 10 am, sponsored by students from University of Massachusetts, Amherst College and Smith College.

Andover—the IRS Regional Computer Center will be picketed at 10 am.

Cambridge—the IRS Center will be picketed all morning.

Concord—Persons from this town will march to Boston for the rally. They leave from Walden Pond on April 14, march through Concord and Arlington where they will spend the night, continuing on to Boston on Wednesday morning.

Framington—the IRS Center will be picketed at 10 am. Twelve buses have been hired to transport participants to Boston.

Lynn—picketing at IRS Center at 10 am. Marblehead—there will be a rally on the town common at 10 am.

Natick—picketing at the IRS Center at 10 am. Eleven buses have been filled for the trip to Boston.

Springfield—picketing at IRS Center at 10 am.

Swampscott—a rally will be held at 10 am on the town common.

Picketing of local IRS Centers will also take place in Brockton, Fitchburg, Haverhill and Holyoke.

In Boston itself, the IRS Center will be picketed in the morning. The Vietnam Moratorium Lawyers Committee will hold seminars in Faneuil Hall until the rally begins.

Rhode Island

Newport: A petition protesting the war will be presented to the Commanding Officer at Newport Naval Base, where sailors are trained for Vietnam destroyer duty. Those bringing the petition will march from Portsmouth.

Providence: The IRS Center will be picketed throughout the day. There will also be a demonstration showing support for a version of the Shay Bill, testing the constitutionality of the war, which has been introduced recently in the State Legislature.

Connecticut

Hartford: There will be a tax payers rally in front of the State Capitol Building which will be followed by a march to the IRS Center. This rally will draw persons from many parts of the state. A local retired Army general will speak. There will also be picketing at the Colt Firearms Company.

New Haven: There will be a march from the town green past the main office of the telephone company, the IRS Center, the Draft Board and then returning to the Green for speeches. The march will begin at 3 pm. Each of the buildings named above will be picketed.

NEW YORK REGIONAL OFFICE

New York State

Binghamton: Students from Harpur College will leaflet the IRS Center and hold a rally at the Federal Building. There will also be a rally on the 15th at the college campus featuring Eugene Nickerson, Democratic candidate for Governor of New York.

Buffalo: The fast will begin with a tea and rice dinner at 6:30 pm on Monday the 13th at the Plymouth Methodist Church. There will be several speakers. On the 14th, two major steel factories will be leafleted. On the 15th there will be a rally at the IRS Center at noon. In conjunction with the events, oversize checks are being distributed, printed "My Contribution to War." The tax payer can pay his taxes with this check which is too large to be accepted by IRS equipment.

Canton: Students at St. Lawrence University and the State University there, together with students at nearby Clarkson College and the State University in Potsdam, will hold informal meetings with workers. This is being organized in cooperation with the United Auto Workers and construction workers unions. The discussions will center on the economic impact of the war in Vietnam.

Ithaca: Leafletting will be done in the shopping areas throughout the day. In addition students from Cornell will raise money for a civic project.

Kingston: Students from New Paltz State College will picket the local IRS Center.

Nassau County: There will be at 1 pm rally at the IRS Center in Mineola. Participants will board buses to go into New York City for the rally in Bryant Park.

New York City: At 10:30 am there will be a Boston Tea Party at the Battery Park. At 11:30, there will be gatherings at all IRS Centers in the five boroughs of New York City. At 4 pm there will be a rally in Bryant Park at which Mayor John Lindsay, William Kunstler, lawyer for the Chicago 7, labor leaders and others will speak. Congresswoman Shirley Chisholm will be a chairman of the rally. The event is sponsored by a coalition of Peace Groups. Throughout the three day fast, a vigil will be maintained at the New York Society for Ethical Culture Center. There will be meetings on Sunday and Wednesday evening, to mark the beginning and end of fasting.

Rochester: A local group is promoting tax refusal. This is being done through a leafletting campaign and door-to-door canvassing of selected parts of the city. There will also be a rally to focus on tax refusal.

Saratoga Springs-Schenectady: The students at Skidmore College and Union College have a series of events. On the 14th, there is

an address by Dr. Benjamin Spock. On the 15th there will be a march past the IRS Center and a rally. On the 16th Abbie Hoffman of the Chicago 7 will speak.

Smithtown: There will be a rally at the local IRS Center sponsored by a coalition of 12 Peace Groups. Leafletting of the IRS Center will also be done.

Syracuse: There will be an 8 pm rally in Clinton Square, featuring several speakers.

White Plains: The IRS Center will be picketed throughout the day on the 15th.

PHILADELPHIA REGIONAL OFFICE

New Jersey

Edison: There will be a tax-payer rally at 7:30 pm in the Temple Emanuel. Dr. Francois D'Heurle, a member of the Board of Directors of the Committee of Responsibility, an organization to aid war injured children, will speak.

Livingston: A town meeting will be held to discuss the morality of the Vietnam War.

Montclair: Muhammed Ali will speak at 8:00 pm at Montclair State Teachers College.

Morristown: As part of the three day Peace Fast, a group of housewives will hold a luncheon at noon. There will be no food served.

Newark: There is a full day of activities in Newark. At 11:00 am there will be a rally for high-school students in West Side Park. Black candidates for city councilman will speak. At 12:00 noon, there will be a rally at the Newark campus of Rutgers University. Leonard Weinglass, lawyer for the Chicago 7 will speak. At 2:00 pm Rutgers students will march to the IRS Building. At 3:30 pm, the high school students will march from West Side Park to the IRS Center. At 4:30 pm, all will march to Military Park where a rally will be held from 5:00 pm to 8:00 pm. Speakers include: David Hawk of the Vietnam Moratorium Committee; Adam Walinsky, aid to the late Robert F. Kennedy; a labor leader; candidates for the office of Mayor of Newark; and other candidates for elected positions. There will also be entertainment by rock and folk groups.

Ocean County: An outdoor rally arranged by high school students will be held at the Memorial Amphitheatre. Gerhard Elston, of the National Council of Churches will speak. There will also be entertainment.

Trenton: There will be a rally in front of the IRS Center in the Federal Building on Saturday, April 11th. Religious organizations are planning to fast for the Three Day Peace Fast.

Pennsylvania

Ardmore: There will be a teach-in at the Ardmore YMCA at 8:00 pm on April 14. A member of the New York Stock Exchange will speak on the economic effects of the war in Vietnam.

Harrisburg: There will be a rally on the steps of the State Capitol at 5:00 pm. Two members of the Pennsylvania State Legislature will speak. They plan to introduce a measure similar to the Massachusetts "Shay Bill" to the legislature within the week. Persons are travelling from a score of central Pennsylvania towns to attend the rally, including Lancaster, Carlisle, Lewisburg, York, Gettysburg, Hershey, and Susquehanna.

Philadelphia: A 5:00 pm rally in John F. Kennedy Plaza is planned. It is sponsored by a coalition of peace groups. There will be "feeder" marches from several local campuses to the rally site. The main speaker will be John Kenneth Galbraith, former ambassador to India. In addition, there will be businessmen and labor leaders speaking. The rally has been endorsed by: Dr. John Coleman, President of Haverford College; Mr. Norval Reece, Democratic Candidate for Senate; Nick Lamont, Democratic Candidate for Congress; and several religious leaders. The Fast is also planned for several local campuses, including Drexel, Temple, and the University of Pennsylvania. At Temple University, an all-night vigil is planned for the evening

of the 14th. The Philadelphia unit of the National Welfare Rights Organization will wear black mourning clothes and march from the Federal Building to the rally.

Pittsburgh: A march from Freedom Corner in a ghetto area to Point State Park will begin at 4:00 p.m. A rally will then be held in the park at about 5:00 p.m. Speakers will include: State Representative Gerald Kauffman, Senatorial Candidate Norval Reece, and Congressional Candidate Byrd Brown. There will also be entertainment. The theme of the rally will be "New Priorities Day." Also at noon there will be a picket line in front of the IRS Center. These activities are sponsored by several peace and poverty organizations.

Scranton: There will be a midnight "Celebration of Life" Services in the Chapel of the University of Scranton on the night of April 12. A vigil will continue there until the 15th. On the 13th and 14th there will be day-long picketing at the IRS Center. On the 15th, there will be an 8:00 a.m. teach-in at the University of Scranton and Central High School. At 10:00 a.m., the city council will receive a resolution favoring immediate withdrawal from Vietnam. At noon, there will be a march from the University Student Center to the Court House for a "Scranton Tea Party"—a rally with several speakers. One half hour before dark, the rally will end and there will be a march back to the Student Center for a common meal ending the Fast. One group is marching from Wilkes-Barre, twenty miles away, for the noon rally.

Delaware

Newark: There will be a rally at 7:30 p.m. at the University of Delaware. Speaking will be national Moratorium coordinator David Mixner and Philadelphia regional coordinator of the Moratorium, Larry Kudlow.

Maryland

Baltimore: A fast-vigil will be held in front of the IRS Center in Hopkins Plaza from midnight Tuesday until noon on Wednesday. Folk and rock groups will entertain. A tax-payer rally will be held at noon at the same site. The Fast itself will begin with a simple meal in Mary Our Queen Cathedral Sunday night at 8:00 p.m. The events have been endorsed by a variety of organizations, academics, and clergymen.

Frederick: A rally will be held at the IRS Center in Monacacy Village on April 14th between the hours at 11:00 a.m. and 1:00 p.m. Persons from this area will attend the rally in Washington, D.C. on the 15th.

Washington, D.C.

There will be picketing at the IRS Center at 12th and Constitution Ave., N.W. at 4:00 p.m. on Wednesday. This will be followed by a gathering in L'Enfant Square (9th and Constitution Ave., N.W.) for several speeches. There will then be a march to the Capitol grounds where there will be speeches by David Dellinger, one of the Chicago 7, and Julius Hobson, former member of the D.C. School Board. Johnnie Tillman, national chairman of the National Welfare Rights Organization, Jack Newfield, author and columnist for the Village Voice, and Roger Priest, a sailor whose court-martial begins Tuesday, April 14th on charges stemming from his publication of an anti-war newspaper, will also speak. The rally is sponsored by a coalition of groups.

Virginia

Charlottesville: There will be a noon rally at the local Court House at which two professors from the University of Virginia will speak.

Norfolk: There will be a march from the Hague at Stockley Gardens through the downtown area to the IRS Center. This will be followed by a rally at noon.

Williamsburg: The fast is being organized for April 13-15. Persons from this town plan to attend the tax payer rally in Norfolk.

West Virginia

Huntington: There will be an afternoon rally at the IRS Center.

Morgantown: On the 14th, a teach-in on the draft and the economic impact of the war will be held. On the 15th, there will be a rally at 6:00 p.m. at the Court House. Earlier in the day, the city council will be urged to telegraph President Nixon asking for immediate withdrawal from Vietnam.

ATLANTA REGIONAL OFFICE

Tennessee

Knoxville: A tax payer rally will be held in front of the downtown post office which houses the IRS Center at 7 p.m. Speakers will include a variety of local leaders.

Nashville: An anti-repression rally will be held on April 12 to focus on 20 members of the local Vietnam Moratorium Committee who have been indicted in connection with anti-war activities. It will be held in Centennial Park at 2 p.m. It will be preceded by folksinging from 11 a.m. Speakers will include Jerry Rubin of the Chicago 7, Rev. James Lawson, a Memphis Clergyman active with the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, and a local labor leader.

North Carolina

Chapel Hill: During the week of April 6-10, a street dance has been held and anti-war films have been shown in Durham and in Chapel Hill. On Friday, April 10, a fund-raising cocktail party was held at the home of former Governor Terry Sanford, now President of Duke University, with Phillip Hoff, former governor of Vermont and now a candidate for the Senate from that State, as guest. At all these events and through mailings, "Induction notices" have been sent to North Carolina high school and college students and to GI's stationed in the state. These "Induction notices" call one into a "Peace Army" which will meet for a two day "Festival of Life" in Chapel Hill on April 11 and 12. Speaking will be Arthur Waskow of the Institute for Policy Studies in Washington, D.C. and Rennie Davis of the Chicago 7. In addition there will be folk and rock entertainment, including Tom Paxton. The Peace Army will reconvene at Fort Bragg on May 16, when the base is open to the public for Armed Forces Day.

Durham: On April 13th, General Hugh Hester will speak at Page Auditorium at Duke University at 8 p.m.

Georgia

Athens: The April Peace Fast is being organized for April 13-15.

Atlanta: On the 15th, a coalition of Atlanta Movement groups will hold a rally at the IRS Center. In addition, there will be leafletting at factory gates in the morning, guerrilla theater actions, and a picket line at the IRS Center throughout the day. Mock 1040 forms are being distributed to be burned on the 15th.

Florida

Orlando: A coalition of Peace Groups is sponsoring a two mile march through the city to the draft board. There, a rally will be held, focusing on the draft and the economic impact of the war.

St. Petersburg: There will be a noon-time march through the shopping area of the city ending at the Federal Building. A rally will be held there featuring General Hugh Hester and others.

HOUSTON REGIONAL OFFICE

Arkansas

Little Rock: There will be a state-wide rally here on Saturday April 11, at 3 p.m. in MacArthur Park. Speakers will include William F. Ryan, Democratic Congressman from New York, Sam Brown, a national coordinator of the Vietnam Moratorium Committee and others. Participants will return to their home towns to participate in the three day Peace Fast and to distribute literature on the

war and its effects on the economy at IRS Centers on the 15th. Participants are expected from the following communities and campuses:

Fayetteville—University of Arkansas.
Russellville—Arkansas Polytechnic College.
Jonesboro—State University of Arkansas.
Conway—State College of Arkansas, Hendricks College.
Arkadelphia—Ouchita Baptist College, Henderson State College.
Clarksville—College of the Ozarks.
Little Rock—Little Rock University.
Pine Bluff—A. M. & M. College.
Batesville—Arkansas College.

Louisiana

Baton Rouge: The three day fast will begin with church services on April 12. Students at Louisiana State University will fast through the 15th. On the 13th there will be a film showing. On the 14th, there will be speakers on the subject of Vietnamization. On the 15th, there will be a rally. All these events are at noon, during what would normally be lunch hour.

New Orleans: There will be picketing throughout the day at the IRS Center. Eighteen local residents declared publicly during the week of March 3 that they would refuse to pay their taxes. At the same time, a center for tax information was established. There is a state-wide draft counseling program project which is an on-going effort by the local Vietnam Moratorium Committee.

Shreveport: The shopping area of the city will be leafleted during the week before April 15. There will be a Peace Festival in Shreveport on April 25. These programs are centered on relating the cost of the war to domestic issues and needs.

Oklahoma

Oklahoma City: A group of high school students led by the chairman of the Federation of Democratic Youth will lobby with the state legislature on the economic impact of the war on the 15th. There will also be a rally at the IRS Center.

Ponca City: The shopping area of the city as well as Indian and black neighborhoods will be leafleted throughout the week. High school students will hold a debate with Ponca City American Legion on the 15th.

Texas

Amarillo: The fast is being organized here for April 13-15. Those fasting will hold vigils at the cafeterias of West Texas State University as well as local restaurants. There will be a rally at the IRS Center on the 15th.

Austin: On the 11th, Abbie Hoffman of the Chicago 7 will speak at the University of Texas. Leonard Weinglass, lawyer for the Chicago 7 will speak to the Law School. On the 18th there will be a march and rally at the State Capitol Building.

Brownsville (Rio Grande Valley): Local clergymen are coordinating the Peace Fast among their congregations.

College Station: The fast will also be observed at Texas A & M University. Students will vigil in dining halls and local restaurants.

Dallas: For two weeks preceding April 15th, the film "In the Year of the Pig" has been widely distributed. On the 15th, Texas Instruments Company is holding their annual stockholders' meeting. Texas Instruments is the 48th largest defense contractor in the country. There will be a 7 hour rally beginning at 3 pm at Winfrey Point, near the home of H. L. Hunt, wealthy industrialist. There will be speakers and entertainment.

Denton: A month-long symbolic fast has been in progress for several weeks at Texas State University. Vigils are held daily. Students will journey to Dallas for the rally there on the 15th.

Edinburgh: There will be a rally on the 14th at Pan American College. Speakers will discuss Chicano participation in the Vietnam

War. There will be picketing of the IRS Centers on the 15th.

El Paso: On the 14th, there will be a demonstration marking the first day of the courtmartial of Roger Priest in Washington, D.C. On the 15th there will be picketing and leafletting at the IRS Center. On the 18th, there will be a march through the shopping area and a rally on the campus of the University of Texas.

Fort Worth: On the 9th, picketing and leafletting began at the H. R. Block tax consulting offices. On the 12th there will be an ecumenical service to begin the Fast. On the 14th, there will be a teach-in on the war and its economic impact at Texas Christian College. Participants are expected from other area colleges and universities. There will be a service in Trinity Park on the 15th at sundown to conclude the Fast. There will be a march and rally on the 18th.

Galveston: The Peace Fast is organized to take place here.

Houston: There will be a march through the shopping area of the city on April 12, concluding at Herman Park. There a rally will begin at 3 p.m. with Abbie Hoffman and Leonard Weinglass of the Chicago 7 speaking. There will be a tax protest rally at noon at the University of Houston. 200,000 tax protest leaflets have been distributed.

Midland-Odessa: Persons will be fasting and there will be a rally at the IRS Center on April 15.

San Antonio: The three day fast is being organized here.

San Marcos: State Senator Schwartz will speak at Southwest Texas State College on April 13. On the 15th, there will be a teach-in on the economic impact of the war at 12 noon.

Waco: On the 15th, the IRS Center will be leafletted. During the week, a program of draft counseling in Chicano neighborhoods is being undertaken. Each weekend during April, the local Vietnam Moratorium Committee and other community groups are spending the day with Vietnam Veterans who are patients at the Waco Mental Hospital.

Wichita Falls: There will be a rally at the IRS Center on the 15th.

New Mexico

Albuquerque: A noon rally will be held on April 15th at Robinson Park, to be followed by a march to the IRS Center. Leafletting of high schools and Chicano neighborhoods has been done for the past two weeks.

Sante Fe: On the 12th, there will be leafletting and speakers at all churches on the economic effect on the war. On the 15th, there will be a rally at IRS Center.

Socorro: The Chicano community will be canvassed and Spanish-language literature on the war and its economic impact will be distributed. Seminars will be held at the New Mexico Institute of Mining and Technology preceding the tax payer rally at the IRS Center on the 15th.

The following New Mexico towns will be the scene of leafletting at IRS Centers on the 15th:

Las Cruces, Las Vegas, Los Alamos, Portales, and Taos.

Ohio

Cincinnati-Covington, Kentucky: During the week preceding April 15th, all 27 H. R. Block Income Tax offices are being leafletted with materials on the war and its economic effects. On the 15th, students from the University of Cincinnati will march from campus to Fountain Square to join with others in the city. They will then walk across the Suspension Bridge to Covington, Kentucky, the site of the regional IRS Center, and ring the building with people. The IRS has closed the building for the day.

Cleveland: At 10 am on the 15th there will be a rally at John Carroll University and a Festival of Life at the Cleveland Art Museum. The American Telephone and Telegraph stockholders' meeting will be picketed

and some with proxies will enter the meeting, which begins at 12 noon. A mock stockholders meeting will be held at 2:30 at the Lake Side Mall, located between the City Hall and the Court House. This will be followed by a rally, participants from which will march from various points in the city. A coalition of more than 20 groups sponsors the event.

Columbus: There will be a teach-in at Ohio State University from 11 am till 9 pm on Monday April 13. On Wednesday, there will be a vigil from 8 am until 5 pm on the steps of the Administration Building.

Dayton: Rally at the offices of Ohio Bell Telephone Company in support of those picketing the AT & T Stockholders' meeting in Cleveland. There will also be a march past the IRS Center to the telephone company offices involving students from Antioch College.

Oxford: Students at Miami University will participate in the Peace Fast, April 13-15. There will be special classes on a "free university" basis dealing with the war and related issues. Students plan to journey to Cincinnati to join the march there on the 15th.

Springfield: There will be rallies at both the IRS Center and the offices of the Telephone Company. An information booth on tax refusal will be established. Labor union people from the International Harvester Company will leaflet the community on the war on April 11 and 12. Some people will travel to Dayton for the rally there on the 15th.

Toledo: On the 11th, leafletting will be done at all area shopping centers. Members of the Toledo Peace Action Council will participate in the three day fast. On the 14th there will be an evening workshop on priorities for government spending. On the 15th, there will be a march past two Federal Buildings. A rally will be held featuring several speakers. There will also be leafletting on the draft and AT & T. Participants are expected from the University of Toledo, Bowling Green State University, and Bluffton College.

Wooster: On the 14th, there will be workshops on the draft, on the 15th seminars on national priorities. These activities are focused on the campus of Wooster College.

Akron: There will be a 12 noon rally on the 15th on the campus of Akron State University featuring Blair Clark, campaign manager to Senator Eugene McCarthy in his 1968 Presidential campaign.

Kentucky

Bowling Green: On the 11th the campus of Western Kentucky State University will be leafletted with literature on the war. On the 15th, there will be a rally at the IRS Center.

Covington: Joining with people from Cincinnati, Ohio, for a rally at the Regional IRS Center. See Cincinnati, Ohio, for details.

Georgetown: Students at Georgetown College are planning for three day fast.

Lexington: At 12 noon on the 15th, there will be a vigil dramatizing the fast. Persons here have been doing this each week since Lent began. At 6 p.m. there will be leafletting at the Court House and at shopping centers. At 9 pm there will be a vigil at the University of Kentucky campus.

Louisville: There will be a rally at the Federal Building, preceded by a "Picnic for Peace."

Michigan

Albion: Residents of Albion plan to participate in the three day Peace Fast.

Ann Arbor: A referendum on alternatives for ending the Vietnam War was ruled off the local ballot. It will be conducted unofficially by mail with the cooperation of the local newspaper. On April 15th, Ann Arbor residents will travel to Detroit for the rally there.

Detroit: On the 13th at 4 pm there will be a tax protest at the Federal Building. On the 14th, General Motors will be picketed. On the 15th, there will be a rally in Kennedy

Square. It will be preceded by a march from Wayne State University.

Mt. Pleasant: On the 14th there will be a rally at Central Michigan University. On the 15th, there will be a teach-in on the war and related issues.

Ypsilanti: There will be an evening rally on the 14th at Ypsilanti College. Rennie Davis on the Chicago 7 will speak. On the 15th, there will be a boycott of classes.

Indiana

Bloomington: There will be a rally at a downtown park on the 15th. On the 17th there will be a teach-in on the economic impact of the war at Indiana University.

Columbus: Leafletting will be done all day on the 15th at the IRS Center.

Crawfordsville: There will be a noon rally on the 15th. On the 27th at 8 pm there will be a town meeting on taxation and economics.

Evansville: Local residents are participating in the three day fast. A rally will be held at 4 pm on the 15th at the Federal Building.

Fort Wayne: The three day Peace Fast has support among religious persons. The IRS Center will be leafletted on the 15th.

Franklin: Leafletting will be done at the IRS Center on the 15th.

Goshen: The Peace Fast and leafletting of IRS Center are the main activities.

Hammond-Gary: Gary City Council recently passed a resolution favoring a speedy end to the war. It is expected that Mayor Richard Hatcher will sign it during the next week. There will be a rally drawing persons from both Hammond and Gary at noon in front of the Federal Building in Gary. Significant labor participation is expected.

Hanover: There will be a 2:30 pm tax rally at the local post office. In addition a Peace Fair is planned. A number of residents are expected to participate in the fast.

Indianapolis: The IRS Center will be leafletted on April 13-15. On the 15th there will be a rally at the Welfare Office. There will be an evening march to the Post Office and a candlelight vigil maintained there through the evening, until midnight.

Lafayette: There will be a 7 pm rally at the Court House on the 15th. Leafletting will be done at IRS Offices.

Muncie: Students at Ball State University are participating in the Fast. They also are leafletting shopping areas. On the 12th, there will be a "Celebration of Life" featuring music and poetry. On the 15th, there will be a Teach-in on Laos. At 7:30 there will be a rally on the campus featuring Sam Brown, a national coordinator of the Vietnam Moratorium Committee.

Notre Dame, South Bend, Michigan City: There will be a teach-in on the war and its economic effects at Notre Dame on the 15th. Leafletting will also be done.

North Manchester: There will be leafletting on the 15th by students at Manchester College.

Rochester: Leafletting of IRS Center will be the main activity here.

Staunton: Leafletting will be done at the local IRS Center. In addition, local residents will travel to Indianapolis for the rally there.

Terre Haute-St. Mary's of the Woods: There will be leafletting of shopping centers on the 15th. A rally will be held on the grounds of the Wesley Foundation at 5:30 pm.

Illinois

Carbondale: There will be a rally at the Vietnam Studies Center at Southern Illinois University in mid-afternoon.

Champaign-Urbana: Leafletting will be done at the IRS Center and shopping areas on April 11-15.

Chicago: A rally will be held at the Civic Center and will feature Senator Charles Goodell, Republican from New York, Congressman Abner Mikva, Democrat from Il-

Illinois, Dr. George Wiley, leader of the National Welfare Rights Organization, and others. The Chicago cast of HAIR will perform.

De Kalb: On the 13th, there will be a teach-in on the history of the Vietnam War on the campus of Northern Illinois University. On the 14th there will be an all day march past the draft board, the ROTC Building and back to the campus for a rally. On the 15th, students have chartered 4 buses to go to the Chicago rally.

Jacksonville: Leafletting will be done on the 15th at the IRS Offices.

Springfield: A Peace Fair will be held in the Park on the 12th.

Wisconsin

Appleton: There will be leafletting of the IRS Center on the 15th. On the 18th, there will be a march from the town park to the chapel at Lawrence University.

Ashland: Students at Northland College will participate in the fast. A referendum on the war will be conducted on the 13th and 14th.

Knosha: A march to the Court House will be held. Leafletting will be done at the IRS Center.

Madison: There will be leafletting on the 15th. Neighborhoods will also be canvassed to conduct a four point referendum on the war. On the 18, there will be a march and rally drawing people from across the state. It will be on the steps of the Capitol Building. Speakers will include Don Peterson, candidate for governor, and retired Brigadier General William Wallace Ford.

Milwaukee: Leafletting of shopping areas will be done from April 8 through the 15th. Leaflets have a tear-off coupon for inclusion with one's tax return to protest the use of tax monies. On the 13th to the 15th, meals will be served costing 17 cents (the norm provided by the welfare budget). The balance of funds normally spent on food will be given to the Peace Fast Fund. On the 15th, "Shopping Bag Rallies" will be held in shopping areas. At 1 pm there will be a march from the Welfare Department to the Courthouse. From 7-9 pm there will be a picketing and leafletting effort at the Federal Building for those filing late returns.

DES MOINES REGIONAL OFFICE

Minnesota

Minneapolis-St. Paul: A demonstration on taxes and the draft will be held at 10:30 am on the 15th at the St. Paul Armory. At 11:30, the Telephone Company offices and Western Electric factory will be picketed. In addition, the Post Offices and the IRS Center will be picketed throughout the day.

Rochester: A guerrilla theater presentation will be performed at the Post Office at 5:30 pm on the 15th. Leafletting will also be done throughout the day.

St. Cloud: Leafletting of the IRS Center will be the main activity.

Winona: Students at St. Mary's College plan to participate in the fast. Leafletting of the IRS Center will be done on the 15th.

North Dakota

Moorhead-Fargo: There will be concentrated leafletting campaigns in both towns on the 15th. Students at Moorhead State College will hold an anti-military ball. There will also be a rally involving residents from both towns. Students from Moorhead State College, Concordia College and North Dakota State College are expected to fast.

Iowa

The state has been divided into 25 regions. Over the past several weeks, persons have been traveling through the region in which they live in "Peace Vans" to visit small towns and cities, set up tables of literature and talk to people. It will be concentrated on the weekend of April 11 and 12. A statement condemning the war will be released by labor leaders, farmers, public officials and candidates for elected office.

Des Moines: There will be a noon rally. It has been endorsed by Mayor Tom Urban; United Automobile Workers Coordinator Soapy Owens; Fred Stover, President of the U.S. Farmers Association; Jack Bishop, local UAW Chairman; and Tom Whitney of the County Board of Supervisors. Sam Brown, national coordinator of the Vietnam Moratorium Committee, will speak at the rally. In addition, there will be a "Boston Tea Party" and leafletting of shopping centers.

Nebraska

Lincoln: The 15th is called a "Day of Reflection on Spending". There will be a discussion in city council chambers on war spending.

Omaha: There will be leafletting of IRS offices on the 15th.

Missouri

Columbia: There will be a panel discussion at 10 a.m. on the 15th on the subject of the ABM. At 1 p.m. General Hugh Hester will speak. At 2:30 there will be speeches on the war and taxes and at 7:30 a poetry reading. All events are on the campus of the University of Missouri. On the 18th there will be a march at an ABM site in Sedalia.

Kirkville: Leafletting will be the main activity here on the 15th.

St. Louis: A noon rally is planned for the 15th. In addition, there will be leafletting at the IRS Offices. A "Boston Tea Party" is planned, preceded by a march to the Mississippi River led by a pipe and drum corps. There will be an evening teach-in featuring Rennie Davis of the Chicago 7.

Kansas

Kansas City: A rally will be held in the public park at midday on the 15th. Participants are expected from Missouri and from much of Kansas. Lee Weiner, one of the Chicago 7, will speak. The rally will be preceded by a march through a poverty area and past the Federal Building.

Lawrence: Residents are expected to participate in the three day fast. They will travel to Kansas City for the rally on the 15th. A town meeting on taxes, the war and inflation is planned for the 13th.

Wichita: A leafletting campaign at the IRS Offices is the main activity here.

DENVER REGIONAL OFFICE

Montana

Billings: Residents are expected to fast on April 13-15.

Great Falls: Seminars on the draft are being held on April 11. The three day fast has received support.

Helena: Fasting is also expected here.

Missoula: There will be a tax payer rally at the IRS Center. The fast is also being supported.

Colorado

Aspen: Fasting is expected on April 13-15. There will be a vigil at the Post Office at noon on the 15th.

Colorado Springs: There will be a tax payer rally on the 15th.

Denver: There will be a noon rally at the IRS Offices on the 15th. The Offices have been leafletted every day since mid-March with literature on the war and its economic impact. There will be non-violent and peaceful civil disobedience either by sitting-in or chaining oneself to a door of the IRS Center. There will be seminars conducted throughout the day. A vigil dramatizing the fast will be held in the UN Plaza for 36 continuous hours. There will be a Boston Tea Party-type event at the IRS Center on the 14th. Actress Jane Fonda will be present for most of these activities.

Durango: Students from Ft. Lewis College plan to conduct the three day fast.

Ft. Collins: On Wednesday, the 15th, plans are made to canvas virtually every home and place of business with leaflets.

Greeley: Similar plans for canvassing are made in this town also. The fast is also ex-

pected to have support. Persons will travel to Denver for the rally on the 15th.

Gunnison: There will be an afternoon rally on the 15th followed by a teach-in at Western State College. Students there are withholding a portion of their dorm fees which is used to pay the telephone tax. Seminars are planned for Tuesday.

Longmont: At 8 pm on the 15th there will be a town panel discussion on the subject: "War in Asia—What does it cost?"

Pueblo: There will be a 3 pm rally followed by a march through poverty areas of the city. A teach-in will be held at 8 pm at Southern State College.

Idaho

Boise: The three day fast will be dramatized with a vigil at the Federal Building.

Lewiston: There will be an outdoor rally on the 15th. There will also be a film showing and a televised panel discussion on the war.

Moscow: A town meeting is planned for the 15th.

Pocatello: There will be a rally on the 15th and leafletting at the IRS Offices. Residents are also expected to fast.

Utah

Ogden: There will be a tax payer rally on April 15. On April 18 there will be a march and rally drawing people from region around Ogden, including Salt Lake City and Logan.

Salt Lake City: On the 15th there will be a "Festival of Life" featuring local speakers on the subjects of pollution and the war in Vietnam.

Nevada

Las Vegas: There will be a public vigil to dramatize the fast and a rally on April 15.

Washington

Pullman: The Peace Fast will be focused on a vigil on the Library Lawn at Washington State University.

Seattle: There will be a rally at 12:30 on the 15th, which will draw people from many parts of the state. It will be preceded by a march from the Courthouse to the Federal Building. The fast is also planned for Seattle.

Spokane: There will be a rally on the 15th. Dick Gregory is scheduled to speak.

Tacoma: A rally in City Park will be held at noon. There will also be a march to the IRS Center. A teach-in on the draft is planned. A fast has been continuing through Lent. It has been dramatized with vigils at the Federal Building and the Post Office.

Yakima: There will be a high school rally on the 17th at Franklin Park. There will be entertainment and speakers. A teach-in will be held at Yakima Valley Junior College on the 17th. On the 18th there will be a rally marching from the city park to the college.

Oregon

Ashland: Leafletting will be done all day at the IRS Center. There will be a noon rally on the Southern Oregon University campus featuring Dr. Arthur Pearl, candidate for Governor. The three day fast will be dramatized with vigils.

Eugene: There will be three days of leafletting at the IRS Offices. There will also be teach-ins and seminars at the University of Oregon.

Klamath Falls: Residents are expected to fast on April 13-15.

La Grande: There will be a noon tax payer rally on the 15th. In the afternoon there will be draft counseling seminars with members of the local draft board participating.

Portland: On the 14th, a teach-in is planned for 10:30 am at Portland State University. On the 15th, there will be a march from the city park to the IRS Offices to the Court House. The Peace Fast is being observed at Lewis and Clark College and Portland State University.

Salem: The three day fast will be observed at Willamette University.

SAN FRANCISCO REGIONAL OFFICE
California

Bishop: Leafletting will be done on street corners and at the Post Office.

Chula Vista: A "Peace Fair" will be held here on the 15th. A unique feature will be guerrilla theater style destruction of a mock Vietnamese village. It is intended to represent the Song My massacre.

Eureka: Leafletting will be done on the 15th at the Post Office.

Fresno: There will be a tax payer rally at noon. The emphasis of the rally will be on the creation of a draft counseling program.

Half Moon Bay: Literature on the draft, the war and local issues will be distributed. Residents are planning to travel to Palo Alto for the rally there. The town has been the scene of a number of neighborhood meetings recently.

Lodi: People have been fasting two days a week since the beginning of Lent. They will continue through Passover at the end of April.

Long Beach: A "Peace Fair" will be held on the 12th. On the 14th, cafeterias, churches and homes will be opened to neighbors and the diet of the Vietnamese will be served. On the 15th there will be a rally at noon at the Department of Public Service. At 3 pm there will be a rally at the IRS Building. At 7 pm a rally will be held in the Carmelitos Housing Project.

Los Angeles: The University of Southern California will be the site of a 1 pm rally at which Jerry Rubin of the Chicago 7 will speak. It will be followed by a march at 3 pm past the induction center to City Hall. Also at 1 pm, will be a rally at UCLA. Congressman George Brown will speak. This group will also march at 3 pm to meet the other group at the Westwood Federal Building for more speeches.

Mt. Diablo: There will be a small march at noon on April 11 from the Post Office to the City Park. Participants are expected from nearby Alamo, San Ramon and Danville. Leafletting will continue at the Post Office until April 15. There will be a rally at Mt. Diablo Valley College on the 15th, featuring Congressman John Tunney. Residents of this community plan to travel to San Francisco for a rally there as well.

Pasadena: A leafletting effort has been continuing for a month. Literature distributed is on taxes and the war.

Palo Alto: A unique activity is planned here. At 6 am on the 15th a "Dawning of Peace" festival will be held at the Frost Amphitheater. The San Francisco cast of HAIR will sing and Congressman George Brown will speak. Later in the day, at 11 am, there will be a march from a shopping center past the IRS Building to West Central Park in San Mateo. Admiral True will speak at this location. Persons from San Mateo will march to the same site from the Hillsdale Mall past the IRS Offices.

San Diego: A taxpayer rally will be held here on the 15th. It will be preceded by a march to Newton Park, from Balboa Park. Speakers and entertainment are planned.

San Francisco: The main event on April 15 is a 5 hour rally in the civic center beginning at noon. Speakers include Father James Groppi, Tom Hayden, Bill Cosby. A wide range of entertainment is also planned. It is expected that a number of persons in San Francisco will fast. A service launching the fast is planned for Sunday evening, April 12 in Grace Episcopal Cathedral. The Rt. Rev. C. Kilmer Myers, Episcopal Bishop of California will conduct the service.

San Jose: There will be a meeting on national priorities on the 15th. Picketing and a rally will take place at the IRS Offices.

Santa Barbara: There will be a march from the University of Santa Barbara past a draft board to Isla Vista on April 14. Leafletting at IRS Center and 5 other locations will be done on April 13, 14 and 15.

EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

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Santa Rosa: Picketing and leafletting will be done at the IRS Offices.

Van Nuys: Leaflets in both Spanish and English will be distributed at the General Motors plant on the 14th. On the 15th there will be a "balloon blow-up" in Topanga Plaza.

Alaska

Juneau: A taxpayer rally and public forum led by a local economist is planned for the 15th.

Fairbanks: A march and a teach-in are planned for the 15th.

TWENTY-FIVE CONGRESSMEN ENDORSE MORATORIUM TAXPAYER RALLIES

Tax payer rallies on April 15 have received the endorsement of 25 Senators and Congressmen, it was announced today by the Vietnam Moratorium Committee, organizer of the rallies in more than 40 major cities and 130 smaller communities.

The Congressmen and Senators are: Congressman Jonathan Bingham (D.-N.Y.).

Congressman George Brown (D.-Calif.).

Senator Frank Church (D.-Idaho).

Congressman John Conyers (D.-Mich.).

Congressman Don Edwards (D.-Calif.).

Congressman Donald A. Fraser (D.-Minn.).

Senator Charles Goodell (R.-N.Y.).

Senator Fred Harris (D.-Okla.).

Senator Mark Hatfield (R.-Ore.).

Senator Harold Hughes (D.-Iowa).

Congressman Andrew Jacobs, Jr. (D.-Ind.).

Congressman Edward Koch (D.-N.Y.).

Congressman Allard K. Lowenstein (D.-N.Y.).

Senator Eugene McCarthy (D.-Minn.).

Congressman Richard McCarthy (D.-N.Y.).

Senator George McGovern (D.-S. Dak.).

Congressman Abner Mikva (D.-Ill.).

Senator Walter Mondale (D.-Minn.).

Congressman Richard Ottinger (D.-N.Y.).

Congressman Donald Riegle (R.-Mich.).

Congressman Benjamin Rosenthal (D.-N.Y.).

Congressman William Ryan (D.-N.Y.).

Congressman Louis Stokes (D.-Ohio).

Congressman John Tunney (D.-Calif.).

Congressman Charles Vanik (D.-Ohio).

The April 15 tax payer rallies are planned to "focus on the relationship of the war in Vietnam to the economic crisis facing the nation," according to Moratorium organizer Sam Brown. "Inflation, high taxes, and a curtailment of public services are in large part the result of the cruel and senseless war," the 26 year old veteran of the 1968 McCarthy Presidential campaign said.

Major rallies will be held in such cities as Boston, New York, Chicago, Philadelphia, San Francisco and Denver. Moratorium organizers point, however, to the smaller cities and towns, particularly in the midwest and southwest, where Peace activity is to some extent new. For example, people in Terre Haute, Indiana will leaflet shopping centers all day, pausing only to hold a noon rally. A rally is also planned for Crawfordsville, Indiana and Kenosha, Wisconsin, among others.

In Ponca City, Oklahoma, high school students will hold a debate with representatives of the American Legion on the war. In Brownsville, Texas local clergymen are organizing for a three day fast on April 13-15 among their congregations. A noon rally will be held in front of the Internal Revenue offices in Albuquerque, New Mexico. A similar rally will be held in Knoxville, Tennessee at 7 p.m. on the 15th, providing a court injunction forces city officials to grant a permit. Organizers of the rally feel that they have been denied due process in obtaining the permit and have taken their case to the local courts.

Mr. Brown will be speaking on April 15 in two locations: Des Moines, Iowa and Muncie, Indiana; the latter is the locale for several well-known sociological studies of Middle America. The noon rally in Des Moines has been endorsed by a wide range of public

officials and labor leaders, and candidates for public office. The Mayor of Des Moines will speak at the rally along with the local head of the United Auto Workers. Mr. Brown visited Des Moines several weeks ago and found that the issue of inflation and high taxes was a major concern of many.

The Vietnam Moratorium Committee is also sponsoring the three-day fast on April 13-15. This is planned to demonstrate concern for the continuing suffering and destruction caused by the war. The money saved by not eating will be donated to a Vietnam relief agency and to domestic poverty organizations.

The fast will be launched in Washington with a Peace Fast Service at 8 p.m. on Sunday April 12 in All Souls Unitarian Church, 16th and Harvard Streets, Northwest. Senator Eugene McCarthy, Democrat of Minnesota, will read poetry, folksinger Odetta will sing, and Sam Brown will speak. Then, on Monday at noon, businessmen and others will gather in Lafayette Park across the street from the White House for a "non-dinner." There will be banquet tables arranged in the park, at which participants will sit. They will, however, be served no food, other than a single glass of water.

FIFTEEN PROMINENT AMERICANS, OVER 300 STUDENT LEADERS, AND 45 RELIGIOUS LEADERS ENDORSE APRIL PEACE FAST

What follows are statements from fifteen prominent Americans endorsing the Peace Fast on April 13-15, sponsored by the Vietnam Moratorium Committee. Also listed are the colleges represented by 306 student body presidents and campus newspaper editors and 45 religious leaders who have endorsed the Fast.

Julian Bond: "The Peace Fast is an important part of the continuing anti-war struggle. The Peace Fast Fund deserves the support the Fast will bring, and the fasters need in this small way to share the awful suffering we have visited on Vietnam."

Ramsey Clark: "If we are concerned for our character, hope to find human dignity, to finally reverse life—and survive—America must turn from violence, end the war in Vietnam immediately, insure ourselves that this is the last time we shall ever seek to solve problems at the cost of human life and cherish the lives of all others as our own."

Rev. William Sloane Coffin, chaplain, Yale University: "We are rich in things and poor in soul. Let us fast in the service of our souls and give the small riches we save to feed the hungry here at home and in Vietnam who have been forced to fast too long."

Jane Fonda: "Let us hope that the Peace Fast will dramatize to all Americans the horrendous fact that 53% of every tax dollar goes to financing an immoral war in which countless innocent men, women, and children are being slaughtered."

Congressman Donald Fraser: "The overwhelming fact is that the senseless conflict in Southeast Asia continues, dividing us at home and draining our resources and our moral will. The powerful demonstration planned for April 13-15 will be a powerful reminder to the Administration that the American people will not allow this tragedy to go on any longer."

Father Theodore Hesburg, President, Notre Dame University, Chairman, United States Commission on Human Rights: "Because war is an agony for everyone it touches, peace will come through pain and suffering. We cannot be for peace or justice and refuse to suffer to achieve it. Fasting is the one great traditional way of suffering for peace and justice personally."

Rabbi Abraham Heschel: "Is our conscience being buried alive? Two years ago the agony in Vietnam burned like a dreadful wound in our hearts. Today, though the agony goes on we hardly care, do business as usual; our concern for Vietnam turned faint, tepid, and timid. Is our conscience beginning to decay?"

Dustin Hoffman: "I support the Moratorium because I want the war to stop. The longer it goes on, the more it seems that if it is to stop at all, it must stop now."

Senator Harold Hughes: "The Peace Fast of the Vietnam Moratorium Committee affords an opportunity for Americans of good will everywhere to translate their prayers for peace into humane help for the innocent victims of war. Once again the Moratorium Committee is proving that the vast majority of Americans identified with the peace movement are motivated by impulses that are constructive, dignified, and high-minded."

Mayor John Lindsay: "The human beings suffering and dying in Vietnam need no reminder that the war still takes an appalling toll, but here at home it must be said that the agony of this needless conflict threatens to go on and on unless we act now to end it. The simple decency of caring about human life commends our support for those who in nonviolent ways once again make known their support for peace."

Senator Eugene McCarthy: "American institutions are continuing their failure to respond to the pleas of the people for peace. It is important that those who desire an end to the war support the April 13-15 Moratorium Fast to show their opposition to the war."

Charles Palmer, President, U.S. National Student Association: "I think it is important to refocus attention on the continuing war in Vietnam and the growing war in Laos. It is also important that the Fast will raise money for three organizations—the American Friends Service Committee Vietnam Relief Program, the National Welfare Rights Organization, and the United Farm Workers of America—which will put it to strong, constructive use."

Congressman Ogden Reid: "Men are still dying on the battlefields and in the skies over Southeast Asia. In our own land, many Americans are still hungry, engulfed in poverty, hopelessness, and injustice. The Moratorium's renewed efforts on April 13-15 are essential to focus national attention once again on the urgent need for major new priorities."

Cynthia Wedel, President, National Council of Churches: "I am pleased to participate in and commend the proposed Fast to church people since it reflects the spirit of the actions taken by many church bodies in regard to the war in Vietnam."

Dr. Harris Wofford, President, State University of New York at Old Westbury, President Designate, Bryn Mawr College: "Tragedy teaches but too late. Since the logic of events in Vietnam has not yet convinced our government to end the war, we turn to this Fast to add a new logic in America—to speed the process of persuasion, to stir our national conscience, to convey a sense of continuing tragedy."

Colleges represented by Student Body Presidents (SBP) and college newspaper editors (ED) endorsing the April peace fast (a partial listing):

University of Alabama (SBP).
Albany Medical College (SBP).
Albion College (ED).
Alderson-Broadus College (ED).
Alfred University (ED).
Alverno College (SBP).
Arizona State University (ED).
University of Arizona (SBP).
Assumption Seminary (SBP).
Auburn University (ED).
Augsburg College (ED).
Augustana College (ED, SBP).
Austin Presby. Theo. Seminary (SBP).
Ball State University (ED).
Barat College (ED, SBP).
Berea College (ED).
Beaver College (ED).
Bethel College (ED, SBP).
Bloomfield College (SBP).
Boston College (ED).

Boston College Law School (SBP).
Boston Univ. School of Law (SBP).
Boston University (SBP).
Bowling Green University (ED).
Bucknell University (ED).
Butler University (ED, SBP).
Cal. State Los Angeles (ED).
Univ. of California L.A. (ED).
U. of Cal. Hastings Coll. of Law (SBP).
Capital University (ED).
Cardinal Cushing College (ED).
Carson-Newman College (ED).
Case Western Reserve Univ. (SBP).
Catholic University (ED).
Central Missouri State Univ. (SBP).
Chatham College (ED).
Colgate (SBP).
College of Idaho (ED).
College Misericordia (ED).
College of St. Benedict (SBP).
Colorado College (SBP).
Colorado School of Mines (ED).
Colorado State College (ED).
Colorado State University (ED).
University of Colorado (SBP).
Columbia Theo. Seminary (SBP).
Columbia University (ED).
Concordia Seminary (SBP).
Univ. of Conn. Stanford (ED).
Univ. of Conn. Waterbury (ED).
Cornell University (ED).
Creighton University (ED).
Denison University (SBP).
DePaul University (ED).
Detroit Tech. (ED, SBP).
University of Detroit (ED).
Drake University (SBP).
Drexel University (SBP).
Dropsie University (SBP).
Duke University (SBP).
East Carolina University (ED).
Eastern Kentucky Univ. (SBP).
Eastern Michigan Univ. (SBP).
Edinboro State College (ED).
Elizabethtown College (SBP).
Emerson College (ED).
Emmanuel College (ED).
Emory University (ED, SBP).
Essex County College (SBP).
Finch College (ED, SBP).
Flint Junior College (SBP).
Florida Presby. College (SBP).
Florida State University (SBP).
Fordham University (ED, SBP).
Fort Valley State College (SBP).
Franklin and Marshall (SBP).
Fresno State College (ED).
Friends University (ED).
Fullerton Junior College (ED).
George Washington University (ED).
Gilman School (SBP).
Glassboro State College (SBP).
Glendale College (ED).
Guilford College (ED).
Gustavus Adolphus College (SBP).
Hudson Valley Comm. College (SBP).
Hampton Institute (ED).
Hampden-Sydney College (SBP).
Haverford College (ED, SBP).
Heidelberg College (SBP).
Henderson State College (ED, SBP).
Hendrix College (ED).
Herb. Lehman College CUNY (ED, SBP).
High Point College (SBP).
Hobart College (SBP).
Hofstra University (SBP).
Hollins College (ED).
University of Houston (SBP).
Howard University (ED).
Hunter College (SBP).
Iliff School of Theology (SBP).
Illinois College (ED).
Univ. of Ill. Coll. of Engineering (ED).
Univ. of Ill. Urbana-Champaign (ED).
Univ. of Ill. Chicago Circle (ED).
Indiana State University (SBP).
Indiana University (SBP).
Iona College (ED, SBP).
Iowa State University (ED, SBP).
University of Iowa (ED, SBP).
Jackson State College (SBP).

Jersey City State College (ED).
Jewish Theo. Seminary (SBP).
Johns Hopkins (ED, SBP).
Johnson Smith University (ED).
Juniata College (ED).
Kalamazoo College (SBP).
University of Kansas (ED).
Keene State College (ED).
University of Kentucky (ED).
King College (ED).
Lakeland College (SBP).
Lamar Tech (ED).
Lawrence University (ED, SBP).
LeMoine College (SBP).
Lewis College (ED).
Lewis and Clark College (SBP).
Lock Haven State College (ED, SBP).
Louisville Presby. Seminary (SBP).
University of Louisville (ED).
Loyola College (ED).
Luther College (SBP).
University of Maine (ED, SBP).
Marist College (ED, SBP).
Marycrest College (ED).
Maryknoll College (SBP).
Marymount College (ED).
Mary Washington College (ED, SBP).
University of Mass. (ED).
Mass. Inst. of Technology (ED).
Memphis Academy of Arts (SBP).
Merrimack College (SBP).
University of Miami (SBP).
Michigan State University (ED).
Michigan Technological Univ. (ED).
University of Michigan (ED, SBP).
University of Minnesota (ED).
University of Minnesota Morris (SBP).
University of Missouri (ED).
Moravian College (SBP).
Mt. Angel College (ED).
Mt. St. Mary Seminary (ED).
Muhlenberg College (ED, SBP).
University of Nebraska (ED).
University of Nevada (SBP).
New Brunswick Theo. Seminary (SBP).
University of New Hampshire (SBP).
University of New Mexico (SBP).
New York University (ED).
Niagara University (ED).
University of N. Carolina Chapel Hill (ED, SBP).
North Carolina State (ED).
Northeastern University (SBP).
Northern Illinois University (ED).
Northland College (SBP).
Notre Dame (ED, SBP).
Old Dominion University (ED).
Occidental College (SBP).
Ohio State University (ED).
Ohio University (ED).
Oregon College of Education (SBP).
University of Oregon (SBP).
Ottawa University (ED).
University of the Pacific (ED).
Penn State University Berks Campus (SBP).
Penn State University (ED).
University of Pennsylvania (ED).
Phila. Coll. of Textiles and Science (SBP).
University of Pittsburgh (ED).
Point Park College (SBP).
Portland State University (SBP).
Princeton University (ED, SBP).
University of Puget Sound (ED, SBP).
Purdue University (ED).
University of Redlands (ED).
University of Rochester (SBP).
Rosary Hill College (SBP).
Rose Polytechnic Institute (ED).
Russell Sage College.
Rutgers University (ED, SBP).
Sacred Heart University (SBP).
St. Anselm's College (SBP).
St. Catherine's College (SBP).
St. John's University (ED, SBP).
St. Joseph College (SBP).
St. Lawrence University (SBP).
St. Louis University (ED, SBP).
St. Mary's University (SBP).
St. Olaf College (ED).
Salem College (ED).

San Diego College (ED).
 Santa Ana College (ED).
 Savannah State College (ED, SBP).
 Seattle Pacific College (ED, SBP).
 Seton Hall University (ED).
 Shore Line Community College (ED).
 Sioux Falls College (ED).
 Skidmore (SBP).
 Smith (ED).
 University of S. Carolina (ED).
 University of Southern Cal. (ED).
 Southern Illinois University Evansville (ED).
 Southern Oregon College (SBP).
 Spalding College (SBP).
 Stanford University (SBP).
 SUNY Buffalo School of Law (SBP).
 SUNY Farmingdale (ED).
 SUNY Oswego (ED).
 Stonehill College (ED).
 Syracuse University (ED).
 Tarkio College (SBP).
 Temple University (SBP).
 University of Texas El Paso (ED).
 Texas Wesleyan College (SBP).
 University of Toledo (ED, SBP).
 U.S. Merchant Marine Academy (SBP).
 University of Vermont (SBP).
 Villa Maria College (SBP).
 Villanova University (SBP).
 Virginia Tech. (ED).
 University of Virginia (ED).
 Wabash College (SBP).
 Waldorf College (ED).
 Wagner College (SBP).
 Wartburg College (ED, SBP).
 University of Washington (ED).
 Washtenaw Community College (ED).
 Wayne State University (ED).
 Webster College (SBP).
 Wellesley College (SBP).
 West Chester State College (SBP).
 Western Illinois University (ED).
 Western Kentucky University (SBP).
 Western Maryland College (SBP).
 Western Michigan University (ED, SBP).
 Western New Mexico University (ED).
 West Virginia University (ED, SBP).
 Wheeling College (SBP).
 Whitman College (ED, SBP).
 Wilmington College (ED).
 Wilson College (ED).
 Windham College (ED).
 Wisconsin State University Platteville (ED).
 Wisconsin State University Oshkosh (ED).
 Wisconsin State University River Falls (SBP).
 Wisconsin State University Whitewater (ED).
 University of Wisconsin Madison (ED, SBP).
 Worcester Polytechnic Institute (SBP).
 Worcester State College (ED, SBP).
 Xavier University (SBP).
 Yakima Valley College (SBP).
 Youngstown State University (ED).
 Religious leaders endorsing the April peace fast (a partial listing):
 Dr. Robert S. Bilheimer, Executive Director, Department of International Affairs, National Council of Churches.
 The Rev. Harold Bosley, Pastor, Christ Church Methodist, New York City.
 The Rev. Malcolm Boyd, Author and Episcopal Minister at Large to campuses and students.
 Rabbi Balfour Brickner, Director of Interfaith Activities, Union of American Hebrew Congregations.
 Dr. Robert McAfee Brown, Professor, Stanford University.
 Mr. Daniel Callahan, Director, Institute of Society, Ethics, and the Life Sciences.
 The Rev. Ernest Campbell, Minister, Riverside Church, New York City.
 The Rev. William Sloane Coffin, Jr., Chaplain, Yale University.
 Dr. Harvey Cox, Professor of Divinity, Harvard University.
 The Rt. Rev. William Crittenden, Episcopal Bishop of the Diocese of Erie (Pennsylvania).

The Rt. Rev. C. Edward Crowther, Bishop, the Episcopal Church.
 The Rev. Robert F. Drinan, S.J., Dean of the Boston College Law School.
 The Rev. John Elder, Director of Field Education, Harvard Divinity School.
 Mr. James Finn, Editor of Worldview, Council on Religion and International Affairs.
 Dr. George W. Forell, Director and Professor, School of Religion, University of Iowa.
 Dr. Paul R. Furley, Research Associate, Catholic University.
 The Rev. G. Gray Grant, S.J., Professor of Philosophy, Loyola University, Chicago.
 The Most Rev. Thomas J. Gumbleton, Auxiliary Bishop, Roman Catholic Archdiocese of Detroit.
 The Rt. Rev. Charles F. Hall, Episcopal Bishop of the Diocese of New Hampshire.
 Rabbi Abraham J. Heschel, Jewish Theological Seminary of America, New York City.
 The Rev. Robert W. Hodva, The Liturgical Conference, Washington, D.C.
 Dr. Barton Hunter, Executive Secretary, Department of Church and Society, The Christian Church (Disciples of Christ).
 Dr. David Hunter, Deputy General Secretary, National Council of Churches.
 Rabbi Wolfe Kelman, Jewish Theological Seminary of America, New York City.
 Dr. Robert Lee, Professor, San Francisco Theological Seminary.
 Dr. Paul Lehmann, Professor, Union Theological Seminary.
 Rabbi Albert Lewis, Temple Isaiah, Los Angeles.
 Dr. Martin Marty, Professor, The Divinity School, University of Chicago.
 Bishop James K. Mathews, United Methodist Church, Boston.
 The Rev. Jack Mendelsohn, D.D., First Unitarian Church of Chicago.
 The Rev. Richard E. Mumma, Professor of Theology, Boston College.
 Dr. J. Robert Nelson, Professor of Theology, Boston University.
 Mr. Michael Novak, Professor, State University at Old Westbury, New York.
 Rabbi Levi A. Olan, Dallas, Texas.
 The Rev. Channing Phillips, Pastor, Lincoln Memorial Congregational Temple, Washington, D.C.
 The Rev. Robert Raines, First United Methodist Church of Germantown, Philadelphia.
 Dr. Jon L. Regier, Associate General Secretary, National Council of Churches.
 Mr. Philip Scharper, President, Sheed and Ward, Inc., New York City.
 Dr. James P. Shannon, Vice President, St. John's College, Santa Fe, New Mexico.
 Rabbi Henry Siegmans, Executive Vice-President, Synagogue Council of America.
 Dr. Joseph Sittler, Professor of Theology, The University of Chicago.
 Dr. David M. Stowe, General Secretary, United Church Board for World Ministries.
 Dr. George W. Webber, President, New York Theological Seminary.
 Mrs. Cynthia Wedel, President, The National Council of Churches.
 Rabbi Jacob Weinstein, KAM Temple, Chicago.
 (Institutions listed for identification purposes only.)

BACKGROUND SHEET ON THE VIETNAM MORATORIUM COMMITTEE AND APRIL 13-15

The original idea for the Vietnam Moratorium Committee came from a Massachusetts envelope manufacturer, Jerome Grossman. He suggested to many in the Massachusetts peace movement that a general strike on an escalating formula of one day the first month, two days the second month, and so on, would be an effective anti-war strategy. One of those hearing the idea was Sam Brown. He discussed it with friends and students in a seminar he was leading at the Institute of Politics of the John F. Kennedy School of Government at Harvard University.

What evolved from the original idea was a "Moratorium on Business as Usual" which would follow the escalating pattern.

Among those with whom Mr. Brown discussed the idea were David Hawk, David Mixner and Marge Sklencar, all of whom had worked together in the 1968 Presidential campaign of Senator Eugene McCarthy. They agreed to work on the new program. By June, a Washington office was established; by July, public announcement was made and a base was being built on college campuses and with local peace groups across the nation.

THE STRATEGY

The operational strategy of the Moratorium Committee was that the initial Moratorium Day, October 15, would be used to build larger events the following month in pursuit of the original escalating pattern. The October 15 Moratorium would, accordingly, be largely centered on campuses and in efforts by students and established peace groupings to organize and prepare a base for the activities of succeeding months. According to Moratorium organizers, this strategy failed to take into complete account the breadth and nature of current peace sentiment in the nation. Lacking a clear-cut statement of policy from the Nixon Administration, most Americans were ready to seize the opportunity to register dissatisfaction with the continuing war. As a result of this public mood, the Moratorium found support from all quarters. People in cities and towns across the country were unwilling to wait to build the events according to the escalating strategy; peace sentiment was too strong and pervasive to be controlled by the peace movement. The events received endorsements from many persons, extraordinary coverage in the news media, and was the main public event of the month of October, rivaling the World Series and an upcoming trip to the moon.

The same public mood also helped to create the November 15 March on Washington. Even though local activities were held around the country, the focus was clearly on the largest demonstration ever held in Washington. The full effect of the November 3 speech of President Nixon was not felt until after this demonstration.

DECEMBER—TURNING POINT

By December, however, the full effect of the Nixon speech had been felt by those in and out of the peace movement. In reality, the speech was the first statement labeled a "Peace Plan" the American people had heard with regard to the Vietnam War. The overwhelming desire for an end to the war on the part of the American people led to their acceptance of the speech, less on its merits than on their hopes.

The Moratorium was faced with the reality that the base-building included in its original strategy had not been done and set about to do it on the three Moratorium Days that month. For many such work appeared anti-climatic after the high points of October and November. By sending its 12 regional coordinators into the regions they had worked with for several months, the Moratorium leaders realized that the need for a thorough community organizing effort was greater after the Nixon speech than it had been before. It was further realized that such work demanded more basic commitment than before and that the escalating day pattern was not helpful as an organizing tool in this new situation. As a result, in early January, the Committee announced a change in strategy. It would for the next four months concentrate exclusively on grass roots organizing and would hold tax payer rallies on April 15 as a device to make visible such organization. In addition, a three day Peace Fast would be organized for April 13-15 and work would be done to prepare a base from which to assist peace candidates in the 1970 Congressional elections. As a means to accomplish this strategy, 10 regional offices were established from which

the Moratorium would do its organizing. These were located in Boston, New York City, Philadelphia, Washington, Atlanta, Chicago, Des Moines, Houston, Denver, and San Francisco. The national office would concentrate on servicing these offices and performing other tasks to assist in the organizational process.

Since January, the staffs of the regional offices have organized local coalitions of peace groups, formed professional and citizens' groups, held town meetings, engaged in leafleting and canvassing, conducted referenda on on the war and, in general, helped to create a presence of the peace movement in many parts of the country where none existed before.

THE THREE DAY PEACE FAST

The three day Peace Fast is planned to demonstrate moral concern for the victims of the war in Vietnam and to solidify a commitment to work for an end to the destruction and suffering caused by it. The fast will compel recognition of the continuing cost of the war in terms of lives; it will affirm allegiance to life and peace.

The money normally spent on meals during the three days will be sent instead to aid victims of the war—in Vietnam and at home. A Peace Fast Fund has been established by the Moratorium with a committee of trustees composed of Peter Edelman, Associate Director of the Robert F. Kennedy Memorial Foundation, Charles Palmer, President of the U.S. National Student Association, and The Rt. Rev. Paul Moore, Episcopal Bishop of Washington, D.C. They will oversee the distribution of the fund equally to three tax exempt organizations: The American Friends Service Committee Vietnam Relief Program, the National Welfare Rights Organization and the United Farm Workers of America.

It is expected that students on college campuses will ask for rebates for food not eaten from their food services so that the money can be given to the Fund. Families and religious groupings are expected to contribute the money they save from not eating to the Fund directly. In addition, various means will be employed to dramatize the fast, including banquets at which no food will be served, worship services, community vigils and attendance but not eating at meals in dining halls.

APRIL 15 TAXPAYER RALLIES

The purpose of the tax payer rallies is to focus on the relationship of the war to rising prices and inflation as well as a high rate of taxation. Involved with this is the nature of the priorities currently set for federal spending brought about by the escalation of the Vietnam War produced the current inflation in the economy.

In most cities, the tax payer rally will be a gathering of persons in front of or near an Internal Revenue Service Center for speeches. In addition, organizers plan to stage "Boston Tea Party" demonstrations to focus on taxation for purposes not approved by the taxpayer, leaflet shopping areas and IRS Centers with literature, and canvass neighborhoods with petitions and literature.

In reality, the tax payer rallies, as well as the Peace Fast, will serve to make visible the community organizing work which has been done during the winter. For this reason, the Moratorium organizers consider the significance of the day to be in the events in towns and smaller cities where the peace movement has not been extremely active to date. In addition to providing a vehicle to surface grassroots activity, the tax payer rallies are devoted to making clear the economic dilemma caused by the war. Thus, while the number of participants in anti-war activities in the Fall of 1969 was of importance to show the breadth of anti-war sentiment in the nation, the need now is to inject significant issues into the debate on the war.

To: Newsmen Covering Moratorium Activities.

From: Theodore W. Johnson.

Date: April 3, 1970.

Subject: Sources of information on April 15 Tax Payer Rallies.

Most of the Moratorium's organizational work for the April 15th tax payer rallies is being conducted from 9 regional offices across the country. Thus, instead of the activities being coordinated from the Washington office, this work is decentralized and closer to the local scene.

For specific information on what is happening in each locality, the Press Office of the Moratorium in Washington is the best source of information. There is a staff whose sole responsibility is to gather this data for newsmen.

To obtain more generalized information and to develop a feeling for the events of April 15 in specific regions, it is recommended that newsmen contact the regional offices directly. In all cases, the regional coordinator should be contacted. Feel free to call these coordinators directly by telephone. Should you wish to visit a region to get a first hand feeling for what the Moratorium is doing, contact me for assistance in planning such a trip. Should you wish to speak to an organizer in a particular locality, contact me for names and telephone numbers.

The regional coordinators, their addresses and phone numbers and the states for which each is responsible are given below:

Boston: Maine, Massachusetts, Vermont, New Hampshire, Connecticut, Rhode Island, John Gage, 44 Brattle Street, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 617/492-5570.

New York: New York State and New York City, Richard Sternhell, 156 Fifth Avenue, Room 506, New York, New York, 212/691-9450.

Philadelphia: New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, West Virginia, Virginia, Larry Kudlow, 1001 Chestnut Street, Room 210, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, 215/WA3-8379.

Atlanta: North Carolina, South Carolina, Florida, Tennessee, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, Jack Boger, 243 13th Street, N.E., Apt. B, Atlanta, Georgia, 404/TR4-5691.

Chicago: Illinois, Michigan, Wisconsin, Richard Levine, 542 South Dearborn Street, Room 1402, Chicago, Illinois 60605, 312/427-3072.

(NOTE.—For the city of Chicago itself—Marge Sklencar, 542 S. Dearborn, No. 1402, Chicago, Ill. 60605, 312/427-3072.)

Des Moines: North Dakota, South Dakota, Iowa, Nebraska, Kansas, Missouri, Minnesota, Verne Newton, 1033 26th Street, Des Moines, Iowa, 515/274-3808.

Houston: Oklahoma, Arkansas, Louisiana, Texas, Arizona, New Mexico, Mike Segal, 2314 Main Street, Room 111, Houston, Texas, 713/529-8791.

Denver: Colorado, Wyoming, Montana, Idaho, Utah, Nevada, Oregon, Washington, Helen Shreves, 1460 Pennsylvania Avenue, Denver, Colorado, 303/892-0791.

San Francisco: California, Alaska, Hawaii, Liz Cremens and Greg Movsesyan, 1260 Golden Gate Avenue, San Francisco, California 94115 415/567-2598.

Washington, D.C. (not covered by a regional office), David Otto, 1019 13th Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20005, 202/783-1834.

Ohio, Indiana, Kentucky (not covered by a regional office), Mary Scheckelhoff (National Office Staff), 1029 Vermont Avenue, N.W., Suite 800, Washington, D.C. 20005, 202/347-4757.

A STATEMENT OF PURPOSE FOR APRIL 15TH TAXPAYERS' RALLIES

As you fill out your income tax return, remember: April 15th is "Support the Pentagon" Day.

We are being income-taxed and sales-taxed and excise-taxed until there is nothing left to be squeezed out of us.

Yet, the most vital public services all around us are on the verge of collapse. Because "there is no money."

Where on earth is the money going?

You know where.

It's being used to pay for war—past, present and future. \$201,000,000 a day for Vietnam and for so-called national defense. Another \$71,700,000 a day for the interest on our war-connected debt and for veteran's expenses. 64% of all the taxes we pay to the Federal Government (excluding "trust fund" taxes, such as social security).

To say nothing of our 48,000 sons killed in Vietnam. And 269,000 wounded, many of them crippled for life.

To say nothing of the deep unrest among the young and the blacks.

To say nothing of the inflation that has cheated our people out of so much of their life's savings, and which, on top of the taxes, is sapping them of the will to work.

The military-industrial establishment is like a giant tapeworm that is sucking the nourishment out of the body of America.

We cannot let this go on.

On April 15th, there is going to take place a nationwide taxpayer's protest against the war in Vietnam, and for an end to military overspending. It is sponsored by the Vietnam Moratorium Committee.

If you're tired of working to support "them,"

If you're tired of being treated with contempt by "them,"

If you realize we're never going to get "them" off our taxpaying backs unless we organize,

Then be there on April 15th.

(The above text appeared as an advertisement in the *New York Times* on Sunday, March 22, 1970.)

BALTIMORE MARINE DIES IN ACTION

HON. CLARENCE D. LONG

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 16, 1970

Mr. LONG of Maryland. Mr. Speaker, Pfc. Michael J. Yeager, a fine young man from Maryland, was killed recently in Vietnam. I would like to commend his courage and honor his memory by including the following article in the RECORD:

CITY MARINE DIES IN ACTION—PFC YEAGER, 19, WAS MINE DETECTION SPECIALIST

Marine PFC Michael J. Yeager, 19, of Baltimore was killed in action Wednesday in Vietnam, the Defense Department announced yesterday.

Private Yeager, a mine detection specialist, was killed by an enemy mine while on a sweeping operation in Quang Nam province in the northern part of South Vietnam.

He joined the Marine Corps in July, 1969, after working for several years as a shipping clerk in the William T. Burnett & Co. cotton factory. He was a graduate of the Robert Poole School.

Private Yeager, a mine de * * * Vietnam one month ago. He was assigned to work with a mine-sniffing dog named Alice, his father, George H. Yeager, 2017 Bank street, recalled.

Private Yeager is survived by his parents; four sisters, Mrs. Carolyn Walters, Mrs. Victoria Brant, Mrs. Kathleen Sonn, Sullivan and Mrs. Cecelia Yeager, all of Baltimore.

LIBERALS: THE NEW TORIES

HON. CLARENCE J. BROWN

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 16, 1970

Mr. BROWN of Ohio. Mr. Speaker, progress, flexibility, and recognition of the need for change are necessary elements in any structure which is to remain viable and responsive to human needs. This is even true in so vast a structure as the Federal Government. Yet, there are some once-important members of the Washington power structure who fail to recognize the desirability, and indeed necessity, for changing their old ways of thinking.

A recent column by Nick Thimmesch defines these "once influential and heady—men of government, affairs and journalism" as "the new tories," and explains how their resistance to change—particularly changes advocated by the Nixon administration, such as welfare, postal, and education reforms—tends to make them "cut off from what is the going on in the country." I insert this column in the RECORD, and urge that my colleagues bear in mind its message, the next time they hear criticism of an administration proposal levied by one of these "new tories."

Mr. Thimmesch writes harshly, too harshly in some instances, of worthy groups, goals, and programs. It is impossible to agree with all the specifics he cites as sacred cows which now need going, but he makes the point effectively that politicians must keep their viewpoints fresh and related to the needs of today—rather than yesterday. The old philosophies will not serve without adjustment in a day of change.

The article from the Los Angeles Times of April 7, 1970, follows:

LIBERALS: THE NEW TORIES

(By Nick Thimmesch)

The presence of Richard M. Nixon as President these 15 months has caused a curious etching to appear on the faces of many celebrated men who have been around the Capitol a long time. To put it quickly, many seasoned liberals are now strangely revealed as tories, new tories, if you please.

The Republic has plenty of tories anyway (most of them dull), but the new breed fascinates and saddens. They number only a few hundred souls in Washington, but felt manly when power pulsed through their veins in an earlier time. The aging cartoonist, Herblock, feeds them daily stale meat for their tired gums. The New Republic's "T.R.B." is their tonic, their Arthur Godfrey without Polident. Once influential and heady, these men of government, affairs and journalism are now a discouraged lot.

If a tory is one who doesn't like to see the arrangements changed, nor the existing order disturbed, why do the seasoned liberals rate to be called the new tories?

The old arrangement was that disparate blocks of voters—Negroes, Jews, intellectuals, working class, urban Catholics and Southern—voted for a national Democratic Administration which was quite liberal. Though each group voted out of special interest, and not any devotion to liberalism, the coalition hung together to push for a good standard of living, jobs, educational

opportunities—all laudable materialistic goals.

For 30 years—even in Eisenhower's Administrations—this socio-political symphony was directed by a conglomerate of liberals—administrators, elected officials, bureaucrats, well-paid consultants, prospering "Washington" lawyers, journalists and radio and television commentators.

Now, their existing order fades. They are bewildered over seeing the United States achieve many of their economic and social goals while threatening to come apart at the seams. Hopelessly addicted to the jargon of the Gross National Product and employment indices as measures of happiness, they are appalled at hedonistic long-haired youth who smokes pot and sneeringly thumbs its nose at the establishment. Everything just didn't work out right for the new tories and they tend to blame Vietnam, Lyndon Johnson, and Richard Nixon.

The new tories don't like Mr. Nixon. They never have. They are bothered that he returned from the political scrapyard and are miffed that he is fairly popular as President. It annoys them that he hasn't lived up to their stereotype of him. They grump about Mr. Nixon at parties in Georgetown or at old-line Washington clubs where the only black faces are worn by the help.

Mr. Nixon isn't "doing anything," they say, and lapse into the "more, more" syndrome they lived with for decades. They are so accustomed to crying "more," that now they are devoid of legislative proposals. "Only massive amounts of federal aid will solve this crisis," is what they always yelled automatically.

They have an unhealthy skepticism of the Nixon Administration's new ideas. They are leery of welfare reform, though that aspect of American life cries for change. They are shocked by Dr. Milton Friedman's voucher system which would let the poor shop around for schools and social service, instead of being beholden to government. They hollered against Mr. Nixon's HEW bill veto, though his action would have eliminated the outrageous "pork barrel" funds of impacted schools aid. They mutter about his education message, though the proposals for schoolmen to account for federal grants and for more aid to nonpublic schools are sorely needed at this juncture.

Nixon's postal reform proposal bored them until the great mail strike. They want the Peace Corps to remain as it was nine years ago. The reality of the taxpayers' revolt hasn't sunk in, nor has the lesson that scores of obsolete federal programs must be excised to make way for necessary new ones.

There's nothing so sad as an old fud whose time has passed. The new tories are tired, obese and increasingly cut off from what is going on in the country. They are so wrong they are lovable.

MAN'S INHUMANITY TO MAN—HOW LONG?

HON. WILLIAM J. SCHERLE

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 16, 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?

SECRETARY HICKEL SCORES WELL IN KANSAS

HON. CHESTER L. MIZE

OF KANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 16, 1970

Mr. MIZE. Mr. Speaker, when Secretary Walter Hickel was at Kansas State University, Manhattan, Kans., April 6, to participate in the Landon Lecture series and spearhead an Environmental Awareness Week observance, many Kansans were impressed with the manner in which he has sized up his responsibilities and is discharging them in the best interests of the Nation. They see him emerging as one of the strong men on the Nixon Cabinet. Typical of the impressions he made was the editorial comment of the Manhattan, Kans., Mercury. In an editorial in the April 7 edition of the Mercury, "He Comes Through," there is a candid appraisal of the qualities which make Secretary Hickel the leader he is.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to place this editorial in the RECORD. In doing so, I feel added comment is pertinent. As the editorial points out, Secretary Hickel was assailed from left to right at the time of his confirmation. If he were judged on the basis of what his critics had to say, there would have been little to recommend him. His performance since his confirmation exposes the political motivation of those who attacked him. There is a parallel between what he went through and what happens when the President submits a name for filling the vacancy on the Supreme Court. The political hatchetmen go to work; a man is judged not on merit or qualifications but more on charges made on the basis of political bias. Secretary Walter Hickel is a good example of a dedicated public servant who proved his detractors wrong. The editorial, "He Comes Through," follows:

HE COMES THROUGH

After watching and listening to Secretary of the Interior Walter Hickel in person and in various types of demanding situations here Monday, it certainly is not difficult to understand why he is emerging as one of the strongest and most persuasive members of the Nixon cabinet.

The realization that Hickel is in the period of significant emergence really should come as no surprise because his national "press notices" have been increasingly favorable and in harmony with the requirements of the modern day.

And yet considering the controversy the appointment of Secretary Hickel created and the accusations that were made against him, there were lingering doubts, we are sure, as to whether Hickel's apparent new image was being achieved through some sort of managed press notices or whether indeed, this native Kansan and former Governor of Alaska was originally maligned, for one reason or another. Nevertheless, he is now showing and demonstrating that he is not only in tune with the times but also intends to exercise the powers of his office to do something significant about a plaguing situation of pollution and the improvement of the overall environment.

Frankly, having had to judge him from as far away as Alaska and on the basis of some

prickly pieces about him during the battle of his confirmation, we had our doubts, notwithstanding the fact we believed that no native Kansan could be all that bad.

As we have said, however, Hickel's true image has been coming through in the reports of the manner in which he has conducted the affairs of his high office. His appearance here Monday not only enhanced those positive reports but clarified many of them as well.

Hickel, it must be said, is not a great orator and probably never will be. What he lacks in that particular area of talent, however, is more than made up for in his sincerity, his knowledgeability and his obvious determination to use the powers of his high office to serve priority purposes rather than to insure his own personal prestige.

The Secretary's approach, as a matter of fact, may very well be what big federal government must and should be looking for in its hierarchy of officialdom—those persons who can really communicate and not just talk about communications; those who know there is a gap of ages but who know how to bridge the gap by responding as well as initiating ideas; and those who genuinely believe that a solid and workable idea should be more treasured than pretty words shrouding a fuzzy plan.

The seeds of doubt are planted as soon as any man assumes high office and Secretary Hickel had more than the normal amount tossed on him for various reasons.

By demonstrating his type of dedication and determination in the way he did here, Secretary Hickel has not only enhanced his own position in government but also has contributed to the credibility of the officialdom upon whom we must rely and with whom we must communicate if real progress of any sort is to be achieved.

"POINTS" FOR INVESTIGATION

HON. WALTER FLOWERS

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 15, 1970

Mr. FLOWERS. Mr. Speaker, I have joined in introducing a resolution along with a number of other Members of the House of Representatives that could eventually lead to the impeachment of Justice William O. Douglas and his ultimate removal from the Supreme Court. The resolution, if adopted, would establish a select committee of the House to investigate and determine grounds for impeachment with the committee being directed to report back to the full House of Representatives within 90 days. The House then could act on the issue of impeachment with a much better knowledge of the true facts. Impeachment proceedings under the Constitution must be initiated in the House of Representatives and carried by a simple majority, and any official thus impeached would then be tried in the U.S. Senate where a two-thirds majority would be required for removal.

The case against Justice Douglas goes back a long way and involves many examples of what I would term highly questionable behavior. The latest such example being the publication of a short book called "Points of Rebellion" and a subsequent reprinting of some of the same revolutionary drivel in an outlandish magazine this month. The Court that

the Justice sits on has interpreted the Constitution to allow any citizen the right to express his views, however, novel and revolutionary they may be, and even do so in pornographic publications. But remembering that the Constitution of the United States provides that a Supreme Court Justice shall hold office only "during good behavior" and shall be bound by "oath or affirmation to support this Constitution," then I wonder if Mr. Douglas is meeting the continuing standards of "good behavior" in the constitutional sense.

As a Representative in Congress and sworn to do my duty under this same Constitution, I have determined that this requires me to join in the resolution that I have mentioned. And if these questionable activities of a Supreme Court Justice cannot be adequately explained, then it would be my judgment that impeachment of Justice Douglas by this Congress would be in order.

ADDRESS BY SENATOR HERMAN E. TALMADGE, OF GEORGIA

HON. JACK BRINKLEY

OF GEORGIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 16, 1970

Mr. BRINKLEY. Mr. Speaker, there has come to my attention an address in Augusta, Ga., by the distinguished Senator from Georgia, HERMAN E. TALMADGE, at his investiture as a knight commander of the court of honor in the Masons. Senator TALMADGE's remarks were reprinted by the New Age, a magazine of the supreme council, Ancient and Accepted Scottish Rite of Freemasonry, and by the Scottish Rite News in Atlanta. This is an outstanding address, and I am pleased to bring it to the attention of the House of Representatives and include it in the RECORD at the conclusion of my remarks:

REMARKS OF U.S. SENATOR HERMAN E. TALMADGE AT MASONIC INVESTITURE CEREMONIES IN THE SCOTTISH RITE TEMPLE IN AUGUSTA, GA., NOVEMBER 8, 1969

I am humble tonight in the presence of my many friends and Brother Masons. You do me a great honor, for which I will be eternally grateful.

It is my desire to prove myself worthy of this trust by upholding the time-honored traditions and principles of Masonry. I pledge that I will endeavor to do so to the utmost of my ability . . . as a citizen and as a representative of my fellow Georgians in the United States Senate.

Our craft . . . our beloved fraternity is rich with a glorious history of devotion to God and country. We can still be guided by the landmarks of Masonry that reach back over centuries. We can still find inspiration in the words and the deeds of our forefathers who took the vows of the Order of Free and Accepted Masons.

Masonry came to America with the colonists. It has flourished and grown along with our nation. Masonry prospers best where the spirit of man is free. This after all is the essence of our fraternity.

So it is today. So it was when the Founding Fathers laid the foundations for this nation. We can look back and see that the history

of the United States and the history of American Masonry went hand in hand.

We can see it in the *statesmanship* of George Washington, the Father of our Country and the first President of the United States.

We can see it in the *patriotism* of Patrick Henry, who preferred liberty over life.

We can see it in the *wisdom* of Benjamin Franklin, the oldest and the wisest of the framers of our Constitution.

These were great Americans. They were great Masons.

Major William Pierce, a Georgia delegate to the Constitutional Convention, wrote thumbnail sketches of his contemporaries at that meeting that he called "the wisest council in the world." He said of Franklin:

"All the operations of nature he seems to understand, the very heavens obey him, and the clouds yield up their lightning to be imprisoned in his rod."

How the world and this nation could profit today from the wisdom of this great man!

Civilization and the American society have changed much since Franklin's day. But the principles in which he believed and to which he dedicated his life and soul remain the same.

The principles of morality . . . personal conduct and individual responsibility . . . of right and wrong . . . of Godliness . . . are immutable. They stand like a rock for all ages.

Benjamin Franklin, probably as much as any other man, personified the four cardinal virtues to which all Masons subscribe:

Temperance . . . Fortitude . . . Prudence . . . and Justice.

These are the marks of a good man and a good Mason. They apply to nations and governments as well as individuals. They cannot be bought. They cannot be legislated.

Franklin knew this. He spent most of his life writing and teaching about man's relations with his fellow man and man's duty to God. Franklin believed first of all, as do all Masons, that the American nation was a nation under God. He proposed prayer at the Constitutional Convention, with this admonition:

"I have lived, sir, a long time, and the longer I live, the more convincing proofs I see of this truth—that God governs in the affairs of men. And if a sparrow cannot fall to the ground without His notice, is it probable that an empire can rise without His aid?"

Notwithstanding the so-called "New Morality," notwithstanding erstwhile social reformers who are more concerned with tearing down than with building, and notwithstanding even the United States Supreme Court, we are still a nation under God.

These men, many of them Masons and all of them great citizens, met to form a more perfect union. Of course, we have not achieved perfection. And as mere mortals, we never will. But no other nation and no other people on earth in all human history have ever come so close.

Yet, in the midst of record prosperity . . . at the pinnacle of unparalleled national greatness . . . and for all of our freedom, I know of no other time in modern history when such strife and even violence were rampant in the land.

I am reminded of the words of the Angel Gabriel, when he spoke to the Lord in the play, "Green Pastures":

"Everything what's nalled down is coming loose."

I submit that things are coming loose in this country today.

Never in the history of our nation have there been so many who are working to destroy it, and so few who are fighting to save it.

We see moral values falling to the ground. They are being trampled underfoot by the high and the low . . . by prominent figures in government . . . by courts that act like

justice means permissiveness and indulgence . . . and by others whose chief claim to fame is a dirty beard, long hair, and a proclivity for spouting meaningless mumbo-jumbo that unfortunately always finds its way into newspapers and on the television.

We see lessons of history ignored and a tendency like fools to compound and perpetuate mistakes of the past.

Principles of honesty and hard work are being worn down. Dr. Norman Vincent Peale put his finger on the trouble when he said:

"Once we roared like lions for liberty. Now we bleat like sheep for security."

People are led to believe that a certain income, the right kind of job, and a good home are gifts the government can hand out like Santa Claus at Christmas. There is a feeling abroad that the Congress can legislate everyone into being healthy, wealthy, and wise.

Short of the miracle visited upon the Israelites in the wilderness, there is no such thing as manna from Heaven. And there is no such thing as manna from government.

And even if there were, *there ought not to be* . . . not in a free enterprise society. When people stop wanting to work and compete for what they get out of life, then our society will be sick indeed.

As Gibbon said:

"When the Athenians finally wanted not to give to society, but for society to give to them, when the freedom they wished most for was freedom from responsibility, then Athens ceased to be free and was never free again."

And when the Romans installed a huge bureaucracy in the place of local governments, they marked the beginning of their end.

There are definite parallels today. Government no longer seems to serve the interests and needs of the majority. It is preoccupied with kowtowing to the whims and demands of a loud-mouthed and militant minority.

The man caught in the squeeze, the man in the middle is the law-abiding, hard-working, taxpaying, God-fearing average citizen. He has just about had a belly full.

He is sick to death of a war he does not understand. He is shocked by putting American soldiers on the battlefield to fight and die in a war we apparently have no intentions of trying to win.

He is taxed almost into the poorhouse. No wonder he kicks up his heels when he hears the government talk about giving people guaranteed incomes whether they do anything or not.

He is tired of seeing billions of dollars poured into foreign countries, and then having to watch the United States have her nose rubbed in the dirt by two-bit Communist nations that take our ships off the sea and shoot our planes out of the air.

He is fed up with having his take-home pay eaten up by inflation that in large part is the result of irresponsible federal spending.

He is afraid to walk the streets in many of our large cities for fear of being robbed or killed. Shopkeepers wear sidearms, and women chain their doors.

There is a current national magazine article about the growing anger of the middle class society in America. I recommend it for your reading. In it, a Washington liberal is quoted as saying:

"We need more programs for the middle man."

I assume he means federal programs . . . and if that is what he means, considering some of the programs this country has already been saddled with, I don't think I can subscribe to that.

We don't need any more grandiose programs from the national level that lead people to believe that the government can do wonderful things for everyone. We've had too many already.

I can tell you what we do need. I can tell you what I believe the middle man wants.

He wants to be left alone—

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To be able to live and work.
To educate his children as he sees fit.
To enjoy the fruits of his labor, and not have it handed around like plums.

And he wants everyone else to do the same. Americans care. They care about the future of their nation. They want to preserve freedom and prosperity for their children. They care for one another. They are concerned about the well-being of their fellow human beings, whether he be white or black, or whether he lives on the farm or in the city.

They will support the Congress and the government in seeking sensible, workable and positive solutions to the nation's problems. They are willing to help people help themselves.

People will help push and pull. But they are getting tired of picking up deadweight. They rightfully expect others to push and pull along with everyone else.

The middle man in America subscribes to the same philosophy of government that most of us do. That is, it is the government's duty to *promote* and *not provide* the general welfare.

In other words, no citizen should expect more from his government than opportunity. And if he values his dignity and liberty, he should *permit* no more.

Unfortunately, we have gotten away from these ideals. But we are going back to them.

Despite my many misgivings about some of the things we are witnessing today, I am confident of the future of Georgia and America. There are still countless millions upon millions of people across the land who cherish the American way.

Call them middle class or whatever. I have great faith in these people. For it has been these men and women who have made this the most free and prosperous nation in the world.

It is these people who are going to keep America strong and free.

ATTORNEY GENERAL JOHN MITCHELL

HON. JAMES A. McCLURE

OF IDAHO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 16, 1970

Mr. McCLURE. Mr. Speaker, several suggestions have been made that the Attorney General should resign his post because the Senate rejected G. Harrold Carswell.

These suggestions should not be taken seriously. They are a cheap attempt to discredit the man by persons who do not agree with his political views. They have no basis in recent events and no support in his record of achievement.

John Mitchell has served this Nation with distinction and ability. He has pursued a vigorous and independent policy of law enforcement, in pleasant contrast to the anemic performance of his predecessor. He has spoken his mind without appeasing the media. He has been true to his President and to his conscience.

The unwarranted attacks on the Attorney General have served no useful purpose. But they do point up the vicious tactics to which his adversaries are willing to resort.

Censure is the tax a man pays to the public for being eminent.

John Mitchell is one of the eminent gentlemen in America today. I salute him for his service and his great dedication.

ANNIVERSARY OF VIRGINIA'S OLDEST POETRY MAGAZINE

HON. RICHARD H. POFF

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 16, 1970

Mr. POFF. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I would like to note for the RECORD an article which appeared in the April 12 issue of the Roanoke Times entitled "Oldest Poetry Magazine in State Marks Anniversary."

It has been my privilege and pleasure to be friend and neighbor to Mrs. Ruby Altizer Roberts, the first woman in the history of the Commonwealth of Virginia to be named her poet laureate. I am also familiar with the Lyric. It is a most admirable publication, one which I commend enthusiastically to my colleagues. The article follows:

OLDEST POETRY MAGAZINE IN STATE MARKS ANNIVERSARY

CHRISTIANSBURG.—The Lyric, Virginia's oldest poetry magazine, celebrated its golden anniversary on Friday.

The magazine has been owned, published and edited for a number of years by Ruby Altizer Roberts of Christiansburg, the first woman ever to be named poet laureate of Virginia.

Founded in Norfolk in 1921 by John Richard Morland and the Norfolk Poet's Club, the first issues of the Lyric were typed and tied together with string.

In August of that year the magazine came to Roanoke where it was edited for more than 20 years by Leigh Hanes. Later it passed into the hands of Virginia Kent Cummins of New York, and at her death it returned to Virginia into the custody of Mrs. Roberts.

The Lyric has always been a special kind of poetry magazine in that it is dedicated to the premise that traditional poetry is the best.

There is little room in its pages for variations—free verse, blank verse and other forms.

The contributor to the Lyric must abide by discipline, and observe the time-proven mechanics of rhythm and metrics.

The lyrics it has always presented, says Mrs. Roberts, are "wholesomely American."

"The editors have always scorned those who have sought to disparage the ideals of the Founding Fathers," she says, "and subversive verse, so fashionable in these days, will never find a welcome in its pages."

Pulitzer-prize winner Virginius Dabney once said of the magazine that it was "valuable in emphasizing for us the eternal verities and values in classical poetry, such poetry as lives in the works of Milton and Keats, Poe and Lanier."

The little brown book sells all over the United States, in numerous foreign countries and it shows up in libraries of some of the nation's leading universities and colleges.

For such efforts Mrs. Roberts has received a number of honors—such as the Bellman Award of \$1,000, an honorary degree from William & Mary College and a citation from Khalsa College in India for "distinguished service to poetry on both side of the Atlantic."

The Newport News Daily Press said of her in an editorial: "In editing this periodical, which appears quarterly, she does all in her power to uphold the ideal of traditional poetry. She has a firm faith herself in the eternal realities and this colors her work with a delicate, but emphatic aura of devotion."

This year the magazine will observe its golden anniversary by awarding a number of cash prizes in addition to the ones already in effect.

It will also give citations to poets and those who have advanced the interests of poetry.

THE DOUGLAS ISSUE

HON. WILLIAM L. SPRINGER

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 15, 1970

Mr. SPRINGER. Mr. Speaker, there has been a great deal said with reference to Justice William O. Douglas and the things which he has been doing within the past 2- or 3-year period. Some of this is being discussed by some of the most independent editors in the country. I include in the RECORD, for the reading of my colleagues, an editorial from the Christian Science Monitor of April 16:

THE DOUGLAS ISSUE

One must conclude that there is responsible reason for a House of Representatives inquiry into the fitness of Justice William O. Douglas to continue serving on the Supreme Court. This investigation should not be vindictively motivated—a retaliation for the Senate's rejection of the presidential nomination of Judges Carswell and Haynsworth. It would need to be a bipartisan move, to carry weight in public opinion. But if handled with a strong sense of national responsibility, the inquiry could be a protection to the Supreme Court.

Justice Douglas has had a long tenure on the high bench. He has written powerful opinions, for the majority and in dissent. His liberal advocacies have helped carry the court into its controversial remaking of American institutions. His travels in faroff lands have displayed a lively interest in mankind. But recent statements and viewpoints of his, uttered off the bench, raise serious questions of both ethical and judicial propriety.

Justice Douglas's latest book, "Points of Rebellion," in effect approves if it does not advocate violence as "the only effective response" to the nation's ills. It is totally irresponsible for a member of the Supreme Court to seem to condone the often senseless violence disrupting the nation—a violence which, as manifested in the courtroom, was denounced within the month by the Supreme Court. And it only adds to the impropriety for Justice Douglas to have permitted the pertinent excerpts from his book to appear in the Evergreen Review with its content of eroticism.

Again, Justice Douglas in a recent law school talk behaved like a left-wing pamphleteer in declaring that "Our greatest contributions abroad—apart from expeditionary forces—have been Coca Cola and comic books." Add in the Justice's earlier acceptance of income from the Parvin Foundation with its relation to Las Vegas operations, and the record builds.

It is a long and grave distance from a House investigation to actual impeachment, which requires a two-thirds Senate vote. In these divisive times, an impeachment case, pitting labor and liberal defenders against the South and other conservatives, could stir national emotions anew. But there is nothing to prevent Justice Douglas from taking heed, if the bill of complaints mounts, and deciding as no doubt Justice Fortas did, that his resignation would indeed serve to protect the Supreme Court from its detractors.

EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL FIGHTS SERIOUS DRUG ABUSE IN THE UNITED STATES

HON. CHARLOTTE T. REID

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 16, 1970

Mrs. REID of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, as the chief law enforcement officer of the United States, the Attorney General has a significant number of critical responsibilities under Federal law. None of these is more important than his requirements relating to the serious drug abuse problem this Nation faces today. Although we have a considerable way to go in combating this important problem, measurable inroads have been made against major traffickers and wholesalers who deal in this dread commodity.

Under this administration the Bureau of Narcotics and Dangerous Drugs has greatly expanded and refined its foreign efforts in a manner which has already produced effective results. Agents of the Bureau have been working with representatives of the governments of France, Turkey, and other foreign countries in fostering cooperative efforts to eliminate dangerous drugs at their source. An illustration of the results these efforts have produced can be observed in the case of France, where more clandestine laboratories were closed and more narcotics seized during the last year than during any previous year. In fact, last August 30 over 1,200 pounds of opium, the largest such seizure ever made in France, was accomplished by officers of the French Surete with assistance of Bureau agents.

In 1969, these foreign operations resulted in marihuana seizures of over 15 tons, as well as seizures of over 200 pounds of hashish, over 350 pounds of heroin, and over 110 pounds of methamphetamine. A major portion, if not all, of these dangerous substances was undoubtedly intended for importation into the United States. These overseas efforts are unprecedented, and they are producing unprecedented results. Further, the Attorney General recently entered into an agreement with the Attorney General of Mexico which will foster greater cooperation in eliminating drug traffic across our common border. He has similarly arranged conferences with top level officials of other foreign governments and, in conjunction with the Secretary of State, has helped create a new atmosphere of mutual assistance and cooperation with those countries from which many of the major traffickers in this country receive their supplies.

The initiative being exercised by the Attorney General in this instance is but another example of the type of valuable service this Department is providing for the Nation in the law enforcement area. With more of the same, and continued support of these efforts by the Congress, and other executive agencies, we can look for a significant reduction in the importation of dangerous drugs into this country.

April 16, 1970

"OVERKILL" IN OIL SPILL?

HON. HALE BOGGS

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 16, 1970

Mr. BOGGS. Mr. Speaker, I wish to call to the attention of my colleagues an excellent editorial in the Times Picayune of New Orleans, La., of April 14, 1970, which deals with the recent oil spill.

As you know, Mr. Speaker, we have a very difficult situation in Louisiana—one which requires a careful balancing of environmental needs with the equally important need for jobs and wages. We in Louisiana want a clean, healthy environment; we also want the jobs and wages and higher standard of living for our people which only a great industry can provide. We reject the notion that a clean environment and industry are incompatible; we believe the two can coexist if cool heads prevail.

In Louisiana today, more than 100,000 persons—or 15 percent of our labor force—are directly employed by our petroleum industry. Many, many others rely in great measure upon the industry for their livelihood. Another 100,000 Louisiana residents now receive royalty or lease rental income from petroleum.

The petroleum industry also contributes by far the largest single share of our State revenues. Twenty-five percent of Louisiana's tax and fee revenues are derived from direct production taxes on oil and gas, and 95 percent of the State's public school fund comes from oil and gas production taxes. Sixty-five percent of the money distributed to Louisiana parishes, or counties, if you will, and municipalities to support local government units, other than schools, comes from oil and gas taxes and mineral royalties. Taxes and fees paid by the petroleum industry, plus excise taxes on products which are passed on to consumers, account for 54 percent of all the revenue Louisiana gets from State sources.

It should not be necessary to document further the importance of the petroleum industry to the people of Louisiana. It pays a major part of the costs of educating our children, of building and maintaining our highways, of caring for our sick and poor. To strangle this industry would be as great a human folly as to continue to ignore our environment. Both goals are compatible and attainable.

The editorial follows:

"OVERKILL" IN OIL SPILL?

The recent spectacular Chevron oil platform fire and subsequent spillage, understandably and probably justifiably, caused widespread demand for reform and for rededication to the cause of "clean, healthy environment."

We acknowledge that this newspaper did some of the demanding, following the lead of Dr. Leslie Glasgow, assistant secretary of the Interior for fish, wildlife, parks and resources.

One of our editorials on the subject quoted the good doctor, a former Louisiana official: "Louisianians have despaired of enjoying a clean, healthy environment because, for

years, the state has persisted in thinking only of the industry dollar. This attitude of totally ignoring environmental values and even insisting that environmental considerations are without values must be changed."

Dr. Glasgow, perhaps, made a good point. Neither he, however, nor anyone else—to our knowledge—has offered proof that the Chevron spill seriously affected the environment of the Louisiana coast.

On the record, the Chevron spill put considerably less crude oil in the Gulf of Mexico than spills of 1942-43. Those spills were intentional, caused by German submarines which attacked 111 ships in the area under protection by the United States Navy's Gulf Sea Frontier. Only 15 of these ships were salvaged. Ninety-two were sunk, including a substantial number of tankers.

The area of the Gulf within 150 miles of New Orleans was regarded by the Navy during early days of World War II as "torpedo junction." Forty-four of the ships attacked by German submarines were in jurisdiction of the Eighth Naval District and 17 of them were sunk in "torpedo junction." A dozen were torpedoed just outside the passes. One German torpedo destroyed the end of a jetty at the mouth of a pass.

Among ships sunk were the American tankers Aurora, Toledo, Gulf-oil, Touchet and Raleigh Warner; the Norwegian tanker Hamlet, the Mexican tankers Amatan, Tuxpan and Chiapas and the British tanker Empire Mica. Some of the tankers carried crude oil destined to East Coast refineries; others were loaded with products from Deep South refineries, destined for England. The Aurora was in ballast.

Collectively, these tankers spilled an astronomical volume of crude oil and refined petroleum products. Most of them were torpedoed much closer to shore than the Chevron platform—which is approximately 30 miles from the nearest land.

One 10,000-ton tanker carried 65,500 barrels of oil. If estimates by the United States Geological Survey are accurate, the Chevron platform wells spilled less than 500 barrels a day. Fire started on the platform Feb. 10 and burned until March 10. The first well in the cluster was capped March 12, and the last well was capped March 31. Had spillage at the platform continued from March 10, when the fire was extinguished, at the rate of 500 barrels per day it would have had to continue 130 days to match the spillage from a single 10,000-ton tanker in February, 1942. All the oil in the tankers, of course, did not spill into the Gulf. Some of it burned before the ships sank, but officers who were on duty in the Gulf Sea Frontier during World War II say that the proportion of oil burned was small.

Most of the tankers sank too fast for a major portion of their petroleum cargoes to burn. The tanker Gulf-oil sank within 90 seconds after she was hit by two torpedoes. Twenty-one crewmen of the Gulf-oil lost their lives.

If oil from these torpedoed tankers polluted oyster beds, shrimp trawling or breeding grounds or otherwise caused major damage to the environment, we do not recall reports of this damage.

The circumstance that we may not have been hurt by past spillages, of course, does not mean that we cannot be hurt by future spillages. Nor does this circumstance excuse oil companies and others producing minerals from beneath offshore or inland waters from strictly obeying conservation laws. They have a definite obligation to take every possible precaution to prevent spillage.

The circumstance may suggest that some of us may have hollered before we were seriously hurt. Just what damage may result from after-effects of the spillage remains to be seen.

Obviously, we should and must have con-

tinued production of oil and other minerals from offshore platforms and barges. Exploration for and production of these minerals should and must be accomplished with a minimum of hazards to the environment.

LETTER TO THE PRESIDENT

HON. ROBERT PRICE

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 16, 1970

Mr. PRICE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, I am honored that 32 concerned Members of Congress have joined me in requesting President Nixon to halt foreign shipments of meat made through third countries in order to avoid import quota limitations set by the U.S. Government. I am also gratified that 17 Senators made a similar request of the President.

For the benefit of my colleagues, I insert in the RECORD a copy of the letter with the accompanying signatures that was forwarded today to the President:

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES,
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Washington, D.C., April 15, 1970.

THE PRESIDENT,
The White House,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: As representatives of meat producing districts, we believe it to be our duty to share with you our views of a situation adversely affecting our areas and the nation.

Under present laws and regulations, foreign countries shipping substantial amounts of specified meats into the United States have agreed voluntarily to restrict their imports to certain ceiling levels. Last year, however, certain foreign meat shippers began circumventing these agreements by a means that has become common practice. Unscrupulous operators have shipped meat from Australia and New Zealand to Canada; from there it has been trans-shipped across the Canadian border into the United States. Thus, the legitimate intent of the import agreements has been frustrated at the expense of the public interest.

During 1969, an estimated eighteen million pounds of meat entered the United States via this bootleg method. In the first three months of this year, such trans-shipments have totaled approximately one million pounds of meat per week. As a result of this substantial inflow, domestic meat markets have been disrupted and foreign interests have wrongfully profited.

Mr. President, this deplorable situation could be rectified if an appropriate executive order were issued prohibiting foreign meat not shipped under bills of lading from entering the United States. This would effectively remedy the bootleg meat problem without adversely affecting the present meat import agreements.

It is our understanding that you have such an executive order under consideration, an order approved by the foreign governments concerned. They realize, as we do, that justice and fairness demand swift remedial action. To their approval, we would like to append our own. In addition, we implore you to exercise your constitutional authority and promptly issue this vital executive order.

Respectfully yours,

Bob Price, Page Belcher, E. Y. Berry, Thomas Abernethy, Anchor Nelsen, John Dowdy, Dave Martin, Odin Langen, George Bush, Dan Kuykendall, John Melcher, Donald Riegle, John Wold, Donald Lukens, John Zwack,

Tom Bevil, John Buchanan, Keith Sebelius, Ray Blanton, Thomas Kleppe, John Kyl, Mark Andrews, Frank E. Evans, Sam Steiger, William Dickinson, Richard C. White, Don Fuqua, Maston O'Neil, Larry Winn, Fletcher Thompson, William Scherle, John T. Myers, Wiley Mayne.

Mr. Speaker, this bipartisan group of distinguished gentlemen are to be commended for their interest in solving the bootleg beef problem. I urge all my colleagues to lend their support to this cause; it is beyond party, and it is non-political.

ANTIPOLLUTION PIONEER

HON. JOHN W. BYRNES

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 16, 1970

Mr. BYRNES of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, a pioneer in the fight against environmental pollution and waste is Frank N. Graess of Sturgeon Bay, Wis., who retired from the Wisconsin State Assembly in 1961 after more than four decades of distinguished public service.

Mr. Graess was elected to the Wisconsin Assembly in 1917, becoming speaker of the assembly in his second term. He was the chief assistant to Wisconsin Gov. Walter S. Goodland from 1941 to 1945.

During his career, Mr. Graess participated in the formation and passage of almost all of the basic conservation laws of the State, legislation recognized as the most progressive in the country. He was responsible for the creation of the State conservation commission and for giving it strong regulatory powers. He helped establish 100,000 acres of Federal forests in Wisconsin and introduced the bill creating State and county forests. He promoted legislation to encourage conservation education in schools and to establish State parks, wild life refuges and public shooting grounds. As a matter of fact, his remarkable record has earned him the appellation: "Mr. Conservation."

Mr. Graess warned of the dangers of pollution and the urgent need of action to preserve our environment long before this was a widely popular issue. As an example of his foresightedness, I include the text of a speech he gave 47 years ago which was reprinted recently in the Door County, Wis., Advocate:

POLITICIAN-PROTESTER GRAESS ISSUED WARNING
47 YEARS AGO

(NOTE.—Pollution and environmental control are fast becoming bywords of politicians and protestors. But 47 years ago Frank Graess was both a politician and a protestor warning of both pollution and environmental waste. Witness this speech he gave back in 1923:)

Through Providence and the spirit of our ancestors, we have been placed in a pleasant and beautiful country, a country washed on east and west by the waters of encircling seas.

Lumbering companies, mining companies, water power companies, irrigation companies, fisheries and canneries, in the prosecution and development of their business enterprises for the purpose of financial gain to themselves, but under the plea of developing the country and the needs of the community and keeping step with progress, are laying

waste our forests, damming our streams, changing the water levels of our lakes, draining our marshes and destroying all wildlife and fish within them, and robbing us and our children of the beauties of nature's Out of Doors, and then justify their waste and destruction by saying, "It's the price we must pay for civilization; that these things must be, to keep step with progress."

Our forefathers immigrated to America, America the Beautiful, a great unlimited storehouse wherein lay thousands of lakes, hundreds of rivers, inexhaustible forests and acres of prairies, the home of more animal, bird and fish life, than any similar area the rest of the world possessed.

The supply was thought inexhaustible and for 150 years we have lived a riotous life of extravagance. We spent this wealth like a drunken sailor spends his money. What we could not legitimately use and consume, we killed, burned and destroyed and laid waste, giving no thought of the morrow.

Because of its great quantity, it was as free as the air, the sands of the desert and the waters of the ocean. It belonged to everybody and as the supply seemed sufficient for all, no one thought of conserving. We have been spendthrifts of the worst kind, and we have not only dissipated what we thought was our own, but we have stolen and robbed from those yet unborn. We have been worse than thieves and we have stolen from those children yet unborn and who could not defend their possessions.

Commercial greed and profit and the game hog have robbed, taken, killed, wasted and destroyed without blush or shame.

Our natural marshes, streams and lakes are being drained by public promoters.

A treeless nation is a lost nation, for were it not for the trees which use the carbon dioxide our lungs expel, to give us back oxygen, we would not be long-lived. Where forests die, waters die, and where waters die, the fruits of the earth perish.

Tomorrow we will be called upon to answer for our stewardship. What answer shall you make to your boy and his boy as to what you have done to protect his heritage?

Today, there are a few men and women trying to save our great outdoors. Ten years from now, five years from now, is too late to begin to fight. When the floods are racing against the dikes, it is too late to begin repairs; and right now your help is needed.

How truly it can be said that the wealth of a state or a nation is the health of its people. Health and ambition have created all the wealth, progress and expansion known to our world.

Where in all the world, is there a section more profusely wealthy in health giving possibilities than our wonderful state of Wisconsin?

Yes, right here in Wisconsin, unappreciated by most, yet benefiting all, are our wide open spaces, good climate, pine woods, beauties of nature, spots primitive and unspoiled—all marvels of health, wealth of our state and enough to share with the nation. Let us not forget that our state has many herds of tangible wealth. Our lake fish supply the middle west, our trees for the houses and paper of a nation, our outdoor recreation is used by the whole country; but of these the store is diminishing. There is a day when some will be gone; all, if some measures are not taken before the day of exhaustion has been brought to us by our own wastefulness.

To improve those of our assets which need improving; to save and guard those that need it; to replace those that diminish and can be replaced; to foster and offer to the world those which can be spared and shared, is our job and our duty!

An absence of "conservation consciousness" is the state of Wisconsin, both among people of the state and their legislative representatives, has in the past resulted in ex-

treme laxity in the protection of our wildlife and natural resources. Not only has Wisconsin been delinquent in financing these resources, but she has failed to enact legislation necessary to curb the game hog and professional violator. The Conservation Commission, charged with the responsibility of enforcing laws protecting and restoring wildlife and forests, and upon whose shoulders rest the responsibility of an aggressive conservation program, has not had the legislative support which a great outdoor state should give the agency charged with these functions. When legislation is suggested by department heads, who from years of experience know what is necessary, objectors arise from various localities desiring to be treated differently or to be exempt from the proposed laws. Members, in trying to inject into well considered proposals, their own local needs and local ideas, are willing to accept the suggestions of other local minded members in order to carry out their own ideas.

With each legislative session comes a host of new members. New or old, they all come with thoughts suggested by someone back home, and with that constituent it is usually a pet idea of his own, more often than not lacking in any stable and scientific basis. Few members of the legislature have made a particular study of conservation needs and so when legislation is up for consideration a great majority of our members are, either not interested or lack the fundamental knowledge to pass upon the issue before them. In such case it would seem only logical to rely upon the authorities employed by the state and trained in its service to master these subjects and to turn to those men who have made a life study of the subject matter involved. Factional and party lines have no place in matters of this kind, nor does the question of popularity of the particular bill involved. Measures should be weighed and determined on the basis of their effect upon the state's future supply of forests, fish and game, and recreational facilities, and not upon the whims of local cranks.

HYSTERIA FROM THE LIBERAL COMMUNITY

HON. CHALMERS P. WYLIE

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 16, 1970

Mr. WYLIE. Mr. Speaker, something should be said about the sensational demands for the resignation of John Mitchell.

Anyone who has spent any time in this city comes to expect occasional hysteria from the liberal community. Now is such a time. Suddenly, in the wake of the Carswell defeat, John Mitchell has become a scapegoat, a convenient target for everyone who wants to distract public attention from other matters.

The unwarranted attacks on the Attorney General have earned him designation as an "honorary southerner." Even though he is a New Yorker, he is being subjected to the same kind of sly, puffed up, and insubstantial criticism which is the burden of all conservative southerners in public life.

All this will pass. But, for the moment, I want to speak out with an expression of confidence in John Mitchell. He has been a distinguished and effective Attorney General, and he merits our support in these tantrums of foolishness.

FRAUD AND BAD ADMINISTRATION COSTS MEDICAID \$1 BILLION PER YEAR

HON. MARIO BIAGGI

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 16, 1970

Mr. BIAGGI. Mr. Speaker, last year this Nation spent \$7 billion for medicaid, part A and B, to provide medical and dental care for 19 million indigent citizens across the country. Some 650,000 low-income families just above the welfare level in New York State benefited from this program.

However, countless instances of the abuse of medicaid funds by medical practitioners, and rampant fraud and misuse of funds through inept administration of the program on a Federal, State, and local level has caused me to question whether or not the true objectives of title XIX of the Social Security Act are really being met.

A Federal audit of New York State last year revealed that unscrupulous doctors, dentists, pharmacists, and medical institutions bilked the medicaid program out of some \$60 million of the total \$1 billion authorization for New York State. Jointly funded by the Federal Government and the State, Federal auditors recommended that \$15 million in Federal medicaid funds be withheld from New York City because of mishandling and mismanagement of the money.

For this reason I feel that a thorough and complete investigation of the entire medicaid program is in order. Examples of abuse and fraud such as I have just cited for you, Mr. Speaker, were found in almost every major city in the United States. The exact amount of tax dollars lost to fraud and deception is not really known, but preliminary investigations by the Senate Finance Committee in a report entitled "Medicare and Medicaid: Problems, Issues, and Alternatives" suggested that 1 billion tax dollars per year could be saved if the recommendations in the report were implemented.

This is a staggering amount of money. All of it was earned by hard-working, tax-paying citizens, who deserve better management and administration of their money.

For this reason I have recently introduced legislation which would establish a Federal commission to thoroughly investigate the abuse of medicaid money and upon completion of that investigation, to recommend positive administrative procedures to eliminate loopholes and mismanagement that exists in the present program. In my estimation this is the only way that this Government is going to be able to assure the taxpayer that his dollars are being wisely and efficiently spent for the benefit of the public health.

By coordinating the information already gathered by the ad hoc Senate Finance Committee last summer, and acting upon its recommendations, I feel relatively certain that such a commission could come up with legislative proposals that would insure a tight and efficient program, devoid of the waste and

mismanagement that now plagues it. Any action short of this comprehensive approach will, I am sure, result in piecemeal patchwork that cannot possibly overcome the multitude of problems facing the administration of these funds.

The administration wants an additional \$4 billion in payroll taxes in fiscal 1971 above the present tax level for Medicaid. I, for one, would not support such an increase unless the entire Medicaid machinery were overhauled, effectively, and efficiently so that unethical practitioners could not continue to line their already bulging pockets with tax dollars, often at the expense of the health of their Medicaid patient.

Mr. Speaker, I would like to point out that there are already innovative ways to combat the abuse and misuse of Medicaid funds. I would like to see these methods adopted by the Congress as soon as possible. For example, New York City has pioneered the "Medicaid watchdog system," which is more educational than punitive. However, this program would be an excellent prototype for the Federal Government, in administering Medicaid funds, to emulate. The Medicaid watchdog system has set standards, established surveillance programs and enforcement programs in health care that are sadly lacking from our present program.

Another area which needs immediate attention is a Federal administering office to control and punish those who abuse the program, or try to cheat the Federal and State governments of these valuable and needed health dollars. If a Medicaid Fraud and Abuse Unit were established in the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, it could help the States coordinate programs to uncover and prevent improper Medicaid practices and abuses. Given the power to investigate, and prosecute, if necessary, such a bureau would be an invaluable first step in saving countless thousands and even millions of tax dollars that are being siphoned from the Medicaid fund illegally.

In closing, Mr. Speaker, I would like to point out that inflation could greatly be retarded if the Congress moves to correct the inefficiency and mismanagement prevalent in some of its larger public programs such as Medicaid. However, we must remember that the very size of the program itself magnifies administrative problems. Therefore, let us move carefully to reevaluate the entire program and assist in its management by providing the machinery, and guidelines if necessary, to make it run smoothly.

GOVERNMENT VERSUS INDIVIDUAL RESPONSIBILITY

HON. ED FOREMAN

OF NEW MEXICO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 16, 1970

Mr. FOREMAN. Mr. Speaker, we cannot spend ourselves into affluence—we must earn our way by our individual effort. Regardless of what some may say or think—we live under a system where

the people support the Government, the Government does not, and cannot, support the people. The Government is not a creator of wealth—it gets its money from people who work and pay taxes, and we are fooling no one but ourselves when we think otherwise. All the players in the poker game cannot make money, because the game itself does not produce money, it comes from the players.

My son, Kirk, summarized the situation very well with his question: "Who's gonna pull the wagon if everybody gets in to ride?"

POLITICAL JUDGMENT OF JIM FARLEY

HON. BYRON G. ROGERS

OF COLORADO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 16, 1970

Mr. ROGERS of Colorado. Mr. Speaker, many years ago the Honorable Jim Farley visited the State of Colorado and became acquainted with a new reporter for the Rocky Mountain News, Pasquale Marranzino, who had great admiration for and realized the good judgment exercised by the lovable Jim Farley. Under dates of March 14, 1970, and April 7, 1970, Pasquale Marranzino wrote two articles concerning Jim Farley, and I insert them in the appendix of the RECORD so that others may enjoy the high regard that Mr. Marranzino has for Mr. Farley:

[From the Rocky Mountain News, Mar. 14, 1970]

IRISH TALES FROM JIM FARLEY

(By Pasquale Marranzino)

Although I shall not observe the great feast of St. Patrick until Tuesday, I give Denver's Irish credit for having the cunning to get two shots at the observance—today and Tuesday.

One of the nicest St. Pat's observances I had was shared with Jim Farley, the honorable, who was architect of Franklin D. Roosevelt himself's dynasty and today remains one of the symbolic politicians enshrined by another Irishman—Alfred E. Smith—a happy warrior. Mayor Billy McNichols has this quality.

Anyhow, James A. Farley, long gone from active political wars, sat on the bed in his room in the Brown Palace Hotel and interrupted our interview with dozens of happy telephone calls from all over the nation.

"Speaking as an American," Farley said, "our country is, indeed, lucky to have the Irish. The Irish birthright begins with the Continental Army. Did you know that Irish Continental soldiers kept the laughter and the courage going at Valley Forge? And two signers of the Declaration were Irish—Charles Carroll of Maryland and Thomas Lynch of South Carolina. Aside from its great significance, it was one of the few recorded cases in American history where Irishmen went along with the majority."

He told the story of the Confederate at Gettysburg who surprised an Irishman with the 20th Infantry of Massachusetts. "Give me your rifle, Yankee," Johnny Reb yelled. "Here it is," laughed the Irishman. "By the way, we have been trying to get those Protestants in Boston to call us Yankees for two generations."

He related the story of the fabled Wild Bill Donovan, the daring colonel of the Fighting 69th in World War I, and equally famous

Father Duffy. Donovan had been wounded in a foxhole and Father Duffy called for volunteers to bring the colonel back to the American lines. Everybody in the company volunteered.

Father Duffy took two litter bearers and made his way to the fallen colonel. He found him unconscious in the hole, and after giving him last rites, Donovan regained consciousness and asked what in hell the padre was doing. Duffy told him.

The grateful Donovan said, "It's by your grave I'll stand, father" . . . which happened when Father Duffy died. "But do me a favor. Take out my .45 and lay it on my chest. The priest smiled and informed Bill he would do no more fighting for a while, "I know it," the colonel said, "but put the pistol on my chest or they'll steal the regimental payroll at the base hospital."

We partook of a wee dab of Irish dew as we spoke—I listened, rather. Farley was Chairman of the Board of The Coca-Cola Export Corp. at the time. But he didn't ask for any chaser.

He told another story I recall, about the two rugged Irish patriots who, during the tumultuous times of "the trouble" in the Twenties, had the nasty assignment of taking care of those loose-tongued neighbors who traitorously had informed the Black and Tan.

These two were assigned to lie in wait for a fingered traitor and to shoot him down while he walked the lonely road home during the night. After waiting an unduly long time for the victim to show up, one of the patriots turned to the other and whispered: "I hope to the Lord that nothin' has happened to the poor little man."

[From the Rocky Mountain News, Apr. 7, 1970]

FARLEY: DO NOT RULE OUT LBJ IN 1972

(By Pasquale Marranzino)

The interesting revolution going on in both major parties in Colorado has happened before. The old order changeth, but how much?

The power switch is more discernible among the Democrats. It is the residue of the bad broth that boiled up in those tragic days of the last presidential campaign when Bobby Kennedy was assassinated, Gene McCarthy all but abdicated and Hubert Humphrey couldn't collect their followers.

All of this is generated by a letter I received from James A. Farley, the amazing political quarterback of the Roosevelt years, who at 81 isn't being sought for counsel by most of his party—terrible waste of wisdom.

Farley, of course, along with Mark Hanna, who engineered the success of President McKinley, is considered to be the classic beneficent boss of American politics and I am relaying some remarks he sent along in the letter he thought might be interesting.

The shocker is that Farley hasn't ruled Lyndon B. Johnson out of the presidential picture in 1972.

"I have no idea what former President Johnson has in mind for 1972," he wrote, "but speaking as an observer who has no outside information, I don't think you can pass him out of the picture."

Farley said he passed on the same belief to the venerable Jimmy Kilgallen, and Jimmy got a scoop—who is a contemporary of Farley's and who in his 60 years of newspapering has covered more big stories than any American reporter.

Kilgallen, by the way, was assigned by one of the big press associations to do the John Gilbert Graham trial here when he was convicted and executed for bombing a plane load of innocent victims over Longmont.

Farley made no bones about his belief that LBJ would be nominated if he consented to make the race, an interesting if almost unbelievable observation.

Farley says the Democrats won't fall apart and that they have the same "basic voting strength that makes them capable of winning in any presidential year."

And he couldn't help referring to the colossal defeat Al Smith suffered which was supposed to have ruled out the Democrats as a party. Then came FDR.

What the party needs—as many observers will tell you—is a Jim Farley. It is incredible that when Farley was Postmaster General, he also held the job as National Democratic Chairman and Democratic State Chairman in New York. They called him "three-job Jim" in ridicule of his potent hold on the Democrats all over, but nobody contested Farley.

What he had was the knowledge of political responsibility—the leadership at higher levels that filtered information, co-operation, encouragement and help along to the precinct level.

That could mean political reward, jobs, financial aid to candidates and handshakes and personal correspondence—the great facility Jim Farley still has.

The Democrats—out of office, without jobs, logrolling and a hefty debt—would seem to be in bad shape. But Farley wouldn't agree.

SUPREME COURT NOMINATIONS

HON. JOHN E. HUNT

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 16, 1970

Mr. HUNT. Mr. Speaker, I sometimes find it more than a bit difficult to understand the reasoning of the gentlemen in the other Chamber. Especially when it comes to certain appointments the President must make with their advice and consent.

According to my understanding of the Constitution, it is the President's duty alone to select a nominee to fill a vacancy such as now exists on the Supreme Court. Only then is it the Senate's duty to approve or disapprove on the merits, which may or may not be influenced, as the case may be, by the section of the country from which the nominee comes.

Be that as it may, some Senators seem to be seeking to change the Constitution around a bit, these days. Now they do not want to wait for the President to appoint before they advise. Of course, they want to advise him on who and how to appoint in accordance with their own peculiar notions and biased criteria as to what constitutes a "good" Supreme Court Justice. Whether from ignorance or arrogance, I can only say that when Senators, or Representatives, seek to usurp the prerogatives of the executive branch, they jeopardize the separation of powers and violate the spirit of the Constitution.

Now that the President has selected a third judge for appointment to the Supreme Court, I hope that some of our colleagues in the other body will change their tactics and judge the nominee on his merits and not on their prejudices.

It is my further hope that such extraneous, irrelevant, and highly subjective views about mediocrity and sensitivity will be relegated to the diatribes of the liberal press and kept out of the discussion of the judge's qualifications. Many Americans, including myself, were disturbed over the shallow and hypocritical

debate on Judge Carswell. Many of those throwing stones live in the flimsiest of glass houses.

As reported in the unfailing press, one such gentleman in the other body failed his bar examination. Another once was expelled from college. On what valid grounds can racism be charged? One who made the charge against Judge Carswell belonged to a fraternity limited to white, Christian men. Another bought, lived in, and sold a house with a racially restrictive covenant. Many belong today to all-white clubs.

Mr. Speaker, it is to be sincerely hoped that the debate on Judge Blackmun will be conducted along more rational lines and on more honest issues than were the cases during the debates on Judges Haynsworth and Carswell.

THE CHANGING ROLE OF AMERICAN TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE IN AGRICULTURAL DEVELOPMENT

Hon. PETER H. B. FRELINGHUYSEN

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 16, 1970

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN. Mr. Speaker, under President Nixon's administration, U.S. foreign aid is taking on new, and important, dimensions as technological aid is given increasing recognition, particularly in the agricultural field.

The significance of this change, from purely financial aid to the technical aid which allows for self-help and improvement for the developing nations, was discussed recently by Dr. Joel Bernstein, Assistant Administrator for Technical Assistance of AID. I insert in the RECORD Dr. Bernstein's address on "The Changing Role of American Technical Assistance in Agricultural Development," delivered at Cornell University:

THE CHANGING ROLE OF AMERICAN TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE IN AGRICULTURAL DEVELOPMENT

(By Dr. Joel Bernstein)

My remarks tonight are on the heavy-sounding subject of "The Changing Role of American Technical Assistance in Agricultural Development." This is a formidable mouthful that fortunately is easily translated.

In plain English this title refers to evolving ways in which Americans will use their very great knowledge of agriculture to help developing countries create their own means and methods of adequately feeding growing populations. It correctly suggests that we already are doing this and expect to continue. What it does not say, but which I have no hesitation in adding, is that what Americans and others have done in this field has had impressive successes, despite the many difficulties and remaining problems to which I'll soon turn.

I shall say more of success in a moment. But first I must apologize to the distinguished agriculturists who are at Cornell all this week for analysis of issues that have emerged in the wake of recent breakthroughs in developmental agriculture. Much of what follows they already know. But this is a public lecture, which means I am constrained to state some things that professionals know well.

Let me begin, then, with a thumbnail review of where the free world developing

countries stand in food production. If we look at their total food production in the sixties, we see a steady and impressive rise to some 40 percent above the 1957-59 base. This is historically unprecedented. But watching the far more relevant and much wavier curve of per capita food production, the performance is something else again. It stood in 1969 only six percent above the base of a decade earlier, or not very comfortably ahead of rising world population.

This advance of per capita food production over the decade varied greatly among the major regions of the developing world. East Asia was in the midst of a steep climb in 1969, with per capita production for that year about 13 percent above 1957-59. By 1969 per capita production for South Asia—specifically India, Pakistan and Ceylon—had also risen sharply to 6 percent above 1957-59 despite a disastrous dip in the middle of the decade.

Latin America's per capita food production in 1969 also stood at six percent above the base of a decade earlier, but it was on a downward trend, while Africa, so far as we are able to measure, was at a discouraging five percent below the base level that it had scarcely exceeded since the decade opened. It is true, however, that with certain exceptions such as Morocco and Tunisia, where deficiencies were made up through imports, African diets were adequate in calory terms. But it is well known that aggravated nutritional deficiencies, particularly in protein, were and are widespread in that continent. The Near East, having reached a five percent improvement in 1967 had by 1969 fallen back to the per capita food production level of the start of the decade.

Now these per capita figures tell us plainly that something beneficial was happening in East and South Asia as the decade closed. And we get the same message if we revert to recent data for total rather than per capita food production in these vital regions. For in the years 1967-69 total food production in South Asia rose 27 percent above 1966. In East Asia it rose 11 percent. And for developing countries as a whole it rose 14 percent.

The "something beneficial" to which I have referred has been given a widely-used name, the "Green Revolution," a useful enough phrase that is quite limited in its meaning although appropriate as far as it goes. It refers to the dramatic consequences of introduction into India, Pakistan, the Philippines, Vietnam and Turkey of new high-yielding varieties of wheat and rice. The parent strains were developed, for the most part, at the International Maize and Wheat Improvement Center in Mexico and the International Rice Research Institute in the Philippines, both supported by the Ford and Rockefeller Foundations. It refers to results obtained only in some of the well-watered areas of these countries and only after intensive campaigns to provide seeds, fertilizers, pesticides and the rest, to provide instruction where needed, and to provide or respond to a context of assured markets and favorable prices.

But even while recognizing that the Green Revolution has its limits, it has been a remarkable event by any measure. Properly used, the new varieties yield two and even three times more than traditional ones. Moreover, two or three crops can be grown where one had been the limit. Acres thus planted in Asia rose from only 200 in 1964-65 to over 16 million in 1967-68, and almost 30 million in 1968-69. This amounts to about 16 percent of wheat acreage and seven percent of rice acreage in non-Communist Asia.

Clearly, this agricultural development is of dramatic dimensions. But with obvious limits, as I have noted. Where it did take place the results justify many of the adjectives of enthusiasm that were spoken

about it. It gave developers new hope, it told us much about what was possible where hopelessness had reigned before, and it bought time for some nations desperately pressed by rising populations to get on with solutions to that frightening puzzle.

But solve the world food problem the Green Revolution did not. According to the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations, one person in five in the developing world still receives insufficient calories; he does not get enough food of any kind. Worse, three in five do not receive balanced nutrition in the food that is available. Protein deficiencies are especially serious. Within these figures is the grim reality of the enduring effects of nutritional deficiency on weaned infants. And there probably will be about 30% more mouths to feed in non-Communist Asia alone by the end of the 1970's.

If we are to discuss tonight the changing role of American technical assistance in the agricultural development of which I have been speaking, we had better make some passing reference to what that role has been.

First of all, however, we need perspective in appraising where the main efforts arise that produce Green Revolutions. Neither our own developed country nor any other could have done what the developing countries did for themselves. The resources applied from inside dwarfed those supplied from outside. But at the same time the external contribution was often catalytic the small but essential ingredient to energize the critical mass slowly accumulated.

Mostly I will talk about the technical contribution of A.I.D., which is to say a portion of official U.S. aid, even though most of our assistance contributed in one way or another to the agricultural growth of the developing countries. But let me refer in passing to some contributions from the private sector, because they have done so much and can do so much more.

To the example of the so-called "miracle" seeds developed at foundation-supported research institutes I would add, for example, the early sixties achievement of the M. W. Kellogg Company in developing a better and cheaper method of synthesizing ammonia from atmospheric nitrogen. Thus was broken a technical barrier to manufacturing fertilizer, in developing countries as elsewhere, by the multi-national corporations that are increasingly doing so. I would mention as well the establishment in the Philippines by the ESSO oil people of 400 or more "one stop" agro-service centers where rice farmers could buy fertilizer, seeds, pesticides and tools. A simple concept, perhaps amusing to Americans to whom such enterprise is as natural as breathing, but critical to the way rice production soared in that country. There are other examples, of course, but these may suffice to show the contributive potential when private multi-national firms turn their talents to development problems in environments congenial to efficient and profitable operation.

As to what A.I.D. did to boost the Green Revolution, I think it may with due modesty take a good slice of credit, with some gross figures being a good place to start. Direct A.I.D. assistance to agriculture in the years 1965-69 is estimated at about \$2.5 billion or about a quarter of the total program. In a typical year, 1967, we had some 1,400 agricultural technicians overseas, although budgetary problems have lowered that figure somewhat now. Trainees in agriculture brought to this country for study averaged about 1,800-1,900 a year over the period and were the largest trainee category. Of the \$63 million approved for central research projects in the last half of the decade, \$23 million or 36 percent was in agriculture. And last year, A.I.D. had 57 agricultural projects contracted to U.S. universities, 30 percent of the total value of such contracts in all fields. These

figures illustrate the top priority given to agriculture. They translate into a buildup of skills, institutions, new methods and policies, and commodity inputs that have provided much of the essential underpinning for past and future growth of agricultural production. More relevant than mere figures, however, is what happened in the field.

In the pre-breakthrough period the private international research institutes had our good wishes and our cooperation but none of our money, although that has changed. On the other hand, A.I.D.'s long support of agricultural universities in India and the Philippines had a lot to do indirectly with their excellent research work in further improving the seeds from the institutes. In Vietnam, Turkey, Morocco and Bolivia we had a dominant role in the design of limited experimental work, while in West Pakistan we supported its government in accelerating selection and improvement of the new seeds. This adds up to scattered involvement in research on the new seeds if not to a major contribution. Over the years, there has been steady Agency work with indigenous research institutes and programs around the globe, outside the area of major production success with the new rice and wheat varieties. Although much of this work was inadequately focused, it has made important contributions to the overall research capabilities of the developing countries. So has the more recent work by U.S. universities financed under the central research program. These efforts will bear fruit in the 1970's and beyond.

In the task of diffusing research results on the high yielding varieties, however, our role was major and possibly decisive. At any rate we were closely and successfully involved in the rural institutions that helped spread the seeds and the technology in all five nations where the high yielding variety campaigns took place, that is Indian, Pakistan, Turkey, the Philippines and Vietnam.

Where the "inputs" of fertilizer and water were concerned, our technical contribution was exceeded by our financial one. Nevertheless, there was significant A.I.D. influence on policy, specifically the elevation of fertilizer to high priority, flowing from negotiations for fertilizer imports from this country that in the 1965-69 period amounted to over \$400 million. In West Pakistan we underwrote a desalinization program in areas where the high yielding varieties later produced in such abundance, and we financed tubewells in many parts of the Indo-Gangetic plain while promoting understanding of their use through support of extension work.

Finally, and importantly, I cite the way in which A.I.D. "promoted," if you will, the high yielding variety campaigns virtually across the board. Through the simple fact of our "presence" over an extended period of time we knew local conditions well and, in the case of such countries as India and Pakistan, had entrée to the highest policy levels in both bilateral and multilateral negotiations. In India, Turkey and Vietnam we were in many ways the spearhead of promotion through financing of seeds, fertilizer and extension and even so simple a matter as the passing out of production kits and supplies to individual farmers. We were comparably engaged in the Philippines, although that country had itself generated large momentum toward immensely improved rice production. There were even occasions when, for example, on a dock where vital goods were piling up, A.I.D. would often manage to have a technician materialize to perform, and by his example teach, the American trick of standing back to look at a problem from all angles and then sail into solving it.

In Vietnam, A.I.D. was instrumental in organizing a rice production campaign that applied modern action scheduling and monitoring techniques to bring in the needed inputs in the right time and volume relationships. This permitted rice production to

accelerate very rapidly in areas where hybrid varieties were introduced. For example, while total rice production rose 16% during the 1969 crop year, at least 70% of this rice was due to the use of the new varieties on about 7-8% of the total acreage. For the average farmer, these yield increases mean a many-fold increase in his marketable surplus after family consumption and production costs have been taken care of. It has been said by both Vietnamese and Americans that the success of the rice campaign in the Delta region was the dominant event in the lives of people, occupying a far more important place in their scale of concerns than either the war or political questions.

This recollection of A.I.D. experiences in promoting the introduction of the new seed technologies reminds me to say, parenthetically, that one of the great but immeasurable dividends of sustained U.S. presence in developing countries has been its influence in teaching how to go about solving a problem. I have seen this "rub-off" occur as well on such major behavioral factors as attitudes toward the function of education, the uses of research, even on social and political assumptions and values. In any event, this aspect of the American presence is worth pondering when we contemplate where Technical Assistance or foreign aid broadly may go from here.

So much, then, for my summary of where food production stands in the developing world and for my observations about the contribution U.S. foreign aid made to the achievements described. It is time to turn to the present and future place of Technical Assistance in the scheme of things.

We have had over two decades of experience with Technical Assistance. Meanwhile the world has been changing—ever more rapidly. In recent years, there has been a rising volume of efforts to appraise the significance of this experience and its changing context. This is highly desirable. Within A.I.D. reappraisals of Technical Assistance over the past year or so, taking account of internal and external critiques, have suggested a number of new emphases. This reappraisal has been reflected in the new stress on strengthening the quality of Technical Assistance during the discussions of assistance programs with the Congress, and in the establishment of a new Technical Assistance Bureau in A.I.D. to carry out this purpose.

What, specifically, are the new emphases? And why this talk about quality? Everyone has always favored quality. So what's new?

In the past, the main focus of those concerned with the developing countries has been on relieving the great scarcity of development resources—both capital and technical resources. The concern has been with adding as large an increment each year as feasible, from internal growth of the economy and from external aid and other sources. Satisfying this quantitative need has been and will continue to be critical if a tolerable pace of development and modernization is to proceed. However, this focus tended to bring insufficient attention to some of the crucial qualitative factors in development activities.

Every country has an accumulation of productive resources that is many times greater than the comparatively small increment that is added each year. This includes its people, which are its most important productive resource as well as the beneficiaries of development. How much production it realizes each year and how much of the benefits reach its people depends on how well the available resources are combined—on the quality of use of productive resources—more than on the increments of capital that can be added each year to the total supply of productive resources.

But it is people who make the decisions on the productive and social uses of resources.

That fact underlines the importance of the principal goal of Technical Assistance—helping to equip people in the developing countries to improve the quality of their decisions on the use of the productive resources available to them. Increasingly, Technical Assistance has also been concerned with the closely related set of decisions affecting the breadth of participation by the people of each country in this decision making and in enjoyment of the fruits of development. The quality of these resource use decisions is the prime determinant both of the success of developing countries' efforts to provide a better life for their people, and of foreign assistance for this purpose.

For many years, A.I.D. has pressed for self-help measures to accompany its assistance and has sought improved coordination of the use of all available external and internal resources in pursuit of the development goals of the recipient country. These A.I.D. efforts involved one important form of Technical Assistance, and its coordinated deployment with capital assistance, to improve resource use.

However, experience has suggested that the quality of the U.S. Technical Assistance itself could and should be strengthened. Thus, the current concern for quality has two vertical dimensions. We are seeking higher quality Technical Assistance as the principal assistance tool to improve in turn the quality of resource use, which is the principal factor in achieving development goals.

One element in A.I.D.'s new effort to strengthen Technical Assistance is provision for a stronger focus on the key problems. The new Technical Assistance Bureau is the organizational means for doing this. It will lead Agency efforts to mobilize expertise in a wide range of technical areas relevant to development in order to identify and then help to resolve those problems that are the greatest blocks to broad advance in important activity sectors, of which agriculture and population growth are pre-eminent. We intend to do this with our own people, with those elsewhere in government, with private experts from whatever sources and whatever disciplines may be appropriate, and indeed with relevant knowledge wherever found, including other developed and developing countries. This effort has already begun.

This key problem focus needs a complementary effort to develop a broader and more relevant stock of knowledge that can be applied to problems in the developing countries. One of the most important things that has been learned over two decades of Technical Assistance is that we have comparatively little knowledge that is directly applicable to their problems without considerable technical development and creation of locally fitted institutional devices and policies for applying the knowledge. As I stressed earlier, development is concerned with people—where they are and how they are. It is concerned with their perceptions, abilities, behavior and well being. Thus those concerned with solutions to development problems must go beyond technology to cope with systems of human effort. These vary greatly around the world. Thus there is a new emphasis in our Technical Assistance work on research and development type activities, which should grow steadily.

Our new focus also contemplates fuller and better use of organizations outside A.I.D., where suitable expertise exists or can be developed, to design and implement Technical Assistance activities. This would strengthen the existing trends in this direction. In this connection, we have concluded extensive discussions with representatives of the university community to design an improved method of AID/university collaboration on long term institutional development projects overseas. This new system will soon be tried in some pilot efforts. We are also exploring new systems

for involving university departments and their personnel in support of overseas development activities in ways that would simultaneously reinforce home campus capabilities.

Moreover, the Technical Assistance Bureau has recently established an Office of Science and Technology to provide a new bridge between the talent and interests of the science and technology community and the problems in developing countries to which they can be effectively applied. Such organizations as the National Academies of Science and Engineering, National Research Council, National Science Foundation, Smithsonian Institution, National Aeronautics and Space Agency, Atomic Energy Commission, Battelle Memorial Institute and other such bodies are being involved.

We have also begun the process of developing a body of Technical Assistance doctrine and method, which should be extractable from two decades of experience but which has not yet been coherently and concisely articulated. In other words, we propose to do what we can to advance the professionalization of Technical Assistance.

The key to effective Technical Assistance, however, is not what people know in the U.S., but how well that knowledge can be deployed in the field so as to improve developing countries' own responses to their needs. The focus must continue to be on strengthening host country capabilities to perform important developmental functions. And problem analysis must be linked appropriately to the practical applications of solutions in specific overseas situations.

We shall need to explore and encourage better ways of relating American and host country professional organizations and individuals in joint problem solving activities of mutual interest. The rising levels of training and sophistication of developing country personnel make this partnership or technical collaboration approach more feasible and necessary. So do political considerations. Moreover, there will be growing prospects for benefit in the U.S. from such collaboration overseas—to provide improved insights on how to handle a wide range of domestic development problems, to provide useful technical knowledge, and to strengthen the knowledge base and private linkages overseas that the U.S. needs to cope with its ever growing interactions with the rest of the world. Part of our thrust in Technical Assistance for the 1970's is to find ways to reduce political problems associated with the joint work overseas on policy and institutional development, by relying as much as feasible on such devices as private institution-to-institution activities and the provision of assistance via international agencies or international auspices. Increasingly, the U.S. Government should concentrate its role on deploying funds and its management to catalyze and expedite the bringing together of suitable American, developing country, and third country professional resources to collaborate in activities that will improve the rate and quality of development of the poorer countries.

At this point it is fair to ask what these new emphases in A.I.D.'s general approach to Technical Assistance mean, more specifically, for our work in agricultural development overseas. That, after all, was the subject our hosts assigned me. We have been giving much thought to this question, and still are. As some of my listeners know because they were there, the past year has seen two full-dress working conferences in Washington during which both government and private experts canvassed rather thoroughly the desirable focus for our efforts in the years ahead.

In agriculture as in other fields, we are seeking the stronger focus on key problems, the vigorous thrust for suitable knowledge, the improved use of outside organizations,

and the application of improved methodology discussed earlier. The external context for our rethinking in agriculture is particularly significant. Aside from the way the Green Revolution has changed and illuminated the outlook for agricultural development, there is another new dimension that must be taken into account in whatever this country plans in this field. I mean the level and character of international recognition of the food problem and the rising international concern and action to solve it.

The United Nations Food and Agriculture Organization, the World Bank and its family, the U.N. Development Program, the regional groupings such as the Inter-American, Asian and African Development Banks—all have moved actively into concern with and support of agricultural development in recent years. We already are part of a growing international consensus which has come about and has acquired momentum in large part because of this country's leadership and substantive contribution. It probably would not have happened, or certainly not so soon, without us. We are obliged, it seems to me, to do what we can to keep the consensus intact and the momentum rising.

The world regards us as an industrial giant. Yet our greatest technical pre-eminence may be in agriculture. It is perhaps our most remarkable achievement that a fraction, eight percent or less, of our population feeds the balance and exports hugely to boot. Nevertheless, through much disappointment, we have found that agricultural technology is incomparably the most complex and difficult to adapt for transplanting to less developed countries. Yet, perhaps for this reason, agriculture shares with population the rank of undisputed top problem for the developing countries. In short, this developing country need, our own accomplishment, our reservoir of distinguished agricultural scientists, and our past contribution to agricultural development mean that we have an opportunity and a responsibility to provide further leadership and a large technical contribution.

What that technical contribution should be is still under debate and study, the workshop of which this lecture is part being proof enough of that. Our own reviews thus far at A.I.D., with a generous input from outside experts, have pointed in some likely directions for more concentrated A.I.D. effort, specifically four. This is not a magic number but we are satisfied these four areas of effort would be high on any list purporting to say where this country's technology can most profitably be applied through A.I.D. supported Technical Assistance, taking account of what others are likely to be doing.

At the head of the list is research. It was research by foundation-supported institutes in Mexico and the Philippines which, more than any other identifiable single factor, kicked off the Green Revolution. But the researchers in these places stood, so to speak, on the shoulders of others—private and public, American and foreign—who had shown the way in genetic manipulation of rice and wheat seed varieties. Multiple, interrelated efforts in many places were involved. The real point about research, and I scarcely think it necessary to say it at all before this audience, is that we need a lot more of it and that the payoff for its relatively modest cost as foreign aid spending is likely to be very high indeed. Although the foundations had by 1968 spent about \$15 million on the relevant work at the International Rice Research Institute, it has been estimated that the value of the 1967-68 rice harvest in developing countries was up \$300 million as a result of new seeds and that the comparable figure for 1968-69 might be \$1 billion. One pay off like this can support many less successful trials in the unpredictable business of research.

Most of the developing countries are seriously wanting in research capability of their

own although a few, some of the very important ones, are in fact capable of a wide range of research work. A major need then is to strengthen the capability of these countries to develop and adapt agricultural technology to fit their own local situations. The ultimate value of the international research centers will be largely determined by the extent to which the research institutions of the individual developing countries build their competence.

In the developed countries, above all in our own, there is an abundance of institutions able to conduct research of direct value to developmental agriculture. Our land grant universities, the Department of Agriculture and the laboratories of industry are all in a position to contribute, both by providing basic research findings and by assisting in the development of research capabilities overseas. They already possess vast research knowledge which, with some reorientation and adaption, could be brought to bear on the problems of the less developed countries. And finally there are the essentially international organizations already mentioned—the institutes in Mexico and the Philippines and two more that are coming along in Nigeria and Colombia being outstanding examples.

What I am describing is the beginnings of an international network which, with A.I.D. support and that of others, could become the international research apparatus that will be needed to keep the Green Revolution going and to start something like it where it has not yet occurred. There are large network gaps that need to be filled, elements that need to be strengthened, and a need to create a system of liaison between elements in order to avoid duplication and accelerate the research findings and the spread of their use. We think the United States should make an important financial and technical contribution to this network.

As a second horse on which to put down our heavier Technical Assistance bets, we are impressed by the need for a great deal more knowledge of such elemental subjects as soil and water as they are found in the developing world. Without exhausting the list, one can cite needs for better mapping, more soils analysis, greater knowledge of the interaction of soil and water, better methods of water management. We really know next to nothing about how to farm productively in the humid tropics, where a systematic study of soil and water relationships is only one obvious need. On another front, there is a demonstrable usefulness in setting up one or more pilot projects in management of watersheds, both to benefit the regions where they are located and to demonstrate techniques to developing country authorities. Again, we are talking about a cooperative international effort to which this country could make an important contribution.

A third problem area that deserves more intensive attention on a global basis is the very limited capability in the developing countries to devise rural development strategies that are effective in meeting their economic, social and political needs. This is the domain, primarily, of the agricultural economist interacting with agricultural technologists, behavioral scientists, and agricultural administrators. Most of the developing world's people are in the rural sector or closely dependent on progress in that sector. The problems of development strategy are immense. How to reconcile the need to accelerate agricultural productivity and output with the need to overcome the bypassing of small farmers and the growing unemployment and maldistribution of income in the rural areas, and with the need for low price food for urban areas and for world marketing? How to determine which agricultural investments, research and extension activities will bring the greatest return in terms of national goals and the

needs of those affected by these activities? How to relate marketing prospects to production practices and develop a suitable integration of the practices on both sides? And so forth. Part of the problem is that there still is comparatively little official recognition in developing countries of the need for agricultural economics type capabilities and functions.

Again the U.S. has the bulk of the world's talent and experience in this problem area. The Ford Foundation and others, including A.I.D., have made efforts to provide professional talent and training for developing country personnel to help close the gap. But this has barely scratched the surface of the problem. It should receive concentrated attention in the 1970's from U.S. assistance agencies.

A fourth key problem area needing intensive attention is the one to which A.I.D. has paid the greatest attention in the past—the lack of suitably trained manpower which is a virtually universal characteristic of developing countries. Here we come back to our main theme. Development depends on capable people, especially those who have the most influence on how resources get used.

The need for more relevant training permeates all levels of agriculture, in the public and private sectors, but it seems especially aggravated in the area of vocational training and practical undergraduate instruction. The need will grow rapidly in response to the accelerating commercialization of developing country agriculture. While there is reason to improve post-graduate training even in the best of the developing country agricultural universities, there is an acute deficiency in production and marketing specialists who could be trained at the undergraduate level or even outside the regular curriculum.

Here in the United States, to which A.I.D. continues to bring large numbers for agricultural training, we recognize that what is taught developing country trainees too often is relevant to our own agriculture but has small applicability to conditions in their own countries. Assuming that there will continue to be a demand and need for advanced agricultural training of developing country personnel in the U.S. for many years, it is urgent that ways be found to encourage more suitable programs at American institutions, worked out in collaboration with agricultural training institutions in the trainees' home countries. A.I.D. efforts on advanced training will tend to give special attention to the highest priority categories, such as the three discussed earlier.

In any case, our continuing large scale support of agricultural universities and like institutions overseas needs to do better what it has tried to do all along with some but not enough success—namely help to turn those institutions' attention outward to the practical needs of the rural societies around them. This should permeate their research and teaching more than it does. Their campus should be the farms and villages of their region.

These four key problem areas are not exclusive by any means. Within our capabilities for effective response, our country level work will continue to be responsive to each country's own priorities for development and outside help. These vary considerably. It may well turn out that we will want to organize capabilities in depth for global servicing in other activity areas that appear to have high pay-off prospects and to need U.S. Government support. Examples might be cattle production and marketing systems, or broader marketing institutional problems, or the development of improved management systems for crop production programs. The general point is to focus U.S. talent most intensively where it can do the most good, and to continue to concentrate on the de-

velopment and institutionalizing of local capabilities to perform the important developmental functions.

As we move down these or other Technical Assistance trails in the 1970's, we should have learned by now to proceed with caution and humility. Most of what needs to be known for local action decisions we shall never know. And we are dealing in matters of great moment and risk for the peoples of the developing countries. Their perceptions, abilities and well being are not something that we can readily understand or manipulate. Yet we do have much to contribute and much to learn by working with the responsible parties in the developing countries. Our resolve should be to do as much as we can of both.

I realize, of course, that I have not done much more than hint at some of the new or altered directions we see for U.S. Technical Assistance to agriculture in the years ahead. And perhaps in the question period that follows I can elaborate more than I have. But that will come, as our television announcers might say, after the following message. For I do not wish to close without something of a plug for a rational consideration of the future of foreign aid.

The recently issued Peterson Commission Report on "U.S. Foreign Assistance in the 1970's" is foremost on everyone's minds these days, when the future of assistance programs is the topic for discussion. The distinguished group of citizens on the Commission stressed the vital U.S. interests in continuing our engagement with the developing countries in the attack on development problems in those countries, and the need for a stable mandate for the program and organizations established for that purpose. They also stressed the need to rethink the needs of such a program for the 1970's—to worry not about where we've been but about where we need to go and how best to get there. Their analysis includes some of the emphases in my earlier remarks on Technical Assistance, with heavy stress on the need to strengthen and rely on multilateral institutions as much as possible. And they offer a series of organizational proposals.

The appearance of this Report provides a valuable opportunity for a dialogue on these important questions among the interested public, the Congress and the Administration. This dialogue will be most constructive and positive in its outcome if those private individuals and organizations who understand the American interests that are involved speak out clearly and forcefully for the need to protect those interests. These have been stated in various ways in the many reports on the subject.

In sum, they point out that economic assistance is:

(1) an investment in the kind of world environment in which we and future Americans will have a better chance to prosper and to continue the pursuit of happiness under a set of ground rules congenial to the values of free men;

(2) an expression of a deeply held American conviction that it is right that the richly endowed help those who have had lesser opportunities and who are willing to help themselves—a belief that turning our backs on this conviction would make it hard to live with ourselves, to think of ourselves as the kind of people we want to be;

(3) an opportunity for positive contacts, exchanges and cooperation on matters of mutual interest with the peoples of the less developed countries, thereby equipping the U.S. with a stronger knowledge base to cope with the rest of the world and also providing stronger bases for necessary cooperation and accommodation on other matters.

In sum, this formulation regards economic assistance as our main chance to join with the less privileged two-thirds of

the world in activities focused on human welfare rather than having to seek cooperation primarily on the basis of mutual fears.

The interests at stake are yours, Mr. John Q. Citizen's—not primarily A.I.D.'s. The future role of American Technical Assistance in agriculture—indeed in any field—will depend most of all on how you and other interested Americans speak out on the need to provide adequately for this future.

BREZHNEV'S ILLUSTRATIVE SPEECH

HON. PAUL J. FANNIN

OF ARIZONA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, April 16, 1970

Mr. FANNIN. Mr. President, some months ago, I placed in the RECORD an article prepared by the American Research Foundation entitled "When Is the U.S.S.R. Not the U.S.S.R.? Answer: When It Is the Soviet Union."

The article pointed out the particular deception the Communist world uses to confuse the free world. This deception is sometimes called semantic warfare. By these tactics of using terminology which seems to indicate one action, but in reality means something entirely different, we have been often duped and confused.

As an example, the article pointed out that the U.S.S.R., as used by the Communists, means the governmental entity. The Soviet Union, on the other hand, does not exist. The term is often used as a shorthand designation for the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, which is the ideological entity—the power behind the throne, so to speak.

On April 15, Leonard I. Brezhnev's speech on international affairs was excerpted by the New York Times. These excerpts from the official text distributed in English by Tass, the official Soviet News Agency, provides some illustrative points.

The first paragraph says:

Preliminary contact between the U.S.S.R. and the U.S.A. have already been made.

He is referring to the problem of limiting the strategic arms race.

In the second paragraph, the text reads:

The Soviet Union would welcome a reasonable agreement in the field.

My question is: Who is the Soviet Union? Is this the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, which is referred to further on in the speech? Or is it the government of Russia, designated as the "Soviet Government" immediately after the reference to the CPSU?

The real question at stake is:

If we were to negotiate an agreement with the U.S.S.R. would it be binding on the Soviet Union, or of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union? Why is there no Communist Party of the U.S.S.R. like there is a Communist Party of the U.S.A.?

Mr. President, I think the whole speech by Mr. Brezhnev is most illustrative

of the deceptive attitude employed by the Communists in Russia. The speech is abusive. It continues to abuse the United States with the use of the term "Imperialist" over and over. I ask unanimous consent that the article to which I refer be printed in the Extensions of the Remarks along with another American Research Foundation article dealing with class systems in conflict.

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

[From the New York Times, Apr. 15, 1970]
EXCERPTS FROM BREZHNEV SPEECH ON ARMS TALKS AND OTHER FOREIGN POLICY ISSUES

Following are excerpts from a speech on international affairs by Leonid I. Brezhnev, the Soviet Communist party leader, as distributed in English here by Tass, the official Soviet press agency:

ON ARMS TALKS WITH UNITED STATES

Such an important problem as restricting the strategic arms race is now on the order of the day. Preliminary contacts between the U.S.S.R. and the U.S.A. have already been made. Further talks on these intricate problems are to be opened in Vienna shortly.

The Soviet Union would welcome a reasonable agreement in the field. We built up strategic forces that are a reliable means of restraining any aggressor. And to any attempts by anyone to insure military superiority over the U.S.S.R. we will reply with a proper increase in military might, guaranteeing our defense. We cannot act otherwise.

However, if the United States Administration really strives for an understanding on restraining the strategic arms race, if American opinion succeeds in overcoming resistance by the arms manufacturers and the military the prospects of the talks could then be assessed as favorable. The Soviet Union, in any case, will do its utmost to make these talks useful.

We would like to make this absolutely clear because American circles that are interested in the arms race have now become particularly active.

In doing so they are resorting to slanderous assertions to the effect that the Soviet Union allegedly was going to build up the production of armaments in any case. This is an old subterfuge of the militarists, who have always tried to intimidate the public in order to get bigger appropriations for war preparations.

ON CHINA

The C.P.S.U. [Communist Party of the Soviet Union] and the Soviet Government continue the line of restoration and development of the friendly relations with the People's Republic of China. It is not our fault that these relations were spoiled and seriously aggravated.

Waging the principled struggle against the splitting activity in the international Communist movement and against the spreading of anti-Leninist views, we have been and continue striving to insure that ideological differences are not spread to interstate relations. The Communist and workers' parties, at their international conference in Moscow, again expressed their support for this course.

As you know, the question of normalization of the situation on the Soviet-Chinese frontier became the subject for talks with the P.R.C. Government. The Soviet Union holds a clear-cut and unambiguous stand at these talks. We deem it necessary to achieve an agreement that would turn the Soviet-Chinese frontier into the line of good neighborly relations, not enmity.

Without retreating from our legitimate, principled positions, upholding the interests

of the Soviet motherland and inviolability of its frontiers, we shall do all we can to normalize the interstate relations with the Peoples' Republic of China. Of course, all are well aware of the fact that this depends not only on us.

We proceed from the fact that long-term interests of the Soviet and the Chinese people do not counter—they coincide. At the same time, we do not close our eyes to the fact that the atmosphere that is artificially created around the talks now held in China cannot promote their success. And, indeed, who can seriously assert that fanning up of anti-Soviet military psychosis and the calls to the Chinese people to prepare for "war and hunger" promote the success of the talks?

If this is being done to bring pressure on the Soviet Union, then we can say in advance that these efforts are wasted. Our people have strong nerves and this is what the organizers of the war hysteria in China should know. The P.R.C. is interested in the solution of the frontier question not less than the Soviet Union, which has all needed to uphold the interests of the Soviet people, the builder of Communism.

ON THE MIDEAST

The progressive regimes in the Arab East against which the main blow was aimed have not only stood their ground but also consolidated themselves. The Arab peoples' friendship with the Soviet Union, with the entire world of socialism, has become still stronger.

At the same time, as the West had to admit, the prestige of the United States and other patrons of Israel has never fallen so low as now in the Arab countries and even throughout the world. The flame of the peoples' liberation struggle against the invaders is flaring up on occupied territories. The international isolation of Israel, the universal indignation over its adventurism and insolence is also growing.

Of course, it would be a mistake to underestimate the danger of the tension in the Middle East. Much inflammable material has been accumulated there through fault of the imperialists. For decades the Middle East has not known the meaning of peace. The imperialists regarded the peoples living in that region as small change in the play of their interests. They have not reconciled themselves even today to the emergence of the peoples of the Arab countries on the road of independent development and social progress.

Peace in that region would long have been restored were it only a question of safeguarding the right to security of each state in the Middle East. The present leaders of Israel, with their exorbitant ambitions and expansionist plans, however, need tension just as it is needed by their trans-Atlantic patrons.

There is a saying that a wise man learns from the mistakes of others. Israel evidently resolved to perceive everything from its own. By its aggressive policy the shortsighted Government of Israel places in jeopardy the security of its own people, whose future lies in good neighborliness and not in antagonism to the Arabs.

There is only one way to the peaceful solution in the Middle East—withdrawal of aggressor troops from the territories they occupy. It is necessary to make Israel respect decisions of such a lofty international body as the United Nations Security Council. The sooner the leaders of the United States realize how pointless and dangerous is their connivance with the Israeli aggressor, the sooner this can be achieved. The Arab peoples will never agree to capitulation and will never agree to perpetuation of occupation of their lands, and this must be understood by all.

The socialist countries are loyal friends of the Arab peoples. They are ready to give the Arab peoples all the necessary assistance to frustrate the plans of the aggressors in the Middle East. Together with other socialist countries, the Soviet Union will be doing all it can to help achieve settlement in the Middle East which would insure restoration of justice and bring peace and security to the peoples of the area.

ON VIETNAM

Several years ago, when American imperialism began the escalation of military operations in South Vietnam and passed over to acts of direct aggression against the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, many in the West thought it inconceivable that a comparatively small people could put up successful resistance to the leading imperialist power whose aims are served by a tremendous military-technical arsenal.

The Pentagon generals who plan the military operations in Vietnam calculated that they would break the resistance of the Vietnamese people within six months or in a year and would reimpose colonial servitude upon them in this or that way. But this stake on a military solution to the Vietnamese problem was beaten.

The Vietnamese people, displaying unmatched heroism and selflessness, backed by fraternal aid from the Soviet Union and other countries of socialism, frustrated the calculations of the aggressors. As emphasized at the international conference of Communists and workers parties, the significance of this fact by far transcends the boundaries of Vietnam itself. It has now proved in practice that a people fighting for their independence and enjoying the support of the socialist countries, the Communist movement, all revolutionary and progressive forces of the world, can give a rebuff to any imperialist aggressor.

Even many allies of the U.S.A. and imperialist blocs now dissociate themselves from the Vietnamese gamble of American imperialism. Antiwar moods have assumed a great scope in the United States itself. There is every reason to say that the situation of the aggressors has sharply deteriorated not only militarily but also politically and morally.

The United States leaders evidently decided that now is the time to renovate that side of their policy. The formula of Vietnamization replaced escalation of war. Does this mean, by any chance, that the United States imperialists at last decided to get out of Vietnam and to enable the Vietnamese people to decide their destiny, the matters of political organization of their country, by themselves? Not at all.

True, the United States publicly admitted that what it had been denying over many years—the war against the Vietnamese is an American war which the Vietnamese people do not want to have anything to do with. But Vietnamization seems not the end to this aggression but turning it into a fratricidal war among the Vietnamese. The United States imperialists would like to continue what they were doing using other people, providing dollars and military equipment to the South Vietnamese puppets. Traitors of national interests.

The Vietnam Workers party and the Government of the D.R.V., the National Liberation Front and the provisional revolutionary government of the Republic of South Vietnam express resolve to struggle for freedom and independence of their motherland using every means—military, political and diplomatic means. The Soviet people were and remain on the side of the Vietnamese people, whom we wish to achieve soon their national aspiration and a stable peace.

[From the American Research Foundation, Washington, D.C.]

CLASS SYSTEMS IN CONFLICT—POLITICAL WARFARE

THE UNITED FRONT—COALITION—AS TOOLS OF COMMUNIST SUBVERSIVE AGGRESSION AND EVENTUAL POLITICAL TAKE-OVER

Preface

"The three heads of Government . . . feel that the new Polish Provisional Government of National Unity should be sought in due course on the extent of these accessions and that the final delimitation of the western border should thereafter await the peace conference." From: The Yalta Conference, White House, Washington, D.C. Feb. 1945.

"The people of South Vietnam are determined to . . . To set up a National Union Democratic Government including the most representative persons among various social strata, nationalities, religious communities, and forces which have contributed to the cause of national liberation." From: Political Programme of the South Vietnam National Front For Liberation, Vietnam Courier, Hanoi, No. 127, 5 Sept. 1967.

"The Meeting of Communist and Workers Parties welcomes the formation of the Revolutionary Provisional Government of the Republic of South Vietnam and sees it as an important stage in the heroic liberation struggle of the Vietnamese people. The Meeting calls to work for the successful outcome of the Paris talks, which is quite possible on the basis of the 10 points advanced by the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam."

"Communists, who attribute decisive importance to the Working-Class Unity, are in favor of cooperation with the socialists and social democrats to establish an Advanced Democratic Regime today to build a Socialist Society Tomorrow."

"The Democratic Front Governments with the participation of communists have been formed in some states of India." From: Resolution adopted by the International Meeting of Communist and Workers Parties, Moscow, TASS, 18 June 1969.

"According to the theory of Marxism-Leninism the Party is considered as the leading force in the Country, which has its specific program and which cannot merge with Non-Party Masses in Yugoslavia, on the contrary the People's Front is considered the chief leading force and there was an attempt to get the Party submerged within the Front. Comrade Tito said: 'does the CPY have other programs. The program of the people's front is its program.' From: Letter of the C.C. VKP (b) to Comrade Tito and other members of the C.C. of the CPY Moscow, 27 March 1948.

Introduction

"A fight is in progress between these two systems (i.e. capitalist and socialist), a life and death combat. But we Communists want to win this struggle with the least losses, and there is no doubt whatsoever that we shall win. This is why we are striving for victory for the triumph of Communism, without unleashing a world thermonuclear war." (N. S. Khrushchev, Soviet News, 22 July 1963.)

The United Front (UF)¹ was generally formulated only after World War I. By 1921, it was apparent that world "class revolution" was to be postponed, and that the Marxists-Leninists (Communists) have succeeded only in isolating themselves not only from the trade unions and socialists around the world but also from the broad masses. The UF became a device for establishing contact

¹ Also, Popular, People's, Progressive, Democratic, etc.

with the masses—i.e., mobilizing the reserves of the revolution—without compromising the ideological, organizational and operational independence of Marxist-Leninist (Communist) parties. It became the ideological, organizational and tactical access to the masses. The first general statement of the nature of the UF was adopted by the Comintern in March 1922, (Unity of Action).

The ideological access which the UF gave the Communists in their attempt to reach the masses was through an appeal built on all issues concerning the interests of the urban industrial workers and the peasantry.

It was not based upon general appeals to world "class" revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat, but upon specific interests such as war, fascism, imperialism, Zionism, clericalism, election, unemployment, workers' insurance and security, wage cuts, working conditions, hours, defense of political prisoners, etc.

The Vth Congress of the Comintern in 1928 resolved that "throughout the entire pre-revolutionary period a most important basic part of the tactics of the Communist parties is the tactics of the United Front, towards class mobilization of the masses . . ."

The VIIth and last Congress of the Comintern in 1935 came out unequivocally and in unmistakable terms for United Front tactics against the "fascist-capitalist" (imperialist) offensive, with the social-democrats reformist trade-unions and all section of the working class, irrespective of affiliation, as the principal allies of the Communist Party. This program further provided for Communist participation in election campaigns on a common platform and with a common ticket with anti-imperialist and anti-fascist groups. It goes on for the creation United Front Governments when there is sufficient "upsurge" of the masses and where the bourgeois government is sufficiently "paralyzed"—(meaning penetrated). Party programs since World War II "enlarge" and "liberalize the organizational and ideological concepts of the UF, providing for alliances (coalitions) with "progressive" elements of the middle class, traders, businessmen, professionals and even industrialists (national bourgeoisie), and adding the very significant goals of national independence, "sovereignty" and "peace, (minimum demands)".

The formation of United Fronts ("coalitions" mobilizations, moratoriums, etc.) is an essential part of Marxist-Leninist organizational and tactical methodology. The United Front from "Below and/or Above" is a long range tactical weapon to broaden both the real and apparent base of support in countries where the Communists and their ideological-partisans (fellow-travellers) are seeking power. Through this tactic the Communist Party, under a true or assumed name, seeks to form "alliances" with non-Communist elements and organizations on a "mutually acceptable program embracing popular themes such as peace, civil rights, full employment, anti-imperialism, anti-Fascism, antiwhite supremacy, antiwar, antidraft, antitaxes, anti-R.O.T.C., antiwar research, anti-Zionism, antimilitarism, antilandlord, antipollution, antiwhite, women liberation, student self-government, and most of other current names.

These activities are popularly acceptable and at the same time consonant with the tactical approach of the Communist party. Marxist-Leninist objectives in the United Front, being tactical, vary with the country concerned and with the existing overall conditions, and range from "minimum demands" to the final "maximum objective," i.e., the seizure of political power. As soon as this United Front has gained office and the position has been consolidated, the Com-

munists gradually eliminate their non-communist supporters and establish first a "national democracy" regime, (Africa) or a "people's democracy" (Czechoslovakia) and eventually followed by "a dictatorship of the proletariat" to carry out party policies bearing no relationship to the original U.F. program.

The following U.F. general objectives may be said to be universal:

a. to give the Marxist-Leninist (Communist) Party operating under its true name (e.g. Communist Party of the U.S.A.) or assumed name (e.g. United Polish Workers Party), respectability and to broaden its base and support;

b. to attack, discredit and denounce major ideological enemies of the Marxist-Leninist movement and its parties in order to "eliminate class enemies" (imperialists) under the guise of people's support;

c. to enable the Communist party to make converts from membership of allied parties and organizations, and then build up Party Fractions (groups) in those parties and organizations;

d. to capture as large a proportion of the people (masses) as possible for a sudden switch to the offensive when the revolutionary situation (subjective and objective) warrants and ideally, to establish a United Front, (People's Front, Popular Front, National Coalition, National Unity, Democratic Alliance, a Democratic Government), Provisional Revolutionary Government, etc.

The Communists usually establish one or both basic types of United Fronts:

1. the United Front from Below whose first objective is the neutralization of the non-communist leadership, gaining thereby access to the rank and file of the masses. Leaders are to be isolated by "exposing" them before the people in general. The ranks are to be won by appeals for unity in the class struggle against the exploitation by capitalism, imperialism, Zionism, etc.

2. the United Front from Above transcends a purely working class arrangement and seeks to compose an "alliance" or "coalition" with the leadership of petit-bourgeois, peasant and "national bourgeois" parties and other organizations for the immediate aims (minimum demands) of a specific nature.

The United Front from Above remains the chief tactic that has been followed since World War II, however, there is some difference of opinion as to whether this tactic has been used continuously since 1935. During World War II and shortly after Communist partisans (ideological guerrillas) infiltrated into position of leadership and prepared to have their "people" ready to take over the key positions of the government as soon as their countries were liberated by the Allies.

Their "national" liberation fronts were extremely successful in the Balkans and Central-East European countries. Only Greece escaped largely due to British intervention. In the post war period the USSR occupation forces also sponsored the formation of People's Front Governments in areas under their control in Eastern Europe. They had carefully with the Communist party arranged beforehand the take-over, however, to insure that the positions of potential power would be in Communist hands.

There is no formula for identifying as United Front by its political platform, typical Red semantics, employing such terms as "fascist", "capitalist", "imperialist", "Zionist", "Racist", "reformist" "new-colonialist", etc., may be deliberately eliminated since they may be distasteful to one or more of the allied parties. Even such innocuous terms as "peace" and "national sovereignty" may not appear as other than routine planks in the United Front platform.

Identification of a United Front program amounts simply to this: whenever a Communist Party (under a true or assumed name) or a Communist front organization

joins directly or indirectly with non-Communist organizations in a "United Political Social" or other Program. It is the beginning of an United Front which the Communist have joined or initiated for the specific and calculated purpose of accomplishing certain action objectives of the World Communist and Workers' Movement and one of its world-wide fronts, the "National Liberation Movement" headed by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU), (and the CP of China) be they "minimal" or "maximal". Any notion that the true Marxist-Leninist (Communist) movement and its parties may cooperate with other parties and organizations merely because of lack of directives (party line) or better program of their own should be discarded. Such alliances (coalitions) are made by the Party only after carefully considered policy decisions and with clearly plotted ulterior motives—world class liberation. The leadership and ultimate control of a United Front Organization is exercised by Party Fractions which are formal units of the party structure whose task is to acquire and exert guidance and control of the United Front leadership within which the Fraction (not faction nor cell) has established itself overtly or covertly.

1. Some aspects of fraction responsibilities are: *provocation*, when it is desirable to invite disapproval and/or security action against an unfriendly organization within the country and carrying out clandestine activities for which the blame would be placed upon the penetrated organization, rather than the Communist party or its affiliates, which would logically be suspected of its revolutionary ideology.

2. Semantic deception and subversion, purpose of which is infiltration and penetration of all opposition for either complete elimination, or which is more likely the utilization of such organizations as an ally. Means utilized in subversion tactics follow generally those points: a. encouraging deviation from adopted platforms (by-laws, constitutions, statutes, etc.), b. misdirecting organizational efforts by spreading rumors, etc.), c. splitting the organization by creating disagreement among the membership, d. provoking actions which will waste the strength of the organization, e. accelerating dissolution efforts, f. sabotage of the activities of the opposition through its own organizations.

3. Terror, Sabotage and physical violence against an organization or individuals within this organization because of their hostile attitude or acts against the Communist party and its affiliates (goon, assassination, sabotage and other action squads).

On the international field the United Front Unity against the fascist nations took shape in the post war period of the United Nations. In accordance with the will of the great postwar world-wide democratic movement generally and in harmony with the Communist United Front anti-fascist policy, naturally the USSR was an ardent founder of the United Nations. World War II, therefore, was not only an international war but a civil also. Thus, the shattering of the capitalist state machinery have been "largely accomplished by the peoples during the course of the "great antifascist war."

Coming out in the open, in full struggle against the fascist armies, the Communists proceeded with victory finally won, to organize new governments all over the continent. These were new type National Unity Coalition Governments, with Communists participation and organized largely upon Communist initiative. They were composed of all the parties of the democratic trend or that had taken more or less part in the underground resistance movements; including Communists, Socialists, peasants and Catholic parties.

This tremendous postwar United Front, anti-fascist democratic development, both in

national and international aspects, flowed along the broad general line foreseen by the Communists as far back as the VIIIth Congress of the Comintern. This whole vast legal and peaceful coalition movement represented fundamentally the Communist new tactical line of action in the postwar period. "(CPUSA) All National Unity Government eventually produced People's Democracies which still utilize some of the bourgeois elements that could not be efficiently dispensed with immediately. These dictatorships of people's democracy in the postwar period carried forward the basic a tactic first clearly delineated at the VII Congress. These governments were the logical culmination of the United Front tactics from above and were designed as the action phase prior to the realization of the dictatorship of the proletariat." (CPUSA 1948, Emphasis added)

In Latin America, Asia and Africa the United Front operating under the name of a "National Liberation Movement" against the "imperialist and neocolonialist exploiters," found fertile ground. United Front Governments sprang up in Korea, Vietnam, Laos, Indonesia, India, etc., Neutralism (not neutrality) has marked the foreign policy of many other non-communist regimes in these areas with a marked coolness being displayed toward the "imperialist camp" (System) headed by the United States. The United Front has proved a consistent Communist language tactics ever since its inception. The use of United Front From Above has been especially successful for the Communists since the close of World War II. The bloodless take-over in Czechoslovakia in 1948 and its aftermath in August 1968 illustrated the highest degree of development of the U.F. technique. It may very well negate the whole theory of Marx and Lenin as to the necessity for violent revolution in bringing about the "dictatorship of the proletariat."

Marxist-Leninist theory holds that governments (nation-states) are organs of class domination and that bourgeois governments on an equal footing must be opposed and overthrown (transformed, restructured), by the working class (exploited people) with the Communist i.e., Marxist-Leninists in the direct or indirect vanguard.

To cooperate with bourgeois governments (sovereign states) on an equal footing as must be done in the United Nations Organization since the members are nation-states—the tactic of coexistence were applied (between states only), without interfering in the world-wide "class" struggle whose goal is the establishment of a world-wide classless society, i.e., world domination by World Socialist System. Since theory is subordinated to practical considerations, explanations of USSR participation in the U.N. can more likely be found in certain concrete international "legal" benefits that accrue to the CPSU. One of these benefits is undoubtedly the "veto" power in the Security (U.N. Councils which can and has served extremely well the interests of the CPSU and its world-wide subsystems.

The USSR's participation as an "Allied State" in the defensive World War II was part of CPSU's "Foreign Policy" objectives which continues to be a manifestation of the CPSU dominated and controlled World Socialist System and its subsystems, the World Communist and Workers' Movement, the World National Liberation Movement and all other CP fraction controlled World (international) Regional, National and Local Front Organizations which dates back to October 1917, and in a less organized fashion, to the early years of the Twentieth Century.

During the World War II (called the Fatherland and/or Anti-Imperialist War by the Communists) the USSR as a sovereign nation-state was an "ally" of the West not by choice but through the necessity of more adequately defending the Socialist Camp—now

the so-called *World Socialist System* against the "Imperialist Camp" then representing the Axis Powers and presently "succeeded" by the World Capitalist System headed by the "US aggressive imperialist ruling circles of Wall Street" who control not only the U.S. Government and its military-industrial complex" but also subjugate and exploit their own people. However, when the object of W.W. II (Axis Powers) was removed, the luxury of choice was again permitted the CPSU to choose not to continue the wartime relationship of its executive-administrative (nation-state) type front, USSR. On the contrary the CPSU chose to continue and accelerate its "class" and "national liberation struggle" within and without the United Nations complex.

The willingness of the USSR Government to enter the United Nations Organization (UNO) and to participate in various worldwide problems such as disarmament, nuclear and space control, developing states' and colonial issues, human rights, and a host of other related subjects are all post-war examples of tactics of United Front From Above as applied to International Relations. For instance, "The United Front for Peace" (between governments only) has found its expression in the so called Spirit of Geneva, Spirit of Camp David, Spirit of Glassboro and other "Spirits." Same may be said about USSR proposals for International Security etc.

It is worthy to note that the USSR insists and constantly utilizes its Veto Power in the U.N.O. rather than compromise its United Front objectives to capture this world-wide organization of sovereign nation-states (not nations) through covert Party Fractions operating with some of the non-Bloc government delegations within the U.N.O.

No expense must be spared publicizing the following words of one of the United Front's most widely known spokesman, George Dimitrov:

"Comrades, you remember the ancient tale of capture of Troy, Troy was inaccessible to the armies attacking her, thanks to her impregnable walls. And the attacking army, after suffering many sacrifices, was unable to achieve victory until with the aid of the famous *Trojan Horse* it manages to penetrate to the very heart of the enemy's camp.

"We revolutionary workers, it appears to me should not be shy about using the same tactics with regard to our fascist foe. . . ." or an excerpt from the Main Document, of the International Conference of Communist and Workers' Parties, Moscow, 17 June 1969; "Mass action against imperialism is an essential condition for the implementation of the policy of peaceful coexistence. Directed against the warmongers, reactionaries and munitions monopolies, this policy reflects the interests of the revolutionary struggle against any form of oppression and promotes international friendship and the development of fruitful economic, scientific, technical and other cooperation between countries with different social systems and in the interest of social progress. "Tasks at the present stage of the struggle against imperialism and united action of the Communist and Workers' Parties and all anti-imperialist forces."

OUR BASIC NATIONAL NEED TODAY IS TO PROMOTE UNITY OF EFFORT, AND ONENESS OF PURPOSE, AT ALL LEVELS

HON. HAROLD D. DONOHUE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 16, 1970

Mr. DONOHUE. Mr. Speaker, I would like at this time to include in the RECORD

a moving and timely editorial appeal that appeared in today's Christian Science Monitor, emphasizing the need for better understanding and good will throughout our country and within our Government:

WORKING TOGETHER

We call upon both President Nixon and the Senate of the United States to rethink their present confrontation over the latter's turndown of Judge G. Harrold Carswell for the Supreme Court. These are days which demand a bridging, not a widening, of disagreements. For seldom in American history has the nation more needed an example of calm, cool cooperation among the heads of government.

As a report from Washington in yesterday's edition underlined, President Nixon's sharp criticism over Judge Carswell and the Senate's strong reaction thereto could seriously affect that working-together between White House and Congress which is particularly required in these days of widespread tension. We have already heard predictions that Senate resentment may adversely affect that body's decision on further deployment of ABM weaponry. This is not the place to debate the merits of such deployment. But it would be disgraceful to have so vital an issue decided through pique.

Equally serious is the specter of sectionalism. Southern resentment against both Washington and the rest of the country is regrettably high for a number of reasons. The great need today is to heal this and other breaches within the population. Although Judge Harry A. Blackmun has now been nominated for the seat to which President Nixon earlier nominated Judges Clement Haynsworth and G. Harrold Carswell, there may well be further nominations during the Nixon administration. We urge the President to consider some well-qualified Southerner for one such vacancy.

But, above and beyond any specific issues, there is the crying need for a joining of hands in a determination to lower the pressures afflicting American society. We believe that, for the most part, both the President and Congress have sought to do this. The President, on the whole, has been adept and soft-spoken in his dealings with Congress. And, notwithstanding that it is controlled by the opposite party, Congress has not been distinguished by a vindictive mood against the President.

It would be tragic—and utterly unnecessary—for this relationship to be destroyed. Americans may not always know just how they wish their many problems to be solved. But there is a longing in the country for a unity of effort, a oneness of purpose, a return to the former feeling that, whatever their disagreements, Americans would pull together for the common good.

The United States is not a land where deep and rancorous divisions are inevitable. It was consciously founded in the service of brotherhood. This great principle must be not only preserved but strengthened.

CRUCIAL APOLLO MANEUVERS ARE PRETESTED ON GROUND

HON. OLIN E. TEAGUE

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 16, 1970

Mr. TEAGUE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, years of research and development, testing and evaluation, and qualification have gone into the development of the Saturn V vehicles and spacecraft. Our

outstanding astronauts have spent years in developing their skills and techniques for space flight. The crisis of Apollo 13 has shown that this care and effort has paid off. When faced with problems in this difficult and complex environment we can be proud of the performance of our astronauts and the NASA-industry team supporting them on the ground. The Wednesday, April 15 edition of the Washington Post carried an article by a Washington Post staff writer describing the actions taken after the problems were encountered on the Apollo flight. I place this article in the RECORD as an example of the attention, skill, and care taken by the manned space flight team of NASA both in Government and industry. I commend it to the reading of my colleagues and the general public:

[From the Washington Post, Apr. 15, 1970]

CRUCIAL APOLLO MANEUVERS ARE PRETESTED ON GROUND

HOUSTON, April 14.—Astronauts Alan Shepard and Ed Mitchell climbed into a lunar module anchored in Building 5 of the Manned Spacecraft Center here early this morning and began testing ways to fire the craft's rockets.

At the same time, in Downey, Calif., the home of North American Rockwell, engineers were pulled out of bed and rushed to simulators to run emergency problems through their computers.

Astronaut Richard Gordon simulated emergency procedures in a lunar module at Cape Kennedy while Eugene Cernan and David Scott did the same thing here.

The result was that, emergency or not, almost every move the crew of Apollo 13 made more than 200,000 miles from earth had been done first in simulated spacecraft and with computers scattered around the country.

"We tried to simulate virtually everything the crew had to do that was normal," said flight director Gerald D. Griffin tonight.

"We proved out everything we had them do before sending the order up."

These included taking star sightings for navigation, changing the communications system to save power and rigging a jerry-built hose system to carry oxygen from the lunar module "lifeboat" into the powerless command ship.

Not all the simulations were left to the last minute. Before flying the Apollo 13, astronauts Fred W. Haise Jr., James A. Lovell Jr. and John L. Swigert Jr. had practiced aborting the mission by using the descent propulsion system of the lunar module (Lem)—the very thing they were forced to do today to send them back to earth.

"We had thought of that, but we had hoped it would never happen," said John P. Mayer, chief of the mission planning and analysis division here.

Just last week, Swigert, the command module pilot, had practiced in simulators a return to earth without the power needed to run the spaceship's computers and guidance system.

In that case—a slim possibility for this mission—he would have to steer the spaceship *Odyssey* in by the seat of his pants, guided only by computers on the ground and flight directors here much as an airline pilot is helped to land in a dense fog.

Simulated emergencies are such a way of life here that capsule communicator John Young, the backup command pilot for this mission, quipped to Haise when things quieted down for a minute, "Hey, Fred, how do you like this sim?"

"It's a beaut," replied Haise.

The astronauts running the simulator spaceships here and at Cape Kennedy are all in training for future missions.

Shepard is the commander and Mitchell the Lem pilot for Apollo 14, while Cernan is the backup commander.

Scott is the commander on Apollo 15 while Gordon is in the backup crew.

Both Scott and Cernan are veterans of space emergencies themselves.

In 1966, a malfunctioning thruster sent Scott's and Neil Armstrong's Gemini 8 spacecraft bucking wildly after they performed the first successful docking of two vehicles in space. The three-day flight was ended early.

Cernan was Lem pilot on Apollo 10 last May when the lunar lander went out of control briefly 50,000 miles above the moon with Tom Stafford and him in it.

All the astronauts have had extensive training flying the Lem in simulators.

Scott worked in the Lem simulator this afternoon, working on ways to align the navigation platform to make sure that it and the command module were pointed in the right direction and at the right angle when the descent engine was fired tonight.

Flight planners here also ran simulations of cutting of the Lem and command module from the service module about two hours before landing in the Pacific on Friday before sending up the detailed instructions to the Apollo 13 crew.

Working with computers, the planners tried six different ways to end the flight—the one they expect to use plus contingencies in case they have to act sooner.

Wednesday, they will try these out in simulators.

By now, the tests are well organized—in the programmed space agency manner.

But early this morning, before ground controllers knew all the facts and had completed their abort plans, "imagination were running wild," said Keith McKlung, an official of North American Rockwell.

"We were trying desperately to identify any improvements that would work," McKlung said.

For example, astronaut Charles Duke in mission control here suggested that the spacecraft crew try navigating by the sun and earth instead of stars, which they were having trouble seeing.

They tried this once in space, but are still trying star sights, flight director Griffin said.

Early in the morning, the instrumentation control engineer in mission control came up with "a small little test" to change the communications system between spacecraft and earth.

"You know how I like those," said Glynn Lunney, the flight director, ironically.

"Yeah," replied Garry Scott, the instrumentation control engineer, "but this one will save us a little power if it hangs in there."

Lunney and other controllers challenged some of Scott's technical changes, but eventually he won his point. At about 7 a.m., the new method, which uses less electricity in the power amplifier, was called up to Lovell.

The voices came through fine—not as loud and clear as usual, but still fine. Lunney said it was the same quality of transmission as America's first manned Mercury space flights in the early 1960s.

At about 6 a.m., ground controllers began worrying about a buildup of carbon dioxide in the command module. One controller suggested to Lunney that they run a hose from the lunar module (Lem) to the command module. He said a hose used during moon landing to connect a spacesuit to the Lem's environmental system might work.

"That's a good idea. Anybody got any objections?" asked Lunney.

When Lovell was told of the idea, he added his own improvement: splicing two hoses together so they will reach down the long tunnel.

H.R. 1291—A BILL TO ALLOW DEDUCTIONS FOR HOME IMPROVEMENTS

HON. ROMAN C. PUCINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 16, 1970

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, some time ago, I introduced H.R. 1291, which would permit a taxpayer a deduction for expenses incurred in making repairs and improvements to his residence.

The bill is now pending before the House Committee on Ways and Means.

It would be my sincere hope that the committee would give this legislation sincere consideration for, indeed, I believe this is perhaps the most effective way that we as a Nation can prevent this growing problem of neighborhoods deteriorating to a point where they become a slum, and then seeing the Federal Government expend huge amounts of money on slum clearance projects.

It is incredible that in this Nation of ours with its highly developed technological facilities and progress in home improvements, we should continue to see large sections of our communities, both urban and rural, becoming slums in one or two decades.

In my own congressional district, we have some of the most beautiful neighborhoods in America, but I view with a heavy heart the creeping deterioration of some of the properties and I fear that perhaps in another decade or so we will have no less a serious problem in my community than we do in many other parts of the city and Nation.

I can find no rational reason why we should permit discrimination to exist between a property owner who owns a single-family dwelling and one who owns an income-building dwelling when it comes to deducting the cost of home repairs or improvements under our existing Internal Revenue Act.

We permit an owner of a multiple-unit, income-bearing building to deduct the cost of all of his repairs. But in the case of the single-family homeowner, we do not permit him to deduct the cost of such repairs from his income taxes.

This is being pennywise and pound foolish. I believe that every homeowner should be permitted to deduct from his income tax, money he has spent on maintaining or improving his property. Surely when a homeowner invests in improvements or repairs, whether it is a single-family home or a multiple-family home, when ultimately that property is sold it has a substantially higher value at the time of sale and the Federal Government recaptures in the form of taxes from the sale whatever benefits may have been claimed earlier in the form of tax exemptions for home improvements.

I believe that enactment of this legislation would not only stimulate the home-improvement building industry which is now suffering a serious state of depression, but more important it would be the kind of preventive program to avoid the slums of the future.

I do hope we can get favorable action on this legislation.

A copy of the bill follows:

H.R. 1291

A bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 to allow a taxpayer a deduction for expenses incurred in making repairs and improvements to his residence

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That (a) part VII of subchapter B of chapter 1 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 (relating to additional itemized deductions for individuals) is amended by redesignating section 218 as section 219, and by inserting after section 217 the following new section:

"SEC. 218. REPAIR OR IMPROVEMENT OF TAXPAYER'S RESIDENCE.

"In the case of an individual, there shall be allowed as a deduction the expenses paid by the taxpayer during the taxable year for the repair and maintenance of, or for alterations, additions, or other improvements to, property owned by the taxpayer and used by him as his principal residence, to the extent that such expenses are not otherwise allowable in computing the taxpayer's deductions under this subchapter."

(b) The table of sections for such part VII is amended by striking out the last item and inserting in lieu thereof the following:

"Sec. 218. Repair or improvement of taxpayer's residence.

"Sec. 219. Cross references."

SEC. 2. Section 62 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 (relating to definition of adjusted gross income) is amended by inserting after paragraph (8) the following new paragraph:

"(9) REPAIR OR IMPROVEMENT OF TAXPAYER'S RESIDENCE.—The deduction allowed by section 218."

SEC. 3. The amendments made by this Act shall apply only with respect to taxable years ending after the date of the enactment of this Act.

GREAT LAKES POLLUTION

HON. THOMAS L. ASHLEY

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 15, 1970

Mr. ASHLEY. Mr. Speaker, the administration's proposal to halt the dumping of dredged materials in the Great Lakes by the Army Corps of Engineers can serve no other purpose than to raise false hopes of a solution for a very real problem.

The President has correctly diagnosed this problem—the byproducts of our modern technological society are being piled up in manmade mountains of polluted junk in our once Great Lakes. However, his proposed solution—having local governments pay one-half the cost of building diked areas to receive the dredged fill—is an unrealistic prescription that the patient simply cannot afford.

The administration's proposal completely ignores the desperate financial plight of our local governments. Operating from an inelastic tax base, our local governments are already hard pressed to meet even the present needs of our modern cities.

Moreover, there is no reason why they

should have to pay the cost of building dikes. Since 1899, the Federal Government has assumed the full cost of building and maintaining the Nation's system of navigable waterways—including the building of dams, locks and the dredging of navigational channels. The proper disposal of dredged material which we now find to be grossly contaminated with pollutants is an expense directly related to the maintenance of navigable channels which for too long has been unjustifiably put aside by the Federal Government in the exercise of an historic responsibility.

The President's proposal appears to reverse and backslide from a 70-year policy of the Federal Government relating to the construction and maintenance of shipping channels in navigable waters.

In short, the administration's proposal is a cruel sham. Since local governments cannot possibly afford the expense of paying for 50 percent of the cost of constructing dikes, the proposal provides little hope of solving a critical pollution problem which is destroying the valuable natural resource value of the Great Lakes, and Lake Erie in particular.

In order to meet the problem head on, I am joining with other Great Lakes Congressmen to prepare legislation to maintain the responsibility for this cleanup of interstate waterways where it traditionally and rightfully belongs—with the Federal Government. The bill will call for 100 percent Federal funding for building dikes. The advent of a modern, technological society has not absolved the Federal Government of this long-standing obligation.

PRESENTATION BY ED WIMMER

HON. JOHN H. DENT

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 16, 1970

Mr. DENT. Mr. Speaker, once again it gives me pleasure to present the views of Ed Wimmer, vice president of the National Federation of Independent Business.

Ed Wimmer, lecturer, commentator, and a tireless fighter for fair and equitable trade practices—domestic and foreign—has long been waging the good fight for the salvation of independent business and our import impacted industries.

I have had many occasions to discuss these matters with Ed both in person and by correspondence.

I am more convinced than ever before that all of us who are working in the same vineyard for justice in our marketplace must get together if we are to save the future for our coming generations.

I present Mr. Wimmer's March 25, 1970, presentation made over WFPB, in Middleton, Ohio:

PRESENTATION BY ED WIMMER

Tonight, ladies and gentlemen, I am going to devote most of my time to a letter

we have directed to His Excellency Kiichi Aiche, Foreign Minister of Japan, that deals with the growing deplorable state of our foreign trade policy. Our letter to His Excellency is in answer to his recent statement:

"Retaliatory steps may be taken by several nations if the United States adds new restrictions on imports."

Our Open Letter follows:

EXCELLENCY: I have read with deep concern that you have made some very indignant and even threatening remarks with regard to widespread retaliation against the United States by several countries, if our Administration should adopt long delayed measures which would, in some degree, protect many American industries from annihilation, and possibly give some protection to millions of workers facing the loss of their jobs.

The United States is the only country in the world that not only contributed vast sums of money to rebuilding war torn nations like Japan, but billions of dollars were literally donated to create hundreds of modern plants that are now shipping their low wage, low tax goods into our country.

America is the only country in the world whose officials ever adopted a tariff policy based on the proposition that its own plants and workers are—expedient if, by liquidating same, we are providing both foreign aid and strengthening foreign competition.

Let me ask you, what good can come to Japan from a bankrupt North Carolina textile mill, a bankrupt shoe factory in New Hampshire, or a closed tile factory in Cincinnati, Ohio?

It should be of the utmost interest to you and your countrymen that our people retain their jobs at high pay, and that our industries continue to expand, for where else will you be able to sell so many cars, cameras, motorcycles, television sets, dishes, toys, plastic products, transistors, or work tools?

A few years ago it was my privilege to address a convention in Chicago, where your country had many products on display. I visited all the booths and spoke with the people behind the counters. It was an experience that I said at the time was a little frightening, for I had never found more aggressive, courteous and knowledgeable people manning the booths, and, unlike a few years earlier, the shoddiness of your products was gone, and prices were far below the levels of our own goods.

My remarks before the convention crowd were directed more to your countrymen than to anyone else in the audience, and I asked them if they were afraid to put their products and their salesmanship against American businessmen and workers in a market governed by a tariff structure that did not protect inefficiency but did protect efficient industries against competition based on wages and taxes far below their own.

What is the difference, I asked them, between the cutthroat competition of the big chains and discounters who have made a shambles of free and fair trade in our towns and cities, and your country coming in with goods subsidized by wages and taxes far below what must be passed on in our goods and services?

In the case of the big chains, they were subsidized by their suppliers and they (the chains) used these subsidies to finance their loss leaders, and left countless thousands of independents on bankruptcy row. And so I repeat, how many TV sets, cameras and cars will you be selling on this best of all markets if our system breaks down from unfair trade from within and from without?

Senator Thomas J. McIntyre (N.H.) is attempting to get at least SOME protection against further loss of businesses and jobs in his State. He noted the closing of over 200 shoe factories in the U.S. since 1957,

and at a time of our greatest expansion. Shoe workers in Taipan, for example, earn 22¢ an hour, less than one-tenth our wage level; and I wonder to what extent we furnished the money and know-how to build those factories.

Stop and think of the loss in hide sales by our ranchers and farmers, and all the raw materials and raw labor that go into shoe manufacturing—to say nothing of machinery and taxes—money in the bank and all things that come from high employment at fair wages. . . . Stop and think, also, what Japan would be doing if we proposed that the shoe be 'put on the other foot' for a while; that you subsidize our factories by buying our shoes.

Senator Sam J. Ervin, Jr. (N.C.), who is a protectionist only to the extent of protecting his state and country from ruin, points out that textiles are the very lifeline of his entire area, and let it be noted that the employment of minorities is the highest in the South, per capita, than in any other part of our country.

The press reported recently that the Zenith Radio Corporation will soon be operating in Taipan, resulting in the loss of 4,000 American jobs. The president of Zenith roared his disapproval of such a foreign trade situation, but said his company is helpless to do otherwise and still survive.

So I ask again, what would you say, Excellency; what would your country do to stop the United States from putting a single one of your factories out of business?

Despite the enormous trade you have with America, our industries are barred from setting up or buying into Japanese industries, for which I admire your country, and only wish, as I said earlier, that American businessmen and American public officials were half as protective of our markets.

I recall the words of your Mr. Yosomatsu Natsubara, Chairman of the powerful Hilachi Shipbuilding & Engineering Company, who warned that "chaos will reign in Japan if U.S. industries are allowed to enter our country unhampered by tariffs." . . . Ken Okubo, president of the giant Mitsubishi Electric Corporation, was equally emphatic, and especially so with regard to the harm that would come to Japanese small businessmen if Japan opened its markets to American big business.

You are familiar, I am sure, with the long-time attempts of Congressman John Dent (Pa.), whose tireless fight for a fair domestic and foreign trade policy has been carried into every corner of the nation. Undaunted by the brand of "protectionist"—Mr. Dent has continued to insist that "no nation can keep its affluency without jobs for every grade of worker—from top to bottom and from bottom to top," and he has proven beyond doubt that "one-way trade: destruction of domestic industries and jobs by whatever means, creates a two-level society—the rich and the poor—leaving the middle class as a stepping stone to chaos." Mr. Dent's formula is simple:

"The economic laws of an industrial economy are based on three equal factors: production, distribution and consumption, no one of which can stand alone; one being harmed harms all, and harmed enough, becomes fatal."

Like the dauntless Mr. Dent, we believe that a healthy economy in Pennsylvania (which State he has served for so many years) is the best safeguard of a healthy exchange of goods between the people of Pennsylvania and the people of Japan, and I think you are selling your countrymen short by insisting they be subsidized by our high taxes, high wages, short hours, and huge debts—many of which were accumulated by giving aid all over the world, and, I might add, especially to Japan. No country on earth,

including our own, has matched the aggressiveness of your people, and I say they can come into this market under tariff restrictions that prevent the destruction now taking place, and capture more than a fair share of our markets.

Right at the moment, our side of the import-export picture, when looked at in totality, appears to be somewhere near the safe side of what we so loosely term balance of trade, but what has this got to do with our entertaining a policy that this or that kind of job or business is expendable? . . . Do you have any expendable industries? Any jobs that are expendable? Would you or anyone in your government, or in the business world, accept an exchange of trade that created a displaced army of workers and disillusioned businessmen, in Japan?

A few years ago I dispatched a letter to a Japanese retail organization, and urged the members to oppose an invasion of American-Japanese type supermarket discount stores and trading stamps, and over 3,000 independents roared their approval at a meeting in Tokyo. I understand the government acted favorably in this matter. My contention was that Japan's independent enterprisers are your last line of defense against the monopoly-socialism represented in the huge corporate combines in both our countries.

General MacArthur warned you, just as he warned his own country, to end concentration of economic power before it is too late, and you now wish to turn your giants and their counterparts—the American giants—being scattered across the world, loose in our inflated marketing situation and thereby destroying what we all must have: a free and fair market place in which to exchange our goods, our services and our friendships.

When I emphasized this need in my talk before that Chicago convention, one of your lovely ladies shook hands with me at the door, and said:

"Mr. Wimmer, why doesn't your government talk to us like this?" She added: "You have frightened me terribly."

In Miami, at a convention of office machine manufacturers, a Swedish official rose on the banquet floor and said:

"I endorse what Mr. Wimmer has said about fair trade. We do not need to be subsidized to match our products against any country."

Ours is a nation of welfare benefits, debts, cold wars, monopolistic combines and chains, high interest rates, old age security, back-breaking taxation, high wages in most areas, racial strife, urban renewal, pollution problems, record crime, and colossal gaps in our communication with each other and the outside world, and if we do not take every step within our power to revitalize our domestic markets, save our family farms, small businesses, local banks, and restore the Jeffersonian philosophy in this country, the Japanese, the Americans, and the people of the whole world are going to lose their last best chance to help bring order to a disordered world.

May I, in conclusion, call upon the Japanese Foreign Ministry, and upon your own Congress, to assess the arguments which are offered in behalf of a system of free and fair trade, as against a system that ultimately destroys both domestic and foreign participants.

Unregulated competition is the competition of the tooth and the claw. The consumption of both competitor and consumer, and this is the kind of competition you would have us accept or "face retaliation from several nations."

There isn't a nation in the world that

doesn't need our markets, our aid, or both, so who can afford to retaliate if all we are doing is to create a market in which all can do business, and grow?

DONATING BLOOD

HON. MARGARET M. HECKLER

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 16, 1970

Mrs. HECKLER of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, I have great admiration for blood donors. I believe their thinking is beautifully expressed by one of them, Mr. Frank L. Tosti, Jr., of Taunton, Mass., who says:

I know of no greater gift one person can give another than the gift of life and you are giving life each time you donate blood for an emergency, or, for that matter, any other time.

These are fine words from a man who, since 1956, has donated 37 pints of blood to the American Red Cross.

It gives me real pleasure to call Mr. Tosti's words and record to the attention of my colleagues by inserting in the RECORD an article from the Taunton Daily Gazette about him. Mr. Tosti and his wife, Irene, are in charge of the blood program of the Mulcahey School PTA. As he explains their interest, "there is always a need for blood."

Donating blood is a significant way in which the citizen can contribute to his or her community. The Tostis, who have five children, have never needed donated blood. However, they know that others do.

I think this is a laudatory attitude. I commend Mr. Tosti for his actions as a responsible citizen. The text of the article follows:

[From the Taunton Daily Gazette, Apr. 6, 1970]

FRANK TOSTI, JR., FEELS BLOOD GIFT
WORTHWHILE

(By Susie Tallman)

Frank L. Tosti Jr., says simply that, "I know of no greater gift one person can give another than the gift of life and you are giving life each time you donate blood for an emergency, or, for that matter, any other time."

It is in that spirit that the Alfred Lord Blvd. resident has contributed 37 pints of his type O positive blood to the Taunton chapter of the American Red Cross during bloodmobile drives held in the city.

"I started donating my blood in 1956 to help others," Tosti revealed. "I know there is always a need for blood and so I give my blood to help other people, and quite possibly someday I might need help, too."

A native of Taunton, Tosti is a graduate of Coyle High School, an Army veteran of the Korean Conflict, and the general manager for St. Yves Building Incorporated in East Taunton.

Married to the former Irene Grant, also of this city, the couple are in charge of the blood program at the Mulcahey School PTA.

"We call on the teachers and parents in the group to recruit them for the bloodmobiles," he explained. "The program not only covers the donor, the members of the PTA, but also their immediate families."

"Although I have never needed the blood, nor has anyone in my family ever needed it, I always feel safe knowing that we are covered, just in case," he added.

"Contributing your blood to a bloodmobile, or in a hospital, doesn't take any time at all, maybe 30 minutes, but there is always a feeling of satisfaction knowing that you have donated blood," Tosti pointed out.

He is son of Frank L. and Irene (Bernard) Tosti of 30 Mason St. and he and his wife have five children.

They are Richard, who is a junior at Coyle High; Sharon, 16, who attends Bishop Cassidy High; Paula, a sixth grader at Bennett School; James, a fifth grader at Bennett School, and, Susan, four-years-old, who, her father reports, "just has a fine time at home."

The Tosti family attends St. Paul's Church and Tosti is a member of the Coyle High School Father's Club.

Not having any children currently enrolled at Mulcahey School, Tosti explained the reason why he and his wife are members of the PTA group: "Sharon just moved out of Mulcahey, but we'll have other children attending the school and we thought we'd better keep in touch."

"Basically, though," he commented, "I donate blood to the bloodmobile because I know that everyone needs blood and I can't ignore that fact of life."

The next Taunton Red Cross Bloodmobile will be Thursday at the Masonic Temple from 12:45 until 6:45 p.m.

ECONOMIC HARDSHIPS IMPOSED ON OUR ELDERLY BY INFLATION

HON. MANUEL LUJAN, JR.

OF NEW MEXICO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 16, 1970

Mr. LUJAN. Mr. Speaker, the Congress can no longer ignore the cruel economic hardships imposed on our elderly people by inflation and the rising costs of living.

A very large percentage of mail from my district in New Mexico, reflective of sentiments throughout the Nation, bears heavily on this problem. Our elderly people demand and are entitled to relief from the specter of poverty and privation in their retirement. The Social Security Act was intended to insure every working person a basic retirement income by deducting a portion of his earnings during his working years and paying it back to him when he retires from active employment. But the eroding forces of inflation have placed him in the position of receiving dollars that are worth much less in purchasing power than the dollars that were deducted from his pay.

Many elderly persons who were unable to set aside savings other than those deducted for social security are forced to augment their social security income by continuing to work after their eligible date of retirement. Yet their industry and willingness to work is penalized by the Government by a reduction in their social security payments if their outside earnings exceed the \$1,680 annual maximum.

Mr. Speaker, I am today introducing a bill to increase this allowable maximum from \$1,680 to \$3,000. I am convinced that this is but one of many things the 91st Congress must do to assist our elderly people meet the rising costs of living and to live in dignity and security.

SEEKS NATIONAL VOLUNTEER
FIREMEN'S WEEK

HON. JACK H. McDONALD

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 16, 1970

Mr. McDONALD of Michigan. Mr. Speaker, we often take for granted the protection offered by a dedicated and heroic breed of men. I am referring to the volunteer firemen, who throughout this United States risk their lives countless time to protect human life.

As our population has increased, so has our housing. Communities spring up on the fringes of larger cities and towns, many without the tax base to support a fully staffed fire protection system. So the community does what men and women in this Nation have been doing for hundreds of years: It helps itself. Out of a sense of community responsibility, the volunteers react to the alarm. There is little remuneration for the hours spent fighting fires, cleaning debris, and keeping the equipment in order; yet the communities they serve benefit greatly.

I have some personal knowledge of the problems faced by firefighting agencies. As the supervisor of Redford Township in Michigan, I also served as the fire commissioner. It is not an easy task to provide adequate fire prevention and protection programs with a permanent staff. The pressures are even greater on a volunteer force. However, the dedication to duty does not lessen simply because firefighters are volunteers.

The force is composed of men from all walks of life. They are mechanics and businessmen. They have other things to do, yet give of themselves the time necessary to train and the time demanded to utilize the training.

The sound of the fire alarm puts this force into action. It rings at dinnertime. It brings them out of bed at 3 in the morning, and interrupts PTA meetings. But they answer it. And lives are saved because of their efforts.

Without thought of personal harm or inconvenience, the volunteer fireman answers the call. He does not always return. I cite the recent tragedy in Corry, Pa., where five volunteers gave their lives while fighting a fire.

We have little to offer these men, Mr. Speaker, but our thanks. In that vein, I ask today that my colleagues support a House joint resolution which I have co-sponsored. It requests the President of the United States to designate the week of September 19, 1970, as National Volunteer Firemen's Week. During that pe-

riod, Americans from Nome to Miami—from Honolulu to Bangor—will have the opportunity to pay small tribute to a band of men without whom this country would suffer.

DORMAN HIGH SCHOOL CAVALIER
BAND WINS CHERRY BLOSSOM
CONCERT

HON. JAMES R. MANN

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 16, 1970

Mr. MANN. Mr. Speaker, last week the Dorman High School Cavalier Band from Spartanburg, S.C., won the 1970 Cherry Blossom Band Concert as the outstanding band in the Nation. The band was declared grand national champions on the basis of winning first place in the concert, marching, and parade contests. The Cavaliers are only the 11th band in history to win first place in all three categories of the Cherry Blossom Festival competition.

This band has won many other trophies in the past several years while participating in numerous civic functions, parades, and athletic events. The Cavaliers are led by Director Joseph D. Martin and Assistant Director Larry R. Cromer. Both of these young men have done truly outstanding jobs at Dorman High School, especially when one considers that Mr. Martin is serving only his second year as director, and Mr. Cromer his first.

The outstanding record of this group of young people represents many hours of hard work on the part of many people, including Dorman High School principal, Allen O. Clark. Upon the band's return to Spartanburg, Mr. Clark expressed the pride of the students, faculty, administration, and friends of Dorman High School. I am proud to join in congratulating these fine young people whose achievements have brought honor to Dorman High School, the city of Spartanburg, and the State of South Carolina.

Mr. Speaker, I would like to present to my colleagues and to the Nation, the names of the outstanding young musicians of the Dorman High School Cavalier Band:

BAND MEMBERS

SENIORS

Jeannette Anderson, Mary Alice Corn, Lynn Harrison, Frieda Johns, Terri Lambert, Meg Larson, Vickie McAbee, Glenda Page.

Denise Pettit, Mary Ann Putnam, Ann Settle, Deborah Wood, Jimmy Ballinger, Austin Bobo, Brice Deal, Doug Ellwood.

Jimmy Fraley, Al Hendley, Bill Huckleba, Mike Lanford, Eddie Parham, Lee Terry, Mark Smith, Marshall Winn.

JUNIORS

Dianne Amos, Jeanne Anderson, Barbara Burdette, Judy Eubanks, Susan Foster, Sandra Herndon, Joyce Lipscomb, Shirley McCallister.

Laurina Owens, Sandra Peterson, Rhonda Sellers, Gaye Stevens, Kathy Taylor, Carol Wood, Richard Dizbon, Mike Henderson.

Tom Hoover, Randy Mathis, Townsend McChesney, Hal Pettit, Dennis Settle, Billy Shirah, Ernie Thigpen, Phil Sinclair.

SOPHOMORES

Janice Doyle, Debbie Duvall, Karen Frey, Jane Gray, Mary Hendley, Jeannie Ritter, Mary Nyhart, Joe Alexander.

Chris Anderson, Scott Deal, Jerry Lancaster, Benny Mason, Robert Ranbow, Greg Rhodes, David Shealey, Steve Winn.

NEED FOR CONTROL ON DANGEROUS
SUBSTANCES

HON. MANUEL LUJAN, JR.

OF NEW MEXICO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 16, 1970

Mr. LUJAN. Mr. Speaker, the Justice Department proposed legislation which was introduced in the Senate as S. 3246, and in the House as both H.R. 13742 and H.R. 13743, known as the Controlled Dangerous Substances Act of 1969.

The Senate bill was assigned to the Committee on the Judiciary, and was reported with revisions and passed on January 28. It was referred to the House, where a jurisdictional dispute developed between the Committees on Judiciary, Interstate and Foreign Commerce, and Ways and Means.

The Committee on the Judiciary withdrew, but the question has still not been settled between the other two committees, and the Senate-passed measure remains unassigned for even committee consideration, much less consideration by this entire House.

In the House, the original proposal was introduced in two parts, as H.R. 13742—assigned to the Ways and Means Committee—and H.R. 13743—assigned to the Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee.

No action has been taken on the first part; hearings have been concluded but no further action scheduled by the Subcommittee on Public Health and Welfare on the second.

I would like to share, with the Members of the House, a letter from Douglas P. Ferraro, associate professor of the Department of Psychology at the University of New Mexico. Dr. Ferraro could certainly be classified as an expert in this area, and I commend his thoughts to my colleagues.

The letter follows:

THE UNIVERSITY OF NEW MEXICO,
DEPARTMENT OF PSYCHOLOGY,
Albuquerque, N. Mex., March 11, 1970.
Representative MANUEL LUJAN,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR REPRESENTATIVE LUJAN: I should like to urge your support of Senate Bill 3246, "The Controlled Dangerous Substances Act of 1969," which is presently before the House for its consideration. This measure, although essentially a law-enforcement bill, has certain provisions with implications for education and research programs which I consider essential.

The bill has been criticized because it gives the Attorney General authority to control dangerous substances after considering the advice of the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare. Many researchers are of the

opinion that authority for control of these drugs should come directly from Health, Education and Welfare. This is because the present bill also authorizes the Attorney General to carry out necessary education and research programs. Thus, it is argued that the bill would create another scientific bureaucracy which is unnecessary given the existence of Health, Education and Welfare.

My reason for support of the bill in its present form is that I do not feel that the law-enforcement responsibilities regarding drug abuse, now the responsibility of the Department of Justice, should be separated from the educational and research responsibilities for drug abuse. It is clear that the control of drug abuse must include educational and research attempts to deal with the treatment and rehabilitation of narcotic abusers. Putting the research and educational responsibilities under Health, Education and Welfare would serve to separate what should be parallel programs.

I strongly support the establishment of the Advisory Committee on Marijuana called for in the bill. I should like, also, to add my voice of disapproval to the bill's "No-Knock" provision. However, it is clear that sufficient restrictions upon the "No-Knock" provision have been written into the law to make it workable if necessary.

Sincerely,

DOUGLAS P. FERRARO, PH. D.,
Associate Professor.

We all realize the urgency of action in this area of national concern; none more, I am sure, than those members of the committees considering this legislation.

I respectfully suggest, Mr. Speaker, that the Members of the House should be granted an early opportunity to consider either the Senate bill or the two House bills. For this reason, I join my concerned fellow New Mexican in urging these committees to reach accord in this matter as soon as possible.

OBSERVANCE OF VERRAZANO DAY, APRIL 18

HON. JOHN J. ROONEY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 16, 1970

Mr. ROONEY of New York. Mr. Speaker, each day and night a constant flow of traffic crosses the bridge spanning the narrows between Staten Island and Brooklyn. All of the users of this magnificent bridge are well aware that it is named the Verrazano Bridge. Many of them are aware also of the significant contribution which Giovanni da Verrazano made to the development of this country.

To our loyal Italo-American citizens the name Verrazano evokes both pride and respect. The heroic deeds of one of the world's most intrepid navigators and explorers are cherished indeed by all people of Italian birth or lineage. But Verrazano is not a hero only to the sons of Italy; he has gained well-justified recognition by all America as a fitting member of our revered assemblage of national heroes.

So, Mr. Chairman, on the birthday of this gallant mariner who was born on April 18, 1480, we shall join with all our American friends of Italian descent in paying homage to the youthful captain who was first to discover New York Harbor and Narragansett Bay. Verrazano was not only a courageous navigator braving unknown waters and hostile natives, but he was meticulous in his charting and mapping of so much of our U.S. coastline reaching from the Carolinas to Newfoundland. Without such navigational aids developed by him the thousands of ships which later came to our shores would have suffered greatly in seeking safe havens in which to drop anchor.

We have honored Verrazano with a commemorative postage stamp. We should continue to honor him with appropriate ceremonies each year upon his birthday, reminding ourselves of his magnificent accomplishments in our behalf. We must honor his memory also as a man who gave his life in pursuit of the goals which he diligently sought to achieve.

YOUTH CAMP SAFETY

HON. BENJAMIN S. ROSENTHAL

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 16, 1970

Mr. ROSENTHAL. Mr. Speaker, as summer approaches, we in Congress must once more consider the health and safety of the 7 million youths who will be spending this summer in our Nation's many summer camps. At this time, there are no Federal regulations regarding summer youth camps which have traditionally fallen within the responsibility of State and local agencies for regulation.

Unfortunately, many States have failed in their responsibility to establish or enforce standards of our camps. In fact, many States have failed to enact any legislation regarding youth camp safety. Some States do not even require camps to be licensed before operating. Others have no standards whatever for camp personnel.

In 1967, I introduced legislation calling for Federal regulation in this area. The Department of Health, Education, and Welfare report on this bill found that a problem does in fact exist and suggested a more extensive study of the status of existing camp regulation.

I introduced a bill in the first session of the 90th Congress suggesting an in-depth study of discrepancies in health and safety standards, in the various States. Hearings were held and the session ended with the bill in committee.

The problem continues and is growing with the addition of new camps every summer and the continuing operation and growth of established camps. Every summer the parents of our Nation's youth are taking unnecessary chances by sending their children to camps which

are not under adequate inspection or health and safety regulations.

Therefore, I have once again introduced legislation, H.R. 17031, to institute the study originally suggested by HEW with the idea of eventual positive legislation in this field. The children of our country and their parents deserve better protection than they are presently receiving. I believe it is our responsibility in Congress to act quickly to provide them with this protection. Let us hope that a national tragedy will not be needed to precipitate the legislative action which is already overdue.

JUSTICE DOUGLAS

HON. DURWARD G. HALL

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 15, 1970

Mr. HALL. Mr. Speaker, once again the word "impeach," has reverberated through these Chambers. For the second time, as it was in 1953, the charge is again leveled at the behavior of Associate Justice of the Supreme Court, William O. Douglas.

Mr. Speaker, I am well aware that the proceedings against Justice Douglas have been labeled as "retribution" for the rejection by the other body, of the nominations by President Nixon of Judges Haynsworth and Carswell to become members of the Supreme Court.

I for one, am able to refute such charges, because I have long been an advocate of the removal of this "medicocrate" mind from the High Bench. It is my opinion, that had Justice Douglas been a man of integrity, he would have resigned from the Court following, if not before, the disclosures of his dealings with the ill-famed Parvin Foundation. Thus he personally belies the constitutional requirements of "good behavior," in order to insure tenure.

Mr. Speaker, I have come to this well on many occasions to discuss the words and deeds, of William O. Douglas. I have always defended his right to intemperate mouthings as a private citizen, but never have I condoned his right to such utterances while one of nine Supreme Court Justices, who eventually have the final say in the course that this Nation will follow.

In 1863, H. F. Amiel said:

Liberty and equality are all right in their places, but not when used as excuses for justice.

He knew that anarchy breeds anarchy. Mr. Speaker, the case is clear, if William O. Douglas does not openly advocate riots, he fuels the mind of those who would riot.

If William O. Douglas is not openly advocating rebellion, he gives the appearance of one who desires rebellion.

If ever a man should be held accountable, that man is William O. Douglas, and the word "Justice" should never again be used in connection with his name.

CONGRESSMEN HAWKINS, STOKES,
AND CLAY INDICATE SUPPORT
FOR CIVIL RIGHTS COMMISSION
ASSESSMENT OF NIXON POSITION
ON SCHOOL DESEGREGATION

HON. WILLIAM (BILL) CLAY

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 16, 1970

Mr. CLAY. Mr. Speaker, over 3 weeks ago, the President made a special statement on school desegregation. History will note that it was an unprecedented happening, that the President of the United States should have to write a special statement to tell the Nation how he will go about obeying the law.

It is a national disgrace to hear a President go before the public and try to convince himself that black citizens shall have certain rights. But it is a national tragedy to hear a President go before the public to rationalize the limits of those rights.

We now have the benefit of an in-depth analysis of the President's school desegregation statement which was recently released by the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights. My colleagues, Congressman AUGUSTUS HAWKINS and Congressman LOUIS STOKES, join me in endorsing the Civil Rights Commission report. We urge our colleagues to direct their attention to the statement which follows:

STATEMENT OF THE U.S. COMMISSION ON CIVIL
RIGHTS CONCERNING THE STATEMENT BY
THE PRESIDENT ON ELEMENTARY AND SEC-
ONDARY SCHOOL DESEGREGATION

On March 24, 1970, the President issued an important civil rights statement. The President's statement is comprehensive and thoughtful. He has made clear his strong support for the constitutional principle of the 1954 Supreme Court decision in *Brown v. Board of Education*: "We are not backing away. The Constitutional mandate will be enforced."

The President also has given his view of the contents of that constitutional mandate. "Deliberate racial segregation of pupils by official action," the President said, "is unlawful, wherever it exists." He pointed out emphatically that "it must be eliminated 'root and branch'—and it must be eliminated at once." Further, the President stated that "segregation of teachers must be eliminated" and ordered that steps be taken to assure against discrimination in the quality of facilities or the quality of education delivered to school children within individual school districts.

The President recognizes, however, the issues are more complex than merely ending current practices of deliberate public school segregation and discrimination, and their implications for the future of the country are far-reaching. While many of the problems are common to nearly all minority groups in all parts of the country, others frequently are unique to particular sections of the country or to particular minority groups. Problems of segregation and inadequate school facilities, for example, cut across racial or ethnic lines and exist in all regions. Black children in the rural South, however, experience educational deprivations different in kind from those of children who live in northern ghettos. By the same token, Mexican American and other Spanish-speaking children experience unique hardships when they come from homes where their first language is Spanish but enter an educational environment where only English is per-

mitted, and as a result are shunted automatically into lower ability groups and subjected to curricular discrimination.

The President addressed himself to many of the more complex issues that have been troubling the Nation—issues such as what can be done about so-called *de facto* school segregation, what are the most effective and sensible means of enforcing school desegregation requirements, how much of a social burden can the schools reasonably be expected to bear, how important is integration to the achievement of minority group children, how effective can busing be as a means of carrying out school desegregation, how important is adherence to the neighborhood school principle, and what kinds of resources should the Federal Government make available to local communities to achieve the goal of equal educational opportunity?

These are issues of critical importance deserving of the highest level of consideration and discussion. In the course of its history, the Commission has paid continuing attention to many of these issues. We are committed to the purpose for which this Commission was created: To act as an objective, bipartisan factfinding agency and to continually apprise the President, the Congress, and the Nation of the facts as we see them. The Commission believes that the experience and information we have gathered over the years concerning the issues discussed in the President's statement provide a sound basis for analysis and comment that can contribute to their clarification and be of help to educators, other public officials, and concerned Americans generally. It is in this spirit that we speak out now.

DE JURE VERSUS DE FACTO

The President draws a sharp distinction between *de jure* and *de facto* school desegregation, contending that under the former there is a positive duty to end it, while under the latter, "school authorities are not Constitutionally required to take any positive steps to correct the imbalance." This statement represents a strict interpretation of existing Supreme Court decisions.

It can be argued, however, that the Supreme Court's decision in *Brown* warrants a broader interpretation. For one thing, while the holding of the Supreme Court in the *Brown* case was limited to legally compelled or sanctioned segregation, the Court's concern extended as well to segregation resulting from factors other than legal compulsion. The Supreme Court quoted with approval a lower court finding that "Segregation of white and colored children in public schools has a detrimental effect upon the colored children. The impact is greater when it has the sanction of law . . ." (Emphasis added), and concluded: "Separate educational facilities are inherently unequal . . ."

Thus the Court expressly recognized the inherent inequality of all segregation noting only that the sanction of law gave it greater impact. In a sense, therefore, the President's sharp distinction between *de jure* and *de facto* segregation tends to blunt what many think is a crucial thrust of *Brown*.

The Commission, moreover, in the course of its investigations, has found numerous examples—North and South—which suggest that it is not adequate to describe school segregation as purely *de facto*—that in many cases, school segregation that appears to result solely from accidental housing patterns turns out, upon closer examination, to result in large part from decisions by school and other public officials.

For example, decisions on school boundary lines have been made with the purpose and effect of isolating minority group members in their own separate and unequal schools. Sites for new schools, even recently, have been strategically selected so as to assure against racially integrated student bodies. The size of schools has been determined with an eye toward maintaining racial separation.

As the President recognizes, conduct of this type is illegal. Instances of purposeful school segregation have been found in surprising places, in the North as well as the South. The school systems of New Rochelle, New York; South Holland, Illinois; Pasadena and Los Angeles, California; and Pontiac, Michigan, are among those which have been found by the courts to have practiced deliberate school segregation in violation of the Fourteenth Amendment. There is no doubt that there are many more instances of school segregation resulting from conscious decisions of school officials than the relative handful that have come to the attention of the courts.

It also should be understood that legally compelled or sanctioned school segregation is not a phenomenon unique to the South. In many northern and western states, the current pattern of racial separation of students is a legacy of an era when laws and policies explicitly authorized segregation by race. States such as Indiana, New Mexico and Wyoming maintained separate-but-equal laws beyond the mid 1940s. In other northern states, such as Ohio and New Jersey, cities and counties persisted in maintaining separate schools for black students well into the 1950s.

Even in those instances where school segregation is a result of housing patterns with no apparent complicity of school officials, government at all levels—local, State, or Federal—invariably is heavily implicated. Historically, racial zoning ordinances imposed by local law were a formidable factor in creating and maintaining racially exclusive neighborhoods. Although such ordinances were held unconstitutional as early as 1917, some communities continued to enforce them, even as late as the 1950s.

Judicial enforcement by State courts of racially restrictive covenants has been another important factor. Although these covenants were private agreements to exclude members of designated minority groups, the fact that they were enforceable by the courts gave them maximum effectiveness. Not until 1948 was the judicial enforcement of such covenants held unconstitutional, and not until 1953 was their enforcement by way of money damages held unlawful. Racially restrictive covenants no longer are judicially enforceable, but they still appear in deeds and the residential patterns they helped to create still persist.

Various exercises of local governmental authority, such as decisions on building permits, the location of sewer and water facilities, building inspection standards, zoning and land use requirements, and the power of eminent domain have been used to exclude minority group members from designated neighborhoods and even from entire communities.

The Federal Government, principally through its public housing and FHA mortgage insurance programs, has been all too often a willing partner in the creation and perpetuation of racially segregated neighborhoods, even to the point of insisting upon them. Until the late 1940s, for example, FHA insisted on racially restrictive covenants to insure against integrated housing developments. Until 1962 when the Executive Order on Equal Opportunity in Housing was issued, the agency continued willingly to do business with discriminatory builders and developers. The Public Housing Administration permitted its funds to be used for the creation and perpetuation of segregated housing projects well after the courts had made it clear that such practices were in violation of the Constitution. Other Federal programs, such as the highway and urban renewal programs, which involve massive displacement and relocation, also have had the effect of intensifying residential segregation.

The point we are making is that the current situation we face, in which most mi-

nority group children attend school in isolation from children of the majority group, is not accidental or purely *de facto*. In many cases, it has resulted in whole or in substantial part from an accumulation of governmental actions. Thus the categorical distinction between *de jure* and *de facto* segregation is not as clear-cut as it would appear. Upon closer examination, there is probably little legal substance to the concept of *de facto* school segregation. Further, in the Commission's view, the Government has a moral as well as legal responsibility to undo the segregation it has helped to create and maintain. There is no statute of limitations by which Government in its many forms can be exonerated from its past misdeeds or relieved of its current obligations.

The Commission believes that the necessary course of action is to make available to the Department of Justice and the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare the resources necessary to determine on a nationwide basis those cases which appear on the surface to involve *de facto* segregation but which in reality involve *de jure* school segregation, and then to take steps to correct the situation. We note that the President, in his budget request for Fiscal Year 1971, has asked for substantial increases in resources for civil rights enforcement in both departments—56 additional positions for the Civil Rights Division of the Department of Justice and 144 additional positions for the Office of Civil Rights in the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. It is important that the President's request be honored. It also is important that the attention of these two departments be directed specifically to the problem of apparent *de facto* segregation that may, in fact, have been consciously created and maintained *de jure*. We believe that to accept without investigation the notion of widespread fortuitous and ingenious school segregation and to determine policy on that basis would be a serious mistake.

Further, there is a large arsenal of weapons, in the form of nondiscrimination laws and low- and moderate-income housing programs, available to combat housing segregation and remove it as a cause of school segregation. As this Commission also recently pointed out in its report on "Federal Installations and Equal Housing Opportunity," the leverage of the substantial economic benefits generated by Federal installations can be used effectively to promote housing desegregation.

Another important way to promote housing desegregation is to provide people with the economic wherewithal necessary to expand their choice of housing. The President's Family Assistance and Manpower Training proposals, as well as the Administration's endorsement of the "Philadelphia Plan," represent forward moving efforts to enable the poor, a disproportionately high number of whom are minority group members, to join the Nation's economic mainstream and expand their choice in housing and other aspects of life through adequate income and job stability.

ENFORCEMENT OF SCHOOL DESEGREGATION

The President's statement was largely silent concerning the means that will be used to bring about an end to dual school systems. Experience in the 16 years since the *Brown* decision provides many lessons on what kind of enforcement works and what kind does not. During the first ten years following *Brown*, when litigation was the sole enforcement mechanism, progress in carrying out the Supreme Court's mandate was frustratingly slow—three percent desegregation in 10 years. Since the enactment of Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, however, with its provision for administrative enforcement, progress has accelerated enormously—30 to 40 percent desegregation in

the last five years. In a July 3, 1969, statement the Attorney General and the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare indicated that the Government was deemphasizing the use of administrative enforcement under Title VI in favor of a return to litigation. This, despite the evidence of the practical utility of title VI as an enforcement mechanism. The fact that the President made no reference to the means to be used raises the fear that litigation will, in fact, continue to be substituted for administrative enforcement. In its September 1969 report on "Federal Enforcement of School Desegregation," the Commission characterized the Administration's reliance on litigation as "a major retreat in the struggle to achieve meaningful school desegregation." The Commission believes it is important that a clear statement of policy be made by the President to allay these fears.

The President made plain in his statement, however, two other principles which apparently will guide his Administration in carrying out the Supreme Court's mandate: local discretion and reliance on good faith of local school administrators. Again, on the basis of the experience of the past 16 years, the Commission believes that neither is adequate assurance. The progress that has been made in promoting school desegregation in the South has not often resulted from local initiative, alone, but more frequently from persistent Federal pressure, joined with local initiative. Experience also has demonstrated that results alone—and not good faith—are the only true measure of compliance with the Supreme Court's mandate.

BURDEN ON THE SCHOOLS

Another area that warrants further discussion is the suggestion that we are asking too much of our schools. The President said: "They have been expected not only to educate, but also to accomplish a social transformation." The Commission believes this is true—that much is being asked of our schools, that much always has been asked of them. The important point, however, is that they have delivered. During the great waves of immigration that brought millions of oppressed people to this land of promise, it was the schools that we relied upon to educate the children of these immigrant families and to integrate them into American society. They did not fail us then.

But they are failing today. The children of the Nation's ghettos and barrios are not receiving the quality of education afforded to more affluent majority group children, nor are they being enabled to join the Nation's social and economic mainstream. Above all, they are not being integrated into American society, but are becoming alienated from it. To be sure, the problems facing the schools may be more difficult than those they faced in earlier days when they succeeded so well. But these problems cannot be viewed as insoluble, nor can we relieve our schools of the burden, heavy as it may be, of being the chief instrument by which they will be resolved. For the schools occupy a special place in American society. As the President pointed out:

"The school stands in a unique relationship to the community, to the family, and to the individual student. It is a focal point of community life. It has a powerful impact on the future of all who attend. It is a place not only of learning, but also of living—where a child's friendships center where he learns to measure himself against others, to share, to compete, to cooperate—and it is the one institution above all others with which the parent shares his child."

Public schools must again be asked to play their traditional role as "the balance wheel of the social machinery." It will not do to insist that we are placing too heavy a burden on the schools. It is a burden that they always have accepted and they must accept it now. It should be a national pri-

ority of the highest order to provide our schools with the necessary resources—adequate facilities, better teacher training, and the like—to bear this burden. It is for this reason that we welcome the President's allocation of one and a half billion dollars. There are urgent needs for all of this and more, plus a clear pinpointing of the precise educational priorities for school improvement throughout the country.

There simply is no other institution in the country so equipped to do the job. If the public schools fail, the social, economic, and racial divisions that now exist will grow even wider. It would be even worse, however, if the schools do not even try.

IMPORTANCE OF SCHOOL INTEGRATION

In his March 3, 1970, message on "Education Reform," the President made the following statement: "Quality is what education is all about; desegregation is vital to that quality." That statement did not represent a suggestion of a new direction in national policy, but rather, an accurate and succinct description of one of the cornerstones of established policy.

It has been settled that desegregation is fundamental to the achievement of equal educational opportunity. All three branches of the Federal Government have spoken with one firm resolve on this matter and the Nation has committed itself to achieving the goal of quality integrated education for all of our children. Studies have been made, such as the Coleman Report, the Commission's own report on "Racial Isolation in the Public Schools," and a recent study of the New York State Board of Regents, which indicate that racial, as well as social class, integration has a positive effect on the achievement of school children. These studies are useful in contributing to better understanding of the elements that make for quality education. They in no way question the fundamental policy of school desegregation. That policy is based on considerations as important as school achievement scores. School integration is necessary to create the understanding and sense of common purpose so vital to the Nation's future well-being. The key question now is not the relative merits of desegregation, but how to accomplish it.

It is true, as the President points out, that the adult community has failed to achieve for itself the kind of multiracial society that we are seeking to achieve in schools. The failure of the adult community, however, only highlights the necessity of insuring that our children receive the kind of training in integrated school environments that will equip them to thrive in the multiracial society they will enter. In fact, nowhere is integration more easily achieved than among children, who are born without prejudice and who accept other human beings for their human values, without automatic judgments based on race or color. If we delay this training until they enter the adult society, we will have been too late. It is in the schools where our children's attitudes and perceptions can be influenced to enable them to succeed where we, their parents, have failed.

BUSING

In his statement, the President raised the issue of busing and cautioned that we must proceed with the least possible disruption to our children's education. Busing has become an emotionally charged word and the issues involved have been the subject of considerable misunderstanding. Many who oppose busing do so on the basis of certain assumptions, one of which is that riding to school disrupts a child's education and causes harm. This is a serious issue which should not be argued solely in terms of assumptions or emotion. The Commission believes that facts which it has found in the course of its investigations may contribute to clarifying the issue and sharpening the debate over it.

Busing is neither a new nor a unique technique, and its use is not limited to facilitating desegregation. For example, for decades, black and white children, alike, in the South were bused as much as 50 miles or more each day to assure perfect racial segregation. In many cases, busing was the exclusive privilege of white children—black children often were required to walk considerable distances. No complaints then were heard from whites of any harmful effects. Nor was any concern exhibited over the damage suffered by black children through their deliberate segregation. The Supreme Court in *Brown* described vividly the nature of the harm to which Negro children were being subjected.

"To separate them from others of similar age and qualifications solely because of their race generates a feeling of inferiority as to their status in the community that may affect their hearts and minds in a way unlikely ever to be undone."

Thus the arguments that some now make about the evils of busing would appear less than ingenuous. The plain fact is that every day of every school year 18 million pupils—40 percent of the Nation's public school children—are bused to and from school, and the buses log in the aggregate more than two billion miles—nine billion passenger miles—each year. It also should be understood that the overwhelming majority of school busing has nothing to do with desegregation or achieving racial balance. The trend toward consolidation of schools, for example, particularly in rural areas, requires extensive busing. It causes no disruption to the educational routines of the children and is treated as normal and sensible.

Amid the controversy over busing, in many school systems, North and South, transportation is being used quietly and effectively as a means of bringing about desegregation. The bus rides are not long—in Berkeley, California, for example, a city of 120,000 people, the bus trip never exceeds 20 minutes—and it causes no harm. In the South, of course, the amount of busing needed to bring about desegregation frequently is considerably less than was required to maintain dual school systems. For example, at the Commission's 1968 hearing in Montgomery, Alabama, we found that black students in Selma, seeking to attend trade school, were bused some 50 miles to the nearly all-black Trenholm School in Montgomery, although the Rufus King trade school was located in Selma. Rufus King, however, was all-white.

It is a mistake to think of the problems of desegregation and the extent that busing is required to facilitate it solely in the context of the Nation's relatively few giant urban centers such as Chicago, New York, or Los Angeles. In most of our cities the techniques necessary to accomplish desegregation are relatively simple and busing creates no hardships. The experience in communities which have successfully desegregated could easily be transferred to cities of greater size.

Even in giant urban centers, progress in desegregation does not require interminable bus rides or disruption of our children's education. The President, in discussing the recent California court decision requiring desegregation of the Los Angeles school system, quoted "local leaders" as estimating that the total cost of busing will amount to 40-million dollars over the next school year. This estimate represented the contention of the defendants in that litigation. It was presented to the court for the purpose of arguing against the feasibility of desegregation in that city's school system. In fact, the court rejected this estimate as unrealistic.

In Los Angeles, as in other cities, substantial desegregation can be accomplished through relatively simple devices such as alteration of existing school attendance areas, school pairing, and the establishment of central schools. To be sure, transportation is necessary in giant urban centers as it is

in smaller cities, but here too, it is false and defeatist to assume that the bus rides must be lengthy or that the education of our children will be disrupted.

In the Commission's view, the emphasis that some put on the issue of busing is misplaced. As most Americans would agree, it is the kind of education that awaits our children at the end of the bus ride that is really important.

NEIGHBORHOOD SCHOOLS

In his statement, the President emphasized the desirability of maintaining the neighborhood school principle. For several reasons, the Commission questions whether this should be one of the cornerstones upon which national educational policy rests.

For one thing, neighborhood schools do not represent the invariable principle governing school attendance that many believe. Frequently, neighborhood attendance is subordinated to other educational goals. In some cities, for example, handicapped children or academically talented students attend schools other than the one in their neighborhood.

Further, the Commission has found numerous instances of departures from neighborhood attendance policy that have had the effect of promoting racial segregation, where faithful adherence to the neighborhood school principal would have assured integrated student bodies. In Cleveland, Ohio, and San Francisco, California, for example, optional zones were created to permit white students who otherwise would have attended racially integrated schools to choose instead nearly all-white schools out of their neighborhood. Transfer plans, ostensibly instituted to relieve overcrowding, also have had the effect of promoting racial separation.

There is, in fact, a good deal of inconsistency and hypocrisy that all too often surround the lip service paid to the neighborhood school principle. Courts, as well as school officials, have had little difficulty in dismissing its importance for the purpose of maintaining segregation. In Cincinnati in 1876, for example, black children who had to walk four miles each way to attend a black school brought suit to enter the much nearer white school. The court refused and said: "Children cannot cluster around their schools like they do around their parish church." Several years ago, then Chief Judge Tuttle of the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Fifth Circuit, in a case involving the Mobile, Alabama, school system, made some observations on this point:

"Both in testimony and in the briefs, much is said by the appellees about the virtues of 'neighborhood schools.' Of course, in the brief of the Board of Education, the word 'neighborhood' doesn't mean what it usually means. When spoken of as a means to require Negro children to continue to attend a Negro school in the vicinity of their homes, it is spoken of as a 'neighborhood' school plan. When the plan permits a white child to leave his Negro 'neighborhood' to attend a white school in another 'neighborhood' it becomes apparent that the 'neighborhood' is something else again. As every member of this court knows, there are neighborhoods in the South and in every city of the South which contain both Negro and white people. So far as has come to the attention of this court, no board of education has yet suggested that every child be required to attend his 'neighborhood school' if the neighborhood school is a Negro school. Every Board of Education has claimed the right to assign every white child to a school other than the neighborhood school under such circumstances. And yet, when it is suggested that Negro children in Negro neighborhoods be permitted to break out of the segregated pattern of their own race in order to avoid the 'inherently unequal' education of 'separate educational facilities,' the answer too often is that the children should attend their 'neighborhood school.'

So, too, there is a hollow sound to the superficially appealing statement that school areas are designed by observing safety factors, such as highways, railroads, streams, etc. No matter how many such barriers there may be, none of them is so grave as to prevent the white child whose 'area' school is Negro from crossing the barrier and enrolling in the nearest white school even though it be several intervening 'areas' away."

There also is some question whether the narrow attendance areas served by neighborhood schools truly represent the "neighborhood" as we currently understand that term. In fact, the meaning of neighborhoods has changed over the years. Recent developments in the pattern of urban life—rapid population shifts and the growing distances city residents travel for recreation, business, and shopping—have diffused traditional neighborhood patterns. They no longer are the self-contained, cohesive communities they may once have been. In short, it is doubtful that adherence to the neighborhood school principle is required by considerations of close community ties in narrow geographical areas. The schools have an opportunity, by broadening the geographical areas they serve, to expand the experience of children beyond that of the restricted confines of their narrowly defined neighborhood, and establish the school as a broader "community" or "neighborhood" in which the lives of all who attend can be enriched.

If adherence to the neighborhood school principle frequently interferes with efforts to promote desegregation, there also is some question concerning its value as a means of providing quality education. The essence of the neighborhood school is a self-contained unit serving a relatively small student population. In larger units, however, economies of scale frequently make possible the offering of a broader curriculum and the provision of new and expensive equipment that are not economically possible in schools which serve small numbers of students. Many rural areas, for example, in an effort to improve the quality of education, have abandoned the tradition of small individual school houses in favor of consolidated schools serving much larger student bodies. In short, adherence to the neighborhood school principle under current conditions not only tends to interfere with efforts at desegregation, but also has little bearing on efforts to improve the quality of education and in some cases may even thwart those efforts.

The Commission believes that ideally and ultimately, resolution of the problem of school segregation lies in residential desegregation, which will remove the emotional issue of neighborhood schools from the arena of civil rights controversy. Residential desegregation can be accomplished through laws and policies designed specifically to secure an open housing market, and administered with dedication and purpose. This does not mean, however, that efforts to desegregate the schools should await the day when neighborhood desegregation has been achieved. We cannot afford to make integrated education wholly dependent upon open housing, for to do so would be to consign at least another generation of children to education in racially isolated schools.

HELPING COMMUNITIES TO DESEGREGATE

We have spoken of communities that have recognized the problem of school segregation and have determined to eliminate it on their own. Many of these are in the South and they have complied with judicial and administrative requirements by devising imaginative and successful plans not only for achieving physical desegregation but also for assuring quality education for all children. Some of these communities are in areas commonly thought to be among the most opposed to desegregation. For example, Pass Christian and New Albany, Mississippi, both have accomplished full desegregation and have taken

steps to assure that the desegregated schools are not white schools or black schools, but schools that all children can feel a part of. As measured by white and black student participation in school activities, daily attendance rates, and achievement scores, their efforts have been successful.

Other communities, particularly in the North, while they have been under no legal compulsion to accomplish desegregation, nonetheless have sought to do the job. The President has pointed out that these school officials are free to take steps beyond the constitutional minimums to diminish racial separation.

The Commission questions, however, whether this is enough, and whether the appropriate posture of the Federal Government on this important matter should be merely a passive one. Rather, we believe it is essential that resources, in the form of financial and technical assistance, be made available to assist these communities in bringing about total and successful desegregation as rapidly as possible.

We recognize, of course, that the President has made a commitment of one and one-half billion dollars over the next two years to carry out his school policies, and we applaud this step. There is need to clarify how this money will be used. The President specified two purposes: "Improving education in racially impacted areas, North and South, and for assisting school districts in meeting special problems incident to court-ordered desegregation."

It is not clear whether these two purposes are considered mutually exclusive—whether school districts *not* under court order would be eligible for assistance under this program to promote desegregation or whether the President's proposal assumes that so-called *de facto* segregation is with us to stay. If the latter, then the proposal may well have the effect of providing built-in financial incentives for the perpetuation of racial segregation in schools not under court order and transform an acceptance of the reality of *de facto* segregation into self-fulfilling prophecy. We believe again that further official clarification of this point is needed.

The President has made it clear to all that his Administration intends to carry out the Supreme Court's mandate of an immediate end to legally sanctioned dual school systems.

Much more, however, is necessary. The problems of racial isolation in the Nation's schools cannot be resolved solely through cautious adherence to a narrow construction of existing case law. The courts, in defining the constitutional requirements relating to desegregation have informed us only of our minimum mandate, not the maximum that we are permitted to do to accomplish school desegregation. In education, as in other areas of national concern, it is the responsibility of the Congress and the Executive Branch to act beyond this minimum, using the broad authority provided under the Constitution. Thus it is not sufficient to say that local school officials who have not maintained legally compelled separate systems may desegregate their schools if they choose to. The necessity of desegregation must also be urged and the resources made available to accomplish it if our Nation is to move toward the ideal of "one Nation, under God, indivisible, with liberty and justice for all." It is this word "all," with its special connotation of equal educational opportunity for all the children in America which has inspired most of our comments. We believe that here is the central concern, the true promise of what America will be in the years ahead—one Nation, indivisible, or two Nations divided.

The Commission fears that the President's statement, particularly his sharp distinction between *de jure* and *de facto* segregation, well may have the net effect, though unintentional, of signaling a major departure

from the policy of moving toward integrated schools and that open society of which he spoke so well in his statement.

Last September, in its report on "Federal Enforcement of School Desegregation," the Commission pointed out:

"This is certainly no time for giving aid and comfort, even unintentionally, to the laggards while penalizing those who have made commendable efforts to follow the law, even while disagreeing with it. If anything, this is the time to say that time is running out on us as a Nation. In a word, what we need most at this juncture of our history is a great positive statement regarding this central and crucial national problem where once and for all our actions clearly would match the promises of our Constitution and Bill of Rights."

The Commission is aware that the problem of school segregation is one of enormous difficulty and complexity. Yet a realistic assessment of the scope and dimensions of the problem should not result in a resigned acceptance of its indefinite continuation or a defeatist conclusion that it is beyond our capacity to resolve. The Commission is convinced of the ability and will of the American people to respond affirmatively to a call to end the injustice that school segregation represents. This call requires a major investment of resources, the commitment of public and private officials on the Federal, State, and local level—indeed of all Americans—and above all, the continuing example of courageous moral leadership from the President of the United States.

SAINT MARTIN

HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 16, 1970

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, while the great silent majority of the American people rest in their silent apathy and behold the frantic efforts of a few to canonize Martin Luther King, one "George" is doing something about. George S. Schuyler, renowned journalist, author, and newspaperman has spoken out in his usual courageous American manner.

I think that his story, "Saint Martin" should be read by all and include it as a part of my remarks:

SAINT MARTIN?—THE MARTIN LUTHER KING MEMORIAL

(By George S. Schuyler)

The fantastic drive to lift the late Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. to saintly status proceeds apace. The whole spectacle would have delighted old Anatole France and provided abundant supplementary material for a sequel to *Penguin Island* in which, it will be recalled, bandits and rogues in the course of time became national heroes.

As George Washington, Thomas Jefferson, and Abraham Lincoln whirled in their graves, King achieved in death a national memorial day with flags at half-mast throughout the American empire, and every politician of note trooping to his funeral in Atlanta weeping crocodile tears. While they knelt in prayer at the King bier, vandalistic blacks put a hundred cities to torch.

Before the smoke of the bonfires subsided, there came impudent demands from militant Marxists that every conceivable public building, highway, airport, and school building be named for the Atlanta preacher who had led a dozen half-wit mobs against public order and had secured financial backing from both

the "white power structure" and the Communists to operate revolutionary schools to train his subordinates for the bedevilment of sundry communities.

It was only shortly after an assassin's bullet relieved the country of King's presence that his long-planned march on Washington, to plant in its center a hobo city, was led by his lieutenant Ralph D. Abernathy. Ralph resided the while in a comfortable motel as his dupes wallowed in the bog of Resurrection City. Yet this disgraceful performance was at government expense, even to the feeding of the mules who "marched" to Washington on railroad flatcars.

The King-Abernathy mob didn't quite get around to burning down the White House as had the British in the War of 1812, but they came close to it.

Nobody would have believed such an outrage could occur had there not been so many witnesses, including President Lyndon Johnson who peered gloomily at the wreckage from his front window, while his Attorney General cautioned the police and militia to treat the ruffians gently and respect their Constitutional right to rob, burn, and rape.

Incredulity soared when a few weeks ago a front-page headline in the *New York Times* declared: "King Family Halting Talks With Nixon For Memorial." The public had not known that any such talks were going on between the Nixon Administration and the King family for a giant King memorial in Atlanta! The talks were abandoned it seems "because of what the Kings say is Mr. Nixon's 'indifferent attitude' toward the black and poor people." Mrs. Coretta Scott King, the widow—and a violent, rampaging Copperhead in her own right—said that "Mr. Nixon at one point had encouraged the project, but that the idea collapsed . . . after seven months of unpublishing negotiations." It had been rather like meeting secretly with the Vietcong.

Dolefully, Hanoi Coretta moaned: "We felt that to get Federal support for a memorial would have been a beautiful thing not only for our country but for oppressed people throughout the world. But President Nixon's attitude, his lack of real concern, suggests that his Administration is motivated by racist attitudes."

Nixon's attitude could also have been motivated by a concern for how Americans would react to building such a monument to a man whose personal staff had included convicted perverts, Communist organizers, and even a member of the Executive Committee of the Communist Party, U.S.A.

One might have regarded the whole thing as a figment of King family imagination had not Leonard Garment, a top White House aide, confirmed the statement, saying it was the first time he had heard that the Kings planned to break off talks; that he had not been aware of any difference of opinion over Mr. Nixon's "Civil Rights" record. He whined "It would be a disservice to the cause of civil rights and the late Martin Luther King if this becomes a political football."

Mrs. King disclosed that she telephoned the President in early February to ask his help for legislation to create a Freedom Memorial Park in the two downtown Atlanta blocks that contain her husband's birthplace, the Ebenezer Baptist Church where he and his father preached, and his grave. She continued: "Mr. Nixon seemed to like the idea, he even sounded enthusiastic. He said he would send 'the best man for the job' to talk to me, and promised that the plan would receive immediate attention from the White House."

Then it turns out that, according to Hanoi Coretta, Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare Robert Finch visited her a few weeks later in Atlanta and offered his Department's help in setting up a Black Studies program as part of the memorial. The conspirators agreed to keep mum about

all this until Nixon popped the publicity on April fourth, the anniversary of Dr. King's hurried demise. This had to be called off because of the death of former President Eisenhower.

But talks continued between Leonard Garment and Harry H. Wachtel, the memorial foundation's lawyer. It seems that Garment even met with the architects.

The negotiations cooled as the widow King began to propagandize for the Vietcong, and finally there came a White House letter stating that at this time the President was "not prepared" to support the proposed legislation. The Reverend Martin Luther King Sr. moaned that "Martin's memory has gotten cold."

The widow King observed between pitches for the kindly Vietcong: "We had to convince ourselves that the national Government was not willing to help us." So now the memorial foundation is going to go out and raise through a private campaign the three million dollars deemed necessary. Remembering what Phineas T. Barnum said about a sucker being born every minute, they will probably get the money, too.

One thing for which all good Americans should give thanks is that President Nixon did not dare to go through with this caper. It would have otherwise been tantamount to the government building a memorial to Benedict Arnold, who certainly did less harm to America than the sniveling, hypocritical leader of the "Communist-dominated" Southern Christian Leadership Conference.

It is interesting to note that on the board of the King foundation are such people as former Vice President Hubert H. Humphrey; Senator Hugh Scott of Pennsylvania, the new Senate Republican Leader; Senator Edward M. Kennedy of Massachusetts; former Supreme Court Justice Arthur J. Goldberg; Sidney Poitier, the Leftist screen actor; and, of course, the Reverend Ralph Abernathy, who first won fame by outdistancing an irate husband in Montgomery, Alabama, but who is now King's successor.

Well, there's no doubt they'll collect the gelt (the Rockefeller Brothers Fund has already coughed up \$250,000), but it looks as if we'll be spared the disgraceful spectacle of the American taxpayer being required to honor a tinhorn Comrade.

OBSERVANCE OF THE WARSAW GHETTO UPRISING, APRIL 19

HON. JOHN J. ROONEY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 16, 1970

Mr. ROONEY of New York. Mr. Speaker, for us as Americans the word "ghetto" finds itself in more and more usage in our daily speech. It has become a one-word definition of poverty, squalor, and depressed living conditions. Yes, today "ghetto" connotes suffering, and privation and more often than not the cause or breeding place of crime. Seldom do we relate anything good or commendable with ghettos. There is, however, one magnificent exception to this trend.

This exception relates to the ghetto of Warsaw, Poland, during the most crucial days of World War II. Even then this ghetto encompassed mass starvation and privation, wholesale enslavement, and ruthless racial persecution, but the ghetto of Warsaw has become synonymous with courage and gallantry. Since

1943 freedom-loving people throughout the world celebrate annually on April 19 the uprising by Jewish combat forces which took place in Warsaw's famed ghetto.

This event which we share in annually observing with our Jewish friends not only commemorates the valiant but futile fight of the armed Jewish resistance under the leadership of the gallant Mordecai Anzelewicz, but it serves as a reminder of the sacrifices made by more than 6 million European Jews who fell victim to the Nazi terror which swept over Europe during those black days of World War II.

This day, April 19, commemorates the heroic struggle of the outnumbered ZOB patriots who, with a pitiful supply of arms and ammunition, fell victim to the savagery of Nazi hordes. It commemorates the courage shown by Jewish ghetto dwellers in fighting desperately against overwhelming odds.

April 19 commemorates the death or capture of more than 56,000 Jews by the time the last ZOB outpost fell on May 8 and 2-week-old uprising was finally put down. This day serves as a cruel reminder of the Nazi atrocities which leveled over 800 acres of the ghetto in which thousands of innocent victims lost their lives in the flames and pillage wrought by Hitler's hordes.

Mr. Speaker, as we strive to cope with the so-called ghetto problems of our American cities may we ever be reminded of the valor and self-sacrifice of those lovers of freedom who brought about the historic Warsaw ghetto uprising on April 19, 27 years ago. From their exemplary behavior we should reap confidence and courage to rise up against the forces of evil and neglect which today enslave so many of our own ghetto dwellers.

THE CLEAN AIR ACT AMENDMENTS OF 1970

HON. OGDEN R. REID

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 16, 1970

Mr. REID of New York. Mr. Speaker, I am introducing today the Clean Air Act Amendments of 1970, which would authorize the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare to establish nationally applicable standards of air quality.

In my judgment, the application of national air quality standards will be necessary if this Nation is to achieve its goal of cleaning up the air in the foreseeable future. In the past, States have played leading roles in the attack on environmental problems, but it would appear that some States are now seriously dragging their feet. For example, the National Air Pollution Control Administration has rejected the ambient air quality standards submitted by the State of New York for its portion of the New York Metropolitan Area Air Quality Control Region, on the grounds that the proposed standards for particulate matter and sulfur dioxide "do not provide

for the margin of safety consideration requirement" established by the NAPCA. Standards could surely be put into effect more quickly if they were set directly by the Federal Government, instead of submitted by the States for Federal approval. Hopefully, the Federal Government will also set the stringent standards which will be necessary if we are to make our air clean again.

In addition to authorizing the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare to set nationally applicable air quality standards, my bill would ban from interstate commerce gasoline containing lead or other fuels the combustion of which results in emission of lead particles. According to a recent New York Times article, approximately 600 million pounds of lead were consumed as antiknock gasoline additive in the United States in 1968. Much of that lead is now suspended in the air above American cities, in the form of tiny particles of lead compounds which are one product of combustion in automobile engines. In view of the well-known toxicity of lead, the health hazard to the American people is clear. We must ban lead from a gasoline forthwith.

Clearly, lead is not the only dangerous pollutant which is a byproduct of the internal combustion engine. Therefore, the bill I am introducing today would authorize the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare to establish standards respecting the composition or the chemical or physical properties of any fuel or fuel additive, and to test motor vehicles and engines off actual production lines—rather than prototypes—to make sure that automobile manufacturers are meeting motor vehicle emission standards. If motor vehicles or engines fail to meet the emission standards, the certificate authorizing their manufacture will be revoked. In view of the fact that the automobile is a major source of air pollution in this country, such strict attention to curbing emissions from automobile engines is not unwarranted.

My bill would also instruct the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare to establish standards regarding emissions from stationary sources such as factories. The standards would be enforced through the injunctive process in Federal courts, with penalties of up to \$100,000 per day after the time allotted the defendant to take remedial action.

We must take immediate remedial action if we are to have any hope of reversing the present trend toward pollution of our atmosphere. Dr. Vincent Schaefer of the State University of New York recently said:

I am dismayed by the all pervasive bluish and greyish hazes that increasingly limit the visibility of distant hills and mountains and even the ground as seen from a high flying plane.

According to Dr. Schaefer, this haze and most pollution come from effluents which consist of invisible particulate matter and accompanying vaporous gases which cannot be seen when they are released into the atmosphere.

There is some evidence that these tiny particles can result in inadvertent weather modification—Dr. Schaefer be-

leaves that misty rains and very light snows can be attributed to automobile pollution. This is an extremely complex problem which, in my judgment, deserves more attention than it has received in recent years. I hope that, following passage of the necessary legislation the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare will act promptly to establish national air quality standards and will give some thought to the problem of invisible particles and possible weather modification as he establishes those standards.

We must act quickly if we are to restore the clarity of our skies.

BUSINESS & JOB DEVELOPMENT CORP. OF PITTSBURGH RETURNS BETTER THAN 5 TO 1 FEDERAL INVESTMENT

HON. WILLIAM S. MOORHEAD

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 16, 1970

Mr. MOORHEAD. Mr. Speaker, in their efforts to raise the economic base of the city of Pittsburgh, with special emphasis on minority group areas, Business & Job Development Corp., chartered as a private nonprofit corporation in the summer of 1963, has been a colossal community success, and has returned more than \$5 for every \$1 invested by the Federal Government.

Some of their ambitious projects are a community-owned, State chartered bank; a shopping center; a business mall and auto service area; a program of neighborhood industrial development planning and expansion and a program of ghetto entrepreneurship that will generate dollars into the community. They are involved in job training, leadership development, counseling, and all phases of community relations.

A summary of their outstanding accomplishments is contained in a recent letter written by their president, Mr. Forrest Parr, to Mr. Arnold Leibowitz, Director of the Office of Technical Assistance, EDA, which I would like to share with my colleagues at this point in the Record.

While they have been assisted by the Federal Government, and have had the backing of the local community, the real credit in tangible and some not-so-tangible returns belongs to the black citizens of Pittsburgh.

The letter follows:

APRIL 10, 1970.

Mr. ARNOLD H. LEIBOWITZ,
Director, Office of Technical Assistance, Economic Development Administration, U.S. Department of Commerce, Washington, D.C.

DEAR Mr. LEIBOWITZ: You will recall that at our contract negotiation meeting some weeks ago I mentioned some very revealing figures relative to cash-benefits of EDA's investment in Business and Job Development Corporation (BJD).

The enclosed tabulation shows the investment in real dollars of \$4,947,005.92 by local industry, banks and other lending institutions, local and state government, foundations and other sources. EDA investment in BJD since our inception has been \$805,676.92

so that on this basis alone the return to the federal government has been in a ratio of 5.1 dollars generated for each dollar invested.

It should be emphasized that these figures are not someones subjective value of effort but are actual funds invested in our local effort as a result of continued support by your agency beyond the normal period of funding.

Of course our outstanding accomplishments in which you can share our gratification are the Hudson Place Westinghouse vehicle plant which is employing some fifty (50) "hard core" and underemployed persons in challenging skilled jobs, our Sussite building which will in large measure support our continuing operation, our Silvestri manufacturing operation employing some twenty-two (22) employees and our Silver Lake industrial park. Immediate benefits to the black economy are obvious in the form of jobs created and rental income from Sussite. Long range benefits in the form of profits and borrowing power as we acquire equity in Hudson Place and Silver Lake will be of even greater significance.

We would not even attempt to assess the value of such intangibles as volunteered expertise and participation of all kinds on the part of the entire community nor a degree of real understanding generated between BJD and our "hard core" militants. Yet these are without question assets generated and developed by our continued support.

This support has enabled us to bring together all of the various agencies, both government and private that must participate together to make such progress possible.

This information is for your record only and we feel that you will share with us some feeling of accomplishment.

Very truly yours,

FORREST L. PARR,
President.

VIETNAMIZATION—AN APPRAISAL BY A FORMER POW

HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 16, 1970

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, as one who has had the experience of being a prisoner of war in Europe during World War II, I am naturally sympathetic with the plight of all prisoners of war.

Today, many young American prisoners of war are being held as hostages in North Vietnam while being subjected to extreme physical and mental abuses—all in violation of international law.

The March 23, 1970, issue of the Washington Report of the American Security Council contains a most thoughtful analysis of the prisoner-of-war crisis in North Vietnam. Written by Duane Thorin, an author and lecturer, and also a former prisoner of war in North Korea, the article evaluates the serious POW problem in the realistic manner of one who knows by experience.

Mr. Thorin offers the only realistic solution that can assure the release of our captured men.

Because of the importance of his views in the premises, I commend the indicated article to our colleagues:

"VIETNAMIZATION"—AS VIEWED BY AN
AMERICAN PRISONER OF WAR

The announced policy of gradual "de-Americanization" or, as it is more often

called, "Vietnamization" of the war in Vietnam seems to have satisfied most Americans as a way to honorably extricate ourselves from that purportedly unwinnable conflict. Dissent from responsible sources has mostly to do with the speed of the process—some saying that the rate of withdrawal of U.S. forces is too slow, others warning that it may be too fast. Even the self-avowed friends of the enemy here at home have been somewhat muted in their irresponsible rantings since the "Vietnamization" plan was announced and reduction of U.S. forces in combat begun.

There is, however, one small group of Americans whose opinions have not been heard; even though the subject is of most vital importance to them. That is those several hundred—possibly more than a thousand—U.S. servicemen held captive by the Communist regime in North Vietnam. The rest of us would do well to remember that their part in this war cannot be "Vietnamized."

Neither can those men presently speak for themselves to the rest of us on this matter. Therefore, the reader is invited to imagine for just a few minutes that he is himself "sitting out" the rest of this war in the place of one of those known or unknown Americans now held captive in North Vietnam. To assist the imagination, here are a few considerations:

PRESSURES ON PRISONERS

(1) Depending upon just which of those men you imagine yourself to be, you have been a prisoner anywhere from a few months to 5 or 6 years.

(2) During most of that time you have been in solitary confinement, with no one to talk to except one and another of the enemy. If you are caught trying to communicate with another prisoner, in any manner, you may be denied some of your "privileges", such as food, sleep, washing your hands and face, or going outside your cell to answer the call of nature.

(3) You've been threatened with death—probably a horrible manner of death—many times; and sometimes may have wished the threat had been carried out.

(4) You've been told you are a "war-criminal," not entitled to treatment according to international law pertaining to prisoners of war. And you know by now that your captors would make up their own rules in any case.

(5) If you're one of the "lucky" ones who is known to be alive and a prisoner, you may have received one or a few letters from your family. But this hasn't necessarily helped your morale as much as some folks back home seem to think it should, because your captors will have timed its delivery to you, after examining it carefully themselves, in the hope that it might add to your feelings of loneliness and despair.

(6) As for news of the war, and of goings-on back home, you'll probably have received quite a bit—as selected for you by your captors from various U.S. publications. Clippings on the activities of the so-called "anti-war" groups probably haven't bothered you so much as the Communists expected, since you recognized that those groups are made up of a few friends of the enemy followed by an assortment of kooks and pseudo-intellectuals. More bothersome by far will have been the reports accurately quoting one and another U.S. government official over the past several years, as they reiterated the long-standing officials lines that "there is no way to end the Vietnam war promptly"—"it may have to go on for many years"—and "it may never really end, but just sort of fade away."

Such statements as those, which you know to be accurate quotes, have lent much weight to a couple of the lines your captors have been bugging you with: "You'd better learn to cooperate with us, because you are going to be with us for a very long time," and

"Your government leaders don't give a damn about you, so why fight us?"

PRISONERS AND U.S. POLICY

Now the foregoing considerations may not be enough for even the very imaginative to fully feel what it is like to be a prisoner of the Communists. But they may suffice for a more realistic guess as to how our countrymen who are captive in North Vietnam might view the "Vietnamization" strategy. And the chances are better than even, that those men have been shown quite a few factual reports about the "Vietnamization" policy. For their captors will have quickly noted that there is nothing within that policy—as it has been publicly defined to date—which offers any solace or hope to the Americans they hold prisoner.

This is not to suggest that the Nixon Administration has no concern for the well being of our captive servicemen, or has overlooked the POW issue entirely. Quite to the contrary, it has in recent months made considerable effort to arouse public interest in the matter.

Many top officials—including the President himself—have spoken out on the subject. Direct appeals have been made to Hanoi's representatives in Paris to at least release the names of the prisoners they hold. An effort was made (to no avail) to have the matter taken up by the Human Rights Commission of the United Nations Organization. Former prisoners who have escaped, and some who were released by the enemy in one of several propaganda ploys, have been allowed to publicly describe some of the maltreatment they and their fellow prisoners received at the hands of their communist captors. Relatives of missing and known captive servicemen have been encouraged (at least implicitly) to make direct appeals to North Vietnamese officials for information about their men.

As a convincer, if one is needed, that he wants the POW issue publicized and emphasized, President Nixon hosted a representative group of missing men's relatives in early December, 1969, and pledged to them that he would attempt to negotiate a humane settlement of the POW issue as quickly as possible.

AN INCONSISTENCY

There is, however, some reason to wonder if the dominant members of the President's advisory staff themselves do not recognize the full significance of the POW issue. For example, there is a disturbing inconsistency between the President's pledge to the families of captive and missing men in early December that he would "negotiate" a settlement of the POW issue as quickly as possible, and his press conference statement on December 8 that he believes "the Vietnam war will come to a conclusion regardless of what happens at the bargaining table," because we are replacing American troops with Vietnamese forces.

North Vietnam has repeatedly made clear that they will not negotiate the prisoner issue separately from other aspects of the conflict. And certainly the Commander-in-Chief would never consider the war "concluded", even in the sense of "de-Americanizing" the combat action, so long as American servicemen are still held captive by the enemy.

North Vietnam has good reason (from their point of view) to hold back on negotiation of the POW issue. To the Communists, those countrymen of ours whom they hold captive are hostages—quite literally—"bartering items" in the negotiating part of a "negotiating-while-fighting" strategy. And because the Hanoi regime has been allowed to get away with a "negotiating-while-fighting" strategy, it can exploit those captive Americans to its own purposes without any cooperation or collaboration from the men themselves.

The price Hanoi would likely demand as

ransom for our men they hold hostage would probably far exceed the bulldozers Fidel Castro wanted in exchange for the Bay of Pigs prisoners, or the official "confession of guilt" which North Korea got in exchange for the "Pueblo" crewmen.

PAST TREATMENT

The Communists also have considerable reason to believe they can get away with continued abuse of the Americans they hold captive; mainly because they've gotten away with so much before. In August, 1965, as one example, Hanoi boastfully announced to the world at large that two American airmen were beheaded—by order of the Communist high command. The official U.S. reaction was a formal note from the U.S. State Department "deploring" the act. From the American public there was very little reaction, probably because the incident was given little mention in the major news media in this country, and the Johnson Administration showed no desire to make it a public issue.

Again in July, 1966, the Hanoi regime dared to publicize one of its gross abuses of American prisoners. Movie films were allowed out of North Vietnam—deliberately, for showing in the United States—of American captives, bound and chained, being paraded through the streets of Hanoi, harassed by near hysterical mobs lining the curbs. Along with that was the announcement by Communist officials that they were considering holding public trials and executions of American prisoners as "war criminals."

This time there was some reaction from the American public. A flood of phone calls to local TV stations and network offices were clear evidence that the publicizing of this atrocity could arouse general public indignation. At least one prominent network commentator (Eric Sevareid) was moved at once to editorialize a warning to the effect that further actions of this sort by Hanoi might incite the American people to demand all out military retaliation against North Vietnam.

The reaction of U.S. officialdom was reported as follows in the Washington, (D.C.) Post of July 16, 1966:

Officials privately are concerned about the impact execution of any American prisoners as "war criminals" would have on conduct of the war. The emotional outcry in the United States, said one official, would put tremendous pressure on the Johnson Administration to remove remaining restraints on carrying the war to North Vietnam and would grievously undermine those who advocate moderation.

That no great public outcry did develop in 1966 to strike North Vietnam in retaliation was probably due in large measure to the fact that the subject was quickly dropped from prominent mention by most of the major news media. Also, there was no effort by U.S. officialdom to keep the matter alive in the public mind. No more such films have since been shown on the American TV networks. But that is certainly no assurance that our countrymen held in North Vietnam have not since been badly abused by their Communist captors.

PUBLICIZING THE ISSUE

Given the background of softness in official reaction during the Johnson Administration, there should be little wonder that Hanoi would continue its abuse of American prisoners unless and until the new U.S. Administration demonstrated a harder line on the matter. And so far the Nixon Administration has not really done so; its recent efforts to publicize the POW issue notwithstanding. For all that has really been done so far is to publicly complain about the way our men are being mistreated. There has still not been even the suggestion that we intend to do anything to the persons in

North Vietnam who are responsible for the atrocities.

There have been some small benefits here at home from the Administration's publicizing of the issue. For one thing, more of the general public is now concerned about our captive and missing men in North Vietnam, whereas previously about the only ones who even remembered them were their relatives and close personal friends. Also, a handful more of American prisoners have since been released by North Vietnam in a rather obvious effort to counteract the adverse publicity they had been getting for their mistreatment of prisoners generally.

But the lot, or the prospects, of those hundreds of men still held captive—and of their families—has not been in any appreciable measure improved by all this. Anyone who thinks that a flood of complaining letters, or "moral suasion," or the pressure of "world opinion" will cause Communist leaders to change their ways in this matter has not yet learned the first lesson about the Communist rationale.

HANOI'S RESPONSIBILITY

Basically, to improve the lot of our men in captivity and help speed the day of their release, it is necessary to put their captor-persecutors at the risk of being called personally to account if they don't change their ways. And some of their own excuses for maltreatment of the American prisoners could well be turned on the Communist leadership in Hanoi. To wit:

The Communists in Vietnam (as previously in Korea) have repeatedly cited the "Nuremberg principle" or "precedent" as the basis for treating American captives as "war criminals", instead of respecting their rights as prisoners of war. The "Nuremberg principle" (whether or not it deserves to be called a principle) consists in the idea that the victors in war are entitled to treat the vanquished in any manner they wish, including ex post facto definitions of crime and punishment. Ordinarily there might be good reason to question the wisdom and propriety of the Nuremberg precedent in those regards. But since the enemy high command has in this case endorsed it in justification of their own policies, they fully deserve to have it applied against them. They are, in truth, war criminals on a basis of international agreements quite apart from Nuremberg precedents.

To effect a change in the enemy's behavior requires a change in our overall Vietnam policy—to a declared objective of complete victory over the North Vietnamese dictatorship; unless they promptly come to terms for a ceasefire and exchange of prisoners.

President Nixon is in position to make such a change in our policy, in either of two ways:

(1) Because it was already going as an "undeclared" war when he became Commander-in-Chief, he could follow the example set by President Eisenhower in the case of Korea, in 1953. President Eisenhower brought about a cease fire and exchange of prisoners (after "peace talks" had been stalemated for months) by serving notice on the enemy high command that if they didn't come promptly to terms he would order whatever military action might be required to render North Korea incapable of continuing the war.

(2) Or, if he preferred, Mr. Nixon could follow the example set by President Woodrow Wilson at the outset of our entry into World War I; calling upon the Congress to formally declare that a state of war exists—since a state of war does exist involving U.S. forces—and, as President Wilson expressed it, "to exert all its power and employ all its resources to bring . . . (the enemy) . . . to terms and end the war."

While either course would be objected to by some, only a national commitment to end the war in Vietnam can now provide any

measure of assurance that our men who are held prisoner by the Communists in the North may one day be freed. And only such a commitment can justify continuing to send more of our young countrymen over there to risk their lives under any circumstance. Over 40,000 American lives have already been sacrificed in this unnecessarily protracted war which has, to this point, been victory-less and, therefore, endless by deliberate design. To sacrifice still more lives during a piecemeal withdrawal under fire would only compound previous errors.

FIGHTING PHOSPHATES

HON. ROMAN C. PUCINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 16, 1970

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, Elizabeth Shelton, one of this city's most highly respected journalists, wrote an excellent article on the impact of phosphates in laundry detergents in our present war against water pollution.

Miss Shelton has performed a notable public service by calling attention to the fact that some American housewives are not waiting for the Government and industry to take effective measures against the environmental problem that detergents are creating, but rather these housewives are staging their own campaign by going back to soap and old-fashioned washing soda.

Miss Shelton may very well provide the trigger for a nationwide movement to deal with one of our most vexing problems in water pollution.

Her excellent article, which appeared in the Washington Post, follows:

[From the Washington Post, Apr. 15, 1970]

FIGHTING PHOSPHATES

(By Elizabeth Shelton)

Some American housewives are not waiting for government and industry to the environmental problem their busy washing machines are creating.

Instead of using laundry detergents containing phosphates in their automatic washers, at Columbus, Ohio, the group is going back to soap and old-fashioned washing soda.

"We don't know exactly why it works, but it does," explained Sue Hotchkiss, who founded Operation for Our Children: A Better America. The organization has collected close to a million signatures and hopes to get as many as 20 million to publicize the citizens demand for unspoiled lakes and streams.

Since January, the group has organized branches in most major cities with financial help from foundations and the Tuberculosis Association. Mrs. Hotchkiss estimated yesterday that 20,000 men, women and children are circulating petitions.

Their washday formula is simple: pre-soak laundry in a solution of warm water with four tablespoons of washing soda. Then launder two tablespoons of washing product that contains one per cent or less phosphate.

Clothes, claims Mrs. Hotchkiss, come out "whiter and brighter."

Her group's concern over phosphates is that they speed up the natural process called "eutrophication." That is, washday phosphates are nutrients that overfeed plant life

in lakes and rivers; the vegetation then consumes oxygen needed by fish and upsets the ecological balance by killing them.

The soap industry argues that the phosphates should not be classed as "pollutants" because they are not dirty or poisonous like pesticides, fertilizers and industrial and human waste that goes into the same waters.

One industry leader, Procter & Gamble, has pledged an "all-out effort" to reduce or eliminate the phosphate content of its laundry products. However, the firm points out that phosphates alone are not to blame. Eutrophication also requires carbon and nitrogen.

Stop, a Society To Overcome Pollution organized by women in Montreal, is concerned with dishwashing as well as laundry. It urges that only soaps with one per cent or less phosphate and washing soda be used for dishwashing, either by hand or by machine.

A number of products are listed by various sources as containing one per cent or less phosphate, including Lux, Ivory Snow, Fleecy, Whistle, Jet Spray, Lessal soda and borax.

The same sources rate a number of heavy-duty laundry detergents as containing 20 to 40 per cent phosphate, including Axion, Biz, Cheer, Oxydol, Tide XK, All, Duz, Fab and Bold.

Many heavy duty laundry detergents, such as Axion, Biz, Cheer, Oxydol, Tide XK, All, Duz, Fab and Bold rate from 20 to 40 per cent in phosphate content.

All liquid dishwashing detergents tested at the University of Toronto were found to contain less than one per cent phosphate, according to the ECO Bulletin, an environment-concerned newsletter.

Meanwhile, several members of Congress have introduced legislation to ban detergents containing polyphosphates. Rep. Roman C. Pucinski (D-Ill.) introduced a bill that would amend the Federal Water Pollution Control Act to forbid the import or manufacture of the phosphorus-containing detergents.

Sen. Gaylord Nelson (D-Wis.) introduced bills to ban the import of phosphates for the manufacture of detergents and make it illegal to market detergents with phosphates. Sen. Edmund Muskie (D-Maine) is ready to offer a water quality protection bill this week.

HON. LEONARD WOLF

SPEECH OF

HON. WILLIAM T. MURPHY

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 9, 1970

Mr. MURPHY of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, it was with shock and sorrow that I learned of the death of our former colleague, the Honorable Leonard Wolf, who represented the Second District of Iowa in the 86th Congress.

It was my privilege to come to the Congress in 1959 with Leonard Wolf. During the 2 years he served in the House, I came to know him not only as a fellow legislator but as a good friend. Although his service in the House was brief, it was marked by dedication and devotion to public service and compassion and concern for those less fortunate.

Mrs. Murphy joins me in extending our deepest sympathy to his wife, Marilyn, and their three children.

DANGER OF MORE POWER "BLACKOUTS"

HON. GEORGE BUSH

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 16, 1970

Mr. BUSH. Mr. Speaker, for the past 3 months, the Republican Task Force on Earth Resources and Population of which I am chairman, has been studying the possibility of a national mineral shortage. Last year, we spent most of our efforts researching the population growth problem. We now feel that the availability of mineral resources is one of the most significant questions related to the population growth problem.

Yesterday, the Task Force was pleased to have Mr. David Freeman, Director of the Energy Policy Staff of the Office of Science and Technology, testify before our task force. Mr. Freeman pointed out that a crucial shortage of mineral resources may occur in the area of fuel minerals. These resources are necessary for the production of electric power that is so vital to modern living. Mr. Freeman informed the task force that the demand for electric power grows 9 percent per year. Yet, the availability to supply electricity may not grow as rapidly as the demand. It is possible that we may be faced with numerous blackouts at certain times of the year when our electric power is drawn upon heavily.

Our Task Force is very concerned with this problem, and the necessary steps that must be taken to obviate any crisis. Mr. Freeman's comments were most helpful and informative, and provided us with one of our most stimulating Task Force meetings. A recent article in U.S. News & World Report, April 20, 1970, entitled, "Danger of More Power 'Blackouts'" aptly describes the situation that our task force discussed yesterday, and I insert this article in the Record at this point in order to more fully explain the gravity of this situation:

DANGER OF MORE POWER "BLACKOUTS"—ELECTRIC SHORTAGES WILL UPSET MILLIONS OF HOMES THIS SUMMER. UTILITIES ARE PRESSED TO MEET DEMANDS FOR POWER. OPPONENTS BLOCK NEW PLANTS, CLAIMING THEY HURT THE ENVIRONMENT. THE IMPASSE MAY BECOME CRITICAL IN SOME AREAS

Once again, millions of Americans face a summer when their homes may go dark without notice.

Others—in homes, office buildings and theaters—will be asked to turn off air conditioners on the hottest days.

In some localities, stoves and other appliances may have to go unused for periods of time because there will not be enough power to run them.

Citizens of New York City have been warned that it may be necessary to black out sections of the city from time to time during the coming hot months because there will not be enough electricity to go around.

In Minneapolis-St. Paul, power may be short if a new nuclear power plant, being held up by a bitter court fight, does not get quick approval.

The traditionally power-rich Northwest, served by huge Government power projects, may face shortages because of delays in building new generating facilities.

In Washington, the U.S. Senate is being wired so each Senator will have a public-address microphone at his desk. The system is part of a project to equip the Capitol with auxiliary generating equipment because engineers expect a power shortage this summer.

LOSING THE RACE

These developments are all part of a growing crisis in the nation over the inability of many electric utilities to keep pace with skyrocketing demand for electricity by both individuals and industry.

Every year this demand grows 9 per cent. Use of electricity in the U.S. doubles every eight years. This growth is running ahead of industry's ability to construct new facilities.

During the past winter, 39 of the nation's 181 largest utilities were seriously short of power. They had electricity reserves of less than 10 per cent to meet an emergency.

This summer many of these same utilities will still be short of power. Average emergency reserves are forecast at about 16.5 per cent for the nation as a whole.

Federal Power Commission officials say that such skimpy reserves are inadequate for reliable service to customers. If the industry does not improve its ability to meet emergencies rapidly, Congress seems ready to place new federal controls over their operation.

The Nixon Administration is expected to propose to Congress in the near future that States be given full authority to approve the location of plants and transmission lines to resolve time-consuming conflicts between utilities and citizens' groups over construction sites. An industry panel made such a recommendation about 18 months ago.

Because there is a shortage of reserve power, blackouts are rising year after year, as the chart on page 59 shows. When an electrical storm or some other cause of failure in the power system occurs, air conditioners stop whirring, lights go out and refrigerators and freezers halt. Electric companies are attacked for their failures.

To satisfy Americans' almost insatiable demands for electricity, electric companies will spend about 24 billion dollars on new equipment in the next five years, compared with about 13 billion in the last five years. Industry officials say that if they can keep all this construction on schedule, the power crisis can be ended by the mid-1970s.

But electric-plant and transmission-line construction is running into strong opposition from environmentalists and conservationists in almost every section of the country. Among their objections:

Conventional power plants pollute the air when they burn cheap fuel containing a large amount of sulphur.

Nuclear plants may give off radiation that is hazardous to health.

Cooling water used to keep power plants from overheating flushes into surrounding waters at temperatures that kill some valuable forms of marine life.

Plants and transmission lines outside the cities are accused of defacing the surrounding countryside.

Such opposition is largely responsible for the critical electrical problems New York City now faces, according to officials of the local utility, the Consolidated Edison Company. The firm's 1-million-kilowatt addition to its Indian Point nuclear plant on the Hudson River has been held back by foes of atomic power. And a 2-million-kilowatt hydroelectric plant on the Hudson River north of Indian Point has been held up by environmentalists who claim it will destroy the beauty of the surrounding river valley.

"To meet the situation," said Con Ed chairman Charles F. Luce, "we have taken a number of actions, most importantly, we ordered 1,184,000 kilowatts of oil-and-gas-fired turbine peaking units for installation on the fastest practicable timetable."

These "peaking units" are basically jet engines that blast hot air against turbine blades to operate generators.

The turbines can be turned on at a moment's notice and begin generating electricity immediately in an emergency. Full-scale electric plants take 12 hours or more to get going, and often are not working until after an emergency power shortage has passed.

Con Ed expects to have half these generators working by June 1, before the hot season starts. The rest will be installed before October 1. However, even with this new emergency equipment, the utility doubts it can avoid some power shortages this summer.

The company's low reserves threaten to put great pressure on other utilities in the Northeast. They are all linked together in a grid. When one utility, such as Con Ed, runs short, it is supposed to be able to borrow from others on the grid. But some of these other companies now have problems on their own.

Edwin H. Snyder, chairman of Public Service Electric & Gas Company, serving about 85 per cent of New Jersey power users, said, "Generally, we think we are in good position. But we can never say there won't be a brownout."

If Public Service runs into trouble, Mr. Snyder outlined this plan of attack:

"We go to our large commercial customers and ask them to cut back. . . . It's a plan whereby they voluntarily agree to cut some uses of electricity."

"Beyond that, if further power conservation is required, we go on the radio and ask residential customers to cut back their use of electricity. We did this once last summer for the first time in our history. We have prerecorded messages for New Jersey, Philadelphia and New York City radio stations that broadcast in our area."

A TIGHT SUMMER

Robert W. Wilson, a vice president of the Potomac Electric Power Company, which serves Washington and its Maryland suburbs, expects "a very tight summer."

Critical to Pepco's well-being is a new plant in Morgantown, Md. It is due to begin service by July 1, and officials are hoping it will start up without some of the problems that plague many new electric-generating plants.

In Minnesota, operation of a nuclear plant that would provide Minneapolis-St. Paul with sorely needed reserves has been stalled in the courts.

Although the plant, located at Monticello, has been approved by the Atomic Energy Commission, the State government is opposing it on the ground of possible hazards from radiation and heated water. AEC will hold another hearing on the plant soon. Also, a federal court will probably soon rule on whether the State had the right to override the AEC's original approval of the plant.

Said R. D. Furber, vice president of the Northern States Power Company, owner of the plant:

"If Monticello cannot operate during the summer of 1970, we would have no reserve for our generating system."

"This would place us in a precarious position. If we lost any other generating plant, it would require us to possibly go to a brownout situation. If unusually hot weather prevails, the problem would be much more severe."

WESTERN PROBLEMS

Congress is being blamed for a growing power shortage in the Pacific Northwest, where huge Government-owned dams and power plants supply much of the area's electricity. Lawmakers have been slow in appropriating funds for the Interior Department's Bonneville Power Administration to build new plants in the region, critics contend. "The region faces an actual brownout on the use of electricity," says one utility official.

"We're looking to California for help in

the period," said Arthur J. Porter, vice president of the Portland, Oreg., General Electric Company. He referred to the "intermittent" like the East Coast grid, that allows the Northwest to borrow electricity from California, where there still are ample reserves.

In Florida, the Florida Power & Light Company encountered an unexpected shortage at the start of the year because of cold weather. "It was necessary for us to ask some of our largest customers to reduce the load over the evening peak for two cold snaps," said F. E. ("Gene") Autrey, company vice president.

The outlook for the Miami area this summer is described as "fair." Difficulty with one generator has reduced production of electricity, and the company will have less than a 10 per cent reserve to meet emergencies.

By the summer of 1971, Florida Power officials say, power shortages in the area will be critical if the nuclear plant it has planned for the edge of Biscayne Bay, about 30 miles south of Miami, cannot be built.

The plant is the subject of both State and federal lawsuits, charging water from the plant would pollute the bay. If the plant is not operating, Florida power claims it will not be able to meet demands for electricity a year from now.

ATOMIC CONTROVERSIES

Florida's problems are just one of many controversies over new plants that threaten to make the coming years even more desperate for many utilities.

Atomic plants are under attack all around the country. There are now 17 nuclear plants in operation, an additional 49 being built, and 44 in the active planning stage. At least a quarter of those under construction have run into opposition from citizens' groups.

The Atomic Energy Commission is trying to ease the situation. On March 20 it issued some proposed changes in the way it determines what is a safe nuclear plant. New plants would be required to keep radiation to minimums well below the present standards. But AEC officials are not convinced that the new standards will satisfy staunch opponents of all nuclear power.

Other utilities have found themselves caught in the crossfire between opponents of nuclear plants and facilities that burn coal.

In southern California, the Los Angeles Air Pollution Control District took some actions last December that, in effect, ban all new power plants that would burn fossil fuels in the Los Angeles Basin. Construction has been stopped on a new plant for the department of water and power. An earlier version, designed for nuclear fuel, was turned down by the AEC.

The department of water and power now says, "There is a strong possibility that substantial sections of the city" may be cut off from electric service from time to time by 1972, unless the problem is solved.

TROUBLE IN SWITCHING

Other utilities are stirring up controversies when they try to switch fuels to power existing utilities and still meet air-pollution laws.

For example, Chicago's Commonwealth Edison Company recently got a license from the Interior Department to import 4.5 million barrels of residual fuel oil to power a major generating plant. The reason: Coal created a pollution problem the company could not solve. The Detroit Edison Company is seeking a 3.5-million-barrel license for much the same reason.

But coal companies are up in arms over the Government's granting oil-import licenses for power-plant fuel. It claims that foreign oil will destroy the U.S. coal industry.

Some members of the electric-power industry, including the American Public Power Association, are criticizing the coal industry

for being slow in delivering coal, and charge that too much coal is being shipped abroad. Natural gas, another major source of fuel for power generation, is becoming less available for new customers, power companies included.

Questions are now being raised in and out of the electric-power industry about whether Americans can go on demanding more and more electricity to run all sorts of essential equipment and household gadgets and still have clean air and water and an unlimited supply of fuel to keep the plants going.

BABE-IN-THE-WOODS POLICY IN GREECE?

HON. DON EDWARDS

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 16, 1970

Mr. EDWARDS of California. Mr. Speaker, I received a report today that the European Common Market had decided to review Greece's associate membership with a view toward possible expulsion. If that is indeed the case, the United States is rapidly becoming the only significant supporter of the Greek military regime, a support based on shortsighted military considerations which are in themselves questionable. The fact is the Greek junta is giving us no greater military advantage than we have received from previous democratic Greek governments or than we can reasonably expect from democratic governments in the future. But, more importantly, European leadership is now raising the moral and political questions which American political leaders should be raising. Let us hope the President and the Secretary of State will not take the narrow military view in their present considerations of military aid to Greece. Under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I submit the following report by David Braaten in the Washington Star on the Danish position, reports in the New York Times on torture of Greek prisoners, and a Times editorial which helps to put the United States' position in perspective:

HARSH REALITIES IN GREECE

Jean-Jacques Servan-Schreiber has brought off an admirable coup in persuading Premier Papadopoulos to free Mikis Theodorakis and to permit the ailing Greek composer to go to France for medical treatment.

However, neither this gesture—welcome as it is—nor the Premier's earlier announcement that some constitutional rights will be restored, should deflect attention from the spreading tyranny and repression under the colonels. The timing of such "humanitarian" acts is not accidental; Mr. Servan-Schreiber is being modest but also accurate when he credits "international pressure" for the freeing of Mr. Theodorakis.

The junta has come under growing attack from abroad for the harsh sentences given by a military court this week to 27 Greeks convicted of sedition. It is also trying to abort or blunt a condemnation by the Council of Europe for torturing political prisoners. In similar past circumstances, Colonel Papadopoulos has announced an easing of martial law or a restoration of rights that proved meaningless in practice.

His "restoration" of press freedom is hollow, coming immediately after the closing of

the Athens newspaper Ethnos because its editors and publishers were imprisoned for printing an interview urging the restoration of democracy. His projected release of 350 of 1,500 political prisoners will not atone for the sentencing of seven defendants in the Athens courtmartial to terms from ten years to life imprisonment under a law of dubious applicability.

It is dismaying that during the recent political trials in Athens several ships of the United States Sixth Fleet called at Piraeus. Greek democrats inevitably saw these visits as symbols of support for the colonels. At a time of rising hostility to the junta, the least the United States can do is to join in the remonstrances of its European allies and refrain from any gesture that could be construed as approval of the oppressors.

TORTURE IN GREECE

(By David Braaten)

Even after a quarter-century as one of the world's superpowers, the United States is still regarded in some otherwise friendly quarters as a political babe-in-the-woods.

The latest uneasy ally to give this impression—politely but unmistakably—was Prime Minister Hilmare Baunsgaard of Denmark, in Washington on an official visit.

At a press conference yesterday in the Danish embassy, Baunsgaard repeatedly differentiated between the "political" considerations the Danes feel are important and strictly military considerations, which he implied carry too much weight with American policymakers.

SAYS UNITED STATES HAS POWER

The specific issue was the militarist Greek regime, which the Danes view as an embarrassment to the democratic image of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. The U.S. government, to the Danes' dismay, is considering resumption of military aid to the Greeks to strengthen NATO's southern flank.

All the NATO member nations should try to influence the Greek regime toward a relaxation of its authoritarian rule. Baunsgaard said, but the United States is in the best position of all to bring pressure for change.

"The United States should tell the Greeks that their many words about freedom should not be only words, but reality—and there is no reality now," Baunsgaard said. Continued military supplies should be made contingent on democratization of the Greek government, he said.

Though Baunsgaard refused to predict which way President Nixon will decide—for resumption of full-scale military aid to Greece or continuation of the present embargo on all supplies except replacement items and trucks—he made it clear there had been a certain difference of opinion in his talks with the President and with Secretary of State William P. Rogers.

MUTUAL UNDERSTANDING

"It is fair to say that there was a great understanding of our point of view," Baunsgaard said. "Mr. Nixon and Mr. Rogers also asked for Danish understanding of the American point of view."

Mutual understanding aside, the Danish prime minister seemed to be equating the U.S. position with the purely military view the Danes feel is inadequate.

Baunsgaard would not say whether he had been left with the impression that military aid to Greece will be resumed, but said only, "If the United States increases military supplies to Greece, it will be worse than now from the Danish point of view."

It would help, he said, if other NATO allies who he said shared the Danes' distaste for the Greek regime, would make their feelings known to the U.S. government. The administration is expected to announce its decision on Greek aid any day now.

WELCOMES TROOPS IN EUROPE

The ambiguous feelings of small nations toward the military might of the United States was made clear in the Danish prime minister's statements on American military presence in Europe and in Southeast Asia.

He welcomed, he said, U.S. assurances that there would be no significant reduction in American troop strength in Europe in the next year or two. Peace will be strengthened if the United States makes clear its determination to defend Western Europe, he said.

On the other hand, in Vietnam, the prime minister said, it has always been the Danish fear that U.S. involvement could lead to a global war.

(By Eric Pace)

STRASBOURG, FRANCE, April 15.—Fifteen Western European Governments asserted jointly today that the Greek military junta engaged in "torture and other ill treatment" of its political prisoners. The Governments also made public a 40,000-word report dealing alleged misdeeds by the authorities in Athens.

The allegation of torture came in a resolution adopted by the Committee of Ministers of the Council of Europe, which met at the council's modern headquarters here.

Of the 17 member nations—all except France and Cyprus voted for the resolution.

Greece, anticipating expulsion by the council, withdrew last December and has already dismissed the report, the substance of which was disclosed in November, as null and void.

"IN THE HANDS OF THE PEOPLE"

Gaston Thorn, the Foreign Minister of Luxembourg, who was chairman of the meeting today, said at a news conference after the morning session: "Now the matter is in the hands of the people. They have the report."

Opponents of the three-year-old Greek Government hope the ministers' action will further arouse public opinion against it. Optimists among them also hope that the Greek authorities may be dissuaded from taking further harsh measures against dissidents.

The report, drafted last year by the European Commission on Human Rights, says that torture and ill treatment of prisoners were an "administrative practice" officially tolerated by the Government of Premier George Papadopoulos.

Among the accounts it gives is the testimony of a 26-year-old woman, Mrs. Anastasia Tsirka, who said she was tied down, gagged and beaten on the soles of her feet while pregnant.

The report says the commission heard allegations of torture or ill treatment of more than 200 detainees. It examined 30 of the cases to "some substantial degree" and concluded that in 11 of them "torture or ill treatment has been established" and that in 17 others there was other evidence corroborating the complaints.

The commission indicated that the Greek police liked to beat prisoners on the soles of their feet because the practice is intensely painful but leaves no lasting marks if skillfully done.

Another criticism of the junta was voiced separately today by the Greek composer Mikis Theodorakis, who was released from detention this week and flew to Paris for medical treatment.

In a message read here, Mr. Theodorakis said that the prison and concentration-camp system in Greece was "inadmissible in any of our European countries, and not only for my country but for every man who is civilized and free."

The message from Mr. Theodorakis, who wrote the music for the films "Zorba the Greek" and "Z," was read at a news conference conducted by Jean-Jacques Servan-

Schreiber, the French editor-politician, who criticized the French Government for not voting for the report.

NO PERIL OF RED COUP FOUND

The principal conclusions of the 1,200-page document and some of its details were published in the press after being leaked by officials opposed to the Athens government.

It concluded that contrary to contentions of the Greek authorities, there was no danger of a Communist takeover at the time they came to power in a military coup d'etat.

The report of the resolution adopted today asserted that the military government had violated provisions of the European Convention on Human Rights. The Greek authorities have denounced the convention, but the Council of Europe contends that they are still bound by its provisions.

The French Government has not ratified the convention and said that was why it did not vote. The delegation of Cyprus, which has close ties with Greece, made it known that it did not vote because it took exception to the resolution.

The delegations that voted in favor were those of Austria, Britain, Turkey, Switzerland, Sweden, Norway, the Netherlands, Malta, Luxembourg, Italy, Ireland, Iceland, West Germany, Denmark and Belgium.

The resolution called on the Greek Government "to abolish immediately torture and other ill treatment of prisoners, to release immediately persons detained under administrative order" and "to restore without delay human rights and fundamental freedoms."

EXCERPTS FROM COUNCIL OF EUROPE'S REPORT ON TREATMENT OF PRISONERS IN GREECE

STRASBOURG, FRANCE, April 15.—Following, as made public today by the Council of Europe, are excerpts from a report by the European Commission on Human Rights on the situation under the military Government in Greece. The first section is testimony by Mrs. Anastasia Tsirka, who was arrested in connection with pamphlets deemed suspicious. The second section consists of comment by the commission.

WITNESS'S TESTIMONY

"I say to them (the police), I am going to have a baby. They answer: 'Who cares about that? It will be another person like you, it is better not to have it.' So I told to them again when I was laid down, 'I am going to have a baby, be careful please!' But they do not care at all about my stomach, they do not care at all!"

Mallios (an official) ordered to Spanos to give me 15 "Falanga" (blows on the soles of the feet) and he give me 20. I counted, maybe it was not, 18 maybe 21, but it was more than 15, it is silly.

I started to scream very loudly and they put me a very dirty rag in my mouth to keep my mouth shut. So I started to shake, they have me, they started to shake me, and I scream and scream, and I say "oh no, you cannot do that to me!" Oh, I hate the people!

"VERY DARK AND DIRTY"

I was there in [cell] No. 3. It was very, very dark, dirty and they have so many, many bedbugs. Have you ever heard about them? They just come up all over. And you hurt and move like that, always, and no one can hear you. And you scream and there are people outside, they hear you but they cannot give you any help and the guard come in my little window and: "Will you shut up, please. Someone sleep."

"What can I do? and I start to get tired, tired, tired, and fall down, where I never thought I am going to sleep. I just tried not to get dirty like that, then after, after, after I leave that cell I come down and sleep so normal, and I have nothing, nothing."

It was about 5 o'clock in the morning, something like that. I already sleep maybe, I have sleep, I was dizzy and groggy and all that and hurting all over. But I would like to sleep, so I did sleep.

At 5 o'clock it started to come blood, you know, all over my feet, and I feel it, I never saw it, because there is no light. But I feel that I have blood somewhere, so I start to scream. I say, "I lost my baby!" So then the guard comes and says, "What is the matter with you?" Then I show people.

COMMISSION'S COMMENT

The commission finds two features common to many of the accounts of ill-treatment: the use of falanga, and, in particular, its use in the washroom and the Terrazza, Athens. Not all accounts of the washroom and the Terrazza mention the same features, and there are sometimes errors. Thus some describe the small wall outside the washroom; the boiler, the sink with the metal lid and the back door in the washroom, and the notice on the stairs leading to the Terrazza.

The use of falanga has been described in a variety of situations; on a bench or chair or on a car seat; with or without shoes on. Sometimes water has been thrown over the seat and sometimes the victim has been made to run around between beatings. Victims have also been gagged.

The commission considers that the variety of the situations in which falanga is described as being used, and the differences and errors of description of the washroom and terrazza, instead of putting in question the veracity and reality of the accounts, tend to confirm them. For it is natural that, where several witnesses describe the same place or incident, there will be variations and errors of detail; indeed it is the precise repetition of the same features that would be suspect and would point to fabrication.

While falanga and severe beatings of all parts of the body are the commonest forms of torture or ill treatment that appear in the evidence, other forms have been described: For example, the application of electric shocks, squeezing of the head in the vise, pulling out of hair from the head or pubic region, or kicking of the male genital organs, dripping water on the head and intense noises to prevent sleep.

The commission has found it established beyond doubt that torture or ill treatment has been inflicted in a number of cases. It will now apply to these cases, in the light of all the other evidence at its disposal, the criteria it has chosen for determining whether they are part of a practice of torture or ill treatment of political detainees in Greece since the 21st of April 1967: namely the repetition of acts and official tolerance of them.

SOME ROUGHNESS

It appears from the testimony of a number of witnesses that a certain roughness of treatment of detainees by both police and military authorities is tolerated by most detainees and even taken for granted. Such roughness may take the form of slaps or blows of the hand on the head or face.

This underlines the fact that the point up to which prisoners and the public may accept physical violence as being neither cruel nor excessive varies between different societies and even between different sections of them. However, the allegations raised in the proceedings generally concerned much more serious forms of treatment which, if established, clearly constitute torture or ill treatment.

The factor of repetition of torture or ill treatment appears in the concentration of incidents around the security police. It is to be noted that in complaints of torture or ill treatment by the security police, some witnesses have made a distinction between the

uniformed guards and more senior officers, usually in plain clothes, and have spoken of help and kindness from the former.

Further, the commission cannot ignore the sheer number of complaints. The International Red Cross reported that at one stage, out of 131 prisoners, 46 complained of torture or ill treatment, and it apparently later investigated further torture allegations, but the respondent Government has failed to submit the report on those investigations.

In the present proceedings, thirty cases had been examined to some substantial degree before the proceedings were terminated following the respondent Government's refusal to make possible the hearing of a number of further witnesses detained in Greece.

MORTON REPORTS ON SPANISH COMMENT ON U.S. FOREIGN POLICY

HON. ROGERS C. B. MORTON

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 16, 1970

Mr. MORTON. Mr. Speaker, the following commentary is something our colleagues might well be interested in listening to. It was broadcast on television on April 2, 1970, from Madrid to an estimated audience of 9 million people. This is similar to the editorial comment made by the manager of the Madrid newspaper *Arriba*, Mr. Manuel Blanco Tobo.

The commentary follows:

Time and again the United States Government has said that American Troops were in South Vietnam to preserve freedom and independence for that country against the communist threat. Behind this was the belief that if South Vietnam fell into communist hands, the rest of Southeast Asia would follow; and that this accomplished, countries like India, Japan and even the Philippines would fall under the influence of Red China, sooner or later. At the end, the whole Asian continent would be communist.

Perhaps this bleak picture, a real nightmare for the State Department, is overly pessimistic; or perhaps a comfortable justification of the American involvement in a long and unpopular war. But it is a fact that as soon as the United States began to talk about leaving South Vietnam, Vietcong guerrillas and North Vietnamese regular army units went into action, first in Laos and then in Cambodia, fishing in the troubled waters of both countries.

What else could be expected? For the communists, the military and political disengagement of the United States in South Vietnam could mean only a dazzling victory for them and a humiliating defeat for the United States.

It is humane and understandable that the Vietnamese War had troubled so many people, promoted so many demonstrations around the world and damaged the prestige of the United States. But from now on, those among us who picture themselves as anti-communists and pro-West must be prepared to face the fact that perhaps in a few years the whole Asian continent will be ruled by Red China.

Will we blame then the United States when this tragedy occurs? Will we hear the agony of those countries who trusted the West, to discover only too late that they were traded to the enemy in the name of an "honorable peace?" Will we be moved then by the sad fate of millions of persons put in concentration camps or executed?

Some say communism has become vegetarian; perhaps Sir Bertrand Russell was right when he said, "Better red than dead." I don't have the answers for all those questions. It is your turn, Gentlemen. Take a closer look to your own answers!

**MIDDLE EAST REFUGEES SOCIETY
FOR THE PREVENTION OF WORLD
WAR III—"WE ACCUSE UNRWA"**

HON. LEONARD FARBSTEIN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 16, 1970

Mr. FARBSTEIN. Mr. Speaker, it is one of the most unjustifiable aspects of our relationship to the Middle East conflict, that the United States continues indirectly to help finance the activities of illegal terrorists and guerrilla groups that are constantly engaged in making war.

The United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees—UNRWA—is a great humanitarian project, mostly supported with American funds. But when refugee camps are used as the recruiting and training centers for guerrillas and terrorists, that is not humanitarianism. When this happens, we are helping to support an illegal war that is being constantly waged against a friendly nation. It is time that we put a stop to the misuse of American funds in this way.

This subject is well discussed in an editorial entitled "We Accuse UNRWA," which appears in the current number of *Prevent World War III*, of 50 West 57th Street, New York, N.Y. 10019.

I include the article in the *Record*:

WE ACCUSE UNRWA

There seem to be two conflicting ideas about the purpose and use of UNRWA (the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East).

UNRWA was founded 21 years ago to provide housing, food and education for displaced Arab refugees. It was also to train them for reemployment and to assist in their resettlement.

The Arab states, and in particular the several guerrilla and terrorist movements which they support, appear to have a very different view. It is perhaps best expressed in an editorial which appeared November 24, 1969, in one of the major Arab propaganda publications in the United States, a weekly edited by the director of the Action Committee on American-Arab Relations:

"The Palestinian refugee camps in Lebanon have been taken over by Palestinian commando units. . . . The process of the refugee camps becoming a training ground for the commando units is the logical development. . . . We suggest that the several Arab States in which the Palestinian refugee camps exist should delegate authority to the Palestinians to handle the affairs of the camps. . . ."

On the front page of the same publication, a week earlier, appeared a two-column photo of guerrilla units training in an unidentified camp, with the caption "Refugee Camps Become Training Grounds." (*The New York Times* a few days later published a similar photo, taken in the UNRWA camp near Sidon, Lebanon, and captioned "Commando Training in Refugee Camps.")

With the first-stated purpose of UNRWA—

the giving of relief—we have the sincerest sympathy. The suffering of human beings everywhere is the concern of all of us.

But the concept of refugee camps as recruiting centers for terrorists must be rejected as outrageous. Money spent for that purpose is worse than wasted: it is used dishonestly, and used to keep the Middle East at war.

Until UNRWA can be restored to its original purposes, and until defects in several of its programs (especially the schools) can be remedied, UNRWA must stand accused of the gravest malfeasance.

(1) UNRWA has wrongfully permitted its facilities to be used for the training of illegal guerrilla and terrorist groups. The case of 14 camps in Lebanon which have been physically taken over by commando units—who have actually placed armed guards at the camp entrances and otherwise usurped control—is only the most recent example. As far back as 1966, the Commissioner-General of UNRWA complained that Egypt was training commando units at camps in the Gaza Strip. At that time, Egypt promised to make restitution (\$150,000) for the rations and facilities used by the commandos. Up until this moment (our last inquiry was at the date of going to press) not a single dollar had been repaid. Meanwhile, the Arab press has regularly published accounts of commando units recruited in UNRWA camps in Jordan and Syria, and trained while subsisting on UNRWA rations.

(2) UNRWA has permitted local nationalistic control to be substituted for responsible international control. This was perhaps inevitable in an operation which should have been completed within a period of two or three years, but has been permitted to drag over more than a generation. As the Commissioner-General has frequently pointed out, the refugee camps are subject to the jurisdiction of the host countries. Moreover, the overwhelming majority of UNRWA employees are locally recruited (out of nearly 13,000 staff members at present, only 110 are members of the international staff) and are considered—with varying degree from country to country—to be subject to the control of local authorities. Thus UNRWA becomes not only a subsidy of needy persons, but also a powerful source of financial support for the political purposes of adventurous regimes. It should come as no surprise that one of the hijackers of a TWA plane detoured to Syria had not long before been employed on the local administrative staff of UNRWA in an Arab state.

(3) The children of the refugees, in the camps, are educated to hate their neighbors and to prepare for war against them. This appalling charge is documented in detail in an article elsewhere in this issue (see page 12). An international commission of educational experts named by UNESCO has recommended the removal or modification of a large part of the textbooks used in UNRWA schools—but the Arab states have refused to comply or to allow UNRWA to comply. In Syria, to take but one example, a first-year reading primer compels the young child to learn to pronounce the words: "The Jews are the enemies of the Arabs. Soon we shall rescue Palestine from their hands." The Syrian Minister of Education, replying to a complaint from UNESCO, said: "The hatred which we indoctrinate into the minds of our children from birth is sacred."

(4) UNRWA has failed to carry out its original obligation to work toward the resettlement of the refugees. In the beginning, the number of Arabs who departed the area that is now Israel were less than—and certainly not larger than—the number of Jews who were forced to leave Arab lands in the Middle East, such as Iraq, Yemen and Syria. The Jewish exiles were received with open arms in Israel; they were retrained, and they promptly found profitable employment. They have never received any restitution for their

lost property, nor have the heirs of those who died in flight received even sympathy from their former Arab masters. In sharp contrast, the Arab refugees were not assimilated into the lands of their kinsmen, but in most cases were kept separated in camps, unable to compete in the employment market, or to sustain themselves. In the Gaza Strip, the controlling power, Egypt, would not even grant passports or other identification documents (except the ration cards provided by UNRWA) to its unfortunate wards. Funds originally allocated for resettlement were used for other purposes. Although committees of the United States Senate and House of Representatives, when considering UNRWA contributions, repeatedly urged that the process of resettlement must be speeded up, no action followed. On the contrary, the Arab propaganda organs accused the United States (which supplies the largest share of the funds of UNRWA) of trying to "liquidate the Palestine Question" by insisting upon its concern that those refugees who wished to do so should be given a chance to lead normal lives in the countries of their current domicile.

(5) UNRWA has permitted itself to be made an object of financial plunder by "host" governments in the Middle East. The fact that a mere census of the camp populations has been prevented in most places lies at the base of this scandal. Vital statistics show that the camp populations have the highest birth rate and the lowest death rate in any part of the Arab world. Medical care superior to that available in most Arab villages in part accounts for this, but it is also cynically said that "a refugee never dies, his ration card is sold in the market"—and this charge is at least in part true. The Commissioner-General has for years, in annual reports, complained of "political obstacles" placed in the way of making any scientific verification of the origins and numbers of camp inhabitants.

Meanwhile, the number of "refugees" has skyrocketed by the birth of children and grandchildren, to reach the present total of approximately 1,400,000—far more than double the original 1948-9 figure.

Equally reprehensible is the manner in which certain Arab states have measurably enriched themselves by illegally charging customs duties on materials destined for refugee camps. Others have charged above-market rates for railway freight transportation, and other local services. Pending claims by UNRWA for excess rail charges alone, against the governments of Lebanon, Syria and Jordan, total more than one-and-a-half million dollars—money that has meanwhile come from the pockets of taxpayers in the United States and other contributing countries. Some Arab states have also derived tax revenues by taxing electrical power and other services sold to UNRWA—in defiance of international conventions exempting the agency from such taxation.

(6) National contributions to UNRWA are grossly disproportionate and the rights of the contributors are disregarded. The United States government alone pays nearly two-thirds of the total budget of UNRWA. If substantial contributions by private corporations and foundations are added, the American proportion of the total bill is still larger. In contrast, neither the Soviet Union nor any nation of the Soviet satellite group has ever pledged an official contribution—although the Soviets have expended vast sums on arming Egypt, Syria, Iraq and other Arab states, and have given backing to those states in their war-like propaganda. As a part of a general settlement in the Middle East, the United States should at least be permitted to have a reasonable voice in the conduct and future administration of UNRWA—and it is only fair to insist that the burden should be shared by financially able members of the United Nations, such as the USSR, who have thus far accepted no responsibility whatsoever.

WHAT IS THE VERDICT?

The editorial quoted at the beginning of this indictment, from the publication edited by the head of the Action Committee on American-Arab Relations, concludes with an interesting suggestion. Should "pressure" cause the United States government to decrease its subsidy to UNRWA, "the Arab States should make up the balance." Then, says the Arab editor, the affairs of the camps could be delegated entirely to the direction of the "Palestinian refugees."

Considering the war-like and terroristic attitude of the commandos and terrorists to whose whims the refugees would thus be left, we can hardly approve the latter part of this suggestion. But if the largesse of the free nations is to be misused through the misconduct of certain governments, then it is logical that those governments should bear the burdens which we up to this point have shouldered.

The Society for the Prevention of World War III has expressed its views in a telegram to President Richard M. Nixon, reading in part as follows:

"It is authoritatively reported in the press and officially conceded by the Commissioner-General of UNRWA that control and policing of 14 Arab refugee camps in Lebanon is in hands of Palestine commandos or guerrillas primarily armed with weapons of communist origin. . . . In Jordan also UNRWA camps have long been used by guerrillas as centers for training and recruitment. For years UNRWA has been derelict in its duties in failing to correct this situation. Continuation of large American financial support for these camps is therefore tantamount to maintaining a guerrilla army operating against our own interests and condoning terrorism. The American government has no right to use tax money to subsidize terrorism. We therefore urge that you refrain from making new financial commitments to UNRWA until such time as the use of UNRWA installations for guerrilla war purposes has been effectively ended and the control of refugee camps is vested exclusively in the hands of dependable authorities."

We deeply regret the necessity for such a conclusion. We are firmly devoted to the amelioration of human needs wherever they may be discovered but we are also pledged to give such advice as will advance the permanent peace of the world, or at least not contribute to plunging it again into the holocaust of war. We think that the misuse of UNRWA funds is at this time contributing to the latter danger.

We also think that UNRWA, as at present functioning, is not viably performing its primary duty of relief. It has let the refugees become pawns in an international power play, and has permitted war-makers to traffic with their fate for alien purposes. Until this is corrected, the United States ought not to make any further unrestricted pledges to UNRWA—and its support should be explicitly contingent, from month to month, upon a thorough housecleaning of this entire operation.

EQUAL EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITY: GENERAL LABOR SUBCOMMITTEE HEARS TESTIMONY IN LOS ANGELES

HON. WILLIAM (BILL) CLAY

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 16, 1970

Mr. CLAY. Mr. Speaker, as a member of the General Labor Subcommittee of the House Education and Labor Com-

mittee, I was privileged to participate in recent hearings on equal employment opportunity which were held in Los Angeles April 9 and 10. The hearings were most productive for committee members who seek to explore the structure of law which will best assure equal opportunity to all citizens who seek employment—and who now suffer discrimination in employment.

I was most impressed by the excellent testimony of Mr. John W. Mack, executive director of the Los Angeles Urban League. Mr. Mack's close association with the employment difficulties of minority groups affords him with an understanding of the related problems which should be shared with Members of the Congress. I urge my colleagues to direct their attention to the following statement which was presented to the General Labor Subcommittee by Mr. Mack:

STATEMENT BY JOHN W. MACK

Honorable Chairman and other distinguished members of this General Subcommittee on Labor, I am John W. Mack, Executive Director of the Los Angeles Urban League. I wish to thank you for inviting me to testify before your subcommittee concerning one of the Urban League's major areas of interest and an area where we have served black and other minority communities in Los Angeles for 27 years. The Los Angeles Urban League operates various programs designed to help alleviate the problems of poverty and racism confronting our brothers and sisters in the greater Los Angeles area. Our headquarters is located at 2107 West Washington Boulevard and provides job counseling and referral services to many. We also have various outreach programs in a variety of locations throughout the South Central Los Angeles, Pasadena, Long Beach and Pacoima.

During the past year, the various offices of the Urban League provided direct services to nearly 35,000 poverty stricken minority citizens in our community. Approximately 30,000 of these individuals were counseled, trained and referred to various jobs throughout the Los Angeles area. Over 5,300 individuals were actually trained and placed in meaningful jobs during the past year by our various manpower programs. A number of them, federally funded, include the Neighborhood Employment Counseling Center and Project Uplift in Pasadena, which are OEO funded programs. We also operate an On-The-Job Training Project and a Labor Education Advancement Program, both of which are funded by the Department of Labor. In addition, the Los Angeles Urban League referred and placed a substantial portion of the better than 5,300 through our regular Economic Development Department. Our nationally recognized Data Training Center (which is a private partnership involving Bank of America Foundation, IBM Corporation and the Los Angeles Urban League) trained and successfully placed more than 165 in various areas of computer technology during the past 12 months.

I share this information with you solely for the purpose of documenting the Urban League's deep and effective involvement in the area of manpower programs which have helped thousands of poverty stricken minorities (primarily black) develop economic self sufficiency, which is one of the important areas of power strongly desired by our historically powerless people.

Despite our efforts and those of others, the problems of unemployment have worsened, rather than improved, for minorities since the 1965 Watts rebellion. Despite the anger and frustration which were articulated loud

and clear to those who possess the power, it appears that our total community is doing too little too late. The meager resources which have been committed in relation to the magnitude of the problem indicate a parallel involving combatants—one being given a beebee gun and expected to conquer the other who has a tank. The problem of distorted priorities of our nation and community is similar to that of arming a person with a fly swatter as a weapon and expecting him to defeat a lion.

The gravity of the problem is further underscored by the temptation of many politicians catering to the whims of the now famous silent, selfish and racist majority these days, as many of them support air pollution and water pollution in preference to the human pollution resulting from poverty imposed by a racist society. While it is commendatory for all of us to be concerned about the serious problem of our polluted air and water, if black, brown and white citizens of Los Angeles fail to come to grips with the problems of hunger, and our sophisticated racial bigotry, few will be left to worry about breathing dirty air and drinking dirty water.

The most current figures indicate the population of Los Angeles is 7,199,041. The ethnic composition is as follows: 780,000 blacks; 910,000 Spanish (surname); 190,000 Oriental and other non-whites. As previously indicated unemployment in South Central Los Angeles (where over 40% of the Los Angeles County black population is concentrated) has increased since August 1965. The overall unemployment figures for the county of Los Angeles in January 1970 ranged from 4 to 4.7 percent. The total unemployment rate in East Los Angeles (primarily brown people) and South Central Los Angeles (primarily black) averaged 10.3 percent; in June of 1969 according to the Pacific region Bureau of Labor statistics, the unemployment rate for blacks was an alarmingly high 16.2 percent, and 31.8 percent for all 16 to 19 year olds. These unemployment rates in East and South Central Los Angeles represented an astounding two and one-half higher level of unemployment in our community than the national unemployment rate for other blacks and browns.

These statistics which came from the United States Labor Department, itself, provided the most damaging evidence to support the lack of real commitment by those who possess the power to eliminate this severe problem and any other available evidence. It must also be recognized that these statistics may not reflect the total depth of the problem because it is a well established fact that many do not even become an official statistic.

Another area of serious concern to the Urban League is that of government subsidy to the already rich corporations who cheat poor people in an illegal manner. The United States Labor Department had granted \$5,049,125 to nine Los Angeles County industries to create "instant jobs" for "disadvantaged" people primarily in East Los Angeles. As of October 31, the nine companies had received the \$5,049,125 from the government; \$7,918,100 had been pledged by the Labor Department. However, they had provided only 199 jobs. Of the jobs which had been provided, the hourly wages were as low as \$70.00 per week, averaging approximately \$1.76 per hour, according to the article. This is an example of exploitation in its worst form. It revealed again how poor people in the Los Angeles area are being denied the opportunity to earn a decent living by some employers in conjunction with an agency of the government. It lends credence to the adage that "The rich get richer and the poor get poorer" in our town. These same dollars may well have been turned over to the minority communities themselves and would have probably resulted in more responsible action.

The Los Angeles community has two additional unique problems which compound employment difficulties for poverty stricken minorities. As you are no doubt aware, our city is large and sprawling. You are probably mindful of the very serious transportation problem. Urban League staff have been unable to place many persons due to the absence of a convenient, reasonable and efficient public transportation system. In addition to the popularly known problems involving Watts and other parts of South Central Los Angeles, the San Fernando Valley and Pacoima offer particular difficulties. There are a number of businesses and industries located in the San Fernando Valley and Pacoima; however, the lack of transportation and the great distance between the prospective employer and employee prevent the two from ever getting together.

Another serious problem which has been strongly felt in the minority community is that of the widespread layoffs in the aerospace industry. As is usually the case, blacks are commonly the last hired and the first fired. This has been particularly true as it relates to job entry programs designed to facilitate the inclusion of the so-called "hard core" unemployed. However, the problem has extended beyond the job entry program to include the already trained and more skilled employee. Our offices have felt a sharp increase within recent months of people looking for jobs and at the same time a substantial decrease in available jobs.

Any Congressional action, including legislation, which requires an acceleration of affirmative action in the field of greater employment opportunities for minorities is urged by your Subcommittee. Such legislation should affect the institutions who have either initiated or conspired in exclusionary practices. All employers, no matter how large or small, should be subject to all equal employment legislation. The employment service, itself, should be policed much more vigorously. All training programs guarantee a job at the end of the line for the individual being trained following satisfactory completion of such training. The On The Job Training concept should be expanded and extended in our community. The poverty stricken minority communities themselves must have greater control over the training and employment programs in their communities on all levels. We must be accorded wider opportunities for the operation of various governmentally funded programs through our agencies and organizations, old and new, so long as they possess reasonable competence.

Legislation, such as House Bill 6228 being considered by your Subcommittee, represents a positive step in the direction of strengthening and expanding equal employment opportunities for minority group citizens in Los Angeles and throughout the nation.

TAXES

HON. RICHARD D. McCARTHY
OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 16, 1970

Mr. McCARTHY. Mr. Speaker, April 15, 70 million Americans went through the annual ordeal of filing Federal income tax returns. While Congress has been considering various tax reform proposals, nothing has been done to assure the taxpayer a form which will assist rather than hinder this sometimes painful obligation, which most accept with grace and forbearance.

The highly publicized form 1040 is vir-

tually impossible for anyone to follow. I am at a loss to understand why the administration presents the U.S. taxpayer with regulations which a mathematician has difficulty in comprehending. Everyone, including the Internal Revenue Service, is exasperated by the number of unintentional errors. About the only people to profit from this confusion are the so-called private tax experts who are adding to the financial strain of the already overburdened taxpayer.

I know that if each Member of Congress had to go through this form point by point on his own, Congress would scrap its format immediately. As it now stands, a nurse who heretofore paid \$5 for private assistance now pays \$40. A technician who last year paid a tax consulting firm \$7.50 was charged \$40 this year.

Justice Holmes once said that he was happy to pay taxes because "with taxes, I buy good government." I doubt if he would have this conviction today.

The people of this Nation have a record of remarkably honest compliance with Internal Revenue obligations. The least the Government could do is make the effort as easy as possible, and not add to their heavy costs during these times of high inflation.

As usual, IRS officials have carried out their duties with fairness and integrity. They have been of invaluable assistance to those of us who remain baffled by the confusing instructions and procedures.

Many of these IRS agents are busy auditing past years' returns. I was among many who have recently cooperated in this auditing effort and I join those who recognize the importance of this job. I will always be happy to share information relating to my income tax returns with authorized officials.

I am, however, strongly opposed to efforts by political appointees in the Government to obtain tax returns without explicit justification. Presidential Assistant Clark Mollenhoff has evidently been receiving individual tax returns for no good reason.

This practice is inexcusable and I would think an affront to those IRS officials who carry out their responsibilities without partisan interest. Under no circumstances should the taxpayer be subjected to the whimsical curiosity of persons who have absolutely no business snooping through the files of the Internal Revenue Service.

A CHALLENGE TO DISSIDENTS

HON. GEORGE A. GOODLING

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 16, 1970

Mr. GOODLING. Mr. Speaker, for a long time the air has been filled with complaints, derision, and profanity gushing forth from the frantic throats of hippies and dissenters, causing one to wonder if there are any responsible voices in our society.

Another kind of voice has spoken out in a "Letter to the Editor" carried in the

April 11, 1970, issue of the Sentinel, a prominent newspaper in my congressional district. This is not a raucous voice but, instead, a steady voice of reason that calls the complainer's attention to some of the worthwhile things in America that either they overlook or choose not to see.

This letter was written by Dr. H. Robert Davis, a gentleman whom I know very well and highly respect. He is a selfless and dedicated type of person, having contributed his medical talents and skills to Vietnamese people abroad on at least two occasions of which I have knowledge. It is apparent, then, that he does not speak from a vacuum but from a solid foundation of understanding of the misfortunes of those in other countries and of the good in American life.

Dr. Davis' letter issues a challenge to the dissidents, urging them to give attention to some of the merits of America instead of its supposed demerits. Most important of all, he reminds the dissidents that they have not won the day and that there is a host of solid Americans who will stand up for their country and for all the very fine things it represents.

Dr. Davis' letter is like a breath of spring in an autumn of discontent, and I, therefore, think it is deserving of insertion in the RECORD:

I HAVE HAD IT!

To the Editor of the Sentinel: There's something that needs to be said about this country of ours . . . and since very few seem to have the time or the gumption to do it, I feel compelled to do so.

I've had it up to here with persons who are deliberately trying to tear our nation apart. It's way past time to throw at me that tired old "wheeze" about being a flagwaver. You're darned right I'm a flagwaver, and I've got a right to be, the hard way. Old Glory still gives me a great feeling of pride when I see it waving, and it waves at our home every holiday and opportunity that we have to display it.

I've had it with pubescent punks, wallowing in self-pity, who make a display of deploring their birth into a world, which, to use their sissy expression, they didn't make.

Well, I didn't make the world I was born in either, and neither did the men and women I know who are worthy of respect. They just went about and made something out of it.

The men and women I grew up with were raised on a small street in Harrisburg. They were immigrant sons and daughters of every cast-off race there is . . . and they didn't have a great deal of knowledge at home to start off with.

But I can write you a song about the son of a railroad worker who is now captain of his own merchant ship: about doctors, teachers, executives, lawyers, men of the cloth, and others, who left that street and are now supporting their country. Also, the son of a German laborer, who is one of my best friends.

So don't give me your whining, whimpering, self-pitying clap-trap about how this country is letting you down. The opportunities are still here.

I've had it with hippies, brainless intellectuals, writers who can't write, painters who can't paint, administrators who can't administrate, entertainers who fancy themselves sociologists, and Negroes who castigate as Uncle Toms the very men who have done the most to demonstrate to all of us, the most important quality in America . . . the individual enterprise and re-

sponsibility . . . Dr. George Washington Carver, Archie Moore, Roy Wilkins, Justice Thurgood Marshall, Duke Ellington, Count Basie, Nat King Cole, The Mills Brothers, Louis Armstrong, and many others.

I've had it with those cerebral giants who think it's smart to invite drug advocates to lecture in their classrooms and with teaching curiosities like that one in the Mercer Island and Washington School District who invited a black-power spokesman to dispense a lecture on flag burning.

I've had it with people who are setting about deliberately to rip up mankind's noblest experiment in decency.

And I want to tell you something! If you think you're going to tear down my Country's Flag, and destroy the institutions my friends and members of my family fought and died for, you're going to have one big battle on your hands. I just happen to know that the great majority of us will not let it happen. We will wake up and support this great United States of America.

H. ROBERT DAVIS, M.D.,
Boiling Springs, Pa.

TRUCKING INDUSTRY STRIKES DO SERIOUS ECONOMIC DAMAGE

HON. JOHN O. MARSH, JR.

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 15, 1970

Mr. MARSH. Mr. Speaker, as I am sure other Members have, I have been hearing from concerned businessmen in my congressional district who have been obliged to curtail or halt production in their plants because of strikes in the trucking industry.

These businessmen are not parties to any labor-management dispute involving truckers. They, and their employees, are the helpless victims of work stoppages not of their making, nor within their capacities to correct. Faced with a dry-up of the stream of raw materials and components for their manufacturing operations, and inability to ship their products on reliable schedules, they have been obliged to lay off employees.

The inevitable result is that local economies have been dislocated through the interruption of payrolls, and the effects of these strikes—many of which, I understand, do not have union sanction—are in the nature of a creeping economic paralysis.

These effects point up the seriousness of major work stoppages affecting any nationwide system of transportation. Our complex, interacting economic patterns cannot tolerate them for long.

While it is to be hoped and expected that the executive branch is exercising its considerable leverage toward prompt restoration of highway movement of goods through and among the major manufacturing and distributing centers now hit by trucking industry strikes, the Congress must maintain close surveillance.

The seriousness of the situation is pointed up by an article which appeared today in the Wall Street Journal, and which I include, under leave, to extend my remarks in the appendix, as follows:

STRIKE IMPACT GROWS: TRUCK DRIVERS' WALKOUTS PUTTING BRAKES ON U.S. BUSINESS; AUTOS, STEEL HIT HARD

Wildcat strikes by truck drivers in strategic transportation centers are beginning to strangle a major portion of the nation's commerce.

In themselves, the walkouts, which stem from drivers' discontent over a national wage pact reached almost two weeks ago, have been sporadic, scattered and varying in their intensity. But their impact has been cumulative, continuing to spread from supplier to producer to distributor and reaching from areas like Chicago to points as distant as Boston.

At best, companies have been inconvenienced and forced to bend their ingenuity to keep goods moving by alternative means. But for a growing number of concerns, the strikes have ground production to a halt, forced numerous layoffs of workers and punctured earnings prospects for the second quarter.

"It's damn sure going to kill my profits for the quarter," says an official of a Cleveland manufacturer of industrial and precision machine parts, who asks that his company not be identified for fear of starting "a panic with my customers."

Among the hardest hit by the walkouts are the nation's two largest industries—steel and autos. At least 35,000 auto workers here and in Canada have been laid off, a survey indicates. Many thousands more are working as little as four hours a day as the flow of key materials and parts needed in their work has slowed to a trickle. In Pittsburgh, Jones & Laughlin Steel Corp., a unit of Ling-Temco-Vought, Inc., has furloughed some 500 to 1,000 men this week and may lay off more. U.S. Steel Corp. is, among other things, weighing a closedown of its Waukegan, Ill., wire plant if the strike continues a few more days.

RELiance ELECTRIC CLOSDOWN

But steel and autos aren't the only ones feeling the squeeze. Yesterday, Reliance Electric Co., Cleveland, announced it was closing eight of its 12 major plants because of its inability to receive incoming parts shipments or to ship out finished goods. The closings idled about 4,400 workers in Indiana, northern Ohio and Georgia.

In St. Louis, an early flashpoint in the strike, an industrial relations expert estimates that 35,000 workers in all industries are out of work because of the strike.

There is every indication, moreover, that unless there's a quick and widespread return to work, even more industries will be forced to close. In Toledo, Ohio, for example, Dana Corp.'s power equipment division warehouse just "put 250 people in the street," according to an official. If the strike continues, even a few more days, he adds, the major auto-supply company will have to close a transmission plant in Toledo employing 2,600; an axle plant in Fort Wayne, Ind., employing 2,500; and its universal joint plants in Marion, Ind., Pottstown, Pa., and Detroit, where a total of 3,000 people work.

The dispute, however, is becoming more complicated, making solutions harder to reach. The national agreement calls for wage increases of \$1.10 an hour over 39 months. In Chicago, meanwhile, two Teamsters locals negotiating on their own have reached provisional agreements that could give them increases of \$1.65 an hour over three years.

The Chicago group covered by the higher contract are but a small fraction of truck drivers, only about 8,000, compared with 450,000 to whom the national package applies. But three years ago, under much the same circumstances, the Chicago unions held out for terms higher than the national

agreement and forced renegotiation of the national terms.

LOCAL DISPUTES

At the same time, the national outlook is pockmarked with essentially local disputes. In the vital industrial belt from Chicago to Philadelphia, owner-operators of steel-hauling trucks are striking over grievances against the Teamsters union itself. The haulers think their interests weren't adequately represented at the bargaining table, despite earlier promises that they would be.

And in Los Angeles, what began as a strike for more sick days has deteriorated into an emotion-charged vendetta between drivers and company owners. The drivers say they won't go back to work unless they get full amnesty for their strike activity, while the companies say they might take them back, but without seniority.

While the disputes continue, companies find themselves scrambling for alternatives. Du Pont Co., in Wilmington, Del., says it's been using its small, private fleet of trucks to deliver special products, has rerouted deliveries around the centers such as St. Louis and Chicago, and has been relying increasingly on air freight. "We've had to spend a great deal of money on air freight," says a spokesman, adding that air freight deliveries limit the type and amount of products the chemicals concern can send out.

An Ohio company says it has been using its company station wagon, normally used for local errands, to dispatch shipments from Cleveland to eastern Pennsylvania with urgent parts for customers. Last week it spent \$1,600 chartering a small, private plane to fly parts to the East Coast.

There are difficulties, too, in finding alternatives. Major railroads from the Burlington Northern to the Norfolk & Western and the Penn Central for the past week have been embargoing piggyback traffic destined or originating at affected cities. This means they have refused to take truck trailers on their flatcars going to and from such cities as Buffalo, Detroit, Chicago, St. Louis, Minneapolis and 15 cities in Ohio from Ashtabula and Cleveland to Toledo.

Invariably, there are complications. The Cleveland concern that hired the plane found that the shipment was too bulky for one trip and so it had to make two.

"We would have chartered a bigger plane," says an official, "but everybody was doing the same thing. We couldn't find a bigger plane available."

COSTING PLENTY

Those who have managed to move their products by air are finding that it's costing them plenty in more than money. "All our coordination is lost right now," laments a spokesman for Robert Hall Clothes, Inc., a unit of United Merchants & Manufacturers Inc. "We're doing everything possible to guarantee delivery. But air express is quite expensive—roughly three times the normal expense," he says.

In many cases companies find that even when they're willing to pay the price it still doesn't get the goods to the place they want them. Randolph Brown, traffic manager for Thomas J. Lipton Inc., the food company, says flatly that, "we're looking for alternatives, but aren't finding any." He explains: "If you are going into an area where there's trouble you can't even get out of the airport."

And it isn't just that truck drivers are unwilling to work. In many instances strikers are enforcing their determination to halt truck traffic with violence.

"We had a truck pull into Indianapolis with five bullet holes in the windshield," says William Sims, an area vice president for Ryder Systems Inc., a big Miami-based truck-rental outfit. "That tends to discour-

age folks from renting. The driver got the message. He quit working."

Paradoxically, some companies and areas of the nation are yet little affected by the strikes. Oxford Industries Inc., an apparel maker and business product distributor based in Atlanta, has experienced "surprisingly little" impact thus far. And the New England area generally has been little bothered by driver strikes; although companies are finding that shipments out of the Midwest are almost nonexistent.

But throughout most of the Midwest and Far West, and especially for companies with nationwide operations, the impact is strong. Says an Aluminum Co. of America spokesman, "We're hurting." The company, which says its shipments are running 5% to 10% and more below normal, closed down its Chillicothe, Ohio, plant on Monday, idling 375 production workers.

Alcoa began stockpiling finished products in warehouses but found that space is in short supply everywhere. Others agree. Says one traffic manager for a large industrial concern, "There is a pileup of raw material all over the country." This backlog, he adds, may make it difficult to get back to smooth operations once the strikes are over. "It might be a month or six weeks before things are back to normal," he says.

CUSTOMER SHORTAGES

While producers find their warehouses filling up, some customers are running into shortages. Lucky Stores Inc., a major San Leandro, Calif., grocery store chain, says its having a shortage of "a few items" at some stores. Gerald A. Awes, chairman, hastens to add that overall "our level of stocking is very good." But it's "been an inconvenience for sure."

Some of the shortages hit in curious ways. A Midwest man who bought a rabbit for his children at Easter is growing frantic because his local pet shop has run out of pelletized rabbit food, due to lack of truck deliveries. He's currently down to a one-day supply of pellets and says he has his eye on the lettuce and carrots in the refrigerator.

In other instances, the lack of deliveries is halting huge projects. Construction on U.S. Steel's 64-story skyscraper in Pittsburgh has been sharply slowed. An official of Turner Construction Co., which is general contractor on the building, says the closing-in of the upper floors of the giant steel skeleton is being delayed by a halt in truck deliveries of fabricated-steel curtain wall sections.

The steel curtain walls, the Turner official said, are produced in Chicago. "We haven't had any delivery of curtain walls for a week." He adds, "It's a very definite possibility" the building will be delayed for its opening in September.

How big an impact the strikes will have on the earnings of companies will depend on how long the walkouts last, of course. But there are indications that it may be considerable.

So far in the auto industry, the disruptions have meant the loss of some 15,000 cars from an April output schedule that was already 6% below a year ago. Before Teamster troubles started, automakers had targeted about 670,000 assemblies, down from 709,000 a year earlier.

MIXED SITUATION

The loss is a mixed situation for auto makers, since the Teamster-caused closings have the same general effect as some of the planned plant closings. But, while the Teamster strikes ultimately result in lower total output, the closings aren't selective. As a result, some plants are idled that auto makers are very anxious to see stay in operation because demand for those particular cars is still strong.

General Motors Corp's Chevrolet and Fisher body plants in St. Louis, for example, are idle, and its Cadillac Division plant in De-

troit is on short work turns. But demand for the cars these plants make is high.

At International Harvester in Chicago, a spokesman observes that the added costs of handling materials and switching shipments will have some impact on operating costs, but the effect on earnings is impossible to assess at this time.

Says Bruce Clausonthe, vice president and general manager of Joseph T. Ryerson & Son Inc., a subsidiary of Inland Steel Co.: "We're practically out of business here. If there's no relief by Friday, we'll have to schedule some temporary layoffs next week." As it is, the company previously scheduled spring cleaning and early vacations in an effort to stall layoffs.

WHAT AMERICA MEANS TO ME

HON. ORVAL HANSEN

OF IDAHO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 16, 1970

Mr. HANSEN of Idaho. Mr. Speaker, the fourth, fifth, and sixth grade students of the Acequia, Idaho, Elementary School recently wrote essays on the theme "What America Means to Me." Their ideas are so refreshing and positive that the Minidoka County News, on February 26, 1970, reprinted, as an editorial, the essays of the room winners, including that of the grand winner, Miss Tammy Stallings. I agree with the editor and in order to bring the thoughts of these fine young people to the attention of my colleagues, I include as a part of my remarks these essays from the Minidoka County News:

WHAT AMERICA MEANS TO ME

I'm proud to be American. It makes me proud to look at the United States flag. There are also many songs about America that also make me feel proud.

We are not told to which church we may join. We are free to worship the church that we please.

In America we are free to do as we want with our personal lives. We can choose to do right or we can choose to do wrong. If we do something wrong we do not go to prison without a fair trial, and for this trial we are free to have a lawyer. If we can't afford a lawyer, a lawyer is assigned to us.

There are many organizations that are put together to help people of other countries better their life. If necessary we also help people of other countries fight to keep their freedom. We also fight to keep our own freedom.

We enjoy freedom of the press. We can print what we want in the news and nobody tells us what we should or what we shouldn't print.

We are free to criticize our government. If we criticize our government no one stands over us and takes us in front of a king or a judge.

In America we can get a good job and a job that pays enough money to support a family. If a person is out of a job, he gets so much income a month until he is able to work.

The Statue of Liberty was given to us in 1924 from France as a symbol of liberty. It now stands on Liberty Island in New York harbor.

I'm proud to be an American and I will always be loyal to my country.

TAMMY STALLINGS,
Sixth Grade.

America means a chance to live. By this I mean that to me America is trying to fulfill the promises of her people's dreams.

To some people, America means a life with good advantages, yet to others it means disadvantages. I see only a few disadvantages and I wish to honor her first.

In our country we have freedom. For example, we have the press, speech and religion. We also have the rightful privilege of voting for whom we wish to govern us. In America, we, the people, have a voice in our government!

America is a country in which important officers of the nation, state, and local government are chosen by and are responsible to the citizens.

In America we have the "Pledge of Allegiance". It is a pledge of loyalty we are giving to our country.

Our country is a leader in trades and industries, whose farms and factories not only supply the needs of her country, but also send goods to other lands.

America is blessed with the abundance of natural resources, fertile soil, forests and many minerals.

In America, we have an opportunity of graduating from school and earning a diploma, leading to a successful career.

Americans do not want possession of any other country. We have a good army to defend them and ourselves from those who wish to be enemies. America is a world power which seeks peace and stands ready to defend our liberty.

America means better ways of living with more modern homes and better business. We provide much capital for means of overcoming poverty. Yet poverty is still one of the main problems of our country. America works hard but not always is she successful in keeping away her trash, litter, pollution and slum areas.

In conclusion, America is not perfect but I think she is the most wonderful and beautiful land. I wish I could share part of her with boys and girls in other countries who are less fortunate, homeless, cold and hungry nearly all of the time. I am glad that I live in America, the Land of Promise.

God bless her.

PENNY GULBRONSON,
Sixth Grade.

I am a native of America.

It is a land of the free.

It offers freedom to live, freedom of speech the press; of worship and vocation.

Americans are free to travel or work and live in any state they please. We can join many organizations, have time for recreation.

America offers much in this field and a great variety. We can ski in her mountains, boat on her many lakes and rivers. She has national parks, in their natural settings. Also many parks and amusements to enjoy.

Besides being a very beautiful country, she is rich in natural resources which has made her rich. We can have as much and almost any kind of food we desire due to her rich farmlands and abundant trade with other countries.

Education is unlimited and almost anyone can be educated to their desire.

America has given herself to many foreign lands and has opened her doors to less fortunate peoples. She has been compassionate and good.

I love America.

CAROLYN HURZA,
Fifth Grade.

I like the freedom in America because in other countries they don't have the opportunity of doing things like we do. We have more things and we get a better education. It's not the people in America that are better. It's the freedom we have.

I like the schools in America because in other schools they punish you for what you do wrong and in our schools they explain what you are doing wrong and sometimes give you another chance.

I like the beautiful land and good soil for farmers to raise crops for us and our animals to eat.

I like the Presidents and what they do to make the country better and stop the crime that is going on.

I like the flag, and when I pledge allegiance I try to say it proudly for our great country. We should stand up straight and think about what we are saying and not about recess or what we are going to do after school. Some people look around while they are pledging, and I don't think this is right. We should respect the flag because it is part of America.

I like the forests in America and we should not play with matches or litter and things like this to ruin the forests.

I like the animals, all but snakes, spiders, lizards and things like this, but we have to put up with it sometimes.

I love America and I hope you do too.

RUTH CRANE,
Fourth Grade.

A is for a great land from Alaska to Florida to Hawaii with good places like Idaho in-between. The America I think of started nearly 200 yrs. ago. It began with fathers, mothers and families trying to make a better place to live and raise their children.

M is men who fought for our freedom and liberty. Men who wanted progress so they invented the reaper, the telephone, the electric light and helped build roads, railroads, cars, airplanes and now have landed on the moon.

E is for Education. Our public schools. Our colleges. Our knowledge in medicine, science and in the radio and television world. Education helped men to see that women should have the right to vote.

R is religious freedom this country and only our country still has. We have the chance to worship how, where and who we want.

I is for the ideals that are behind our government and law and order.

C is for cities, towns and countrysides that go to make up this beautiful America.

The last A is All of us remembering All we have in America and being so happy to live here.

DELIA JENSEN,
Fifth Grade.

I like America because we have pleasant houses to live in and like some people they don't have houses at all and our houses keep you warm in winter and even some people who have houses don't have any heat in them.

We have wide highways to travel on and in some countries, they have dirt roads.

We make more money in the United States than any other country and we also spend more money.

We have more modern conveniences than any other country in the world. Some of these conveniences are automatic washers and dryers, dish washers, new cars and T.V. We have better and more schools and we have a better opportunity to go to college.

The opportunity in sports is greater. We have lots of places to go fishing, hunting, boating, skiing and swimming. We are offered more sports in our schools such as basketball, golfing, baseball, bowling, and football.

When we go to our stores we have lots of food to choose from and we can buy it as long as we can afford it and in other countries they have only certain foods that they can buy and some of their food is spoiled and it is not good to eat. We have very few people who die of starvation or who die in poverty.

We have freedom of speech and we can go to any church we want to and in other countries they have to go to a certain church or not go to church at all.

MARTY ROTCHFORD,
Fourth Grade.

RELEASE ON RECOVERY GUIDANCE SYSTEM

HON. GILBERT GUDE

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 16, 1970

Mr. GUDE. Mr. Speaker, as the world waits breathlessly in silent prayer for the safe return of our men aboard Apollo 13, we must also depend on the men of science whose concern and genius have made these flights possible. Their research and design have put Americans on the moon, and now we look to them with confidence that their genius will bring the crippled spaceship safely back to earth.

One such group of scientists are at the Johns Hopkins University Applied Physics Lab in Silver Spring. It is they who developed the guidance system aboard the recovery ship U.S.S. *Iwo Jima* which will guide the Navy to the exact point in that vast expanse of ocean where Apollo 13 will land. We salute all the men associated with this great venture. I include in the RECORD a news release on the recovery guidance system:

The carrier USS *Iwo Jima* is being guided to the precise Apollo 13 recovery point 600 miles southeast of Samoa in the Pacific by signals from the Navy satellite.

The ship, as did the Apollo 12 recovery vessel USS *Hornet*, carries aboard a set called SRN-9, which was installed on the *Iwo Jima* about six weeks ago by engineers of The Johns Hopkins Applied Physics Laboratory which developed the satellites and the navigation system for the Navy. The system permits navigation fixes to about one-tenth of a mile, and can be used any place in the world in any weather day or night. In the recovery of the Apollo 12 (November 1969) in the Pacific, when there was overcast skies, Captain C. J. Seiberlich said navigation would have been limited had not the satellite navigation set been aboard. Celestial observations were made about 180 miles from the Apollo 12 pickup site, and then the weather closed in. Captain Seiberlich said that dead reckoning was unprecise and "had the NAVSAT set not been aboard, the navigation problem would have been considerable." Loran navigation was not available in the area of the Apollo 12 recovery, the *Hornet* Skipper said, and neither is it available to assist the USS *Iwo Jima* in the Samoan waters.

The Navy satellite navigation system makes use of four satellites in constant orbit at about an altitude of 500 miles. Signals from the spacecraft are picked up by ships by special equipment which fits into an area on the ship about the size of an office desk. The set includes a receiver, an oscillator for comparing the doppler frequency changes in the signals from the satellite and a computer. Navigation by satellite is based upon the measurement of the change in the frequency (doppler shift) of the signal from the satellite as the spacecraft approaches and passes over a listening point on the earth. The change in the signals has been likened to the change in the sound of a whistle of a train as it approaches and passes a station.

Johns Hopkins' scientists when tracking the first Russian satellite Sputnik found they were able to fix its position by measuring the doppler shift of its signal. They also determined that the reverse could be true, and that signals from the satellite could be used for precise positional fixes on the earth. This was the basis of Navy navigation satellite system.

The system has been in operation for over five years, and has recently been made available for commercial shipping. A commercial model of the military set was used by the USS *Manhattan* on her voyage through the Northwest Passage and is used by the Queen Elizabeth 2, oceanographic research ships, and cable-laying and rescue vessels.

GIVE A DAMN

HON. L. MENDEL RIVERS

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 16, 1970

Mr. RIVERS. Mr. Speaker, the other morning as I was driving in to the Hill, I noticed a small automobile of foreign make immediately in front of me. The car was covered with all manner of flowers and supposedly patriotic slogans. One of the bumper stickers was particularly noticeable. After a "peace" symbol was the the exhortation, "Give a Damn."

Now I am not exactly sure what the owner of the car was trying to convey by this message but, to me, it brought to mind the words of a great lady from the State of California. Dr. Marie Bonfilio of Burlingame. "Doc," as she is known to thousands of our servicemen in Vietnam, said recently:

Florence Nightingale has run out of oil for her lamp, people don't seem to give a damn.

"Doc" Bonfilio is not the sort of person to accept this attitude. Almost single-handedly she has established the north peninsula around Burlingame as a "home front" for our troops in Vietnam. By her shining example she has established a system whereby all Americans, if they truly give a damn about our servicemen in Vietnam, can participate in the maintenance of high morale among our troops in Southeast Asia. It is my understanding that she has been personally responsible for sending over 29,000 pounds of miscellaneous items to our servicemen in Vietnam.

I would like to insert into the RECORD three newspaper articles which describe her effects to prove to our military fighting men that their sacrifices are appreciated and that there are millions of Americans who have not forgotten them.

If every community had just one "angel" like this great American, I can assure you that the pressure of the so-called silent majority would be felt throughout this land.

Many times I have been asked by citizens, "What can I do to show my support?" I commend to the attention of all my colleagues the example set by "Doc" Bonfilio as a far better method than the mere adhesion of bumper stickers to one's automobile.

The articles follow:

[From the San Francisco Examiner,
Oct. 12, 1969]

GIFTS FOR CHRISTMAS—PENINSULA "ANGEL" REMEMBERS GI'S

The "Angel" of Burlingame, Dr. Marie D. Bonfilio, M.D., is at it again on the 'Vietnam Home Front', now that Christmas is fast approaching.

Already, she has compiled an imposing list of the most wanted items preferred by GIs in Vietnam.

"It's a morale booster for all of our boys over there, especially when their thoughts turn to the coming Yuletide," said Doc Bonfilio.

The doctor, a grandmother of 3 children, got the idea of sending "goodies" overseas to GIs in the war zones of Vietnam last year. Her "project" began in February of 1969.

The response came swiftly from friends, colleagues and many others in San Mateo County and spread elsewhere in the Bay Area.

NEED VOLUNTEERS

"Doc" Marie Bonfilio worked day and night, with voluntary assistance, in the doctor's medical offices at 804 Winchester Drive, Burlingame, California 94070.

(Volunteers may phone at Mrs. Bonfilio headquarters—342-6424).

The supplies sent through the Vietnam Home Front are distributed by the Chaplains and commanding officers only to men in the front lines, "particularly those who receive little or nothing from home" Doc Bonfilio said.

The Vietnam Home Front has sent 29,264 pounds of gifts to 9000 men in the combat areas the doctor said.

Among the items preferred by the Vietnam GIs for the coming Thanksgiving and Christmas seasons this year are:

Small flashlights, terrycloth towels, shaving equipment, first aid kits, soap and shampoo, foot and body powder, deodorants, tooth brushes and tooth paste, old tooth brushes for cleaning rifles, cigarettes, small transistor radios, assorted greeting cards and Christmas decorations, writing paper and paperback books.

Also, there are canned meats, canned vegetables, fruits, dehydrated soups, peanut butter, nuts, and hard candies, bubble gum and cookies.

[From the Burlingame (Calif.) Advance-Star,
Oct. 8, 1969]

GOLF COMPANY LOVES THE WOMAN

EDITOR, ADVANCE-STAR:

I wish to express my sincere gratitude to many of your readers who are donors to the Vietnam Home Front, a project of Dr. Marie Bonfilio of Burlingame.

I can't begin to tell you what the packages that Doc sends to us mean, especially to all those who, like myself, have written to her and in all cases received a personal reply and individual packages from her.

The Doc does just about everything from sending packages to finding personal pen pals. For my company, she was even able to get a set of professional electric hair clippers. The company was willing to pay for a set of clippers, especially since we made a special request of the Doc to get them for us, but since she must be something of a horse trader she talked some barber out of his set for free.

I've seen the time when the company would have had trouble with a night med evac if it hadn't been for the pen lights and batteries that Doc sent to us, which were used to guide the helicopters into the landing zone. Everyone in the company carries one of Doc's penlights, from the company commander to the private in the rear ranks.

Another means of illumination that Doc

tries to keep us supplied with is candles, and they are worth their weight in gold when the company isn't around electrical generators—which is usually the case. Lanterns and mantels are like hen's teeth to find.

There are a lot of other things in Doc's packages—books for one. The day I was med evaced from the company I saw three huge boxes of paperbacks in the company office for the men to choose from.

Doc even helps keep us in rifle-cleaning gear, which is something we are supposed to get through other channels, but then, supply doesn't stock such items as tooth brushes and Q-tips.

Doc sends everything from soup to nuts. Honestly! Packages of soup mix, Kool Aid, candy, cakes, cookies, beef jerky and nuts, to mention only a few.

By now, I don't have to tell you Doc is the greatest, and all of us in Golf Company, 2nd Battalion, 7th Marines love the woman.

I know Doc's work wouldn't be possible without the support of many others. So for Golf Company, I wish to say to Doc and all of those who have helped her, "Thanks a million."

S.Sgt. ALFRED W. CLEMENTS,
U.S. Marine Corps, Vietnam.

[From the Burlingame (Calif.) Advance-Star, Feb. 28, 1969]

OUR BOYS IN VIETNAM NEED YOUR HELP

EDITOR, ADVANCE-STAR:

The question, "Like to help men in Vietnam?" headed an article which appeared in the Advance-Star on Feb. 14, 1968. This was a plea in which I asked, "Can the North Peninsula become a 'home front' for our troops in Vietnam?"

Through the year, many responded to this and many other pleas made for this project. The help extended to many of our boys, by the people of San Mateo County, especially during the holiday season, is expressed in this letter sent to me from Vietnam:

"DEAR DOC: It's good people such as yourself that remain in our memories. There is bitterness for those people who demonstrate against the war... It makes us out fools.

"We dislike this war as much if not more than those who scream. Who the hell wants to get shot at or die over here? But like it or not, there remains a commitment to fulfill.

"If we were to shirk this responsibility, it would be but a matter of time after the capitulation of South Vietnam to Communism when again the call for help would be heard. It would be India, Laos, Cambodia or any of the 154 countries to which we have pledged support.

"Do we turn a deaf ear to them? Are the principles that we have fought for and profess to defend just so much wind? Who the hell said playing big brother to the free world would be easy?

"Cheered or booed, we are here. We were sent to do a job. It's being done; it will be finished.

"This is all we desire—just the recognition of being a block to what we consider evil. You have given us that much-needed recognition.

"Cpl. MICHAEL WATERHOUSE.

"VIETNAM."

Although this letter was sent to me... this is a commendation for every person who contributed the supplies and to every person who sent a box to an individual boy.

Once these boys leave stateside, there is no appropriation made by our government for their personal needs. Each boy is given \$6.95 per month out of which he is expected to buy what he needs, be it socks, sundries such as soap, tooth brushes or razors, or any other food, except for "C" rations which are provided by the government.

If the men are in the rear lines, and if they have enough money, they can buy what they need at the PX. There is no way that the men in the front lines can get the things they need without help.

The boxes which are sent through this project go directly to the front lines, and they are directed to the chaplains and the commanding officers, with instructions that the supplies are to be given to those boys who receive little or nothing from home.

I have received letters from the chaplains, officers and even from the enlisted men, in which they have asked for help for their men. In one letter, an Army chaplain with the 3rd Brigade, 4th Infantry, the group now in the Mekong Delta, wrote:

"What your kindness means to them! Not just the things themselves, but the fact that someone cares! All I know is the finest kids are going through hell out here. These kids need so much support.

"You made it possible to bring a little treat to them at a time when a little lift could be such a help."

A letter from a Marine Captain from Golf Company, 2nd Battalion 7th Marines, asked:

"Can you send some old tooth brushes or small paint brushes so the men can clean their guns? Unfortunately, brushes are not included in government supplies, so the men brush their teeth and clean their guns with the same brush." An enlisted Marine in Easy Company, 2nd Battalion 3rd Marines, wrote:

"I don't know how you started this wonderful project which you have going, but it is just what is needed. You help maintain the quality of our performance, which helps keep us alive."

I do not condone this war, but I realize that no matter how much we demonstrate against it, we have no control over the final decision. When I was approached by one of the Peace marchers who told me that they believe in bringing our boys home, my answer to him was, "So do I; but do you mind if we feed them and make them a little more comfortable while they wait for the peace talks to be consummated?"

Gradually, the number of boys who have been served through this project, has increased from the original 144 to 6,500. But as all projects go, people forget about them, and then another plea must be made, as I am doing now.

What is needed is not a large quantity of supplies at one time, but a steady flow of supplies weekly or monthly. If we have the money, we can buy the supplies which are needed at wholesale prices.

At present, I do not have the support of any club, and the needs are so great. Should any club want to help a company of men, or otherwise participate in this project, kindly contact me, for I have the names of many who need help. I have a list of the most needed items, sent to me from Vietnam. Anyone interested is welcome to a copy of this list.

Anyone in San Mateo County who has a boy in Vietnam, kindly send me his serial number and the name of the Company to which he is attached. When they hear from someone else besides their immediate family, it is quite a boost to the morale of a boy, for he realizes that there are other people who are concerned about him.

There is a sign on my front door which asks people to leave items for boys on my porch. With the help of the public, I hope to keep this project going until we see all our boys safely home!

Anyone wanting to make a financial contribution, please make the check out to the "Vietnam Home Front."

DR. MARIE BONFILIO

BURLINGAME.

THE DEVELOPING CRISIS IN INTERNATIONAL TRADE

HON. JOHN H. DENT

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 16, 1970

Mr. DENT. Mr. Speaker, the growing awareness of American labor to the impact of imports on U.S. employment is encouraging to those of us who have been seeking a solution to this problem for many years.

I am happy to present further proof of the seriousness of the problem:

THE DEVELOPING CRISIS IN INTERNATIONAL TRADE

(Following is the text of an address by AFL-CIO Secretary-Treasurer Lane Kirkland to a conference of the Industrial Union Department of the AFL-CIO on "The Developing Crisis in International Trade." Kirkland spoke at a Friday luncheon session in Sheraton Hall North in the Sheraton Park Hotel, Washington, D.C.)

For nearly two full days you have listened to reports and you have discussed the difficulties faced by workers as a result of the deterioration of the United States position in world trade.

You know about the adverse impact on steelworkers, machinists and electrical workers, on clothing, garment, textile and shoe workers, on glass and pottery workers.

That, of course, isn't the whole of the problem. There are many other workers adversely affected, like maritime and shipyard workers, among others.

The direct victims are affected by either a fall-off in exports or a flood of imports or both. Every one of them has a right and a duty to demand redress of their grievances.

They have come to their unions, as is right and proper, and their unions have a right and a duty—singly and in concert with other unions—to demand a redress of these grievances from the government of the United States, because it is the government's foreign trade and investment policies that are responsible.

Let me assure you that the AFL-CIO is going to help process their grievances and fight for international trade and investment policies that will end this hardship.

We are going to seek, in short, a policy of healthy expansion of international trade on a reciprocal basis, that enhances the well-being of the American people, in place of one that enhances corporate greed.

This is a problem of the entire trade union movement—not just the problem of some workers. It's a problem of the entire United States and that's the way we intend to handle it.

First, let us look at this issue from the viewpoint of the national economy.

Since 1934, the trade union movement—the AFL and the CIO before merger and the AFL-CIO since—has provided consistent support of United States reciprocal trade policies and the expansion of world trade, based on our goal of increasing employment and improving living standards both at home and abroad.

In the beginning, as world trade expanded greatly, the majority of Americans and, for that matter, the majority of the people of the world benefitted.

But during the 1950s, changes in world economic conditions began to appear. By the 1960s, such changes accelerated. The benefits to Americans of expanded world trade decreased and the problems grew.

The world economic scene of 1970 is altogether different from 1934 or even from 1960. Changes in world economic conditions require changes in United States trade

policies. The hard facts of life require that the government's foreign trade policies be modernized with speed, in the light of what has been happening.

This isn't a new idea for us. Since 1965, the AFL-CIO has been seeking a shift in government policy in this area. To date, our demands have not been met and the situation has grown more urgent.

There can be no doubt about the deterioration of the United States position in world trade in recent years. America's share of greatly expanding world exports has been declining—particularly in the export of manufactured goods. During most of the 1960s, imports into the United States increased much faster than exports. As a result, the surplus of American exports over imports dropped sharply. In the past two years, the surplus all but disappeared.

Unfortunately, this is not a temporary situation. It is not going to go away, just by wishing so. The causes of this situation are deeply embedded in the world economic scene.

For example, since World War II, most countries moved to manage their economies. As part of such national economic management, governments have direct and indirect export subsidies and import barriers.

Obviously, countries have every right to protect and advance their interests, as they see them. But subsidies for exports and barriers to imports are not free trade.

Moreover, such policies are one of the reasons for the flood of imports into the United States—the most open market to imports of all major industrial countries and a big, rich market at that. At the same time, the expansion of United States exports is held down by direct and indirect barriers imposed by other governments.

Under these kinds of conditions, it is not rational for the United States government to talk and act as if we lived in a world of free, competitive trade relations among nations.

That just isn't the way it is and it is time the government stopped pretending and took a good, hard look at things as they are.

We don't think it is asking too much to suggest that the government of the United States should consider the primary interest of its own citizens. After all, that's what the other trading nations do.

There are additional factors affecting the United States position in world trade. One is the skyrocketing investments of United States companies in foreign operations since the late 1950s. These investments—combined with licensing arrangements and patent agreements—have transferred American technology to plants throughout the world. Many such plants, operating with American machinery and know-how, pay workers as little as 15 cents an hour.

Such operations obviously displace U.S.-produced goods in both American and world markets.

They export American technology—much of it developed with the expenditure of government funds, the taxes of American citizens.

They export American jobs.

Moreover, when such goods are sold in this country, they are sold at American prices. So the American worker loses his work and the American consumer pays the same price. Only the companies benefit and all because of a government policy that favors the fast buck for the companies.

Connected with the rise of foreign investments of United States companies has been the mushrooming development, in the 1960s, of multi-national corporations and international banks—most of them United States based. These multi-national companies operate plants, sales agencies and other facilities around the world. They can juggle the production of parts and finished products, prices, profits and dividends from one sub-

sidary to another. They juggle them across national boundary lines for the private advantage of the companies, with no other interest than greed.

By 1970, a large and growing share of United States exports and imports are merely transactions among the subsidiaries of United States-based multinational companies.

These developments are affecting a growing number of workers in numerous industries.

Moreover, they often run directly counter to the stated aims of government policy—and sometimes to the policy claims of business itself. The National Alliance of Businessmen is committed to employing the hard-core unemployed, with particular emphasis on jobs for blacks. However, some of the companies, represented in that association, are exporting American jobs to their foreign subsidiaries. They are exporting the very kinds of jobs that are needed by the American unemployed and which the companies are pledged to produce.

Ten days ago, *The Wall Street Journal* provided an example of the export of American jobs. It reported that Zenith Radio Corporation had said it would "reduce its workforce by about 3,000 jobs this year, and more than one-third of those laid off will be blacks." The chairman, Joseph S. Wright, said that, in addition to the 3,000 layoffs this year, probably another 4,000 layoffs will occur in 1971.

Why? Because Zenith is building a giant new plant in Taiwan.

Mr. Wright said, "The most tragic part" is that "due to seniority, 38% of those laid off are blacks."

Well, Mr. Wright is correct. It is tragic. But it does seem that, as chairman of Zenith, he could do something more than just express his regrets.

It seems to me that the Zenith case pinpoints one of the biggest problems we face—the inability of American industrial leaders to understand how their action could ultimately result in their own undoing.

Look at it this way: Foreign trade accounts for less than 10% of the United States gross national product. That means that 90% or more of all the goods that United States corporations produce here is sold here and used here.

In other words, the United States is its own best customer.

Why? Because the United States worker earns enough, generally speaking, to be a major United States consumer.

And every time an American corporation exports United States jobs, it eliminates a part of its potential market.

Mr. Wright of Zenith won't be selling many of his products in Taiwan because he'll be paying such low wages—perhaps as little as 15 cents an hour—that none of his workers in Taiwan will be able to afford them.

And, of course, the workers he lays off here—black and white alike—won't be able to buy them either.

I just can't understand such short-sightedness.

And it isn't just industrialists.

The shipping industry is another example.

No industry is more dependent upon world trade than the merchant marine. It is the movement of goods between nations that provides the bulk of maritime cargo. However, when American exports are shipped on foreign flag vessels, American jobs are being exported. When U.S.-made goods are exported, if it's on a foreign bottom—a service, shipping, is being imported. During the last 25 years, shipboard jobs for Americans declined sharply. By November 1969, shipboard jobs aboard privately-owned American merchant ships were down to only 27,222.

The world's largest trading nation—with ports on two oceans and the Gulf of Mexico—has seen the shipping sector of the economy,

with its work-force and varied skills and special lore, nearly go down the drain in the past 25 years.

Not only have there been job losses for seamen, there have been job losses in the building, repair and maintenance of ships. Foreign shipbuilding is usually encouraged by governments, with direct and indirect subsidies, to maintain volume operations and improved efficiency, while U.S. shipbuilding has been permitted to decline, with very little volume, old equipment and high costs.

At the same time, runaway shipping operations of U.S.-owned firms, including multinational corporate conglomerates, ship under flags of convenience—such as Panama, Liberia, and Honduras—and pay foreign merchant seamen merely a small portion of an American wage.

The Nixon Administration is doing something concrete about the shipbuilding part of this problem but that, of course, is only part of the problem.

And then there are the bankers.

In the 1960s, we have seen a great expansion of United States-based international banks, which service and help to finance the foreign subsidiaries of United States companies. At present, there is a vast, global network of branches of United States banks, which moves funds easily, from one country to another, beyond the direct reach of the monetary policies of any government, including our own.

In addition, there are the secret bank accounts in the Swiss banks.

We have all seen newspaper stories about the secret Swiss bank accounts of the racket syndicate. But what about the secret Swiss bank accounts of so-called respectable American businesses, secret accounts that are used to dodge taxes and to operate internationally without regulation?

Moreover, the operations of the United States-based international banks have become so great that they can evade Federal Reserve policies.

Last year, when the government's squeeze on the American money market threw homebuilding into a recession and hit other groups in the American economy, the United States international banks increased their borrowings from their foreign branches by an amazing \$7 billion.

This \$7 billion increase in funds was for the aid and comfort of the American central offices of these international banks and their prime customers, the big corporations—to avoid the government's money squeeze, which was hitting almost everyone else.

While homebuilders and home-buyers, states and local governments and workers were paying the price for the government's money squeeze, the big banks and the big corporations were able to avoid it, through their international operations.

How long can the United States government and the American people permit such operations of private companies and banks to continue, without regulation?

The worldwide operations of United States-owned multi-national companies do not represent free, competitive trade among the nations of the world. What they do represent is a closed system of trade, within the corporation, among its various subsidiaries in numerous countries. They represent the export of American technology and the export of American jobs.

These issues of foreign trade and investment require United States government attention. They need government action. Government controls over the investment outflows of United States companies to foreign subsidiaries are essential. In addition, the government must develop machinery to regulate the United States-based multi-national companies and banks.

We know that the solution cannot be found in going back to high tariff walls, any

more than it was found by the United States unilaterally pursuing a policy of unlimited free trade, while its trading partners erect barriers.

As I said before, we in the AFL-CIO have supported the expansion of world trade. We continue to support such expansion.

But expansion of world trade must be made orderly. It must be regulated to prevent the loss of American jobs and the exploitation of American workers or workers in other countries.

Let me state the AFL-CIO position clearly and without equivocation:

We are not isolationists and have no intention of becoming isolationists.

We support orderly expansion of world trade. We oppose the promotion of private greed at public expense or the undercutting of United States wage and labor standards. We want expanded trade that expands employment at home and abroad and that improves living standards and working conditions, here and abroad.

No single action or one-shot panacea can meet the complex issues of world trade, foreign investments of United States companies and the operations of United States-based multi-national corporations. No single measure can solve the different trade-related problems of different groups of workers in different industries and occupations.

A battery of realistic policies and measures must be adopted to meet the needs of the American people in world economic relations in the 1970s. We will work in the Congress and in the Executive branch for the necessary changes in government posture and policy.

I will not repeat, here, the list of AFL-CIO recommendations to achieve this goal. They are contained in the resolution on international trade, adopted by the AFL-CIO Convention last October, which each of you has received.

It seems to me that this conference has served an excellent purpose by focusing attention on this major problem.

But we can't solve the problem by just talking to each other. We can't solve parts of the problem for some workers and overlook other workers just as adversely affected. We can't solve the problem by erecting barriers around the United States. We can't solve it by turning our backs on world trade.

We have to solve it with a practical, common-sense foreign trade and investment policy that promotes trade and employment, and achieves decent wages and working conditions—in the United States and in every nation with which we trade.

And, working together, we can make the Congress of the United States and the Executive branch understand the magnitude of this problem.

THE ABOLITION OF SLAVERY IN PUERTO RICO

HON. JOHN J. ROONEY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 16, 1970

Mr. ROONEY of New York. Mr. Speaker, our Puerto Rican friends both at home and in this country, have been observing the 97th anniversary of the abolition of slavery in Puerto Rico. They are to be congratulated for the dedicated manner in which they are heeding the historic date, when, on March 22, 1873, their forebears succeeded in accomplishing one of the most significant social reforms in the history of the Commonwealth.

With the impetus of our Emancipation Proclamation, the socially minded Puerto Rican leaders took the forward step of removing the shackles of servitude and freed thousands of native born Puerto Ricans whose enslavement was "hereditary." These were descendants born of the innocent people sold at the auction block by Spanish slave traders.

This date in 1873 is not only significant because it marks the advent of freedom for all men, women and children on the lovely island, but it marks the end of the domination by the few rich landowners over the mass of working people.

From this date almost a century ago it is easy to follow the progressive steps which the people of Puerto Rico have taken year after year to achieve their present Commonwealth status.

I am proud to have played a part in bringing to these fine citizens many of the progressive economic and political benefits which they enjoy today. My close working relationships with Puerto Rico's past and present leadership have given me utmost satisfaction. I am proud of Puerto Ricans who represent a significant segment of the constituency of my congressional district. I covet the friendship and the fine cooperation which these warmhearted people constantly extend to me. With their continued help I hope we can achieve the maximum in the social and cultural benefits to which they aspire. I hope that the observance of Emancipation Day or Abolition Day will continue week after week as a reminder of every Puerto Rican's freedom as well as to remind ourselves of the great accomplishment which these fine people have made to enrich their own lives as well as to contribute to the improved well-being of all Americans.

THE 30TH ANNIVERSARY OF KATYN MASSACRE

HON. ROMAN C. PUCINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 16, 1970

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, last Sunday the Illinois Division of the Polish American Congress in Chicago held a very solemn memorial service marking the 30th anniversary of the massacre in Katyn Forest near Smolensk, Russia.

More than 2,000 people participated in the memorial service and paid tribute to the 15,000 Polish Army officers who were massacred by the Soviet NKVD in the Katyn Forest.

These Polish Army officers had been lured to Russia by Soviet authorities on the promise that they could reorganize the Polish armed forces to continue the struggle against the Nazis who invaded Poland on September 1, 1939.

The Chicago memorial was arranged by the Illinois Division with its President, Dr. Edward Rozanski. The organization's Vice President, Mr. Mitchell Kobylinski, joined Dr. Rozanski in arranging the tribute.

The main speaker at the memorial

service was Lt. Col. Donald B. Stewart, U.S. Army, retired, who along with another American officer had been taken by the Nazis to the Katyn Forest to personally observe the exhumation of the mass graves.

Colonel Stewart told in detail how these Polish Army officers were exhumed and stated that in his judgment, there could be no question the Polish Army officers were murdered by the Soviet Union.

I am placing in the RECORD today a speech by Mr. Aloysius A. Mazewski, president of the Polish-American Congress, who places the full significance of the great tragedy of Katyn into proper perspective. President Mazewski has performed a notable public service by bringing to the attention of the American people one of the most monstrous crimes ever perpetrated by the Soviet Union.

I am also placing in the RECORD the benediction delivered by His Excellency, Bishop Francis C. Rowinski. Earlier in the day a special memorial mass was conducted in Chicago by His Excellency, Bishop Abramowicz.

Mr. Mazewski's remarks and the benediction follow:

SPEECH OF ALOYSIUS A. MAZEWSKI

The Katyn Massacre is a singularly savage and abhorrent crime not only against the Polish nation, but against entire humanity.

It is not only an act of premeditated genocide that will forever blot the pages of man's history on earth.

In the vast panorama of humanity's struggle for dignity, justice, brotherhood and a viable world in terms of progress and reverence for life—the Katyn Massacre stands in bold and terrifying relief as the unresolved, unexpiated and hastily covered up crisis of the conscience of the 20th century mankind—a forever disturbing knowledge that is gnawing at the hearts and minds of men of good will everywhere.

We all know the facts: the Soviet secret service wantonly, without any cause or provocation, murdered 15,000 Polish officers, intellectuals, educators and professional men in the Katyn-Ostashkov area. Some four thousand mutilated bodies were found in the Katyn Forest. The rest of the victims remain in unknown graves.

We also know that the guilt of the Soviet Union in this crime has been established beyond any shadow of doubt by both—the Polish authorities in London during the closing months of World War Two, and later, by the House of Representatives Select Committee.

In the mass of incontrovertible evidence, Russia stands before the world as the perpetrator of this ghastly crime of genocide.

Yet the Russian masters, with Polish blood on their hands, were accepted without any protest in international councils and conferences.

In the minds of honest and concerned men everywhere, Russia stands accused of the Katyn Massacre.

Yet—neither in the United Nations nor in the diplomatic chancelleries of great powers, is one word even whispered about this horrifying Soviet guilt.

Diplomatic sophistry tells us that the time is not opportune for pressing charges against the Soviets in this matter.

Nearly four decades elapsed since the discovery of the Katyn mass graves. In these decades, the statesmen and diplomats of the West played havoc with human conscience by pretending that the evil of the Soviet design against the basic human decency does not exist.

And this compromising with evil as exem-

plified in the Katyn Massacre shall remain a deeply disturbing factor in international relations as long as it remains unpunished and hidden under the cloak of diplomatic expediency.

And those nations which choose to accept the knowledge of the Katyn crime in silence, carry an irreducible moral debt on their historical ledgers. And sooner or later, in one form or another, this debt will have to be paid.

For once we accept a compromise in moral issues, involving the conscience, the dignity and the responsibilities of man, then we are opening the floodgates of lawlessness, irresponsibility and anarchy in both external and internal affairs of the nation.

It is, therefore, fitting, proper and incumbent upon us of Polish heritage, upon us, who more poignantly than any other group, understand the terrifying meaning of the Katyn Massacre,—to be the pangs of conscience of the modern man, to tell him that the Katyn crime is the beginning of an evil which, if unchecked by the law of truth and judgment, could, under the communist direction and conspiracy, engulf entire humanity.

KATYN FOREST MASSACRE 30TH ANNIVERSARY OBSERVANCE

(By Bishop Francis C. Rowinski)

O God, Creator and Supreme Ruler of mankind, we turn to you as the Fountain of Truth and the Giver of every good gift and we thank You for the light, hope and life brought to the world by Jesus Christ.

Our Father, You did destine the people of the Polish nation a place of being upon this earth and You did implant in our souls the love of Poland and our native language and our national ideals—that all people, as children of one God are equal and that all privileges growing out of differences in wealth and social status are wrong, for they are a violation of man's right as a child of God and hinder his development; and that all men have equal rights to life, happiness and to those means and ways which lead to the preservation of life, its growth toward perfection and to its salvation; and that all men have equal responsibilities toward God, themselves, their respective nations and humanity—we pray You to grant to the souls of the victims of the massacre at Katyn Forest, who lived, worked, suffered and died for these ideals, a place of refreshment, light and peace.

May the Katyn Forest massacre remind us of our grief over the irreparable loss our martyred Polish nation has suffered and may it also serve as a reminder for us who have survived to remain loyal to our people and to the moral principles cherished by our fathers because only through such loyalty, may we hope to survive this age of moral decay.

And let us clearly recognize and never forget this: that mutual cooperation and the furtherance of living ties between people of Polish ancestry of all lands is our sole physical and moral protection in the present situation. But for the future our hope lies in surrendering our lives together with all men of good will to You our God and in overcoming the general moral abasement which today gravely menaces the very existence of mankind.

Enable us to labor with all our powers, however feeble, to the end that mankind recover from its present moral degeneration and gain a new vitality and a new strength in its striving for right and justice as well as for a harmonious society.

We commend to Your boundless goodness, the souls of those who with their lives did defend Your holy gifts and help us to walk the same path of duty and consecration.

Eternal rest grant unto their souls, O Lord. And may perpetual light shine upon them. May they rest in peace. Amen.

UNICEF IN NORTH VIETNAM—TRICK OR TREAT?

HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 16, 1970

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, UNICEF, one of the bureaucratic arms of the United Nations Organization, announces recommendations to send children's clothing to North Vietnam at the urging of East European members.

Many wives and widows of U.S. servicemen and POW's will remember that this is the trick-or-treat Halloween fund-raising movement for what UNICEF calls "humanitarian benefits to children."

Strangely, in this "gift" UNICEF does not seem to be basing its generosity on a request from the proposed donor—but instead is trying to force its "humanitarianism" on the donor.

Perhaps Mr. Labouisse of New Orleans, executive director of the Children's Fund, needs to be reminded that in North Vietnam U.S. servicemen are held hostage in violation of every international law and civilized norm. Perhaps Mr. Labouisse could be reminded to express the concern of children of U.S. prisoners to those pro-Communist benefactors of Eastern Europe who are so determined to help the comrades' children that they do not await a request for aid.

Trick or treat?

I insert a newsclipping from a Washington newspaper:

[From the Washington Post, Apr. 16, 1970]
U.N. FUND PROPOSES PROGRAM TO CLOTHE CHILDREN IN NORTH VIETNAM

(By Robert H. Estabrook)

UNITED NATIONS, April 15.—Henry R. Labouisse, executive director of the U.N. Children's Fund, today recommended a program to supply clothing to North Vietnamese children.

Some authorities here wondered privately whether North Vietnam would accept an effort linked so closely to the United Nations. Labouisse's proposal would use \$105,000 contributed by The Netherlands and \$95,000 from Switzerland to buy cloth. Subject to approval of the UNICEF executive board, the League of Red Cross Societies would be asked to complete detailed arrangements with North Vietnam.

The recommendation followed two years of investigation by UNICEF at the urging of some members of the executive board, primarily the Eastern Europeans.

Boguslaw Kozusznik, the Polish representative on the board, visited Hanoi last summer to discuss a humanitarian program. Kozusznik reported that the North Vietnamese national Red Cross cited a pressing need for children's clothing. He recommended an emergency effort through the League of Red Cross Societies.

If Hanoi should finally approve, it would be the first such program in North Vietnam undertaken by a U.N. body.

The United States is expected to go along with what the UNICEF board decides in its meeting here from April 20 to May 1. No objection from the State Department is thought likely.

But the question is whether Hanoi will feel that it can permit even this much of a role for the U.N. in the Vietnam conflict, Communist China is thought to be urging Hanoi not to accept U.N. assistance.

Separately, Labouisse also recommended today that the UNICEF board accept trust

funds of \$750,000 from the United States and \$50,000 from The Netherlands to construct and furnish a school of social work in South Vietnam.

CAN INCOME TAX FORMS EVER BE SIMPLIFIED

HON. HOWARD W. ROBISON

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 15, 1970

Mr. ROBISON. Mr. Speaker, on Monday of this week, when the 1971 appropriation bill for the Treasury and Post Office Departments was before us, I expressed my concern over the lack of simplicity—insofar as it is administratively possible—in our annual Federal income-tax reporting chore.

At that time, in my remarks to the House, I urged the present Commissioner of the Internal Revenue Service to make progress toward greater simplification in the tax forms, and the instructions accompanying the same that seek to help us understand them, though they rarely do, a prime, personal goal so long as he headed our tax-collecting agency.

Since those remarks of mine, the following excerpts from a recent speech by Edwin S. Cohen, Assistant Secretary of the Treasury for Tax Policy, have come to my attention and, since they deal with this same subject, I am including them here for the benefit of my colleagues and, perhaps, their currently unhappy constituents. As Mr. Cohen states:

The American taxpayer is entitled to know whether or not the maximum effort has been made, consistent with other objectives, to simplify the income tax law . . . and its administration.

That, Mr. Speaker, is to say the least—but the balance of Mr. Cohen's remarks are most pertinent to our understanding of this whole question, and our understanding about what the present administration intends to try to do about it, so I will let them now speak for themselves:

[From the U.S. News & World Report, Apr. 6, 1970]

EXCERPTS FROM AN ADDRESS BY EDWIN S. COHEN, ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY FOR TAX POLICY

Where will our tax structure be 10 years hence? What can we plan now to cope with the problems that will accompany the inevitable growth [of the tax structure]?

Since 1960 our gross national product has almost doubled.

The economic report of the President for 1970 contains a projection of the growth of the economy through the year 1975. If we carry on to 1980 the same assumptions on which the 1975 forecast is based, then 10 years from tonight we should find—

A gross national product of more than 1.8 trillion dollars, almost double the present level and almost quadruple the level of 1960.

Individual income tax revenues of some 160 billion dollars, as against some 92 billion in the current fiscal year, including the surcharge.

Corporate income tax revenue of some 75

billion dollars, as against some 37 billion—including the surcharge—at present.

90 million individual income tax returns, contrasted with less than 70 million returns under the present law. . . .

How best should we plan for the most massive tax structure in all of man's history?

I suppose that the most difficult task in government is to plan for the long-range future while attending to the myriads of daily problems that demand immediate solution. Nonetheless, I think it urgent that we devote a major effort to molding the tax structure of the future as we deal with the demanding problems of the present.

The income tax, of course, is the backbone of our federal system, providing more than 80 per cent of the revenues aside from the trust funds. We may possibly find other revenues to supplement the income tax, or supplant part of it—the value-added tax, for example, might find favor in the years ahead. But I think it safe to predict that those of us who may gather here 10 years hence will still find the income tax furnishing the major support of our Federal Government.

The year 1969 witnessed a major effort to improve the equity of the federal income tax, culminating in the signing by President Nixon on December 30 of the Tax Reform Act of 1969. We at the Treasury have described it as a milestone in tax history—and I have no doubt that history will so regard it. As I have listened to the comments and complaints of those who have studied the bill, I have heard many opinions that in one area or another we have gone too far or not far enough in the search for greater fairness in the tax system.

This divergence of opinion should disturb no one. In time we shall surely change some of the 1969 provisions as experience and reflection guide us. What has disturbed me above all in hearing the comments has been the uniform criticism of the complexity of the federal income tax law, particularly after the 1969 Act.

When I gave my first talk about the 1969 Act in January to the Association of the Bar in the City of New York, the question put to me that made the most lasting imprint was, "Whatever became of simplification?" And similar questions have been asked of me and have concerned me wherever I have gone.

I believe the American taxpayer is entitled to know whether or not the maximum effort has been made, consistent with other objectives, to simplify the income tax law. We at the Treasury are conducting a study to determine what can be done to simplify the law and its administration. We will report our findings to the Congress and to the American people.

If we can simplify, let us do so; if we cannot, let us know the reason why; if we must choose between simplification and other objectives, let us know the choices and make the decision. Particularly with the massive enlargement of the tax structure we envisage in this decade, we must press forward with this inquiry thoroughly and speedily.

Now this emphasis on simplification may come with ill grace from one who, in a moment of perhaps ill-guided humor, dubbed last year's bill the "Lawyers and Accountants Relief Act of 1969." . . .

Notwithstanding the complexities in the 1969 Act, I think it clear that we did achieve meaningful simplification for a great number of persons.

Mainly through the low-income allowance, some 7.6 million tax returns at the bottom of the economic scale that presently bear tax will no longer owe a tax and will no longer even have to be filed. This represents about 12 per cent of all the tax returns that previously showed a tax due. Moreover, we sig-

nificantly relaxed the withholding requirements, so that large numbers of persons who owe no tax—college students working in the summer, for example—will not have to file returns to recover a refund of tax needlessly withheld. I would think this qualifies as a major simplification.

Moreover, the 1969 Act will permit some 11 million additional tax returns to use the standard deduction instead of having to itemize nonbusiness deductions. We estimate this will permit some 73 per cent of all individual returns to be filed on that simplified basis as against some 58 per cent today—again a major advance in the direction of simplification.

Yet so much more needs to be done.

Let me illustrate with a reference to the reporting of pensions and annuities received by retired individuals. More than 6 million persons now receive such payments, and the number constantly increases. We have made a survey of the accuracy with which recipients of federal civil-service pension report these amounts on their tax returns. In one study, which included some moderately complicated situations, we found that 75 per cent of the tax returns reported these amounts improperly. Not only so—and this is the startling aspect—two thirds of those reporting incorrectly overstated their taxable income and paid too high a tax.

Why all this difficulty in reporting pensions and annuities? The causes are numerous. We tried at least two other simpler systems before discarding them for the present one in 1954. Now we have one that is theoretically more logical than those that preceded it, but few taxpayers seem able to comprehend it.

WHY RETURNS ARE SO COMPLICATED

More importantly, however, the present system includes a large number of efforts at precise equity adjustments, which are the source of complication. The law undertakes to vary the tax result for the presence of disability, for inclusion of some death benefits, for a refund feature and the like. The persons paying the pensions or annuities do not have sufficient information required by the present statute to inform the recipient or the Internal Revenue Service as to the amount of the payments that is subject to tax, since so many variations are critical to the result.

With all the experts gathered here this evening, I doubt that a quarter of them could readily calculate the taxable portion of the pension received by a widow of an employee under a contributory pension plan—and I will include myself among them.

Another related illustration is the retirement-income credit—a provision which affects 2 million taxpayers and itself requires a full page of form 1040. We have evidence that as many as one third of those eligible for the credit may not be claiming it because of its complexity. The complexity arises from a series of special qualifications and limitations designed to achieve more precise equity, but which are obviously defeating this very same objective in the broad sense.

I use pensions and annuities and the retirement-income credit merely as illustrations of the task before us to review the income tax law and regulations for the purpose of simplifying its operation for the millions of persons affected by it. I worry about simplicity not for the thousands who can afford expert advice on complex matters but for the millions who cannot and should not be required to do so. And I grow increasingly concerned as I look a decade ahead with our ever-growing economy. I think we can develop simpler rules in many cases if we set simplification as one of our major targets.

In the years ahead, advances in computer and other technology may also open up possibilities of administrative simplification. It

may not be beyond the realm of possibility in the future for data about salaries, wages, dividends, interest and personal exemptions for large numbers of persons to be reported by the payers directly to the Internal Revenue Service, which would calculate the tax and issue a refund or bill to the taxpayer, if he were willing to use the standard deduction and had no other sources of income. But the possibilities in this regard depend upon technological advances, and while we are exploring these techniques, any gains in this regard are likely to be, as we say in the tax law, long-term.

I believe there are also major changes we can make in the co-ordination of the income tax system of the Federal Government with those of State and local governments. Much can be done in this regard to minimize differences in the calculation of taxable income and to co-ordinate the preparation, filing and audit of tax returns and the collection of taxes.

Beyond these possibilities would lie far greater simplification if we were willing to forego some of the exemptions, deductions and allowances that have been adopted and maintained in the federal tax law in the name of equity. Some of us have experimented with computer studies of greatly simplified systems that would achieve substantially the same distribution of the tax burden among the various income classes. They do so, however, at the sacrifice of many provisions—such as nonbusiness deductions—that have been considered vital to home ownership, to charity and education, to fairness, or to the maintenance of incentives to desirable conduct.

I do not by any means advocate tonight the adoption of changes so drastic, but I do believe the possibilities should be reviewed and debated for the public benefit. The choice between simplicity on the one hand and equity or incentives on the other is one that can be made only if the pros and cons are understood and weighed.

A primary difficulty, of course, is that a simplified rule enacted to replace a complex one will necessarily raise the tax of some affected persons and lower the tax of others. There is a natural reluctance to make such a change. Perhaps this reluctance can be overcome if the effective date of the change is deferred for several years, permitting opportunity to adjust gradually to the new rules.

This technique of deferring the effective date was employed to advantage in a number of important provisions of the 1969 Act, and it may be useful in eliminating complexities on a long-range basis as we look down the decade that confronts us.

We must always appreciate that complexity in our tax laws, as well as in other laws, stems in large part from the democratic processes upon which our nation is founded and which is its greatest strength.

A law which will meld the diverse views of the members of the Committee on Ways and Means and the Committee on Finance, as well as the members of both houses of Congress, and those of the President and his Administration, will often be a compromise—and compromises are not easily forged with simplicity. We are a nation of checks and balances—and proudly so—and the tax laws will always reflect our system of government and the diverse interests of our people.

WHAT THE TREASURY IS DOING ABOUT IT?

I do not despair of further simplification for the great masses of taxpayers. We have begun a new look at the problem in the Treasury, and will report to the Congress and to the public.

We trust our study will be productive. To the extent complexity must remain, at least we shall have identified the causes, so that all will know and be aware of the reasons.

GALLAGHER HAILS REJECTION OF PROPOSAL TO TEST EVERY AMERICAN CHILD FOR CRIMINAL POTENTIALITY

HON. CORNELIUS E. GALLAGHER

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 16, 1970

Mr. GALLAGHER. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to make what I fervently hope will be the final comments on the proposal to test all the Nation's 6-year-olds for criminal potential. The very fact that such a proposal was taken seriously by those in the highest levels of our Government is a source of great concern to me.

Yet, of course, it is easy to understand how men so burdened with the worries of our nuclear world could consider something allegedly based on sophisticated science. Perhaps the most serious damage done to our Nation by this now discredited proposal will be to cast doubt upon the valid use of the psychological knowledge.

I would urge those who see the absurdity in the specific proposal advanced by Dr. Arnold Hutschnecker not to transfer that feeling to the soundly-based applications of advanced research. Our Nation needs every tool it can muster in the on-going struggle against the ills which so obviously afflict our society.

But in this case, Mr. Speaker, the cure was more dangerous than the disease. I commend the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare for recognizing that fact and for reporting unfavorably on the proposal.

Mr. Speaker, I shall insert several news articles which describe the plan and the actions which have taken place since my Privacy Subcommittee began its investigation. I would call special attention to the fine article by Miss Judith Randall, prize-winning reporter for the Washington Star. She makes the point that conformity is as deadly as any of the pollutions now undergoing scrutiny at all levels of government. I am delighted that she says substantially the same thing I have said during the 6 years I have been concerned with invasion of privacy.

Privacy permits diversity. Privacy encourages the many different ethnic and intellectual traditions in America and privacy is really what stirs the "melting pot."

And privacy is now under massive attack. This is why I also insert an editorial from the Washington Daily News on the subject of testing young men for an XYY chromosome. I would merely comment that while HEW was rejecting a proposal which could result in preordained doom because of what a child saw in an ink blot, it is funding many studies which may do the same thing over a drop of blood.

I also insert an article from the Washington Star which describes a proposal recently made by Commissioner of Education James E. Allen. Commissioner Allen apparently approves of having lo-

cal centers in school systems which "would know just about everything there is to know about the child."

It may well be, Mr. Speaker, that both of these thoughts have a great deal of merit and will not lead to the disaster which so clearly would have been the result of implementing Dr. Hutschnecker's proposal. I have, therefore, directed my subcommittee staff to study them both.

However, Mr. Speaker, I am reasonably confident that tomorrow's newspapers will bring to light proposals of equal complexity and containing similar dangers for a free society. I have proposed the creation of a Select Committee on Technology, Human Values, and Democratic Institutions for precisely this reason. I believe the Congress must have a fully funded committee whose sole purpose is to look beneath the surface of plans such as I have described and to assemble a sophisticated body of evidence in opposition to what appears to me to be the present campaign against the human spirit here in America. In light of the three proposals described herein, I would urge my colleagues in the House to look with favor upon the creation of a Select Committee on Technology, Human Values, and Democratic Institutions.

The quick and, hopefully, final disposition of Dr. Hutschnecker's plan should not blind us to similar and more modest ones which are going forward. It is relevant to recall that while my Privacy Subcommittee was able to halt the national data bank, hundreds of smaller versions are now operating with little or no privacy protection or procedures guaranteeing due process to the citizens whose dossiers have been automated.

Mr. Speaker, I again commend those who courageously resisted the seemingly inexpensive way to solve the Nation's ills offered by Dr. Hutschnecker and I insert the articles referred to at this point in the RECORD:

[From the Washington Post, Apr. 16, 1970]

CRIME TEST FOR TOTS REJECTED BY HEW

(By Robert C. Maynard)

A proposal made to the White House that all of this country's 6-year-old children be psychologically tested for their criminal potential has been deemed unfeasible by the Department of Health, Education and Welfare.

HEW said its view of the proposal, made to President Nixon last December by Dr. Arnold Hutschnecker of New York, is "most unfavorable."

Rep. Cornelius Gallagher (D-N.J.) was informed of the HEW rejection by a White House official last night. Gallagher informed HEW and the White House yesterday of his intention to hold hearings on the Hutschnecker proposal.

White House staff members would only confirm the report that HEW has rejected the proposal. It was sent to HEW on Dec. 30 by John Ehrlichman, the President's assistant for domestic affairs.

Details of the rejection were also unavailable from HEW, which was asked by Ehrlichman to advise the White House on the "advisability of setting up pilot projects embodying some of these approaches."

The approaches of Dr. Hutschnecker to the problem of urban crime are tests for all children between the ages of 6 and 8. Those

children found by the tests to have a potential for criminal behavior would be treated through a massive psychological and psychiatric program.

"The hard core," Dr. Hutschnecker said, should be confined to camps where they would learn more socially acceptable behavior patterns.

Psychiatrists and psychologists have denounced the plan as "ridiculous," "ignorant" and "Frankenstein fiction." HEW has remained silent for the 10 days since Dr. Hutschnecker's memorandum to President Nixon came to light.

Gallagher, chairman of the House Special Subcommittee on Invasion of Privacy, said last night that his staff notified the administration that hearings on the Hutschnecker proposal were being scheduled for April 24 and that eminent psychiatrists and psychologists were being invited.

Gallagher said he asked the administration if it wished to be represented, noting that he also invited Dr. Hutschnecker to testify.

The White House staff, in a conversation early last night, informed Gallagher that HEW had given the plan a failing grade.

But there was no official word from the White House that the plan is dead. In an interview Monday, Dr. Hutschnecker said that while HEW has been studying his proposal, he has been having discussions with members of the White House staff on the question of what kind of test to select for use.

[From the Washington Star, Apr. 16, 1970]

CRIME-TENDENCY TESTING AT 6 REJECTED BY HEW

A proposal by President Nixon's former physician that 6- to 8-year-olds should be tested to determine whether they have "violent and homicidal" tendencies has received an unfavorable report from the Department of Health, Education and Welfare.

The department had been asked by the President's counsel, John D. Ehrlichman, for its opinion on setting up pilot projects suggested by Dr. Arnold Hutschnecker, an internist who treated Nixon in the 1950s.

Hutschnecker had urged mass psychological testing and a variety of treatment facilities, including residential camps for "the young hard-core criminal."

Last night, Rep. Cornelius E. Gallagher, D-N.J., whose subcommittee on the right to privacy planned a hearing on the Hutschnecker proposal, said he had been informed by the White House of HEW's negative recommendation.

"I have tonight urged the President to accept the HEW report," Gallagher said. "If he does so, I see no need to hold the hearing."

The White House today indicated that HEW's opposition to the Hutschnecker proposal probably would end any further consideration.

Last week, three leading professional organizations criticized Hutschnecker's proposal, saying psychological tests for young children are of doubtful predictive value and that Hutschnecker is not a certified specialist in psychiatry.

[From the Washington Post, Apr. 14, 1970]

DOCTOR PUSHES CRIME TESTS FOR TOTS

(By Robert C. Maynard)

The New York physician who has proposed to President Nixon the testing of all six-year-old children for future criminal tendencies said last night that he has been discussing with members of the President's staff specific tests that could be used to carry out the proposal.

Dr. Arnold Hutschnecker said he could not reveal the names of the White House staff members with whom he talked. But he added:

"There are a variety of tests and we are now in the process of narrowing it down to the most reliable and the one that will cost the least."

The White House sent Dr. Hutschnecker's suggestion to the Department of Health, Education and Welfare on Dec. 30. Secretary Robert H. Finch's office has said the Department is still considering what response it will make to the White House.

Dr. Hutschnecker, whose proposal first came to light 10 days ago, has been roundly condemned by the scientific community for advocating "Frankenstein fiction" and "the problem of crime."

Reacting to that last night, Dr. Hutschnecker said in a telephone interview from his New York office:

"It's a shame to see your labor of love turned into a sinister plot."

He said his proposal for confining "hard core" youth in camps had been misunderstood. "I had children's camps in mind," he said, "a romantic setting like in the West, and with proper psychologists."

Dr. Hutschnecker said the President asked him last December to write a memorandum suggesting ideas for implementing the report of the National Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Violence.

Dr. Hutschnecker said he noted that the commission had concluded that the answer to urban crime is urban reconstruction. He said he supported that idea but felt that "urban reconstruction takes a long time. I felt testing would be a quicker way to determine who the future delinquents are."

In any case, Dr. Hutschnecker said, he feels that all children should be psychologically tested because he believes such tests will turn up emotional disturbance soon enough for therapy to be useful and effective.

"All children should be tested," Dr. Hutschnecker said. "The younger the better."

He said he does not treat children in his own practice and has no children of his own.

He was asked what he thought the public policy ought to be in cases where the parents of a child object to the universal testing he proposes.

"It is to the benefit of the child, his parents and the nation," Dr. Hutschnecker responded. "It should be handled with delicacy. The voluntary approach is the most desirable. If there is resistance, then we have a problem that needs legislation."

Dr. Hutschnecker said his idea is that those children found to be disturbed be placed in group therapy because, "you couldn't afford individual therapy for children. And they conform better in a group."

He said he has been discussing several tests with the White House Staff, but he said he is particularly impressed with a test developed at the University of Mexico by Dr. Robert Hartman. He said the Mexican government is employing the Hartman test.

He said the Hartman test actually tests the values of the subjects by asking them to state a variety of preferences along a sliding scale from great appreciation to great dislike.

Several professional associations in the field of social science have condemned Dr. Hutschnecker's work because predictive tests are thought to be highly unreliable, depending as they must, on the judgment of the person administering the test.

Furthermore, the American Psychiatric Association has said that Dr. Hutschnecker, although he has identified himself as a psychotherapist, is not qualified by the American Board of Psychiatry and Neurology.

Dr. Walter E. Barton, medical director of APA, also said there is no evidence that Dr. Hutschnecker's "proposal for the nationwide psychological testing of youngsters . . . has any support whatsoever from the profession of psychiatry."

[From the Washington Star, Apr. 16, 1970]

DANGERS IN "TENDENCIES" TESTS

(By Judith Randal)

Dr. Arnold Hutschnecker, President Nixon's physician while he lived in New York, is not a psychiatrist and is well past middle age, so he may perhaps be forgiven for not being abreast of modern behavioral research.

The unfortunate thing is that his proposal to have the government test all 6- to 8-year-olds for their "delinquent tendencies" was taken sufficiently seriously to be sent by John D. Ehrlichman, Nixon's chief domestic policy adviser, to the Department of Health, Education and Welfare for further study.

The fortunate thing is that HEW opposed the idea and the White House indicated that would end any further consideration.

Hutschnecker seemingly is no Fascist—despite the fact that this is suggested by his recommendation of special camps for incorrigible teenagers and the general tenor of "strength through joy" that runs just under the surface of his memorandum, sent to HEW in December.

The text suggests quite sensibly that "many intellectually superior young people with ideals and enthusiasm . . . would be eager to serve a great cause and their country" as counselors in remedial programs. What Hutschnecker apparently is unaware of is that this sort of domestic Peace Corps activity already exists under the aegis of the VISTA volunteers fielded by the Office of Economic Opportunity, and merely needs expansion.

Less benign is his suggestion that tendencies can be spotted in 6- to 8-year-olds that will reliably predict their behavior as teenagers or adults and his assumption that manipulating people without altering their circumstances—the filth, the hunger, the underemployment, the illness and degradation that typify our crime-breeding slums—will bring law and order in its wake.

Who knows what will be criminal behavior a decade hence? Some things, to be sure, are always crimes— theft, for example. But the criminal status of others comes and goes. The group practice of medicine is regarded as the coming thing, for example, but it still is illegal in 22 states. Abortion has been regarded as murder since the 19th century; that judgment is changing now.

With the preponderance of blacks in our inner-city slums, furthermore, Hutschnecker's thinking, as a psychiatrist has pointed out, is racist in consequence, if not in intention. The failure to recognize that criminal behavior is an interaction between the individual's idiosyncrasies and the particulars of his environment is incredibly naive.

Hutschnecker implies that his plan is a "direct, immediate and . . . effective" alternative to "urban reconstruction." Given what is known about personality development, this just isn't so.

Which brings us to the predictive value of psychological tests. In the 1890s, an Italian physician, Dr. Cesare Lombroso, after a survey of prisoners, listed physical traits which he considered stigmata of degeneration and therefore conducive to criminal behavior.

He did not, however, look at the population at large for the frequency of such traits and then follow through to learn what percentage of them became law-breakers. Although Hutschnecker would focus more on psychological than physical variables, the same fallacy can be detected in the mass-screening measures he suggests.

The Sheldon-Glueck test he refers to, for example, which was devised in the late 1940s and early 1950s and is Lombroso brought up to date, has proved to be predictive no more than 50 percent of the time.

Much the same is true of the Rorschach test, which, in any case, was designed to be diagnostic rather than prognostic. It depends

for its interpretation on what the subject sees in a standardized set of ink-blot shapes.

In the absence of continued observation of a child's actual behavior, such one-shot examinations deal with probabilities rather than certainties. To label a youngster as having criminal tendencies on this basis is to expose him to the risk of reactions from others that will make his test scores a self-fulfilling prophecy. Many children who are low achievers at school, for example, remain so because they sense that that is what is expected of them.

In his first public statement of the decade, President Nixon proclaimed the 1970s as the "now or never" years for recouping the quality of the environment. Certainly, no one can quarrel with this aim. But if we fail to recognize that an insistence on conformity is every bit as much a threat to the ecology—to use that suddenly fashionable term—as pollution and over-population, we shall be, if anything, worse off in 1980 than we are today. One era's deviant is often the social visionary of the next.

[From the Washington Daily News,
Feb. 3, 1970]

BOYS, BLOOD AND BEHAVIOR

There is a new theory in some scientific circles that males whose blood cells carry an extra Y chromosome—producing the relatively rare "super masculine" XYY pattern—may, for some as yet unfathomed reason be predisposed to violent criminal behavior.

Spooky, isn't it?

But worth investigating, particularly since the traditional explanations of delinquency—the broken home, the lack of discipline, love and security, various other deprivations—fail to justify ALL of people who, despite having what would appear to be adequate advantages, simply seem to be "born bad."

All right. Someone having raised the XYY chromosome theory, why not try to prove it out, or lay it to rest? This is what Johns Hopkins University, with financial help from the National Institutes of Mental Health is about to do.

This is where it gets really creepy.

The blood of 6,000 delinquent boys confined to Maryland's correctional institutions will be tested for the extra chromosome in the next three years as well as the blood of 7,500 boys, age two to 18, from underprivileged Negro families in East Baltimore who are now enrolled, or will enroll later, in a free Johns Hopkins medical program.

Now as long as there remains any doubt as to whether or not an extra Y chromosome may be, in some sinister a fashion, a factor in telling a lad to scrag his sister or feed his employer into the sausage machine, it would seem incumbent upon any research team to take extraordinary precautions to safeguard the identities of the children it puts to the chromosome test.

Instead, Robert C. Hillson, director of the Maryland Department of Juvenile Services blandly confirms that names of these kids found to have the XYY thing will "probably be passed on to the courts for whatever use they can make of it."

We can see a judge, or a jury, trying to be impartial when informed that the wretched youngster in the dock has got the bad blood. And we picture the parents of a two year old (parent's permission for the tests, by the way, has been largely overlooked) eyeing the potential little monster as he eats his cornflakes at breakfast. Good grief!

Two congressional committees, having read stories in The Washington Daily News about this study, are going to look into what Rep. Cornelius E. Gallagher, D-N.J., chairman of one of them, calls "a terrible question of pre-ordained doom for these guys."

Good. Someone should take a hard look.

[From the Washington Star, Apr. 15, 1970]
SET UP DATA BANKS, ALLEN URGES SCHOOLS
(By John Mathews)

U.S. Commissioner of Education James E. Allen Jr. has outlined a plan for restructuring local schools that would include computerized data systems designed to help professionals "prescribe" programs for helping pupils and their families.

The closely structured and controlled approach he suggested calls for major evaluations of a child's problems and potential before he is 6 years old, then again at 11 and 15.

In his proposal, made yesterday in a speech to the National School Boards Association convention in San Francisco, Allen suggested each local school system should have a central diagnostic center "to find out everything possible about the child and his background" to plan an individualized program for him.

"FULLY INFORMED"

After test and home visits, Allen said, the center "would know just about everything there is to know about the child—his home and family background, his cultural and language deficiencies, his health and nutrition needs and his general potential as an individual."

The information would be fed into a computer for use by a team of trained professionals who would write a "prescription" for the child "and if necessary, for his home and family as well," Allen said. "If the home is contributing negatively to the child's development, it too should receive attention and aid."

Prescriptions for dealing with the child's problems and those of his family would be made by local health and welfare departments as well as the schools, Allen said.

At the high school level, the professional team, after consulting with the student and his parents, would prescribe a course of specialized study for him. The high school course would lead to college or other post-high school training or employment.

OPPOSITION LIKELY

Allen's proposal, which he said was made to challenge school board members to think of innovative approaches, is likely to be challenged on several fronts.

Much concern has been voiced in recent years about the use of computerized data banks by governmental agencies. Some educators also say that predictive techniques, such as the one suggested by the commissioner, are dangerous in that they categorize a student too early in life.

Some critics may also see in Allen's scheme some of the elements of a plan proposed by Dr. Arnold Hutschnecker, President Nixon's former physician.

In a memorandum sent by the White House to the Department of Health, Education and Welfare for comment, Hutschnecker suggested testing of 6- to 8-year-olds to determine their "delinquent tendencies." Professional organizations have condemned the Hutschnecker plan as scientifically unsupportable.

LEGISLATION TO BAN THE SALE OF CHLORINATED HYDROCARBONS

HON. OGDEN R. REID

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 16, 1970

Mr. REID of New York. Mr. Speaker, last year I introduced in the House of Representatives a bill to ban the use of

DDT in the United States. Today, my increased knowledge and concern in the field of pesticides leads me to believe that such legislation would accomplish little toward decontaminating our environment unless we also ban the use of the other "hard pesticides" besides DDT, and also take responsible steps to provide the farmers and conservationists of our country with efficient and inexpensive replacements that are environmentally harmless.

The legislation I am introducing today would make it unlawful for any person to distribute or offer for sale in the United States or any of our territories the economic poisons DDT (DDE), dieldrin, aldrin, endrin, heptachlor, toxaphene, chlordane, and lindane—all of which are chlorinated hydrocarbons.

I am sure each one of you is by this time acutely aware of the long-term toxicity of DDT. The Commission on Pesticides and Their Relationship to the Environmental Health, appointed by the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, issued its report in November of 1969. The Commission urged the virtual elimination of the use of DDT in the United States, and at the same time warned that the other chlorinated hydrocarbons should be closely examined as to their detrimental effects. In line with this recommendation, the Department of Agriculture announced its intent to cancel the use of DDT except for narrowly defined public health purposes. However, this proposal is being appealed, by six manufacturers of DDT and it is unlikely the matter will be resolved in the near future.

Meanwhile, DDT remains on the market to be used by anyone who decides to purchase it.

This is not to say that the use of DDT in the United States has not received active consideration and condemnation. The Massachusetts State Pesticide Control Board, at the request of the Governor, recently banned the outdoor use of DDT, and Home Garden magazine has announced that it will no longer accept advertisements for products containing DDT and other chlorinated hydrocarbons. It also urged its several hundred thousand subscribers not to use this kind of pest killers.

While the use of DDT has diminished in the United States in the past few years, there has been a marked increase in the use of the other chlorinated hydrocarbons. It is important to keep in mind that although these chlorinated hydrocarbons receive less publicity than DDT, they are all more dermally toxic, and only chlordane is less orally toxic than DDT.

The U.S. Bureau of Sport Fisheries and Wildlife recently completed a 2-year study of pesticide levels in fish and our rivers and lakes. This comprehensive study found DDT in almost 100 percent of the fish samples tested, dieldrin in 75 percent, heptachlor in 32 percent, and chlordane in 22 percent. Residues of dieldrin were also found in excess of the Food and Drug Administration 0.3 parts per million limit in 15 major rivers and lakes in the United States.

The National Wildlife Federation has

also noted a close relationship between the gradual disappearance of the bald eagle from the Great Lakes area and the use of DDT and dieldrin, ingested by the eagle via highly contaminated prey. These pesticides have been proven to interfere with calcium metabolism in the eagle, and are closely related to the production of eggs with thin or flaking shells in not only the bald eagle but also ospreys, hawks, pelican, cormorants, and mallard ducks. There is also evidence that these chemicals reduce resistance to environmental stress, such as excess cold, heat, and lack of food.

Although there has been no proof positive that DDT and other chlorinated hydrocarbons present a health hazard to man, many conservationists and opponents of these pesticides have noted that emphasis has been shifted from a conservation issue to a health issue. It has been established that practically every American has accumulated in his body fat residual DDT at about 12 parts per million parts fat. Sex hormones in rats—the same as those found in man—have been proven to be affected by enzymes activated by DDT. Earlier this year the death of a 69-year-old man was attributed to chlordane, one of the chlorinated hydrocarbons, which intensive tests proved had attacked his bone marrow and restricted the manufacturing of red blood cells.

My bill would also make it illegal for any person to distribute, sell, or offer for sale in any foreign country or territory thereof any of the chlorinated hydrocarbons, unless the president or government of the country involved officially notifies the Secretary of Agriculture that the specific chlorinated hydrocarbon may be admitted to the country. This admittance would have to be renewed at the end of each consecutive year. I feel that this provision is most important, for we must not exercise double standards for the quality of life we desire and that which we would impose on others. However, we must take into account situations where the beneficial effects of such powerful pesticides are greatly outweighed by the dangers involved in using them. The World Health Organization has strongly recommended that developing nations be given the option of using chlorinated hydrocarbon pesticides during emergency situations when the lives of many people are involved, such as to control malaria epidemics. There is no denying that DDT has played an important role in saving the lives of millions of human beings from malaria and a variety of other insect-borne diseases, but continued use of such a pesticide to control a disease can soon result in the development of stronger, more resistant strains of the pest to be controlled, and makes it necessary to use continuously larger quantities of DDT to control them.

This is not to suggest that the United States is the only country actively concerned over the long-range health and environmental problems that could become acute due to the continuous use of any of the chlorinated hydrocarbons. Czechoslovakia, Sweden, and Denmark have already outlawed the use of DDT, and are currently looking into the de-

trimental effects of the other chlorinated hydrocarbons.

Finally, my bill would authorize to be appropriated such funds as shall be necessary for the Department of Agriculture, in conjunction with the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, to conduct research to develop efficient and inexpensive pesticides that are environmentally harmless. I feel the lack of such inexpensive pesticides is the only reason why the use of chlorinated hydrocarbons was not abated long ago. Effective alternatives for these pesticides have been developed; the Department of Agriculture presently lists effective alternatives for DDT, as an example, for virtually every crop on which the pesticide is used. However, we must keep in mind that the use of malathion, which has recently been recommended by the U.S. Department of Agriculture to control mosquitoes and black flies in place of DDT, would prove to be over five times as expensive per pound to the farmer. If he chose to use methoxychlor, which is also recommended to be used in place of DDT in some instances, he would pay a price over three times higher than if he used DDT, according to figures in the Pesticide Review of 1968.

Initiatives are now being taken by private sources to locate natural substances to be used in place of present pesticides. Scientists at the University of California have discovered that an oil-based spray containing a dosage of 12 parts per million of garlic, the popular flavoring plant, has a mortality rate of 100 percent on all five species of mosquitoes. I am not being facetious in stating that we must make every possible effort to make available as a substitute for persistent pesticides such natural and harmless products, which result in no environmental damage yet accomplish what is necessary to control disease.

SYMPOSIUM ON ENVIRONMENTAL NOISE

HON. ROMAN C. PUCINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 16, 1970

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, on March 18, the Chicago Hearing Society sponsored and conducted an all-day conference on noise pollution. Called the Symposium on Environmental Noise, this all-day event was the city's first communitywide conference on noise—and it was geared to arouse the community to action.

Experts in many fields were brought together to define the problem and recommend solutions—from government, labor, industry, law, medicine, psychology, aviation, and engineering. Judging by the response on the part of those who attended and on the part of the media, noise pollution is at last recognized as an insidious and dangerous element that is worsening the quality of life for all of us.

The Chicago Hearing Society conceived of and presented this symposium because, for over half a century, this private, voluntary health agency has focused on hearing conservation. Logi-

cally, it is concerned about noise—which demonstrably causes hearing loss in varying degrees, especially on prolonged exposure. It saw the need for community action at the grassroots level.

I was very happy to participate in this first symposium on noise and am pleased to include my own remarks, as well as those of others, in the RECORD today.

The Chicago Hearing Society stands ready to give support and encouragement to citizen groups in their attack on the problem of noise. It will provide speakers, films, and literature, as well as guidance in technical matters. The time is ripe for such efforts. Authorities see in the increasing rate of hearing loss a component they call "sociocusis"—loss of hearing caused by the social environment. A survey by the U.S. Public Health Service between 1959 and 1961 revealed that in the general U.S. population the rate of hearing impairment per 1,000 persons was 7.6 for those under 25, 22.2 for those aged 25 to 44, and 51.2 for those aged 45 to 64. Continued exposure to loud noise is believed to be a major cause of this increase. We know that sound insulation requirements in European building codes go back as far as 1938. But in the United States the closest thing we have to such codes is the set of suggested noise control standards in FHA-financed housing, which fall far short of the European ones.

Mr. Richard W. Daspit, president of the Chicago Hearing Society and his entire staff deserve our highest commendation for arranging this significant symposium.

I am including in the RECORD today the remarks by Mayor Richard J. Daley, who opened the symposium, my own remarks as keynote speaker, and the remarks of other authorities who participated in the symposium:

SPEECH BY MAYOR RICHARD J. DALEY

It is my pleasure to welcome this important symposium on environmental noise conducted by the Chicago hearing society.

I am glad to see this recognition that the problem of noise is an important one. Recently, the city of Chicago revised its environmental control ordinance and in doing so included the goal of noise abatement.

We know too little about the long-range effects of noise upon the human system. Hopefully, you will begin to probe for the answer during this symposium. I believe that the presence of city officials at this meeting indicates the seriousness with which Chicago officially regards the subject.

Our Health Commissioner, Dr. Brown, and our Environmental Control Commissioner, Mr. Poston, both have life-long commitments to improving the health of the community by reducing the pollutants which damage us—whether the pollutants constitute germs which adversely affect the human body—or irritants which affect the nervous system.

The city has long recognized the problems of noise. We never followed the philosophy that noise was a necessary adjunct to a prospering city. We felt and still feel that progress can be made while controlling the noise level.

For example—we have long had a city ordinance which required construction work to cease operations from 9:30 in the evening until 8:00 in the morning when the site of such work is within 600 feet of residences or a hospital. There have been prosecutions in court under this ordinance.

City ordinance now restrict noise and vibration to permissible limits. There are re-

strictions on use of bells, whistles, rattles, and other noise makers. These noise makers include pneumatic drills and other tools used in construction.

When the city eliminated the old streetcars, it also eliminated a good deal of the street noise which accompanied them. And we're looking forward to tearing down the elevated structure in the loop—which contributes to the decibel level in the downtown area.

Another important source of noise is the jet aircraft engine. Recently the airplane manufacturers and airline companies said that the engines could be modified to substantially reduce the noise level. It will be a most expensive undertaking. But it is an undertaking which is most desirable and it must be encouraged. The airlines, and the industry in general, and the Federal Government must be convinced that this is a most necessary project. It is obvious that no city can enact local ordinances which will combat the problem created by jet planes landing and taking-off. The imposition of standards must come from the Federal Government so that they will be uniform throughout the country... and to avoid confusion. If there is one standard, the airline industry can meet that standard, whereas it would be difficult, if not impossible, if the industry had to meet a different standard in each city with which it did business.

The Federal Government has a significant role to play in setting acceptable standards in the entire field of environmental control. As I have said often, when we are dealing with air and water pollution we are dealing with a subject which can not be handled on a local level. There must be regional standards since air and water pollution cross state lines and municipal boundaries. There can only be progress in this field when every community is putting its major efforts into it. Chicago must do its part but so must Gary, Indiana, Milwaukee, Wisconsin, and every other governmental unit in the area.

And above all, we must have the facts upon which to base reasonable controls. At present the Federal Government has not said what is a dangerous level of pollution. We must know precisely at what amount sulphur-dioxide in the air endangers the health of the average citizen... and we must have this precise data for the other pollutants—dust, nitrogen-oxide—and the like. Until we have this kind of realistic standard, we only will be alarming the public without giving the public full information. We have monitoring networks on air pollution in Chicago and we have accepted the guidelines which the Federal Government has provided... but we need more precise and more factual standards.

We need the same kind of thorough research into the problem of noise pollution. It is not enough to say that noise is dangerous. We must know how it is dangerous, in what decibel range, and what frequency range. In other words, we must have the facts if we are to act responsibly. I would hope that symposiums such as this will further that cause.

I wish you a most productive meeting and assure you of the support of the city of Chicago for any measures which will reduce noise and improve the health of the people of our city.

The National Institute of Mental Health reports that three out of every ten Americans suffer some form of emotional instability to a greater or lesser degree.

When you consider a nation of 210 million people, this would mean that some 70 million Americans experience varying degrees of emotional difficulty.

There is mounting evidence that noise—constant excessive noise—is a significant contributor to this troubling phenomenon among humans.

Wild animals can escape noise by fleeing to quieter parts of the forest but human beings—especially in the big cities—are trapped in a cacophony of this man-made torture. And that's why we're here today.

Over the past few months there has been so much talk about "man and his environment" that the phrase has practically become a cliché.

"Environment", "ecology", and "pollution" have become catchwords, and the environmental umbrella is wide enough to cover the entire political spectrum, all the way from Chamber of Commerce types to student radicals.

Environment is definitely "in" this year and "ecology" has become the new code word for instant recognition.

The widespread clamor over the environment is a typically American response to the perception of a new problem. We seem characteristically to move from a state of total apathy to a state of alarm bordering on hysteria. Finally, after the first shock waves have dissipated, we are able to approach the problem in a more rational way. We have seen this pattern repeated over a whole range of issues, from space to transportation to poverty.

We may not be able to change the pattern, which is after all a very human reaction; but hopefully experience will enable us to diminish the amount of time spent in the "apathy" and "panic" phases and move more rapidly to the point where we can make a rational judgment.

Environmental noise is a good example of an issue which is now in the panic stage.

For years we ignored the growing assault on our ears and our sensibilities which excessive noise produced.

Now suddenly the issue has exploded. We see articles in national magazines with titles such as "Noise is a Slow Agent of Death."

Today I ask that we look at the problem of environmental noise as objectively as we can. Hopefully we can move this issue into the rational, problem-solving stage.

Noise may be defined as unwanted sound.

This definition is an imperfect one because it is necessarily subjective. Sounds that are pleasant to your ears may be irritating to mine, and vice versa. However, there can be no disagreement that the total sound level to which we are subjected has increased steadily for many years; and the worst is yet to come!

This is a natural consequence of increased population, increased concentration of that population in large urban centers, and technological change.

By 1980, we estimate 78 per cent of the American population will be living in 12 major metropolitan areas. I will leave to you a judgment of the noise problems such concentration of population will create.

Noise levels have already reached a point where they cause insufferable irritation and discomfort.

In some cases, noise has been clearly identified as a cause of damage to physical or mental health even though the total dimensions of the noise-related health problem have yet to be determined.

But preliminary research already indicates excessive noise does have a grim and often bizarre impact on the psyche and human emotions.

You may be sure that the widespread sense of alarm felt by so many citizens is shared by all of us in the Federal government, both in the executive branch and in the Congress.

In short, noise pollution is now a public issue and must rank in the same order of importance as all aspects of the environmental problem.

Federal activities in the environmental noise area have been rather limited in the past. Historically, noise has been considered a local problem to be handled by local and State governments. Even now there is no generally applicable Federal anti-noise law.

The Federal government has exercised regulatory authority in only two areas—aircraft noise and industrial noise.

I remember only too well my own crusade during the past decade to deal with unbearable noise from jets landing and departing at O'Hare Field which lies in the shadow of my District. While the shattering noise was driving many of my constituents to deeprooted frustrations, our protests fell on deaf ears in the F. A. A. But, finally, today we have tolerable noise standards under which future aircraft will not be certificated if it generates noise in excess of these standards.

Aircraft noise has received much more attention from the Federal government than other sources of environmental noise because the interstate commerce clause of the Constitution, plus the practical necessities of the aviation industry, have combined to place control and regulation of aviation squarely in the hands of the Federal government.

In recognition of this responsibility, Congress passed the Aircraft Noise Abatement Act in 1968. This Act gave the needed recognition to the noise problem and removed it from the "minor nuisance" category. It gave the Federal Aviation Agency the authority to establish and enforce limits on aircraft noise. The only limitations on this authority are the requirements of air safety—which must always come first—and the technological and economic feasibility of the proposed noise limitations.

The Administrator of the FAA was instructed to proceed with a noise abatement program, but to proceed in a manner consistent with the highest standards for safety and continued development of national aviation.

As a result of this Act, there has been rapid progress in reducing aircraft noise. Procedures for jet aircraft departure which specify routes and reduced power settings for climbing flight over urban areas have been established.

Noise suppression is now considered as a critical design problem for future products. Research on jet engines is progressing to identify and correct noise generating features. And ways of improving existing equipment are also being developed.

Under the authority of this Act, the FAA has established new regulations regarding allowable noise levels for aircraft engines. These regulations will establish maximum noise levels for most commercial airliners at 102 to 108 decibels, depending on the take-off weight of the aircraft.

Since some of today's aircraft operate at sound levels of up to 120 decibels, the new regulations represent a decrease of over 50 per cent in allowable noise levels.

Unfortunately, the regulations do not apply to aircraft engines in service before December 1, 1969. This means that the effect of the new rules will be felt only gradually, as older engines wear out and are replaced. I have proposed a total tax credit for all money spent on replacing old and noisy jet power plants as a further inducement for retrofitting older aircraft as soon as possible.

It should be noted that the new Boeing 747, despite its great size, is much quieter than presently operating jet aircraft such as the 707 and the DC-8. This reflects the fact that noise suppression was taken into account throughout the development phase of the aircraft.

Before leaving the subject of aircraft noise, a word about the supersonic transport is in order. I'm sure you are all familiar with the controversy about the SST and the sonic boom. As of now the sonic boom debate has been at least postponed, if not resolved, by general agreement that the SST will not fly over land areas at supersonic speeds.

Of course, the danger always remains that, once the SST exists, economic pressures will cause the restrictions on the overland supersonic flight to be relaxed.

Even without the sonic boom, the SST could be a major noise problem because of the great power of its engines. The manufacturers have been instructed to incorporate all feasible sound reducing systems in the SST design. For this aircraft, the technical challenge is difficult. You may be certain that those of us interested in noise abatement will watch this situation carefully.

Let me warn SST developers now. Their aircraft will not be certificated regardless of how much billions they spend if they fail to deal with the noise and sonic boom problem.

Industrial noise is another area in which the Federal government has taken a significant role. The authority for Federal action in this area is the Walsh-Healey Act, which is concerned with industrial health and safety generally. This Act only applies to industrial firms which have Federal contracts totaling \$10,000 or more during a given year, so there are large portions of industry untouched by these regulations.

Under the authority of the Walsh-Healey Act, regulations on occupational noise exposure went into effect in 1969. These regulations set limits of permissible noise exposure, taking into account the duration of the exposure as well as its loudness.

For example, a worker may be exposed to a noise level of 105 decibels (on the "A" scale, which translates sound energy levels into perceived loudness) for an hour. However, if the time of exposure is eight hours, the permissible noise level drops to 90 decibels on the "A" scale. While these regulations do not cover all of industry, it is hoped that they will serve as guidelines for those industrial firms not directly covered by the Walsh-Healey Act.

In addition to its regulatory actions, the Federal government is currently involved in a number of research projects concerned with noise abatement. Aircraft noise related research has been conducted by NASA, the Department of Transportation, and the Department of Defense. Other aspects of environmental noise have been studied on a smaller scale by the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, the Department of Housing and Urban Development and the Department of Commerce. There is every reason to believe that Federally-sponsored research in noise abatement will continue in the future, hopefully on a larger scale than the small-scale research effort of the past.

We must make our biggest breakthrough in soundproofing our homes. As most of you know, this is not easy. We have made significant progress—NASA, HUD, DOD are all knee-deep in research and we're looking for major breakthroughs. I have Taft High School in my District which lies directly below the final approach on Runway 27 at O'Hare. I also have Resurrection Hospital at the foot of Runway 4. Both suffer an intolerable situation on noise.

As both noise levels and tempers continue to rise, Congress will inevitably have to deal even more effectively with the environmental noise problem over the years to come.

It is possible that we may see the formulation of a national standard for environmental noise levels, just as there are now national standards for the more limited areas of aircraft noise and industrial noise.

Certainly, scientific research on noise suppression techniques, and on the physical and psychological effects of prolonged exposure to a noisy environment, will have to be pursued.

I shall introduce shortly an amendment to the existing law which would permit an accelerated amortization for tax purposes on money spent to reduce noise. We now permit such a write-off on investments dealing with water and air pollution. Since I insist we begin treating noise with equal vigor as a pollutant, I know of no reason why money spent on anti-noise programs should not also be given favorable tax treatment. Whatever the specific course that we follow will be, it

is the duty of the Congress and of us all, to avoid the twin evils of apathy on the one hand and panic on the other. Our goal must be a policy on environmental noise that will really serve the public interest. With the help of informed and concerned citizens like those gathered here today, I believe that we can meet this challenge.

May I conclude by asking you to join me in killing immediately a budding nationwide campaign which some huckster has dreamed up to deal with littering at the expense of increased noise.

The other morning I heard a commentator on CBS in Washington urging his audience to join a nationwide effort to get motorists to sound on their auto horn the Morse code for the letter "L" whenever they see a litterbug littering the streets or highways.

Honestly, he would have 55 million motorists sound out Di-Da-Di-Di (. — . .) every time they see a litterbug.

Can you imagine 55 million motorists "Di-Da-Di-Di" all day long. They'd drive this nation right out of its mind.

"Let these litterbugs know big brother is watching," the commentator said. "See a litterbug doing his work—hit the horn! OK, you horn hunters, go get them," he concluded. And all of this in earnest seriousness.

Now, you can see what an enormous challenge confronts this symposium on noise.

With a Di-Di-Di --- which in Morse code is "S" for Silence, thank you.

NOISE AND HUMAN BEHAVIOR (By Harold G. Wakeley, IIT Research Institute)

Noise effects on behavior may be broadly classified as being related to either psychological, physiological or performance areas. A noise will probably affect more than one of these at a time but for convenience each area is usually discussed separately.

WORK PERFORMANCE

To take the last area first, the studies of the effects of noise on performance have yielded sufficiently different results, depending upon the test and noise conditions used, that it may be stated that noise either improves, disrupts or has no effect on objective task performance. If task improvement is noted, the results are often attributed to the increased attention paid to the test subject or to similar activities which induce the subject to devote more effort to performance. If a decrement in performance is noted, it is frequently stated that distraction has prevented the acquisition of information essential for task completion. This latter effect appears to frequently be the case, particularly in complex intellectual tasks which first require the acquisition of information followed by abstract mental operations. It has been demonstrated that noise may seriously interfere with the initial phase of information collection, while facilitating the mental manipulations which require freedom from distraction by new incoming stimuli (Woodhead, 1964). It has been hypothesized that the noise interferes with the collection of information by competing for the limited number of channels of information input available. As these channels are scanned, if noise is present, some of the information available cannot be received. As a consequence, the individual must either take more time to insure that all the relevant information is available, or proceed at the usual pace with a higher risk of producing an incorrect result or response. The logical consequence of the latter approach is a higher error or accident rate. It might be noted here that the noise need not be continuous or intrude directly upon the presentation of the information to be used. The continuity of the noise, in time, with the useful information is apparently sufficient to introduce blocking of the stimulus inputs

even though no noise is present during the actual period of information presentation.

Unlike the tasks with a strong mental or abstract component, clerical or formboard tests which utilize paper and pencil or other visual objects show little if any decrement attributable to noise. An experiment which indicates something of the nature of the differences between the different tests and results required students to read aloud for ½ hour while exposed to music or quiet (Fendrick). Although the music-exposed students read slightly more during the period, they also performed significantly worse on a test of comprehension. This performance might be taken to indicate that although the simple sensorimotor activity of reading aloud is unaffected, incorporation of the abstract material is interfered with. Unlike the intellectual tasks described, the simpler sensorimotor tasks are generally less likely to show noise induced decrements. Tasks of this type have included card sorting and translating written material into code as well as tasks with a strong motor component, such as typing, tracking and gun range finding and coordination tests which require only the performance of a simple series of button pressing or implement handling maneuvers. It should not be surprising that these tasks show no remarkable effect because very few other manipulations are universally capable of causing decrements in this type of performance. Monitoring tasks or continuous work tasks which require continuous discrimination of correct responses have been reported to demonstrate a sensitivity to noise as evidenced by tendencies to "block" response, or, with practice, make errors in identifying the correct stimulus light. This blocking behavior has been compared to the eyeblink in that a momentary period of refractory stimulus sensitivity occurs when perception is evidently not possible. These periods occur most frequently shortly after the beginning of a trial and decrease in occurrence with time. Highly practiced subjects tend to make incorrect responses rather than fail to respond, indicating that at least a portion of the entire response is so highly conditioned that it is elicited even under inadequate conditions of stimulation.

Other studies have also indicated that this searching for relevant visual stimuli is one of the tasks more sensitive to interference by noise. An example of this is continuous searching for particular line patterns in a scrambled set of designs (Luc-kelsh). By permitting the subjects to pace themselves it was possible to determine the amount of time required to detect all of the patterns. This time was longer for subjects exposed to factory noise than for those in a quiet environment. This and other studies have shown that if workers are permitted to set their own rate of performance, noise generally tends to produce a slowing of activity with time. If he is working independently of a machine or other pacing device this change in performance may be made up by a later compensatory increase in speed. If the task is paced however, the worker cannot speed up to make up lost time or responses. With a paced performance then, any decrease in efficiency is lost for all time. An experiment which demonstrates the above effect while adding some additional complexity has been reported (Jerison). A number of lights were connected to timers so that they would flash at different rates. The subject was required to press a button next to each light after it had flashed a given number of times. The task is obviously quite similar to a number of process control tasks, or for the distaff members, to preparing a meal with several dishes in various stages of preparation at the same time. The object of the experiment is, quite simply, to respond as soon after the required number of flashes has occurred as possible. Noise exposures have been shown to affect this type of performance consistently. The

inference is that noise is interfering in some manner with short-term memory which is necessary for holding and updating the flash count for each lamp, or in process control, the time since the last response * * *

Dornic has recently demonstrated that the effect of noise on memory span and thus short term memory is attributable to auditory activity and not to direct interference with the visual process. A variety of explanations for this interference are still available but the salient point at this time is that the memory span is affected adversely by suitable noise levels.

In summary, the literature on performance efficiency indicates that the simple sensorimotor tasks, tasks which may become so well learned that they may be performed in your sleep, do not usually demonstrate any remarkable susceptibility to noise. On the other hand, as the complexity or abstract portion of the task becomes more predominant, noise exposure is more likely to interfere with either adequate reception of all of the pertinent information or with its manipulation. Instances may be found, even here, however, where noise may apparently facilitate performance under laboratory test conditions. Theorizing and more basic experimentation indicates that the facilitation observed may be attributable to alterations in arousal level and attendant receptivity to stimulation as well as to changes in the information handling capacity of the individual.

Many of the changes in response to noise, both improvements and decrements in performance, are a function of attitudinal or individual factors rather than constants applicable to the general population. Thus, experiments in which it was deliberately suggested to the subjects that noise would probably improve or interfere with task performance have shown exactly these results (Mech, Broadbent). Similarly, individuals who fatigue more rapidly while performing a task under quiet conditions are the most likely to show adverse effects from noise exposure. The reasoning explaining this effect is that most people performing a task have a performance reserve available so that if an additional stressor is added to the situation they increase their effort sufficiently to maintain their level of performance. If the individual is operating at near to maximum capacity however the additional burden of responding in the presence of noise becomes apparent as a decrement in performance or output.

PSYCHOPHYSIOLOGICAL RESPONSE

Even though work performance is not always discernably affected by noise, psychological functioning may be considerably altered. This constellation of responses is frequently termed annoyance, however, it is apparent that considerably more than an attitude is involved in the psychological response to noise. It is in this area of the physiological and subtle nervous response of the organism to noise that the most evident basic progress is being made. By determining the effects of noise and similar stressors upon both human and animal subjects it is becoming possible to predict the non-obvious effects of stimulation which may reach into areas of our life quite remote from the original conditions of stimulation.

The complete relationship between noise, physiological and psychological state have not yet been rigorously defined. On the contrary, a variety of theories concerning the mechanisms and effects are still being constructed. A set of constructs that are useful in explaining and predicting some of the effects of noise exposure on humans involve the assumption that the noise stimulus is capable of producing arousal and distraction. A brief description of these two concepts may help to put some of the observed effects of noise into some sort of perspective.

D. O. Hebb, in 1955, proposed that a change in stimulation may serve not only as cues for the organism but may also activate or

arouse areas of the cortex which are involved in the response to the cues. The level of arousal achieved under a particular set of circumstances affects the efficiency with which a response is performed. Too little arousal may result in an adequate response, while too much arousal may result in a blockage or interference with the appropriate response. This effect had been demonstrated behaviorally and a law describing the interaction between stimulation and response as an inverted U had been put forth. There is thus some level of stimulation, which is the point at the top of the inverted U, that is optimum for eliciting the response under the given conditions. This optimum level is a function of the state and history of the organism as well as of the environment.

The ultimate function of arousal is to promote a generalized altering * * * to stimulus inputs and to adapt the organisms activity or stimulus seeking behavior to the environment. This permits the subject to achieve and maintain a specific level of homeostasis. Physiologically, the arousal described originates in the reticular formation of the brain and affects the individual's psychological state as well as the state of the central nervous system. These effects may be demonstrated by measuring the secretion of various hormones, by autonomic system measures such as pulse rate, body temperature, respiration and rate of eyeblink or by recording the electrical activity of the brain.

Noise, as we usually conceive of it, is a stimulus which is particularly suited for eliciting arousal. The variability of onset and duration of noise, and the various levels and patterns it may acquire, serve to produce the changes in stimulation which are necessary conditions for elicitation of the arousal response in the brain. The arousal created by noise may or may not be conducive to adequate performance of the tasks required as indicated by the inverted U shaped curve where optimum performance is at the top of the U with a decline at either side.

At the same time that the noise stimulus is aiding in the induction of a specific degree of arousal it usually possesses some characteristic of distinguishability which will prove distracting. This aspect of the noise stimulus depends to a considerable degree upon the frame of reference of the individual and carries the meaning or cues for response which may or may not be of use in the particular situation. The amount of meaning that the noise possesses for the individual then is a measure of its intelligibility and similarly an indication of the degree to which it will interfere with the other stimuli that the subject is trying to attend to. The interference may be conceptualized more readily if it is assumed that the individual can only receive information through a limited number of channels at a time, and must therefore attend to his environment by switching from one channel to another. If a noise with high intelligibility is inserted in some of these channels, useful information cannot be processed during that period and as a consequence some material of possible use to the person will be omitted and possibly the noise will be accepted as information. If it is assumed that arousal controls the rate at which channels are switched or explored it appears that there is some optimal rate of switching which will permit the input of the most amount of information while permitting appropriate response. Obviously the most desirable rate of switching is a function of the complexity of the material being used and the activity required, as well as the degree of intelligibility or distractability of the noise stimulus.

Levels of arousal and distractability which are other than optimal for the achievement of homeostasis in the environment will produce stress or the requirement of the body to exert additional effort to maintain itself under the conditions of exposure.

The relation between arousal levels and stress has not been rigorously defined, however it may be stated that stimulation beyond certain ascertainable limits, such as noise under experimentally controlled conditions, will contribute to the development of a stress syndrome or response. Many sources of stimulation, such as electrical shock, noise, heat, cold, or confinement have been shown to be physiologically equivalent and additive under suitable conditions so that they may be used to induce similar physiological responses which are of a defensive nature. It is quite possible, therefore, that exposure to a single stress condition, such as a fixed period of noise, may not affect the well-being of an individual, however, combined with social pressures which do not offer a possibility of a solution or with other living conditions which are equally stressing, a dramatic alteration in the person's adjustment may occur. Very little of this is purely demonstrable with the man in the street, however an increasing number of animal and human laboratory studies indicate that just these conditions may be developed.

Recent evidence that noise exposures can be extremely stressful has been presented as a result of work with the offspring of animals exposed to noise or other stressors during pregnancy. Morra, of Purdue University has demonstrated repeatedly that exposing pregnant female rats to a series of 12 noise blasts (96 db) repeated for 5 days during the second semester of pregnancy induced lasting changes in the emotional response of the offspring. Emotional response is here defined in terms of the amount of activity observed when the animal is placed upon an open field board. The reduction in movement observed as compared with controls, was interpreted as an increased fear of the new environment. These results have been achieved by many other investigators using a variety of sound exposures and other sources of stimulation such as controlled electric shock. This altered behavior observed in the offspring of stressed rats is accompanied by alterations in central nervous system development and growth pattern, as well as the occurrence of precocious puberty in females (Petroopoulos et al., 1968) (Vernadakis, et al., 1967). It is of more than passing interest that Morra has demonstrated that treating the pregnant female rats with ethanol prior to exposure to the noise did decrease the stressing effects of the noise and consequently alleviated the effects of the stress upon the development of the offspring.

Similar behavioral symptoms of stress are also observable in mice exposed to crowding (Kelley, 1962) indicating that any of a variety of factors in our environment may contribute or interact to produce a stress syndrome which may then be expressed in a variety of ways not at all obvious upon initial inspection.

It should be obvious that the effects of noise upon humans are not generally as dramatic as those cited in the studies of prenatally stimulated offspring described. The variety of other variables operating upon humans and their unique adaptability makes determination of any such effects very difficult at the least, in addition to which the sensitivity of the animals to the experimental treatments, and the equivalence of the treatments to human exposure, do not permit direct extrapolation of the results.

The effects of noise upon human psychological behavior are likely to be much more prosaic, but still based upon the concepts of stress produced by arousal and distraction.

The general arousal which may be induced by noise exposure does appear to be expressed in social activity. The single most impressive instance of this behavior is reported by Green and O'Neal. A number of their recent experiments have been concerned with the stimulation or elicitation of aggression by pres-

entation of various visual materials showing aggressive activity. In this particular experiment the male subjects were shown either an aggressive boxing film or a film depicting nonaggressive sporting activities such as skiing. A situation was then devised which permitted the subjects to deliver electric shocks to an experimental accomplice. During this time the subjects were either stimulated with white noise, which was calculated to produce general arousal, or were provided with normal sound environment. The subjects who had seen the boxing film and were exposed to the noise delivered the most shocks and tended to deliver shocks of greater intensity to their accomplices. The subjects who had not seen the boxing film and who were not exposed to noise produced the least amount of aggressive behavior. Analysis of the data also indicated that the greatest difference in aggression was due to the presence or absence of the noise induced arousal. No report of the subjects' feelings about the noise, whether they considered it as an annoyance or not, was given, however the noise was effective in permitting the release of aggressive responses which were better controlled when the person was under a lower level of arousal.

This is obviously only one experimental test of the effectiveness of a stressor such as noise in releasing aroused but hitherto controlled emotions, however, the possibilities to be explored in the effects of this form of stimulation upon social interaction could prove to be extremely interesting. If high levels of arousal can be consistently elicited which promote various social responses the possibility of systematically manipulating psychological response through control of the environment becomes less of an art and more of a predictable discipline. It is a body of knowledge such as this that will be necessary if behavioral scientists are eventually to be able to determine the optimal conditions for human performance in a technologically and socially complex society.

General statements concerning the annoyance value of various noises are difficult to provide not only because of the wide range of possible noises available, but because each individual is prepared to perceive the sounds in quite different manners. Depending upon the previous associations with noise or the activities that the individual is intent upon his response to the noise may range from actual seeking behavior to avoidance or complaint. It has been demonstrated, and is a part of conventional wisdom, that the noises associated with personal activity are not nearly as objectionable as those of other people engaged in other or identical tasks. A part of this is because the noise is usually providing cues of task accomplishment or possibly providing the individual with a means of blocking out unwanted intrusive stimuli. On the other hand, the noises of neighbors are usually rated as far more objectionable even though the same equipment may be in operation. Noises which are associated with known but remote fears, such as a siren, an airplane flying low directly overhead or the conversation of staff in a hospital may be well within the levels of noise which are tolerable but the emotional meaning is sufficiently potent that the subject's attention is invariably distracted and as a consequence he becomes increasingly annoyed with the exposure.

Adaptation to both neutral and emotionally laden noises will occur with repeated exposure. This adaptation will be a function of several variables which also control the initial response. These include, the frequency with which a noise occurs, and its intensity as well as the pitch of the noise. Noises with higher pitch are generally rated as more annoying. As noises change in randomness of onset, intensity or point of origin the annoyance value also increases. All of those factors which have to do with chang-

ing stimulus qualities might thus be expected to change the annoyance value of a sound.

There is also some evidence that personality factors may affect response to noise. Frith has utilized a model put forth by Eysenck which purports to describe people on an introversion-extroversion personality scale as a function of their liability to arousal or response to stimulation. Using the tools available and noise as a stimulus demonstrated that certain levels of noise will cause an increase in arousal in extroverts which improved their performance on the specific tasks but which did not affect the performance of introverts who are already responding at peak efficiency. The study puts forth more questions than answers, such as, are there introversion-extroversion differences in the annoyance properties of noise as well as the better defined levels of arousal? and do the personality types perform differently on a variety of tasks related to conventional human performance or behavior? Similarly, what would have happened if the introvert group supposedly operating at peak arousal level were exposed to increased noise loads? Some of these answers are forthcoming already.

At least one study by Cohen et al. directed at the relation between personality and response to noise, has indicated that the poorest performance on a vigilance task with high levels of noise was exhibited by subjects with anxiety and neurotic tendencies as revealed by a personality questionnaire. Extending the work of Frith introversion was also shown to be associated with poor test performance.

The effects of noise upon sleep disruption are relevant to discussions of human behavior in that the subsequent performance of individuals with inadequate sleep or interrupted sleep patterns is likely to be poorer than that of the well rested individual. If sleep interruption is severe enough changes in perception and social response occur which may even extend to hallucinations and delusional response. These conditions are obviously rarely experienced except in the laboratory but are of interest as indications that more subtle responses may occur with lesser amounts of deprivation.

Conversely, noise can facilitate the performance of people who have been deprived of adequate sleep. Systematic experiments utilizing sleep deprived persons performing vigilance tasks have shown that the general arousal produced by noise exposure partially compensates for the decreased arousal shown with sleep deprivation. This compensation has limits, obviously, and its practicality as a performance tool is limited to some extent.

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SUMMARY

In summary, noise affects human behavior by inducing changes in work performance, the production of psychological responses either directly to the noise

or by releasing responses which would normally be held in control, and by interfering with adequate rest or sleep patterns. It has been indicated that work performance is most affected when complex tasks are involved. These tasks frequently involve timing behaviors and a requirement for attending to a number of different tasks which are proceeding at different rates. Psychological response to noise is much more difficult to evaluate because of the variety of meanings that the noise possesses for the different subjects and the conditions of exposure. It appears that the most profitable exploration of psychological noise effects may be the indirect approach of experimentally determining the degree of psychophysiological stress imposed upon animals and humans as a consequence of various noise exposures. Of equal importance is the determination of the effects of noise on social response of humans. This area has received no reasonable attention, yet it is entirely possible that a whole area of manipulation of social response may be available through the control of stressors such as noise. Similar, though less direct control over personal and social behavior may also be available through manipulation of the sleep environment so that the sleep obtained is sufficient that thought processes and personal responses are not interfered with. As the technological and social pressures in our rapidly changing society increase we are going to find that the stresses associated with noise are going to become very important factors in the production of a habitable environment. From the evidence available, it appears that the time for research is now and not after conditions have advanced to a point where active remedial action cannot be taken.

A SYSTEMS ANALYST'S VIEW OF NOISE AND URBAN PLANNING

(By Martin Wachs and Joseph L. Schofer, assistant professors, Department of Systems Engineering and Center for Urban Studies, University of Illinois at Chicago Circle)

[Figures not shown in RECORD]

INTRODUCTION

The seventies have arrived with the promise that they will be the decade of the environment. At the beginning of the sixties only a few vocal conservationists and some activist ecologists were truly worried about the effects of technology on the quality of our natural and man-made environment. The rest of us generally enjoyed the benefits of modern transportation systems and industrial processes without too much concern for their effects upon the air we breathe, the water we drink and swim in, the countryside we see, or the sounds which surround us in our daily lives. Today, the layman is more vitally concerned with these issues, and it is fashionable to speak of conservation and ecology in the mass media and at cocktail parties. Time will show us whether this concern is merely a passing fad which will fade away without much effective action to show for today's vocal energy, or whether we are indeed at the threshold of a decade of technological humanism during which we will act collectively to make technology perform according to a new set of environmental standards.

Guiding the development of the environments in which we live, whether rural or urban, is a task of very great complexity. A broad spectrum of technologies makes some aspects of life easier and more pleasant, but some technologies have detrimental side effects, and in general, the introduction of technologies has served to increase both the number and complexity of the interactions which affect and are affected by our daily lives.

For example, the use of chemical fertilizers has greatly increased farm productivity; many families have been forced to leave the

land and enter the cities because of the reduced economic need for large numbers of farmers; in some cases, agricultural chemicals have polluted streams and even poisoned food products; the market for natural fertilizers has all but been eliminated, and consequently, the by-products of urban sewage treatment facilities cannot be sold. To understand and accurately anticipate the round of effects which result from major changes in the environment, such as the introduction of new technologies, the construction of new public and private facilities, or even major modifications in social policies, there is an increasing need for more reliable, comprehensive, and diverse information about the interactions between technology and the environment for living. Without such information, choices which will have important impacts on the quality of our lives may be made, as has often occurred in the past, without regard for the nature and incidence of these impacts.

Therefore, if desirable, rational change is to be fostered, a strong information base, leading to theories and methodologies for analysis, prediction, and choice will be required. Because of the diversity of these needs, many skilled people, possessing a broad variety of capabilities, must be called upon to contribute to the process. Those who develop and design our new systems, frequently engineers, must come to their tasks with a broader set of information support than they have had in the past. Beyond their own capabilities, they will need increasingly more comprehensive and reliable assistance from medical doctors, behavioral and life scientists, ecologists, lawyers, and representatives of virtually every area of study.

Medical specialists must act to understand and anticipate the effects of new technological systems upon our bodies, and psychologists must measure and predict their effects upon our behavior. Legal experts must work all of this information into legislative and fiscal programs which enable us to build new systems to improve certain aspects of the quality of life while minimizing detrimental effects upon other aspects of the quality of life.

A difficult but essential task is the translation of information developed by these various specialists into the design of environments which improve the quality of our daily lives. If medical specialists determine that noise of certain frequencies and intensities is harmful to hearing in a laboratory, or psychologists determine that there are particular thresholds of noise levels which decrease one's ability to concentrate or relax, this in no way assures that we can design our cities to minimize harmful effects, or to allow concentration and relaxation. Today we are learning more about the physiological and psychological impacts of noise, but the transfer of this knowledge into criteria for the design of residences, workplaces, or communities is a difficult problem which remains largely unsolved. In a laboratory we generally measure the effects of a single stimulus upon an individual in a controlled environment. It is difficult to transfer laboratory findings to conclusions about complex environments in which many stimuli simultaneously affect many individuals.

Putting all of these types of information together and arriving at a decision is ultimately the responsibility of our elected officials. Still, there is another role to be played at the technical level which calls for defining the most appropriate kinds of information, securing it from reliable sources, and packaging it so it is responsive both to the problems at hand and to the needs of the decision maker. Until recently we have thought of men and women who performed these functions as urban planners. As the tasks and the problems themselves have become increasingly more complex, and as we have recognized their complexity, the skills required to accomplish them satisfactorily have changed.

The use of analytic methods and high speed computers has become mandatory for studying large and complex systems; furthermore, recent years have brought about the recognition of the critical significance of the interaction of technology with society in the determination of the quality of our lives. A new kind of specialist has begun to appear, and he has been given a variety of names: urban systems engineer, systems analyst, etc. These people specialize in being generalists. Ideally, they have a fundamental understanding of technology, analytic techniques, computers, and the interactions between social and technological systems. One of their most important characteristics is the ability to know when and where to seek help from specialists.

The urban systems engineer has the role of integrating the contributions of the various experts in order to recommend courses of action which are both effective and efficient. Many cities and a large number of private firms have established offices of system analysis in order to carry out this integrative function. The systems engineer must produce and analyze estimates of the widest possible range of costs and performance of new physical and social systems, including transportation, the delivery of health services, urban renewal, and housing. He provides the ultimate corporate and public decision-makers with the results of this analysis, and so plays a critical role in determining the patterns of growth and change in our urban society.

Because of his central and integrative role it is important, when considering what might be done about the critical environmental problem of noise, to understand some of the basic points of view adopted by the systems engineer in analyzing problems. Such an understanding will help other specialists by indicating what kinds of information they might be called upon to supply relative to the design of urban systems, and what some of the critical decision variables may be. The remainder of this paper is, therefore, devoted to a discussion of some of the points of view of urban systems engineers related to decision-making in which they must participate, and the implications of these points of view for the consideration of noise factors in the design and planning of future urban systems.

SOME BASIC CONCEPTS IN SYSTEMS ANALYSIS

When considering the structure, operations, and configurations of urban systems, the systems analyst generally thinks in terms of the system itself as a set of components, operating rules, and interrelationships which takes in *inputs* and produces a set of system *outputs*. The system, then, is viewed as a means of converting the inputs into outputs. Let us consider the example of a transportation system for a metropolitan area. The inputs to such a system are the resources, including land, money, materials, labor, and knowledge, required to plan, design, build and operate the system. The outputs of the transportation system are the results that we attain when we build the system and place it in operation. Outputs falls into two categories, which might be called *performance outputs* and *concomitant outputs*.¹ Performance outputs are those which achieve the purposes for which the system was built. In the case of the transportation system, performance outputs include, for example, the ability to get from one place to another in a region, the accessibility of a particular place, and the ability to move a particular commodity or group of people. The properties or characteristics of these performance outputs include travel times, costs, capacity, comfort, and convenience. These all refer to performance outputs because we build our transportation systems to achieve objectives related to these variables. In addition, because of the ways in which we use available technology to build our systems and provide performance outputs, we also produce concomitant outputs, or by-products, not related to our objectives. Thus, when we build transportation systems we produce air pollu-

tion, traffic accidents, disruption of space, and of course, noise. We don't want to build systems which are noisy; but in order to achieve objectives related to the performance variables, we are bound by the limits of our technical knowledge and design ingenuity to produce these concomitants as well.

The urban systems engineer is also concerned with the *consequences*² upon society of both classes of outputs produced by our urban systems. To continue the example of the transportation system, consequences of the performance outputs are increased freedom to live and work where we choose, and the greater availability of goods and services. Consequences of the concomitant outputs include personal annoyance, discomfort, and possibly negative effects upon both the health of the citizenry and their patterns of behavior.

In his role in guiding the development of such systems, the systems engineer tries to meet the needs of the people and institutions which will interact with those systems. His principal concern is to achieve a desirable degree of control over the total spectrum of effects which the system can be expected to have on its environment. He may work directly with the inputs to the system, its internal structure and operation, or with direct control on its outputs. Invariably the context of his examination is the choice between alternative systems. Returning to the previous example, the systems engineer may consider leaving the transportation system unchanged (doing nothing or something), modifying the manner in which the existing system operates, or changing over to a completely different transportation technology.

The problem of choosing between alternative system configurations becomes one of selecting resources, from a supply always limited by competing uses, in order to achieve a desired mix of performance outputs and a set of concomitant outputs which are acceptable, within some limits, although some may never be desirable. If we specify that the concomitant outputs of our transportation systems must be very rigidly limited to low levels of disruption, noise, and pollution we are, in effect, building a box within which we must do our best to meet performance objectives with limited resources. The more rigid our limits, the smaller the box, and the harder it is to build a system which will perform well and be economically feasible.

Economic feasibility, or economic justification, is usually a very important aspect of the choices regarding the development of any system, whether in the private or public sector. The manufacturer builds a plant to make a product which can be sold for a reasonable profit on his investment. Likewise, the city builds an airport to encourage the development and growth of air transportation, which will have a demonstrable effect on the economy of the city and its tax rolls. The resource requirements for most system changes are usually justified in terms of the performance outputs and consequences which they produce. The manufacturer decides to build his plant on the basis of the expected sales of its products; the city chooses to build an airport to maintain or improve its relative position in a competitive economy. The primary focus, then, of the supporting analysis and design processes, and of the choice itself, is usually on the relationship between the investment costs (inputs) and the expected returns (performance outputs and consequences).

The systems engineer talks about this situation in terms of cost-effectiveness. The systems we choose should be efficient in that they perform at the lowest possible cost for the chosen level of effectiveness. If we desire systems which are more effective in minimizing noise, however, we may make it extremely costly to reach certain desired levels of performance outputs. If we want systems

¹Footnotes at end of article.

with high levels of performance, and we wish to keep the costs low, we will undoubtedly have to tolerate higher levels of concomitant outputs, including noise.

To illustrate this principal, consider the selection of a particular transportation alternative in an urban area. The analyst may choose, as a measure of the transportation performance of each alternative, the total annual cost of transportation in the region. This includes costs of facility construction and operation, total motor vehicle operating costs (fuel, tires, insurance, depreciation etc.), tolls, transit fares, etc. A reasonable objective might be to select the system with the lowest total expected cost per year. This would be acceptable if all relevant characteristics of the system could be measured in terms of transportation costs. This, unfortunately, is clearly not the case. The noise which each system produces may result in serious consequences which are difficult or impossible to measure as dollar costs. Conceptually, if the cumulative effect of the noise generated by each alternative could be measured, we might find that the relationships between total transportation costs and cumulative noise would appear as shown in Figure 1.

The alternatives under examination are designated A1, A2, A3, and A4; all possible alternatives, defined by existing technology, fall in the shaded area. Selecting A4, which gives the lowest total transportation costs, may appear to be desirable, but Figure 1 shows that the impact of unwanted noise may be severe. On the other hand, if we arbitrarily define a rigid noise standard S-S', such that no transportation system may produce more noise than this, only A1 is acceptable, and total transportation costs will be relatively high. The added transportation costs necessary to build A1 instead of A4, in fact, reflects the cost in the transportation system of strict noise standard S-S' over the weaker standard, R-R'. This simple example suggests that when we establish standards for concomitants such as noise, it will be important to recognize the full costs of doing so. It is interesting to note, of course, that the limits of existing technology suggests that a cheaper alternative, B1, could be identified which also meets the more strict noise standard S-S'.

If we had the capability not only to measure the cumulative noise output of transportation systems, but also to place a dollar value on them, the diagram relating noise to total system costs might appear as shown in Figure 2.

Notice that, since it generates a large amount of noise, A4 has become more costly than A3, and the latter is now the least costly (most desirable) alternative. Even without noise standards, Figure 2 provides us with a capability to make rational choices about transportation systems, taking into account the dollar value of their noise outputs. Unfortunately, the tools for producing Figure 2, that is, techniques for estimating the dollar cost of noise outputs, are not available. Hence, we are left with the difficult choice presented by Figure 1.

The nature of the choices which we face in controlling and developing our environment is clear, although the paths which we should select are not. We are faced with a variety of decisions regarding the levels of input costs, performance outputs, and concomitant outputs which result from the complex systems we choose to live with in the future. The relationships between these levels of inputs and outputs are often called tradeoffs. We are asking the power companies to trade off higher costs for lower levels of pollution emissions; transportation planners trade off needed accessibility with undesirable neighborhood disruption; airlines are asked to trade off higher fares, and perhaps, therefore, decreased revenues, for lower noise

levels; a young couple trades the high noise levels associated with living near a rapid transit line for lower rent and a shorter journey to work.

Because of the importance of the performance output, for which systems are built and operated, it is not likely that we will ever build transportation systems, recreational facilities, industries, or residences purposely to achieve goals related to noise level. Noise will remain a concomitant output of our systems, as will other environmental factors such as air and water pollution. We observe, however, a growing consideration of these concomitants in the literature of urban and industrial planning. Planners of twenty years ago were largely unaware of the pollution and noise aspects of industrial plants or highways. Today, within limits imposed by performance-oriented objectives and costs, they are trying more frequently to make choices, where alternatives are available, which minimize the negative consequences of these concomitants upon communities.

If this trend is to be extended and expanded, demands will be placed on all elements in our society, including the researcher, the decision maker, the technologist, and the consumer.

The researcher must work to develop a better technical understanding of the relatively unstudied concomitant effects of our systems and technologies, so that, where additional resources are required to overcome them, those expenditures can be supported on a strong foundation of information. For example, we must learn more about the physiological effects of noise if we are to justify rationally the high costs of reducing them. We must also learn more about the characteristics of buildings, machines, and community layouts which will enable us to control the impact of noise on the human being. As long as such complex tradeoff decisions must be made on the basis of limited information, those who are responsible for the choices must learn to weigh all of the factors, including the concomitant consequences along with the inputs and performance outputs. The systems engineer plays a role here as well, for he has the responsibility for seeing that the most comprehensive and reliable set of information is presented to the decision makers. The history of highway transportation choices during the past decade is a story of decision makers and analysts alike becoming increasingly more responsive to concomitants such as aesthetics, noise, community disruption, and safety.

On the technologists rests the heavy responsibility for seeking out new ways of providing needed services and systems without the concomitant outputs produced by existing systems. Quieter and cleaner jet engines and automobiles represent needs which technologists are beginning to meet, but the costs are still very high; there is also, of course, the danger of producing new, and equally unmanageable concomitants in the process of reducing other side effects. Nuclear power plants are clean and quiet, but they bring about the dangers of heat pollution and radiation hazards. Technological innovation until recently has been guided primarily by pressures to produce new performance outputs, or to produce existing ones at lower costs. Now there is a need to focus the efforts of the technologist on ways to eliminate undesirable concomitant outputs, such as noises, at low cost and without degrading system performance.

Finally, there is a need for the consumer to be both concerned and informed. He must be concerned about the concomitant effects of the products and services he purchases, including foods, transportation, housing, and energy; he must be informed of both the dangers and the opportunities, so that he may effectively support rational choices by both industry and government.

Treating noise in the urban environment: Controlling the location of activities

The problem of noise in our environment, arising from the characteristics of our technologies and why we utilize them, typically reflect tradeoffs in system decision making. There are three principal avenues of approach open to the system analyst or planner in treating these problems: development of new technologies, careful choice and control of the location of noise sources and receivers, and direct control of noise itself. While technological innovation can be expected to be the most productive path to eliminating any problem of concomitant effects, the long time lags typically associated with invention and implementation usually lead the systems engineer to look first at more immediate solutions. Influencing the location of noise sources and noise sensitive activities in urban areas represents a macroscopic approach to the problem open to the analyst.

One of the principal tradeoffs which must be made in urban systems design is between the benefits which we derive from accessibility to services and systems and the discomforts which arise from proximity. We want to be near work, firehouses, hospitals, stores, and theaters, but we suffer when these are all in our back yards. We use zoning ordinances, sometimes ineffectively, to attempt to provide us with the collective benefits of accessible factories and business, while insulating most people from their negative effects, including noise. We rely heavily upon public and private transportation systems to provide this accessibility without proximity, but we find that those relatively ubiquitous systems themselves are generators of a large proportion of the noise in urban areas. Those whose residences are proximate to especially noisy transportation facilities bear a burden so that the population as a whole can live in relative isolation from the noise and smoke of industry and commerce.

There is fairly little flexibility in the design of intra-urban transportation facilities which would permit the location of these facilities away from residences in order to minimize the noise and other concomitant effects which not only detract from the quality of those residences, but may also be physically harmful. To perform effectively, transportation systems must be built in network configurations which follow urban density. In fact, it is well known that dense residential development follows transportation network facilities, because the accessibility benefits outweigh the discomforts and the perceived health hazards of noise and other concomitants.

For example, attitude surveys have shown that, while homeowners recognize urban freeways as sources of noise, air pollution, and safety hazards for their children, they find it desirable to be located as close as five blocks from such facilities; furthermore they generally would be reluctant to move if a new freeway were to be built even closer to their homes.³ The tradeoff relationships representing both the desire for proximity and the concern for avoiding unpleasant concomitants have recently been measured mathematically by urban systems engineers and may now be used as design tools.⁴

One of the difficulties which arises in the use of such information in design and decision is the unreliability of consumer perceptions as they are identified through purchasing decisions and attitude surveys. While such approaches allow the use of consumer preferences for guiding urban design, the average citizen may not be aware of the physiological and psychological hazards associated with the outputs of some common systems. The resident of an apartment near an expressway may be willing to smell auto-

Footnotes at end of article.

mobile exhaust fumes, but he might not wish to expose his children to lead poisoning. Free lead from automobile exhausts, however, cannot be sensed by humans, and hence choices of apartment locations do not reflect this factor. Similarly, families can become accustomed to the sound of elevated trains a few feet from their windows, but the fact that they select an apartment near such a facility does not insure that their health will be unaffected.

It becomes the responsibility of the scientist, the medical doctor, and ultimately, the urban systems analyst, to give fair consideration to the latent impacts of concomitant system outputs which are not reflected by patterns of market behavior or attitude surveys. Such individuals have not only the necessary skills but also the responsibility to inform the decision makers and the public of such harmful effects, as well as to seek design and location alternatives to minimize the consequences of concomitant outputs.

There are a variety of opportunities concerning the location and timing of activities open to the urban systems engineer to control the effects of noise. Investigations in England have shown that people are more likely to experience annoyance due to excessive noise during the evening hours, particularly in residential areas. During the evening hours, high levels of complaint were obtained for sound levels up to 20 PNdB lower than those producing similar complaint levels during the daytime.⁵ Similarly, the degree to which noise serves as an annoyance to people is related to the activities in which they are engaged. Higher levels of noise appear to be acceptable in work places and in places of commerce than in the home. This raises the possibility of planning commercial and industrial areas adjacent to or over highways and rapid transit facilities.⁶ These activities, less sensitive to noise and more prone to daytime activities would serve as buffers between transportation noise and residences, would not be hampered by transportation noise, and would probably derive economic benefit from the accessibility provided by such locations.

This proposal is quite consistent with current interest in planning for the multiple uses of freeway rights of way. Recent proposals, however, that more extensive use of such rights of way be made for residential construction seem to have some serious drawbacks as far as noise is concerned. Certain land uses, in terms of noise, are compatible with transportation facilities. These may include commercial and industrial land uses, but probably not residential land uses.

It is well known that noise is dissipated exponentially with distance from the source. For a single point source, sound level decays approximately 6 dB for each doubling of distance from the source. If the noise is produced by a line source, such as a crowded highway, the sound will decrease 3 dB for each doubling of distance.⁷ For this reason, consideration might be given to condemning strips of land wider by several hundred feet, than are required by rights of way for transportation facilities. This will assure that few individual homeowners will have to bear the brunt of the noise-impact of such facilities. This course of action, however, would increase the cost of a transportation facility without changing its transportation performance. The possibility for this type of excess-condemnation might be enhanced if the excess land were resold for use in ways more compatible with transportation noise than are residences.

For large, unique elements of the urban system, there is greater flexibility for planning for the control of noise than in the case of network systems. While these facilities need not be near the people or institutions they serve in terms of distance, they

frequently require high levels of accessibility as measured in time and cost. Thus, for the location of new airports or heavy industry, planning can be more responsive to consideration of noise. Locations may be possible which minimize the effects of noise upon the surrounding communities while not interfering with the performance outputs of these facilities. Compatibility with surrounding land uses, and stringent controls following the construction of these facilities are required but possible, if organized pressure is effectively exerted on the political decision makers. Near O'Hare Airport, perhaps 200,000 people live in a 35 square-mile area which has a noise impact (based upon frequency of flyovers, runway orientation, and sound emission properties of aircraft) judged to be uncomfortable.⁸ That these noise levels could have been anticipated at an earlier date, is significant in that perhaps one-half of that population occupies residences built after O'Hare was built but before noise reached its current levels. Stringent controls could have restricted development to non-residential uses in these impacted areas, with possible economic losses to some developers. Controls over the development of areas impacted by a third major airport for Chicago, or by major industrial facilities will certainly involve many jurisdictions. State-level controls on development would, therefore, be required to avoid the repetition of past mistakes. Organized public and professional reactions would undoubtedly be required to result in such trouble.

With respect to such unique entities as airports, many possibilities are raised by recent proposals for the building of major new cities where there are none today. Such a new city might be planned around an airport, with rings of industrial and commercial activities separating residences from the noise and pollution of the airport and keeping residences from under the flight paths of aircraft. Such a plan could be developed for an efficient and functional city while achieving desired performance levels for the airport. As long as proposed new cities remain at the small scale of Reston, Virginia, Columbia, Maryland, and Jonathan, Minnesota, however, this proposed concept will remain untested.

Zoning regulations offer a passive mechanism for permitting, rather than promoting desirable patterns of urban development. Because of its passive nature, zoning does not always bring about the most effective urban system performance. Perhaps more importantly, traditional zoning ordinances fail to encourage, and may actually discourage, the search for innovations. For example, an inflexible regulation which prevents residences and certain noise generating activities from being in close proximity does not provide a payoff to the designer who can produce a technology which makes these uses compatible. An industrial plant which is quiet and clean might still be prohibited from a desirable location. The result of such regulatory programs is often urban sprawl and an antiquated technology with little hope for innovation. A more effective alternative is performance zoning. If the performance properties of a normally undesirable land use can be shown to be acceptable, the new activity may be introduced to the area. In this way, developers and locators are encouraged to solve the problems of concomitants through new technologies in order to compete for more desirable locations in the region.

INVESTING IN NOISE CONTROL TECHNOLOGY

Aside from questions of facility location planning on a regional scale, a much larger range of more microscopic responses to noise is possible. These include modifications to existing urban systems and the incorporation of technological features into new systems which will control noise levels in one or more of the four ways presented in the following paragraphs.

First, noise generating components of urban systems could be replaced by quieter components which accomplish the same performance objectives. Quieter engines are being developed for jet aircraft, although they are more costly and deficient in performance. Quieter machinery could be adopted for industrial operations. This approach has the advantage that the costs of reducing noise are borne directly by those who generate it and by their customers. On the other hand, there is often little motivation from such noise generators to be concerned about concomitant outputs. Sometimes, strong public pressure, and perhaps even litigation are necessary to achieve action.

Secondly, noise generators could be insulated at the source of the noise. Sound insulating materials could thus be required in noisy factories to prevent the noise from leaving the site. Expressways and railways could be depressed to limit their noise transmission properties. This has proved to be an effective strategy, and yet it frequently results in unpleasant aesthetic aspects of such facilities, from the perspectives of both the roadside resident and the drivers themselves. In this case, a solution to the problem of one concomitant, noise, raises the issue of another concomitant, aesthetics. Problems of urban expressway planning are illustrative of the complex interactions between system inputs, concomitant and performance outputs which must be considered by the urban systems analyst.

Thirdly, noise transmission could be reduced by interposing barriers between noise sources and receivers. Airport runways could be insulated from surrounding communities through the use of sound barriers. Urban expressway noise transmission may be reduced by structural barriers or through the use of trees and shrubbery on the margins of the facilities. These devices require additional space, usually secured by condemning adjacent properties. Thus, such measures may be very costly in areas of high density. Distance alone, of course, serves as a sound attenuator, but it is highly inefficient when land costs are high. The use of barriers, especially aesthetically pleasing ones such as shrubs, also enables us to capitalize on an interesting psychological factor relating to noise perception: people are less annoyed by traffic noise if they cannot see the road.⁹

Finally, the reception of noise could be controlled by insulating the potential receiver. Thus, homes under aircraft flight paths could be required, by building codes, to contain special sound insulation as do many airport hotels. Sound proofing measures can be costly, however, particularly when applied to existing buildings. For example, double-pane windows would typically be installed because of the considerable increase in attenuation capability they achieve over standard windows. Double-pane windows, however, require air conditioning and special considerations for ventilation and fire escapes, resulting in noticeable cost increases. Furthermore, efforts to keep sound away from particular receivers place the burdens of action as well as cost on those who suffer rather than those who cause the problems, thus introducing the element of inequity.

The decisions to implement these and other solutions to the problems of noise in our urban environment will continue to be difficult. Each of these measures is costly, and the potential benefits which might justify such costs are not well-defined. Noise reduction at the source or attenuation rarely improves the performance outputs of the system causing the noise, and frequently performance is degraded. Problems of this nature are particularly acute in cases where those who suffer from the concomitant effects are not the people who benefit directly from system performance. For example, the families who live near major airports are not

Footnotes at end of article.

frequent air travelers. Therefore, they will not be willing to trade better air service for more frequent noise in their homes. Furthermore, the industries which generate the noise will be reluctant to commit resources to noise reductions, since their customers will not benefit.

Throughout this paper, references have been made to the difficulty of analyzing tradeoffs among various possible strategies for noise control. We do not wish to reduce the performance levels of the many complex systems necessary to urban life. To reduce the noise levels without decreasing system performance often requires large expenditures. These are frequently difficult to justify in economic terms even when medical, psychological or aesthetic benefits can be estimated. Although it is easy to agree that lower levels of traffic noise in our homes would be desirable, before we allocate funds to the reduction of traffic noise, a subjective economic decision must be made. A recent study showed, for example that an "average" new ranch house could be sufficiently insulated from traffic noise at 1,000 feet for a cost of \$1,030. With 800,000 new homes built each year in this country, this would require a total annual outlay of more than 800 million dollars. Can we demonstrate that the benefits gained are worthy of such an expenditure?

A complicating factor arises from the fact that the incidence of the costs varies with the proposed solution, making it easy for each interest group to favor the solution which would require the costs to be borne by other groups. Should we adopt methods of traffic noise control in residential areas which must be paid for by the automobile and truck owners, the owners of residential property, or the public as a whole? We might find that equal reductions in noise level might be attained by vehicle modification, the insulation of residences, or the construction of noise barriers near highways. If these do achieve equal reductions in noise, and we can demonstrate that the result is socially desirable, the efficiency expert might favor the least-cost alternative. Homeowners living near highways, automobile companies, and taxpayers not directly affected would argue for different solutions, however. The systems engineer can make a valuable contribution by estimating the costs and effectiveness of such alternatives, but his analysis rarely reveals one solution as superior to all others along every possible dimension of comparison. Ultimately, such decisions must be political.

CONCLUSION

Selections of the paths of development for the social-technological systems with which we choose to live are based on the evaluation of tradeoffs among system characteristics, from the perspectives of both decision-makers and private individuals. Facilities are built and operated to secure the benefits of their performance outputs. Because resources are scarce, we must be concerned with limiting expenditures; and since most of the systems in our environment produce undesirable concomitant outputs, we are forced to concern ourselves with controlling them as well. Good decisions will result from a sensitivity to all of the effects which proposed and existing systems will bring about.

In a complex choice environment such as this, responsive and rational decisions regarding the noise outputs of urban systems can only be supported with reliable scientific evidence relating noise to its physical, psychological, and behavioral effects.

To more effectively meet the needs and desires of the people in a region, the systems planner often works with models of individual choice. He attempts to develop an environment which enables people to make decisions which are consistent with their objectives. In the absence of more authorita-

tive information, his best models of choice processes and individual value systems are based on observations of past behavior in response to various stimuli: Noise is one such stimulus, to which people respond with physiological, psychological, and behavioral changes. The systems planner sees that people will buy homes with low levels of sound insulation which are adjacent to a freeway and under the approach path to a major airport. He concludes, from this evidence, that noise is not a critical issue in planning.

If this kind of experimental reasoning is to be supplanted by more solid evidence, two avenues of pursuit must be followed. First, we must develop a more effective set of measures of the effects of noise upon individuals. What are the thresholds of noise which produce physiological damage, psychological damage, or changes in patterns of behavior? This measurement problem has not been adequately solved, except in very special cases. Secondly, increasing levels of informed citizens participation in planning provide another avenue for bringing to the attention of the planner the fact that his experimental observations may have been wrong.

FOOTNOTES

¹ Thomas, Edwin N. and Joseph L. Schofer, "Strategies for the Evaluation of Alternative Transportation Plans," The Transportation Center at Northwestern University, Evanston, Ill., July 1967, pp. 39-40.

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⁴ Peterson, George L., and Richard D. Worral, "An Analysis of Individual Preferences for Accessibility to Selected Neighborhood Services," paper presented at the 49th Annual Meeting of the Highway Research Board, Washington, January 1970.

⁵ Kryter, Karl D., "Psychological Reactions to Aircraft Noise," *Science*, Vol. 151 (March 18, 1966), pp. 1346-1355.

⁶ Cohen, Alexander, "Location-Design Control of Transportation Noise," *Journal of the Urban Planning and Development Division: Proceedings of the American Society of Civil Engineers*, December, 1967 (paper No. 5693), pp. 63-86.

⁷ Federal Housing Administration, "Noise in Urban and Suburban Areas: Results of Field Studies," Report 1395, Job 11257, Bolt, Beranek, and Newman, Inc., January 27, 1967.

⁸ McGrath, Dorn D., "Aircraft Noise: Fugitive Factor in Land Use Planning," *Journal of the Urban Planning and Development Division: Proceedings of the American Society of Civil Engineers*, April 1969 (paper No. 6520) pp. 73-80.

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OEO OPPORTUNITY AT MIAMI-DADE JUNIOR COLLEGE NORTH

HON. DANTE B. FASCELL

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 16, 1970

Mr. FASCELL. Mr. Speaker, there are presently four enrollees at Miami-Dade Junior College who are studying to become surgical technicians with the help of the Office of Economic Opportunity. These four students are participating in a 2-year program in operating tech-

niques. Such training will enable the graduates to enter a profession which is highly skilled and for which there will always be a demand.

According to Michael Klein, chief of the University of Miami's Medical Research Building, this program is especially significant because it shows what educationally and economically deprived persons can do when given a chance.

A recent article from the Miami Herald shows the good that results from providing equal educational opportunities for the poor. I would like to place the article in the RECORD for my colleagues' information:

[From the Miami (Fla.) Herald, Mar. 9, 1970]

"AN EQUAL EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITY"—OEO OFFERS AN "IN" TO SURGERY

(By Kathi Martell)

Gregory Carey, 20, a graduate of Mays High School, spends three days a week assisting doctors in the operating room, sorting a confusing mass of surgical instruments, preparing animals for surgery and sometimes sewing them up afterward.

Carey is the youngest of four adults who are participating in a two-year Office of Economic Opportunity Program work-and-study project that is helping train them to become surgical technicians.

They spend two days a week at Miami-Dade Junior College North, taking classes in a two-year course in operating room techniques.

"Our program is one of the most progressive in the country," said Michael Klein, chief of the research section of the University of Miami's Medical Research Building at 1600 NW 10th Ave.

Klein, whose department runs the work part of the program, said that "we try to give the participants as much practical experience as possible in the time we have them. And the kids are doing remarkably well."

Since the program started in November, Carey and the other young adult participants, Celia Smith, 21, Minerva Alston, 24, and Barbara Darville, 29, have learned to take and process X-rays, use all sorts of sterilization machines and how to anticipate the doctors' needs for instruments in surgery.

All of them, except Miss Alston, have worked in hospitals before. They agree that without EOPI paying for their school tuition, becoming a surgical technician might have been difficult financially.

"This is a great help," Miss Alston said. "I've always wanted to work in the medical field, but I was working at a supermarket trying to save money to go to school."

EOPI pays the four a small salary while they are learning and provides them with their uniforms and shoes. But the cost of the program at the research building is paid from Klein's department budget.

"We have no idea how much this is costing us in actual dollars," Klein said. "All we know is that it's doing good."

Each of the participants plans to continue in medicine.

Klein, whose department ran a similar paramedical program for high school students six years ago, described the progress of the participants in superlatives.

"They're working with top-level people," he said, "and they're doing a damn good job."

Klein said that the program was significant because it showed what educationally and economically handicapped people could do when given a chance.

"We're letting these people see what they can do if they try," Klein said. "We can show very definitely when given an equal educational opportunity they are equal to anyone else."