

terior, H.R. 9417. A time agreement has been entered into thereon. There will be 2 hours on the bill; there will be 30 minutes on any amendment thereto. The yeas and nays have already been ordered on final passage of that bill. Senators are reminded, therefore, that there will be at least one yeas-and-nays vote on tomorrow.

The majority leader has asked me to remind Senators, also, that beginning next week, the Senate may be in session on Saturdays—in view of the fact that the August recess is almost upon us—and the Senate hopes to complete action on a number of important bills and resolutions prior to such recess. Senators are on notice—may I emphasize—that there may be Senate sessions on Saturdays, beginning next week.

#### ADJOURNMENT UNTIL 10 A.M. TOMORROW

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, if there be no further business to come before the Senate, I move, in accordance with the previous order, that the Senate stand in adjournment until 10 a.m. tomorrow.

The motion was agreed to; and (at 6 o'clock and 56 minutes p.m.) the Senate adjourned until tomorrow, Friday, July 16, 1971, at 10 a.m.

#### NOMINATION

Executive nominations renewed by the Senate July 15, 1971:

##### DIPLOMATIC AND FOREIGN SERVICE

Howard P. Mace, of Ohio, a Foreign Service officer of class 1, to be Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the United States of America to Sierra Leone.

#### CONFIRMATIONS

Executive nominations confirmed by the Senate July 15, 1971:

##### NATIONAL COMMISSION ON LIBRARIES AND INFORMATION SCIENCE

The following-named persons to be members of the National Commission on Libraries and Information Science for the terms indicated:

For a term expiring July 19, 1971:  
Andrew A. Aines, of Virginia.  
Catherine D. Scott, of the District of Columbia.  
For a term expiring July 19, 1972:  
Martin Golland, of Texas.

Louis A. Lerner, of Illinois.  
Charles A. Perlik, Jr., of Virginia.  
For a term expiring July 19, 1973:  
John G. Kemeny, of New Hampshire.  
Bessie B. Moore, of Arkansas.  
Alfred R. Zipf, of California.  
For a term expiring July 19, 1974:  
Joseph Becker, of Maryland.  
Carlos A. Cuadra, of California.  
John E. Velde, Jr., of Illinois.  
For a term expiring July 19, 1975:  
W. O. Baker, of New Jersey.  
Frederick Burkhardt, of New York.  
Leslie W. Dunlap, of Iowa.

##### FEDERAL METAL AND NONMETALLIC MINE SAFETY BOARD OF REVIEW

The following-named persons to be members of the Federal Metal and Nonmetallic Mine Safety Board of Review as indicated:

W. W. Little, of Arizona, for the remainder of the term of 5 years expiring September 15, 1971.

Peter J. Benson, of Minnesota, for the remainder of the term of 5 years expiring September 15, 1972.

Robert W. McVay, of Missouri, for the remainder of the term of 5 years expiring September 15, 1973.

Charles E. Schwab, of New York, for the remainder of the term of 5 years expiring September 15, 1974.

Howard L. Hartman, of California, for the remainder of the term of 5 years expiring September 15, 1975.

## EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

### DISCONTENT WITH DULL WORK IS A GROWING GLOBAL PROBLEM

#### HON. ROMAN C. PUCINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 14, 1971

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, in the past week I have read with interest articles in the Washington press dealing with the discontent of today's white- and blue-collar workers with the work they do.

This situation is not wholly related to inflation and wage disparities. For the most part it is directly related to the nature of the work people do to earn their paychecks.

It is a new and apparently growing phenomenon and is not confined to the United States. A large number of British workers also report a dissatisfaction with what they do to earn their living.

The root causes of the problem must be examined at the highest levels of government and industry. We in the Congress are closest to the people and we must concern ourselves with the quality of their lives and their well-being. Management and labor share a grave responsibility for abolishing the creeping anonymity that so characterizes today's skilled and semiskilled crafts.

If in our bigness we have lost sight of the usefulness of one man's individual contribution to society, we have lost something highly significant to all of us.

Today as never before people want, need, and expect jobs that are useful and worth doing. Too much of our planning for that mythical future some decades hence, however, has been an obsession with coping with "masses" of people and "masses" of details.

Instead of concentrating on developing a society where a man's character can expand and grow, too often we have concentrated on expanding our wondrous technology, with no thought of the inevitable consequences.

Whether or not the industrialized nations revise present work standards by making the work there is to be done more enriching or using other methods, such as the 4-day/40-hour week to enable people to enjoy 3 full days to themselves each week, we must begin now to treat this expanding problem with the attention it is demanding and that it deserves.

Mr. Speaker, these thought-provoking articles follow:

#### JOB ENRICHMENT A WEAPON IN "REVOLUTION": HATRED OF DULL JOBS BREEDS GROWING NATIONAL DISCONTENT

(By Samuel Sharkey, Jr.)

WASHINGTON.—The third revolution in work, centered around employees who hate their jobs, is gathering speed across the nation, and its impact will affect all levels of jobs for years to come.

The heart of the movement is full utilization of manpower, mainly through job enrichment. Recent surveys show that dissatisfaction with all aspects of work, from monotonous jobs to executive compensation, is a major factor in the national tide of discontent.

This third revolution follows two others a century apart—the Industrial Revolution of 1770 and the Scientific Management Revolution of 1870.

The trend is the focus of intense study by government, management, labor and the outside experts who work with all three blocs. Congressional hearings are planned this summer, potentially leading to legislation to redirect the often floundering federal efforts in this field.

#### WORK MOTIVATION

One of the top corporate experts is Dr. Robert N. Ford, personnel director for manpower utilization at the American Telephone

& Telegraph Co., and one of the fathers of the "third revolution in work" concept.

He calls for job enrichment, "the releasing of employes to perform meaningful work."

"The important factor in work motivation," Ford says, is "the work itself. Enrich the job. Don't hope to offset a poor job solely through such factors as benefits, friendly relations and comfortable surroundings. The core item is the job."

At a recent Williamsburg (Va.) conference cosponsored by the Upjohn Institute for Employment Research and the Ford Foundation, the AT&T expert, and other panelists, criticized "Taylorism," named after Frederick Taylor, "the father of job fragmentation."

This concept for years was regarded as a key to improving worker productivity by breaking one job down into many, so each individual function was performed faster. Now it's falling into disrepute.

#### "FRAGMENTATION" MERGED

AT&T's Ford, for example, cites a dramatic improvement in worker attitudes when 21 separate jobs involved in assembling a phone directory were pulled together under one worker. That worker did the entire job, Ford said, and took pride in the fact that the finished directory was "her book."

While job satisfaction problems exist in the executive suite, the impact is worse at lower job levels. Dr. Harold L. Sheppard, a top social scientist with the Upjohn Institute, warns of the "discontented blue-collar workers."

"There is a prevalent feeling that something has gone wrong for many lower-middle-class Americans," Sheppard declared of the group he calls "workers with the blues."

"Older better-educated workers have the highest proportion with the blues," Sheppard says. As a result, he adds, it is probable that "the greater a person's education achievements, the greater are his life and job aspirations," and the greater his discontent if he fails to achieve those hopes and dreams.

This becomes a potentially grave omen in view of the steadily rising educational levels of the work force, Sheppard warns.

## MORE HATE JOBS

The Williamsburg Conference, prompted by concern over growing blue collar alienation, found too many workers regarded their jobs as deadend, dull, boring and degrading.

A United Auto Workers participant commented that "a growing legion of workers hate their jobs and work only for the sheer necessity to pay the family bills." He added that some analysts "think this bitterness toward work is connected with the rise of job absenteeism, vandalism on the job and other acts of alienation by workers."

Conferees disagreed on whether the nation was witnessing the rise of a new breed of workers. But the UAW representative said more and more workers looked upon their jobs as an afterthought.

"They don't build their lives around work," he added, "the job is merely a way to make money, nothing else."

His conclusion: "It behooves policy makers to wake up to the consequences" of changing work attitudes.

That is the crux of the problem of this third revolution in work. The solutions are neither easy nor close at hand. And employers, government and unions will have to do some massive rethinking of attitudes toward workers and jobs before the revolution is ended.

## "PSYCHIC WAGE" DEPRECIATING?

(By Alfred Friendly)

LONDON. — Traditionally most middle-class—or in American terms, white collar—workers have been rewarded in part by the "psychic wage," the social and intellectual involvement and personal satisfactions of their work.

But two British University psychologists reported last week that they now see "a swing away" from the former non-monetary commitment to the job among two middle-class groups: those who no longer see in their work "central life interest," and those who, although still deeply involved in their jobs, "are becoming more and more concerned with the relatively low level of their financial rewards." The second group, in consequence, is beginning to turn to more militant trade unionism, after the fashion of the British working-class manual laborers.

Writing in the intellectual journal *New Society*, Roger Williams and David Guest, lecturers in occupational psychology at Birkbeck College, University of London, note that they are coming across increasing numbers in both categories.

The total of the first may be still small, they say, but "their importance lies in the fact that, certainly among the middle classes, they seem to have been practically unknown over 10 years ago."

As an example they cite a former high-ranking and successful military officer who left the armed forces in his forties to become a milkman. His earnings are much lower now than they might have been, but since his work ends about 2 p.m. he has the leisure to get in a daily game of golf and to engage intensively in village political and administrative activities. He is a happy and contented man.

The second group, the authors believe, are still involved with their work and take satisfaction from it but are "fed up with having to work ludicrous hours for a pittance largely because they were supposed to be dedicated and involved. They willingly accepted the involvement required by their work but do not see why they should sacrifice the rest of their lives to it. Their desire for more time to themselves and more particularly their desire for more money because a major preoccupation at the expense of their work."

Some of the factors that the authors see as engendering the changed attitude toward work:

"Information overload," the amount of new and ever more detailed information relating to some white collar jobs is growing

so fast that it takes almost one's whole time to keep up to date. The time and stress of trying to keep informed means that many who once took deep interest in new ideas no longer will put up with the pressure. "It becomes increasingly difficult to maintain full commitment to a profession or skill about which one knows less and less."

Advances in technology depersonalize and drain some jobs of the psychic wage that once could be expected. The scope for personal and intellectual involvement previously to be found in many jobs is diminishing and to find the fulfillment once obtained in work, employees have to look elsewhere. "Some time soon, the coming demands of technical control for efficiency and human control for fulfillment in work seem likely to come into conflict. At some point, the human costs of technical 'progress' may have to be more widely debated."

The lower money reward, tolerable when the psychic wage was high enough, in many cases is not enough to maintain a "lifestyle" expected of the middle-class workers. And failure to do so may forfeit the respect they once received from society.

"Should they fail to live up to this life style, then their credibility, and their own self-respect may break down. This may have already occurred in the case of teachers and clergymen where, over recent years, some of the financial differentials which play an important part in maintaining their life styles have been almost totally eliminated."

"Another factor in society which may both encourage and facilitate a swing away from work is that there is now probably a greater chance than ever before for the middle classes to make a contribution to society in a non-work capacity."

## MIRV IN CONGRESSIONAL TESTIMONY

## HON. HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, July 14, 1971

Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. President, I have submitted today an amendment concerning MIRV. MIRV has a complicated history and many conflicting statements have been made about its purpose, effectiveness, and the impact on Soviet decisions and actions. In order to keep the ensuing discussion of this question on a high level, we should be made fully aware of the variety of opinions and positions of those people who are on top of the issue and have access to important sources of information.

The Federation of American Scientists last year compiled a very useful collection of statements made about "MIRV in Congressional Testimony" with references to that testimony. The federation staff combed through more than 30 volumes of congressional hearings of both House and Senate to produce this invaluable compendium in the interests of a better informed debate, which I would like to commend to the attention of my colleagues.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the compendium be printed in the Extensions of Remarks.

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

## MIRV IN CONGRESSIONAL TESTIMONY

(By Federation of American Scientists)

MIRV was first mentioned in public congressional testimony in 1968. In anticipation

of its discussion in the Senate debate in 1970, the following excerpts from Congressional testimony have been culled from over 30 volumes of hearings of these three years. They represent items felt to be of likely interest. Of course, no claim is made to completeness of coverage. But, in particular, items related directly to the SAFEGUARD ballistic missile defense—designed to defend against Soviet MIRV—are omitted. The Federation of American Scientists has earlier made available selected excerpts on this subject drawn from five recently released volumes of 1970 hearings by the Senate Armed Services and Foreign Relations Committees.

References to volumes are made in the following way. (x, y) denotes reference "x", page "y". (a, b, c) denotes reference "a", volume (or part) "b", and page "c". References are on the last page. These excerpts have been compiled and presented in the interests of a better informed debate by FAS.

## U.S. MIRV: HARD TARGET KILLER OR ABM PENETRATOR

In the Spring of 1968, Dr. John Foster testified that "We are beginning—with MIRV—to get a rather effective damage-limiting capability" (see 1,35).

But in the fiscal 1969 posture statement of McNamara—circulating at that same time—McNamara explained that our missiles were now being designed to carry several small warheads because it is the "number of warheads, or objects which appear to be warheads to the defender's radars" that will determine the outcome in a contest with an ABM defense (9,5,2717).

When asked if MIRV was our response to Soviet ABM, John Foster submitted a prepared answer for the record saying: "not entirely". The MIRV concept was "originally generated" to increase our "targeting capability" rather than to penetrate ABM defense. In 1961-62 it was found that the "total number of aim points exceeded the number of Minuteman missiles". MIRV was "originally born" to split up the payload to cover more targets and then it was found that the previously generated MIRV concept could "equally well be used" against ABM (9,4,2310). See also (2,317-318) and (2,201).

The next year Secretary Laird presented a posture statement that argued for improved guidance for Poseidon MIRV saying: "This is an important program since it promises to significantly improve the accuracy of the Poseidon missile thus enhancing its effectiveness against hard targets" (italics added, (1,35)).

In explanation of this statement, which received much comment, John Foster argued that an industrial target—as well as a missile silo—could be a "hard target" and that we would "like to have more accuracy" in using Poseidon against industrial targets (1,259). (Ed. note: The reaction of Congressman Fraser to these answers to his questions might best be described as "incredulity"; indeed nowhere in the unclassified strategic literature does there seem to be any allusion whatsoever to the notion of striking industrial targets with strategic ballistic missiles or of calling them "hard" targets).

The official explanation for MIRV in the 1969 hearings was, as John Foster noted, that MIRV "is being developed for two reasons: First, . . . the Soviets will have (deleted) ballistic missile defense interceptors . . . Second, the Tallinn system already has over (deleted) interceptors . . ." (10,1,255).

Foster conceded a page earlier that Tallinn was "generally agreed" to be an air defense system but the Defense Department takes the view that we "can not rule out" the possibility that the Soviets "have given or will give" Tallinn an ABM role (6,6,2181).

Responding to these fears, Marvin Goldberger presented "three brief arguments" pointing out the "implausibility" of this threat. He felt: that the creation of a "make-shift defensive system" ran counter to Soviet military practice; that the technical prob-

lems involved in turning a Soviet bomber defense into an ABM system are "perhaps more complex" than those we have been having difficulty dealing with in Safeguard; and that this threat assumed that the Soviets would rely "on such a dubious system to give them a first-strike capability against the United States" (5,531).

Turning to the Soviet ABM rationale, it is conceded by DOD that the Soviet ABM is not under expansion though DOD is "not sure" why (6,1,288). The urgency of deploying MIRV—in order to penetrate a Soviet ABM—seems completely unsupported in Congressional testimony. For example, asked by Senator Brooke to describe the "relative lead-times" of a "strong" Soviet ABM versus our own ability to deploy MIRV, Herbert F. York said the leadtime on the ABM was "very much longer". J. P. Ruina agreed "completely" and J. F. MacDonald also agreed (2,3,691).

In prepared answers to questions submitted by Senator Thurmond, Foster noted that deployment of MIRV was "important from another standpoint" besides "retaining our assured destruction capability" and uncertainty as to the "true capability of the Tallinn system". If attacked first, he suggested, there would likely be more targets in the Soviet Union than U.S. missiles. MIRV systems, providing more than one warhead on each missile would make it possible to "effectively target" the "remaining survivable forces" (10,4,942). (Ed. note: This is a second-strike damage limiting rationale that makes no pretense at the necessity for MIRV as a means of deterring the Soviets. But no evidence in public testimony suggests that DOD even tried to make this argument plausible to Congress).

Asked by Senator Symington why we need "so many thousand long range warheads", DOD asserted another explanation that, in the event our missile force was "unexpectedly and severely" degraded by Soviet pre-emptive action, the increased number of warheads provided by MIRV would "ensure" enough warheads to attack the "essential soft urban industrial targets" in the Soviet Union (6,11,133). (Ed. note: This explanation could, of course, be applied to any deterrent force as an argument for enlarging it. Unfortunately, no evidence has been publicly provided in support of the notion that these "unexpected" events are of sufficient plausibility to be worth protecting against, much less in support of the notion that this is the best means of protection).

In prepared answers to questions of Senator Stennis, Secretary Laird gave still another explanation. He said that a failure to deploy MIRV could, by the mid-1970's, leave the Soviets ahead of us in "total strategic megatonnage, total strategic delivery vehicles, and total strategic weapons". (Ed note: Since the deployment of MIRV decreases our strategic megatonnage and leaves constant our total strategic delivery vehicles, two of these points are, at best, irrelevant and the third is, at best, related to psychological advantages) (6,3,2205).

#### MIRV AND THE ARMS RACE

Herman Kahn noted that if MIRV is "reasonably accurate and flexible" it might easily provide the U.S. with "annihilating first-strike capability" against even one or two thousand Soviet ground-based missiles (4,99). Herbert F. York said much the same thing when he noted that an improvement of "somewhat less" than a factor of 2 in guidance accuracy would "almost certainly" give our planned forces the capability to destroy "virtually all" Soviet silo-based missiles in a surprise attack (2,3,659).

Freeman Dyson, an ABM supporter, was "strongly opposed" to the deployment of MIRV in our Minuteman and Poseidon forces. He argued that the deployment "directly threatened" the Soviet deterrent and "must" be perceived by Soviet decision makers as a "potential U.S. first-strike capability". Calling our announced deployment a "major

escalation" of the arms race, that would "compel" a Soviet expansion, Dyson said that many of the evils popularly thought to follow from ABM "will in fact" result from deploying MIRV (8, 12, 1353).

Senator Brooke asked Secretary Laird how the United States proposed to "persuade" the Soviet Union that MIRV "will not evolve into a counterforce weapon" threatening them. DOD said it had "no reason to believe" that the Soviets were worried. Further, the Secretary said that the President, in correspondence with Senator Brooke, had made it "perfectly clear" that we do not "intend to develop" counterforce capabilities which the Soviets "could construe" as having a first strike potential (6, 3, 2172).

But in (5, 61) Herbert F. York notes that accuracy has improved "four-hundred fold in only 25 years". He went on to note that "any conservative Russian planner" considering these figures would have to conclude that "in a relatively short time U.S. technology could improve missile accuracy by another factor of two or four and thus convert not only the Minuteman MIRV but even the Poseidon MIRV into a missile silo destroyer".

Indeed, D. G. Brennan testified that it would be possible to develop MIRV with self-contained guidance that would produce accuracies "in the neighborhood of 50 to 100 feet" (1,113).

In prepared answers, John Foster twice asserted that MIRV on Minuteman III would have a lower kill probability than that of a "single (hence non-MIRV) larger RV carried by the same Minuteman III booster" (6, 3, 2192). However (6, 133) indicates that DOD's final posture statement omitted a sentence of draft statement in which it was said that MIRV "degraded" U.S. ability to destroy hard targets.

In fact, MIRV does not degrade the effectiveness of U.S. ability to destroy hard targets or anything else. In (3, 48), then Deputy Secretary of Defense Paul H. Nitze produced the following chart which showed, he noted, that MIRV's provide "much more effective" payloads by "every relevant criterion" of military effectiveness though they deliver much less total megatonnage.

COMPARATIVE EFFECTIVENESS OF TWO HYPOTHETICAL MISSILE PAYLOADS (NUMBER OF TARGETS DESTROYED)

Type of target destroyed	10 50-kiloton warheads	1 10-megaton warhead
Airfields.....	10	1.0
Hard missile sites.....	1.2-1.7	1.0
Cities of 100,000 population.....	3.5	1.0
Cities of 500,000 population.....	0.7	1.0
Cities of 2,000,000 population.....	0.5	.6
Total megatonnage.....	0.5	10.0

#### HARDENING MINUTEMAN IS HOPELESS

DOD is "uncertain whether (hardening) is the proper course to take." Concern is that "net gain" in terms of missile survivability may be of "relatively short duration". DOD notes that "The (sic) tenfold increase" in the hardness of a Minuteman silo could be "offset" by a reduction of "something more than 1/2" in the accuracy (CEP) of the attacking missile (14,1,7118). General Low notes that there could be "substantial cost" in going into the "type of ground" necessary and, if the other side goes to "very very small circular errors" then there is "no such thing, really as 'hard'" (13,3,545). Some hardening of "a fair number" of the present silos is being considered "within the boundaries of the SALT talks" (13,1,593).

Pessimism about the viability of super-hardening is amply supported by outside experts. Jack P. Ruina noted that the vulnerability of hard missile silos was really a "race between the technology of hardening and the technology of missile accuracy"—"eventually" accuracies will win out (2,3,651). Herbert F. York agreed that "MIRV-accuracy-

yield" combination would win the race against hardening and suggested that Minuteman was "obsolescent" (2,3,674). On the accuracy/hardening race issue, J. F. MacDonald said that he "completely" agreed that a "very very great improvement" could be made in guidance although it would take some years (2,3,674). Later Ruina said that the "greatest improvements" affecting the strategic balance would be improved accuracy by "a factor of 2 or 3, even 50% might be very important". He said "entirely different kinds" of guidance systems giving improvements in accuracy of a factor of 10 would force all to agree that land-based missiles would have "passed their point of usefulness" no matter what hardness provided for them (2,3,679).

#### BEYOND MIRV

Gordon J. F. MacDonald, now a member of the President's Council on Environmental Quality, noted that beyond MIRV lay missiles which deliver "a large number of weapons, each one of which is guided to its target in real time with the target selected from the course of the battle through a command system perhaps linked by satellite communications" (8,2,1373).

Elsewhere he cautioned that MIRVs are "by no means the ultimate in sophistication" of offensive systems and he warned that these other systems "will be developed unless we reach verifiable agreements with the Soviets" (2,3,655).

#### WHAT DOES THE SOVIET MIRV PROGRAM MEAN?

Concluding that there is "no basis in the available intelligence" to indicate "intent on the part of the Soviets to consider the SS-9 as a first-strike weapon", W. K. H. Panofsky put the threat in perspective by saying (in 1969):

Projection of the function of the SS-9 force into the year 1975 requires a number of steps; (1) Evaluation of the technical features of this force as we observe it now; (2) extrapolation of growth in numbers into the mid-1970's; (3) extrapolation of future Soviet MIRV potential from the presently uncertain data available; (4) estimate of the use to which the large payload of these vehicles will be put; and (5) evaluation of intent of the Soviet planners in deploying this force (8,2,1129).

Herbert F. York agreed, stating in his prepared testimony, that it was "difficult" to understand why the Soviets settled for "being such a poor second" so long. He thought it conceivable that the Soviets were reaching for a first strike capability but noted that their actions could be "easily understood without appealing to such a notion" (8,2,1115).

Kistiakowsky notes in mid-1969 that "... if what they are doing now is developing MRV's, the non-independently guided multiple warheads for SS-9, this could still be a counter-city weapon..." (1,92). Interestingly, in Spring, 1970, Panofsky noted that "further data" of a secret nature suggests that the Soviets are "less likely" to be moving toward a MIRV that would permit SS-9 to destroy more than one Minuteman (6,3,2214).

#### CONSERVATISM IN CALCULATIONS

In a letter to Senator Stennis, commenting on differences between the calculations of Rathjens and Wohlstetter concerning the survivability of Minuteman, Panofsky argued that these differences had "obscured the main issue". The calculations simply differed in "assumptions" ranging from highly conservative to highly unconservative. He argued that the degree of conservatism adopted by Wohlstetter, Rathjens or Lapp was not so relevant as the degree of conservatism adopted by the Soviets in planning an attack; considering the "always unknown reliability" of their forces, the Soviets would have to be "conservative indeed" (8,2,1453). (This tends to support Rathjens and Lapp).

ADMINISTRATION ATTITUDES TOWARDS MIRV  
MORATORIUM

Secretary Laird explained his alleged directive to members of DOD not to discuss or imply that MIRV or ABM deployment might be postponed by saying that the United States and the Soviet Union had agreed that "all matters dealing directly with our SALT discussions" are to be private. Therefore, he said, "speculation by Government officials of the possible effects" of various actions could have a "highly deleterious effect upon negotiations (6,3,2171).

Secretary Laird thought a halt to MIRV deployments "inconsistent with the purpose of the arms limitation talks" though not with the "spirit of strategic arms limitation" (his italics). Such actions would "convey to the Soviets the impression that their strategic buildup is tolerable" (6,3,2171).

Asked whether the talks might not suffer from "premature deployment" of MIRV before exploring effective controls, Laird responded that the deployments were "necessary" not "premature". Interestingly, Laird said the problem is "not one of finding an opportunity to explore the possibility for effective controls" but rather is "one of bringing the Soviet buildup to a halt so that any exploration can have realistic meaning". (This seems to suggest that a unilateral Soviet halt is a pre-condition for meaningful negotiations!) (6,3,2171-2172).

Asked by Senator Smith what would happen if a MIRV agreement were reached, Secretary Laird said that if MIRVs were to be eliminated by an arms control agreement, the Minuteman III and Poseidon systems "could revert to a single warhead configuration" (6, 3,2191). Later, he said we would "probably" so deploy Minuteman III in such a case (6,3,2194).

## MIRV INSPECTION

Foster writes Senator Brooke (in 5,53) on August 30, 1969 that DOD has so far been unable to determine any "reliable method," using national means only, for verifying "with certainty" Soviet adherence to a MIRV test moratorium. Because DOD cannot devise "any certain verification means" it seems to DOD that the U.S. must "restrict or control" such things as "penetration aids, maneuvering RVs, and multiple RVs." Elsewhere, however, Foster notes that "even collateral flight-test constraints" would have difficulty covering all the flight tests that "might be associated with MIRV development" (1,247). He went on to say, however, that he did believe an arms control agreement involving a mutual ban on MIRVs was "possible"—significantly this does not indicate a ban on MIRV tests or a ban without on-site inspection.

## CAN MINUTEMAN BE FIRED?

In fiscal 1969 posture hearings, Senator Young noted that there had been "two failures on silos in North Dakota two years ago" which uncovered "serious electronic problems." Secretary of the Air Force, Harold Brown, said these had been fixed, noted that firing experience from the Vandenberg test site had been satisfactory but conceded that "we want the additional assurance that comes from firing out of operational silos, and we have not yet achieved that." He planned to acquire, and fire from operational silos, missiles with 7-second firing times and to investigate also the possibility of full range test from operational silos (9,5, 2613).

In fiscal 1970 hearings, Senator Young asked what had happened to the "proposed test of the Minuteman II out of the silos?" He was told by Secretary Laird that the Air Force plan for tests from operational silos had not yet been delivered and that the matter was under "current consideration." Senator Young said it had been "for at least two years" (10,6,85).

In fiscal 1971 hearings, asked about plans

for a Minuteman operational launch, Secretary of the Air Force Seamans said "we would like to do it soon" (13,1,677). However, General Esposito, in prepared answers to questions of Senator Symington, reported that the Air Force was "anticipating direction" from the Secretary of Defense to proceed and was recommending a schedule calling for launch of a Minuteman II "approximately 19 months after go-ahead". The schedule also included the firing of a Minuteman III, "one year after" the Minuteman II test (6,2,1042).

## EXIT PROBLEM

Mendel Rivers asked whether there could be technical interference in which the "high powered radar" of Safeguard interfered with the "electronics system" of Minuteman or the "nuclear shield" of Safeguard prevented Minuteman from "achieving ballistic flight". DOD replied that "a coordination plan" had been developed and approved by the Chiefs. "No potential interference problems" had been found that could not be solved by "operational procedures or, at most, limited fixes" (14,1,7115). This suggests that Minuteman could be pinned down by incoming fire.

General Ryan notes that steps are being taken to improve the ability of Minuteman to "survive launching in a nuclear environment" (6,2,958).

A Wohlsetter argues that a submarine-launched attack could "prevent the launching of Minuteman until a lethal attack of ICBM's arrived" (6,3,2275).

## MINUTEMAN PROCUREMENT COSTS

The operational Minuteman force, in April 1970, consisted of 500 Minuteman I and 500 Minuteman II missiles, with 500 Minuteman III missiles scheduled to replace the Minuteman I missiles by the end of 1974. The Minuteman program had absorbed, through fiscal 1970, \$13 billion with another \$4 billion estimated to be required.

The first Minuteman version with multiple warheads—Minuteman III—was ordered developed in the Spring of 1966, was test flown in August 1968, and was first installed in June 1970. See (14,2,8169-8171).

Minuteman III possesses "improved survivability, penetration capability, payload, and accuracy" over the older Minuteman systems "just over" one-third of the 500 missiles will have been procured in fiscal '69, '70 and '71 (13,1,599).

However, it seems likely that most of this "one-third" is being bought in fiscal 1971: \$475 million of \$686 million requested for Minuteman procurement is devoted to Minuteman III (13, 1,253). Elsewhere it is said that this sum includes "peculiar Minuteman II equipment" (6,2,977). (But at unit costs of \$2.284 million for Minuteman III, more than 200 missiles or 40% or the 500 to be bought, could be purchased. In fiscal '69 and '70 respectively, 68 and 100 Minutemen were bought for a comparable \$447 and \$457 million (6,2,907). Probably no more than 1/6 of the programmed Minuteman III missiles have been purchased in fiscal '69 and '70).

Somewhat incredibly, total costs "directly and indirectly" associated with MIRV in the fiscal 1971 budget total \$1,091.8 million for Poseidon and \$713.7 million for Minuteman for a total of almost \$2 billion or, 2% of the defense budget (6,3,2190).

Total investment cost for Minuteman II and III through fiscal 1974 is \$9.45 billion (7,3,1028). Total development costs for them through 1970 are \$3.2 billion (10,4,803). "Development and deployment" costs for Minuteman "do approach" \$1 billion per year (6,1,232).

The Minuteman III missile, in a "fly-away sense" excluding "non-recurring costs" and with one re-entry vehicle costs \$2.284 million (10,4,414) and (10,4,429). Maintenance and operation costs are approximately \$900,000 a missile (10,4,429). Reading through the

deletions, and speculating that reference is to a squadron of ten missiles deployed at the end of fiscal 1970, suggests that the average cost of the first ten was \$4.3 million, including silo modification and check out (10,4,23). But an estimate of Secretary Laird's for the first 300 Minuteman III gives an (evidently overall) cost of \$2.5 billion or \$8.3 million each (7,7,375).

## HEARINGS ON MIRV

The most thorough-going Congressional investigation into the problem of MIRV was undertaken by the National Security Subcommittee of the House Foreign Affairs Committee in 1969. In 1969 and 1970, the Disarmament Subcommittee of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee held hearings on MIRV in conjunction with investigations into ABM and SALT. The Armed Services and Appropriations Committees hearings in both years refer extensively to MIRV. The fourteen sets of hearings are numbered, as indicated below.

1. Diplomatic and Strategic Impact of Multiple Warhead Missiles; Hearings before the Subcommittee on National Security Policy and Scientific Developments of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, House of Representatives, 91st Congress, 1st session, July-August, 1969.

2. Strategic and Foreign Policy Implications of ABM Systems; Hearings before the Subcommittee on International Organization and Disarmament Affairs of the Committee on Foreign Relations, United States Senate, 91st Congress, 1st session, Volumes 1-3.

3. Scope, Magnitude, and Implications of the United States Anti-Ballistic Missile Program; Hearings before the Subcommittee on Military Applications of the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy, Congress of the United States, 90th Congress, 1st session, November, 1967.

4. Strategy and Science: Toward a National Security Policy for the 1970's; Hearings before the Subcommittee on National Security Policy and Scientific Developments of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, House of Representatives, 91st Congress, 1st session, March, 1969.

5. ABM, MIRV, SALT, and the Nuclear Arms Race; Hearings before the Subcommittee on Arms Control, International Law and Organization of the Committee on Foreign Relations, United States Senate, 91st Congress, 2nd session, March-June, 1970.

6. Senate Hearings on Military Procurement, Research and Development, Fiscal 1971, and Reserve Strength (91st Congress, 2nd session, February-March, 1970). Volumes 1-3, Appendix and Report.

7. House Hearings on Department of Defense Appropriations for Fiscal 1970 (91st Congress, 1st session). Parts 1-6.

8. Senate Hearings on Military Procurement, Research and Development, Fiscal 1970, and Reserve Strength (91st Congress, 1st session).

9. Senate Hearings on Department of Defense Appropriations, Fiscal 1969 (90th Congress, 2nd session, 1968).

10. Senate Hearings on Department of Defense Appropriations, Fiscal 1970 (91st Congress, 1st session, 1969).

11. Status of U.S. Strategic Power; Hearings before the Preparedness Investigating Subcommittee of the Committee on Armed Services, United States Senate, 90th Congress, 2nd session, April-May, 1968. Parts 1-2.

12. Senate Hearings on Military Procurement Authorizations for Fiscal 1968 (90th Congress, 1st session, January-February, 1967).

13. House Hearings on Department of Defense Appropriations for Fiscal 1971 (91st Congress, 2nd session).

14. House Hearings on Military Posture, Fiscal 1971 (91st Congress, 2nd session).

REFLECTIONS ON THE PENTAGON  
PAPER CASE

## HON. JOHN M. ASHBROOK

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 14, 1971

Mr. ASHBROOK. Mr. Speaker, now that the furor over the publication of the so-called Pentagon papers has subsided somewhat, at least for the time being, the many ramifications of this issue should be given cool, calm consideration. The veteran columnist, George Todt, recently devoted four columns to various aspects of the case and suggests the possibility of prosecuting the New York Times, the Washington Post, and the Boston Globe for violation of the Espionage Act. Mr. Todt raises the question of the utility of the act in the future if its possible violation by these newspapers is committed with impunity. In addition, Mr. Todt strikes a theme that has not been duly emphasized; namely, that the Vietnam effort has degenerated into the present mess due in large part to the bungling of former Defense Secretary Robert S. McNamara.

The following items by George Todt, appearing in the Van Nuys News of July 1, 2, 4, and 6, 1971, advance some provocative observations on this important issue, and I include them at this point in the RECORD:

## LAW BROKEN BY "SECRETS LEAK"

(By George Todt)

A great many words have been written on the pros and cons regarding the New York Times' publication of the Defense Department's history of American involvement in Vietnam but few writers if any, have touched on the central issue, which is the Espionage Act.

To go quickly to the heart of the controversy, the Espionage Act of the United States makes it a crime to publish secret information and the penalty is 10 years in prison and/or a \$10,000 fine.

## HAS GOOD REASON

Similar penalties are provided for persons lawfully entitled to see classified documents who make them available to unauthorized persons—and for persons not authorized to see such materials who make it available to others.

The government has a pretty healthy reason to howl about the publication of its classified documents, and this is not based on the old dodge of "censorship" which is almost invariably raised when those guilty of improprieties overstep the bounds and use it as a self-serving alibi.

## NOT ALARMED

As a member of the press who holds it in the highest esteem, I do not believe any newspaper has the right to fly in the teeth of the Espionage Act and excuse itself by explaining that it merely did so in order to avoid "censorship" for the public. This is malarky.

What happened in this controversial matter is that, almost assuredly, the New York Times violated the law—the Espionage Act, specifically—in publishing secret documents on the Vietnam War.

We may be certain they are not alarmed at the prospect of paying a fine of \$10,000 for this "scoop," but the prospect of 10 years in prison may be a horse of a different color. And it may just account for the recent mellowing of the Times on the subject, to the extent of even cooperating to some extent with the government now.

From the beginning, it struck me that—

at best—the Times was in the position of a "fence" which receives and accepts stolen goods.

## WERE TOP SECRET

There is little to acclaim in a newspaper, even with such lofty pretensions as the Times, which breaks national security and reveals the secrets contained in government documents which might compromise us.

It is easy—as well as self-serving—to assert that it really is not harmful to national security by illegally publishing these classified documents. But that is only a matter of personal opinion.

A number of the documents and cables quoted in the Times were originally coded. These dispatches between Washington and Saigon were of the most secret nature. It is conceivable that disclosure in the uncoded form could serve to help Russia, North Vietnam and Red China decipher other messages of that period not yet decoded.

Under what grant from on high does the New York Times, or any other private news medium, take it upon itself to unilaterally declassify government documents stamped "secret" and decide it is part of "all the news fit to print"? Let's read the Espionage Act, gentleman!

## HITS PUBLISHING SECRET PAPERS

For its clandestine efforts in obtaining and publishing secret classified material stolen from Department of Defense files, the New York Times, Washington Post and Boston Globe deserve neither praise nor persecution—but prosecution under terms of the Espionage Act of the United States.

"The law clearly provides that secret documents and top secret documents should not become public until they are declassified," stated Secretary of State William Rogers in his June 15 press conference.

The Times, Post, and Globe, influential though they may be, are not above the law of the land. They have no right whatsoever to publish classified government documents according to whim, fancy or the personal opinion of curbstone experts.

## NOTE RESPONSIBILITY

The latter were often referred to as "guardhouse lawyers" in service years—for their ability to get those in trouble who took their advice.

"A fundamental responsibility of the press in this democracy," gushed the Times in a recent editorial, "is to publish information that helps the people of the United States to understand the processes of their own government, especially when those processes have been clouded over in a veil of public dissimulation (translation: To feign, pretend, dissemble) and even deception."

## VIOLATES ACT

In the first place, the Times was wrong to call us a democracy when we are a republic. Officially, and for good reason, this nation is called "The Republic of the United States."

In the second place, the self-serving platitudes contained in the Times editorial are correct enough with but one well-known exception—of which the Times is doubtless aware—and that is when such published information referred to violates the Espionage Act of the Republic of the United States.

It is not the province of any newspaper or other portion of the mass communications media to make a unilateral decision of its own to publish secret or top secret documents of the government with impunity. Such agencies are not above the law of the land. Far from it, despite their power to sway mass opinion.

## WANTS PERSECUTION

If the New York Times is not to set a dangerous precedent for the rest of the media in this instance, it would seem that much more than a mere investigation is in order.

Those who perpetrated this clandestine

and potentially most harmful act—which may reflect dangerously on the American people in the end—ought to be prosecuted for breaking the Espionage Act and, if found guilty in court, should be punished according to the law.

It is true that the publication of the stolen documents now makes for interesting reading, but that is not enough to excuse the error of the original theft. That is indeed the question.

## HAVE NO RIGHT

Failure to prosecute the Times and its companions, the Washington Post and Boston Globe, in this matter by the government would almost amount to a unilateral repeal of the Espionage Act—not by act of Congress but by the affected newspapers themselves.

Frankly, they have no right whatsoever to do this action, wishful thinking on their parts to the contrary, merely because it may be said they are not in sympathy with the law in all good conscience.

This is the line we hear from the hippies today. It is sad to find it adhered to by the biggest newspaper in the nation. Very sad!

Actually, the Times is not so privileged it is above trial.

## HOW "CREDIBILITY GAP" GOT STARTED

Now that the New York Times, Washington Post and Boston Globe have taken it upon themselves to reveal—I believe illegally—secret information to friend and foe alike concerning the Pentagon studies of the Vietnam War—we may as well benefit from the available information leaked out.

After all, it has been placed already within the willing reach of our enemies on the world stage—including Communist leaders everywhere—so we must take it in stride at this point.

Certainly the public has a right to know and the American people are the best informed in history by their press.

## MAKES IT CRIME

But the public is not entitled to know everything, which includes classified information involving national security. And no newspaper, or other member of the mass communications media, has a unilateral right to abridge the law governing such matters.

The Espionage Act of the United States makes it a crime to publish secret information. The penalty is 10 years in prison and/or a \$10,000 fine. Similar penalties are provided for persons lawfully entitled to see classified documents who make them available to unauthorized persons—and for persons not authorized to see such material who make it available to others.

## DANGERS CITED

If the biggest newspapers in the country are allowed to flaunt this law with impunity, then who can be expected to obey it?

One of the dangers cited in this illegal dispensation of secret information by the Times and its allies is that it will cause a new "credibility gap" for the government. Which government?

Certainly, not the Nixon administration because it was not involved in escalation of the war in Vietnam, which took place under the Kennedy and Johnson administrations from 1961-69.

The present government, under President Nixon, has been heavily engaged in winding down the war—not stepping it up.

## LONE STATEMENT

That fact ought to be readily apparent to all except political opportunists who blind themselves to truth for partisan gain. Or know-nothing types.

This "credibility gap" in government originated in these 1961-69 years, too. It started massively with the unfortunate statement of a single government official in the Kennedy-Johnson administrations. He was

Arthur Sylvester, assistant to Defense Secretary Robert McNamara.

"The government has a right to lie to save itself" was the blatant statement attributed to Sylvester in his heyday—and nobody in the Kennedy-Johnson administration took issue with him.

#### QUESTIONS KLEIN

Somebody high up in the Nixon administration has taken issue with Sylvester on this point, however. He is Herbert G. Klein, former editor of the respected San Diego Union, a member of the Copley chain, presently director of communications for the President.

Not long ago in the Anaheim Convention Center, at one of astute John Fisher's notable American Security Council meetings, I queried Herb Klein on the Sylvester statement as it applied now.

"Absolutely out of the question with the Nixon administration," he told me.

"The President insists on absolute honesty in release of government information to the public. Subject to security requirements of national defense, of course. There ought to be no 'credibility gap' with our government today. We are telling the truth."

#### CULPRIT REVEALED IN SECRET PAPERS

Some of the facts which have been revealed by the surreptitious publication of the secret and top-secret papers of the Department of Defense by the New York Times, Washington Post and Boston Globe are astonishing—others we know already.

It will be a long time before the 45 books and millions of words ordered by former Secretary of Defense Robert McNamara can be placed in proper perspective and fully assessed in value.

#### INTERPRETS MOVE

There is considerable evidence McNamara accomplished this controversial work at the urging of the late Sen. Robert Kennedy who sought to use it later as a backdrop to discredit the Johnson-Humphrey administration in his intended bid for the Presidency.

Certainly, President Lyndon B. Johnson so interprets this move and spoke out in outraged tones from his home in Texas when the so-called "History of the Vietnam War" was illegally made public.

The former President of the United States, Mr. Johnson, ought to receive much sympathy from the public in this instance. It demonstrates again, only too well, the disloyalty of some of the men around him willing to sell him out for personal gain.

#### CALLED CULPRIT

Some of these same men, who would not know how to spell the word "loyalty" aided by a Webster Dictionary, are presently up to their old tricks in trying to sell out the present occupant of the White House.

No matter how McNamara's history of the Vietnam War has been written, it is almost certain not to blame the real culprit of this fiasco—who was no less than McNamara, himself.

This high-handed tyrant of the Pentagon refuses to heed the sage advice of a great American military genius, Gen. Douglas MacArthur, who warned against our getting bogged down in a land war in Asia, which might prove fatal. Korean failure emphasized it.

#### STATES VIEW

There is no question of the correctness of American policy in trying to keep Indo-China out of the Communist orbit at the time. But the worst way we might have done it was the way we did under the tragic guidance of McNamara: involvement of over half a million American ground troops eventually, with their overwhelming expense.

There was another, a better way, it could have been done. And that was the heavy commitment of air-sea power, with less reliance on ground combat as our end of it.

The South Vietnamese have a million men under arms, five times as many as the North Vietnamese and Viet Cong.

They could have done their share from the beginning if we had let them. But nobody is going to do it for themselves if the Americans will do it for them—and pay the entire freight in the bargain.

#### AIDED BY RUSSIA

The RNV and Viet Cong troops were sustained in the field by approximately \$1,000,000,000 worth of war materiel and supplies per year.

About 80% of the total arrived from the Soviet Union through the port of Haiphong. Supplies were stacked 40 feet in the air as far as the eye could reach.

Had these been taken out from the air, the Communist effort would have soon been ended.

Our brilliant admirals and Air Force generals knew this to be true, asked permission several years ago to destroy the military supplies at the port of Haiphong. Request denied by one man: McNamara.

The U.S. Navy could easily have blockaded the harbor, denied access to the Red logistical suppliers. The U.S. Air Force could easily have destroyed the logistics. They were stopped by McNamara.

Despite the ignorant comments of the hippies and draft-dodgers, this is not Richard Nixon's war. In reality, it has been McNamara's defeat.

#### CONSUMPTION OF NATURAL RESOURCES AND POPULATION GROWTH

#### HON. WILLIAM B. SPONG, JR.

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, July 14, 1971

Mr. SPONG. Mr. President, for some time I have been concerned over the effects of population growth and consumption of natural resources upon environmental quality. Mr. Robert A. Willis, in an article published July 12, 1971, in the Roanoke Times, emphasizes that the same technology which has produced a multitude of convenience items must devote an equal amount of energy and research to repair damage done to our surroundings, and to work on preventive measures which encourage progress yet maintain environmental quality.

I discussed these points in a speech on the evening of July 12 before the Ecology Action Group of Winchester. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that my remarks at Winchester and Mr. Willis' article be printed in the RECORD.

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

#### REMARKS BY SENATOR WILLIAM B. SPONG, JR.

As this group is well aware, public concern over the degradation of the nation's environment has reached major proportions. The Congress has responded to strong and often highly vocal public expressions on this issue by devoting extensive attention to the task of defining sound national environmental policies and seeking out the best means of implementing and enforcing environment-protection programs at all levels of government.

Pollution, of course, has always been with us. Americans have been altering, re-shaping and exploiting the face of our countryside for many decades. Nevertheless, the increasing speed and variety of change generated by recent trends of population growth, sprawling urbanization and advances in in-

dustrial technology—particularly in the energy and chemical industries—have brought us to a new environmental status.

Many witnesses, for example, who have testified at recent congressional hearings have stressed the potential capacity of modern man to destroy the earth's biosphere. It is now possible to alter the environment dramatically through atomic fission and also to modify biological systems irreversibly through chemical action. In thinking about this gloomy prospect, one must consider first how our industrial society is actually pressing against the natural life support system, and second, how far we can go as a nation in changing and modifying the physical environment before our way of living is imminently threatened.

These basic questions are reflected in all forms of environmental pollution, the accumulation of solid wastes, more and more incidents of chemical contamination of fish and other food products, radiation hazards, and increasing ugliness of the landscape around us. It is in connection with these and other specific environmental problems that we must somehow learn to govern and manage our affairs more efficiently and in better harmony with ecological principles.

Recent Congresses have enacted a series of important measures which are addressed directly to the major underlying causes of environmental decline. It has been my privilege to have been actively involved in the development of this legislation, which calls for the establishment of specific standards having to do with amenity and health problems. Air quality standards are one example; others include water quality standards, control of radiation hazards, and noise abatement.

In addition, numerous bills have been enacted that deal with individual components of the total land planning problem. These include new statutes for expanding recreational opportunities by providing more urban open space, and new systems of wild rivers, trails, seashores and wilderness areas.

I anticipate action this year on legislation to establish machinery for the protection of estuaries and the intensively-used shoreline along our entire coast.

Thus, Congress is carving out a major new role for the federal and state governments as guardians of our natural environment. And in the process new relationships are developing with state and local governments through new grant-in-aid programs and the expansion of technical advice-giving.

The environmental challenge, in my view, involves four inter-related social issues.

One issue centers around the effects of economic growth on environmental degradation. In the last two decades we have seen a tremendous increase in the consumption of many commodities and services—tin cans, automobiles, paper, recreation experience, and all the rest. While our Gross National Product has grown at over 3 per cent yearly since the early part of this century, more recently it has risen dramatically. Between the years 1950 and 1970, we witnessed a doubling of GNP, and the prediction is that we will have over three times the current GNP figure by the year 2000.

These statistics are more meaningful when cast in terms of real consumption, for it is within this framework that environmental quality becomes a troublesome factor. To illustrate, U.S. energy consumption has more than doubled since World War II and our present per capita consumption is six times the world average. How long can this rate of growth and consumption continue before it imposes too heavy a demand on our basic resources and the capacity of air, land and water to absorb the waste and other environmental side-effects of production processes?

A second issue at stake is the development of agreement, among scientists and decision-makers, on reasonable standards or yardsticks for environmental clean-up. Until fairly recently the definition of what is meant

by the term "environmental quality" has been rather vague. It is all too easy to call for pure air, pristine water and uncontaminated land; it is a much more difficult task to define precisely how much air and water pollution control, prevention and abatement our society is willing and able to pay for in view of the benefits and costs involved. There is no question that pollution causes damages to property, menaces health and reduces aesthetic and recreational opportunities. But one must recognize that waste production is an integral part of the life process.

The goal of clean-up must be tempered with that reality. For example, in terms of air quality, if the decision is made to remove 40 or 50 or 60 per cent of a given pollutant, the costs may be modest. But removal of 80 or 90 or 100 per cent may cost a great deal. The bedrock of our pollution control effort must be the protection of public health. Achieving that objective will require a public recognition and acceptance of the cost factors involved.

The third issue is that of developing mechanisms to provide for automatic consideration of environmental influences in all actions undertaken by government agencies—whether the action involves construction, grant giving, support of research, regulation of power-producing industries, land development or any other activity that bears significantly on the quality of our environment. It has been predicted by the National Academy of Sciences that the next 30 years will probably require the construction of additional public works and other facilities in this country equivalent to all those already in existence. If we are to prevent an escalation of damages to air, land and water, environmental factors must be given a position of primary importance in the formulation of government and industry plans for years ahead.

The 91st Congress met this issue by passing action-forcing legislation which affects the decision-making process of all federal agencies. Section 102 of the National Environmental Policy Act of 1969 requires all federal agencies to take full cognizance of their intended actions. Prior to each action, the agency must submit to the President's Council on Environmental Quality a statement which spells out the environmental impact of the proposed action. Indirectly, this process will also affect private industry. For example, if a company action requires a federal permit or there is a contract involved with the federal government, then the federal agency must submit an environmental impact statement. Most of the detailed information for such statements must be provided by the industry involved.

A fourth issue concerns the character of our population growth and its geographic distribution. The problems that are inextricably tied to high population densities include increased air pollution due to automobile congestion, severe concentrations of human and industrial waste matter in waterways near our cities, rising levels of noise, and less opportunities for pleasant outdoor activity—to name only a few.

In the 1960's more than three-fourths of this nation's population growth occurred in metropolitan areas, with suburbs absorbing most of it. If this trend continues we can anticipate the day when most of our people will live in areas with populations exceeding one million. Some experts believe that our major population problems are caused by the affluence and dense concentration of people rather than the growing size of our total population. For example, the Environmental Protection Agency has estimated that of the major increase in water-polluting wastes produced between 1964 and 1968, 77 per cent was caused by the increase in per capita consumption, and only 4 per cent was caused by population increase.

Nevertheless, we must decide, eventually, how large a population this country can safely accommodate in order to create the

best possible living conditions for all our people—rich and poor, young and old. And we must learn how best to distribute our people to mitigate many of our environmental concerns. Finally, there is the wrenching question of what patterns of material consumption are environmentally as well as economically and morally sound. It will take time to curb population growth. As the matter rests today, we have a large number of persons entering the child bearing ages. It is reasonable to expect that the average young couple will have at least two children, which means we will probably have a population of about 300 million by the 21st century. In the meantime, environmental problems are being intensified.

In my judgment, there are few issues that are more likely to divide our society than the problems associated with future population growth and dispersal. One of the difficulties is the wide disagreement among experts over the interpretation of "facts." This difficulty is summarized in the recent report of the National Goals Research staff. The report said:

"On the one side of the debate, we find many who view population growth as a problem second only to war in its dangers. A number of population experts have handed mankind a stark choice—population control or race to oblivion. . . . Even the National Academy of Sciences has warned that in the very long run, continued growth of the United States population would first become intolerable and then physically impossible.

"On the other side of the debate, there are experts who contend that the country is not in the midst of a population crisis and is not facing an impending crisis in the sense of having more people than the nation can sustain at a high level of economic and cultural well-being. Thus, Professor Ansley Coale, in his presidential address to the Population Association of America, said: 'Even if our population should rise to a billion, its average density would not be very high by European standards. It seems to me that we must attack the problems of pollution, urban deterioration, juvenile delinquency and the like directly, and if sensible programs are evolved, continued population growth on the order of 1 per cent annually would not make the programs tangibly less effective.'"

In 1969, the President sent to the Congress a message which has served to help shape and expand this growing national debate on the population issue. As a result of that message, the Congress established the Commission on Population Growth and the American Future. The Commission was instructed to inquire into and make recommendations in five specific areas:

First, the probable course of population growth, internal and related demographic developments between now and the year 2000.

Second, the resources in the public sector of the economy that will be required to deal with the anticipated growth in population.

Third, ways in which population growth may affect the activities of federal, state and local government.

Fourth, the impact of population growth on environmental pollution, and on the depletion of natural resources.

Fifth, the various means appropriate to the ethical values and principles of this society by which our nation can achieve a population level suited for its environmental, natural resources and other needs.

The Commission has begun its studies—the findings, conclusions and recommendations of which will be submitted to the Congress and the American people early next year.

It is rather interesting, I think, to consider the implication of the tentative positions taken in the Commission's interim report, which was widely distributed in March, 1971.

Let me summarize:

First, the Commission noted that despite the pervasive impact of population growth on every facet of American life, the United States has never developed a deliberate, well-defined and consistent policy on the subject. Nevertheless, Congress has passed many legislative mandates involving health, taxes, and other areas which either directly or indirectly encourage or discourage population increase.

Second, the Commission observed that our population distribution problem arises largely from the transition of the United States from an agrarian to an industrial and service economy, and from a rural to a metropolitan way of life. There have been major stresses and strains created by these transitions. Some areas have become overcrowded, while others have been seriously depopulated, leaving behind communities of uneconomic and unenviable social status. In the future, if we are to directly influence population dispersal we must understand how this might be done and what incentives are necessary to influence internal migration. As to the role of the federal government, it is clear that such programs as the Federal Interstate Highway System, the New Communities Act and many other federal programs directly affect population distribution. The commission intends to recommend how the programs created by existing legislation might be coordinated to effectively guide future distribution patterns.

Third, the Commission noted the evidence that the elimination of unwanted births in this country would result in fertility levels ultimately commensurate with near-zero population growth. Unwanted childbearing is a problem that can be met head-on if the nation so desires. This can be done through greater emphasis on family planning programs, research and educational programs, and counseling. The implications of pressing forward on this problem are enormous. Simply by enabling all individual couples to achieve their own preferences in having "wanted" babies, the nation would be committing itself to a goal of population stabilization or near-stabilization. This goal poses all sorts of complexities—moral, ethical and economic—which must be thoroughly aired before a firm commitment policy can be made.

These then, are some of the issues which we should all be thinking about and discussing in the months ahead. Population growth is an important issue, but equally important are the implications in terms of our quality of life, the status of our economy, the exercise of freedom of choice, and the need for protecting our physical environment for coming generations of Americans.

[From the Roanoke (Va.) Times, July 12, 1971]

#### POSTWAR TECHNOLOGY MADE POLLUTION SOAR

(By Robert A. Willis)

It is generally accepted that damage to the U.S. environment has accelerated in recent years due to the pressure of growing population and the rise in American affluence. A number of observers have pointed out that the population of the United States exerts a much greater drain on natural resources than does a like number of people elsewhere in the world.

That may not be all of it, however. Three scientists who have researched the issues find that, on the basis of their statistics, pollution in the United States in the past quarter century has grown much faster than has either population or affluence. There are factors other than numbers of people or rates of consumption, they theorize, that have caused pollution to skyrocket—by rates ranging from 200 to 1,000 per cent from 1945 to the present. They put the blame on faulty technology.

The scientists are Dr. Barry Commoner of Washington University and Michael Corr and Paul Stamler of the American Association for the Advancement of Science. Their findings

are summed up in an article in the April issue of *Environment*, the excellent monthly magazine of the non-profit Committee for Environmental Information in St. Louis.

"Faulty technology" covers a multitude of sins. The scientists concentrated their research on the period 1946-68, a time during which many changes in production techniques were introduced. Use of certain raw materials was reduced or discontinued; other raw materials were substituted. Old methods were phased out; new ways of making or processing were begun. Total production of the goods involved did not always increase, nor did consumption. But in a great many instances, pollution did—because of the change in technology.

For example, Americans did not drink appreciably more beer per person in 1968 than in 1946. But they drank much more of it from non-returnable beer bottles (production of those bottles went up 3,700 per cent during the period); the result was a mounting solid waste and pollution problem.

Other substitutions cited by the authors are "plastics for lumber; detergents for soap; truck and air freight for railroad freight; motor vehicles for work animals." Some of these swaps, in themselves damaging to the environment, triggered still other technological changes that had bad results. The move from rail to truck traffic meant more pavement had to be laid, and production of cement—whose plants often saturate the air with dust and which need much electric power—therefore rose.

The trend spotted by the scientists was the substitution of synthetic organic products for natural ones. Per capita, Americans buy no more clothes today than 25 years ago. But rather than garments of cotton, wool or other natural fabric, they are wearing those made from synthetic fibers, whose production shot up by 1,792 per cent in 1950-68. Unlike cotton, processing synthetics requires large amounts of electricity to reshape their molecular structure. And when synthetics—fabrics, containers, etc.—are discarded, they do not readily decompose like their natural counterparts containing cellulose.

The list of unfortunate technological changes is a long one, ranging from increased use of nitrogen fertilizer and synthetic chemicals to greater output of chlorine gas and aluminum. Take just one change that has lately commanded worldwide attention, the growth in the use of mercury in the chemical process industries.

"Mercury," say the scientists, "is unique in combining certain valuable chemical properties with a capacity to conduct electricity. This led, for example, to the introduction in the United States about 20 years ago of a much improved process for producing caustic soda and chlorine.

"... Both of these substances are very widely used in the manufacture of the numerous synthetic chemical compounds that have been massively produced in the last 30 years. . . . Moreover, several major plastics are produced by processes catalyzed by mercury." And for the most part, the mercury wastes from such processes have, callously, been dumped into our streams and gone thence to aquatic life and human bodies—sometimes in fatal or nerve-damaging concentrations.

In sum, the scientists declare, "Nearly all of the production activities that fall into the class exhibiting striking changes in per capita production turn out to be important causes of pollution. Thus wood pulp production and related paper-making activities are responsible for a very considerable part of the pollution of surface waters with organic wastes, sulphite, and, until several years ago, mercury. Vehicles driven by the internal combustion engine are responsible for a major part of total air pollution. . . . Much of the remaining air pollution is due to electric power generation, another member of this group." And so on.

The scientists offer methods for production that square with sound ecology: "Sewage disposal systems which return organic matter to the soil; vehicle engines which operate at low pressure and temperature and therefore do not produce smog-triggering nitrogen oxides; reliance on natural products rather than energy-consuming synthetic substitutes; closed production systems that prevent environmental release of toxic substances."

In brief, they contend, industries (which include transportation and power generation) ought to operate in ways that make less impact on the environment. Population is growing but per capita consumption is slowing down. The burden of change in order to repair our heavy damage to nature seems to fall on technology.

#### WRIGHT PATMAN RECEIVES HONORARY DEGREE

### HON. JACK BROOKS

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 14, 1971

Mr. BROOKS. Mr. Speaker, thousands of Texas youth have been able to further their education through the Lone Star State's excellent network of junior colleges.

The State of Texas has been a leader in the establishment of these 2-year schools and this has meant much to the educational opportunities in our region. That is why I was so interested in noting that the dean of the Texas delegation in the House, the Honorable WRIGHT PATMAN of the first district, was given an honorary degree at the commencement exercises of the Paris Junior College recently.

Mr. PATMAN has always prided himself on being a "people's representative" and it was very fitting for a junior college—which epitomizes "people's education"—to award this particular degree. It says much for Paris Junior College and the great work of our colleague from *Texas*.

Mr. Speaker, Congressman PATMAN, in accepting this degree, delivered an outstanding address to the graduating class and it contains much significant information about the junior college program as well as some pointed advice to the youth of America who are entering the mainstream of our society.

Mr. Speaker, I place a copy of this address in the *RECORD*.

I also place in the record copies of articles from the *Paris, Tex., News* of Friday, May 21, 1971, and the *Lamar County, Tex., Echo* of Thursday, May 27, 1971, describing the awarding of the honorary degree to Mr. PATMAN:

#### ADDRESS OF THE HONORABLE WRIGHT PATMAN

Mr. President and Regents, members of the Faculty, honored guests and friends, and distinguished members of this year's graduating class of Paris Junior College:

Paris Junior College is a symbol of opportunity—the kind of opportunity that has nurtured the leadership role of the State of Texas.

Each of you graduates has benefited from that opportunity. As the years roll by you will benefit more and more—both intellectually and economically—from your days here at Paris. You have been given the tools with which to structure your careers and your lives.

Texas has been far ahead of most states in its efforts to bring higher education to its youth. In too many areas of the nation, higher education has—for all practical purposes—been reserved for the affluent. In some sections of the country, tuition and other expenses price thousands of young people out of the education market even at state-subsidized institutions.

This concept of higher education for the elite is becoming discredited, and more and more, the nation is recognizing the importance of broadening its educational opportunities. You graduates of Paris Junior College must help with that recognition. You must work to broaden educational opportunities for all people.

The system of junior colleges and community colleges has been one of the most effective means of bringing true democracy to higher education. Texas has been a pioneer in the establishment and development of junior colleges. The rest of the nation is beginning to catch on to the tremendous benefits that these two-year colleges can bring to its people.

In discussions about broadening the junior college concept around the nation, I am sure that the name of Paris Junior College crops up often. Since the establishment of this school in 1924, it has been one of the real leaders. The academic reputation of this Junior College has always been extremely high. The Paris Junior College students who have gone on to senior colleges have established outstanding academic records.

In addition, your school is now expanding its technical and vocational ability and this will increase your importance to Paris, Lamar County, and the entire region. It is wonderful that you now have a one million dollar technical-vocational building on the drawing board. This, of course, was a joint effort between the Federal Government and the local community.

In coming years, I hope we are going to see a great expansion of two-year colleges. We don't mind a bit if the rest of the nation borrows from our Texas success story. The trend is obvious already. Back in 1960, the Nation had only 521 two-year colleges. Ten years later—in the fall of 1970—the figure had grown to 891—an increase of 71% in a decade.

Last year, one million, eight hundred thousand young people entered college for the first time. And at least one-third of this number enrolled at two-year colleges. So the contribution of junior colleges to higher education is tremendous. Unfortunately, the importance of these schools is not widely known and as a result, they do not receive their fair share of attention and funding when educational appropriations come up in the Congress and the various state legislatures.

Junior colleges provide this Nation the greatest potential to give everyone an opportunity for a college education. I would like to see this opportunity broadened and I think this must mean more emphasis on junior colleges located close to the students and close to the communities which they are designed to serve.

In fact, this Nation is powerful enough—and it has the resources—to provide this kind of opportunity for every single high school graduate. Education is so important to the future of this nation that I would like to see free public junior colleges established in every section of the country. I would like to see these junior colleges modeled after your school with a proper balance between academic and vocational subjects. As Lamar County has learned, these institutions would be more than simply colleges. They would be an important part of the community and they would help provide a vital new element to many small and medium-sized towns around the Nation.

Such a system of free public junior colleges would pay for itself over the years. The students who emerge from these insti-

tutions are better equipped to take on the essential and productive jobs in society. The students who emerge from these junior colleges will—for the most part—be able to obtain jobs at higher income levels than would have been otherwise possible. And this, of course, means that as the income levels rise, these students will be paying more taxes, and will—in effect—be repaying the funds that went into the construction and development of these public institutions.

But the important thing is that this nation—if it is to remain a world leader and if it is to meet its basic domestic economic needs—must have a trained and educated youth. The neglect of education today could have disastrous effects on the United States a decade or two in the future. We must realize that we do not have a monopoly on education and that other nations around the world—including many which we now regard as underdeveloped—are making giant strides in broadening educational opportunities. As the world's Number One democracy, we cannot afford to fall back in this area.

Although an exceedingly small percentage of their students reach college, the number of those completing college in the Soviet Union increased 119% in the last decade. And there are other nations around the world moving toward broader educational opportunities.

But the need for broader opportunities certainly does not begin or end at the college level. This nation was built on the concept of open opportunities and there are times when I feel that we are forgetting this important fact. Throughout my years in the Congress, I have fought for economic legislation which would keep open the doors of opportunity in the American free enterprise system.

Not only do I want to see more young people go to college, but I also want to make sure that when they emerge, there are chances for them to use their education. I don't want to see an economic system controlled by a few, choking off opportunities and dictating policies to the American people.

That is why I have always fought for measures to eliminate monopolies, to control the giant chain stores and to prevent a handful of banking institutions—far removed from the people—from determining the future of this nation. Nothing—in my opinion—is more important than spreading out the benefits of the free enterprise system and allowing everyone possible a chance to participate.

Today, many of the experts—and many in the Congress—are ignoring the concentration of economic power. They are ignoring the fact that monopoly—and I include in this the giant banking corporations of Wall Street—can choke off the very things that made this nation great. I hope this apathy about economic concentration can be overcome so that the young people in this audience and the young people to follow will always have opportunities open to them.

I am concerned when I look at figures that show that less than one-half of one per cent of the manufacturing corporations control nearly half of the nation's manufacturing assets . . . and even more of the profits. Today, no more than 200 of the largest industrial corporations control more than 60% of the total assets of all manufacturing concerns. In the financial community, there are 13,500 commercial banks, and only 100 of these hold half of the nation's bank deposits.

This kind of concentration cannot help but stifle opportunity and development. It's the kind of tight control that holds back whole regions of the nation and makes it difficult for areas like East Texas to share in the full prosperity of the nation. These giant interlocked banks and corporations—insulated from the rest of the nation—simply cannot and do not grasp the need for broadening opportunities.

The actions of a handful of important cor-

porate and banking directors can make or wreck corporations and destroy development opportunities for many local communities. Back in 1969, the decisions of a handful of big money center banks drove interest rates up to the highest levels in the history of this nation. These were arbitrary decisions which affected every single citizen in the nation.

These interest rate increases shut off opportunity for millions of Americans. Small businessmen—operating legitimate and needed enterprises—were cut off from credit, and some went into bankruptcy. Homebuyers were turned away; farmers were stuck with impossible credit terms; and thousands of college students were denied education loans or were forced to pay usurious charges.

Today, the end result of these policies—imposed by a tightly-concentrated banking industry—is rising unemployment with nearly 5 million persons standing in the jobless lines.

So you see, my friends, there is much to be done to bring opportunity to everyone in this great nation. Educational opportunity and economic opportunity as well. We have the greatest democracy the world has ever known—but we must never lose the chance to make it greater. Each of you has that chance—to help improve our nation—largely because of the opportunities you have been given by your family, your college, your government. You young people who are graduating here today have the character, the knowledge, and the vitality to do your full share by striving to give that same opportunity to others. I feel sure you will.

I would like to add a special word of appreciation for your great president, Mr. Louis Williams. I have known this fine gentleman for many years, even before he assumed the presidency of Paris Junior College in 1968, and it is seldom that an educational institution is able to enlist the services of an individual with so many capabilities. Your president has the sensitivity of a born educator, the sound judgment of a successful businessman, and the engaging magnetism of a public relations expert—in short, all the leadership qualities that have combined in the person of Louis B. Williams to make him undoubtedly one of the most modest, unassuming, and successful presidents of any junior college in the nation. In addition he's as bright as a brain surgeon and as cool as a lion tamer.

In referring to education, the people of this senatorial district is blessed with the services of one of the greatest friends of education in all the 50 states, the Honorable A. M. Aiken of Paris. Few men in our nation have been such a devoted friend to education as this wonderful Senator. We are all proud of Senator Aiken—and recognize the great good that he has done in all his years of public service to the outstanding cause of education.

Again, thank you very much for inviting me here to your commencement—I shall never forget your wonderful hospitality and the great honor you have bestowed upon me. I wish you all the very best of everything and please do not forget—you have a good friend in Washington—please call on me if I can be of assistance.

[From the Paris News, May 21, 1971]

#### PATMAN GIVEN HONORARY DEGREE

Highlights of the spring commencement ceremonies at Paris Junior College Thursday night were the bestowal of an Honorary Associate of Arts Degree upon the Hon. Wright Patman, United States Representative from this district.

The Honorary Associate of Arts Degree, presented to a citizen who renders outstanding service to his fellowman, was awarded to Rep. Patman by Dr. Harold Hunt, president of the PJC Board of Regents.

A member of the U.S. House of Representatives since 1929, Patman is dean of the

Texas delegation and chairman of the powerful 33-member House Banking and Currency Committee as well as other committees and subcommittees. In his more than 42 years as a U.S. representative, Patman has been identified with laws helping veterans, farmers, the aged, workers, small and independent business, full employment, housing, hospital facilities and education.

Since his own youthful days in Hughes Springs, Cass County, where he was graduated from high school, Congressman Patman has had an interest in and awareness of the development of youth. "The concept of higher education for the elite is becoming discredited," Patman said Thursday night when he spoke to the 82 PJC graduates, "and more and more, the nation is recognizing the importance of broadening its educational opportunities. You graduates of Paris Junior College must help with that recognition. You must work to broaden educational opportunities for all people."

In his commencement address, Patman noted that "the system of junior colleges and community colleges has been one of the most effective means of bringing true democracy to higher education." He explained that since Paris Junior College was established in 1924, "it has been one of the real leaders" and that its "academic reputation has always been extremely high."

The speaker noted that the expansion of the technical and vocational programs "will increase your importance to Paris, Lamar County and the entire region," referring to the new Technical-Vocational Center on the drawing board.

Patman, who holds a law degree from Cumberland University, further stressed the importance of education to the future of this nation and said that this nation is powerful enough and has the resources to provide opportunity for every high school graduate.

"Junior colleges provide this nation the greatest potential to give everyone an opportunity for a college education. I would like to see this opportunity broadened and I think this must mean more emphasis of junior colleges located close to the students and close to the communities which they are designed to serve."

The speaker explained that he would like to see free public junior colleges established throughout the country. "I would like to see these junior colleges modeled after your school with a proper balance between academic and vocational subjects," Mr. Patman said, noting that such a system would pay for itself over the years as students would have higher incomes and pay more taxes.

"But the important thing is that this nation—if it is to remain a world leader and if it is to meet its basic domestic economic needs—must have a trained and educated youth." The representative went on to discuss the importance of economic opportunity as well as educational opportunity before telling the graduates: "Each of you has a chance to help improve our nation, largely because of the opportunities you have been given by your family, your college, your government. You young people who are graduating here tonight have the character, the knowledge and the vitality to do your full share by striving to give that same opportunity to others. I feel sure you will."

[From the Lamar County Echo, May 27 1971]

#### PATMAN HONORED AT PJC COMMENCEMENT

Highlights of the spring commencement ceremonies at Paris Junior College Thursday night (May 20) were the bestowal of an Honorary Associate of Arts Degree upon the Hon. Wright Patman, United States representative from this district, and the recognition of Carol Black of Honey Grove and Judy Kay Crain of Paris as the two top students of the 1971 graduating class. Miss Black was graduated summa cum laude, highest honors, and Miss Crain was graduated magna cum laude, second highest honors.

The Honorary Associate of Arts Degree, presented to a citizen who renders outstanding service to his fellowman, was awarded to Mr. Patman by Dr. Harold Hunt, president of the PJC Board of Regents.

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Miss Black, the summa cum laude graduate this year, is the daughter of Mr. and Mrs. D. R. Black of Honey Grove. She is a member of Phi Theta Kappa, honorary society, and was named to Who's Who Among Students in American Junior Colleges. At the annual awards night, she was named outstanding English student and received an

award in journalism. Miss Black, whose ambition is to become a teacher, was on the staff of The Bat, PJC student newspaper. Her hobbies are sewing and reading.

A graduate of Paris High School, Miss Crain is the daughter of Mrs. Jimmie Crain, 1803 Neathery. This past year, she served as accompanist for the PJCingers and provided music for several of the musical productions. Miss Crain is listed in Who's Who Among Students in American Junior Colleges and was the year's recipient of the J. Emory Shaw Scholarship presented by the Paris Music Club to a PJC student. The magna cum laude graduate is accompanist and organist at Belmont Baptist Church.

The students who were graduated Thursday night are Rebecca L. Adams, Honey Grove; Charles Edward Beachley III, Paris; Becky Jo Blard, Paris; Carol Black, Honey Grove; Lora Sue Brown, David L. Brumley, Jan Bryan, all of Paris, Ewell O. Byred, Pattonville; Cheryl Ann Caldwell, Deborah Kay Caldwell, Phil Carter, Rea Cathryn Crabtree, Judy Kay Crain, and Deborah Kay Crews, all of Paris.

Others are Linda Kay Crutchfield, Brookston; Joan Gordon Cuninghame, Johnny Chris Cunningham, Thomas H. Daniels, Larry Lee Dicken, all of Paris; Marshel (Buddy) Dodson, Ector; David Earl Evans, Robert H. Finch, Jr., Gary Fodge, all of Paris; Ronald D. Gandy, Talco; Marcie Anne Griffin, Paris; Mackey Wayne Guest, Detroit; Roy J. Hall, Commerce.

Also, Peggy Hanke, Paris; John Y. Harbison, Clarksville; Dennis R. Hood, Leesburg; Berney Ray Huddleston, Bogata; Mary Alice Jackson, Retha M. Joyce, Marion D. Kershaw, all of Paris; Flora Kathryn Knight, Petty; James E. Lassister, Brookston; Linda Carol Risinger Locke, Paris; Ouida Lynn Lovell, Dallas; William Gary Lynch, Clarksville; Bobby Lee McAfee, Steve H. McFadden, Jr., C. Duncan McMillan, James R. Morton, all of Paris.

John Allen Nickerson, Pittsburg; Linda Kay Osborne, Dudley Wayne Parks, F. T. Pratt, Jr., Larry E. Pratt, Gay F. Puchi, Melba Jo Pye, all of Paris; Judy Kathleen Rittenberry, Honey Grove; Donna Shannon, Sue Simpkins, Gary Douglas Smith, all of Paris; Mary Lee Susan Snell, Roxton.

Others are Edith Gwinnell Snowton, Arthur City, Patricia Ann Sparks, Paris; David H. Stephenson, Austin; Carolyn Joyce Stewart, Deport; Jocelyn Ramona Stone, Dallas; Jack D. Strickland, Albert Lee Thielman, Nancy M. Tidwell, all of Paris; Chris L. Waddell, Talco; Myrtle L. Waters, Paris; Benny L. Westbrook, Powderly; Claudia Smith Williams, Paris.

August graduates in the Department of Associate Degree Nursing are Harry J. Allen, Rosebud Rodgers Barrett, Betty P. Moore Bolton, all of Paris; Sandra J. Chadwick, Powderly; Pamela Sue Wills Chatham, Paris; Bobbie France Crowson, Commerce; Linda Brooks Cupit, Broken Bow, Oklahoma; Kay Lavelle Kinslow Harber, Clarksville; Lou Ann Horchem, Cooper; Mary L. Hudgens, Paris; Thelma Skeen Jones, Paris; Kay Talley Oglesby, Commerce; Josephine Townsend Payne, Idabel, Oklahoma; Brenda Sue Stanford, Honey Grove; and Jenny Lynn White, Sulphur Springs.

#### CONTROL OF THE SEA LAMPREY IN THE GREAT LAKES

#### HON. ROBERT P. GRIFFIN

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, July 14, 1971

Mr. GRIFFIN. Mr. President, on Monday, July 12, 1971, I presented to a subcommittee of the Senate Committee on Appropriations a statement urging an

increase of \$400,000 in the amount to be appropriated for the control and eventual elimination of the sea lamprey in the Great Lakes.

I ask unanimous consent that a copy of my statement as well as a letter which I addressed to the Honorable GEORGE H. MAHON, chairman of the House Committee on Appropriations, a letter from Dr. Robert W. Saalfeld, executive secretary of the Great Lakes Fishery Commission, dated June 7, 1971; and an article entitled "Sea Lamprey in the Great Lakes," be printed in the RECORD.

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

#### CONTROL OF THE SEA LAMPREY IN THE GREAT LAKES

(Statement by Senator ROBERT P. GRIFFIN)

"Although the sea lamprey is not solely responsible for the scarcity of valuable fish in the Upper Great Lakes, it must bear a major share of the blame, and its control is basic to restoration of an ecological balance and rehabilitation of the sport and commercial fisheries."—Norman S. Baldwin (former Executive Secretary of the Great Lakes Fishery Commission).

Mr. Chairman, control of the sea lamprey in the Great Lakes has not yet been achieved despite 23 years of effort by Federal, state, provincial, and international agencies.

According to Dr. Robert W. Saalfeld, Executive Secretary of the Great Lakes Fishery Commission, the international organization charged with sea lamprey control:

"The difficulty of establishing a fully effective program of sea lamprey control simultaneously on four of the five Great Lakes (sea lamprey are no threat to the fisheries of Lake Erie) stems mainly from the failure of the Commission to obtain the funds it believes are required to accomplish the job."

The purpose of this statement is to urge increased funding for the control and eventual elimination of the sea lamprey as a threat to Great Lakes fish.

Mr. Chairman, I ask that the following documents be printed in the record of these hearings immediately following my statement:

(1) A copy of my letter to the Honorable George H. Mahon, Chairman of the House Committee on Appropriations, dated June 11, 1971.

(2) A copy of a letter from Robert W. Saalfeld, Executive Secretary of the Great Lakes Fishery Commission, dated June 7, 1971.

(3) A copy of an article entitled "Sea Lamprey in the Great Lakes" by Norman S. Baldwin, former Executive Secretary of the Great Lakes Fishery Commission, which appeared in the Fall 1968 issue of Limnos magazine.

The lamprey has been a chronic menace to large fish in the Great Lakes—especially the lake trout—ever since it first appeared in Lake Huron in 1938.

A parasite, the lamprey survives by attaching itself to a large fish, sucking the life from it, and then moving on to its next victim.

Dr. Baldwin's description is vivid:

"A parasitic lamprey is equipped with a sucker-like mouth rimmed with horny teeth for attachment, a horny tongue for rasping a hole in the skin of its prey, and a set of glands which discharge a secretion into the wound made by the tongue. This secretion prevents coagulation of the prey's blood and breaks down the flesh. On a diet of blood and bits of flesh the adult lamprey grows from 7 to 18 inches in 12 to 20 months. . . . Judging from laboratory feeding studies, a lamprey can destroy 35 to 40 pounds of fish during its adult parasitic life."

By 1960 the sea lamprey had demolished the commercial fishing industry in Lake

Huron, Lake Michigan, and Lake Superior. Fishermen who once made an annual catch of 16 million pounds worth \$7.5 million are now forbidden by State authorities to fish for lake trout.

Although commercial fishing is dormant, progress has been made in the fight against the lamprey, largely due to the efforts of the Great Lakes Fishery Commission, an international agency created in 1956.

Today the lamprey population in the Upper Great Lakes is estimated to be 10-15 per cent of the 1960-1961 peak.

This impressive reduction has come about largely through treatment of breeding grounds with a chemical lampricide called 3-trifluoromethyl-4-mitrophenol (TFM). TFM, when deposited in precisely measured concentrations in streams where lampreys breed, is lethal to sea lamprey larvae but has no effect on other fish.

Even though the sea lamprey has been reduced to 10-15 per cent of its former population, the lake trout has not yet returned in significant numbers, despite an extensive planting program. Scientists estimate that in order to achieve a self-reproducing stock of lake trout it will be necessary to reduce the lamprey population to 5 per cent of its 1960-1961 peak. This would result in restoration of 85 per cent of the pre-lamprey population of lake trout—a viable self-sustaining fishery. Dr. Saalfeld states:

"If current lamprey abundance could be reduced another order of magnitude (or about 5 per cent of their abundance before control measures took effect) by intensification of the chemical control program it would trigger a rapid development of a spawning lake trout stock."

Such an intensified program requires additional funding.

When the Commission made its initial budget request for fiscal year 1972, it asked for \$1.788 million. This request was trimmed by \$400,000 by the Office of Management and Budget. Subsequently, the Commission learned that an additional \$200,000 would be required to test the lampricide, TFM, in order to comply with pesticide regulations of the Environmental Protection Agency.

This additional \$200,000 (actually \$225,000 to meet the cost of inflation) was approved by OMB and by the House of Representatives, bringing the total appropriation in H.R. 9272 to \$1.613 million. It should be emphasized, however, that this additional \$225,000 is for an unforeseen expense and cannot be used for intensification of the lamprey control program.

Therefore, I strongly urge that \$400,000 in additional funds be appropriated for the lamprey program. This figure corresponds with the initial request made by the Commission and would enable the Commission to intensify its control program in the upper three lakes and to extend its program to the United States side of Lake Ontario.

Mr. Chairman, recent appropriations for the Great Lakes Fishery Commission have been sufficient only to permit the Commission to establish a maintenance operation. The lamprey program is now at a point where a concerted effort by the Commission can tip the balance in favor of the lake trout. Presently the sea lamprey is holding its own.

A 1968 study by the Commission estimated that restoration of a viable lake trout fishery in the Great Lakes could result in a net annual benefit of \$1.5 million to U.S. commercial and sports fishing interests alone.

Clearly, an additional \$400,000 appropriated now means economy in the long run.

Mr. Chairman, I hope that your Subcommittee and the Congress will see fit in 1971 to enable the Great Lakes Fishery Commission to move to finish the job it started in 1956.

Let's give the fish—and the fishermen—a chance.

U.S. SENATE,

Washington, D.C., June 11, 1971.

HON. GEORGE H. MAHON,  
Chairman, Committee on Appropriations,  
U.S. House of Representatives, Wash-  
ington, D.C.

DEAR MR. CHAIRMAN: The purpose of this letter is to urge increased funding for the control and eventual elimination of the sea lamprey in the Great Lakes.

I have enclosed a copy of a letter from Robert W. Saalfeld, Executive Secretary of the Great Lakes Fishery Commission, which I believe clearly documents the need for additional funding.

As you know, the lamprey has been a chronic menace to large fish in the Great Lakes—especially the lake trout—ever since it first appeared in Lake Huron in 1938.

By 1960 commercial fishermen who had made an annual catch of 16 million pounds of lake trout in previous years were out of business. Today, due to the efforts of the Great Lakes Fishery Commission, the lamprey population has been reduced to 10-15 per cent of the 1960-1961 peak.

But the lake trout has not returned in significant numbers, and commercial fishing in the upper Great Lakes has yet to be re-established.

Recent appropriations for the Great Lakes Fishery Commission have been sufficient only to permit the Commission to establish a maintenance operation. The lamprey program is now at a point where a concerted effort by the Commission can tip the balance in favor of the lake trout. Presently, the lamprey is holding its own, as the enclosed correspondence clearly indicates.

It is my understanding that the Subcommittee on the Departments of State, Justice, Commerce and the Judiciary has reported to the full Committee a bill that would appropriate \$1,613,000 for the Great Lakes Fishery Commission.

I strongly urge that \$400,000 in additional funds be appropriated for the lamprey program. This figure corresponds with the initial request made by the Commission and would enable the Commission to intensify its control program in the upper three Lakes and to extend its program to the United States side of Lake Ontario.

More money now can enable the Commission to take the necessary steps to assure eventual elimination of the lamprey as a threat to Great Lakes fish.

This, of course, means economy in the long run, a goal I share with every member of your Committee.

With best wishes, I am  
Sincerely,

ROBERT P. GRIFFIN,  
U.S. Senator.

—  
GREAT LAKES FISHERIES COMMISSION,  
Ann Arbor, Mich., June 7, 1971.

HON. ROBERT P. GRIFFIN,  
U.S. Senate,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR GRIFFIN: In response to a request from your office, I am pleased to provide the following capsule version of the sea lamprey control program on the Great Lakes.

When the sea lamprey entered the Great Lakes above Niagara Falls through the Welland Canal about 1921, conditions were ideal for its explosive increase. Lake trout were in abundance in Lakes Huron, Michigan, and Superior and their habits matched those of the sea lamprey admirably. The exclusively parasitic lampreys soon reduced the lake trout to virtual extinction in these lakes by sucking blood from wounds made by rasping teeth. Between 1938 and 1947, Lake Huron trout production dropped from 5.0 million pounds to less than 400,000 pounds and the fishery collapsed. In Lake Michigan, commercial production dropped from 6.5 million pounds in 1944 to 50,000 pounds in 1950. Lampreys encountered some trouble negotiating the locks in St. Marys

River to reach Lake Superior, but by 1947 enough of them had made it to establish a rapidly growing population. Lake trout production in Lake Superior dropped from an average of 4.4 million pounds per year to less than 0.5 million pounds in 1960. Commercial fishermen in these 3 upper lakes, therefore, lost a combined annual income of more than 7.5 million dollars. Losses to other channels in the trade and to the sport fisheries are inestimable.

The sea lampreys spawn in the gravel riffles of streams during the spring and early summer. When the eggs hatch the larvae drift to areas of softer bottom where they burrow and spend 2 to 10 years of their larval existence. After their larval existence they metamorphose or transform into the adult parasitic form and migrate to the Great Lakes during the fall or spring months. The next 12 to 20 months are spent feeding on fish in the lakes. During this period they grow from about 7 to 17 inches. At the end of this period the adult lamprey enters a stream to spawn and dies.

Sea lamprey control is carried out under the direction of the Great Lakes Fishery Commission, an international organization created by treaty between the United States and Canada. The Fish and Wildlife Service is the contracting agent for the United States and the Department of Fisheries and Forestry is the agent for Canada.

The principle method of control involves the application of a selective toxicant "lampricide (TFM)" to streams to destroy larval sea lampreys. It has become abundantly clear over the past few years that the control program is basic to the redevelopment and re-establishment of the Great Lakes fisheries, and it is gratifying to know that a substantial degree of control has been achieved in Lake Superior, Lake Michigan, and Lake Huron by periodic chemical treatment of lamprey-producing streams. At the present level of intensity the program is holding the lamprey in Lakes Superior and Michigan at about 10-15 percent of their abundance before control measures took effect; and a similar decline of lampreys is already evident in Lake Huron where first-round chemical treatments will be completed this year.

Coupled with sea lamprey control is the trout-salmon rehabilitation program which involves intensive annual plantings of hatchery-reared fish. This program carried out cooperatively by State, Federal, and Provincial agencies has involved plantings totalling 28.4 million lake trout, 2.4 million coho, and 0.4 million chinook salmon in Lake Superior since 1958; 11.3 million lake trout, 10.8 million coho, and 6.2 million chinook salmon in Lake Michigan since 1965; and 2.8 million coho and 2.1 million chinook in Lake Huron since 1968. As the sea lamprey have yielded to control, these planted fish have survived and grown exceptionally well on the forage fish available; and their presence in the lakes has been responsible for the development of significant sport fisheries in the upper three lakes. In Michigan waters alone, preliminary studies indicate that an estimated 180,000 anglers spent 2 million days of sport fishing in 1970. The catch of salmon and trout was estimated at 1.0 million fish and the net value of the resource between 5 to 7 million dollars.

Currently, the major problem of sea lamprey control is the difficulty of reducing the lamprey population to a level which does not hinder the development of a self-reproducing stock of lake trout—the primary objective of the program. Unfortunately, lake trout do not mature and reproduce until they reach 7 years of age and about 28 inches in length, and since lamprey prefer to attack larger fish, even a remnant population can inflict heavy losses on lake trout for about 3 to 4 years before they spawn for the first time. Scientists studying lake trout in Lake Superior have provided evidence that lamprey predation is the major source of mortality of lake trout over 25 inches in length.

They believe that if current lamprey abundance could be reduced another order of magnitude (or about 5 percent of their abundance before control measures took effect) by intensification of the chemical control program it would trigger a rapid development of a spawning lake trout stock.

The difficulty of establishing a fully effective program of sea lamprey control simultaneously on four of the five Great Lakes (sea lamprey are no threat to the fisheries of Lake Erie) stems mainly from the failure of the Commission to obtain the funds it believes are required to accomplish the job. As a matter of fact, the differential gap between the funds requested by the Commission and those received from the two governments has grown wider in the last few years. The financial problem is compounded by the fact when the United States Government is unable to provide the funds requested, the Canadian contribution must be automatically lowered to meet a cost sharing formula which calls for the U.S. to contribute 69 percent and Canada 31 percent of total program expenses.

To illustrate the problem specifically, in July 1970 the Commission submitted to the two governments a sea lamprey control and research program for fiscal year 1972 which provided for intensification of lamprey control in the 3 upper lakes and an extension of chemical control to Lake Ontario lamprey streams. The program called for a total expenditure of 2.613 million dollars—U.S. contribution of \$1.788 million dollars and Canadian contribution of \$0.825 million dollars. Later in 1970, the Commission was advised by the U.S. Government that its contribution would have to be limited to \$1.388 million dollars rather than the \$1.788 million requested. At the same time, the Commission received the distressing news that in order to obtain continuing clearance for its registration of lampricide (TFM) by the Pesticide Regulation Division of the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) it would be necessary to carry out a wide range of toxicology and residue chemistry studies that would eventually yield the data needed to establish tolerance limits in water, fish, and food or food stuffs. The estimated cost of this registration-oriented research on TFM in fiscal year 1972 alone was \$290,000.

In January 1971, the Commission held an emergency meeting to determine what revisions in the fiscal year 1972 program were needed to include research on TFM and stay within a budget limitation established by a U.S. contribution of \$1.388 million dollars. An immediate decision was to defer intensification of control in the 3 upper lakes and an extension of chemical control to lamprey streams on the U.S. side of Lake Ontario. If the Commission was forced to absorb the costs of TFM research in its operational control program, it would also be necessary to curtail chemical control on the U.S. side of Lake Huron and carry out only a "maintenance" program on Lake Michigan and Lake Superior. Recognizing that the two governments might be sympathetic to these problems, the Commission requested an increase in contributions for fiscal year 1972 amounting to \$200,000 in the U.S. and \$90,000 in Canada to cover the cost of TFM registration-oriented research. The request is now being considered favorably by the U.S. Congress and the House of Commons in Canada. If these additional funds are obtained, the Commission would then be able to carry out in fiscal year 1972 the TFM research, conduct a maintenance control program on the 3 upper lakes, and extend chemical operations to the Canadian lamprey streams of Lake Ontario.

It is hoped that the foregoing is sufficient to bring you abreast of the progress made and some of the biological and fiscal problems confronting sea lamprey control in the Great Lakes.

Respectfully yours,

ROBERT W. SAALFELD,  
Executive Secretary.

#### SEA LAMPREY IN THE GREAT LAKES

(By Norman S. Baldwin)

Movement of sea lamprey (*Petromyzon marinus*) from Lake Ontario to Lake Erie through the Welland Canal about 1920, and their subsequent establishment in the Upper Great Lakes, initiated a series of biological changes which have extended beyond the fish directly attacked by this parasite. The initial impact was borne by the large, cold-water fish such as lake trout (*Salvelinus namaycush*), burbot (*Lota lota*), whitefish (*Coregonus clupeaformis*), and rainbow trout (*Salmo gairdneri*). The catch of these species dropped sharply and one, the lake trout, was almost completely eliminated in Lake Huron and Lake Michigan. Smaller cold-water species which became abundant in the absence of lake trout have recently been displaced in Lake Michigan by the alewife (*Alosa pseudoharengus*). Alewives have become so numerous that certain plankton species which they prefer for food have now become scarce.

Although the sea lamprey is not solely responsible for the scarcity of valuable fish in the Upper Great Lakes, it must bear a major share of the blame, and its control is basic to restoration of an ecological balance and rehabilitation of the sport and commercial fisheries.

The threat posed by the sea lamprey was not generally recognized until it was well established in all the lakes and had seriously affected the commercial fisheries in Lake Huron and Lake Michigan. Control by federal, state, and provincial agencies began in 1948, and in 1956 was made one of the responsibilities of the Great Lakes Fishery Commission, an international agency established by the United States and Canada for the conservation and development of Great Lakes fishery resources.

Early steps to control lamprey were too little and too late to prevent the parasite from becoming firmly established in all of the lakes; screens placed in streams to block lamprey from spawning grounds were repeatedly washed out and were soon replaced by electrical barriers. These devices consisted of a series of electrodes which, when charged with line or generator power, produced an electrical field in the waters that lamprey and fish moving upstream could not penetrate. These electrical barriers were not fully effective in some large rivers during severe flooding, although they rarely washed out.

It was not until 1958, after more than 6 years of experimentation by the U.S. Bureau of Commercial Fisheries, that a chemical method to reduce lamprey was perfected and applied, first on Lake Superior, then on Lake Michigan, and recently on Lake Huron, paving the way for the restoration of lake trout, rainbow trout, whitefish, the introduction of Pacific salmon, and a return to a more balanced ecological situation.

The sea lamprey might seem an unlikely candidate for the role of "spoiler" on the Great Lakes. In the ocean, attacks on fish have been reported but there is little evidence that the parasite causes serious losses to important species. Furthermore, in Lake Ontario and the Finger Lakes of New York, landlocked sea lamprey and lake trout have co-existed for at least 100 years and possibly since the retreat of the glaciers thousands of years ago. It should be pointed out, however, that in these lakes trout survival appears relatively low and the populations are in a precarious position when exposed to fishing pressure. A significant fishery appears to require the support of hatchery plantings.

It may be surprising to some to learn that in addition to the sea lamprey, the Great Lakes contain four native species of lamprey—two non-parasitic and two parasitic. The northern brook lamprey (*Ichthyomyzon fossor*) and the American brook lamprey (*Lampetra lamottei*) remain in streams during their entire life without parasitizing fish. The silver lamprey (*Ichthy-*

*omyzon unicuspis*) and chestnut lamprey (*Ichthyomyzon castaneus*) on the other hand are parasitic for about a year before they spawn and die. The silver lamprey was reportedly abundant in Lake Erie during the last century but is rarely encountered now. It appears to prefer warmer water than the sea lamprey and its distribution in the colder lakes is restricted. The chestnut lamprey generally remains in rivers and is abundant in several including the Manistee in Michigan where it causes significant damage to brown trout.

Although no fish in the Great Lakes, except the very small species, are immune to sea lamprey attack, lake trout are by far the most vulnerable. They inhabit the cooler water preferred by sea lamprey and are perhaps attacked more successfully because they present a large "target." More importantly, they mature at a relatively large size and advanced age and are exposed to sea lamprey for several years before they spawn. Lake trout planted where lamprey are abundant show good survival until they reach about 20 inches at which time they come under heavy attack with few reaching 24 inches.

The key to controlling a species is usually found only after a careful study has been made of its habits and behavior. The sea lamprey is no exception and during the early years was closely studied. Despite the collection of much information these studies are continuing so that control methods can be improved.

The sea lamprey in the Great Lakes spawn in the gravel riffles of streams during the spring and early summer. The eggs are deposited in depressions made by moving stones. On hatching, the larvae burrow into the bottom mud where they spend from 3 to 9 years depending on growing conditions. During this time they are called ammocetes. These larvae are seldom seen since they move only occasionally and usually at night. They feed on small organisms filtered from the water which they pump into their burrows for respiration. Growth is typically slow but in a few streams may be fast enough to bring about transformation of a small proportion of a hatch in 3 years. Generally, larvae remain in streams for about 5 years and reach a length of 7 inches before assuming parasitic characteristics (transforming) and migrating to the lake to feed on fish. A parasitic lamprey is equipped with a sucker-like mouth rimmed with horny teeth for attachment, a horny tongue for rasping a hole in the skin of its prey, and a set of glands which discharge a secretion into the wound made by the tongue. This secretion prevents coagulation of the prey's blood and breaks down the flesh. On a diet of blood and bits of flesh the adult lamprey grows from 7 to 18 inches in 12 to 20 months. At the end of this period, the adult lamprey enters a stream, spawns, and dies. Judging from laboratory feeding studies, a lamprey can destroy 35 to 40 pounds of fish during its adult parasitic life. On the other hand, the capture of fish with healed wounds indicates that not all victims succumb. However, attacks which perforate the body cavity, exposing the internal organs, invariably prove fatal. Simultaneous attacks by two heavily feeding lamprey must be lethal to all but the largest fish.

Attempts to control lamprey have been aimed at preventing reproduction by blocking spawning streams with mechanical or electrical barriers or destroying the larvae during their prolonged stay in streams. The first method was abandoned in 1960 when it became apparent that the chemical treatment of streams which had begun in 1958 was proving more effective. Electrical barriers are still operated on certain streams, but only to follow changes in lamprey abundance. These installations are fenced and booms placed above and below to safeguard the public.

The application of chemical control methods in 1958 on Lake Superior was preceded by

almost 7 years of intensive research to find a chemical that could be used in lamprey streams without seriously affecting other fish species. Out of some 6,000 chemicals screened one has emerged as the best of several which are selectively toxic to lamprey. The chemical, which has no known use outside the lamprey control program, is 3-trifluoromethyl-4-nitrophenol and is referred to as TFM.

Exposure to a concentration of TFM from 1 to 6 parts per million for a period of 8 hours is lethal to sea lamprey larvae in most streams. In a few streams where the concentration of dissolved substances is high, 14 ppm TFM may be required. At these concentrations there is no danger to humans or animals drinking the water. Fish display varying degrees of resistance to the lampricide. Of 11 species tested, smallmouth bass (*Micropterus dolomieu*) were least susceptible, requiring about 8 times the concentration required to kill lamprey. Rainbow trout and coho salmon (*Oncorhynchus kisutch*) require about 3.6 times the concentration needed to kill lamprey. Walleye (*Stizostedion vitreum*) are almost as susceptible as lamprey and particular care must be taken to maintain precise concentrations in rivers where these fish are present. The condition of fish also affects resistance to TFM; individuals that have spawned or are heavily diseased are likely to succumb while healthy individuals show no ill effects from exposure.

The way in which TFM acts to kill larval lamprey is not clear. Death appears to be due to a combination of circulatory and respiratory failure. Inhibition of certain enzymes and irreversible blockage of oxygen uptake by the blood are also suspected.

Further investigation of chemicals led recently to the discovery that TFM could be synergized with a molluscicide 5,2'-dichloro-4'-nitrosalicylanalide which, when added in small amounts (2 percent by weight) doubled TFM toxicity without reducing its selectivity. The synergist has a low solubility and precise concentrations are hard to achieve in certain streams. Therefore, it is not used where susceptible species may be endangered.

A stream treatment requires a considerable amount of information before it can be properly carried out. First, a survey is made with portable electric-shocking equipment to locate the sections of the stream inhabited by young lamprey, for it is necessary to know what tributaries of the main stream need to be treated and how far upstream the chemical must be introduced to destroy all the ammocetes. The survey crews move electrodes on poles over the stream bottom creating an electrical current which causes the ammocetes, hidden in the mud, to emerge. These are collected and identified, for it is necessary to distinguish sea lamprey larvae from one or other of the native species usually present.

The molluscicide used to synergize TFM has also been used as a survey tool in water where electro-shocking is not always effective. Sand granules impregnated with the synergist are spread over the surface and sink to the bottom where they slowly release the chemical. Lamprey then emerge in about 30 minutes and can be easily collected.

Before treatment begins, a test of the effectiveness of TFM with and without the synergist is made at each stream to determine the concentration required. This is necessary because subtle changes in water chemistry modify the action of the lampricide. It is not unusual to find that the required concentration varies widely in neighboring streams, or in the same stream from season to season. In the trailer laboratory set up on the stream to be treated lamprey ammocetes and fish are placed in jars filled with water from the stream and different amounts of chemical are added to expose the fish and lamprey to a wide range of concentrations. In this way the lowest concentration required to kill lamprey and the highest concentration tolerated by fish are determined. A suitable con-

centration between these limits is selected for the actual treatment.

In streams with numerous branches, chemical feeding must be carried out on a schedule which will allow the treated water in a side branch to reach the main stream as the main mass of treated water arrives. Dilution of the lampricide to sub-lethal concentrations is thereby avoided. Dyes such as fluorescein are used beforehand to estimate the time it will take treated water to move down the stream system.

The lampricide is fed to the stream at the pre-determined rate by a pump which accurately delivers the required amount of chemical through a perforated plastic hose placed across the stream above the upper limits of lamprey distribution. Adjustments in the rate and period of chemical feedings are generally necessary, and the pump operator is in radio contact with the field headquarters where water samples from downstream are periodically analysed. After about 2 hours' exposure to the chemical, ammocetes begin to emerge from the bottom in a helpless state and, after 12 to 18 hours, large numbers of dead larvae can be seen on the bottom. The stream is re-surveyed later with electric shockers for surviving ammocetes to check on the effectiveness of the treatment.

Approximately one-tenth of the 3,000 tributaries entering the upper three Great Lakes have been found to contain lamprey larvae; 113 in Lake Superior, 98 in Lake Michigan, and 83 in Lake Huron. Surveys in the lower lakes, still to be completed, have located 12 lamprey streams on Lake Erie and 22 on Lake Ontario.

Chemical treatment of streams began in 1958 on Lake Superior where lake trout, although declining rapidly, were still present in fair numbers. By 1961, the main lamprey streams had been treated and results were beginning to show. In the fall of that year, the proportion of lake trout with lamprey wounds dropped sharply and in the following spring the catch of spawning lamprey at barriers fell to one-fifth of the average catch of the preceding five years. In order to maintain control, it was necessary in 1962 to begin the re-treatment of streams in which larval lamprey had become reestablished following the initial treatment. By the end of the second round of treatments in 1966, the catch of spawning lamprey had fallen to one-tenth of the precontrol level.

Before control measures could take effect, however, sea lamprey had so reduced lake trout in inshore waters of Lake Superior that natural reproduction had essentially ceased by 1959. These inshore stocks have been re-established by an extensive planting program and trout in these areas are now mainly of hatchery origin. Natural reproduction resumed in 1964 on major spawning grounds in Wisconsin waters and naturally produced trout are appearing in greater numbers each year. Isolated populations of lake trout on offshore grounds which suffered less from lamprey are now almost fully recovered.

Chemical treatments were extended to Lake Michigan and Lake Huron in 1960 but suspended in the latter lake when it became apparent that funds would not be available to establish control on these two lakes simultaneously while maintaining control on Lake Superior. The first round of stream treatments was completed on Lake Michigan in 1966. It also produced a decline in the catch of spawning lamprey at barriers on 3 streams from 12,885 in 1962 to 1,168 in 1966, and an increase in the commercial catch of whitefish from 226,000 lb. to 1,422,000 lb. The angler catch of lake-run rainbow trout or steelhead in 1967 was reportedly the largest ever taken by the sport fishery.

Although the treatment of some 24 streams on Lake Huron in the period 1960 to 1962 brought about a temporary improvement in whitefish and rainbow trout abundance in the areas covered, recovery was quickly suppressed when the control program could not

be continued and the streams re-treated. In 1966, however, when it became evident that the cost of maintaining control on Lake Superior and Lake Michigan would be significantly less than expected, the program on Lake Huron was reactivated. More than half its lamprey streams have now been treated and the remaining streams will all be disposed of by the summer of 1970 if requested funds are made available.

The success of the lamprey control program must ultimately be judged on its ability to hold predation losses from lamprey at such low levels that populations of lake trout, rainbow trout, and whitefish will maintain themselves without the aid of planting and still provide a significant sport and commercial fishery. Rainbow trout, lake trout and whitefish populations have responded favorably to the reduction in lamprey. Spawning has resumed in Lake Superior and young naturally-produced lake trout are beginning to show among the hatchery fish that make up most of the stock in inshore waters. It has been estimated that if lamprey in Lake Superior can be held at 5 per cent of the pre-control level, the potential harvest of lake trout by the sport and commercial fisheries will be 4 million pounds by 1976, roughly 85 per cent of "normal" production. The annual net benefit forecast for these fisheries is \$2,100,000 while the estimated cost of lamprey control is \$400,000. In recent years, the lamprey population has been about 10 per cent of the pre-control abundance.

Even greater benefit may be realized in Lake Michigan and Lake Huron with a major expansion of sport fishing for coho salmon. The effect of sea lamprey on this new species cannot be predicted as yet but it may be less vulnerable than rainbow trout or steelhead. The latter persisted in Lake Michigan during high lamprey abundance but did not provide good fishing until the parasite was reduced.

Finally, the control of alewife populations by lake trout, coho, and rainbow trout, may be the most important by-product of lamprey control particularly in Lake Michigan.

In order to maintain control, streams which produce lamprey must be re-treated periodically to destroy re-established larvae before they can become parasitic and move to the lakes. In Lake Superior and Lake Michigan, roughly half the streams which at one time produced lamprey become reinfested after each treatment and require re-treatment usually within 4 years. These treatments will probably have to be continued indefinitely.

The greatest benefits from sea lamprey control will be realized in the Upper Great Lakes where the parasite has been particularly destructive. However, extension of the control program to Lake Erie and particularly Lake Ontario will also bring rewards. Sea lamprey have never been abundant in Lake Erie and have not had a detectable effect on the warm-water fishes that are now dominant in that lake. Larvae have been found in only 12 streams, mainly at the eastern end. Control of these populations should not be difficult.

In Lake Ontario, where lamprey have been present since the earliest records of the fishery, there is evidence that the parasite is taking a significant toll of whitefish and rainbow trout and has contributed to the poor survival of planted lake trout. There is also a growing conviction among fishery scientists that the historically poor fish production of Lake Ontario may be partly due to the presence of sea lamprey and alewife. The establishment of predatory species in Lake Ontario would give tremendous impetus to the sport fishery.

It is expected that lamprey control will be well established on all three of the Upper Great Lakes by 1970. It will then be possible to begin treating streams on Lake Erie and Lake Ontario. Preliminary surveys have not been completed on the south shores but it appears that there may be about 15 lamprey streams in Lake Erie and roughly 30 in Lake Ontario.

It is tempting but dangerous to view lamprey control as a routine operation, for the residual sea lamprey may adapt in a number of ways to the pressure now placed on them. The sea lamprey must, therefore, continue to be closely studied and control methods modified to compensate for changes in the habits of the parasite. The research which led first to the development of a control method must be continued to keep it effective.

STATEMENT OF CONVICTION, MORALITY AND TRUTH—ADDRESSED TO A DRAFT BOARD

HON. JEROME R. WALDIE

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 14, 1971

Mr. WALDIE. Mr. Speaker, I was privileged recently to read a moving account of moral development and conviction in a statement to his draft board by a young Californian, Paul Moser.

Mr. Moser has beautifully expressed a commitment he has which I believe many young people share. I earnestly request the attention of this body to his letter as I am certain it will aid in understanding the attitudes of this generation.

The letter follows:

TO A DRAFT BOARD

The model of all good with which I have grown up is Jesus Christ. I have been trained in the Roman Catholic faith, and have now come to what I think is a full acceptance of that faith. But in coming to that acceptance of faith, I discovered its basis—that conscience must rule in matters which cannot be generally dealt with by the Church, and on which the Church takes no official stand.

This was the stumbling block in my thoughts; that, since grade school, the Church had supplied all the answers to all the questions of morality, and I felt adrift when it had no answers here. But I have been trained well enough, I believe, to know right from wrong. And I believe it is wrong to exhibit physical anger and violence, to do bodily harm to another even if it costs the life of someone I love, or my own life. It must be made clear that this belief is thoroughly subjective, and is the result, the fusion of Catholic teachings, and the ideal of Christ which was presented to me by my parents and teachers. These two factors were integrated in my early years, before I separated them in my own mind. I hadn't understood, until relatively recently, that these two do not contradict each other, but that the Catholic doctrine not only allows but encourages individual, conscientious decisions on the questions of war and non-violence.

I must say further that I have no right to judge another, or to kill someone else who doesn't see the value of my belief, even if he will kill me. The reason is that human life is so sacred and so unique to me as to defy description, and that, as a result of their sanctity and uniqueness, these lives are completely in the hands of God, the One who created them. I could never bring myself to "play God" and raise my hand against one of His creatures. I do regret to say that I am not always successful in containing my temper in smaller, everyday matters, but that is more an index to my humanity than anything else.

As regards my country, I can say that I appreciate the United States for what it is, and for what it has done for me personally, but I cannot believe that killing to preserve something so impersonal and ambiguous is good. If what the United States represents is truly valuable to mankind, then that essence will be preserved in any case. Christ

submitted Himself to death without a struggle because He knew that what He represented was beyond destruction and would remain alive among men simply on its own merit.

I believe these things strongly enough that I will accept imprisonment in the case that my views are misunderstood.

Both of my parents are Catholic (my mother was converted from the Mormon faith soon after she married my father), and I attended Catholic schools for 14 of my 16 years of formal education. I would like to divide my experiences into groupings according to schools, i.e., 1) 8 years at St. Elisabeth's School in Van Nuys, Calif.; 2) 4 years at Loyola High School in Los Angeles; 3) 2 years at Georgetown University in Washington, D.C.; 4) 2 years at Stanford University, Stanford, Calif.

(1) The grammar school years can be dealt with more as a basis of faith than for the realization of it, since my thoughts and feelings about non-violence didn't reach any level of precision during this time.

What is important to mention is the basic Christian guidance of my parents, reinforced by the stories of Christ's life which were told by the teachers at St. Elisabeth's during the 30 minute religion period, which took place every day. Christ really came alive for me through these stories as a powerful personality, yet "power" in Christ was always separated from, and never translated to "force and violence" for me.

When I think back to these years, I remember noticing, and being troubled by, the difference in attitude between the religion period and the history period, for instance, wherein we would read about a war engaged in by the United States, and there would seem to be general approval of it. I never really delved into that question very deeply during this time, because I imagined that the Church would supply the answers when I could understand them better. This was told to us about such things as "having babies", etc., and I liked to include the riddle of war in that category. I actually believed I would be told never to resort to violence, since Christ told Peter to put away his sword in the Garden of Gethsemane, and all of the martyrs went to their deaths joyfully, without any thought of resort to force. These stories, along with my parents and teachers who endorsed them, were the only bases I had in making this decision at this time.

(2) High school (also the last two years of grammar school) was a period in which I did little thinking about the problem of violence, since other problems were much more overwhelming, i.e., sexual adjustment, puberty, etc. I became aware of other views of war and non-violence from my peer group, the media, and other such sources, but these views were more confusing and vague than they were illuminating. And since it remained a very theoretical question in my mind, I made no effort to pin myself down and concretize my views. Of great help to me then was Fr. Bernard Brannon, S.J., who is currently teaching at Bellarmine Preparatory in San Jose. His advice helped me over the rough spots in the area of sexual adjustment, and in 1970, toward the end of my first year at Stanford, discussion with him helped me further solidify my views on non-violence.

(3) My two years at Georgetown were quite important, especially since I spent the first one in ROTC. I had been told both good and bad things about ROTC, but I basically thought of it as something that "made a man out of you", and was "good for you." The idea of joining a drill team (which I did) was especially attractive, since I had heard that there were drill teams in the regular army (e.g., at Fort Belvoir, Va.) which were open to ex-ROTC cadets who were particularly good at drill. If I joined, I wouldn't have to worry about the question of violence at all. But during that year, I found out how

incompatible with army ways I really was. I found out how authoritarian it was by nature, and how the individual conscience had no place in a "good soldier".

The ultimate example of my discovery of ROTC took place on the day of a big inter-collegiate drill tournament, involving ROTC units from all over the country. About 3 hours before, our cadet lieutenant came in and told us all to get our hair cut and our heads shaved with a razor. I realized at that moment that I was involved in an effort to escape my decision on violence, and that the effort had backfired. What if I wasn't able to work with a regular drill team like the one at Fort Belvoir? And what if the issue were not a skinhead, but an order to shoot? I refused to get my hair cut, and quit ROTC.

I was extremely bitter. I read a copy of the Conscientious Objection form, and became more bitter, thinking that the "religious training and belief" had to be strictly along the lines of Catholic teaching specifically stated. Since there is no official line, I felt trapped, and I confused and blurred my own personal stand because I feared the possibility that I was not conforming with Church teaching. I was ignoring the important, real meaning of the word "belief" in the CO form, and also the fact that the Church very much respects conscientious decisions in this area.

I did my best, as I think a good number of male college students do, to bury myself in work and activity; and of course there was no immediacy to spur me to any action.

From June '68 to June '69, I divided my time between Los Angeles and Washington, D.C. I had some discussions with my parents and with some old friends of the family who are Jesuit priests at Loyola University in Los Angeles, including Fr. George Lucy, S.J. They showed great concern and did a good deal to help me reconcile my conscience with the Church, making the fusion of my beliefs and the Catholicism which was really quite consistent with them all along.

Things were looking brighter also because I was offered the chance to go on a tour of the army bases in Germany and Italy with an Armed Forces Professional Entertainment Overseas (AFPEO) show that summer ('69), and I believed that I would then see the real army, not just the ROTC, and that things would be different, perhaps. They weren't. We did over 90 shows, and after every one there seemed to be a GI telling me about how many "VC" he had "wasted", and I was pretty horrified.

(4) I came back from the tour to a different school—Stanford. I lived alone for the first quarter of the '69-'70 year, and thought a good deal about what I had seen, about the subjects of non-violence, Catholicism, and conscription. At Christmas, I announced to my family that I could no longer keep my II-S deferment, because I felt I was taking part in a perpetuation of violence. They tried to persuade me to use "the system" and the CO form, but I was not convinced. When I went back to Stanford in January, '70, 3 things happened:

(a) I moved in with three other students, one of whom (Gary Reid) now is classified I-O.

(b) I began to read some of the thought of Mohandas Gandhi, such as *Non-Violent Resistance*, compiled by Satyagraha.

(c) I sent in a letter to the draft board asking how long it would be, approximately, before my hearing came up if I turned in my draft card. The response was that I could not turn in my card as long as I was a student.

In April and May of 1970, things came to a head for me and for Stanford. When the invasion of Cambodia was announced on April 28, I think, the lid blew off the university. The worst rioting in the school's history took place that night. I sat in our house with Gary Reid and felt very helpless as we listened to the radio reports. The next day, April 29, I spent a good deal of time talking

to Gary about Gandhi's ideas of non-cooperation and civil disobedience, and about the basic Christianity in those ideas. We decided to try to form a "peace brigade," modeled on the Berkeley group, who would put themselves between the police and the rioters to stop the violence. It would be a non-political group—no sides taken, just stop the violence. We canvassed approximately 550 students ourselves, and identified our aims with other students canvassing for the same purpose—to get a group to meet that night and stop the violence if possible, since the rioters promised more of the same for the night of the 29th. 400 people showed up, and we sat on the lawn of the administration building; police on one side, rioters on the other. We moved, with arms linked, all around the campus, breaking between the two groups when we could. As I look back on this action, I am not so convinced that it was all that effective, but I was glad to be doing something to stop the trouble. We did the same thing on the night of the 30th, with fewer people.

At this point, I felt that it would be good to get my CO application and fill it out, since I had sharpened my views on non-violence. When I received it, too much had happened to allow me to fill it out in the 30 day period allotted to me.

I am speaking of my arrest. The situation on the afternoon of May 1st at Stanford was this: The rioters let it be known that more damage would be done that night. There was a non-violent student strike proposed, but unless it was obviously successful in pre-empting the rioters, violence would continue. We in the Non-Violent Group thought we had an alternative for those who wanted to protest the Cambodian invasion.

To make the strike work, many students sat in the doorways of the buildings to block them. I cannot speak for all groups, but our group, sitting in the main doorway of Encina Hall (the administration building) strictly adhered to Gandhian principles. Gary Reid, my room mate, was sitting beside me, and about 20 others were packed around when Capt. Rosa of the Santa Clara County Sheriffs arrived. He approached the door with one of the employees, and said that the man had business inside, and that we should let him go in. I explained that we would not forcibly keep him out; I invited, I pleaded with the man three times to walk on my legs to get in, simply saying that we were doing the only thing left to us to prevent further violence, i.e., putting our bodies on the line, but that we would force no one. If he really wanted to get into the building, and not just see some arrests, he would walk on our legs. The Captain's response was to arrest me and one other student. The others went untouched. I walked to the patrol car, not resisting in any way, and I exhorted the people around to "keep cool". The crowd of students sat down all around the patrol car and refused to let the police take me away, but they remained completely non-violent throughout the incident, chanting "we love you" even when the tac-squad slugged its way through their ranks with 4-foot billy clubs.

I was quickly bailed out of jail by my friends, but the repercussions at home and at school (which included one anonymous, telephoned threat on my life) didn't permit me to put my thoughts down on paper. So I sent the form back, resolved to send for it again only at the end of my last year, so that there would be sufficient time for reflection and writing, and no possibility of procrastination. I visited Fr. Bernard Brannon at this point, and we discussed my feelings and ideas. I spoke to 4 or 5 of his religion classes at Bellarmine Prep, too, which helped to get my thoughts in order.

I spent 6 months in Europe, from September '70 to March '71, which was something I had planned to do before the disturbances, but also something which was thought to be

a good idea by my parents and the police, in view of the telephoned threat. The trip gave me a good perspective on how things have developed—and that brings me up to the present. I think that the experiences of the last few years have strengthened my faith; given me a clearer view of Catholicism, and the fact that each Catholic has a personality, a temperament, and a set of experiences which inevitably become part and parcel of his beliefs. These realizations have allowed me to fill out this form.

I feel restricted from ministering to the sick and injured of the military because my beliefs would not allow me to care for men who would simply go out once again and kill and be killed. The reference to *civilian* sick and injured has puzzled me slightly, since care of these constitutes alternate service, as long as I were not part of the military.

The reason that I could not take part in the military in even a noncombatant capacity is that I would be supplying direct or indirect logistical support of an organized effort to kill human beings, which might also be seen as my taking the place of a man who would then be free to pick up a weapon and destroy life. This means that if the position I would fill in caring for even civilians is otherwise filled by a regular member of the armed forces, I could not take that position.

#### SANCTIONS AGAINST RHODESIA

### HON. HARRY F. BYRD, JR.

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, July 14, 1971

Mr. BYRD of Virginia. Mr. President, the *Roanoke Times* of July 13 contains an excellent editorial on the subject of sanctions against Rhodesia.

Participation by the United States in the trade embargo imposed on Rhodesia by the U.N. Security Council has resulted in a situation where this country is dependent upon the Soviet Union for chrome ore, a strategic commodity.

The editorial makes the point that the entire program of sanctions has been a failure and that it should now be abandoned.

I have introduced a bill which would end U.S. dependency on Russia chrome by lifting the U.S. embargo on that particular commodity from Rhodesia. While this would not end the sanctions policy, it would represent an important step toward a more sensible policy.

I ask unanimous consent that the text of the editorial, entitled "Time To End Rhodesian Sanction," be printed in the *Extensions of Remarks*.

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

#### TIME TO END RHODESIAN SANCTIONS

Repugnant as is white Rhodesians' intent to keep blacks from a rightful role in their government, there is little justification for the United States to continue economic sanctions against that African country.

Sanctions—in this case limits on trade voted by the United Nations Security Council—seldom bring an offender around. Often, they make him more recalcitrant. One sure effect, it would seem, of putting pressure on an oppressive government is that the government will contrive to pass on the discomfort to the people it is oppressing. Put another way, if any Rhodesians suffer from limits on trade, it will be blacks sooner than whites.

Sen. Harry F. Byrd Jr. is trying by legisla-

tion to relax U.S. participation in the sanctions. He is focusing on chromite, which the United States once bought from Rhodesia but now gets from the Soviet Union. Byrd's bill, supported by former Secretary of State Dean Acheson, would prohibit the President from blocking imports of a strategic material from a "free world" country if it can be imported from a Communist-run country.

"I do not believe," says Mr. Byrd, "that it is logical for the United States to continue to be dependent on Communist Russia for a material vital to our national defense."

The senator acknowledges he is going the long way around to get to his goal, which is not so much bolstering security as weakening support for the sanctions. Most people will read it that way anyhow, and the ill effect is that enactment of the bill would look like a gesture of U.S. sympathy for apartheid.

Abandoning mistaken policies usually involves some inconvenience and embarrassment, though. And this policy, adopted in 1966, has been a mistake; it has not achieved its ends of forcing Rhodesia to change its ways, but has further isolated her. It is time to try the soft sell, and getting off sanctions is the first step.

#### KENNEDY'S WAR

### HON. ROBERT H. MICHEL

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 14, 1971

Mr. MICHEL. Mr. Speaker, in trying to keep up with the flood of words that have been written and spoken since the Pentagon Papers became the topic of discussion all over the country, I came across an editorial appearing in the July 10, 1971, edition of the *Peoria Journal Star* entitled "Kennedy's War" and I include it in the *RECORD* at this point:

#### KENNEDY'S WAR

People who read the *New York Times*' "Pentagon Papers" soon to be put out in paperback, will rediscover that the really important decisions regarding American involvement in Vietnam were made by President Kennedy.

The big decision that Kennedy made was, of course, to send American troops to fight alongside the South Vietnamese in their battle with the Viet Cong.

That decision was made ten years ago and there was nothing secret about it. In fact, it was May 4, 1961, that Senator Fulbright after meeting with President Kennedy told the press that he (Fulbright) supported sending U.S. combat troops to South Vietnam because they were willing to defend themselves against Communism.

Nor was it any secret that such words were being backed by deeds when the press reported that a ship full of American helicopters and men docked in Saigon on Dec. 11, 1961. Nine days later the *New York Times* was reporting we had 2,000 troops "operating in battle areas with South Vietnamese troops."

At the outset of our involvement, the Kennedy administration was not guilty of confusing the American public about Vietnam. This fact is clear when you compare the "Pentagon Papers" with various news reports during 1961 and 1962.

However, in 1963 when Kennedy's plans for a "limited war" were being shattered by both the Viet Cong and inept South Vietnamese leadership, Kennedy began trying to keep secrets from the American public.

The role of our troops in Vietnam, originally made very plain, was consistently fogged in administration statements which

passed them off only as "advisors." And while Kennedy was announcing plans to bring 1,000 men home, the Pentagon Papers now confirm that their replacements were being sent without announcement.

The big blow to the American public's trust came when President Ngo Dinh Diem was assassinated and our government tried to act like it had nothing to do with the associated plot to overthrow his government.

"The Pentagon Papers" show in brutal detail the involvement of Kennedy and the CIA in the affair, but this is not really news today. It was news at the time of the assassination when Journal Star Associate Editor Tom Pugh and other alert newsmen wrote stories pointing out the American duplicity.

While the sequence in which the Times published its "disclosures" has led most of the recriminations over Vietnam to be directed at President Johnson, a balanced examination of what the Times has revealed clearly will hurt President Kennedy more.

People who want to know what went wrong are going to discover that it was the Kennedy administration which failed to calculate that a limited war could go on for an unlimited length of time.

People who want to know what eroded public confidence in our goals in Vietnam are going to discover that it was the Kennedy administration that talked out of both sides of its mouth so much that neither President Johnson nor President Nixon ever could regain public confidence as they continued to fight Kennedy's war.

None of this is news to people who have paid attention to the war for all of its ten years, but for those who haven't the "Pentagon Papers" may put Kennedy in perspective.

#### PROFESSOR WEI OF DELAWARE EVALUATES "FUTURE PROSPECTS FOR ENERGY"

#### HON. J. CALEB BOGGS

OF DELAWARE

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, July 14, 1971

Mr. BOGGS. Mr. President, Prof. James Wei earlier this year gave a very interesting lecture entitled "Future Prospects for Energy—Sources and Uses."

Dr. Wei, a distinguished professor of chemical engineering at the University of Delaware, presented his views and analysis at the 16th meeting of the Delaware Valley Section of the American Institute of Chemical Engineers. In his address, he evaluated the present costs of various types of energy and the opportunities that exist for developing new energy sources in the future.

Professor Wei's views should be studied with care by everyone who is evaluating the world's energy needs for the future. I ask unanimous consent that his lecture be printed in the Extensions of Remarks.

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

#### FUTURE PROSPECTS FOR ENERGY—SOURCES AND USES

(By James Wei)

##### I. ENERGY IS THE ULTIMATE RAW MATERIAL

The civilization and way of life we know today are supported by a steady supply of low cost raw materials drawn from the farms and forests, from the mines and wells, and from the air and water. In history when a

raw material runs low in supply and when there is no substitute in sight, people wonder whether civilization can survive. William Crooks observed in 1898 that intensive farming depended on the nitrate mines in Chile, and the eventual exhaustion would bring world wide famine<sup>1</sup>. This did not take place as the great chemist Haber and the chemical engineer Bosch rose to the challenge and solved the problem of nitrogen fixation from air and water via ammonia synthesis.

As the skills of the chemists and chemical engineers gradually increase, almost any natural raw material can be synthesized or substituted for. Outside of hydrogen, the chemical elements are hardly ever lost from planet earth<sup>2</sup>. There is no such thing as "nonrenewable minerals" even if rich deposits are exhaustible. Everything that is "used up" is still with us, but in altered and diluted form. In this closed system of earth, we can and will recycle everything. Given enough energy, or thermodynamic free energy, we can separate and concentrate any materials and recombine them chemically to form synthetic raw material. All the precious material contained in the refuse of our civilization collects on our lands, floats in our air, or runs off into the oceans. They can all be recovered with sufficient expenditure of energy. We are already recovering from the ocean freshwater, magnesium, bromine—it would be even easier if we could develop organisms that concentrate some elements. We realize that energy is the ultimate raw material and can be used to make food, water, other raw material—as well as warming and cooling our homes and operating all our machinery.

##### II. ENERGY USES IN THE PAST

The United States has always been blessed with an abundance of cheap energy to augment human and animal muscles: from the swift flowing rivers providing water power, and great forests providing fire wood, down to the modern coal mines and oil gas fields. Today, this underpinning of our entire economy and way of life consumes only 3 percent of our gross national product. Energy cost forms only 3½ percent of the cost of average industrial products ranging from 8 percent for chemicals to 0.3 percent for apparel manufacturing<sup>3</sup>. The consumer cost of energy can be divided into three shares: production cost under the supervision of engineers, transportation and distribution costs under the supervision of marketers, and federal and local taxes. Table 1 gives the approximate current prices. Only a small part of the cost of refined fuel is in the province of engineers<sup>4, 5, 6</sup>.

TABLE 1.—CURRENT ENERGY COSTS

	Production cost	Consumer cost
Gasoline, regular—cents per gallon.....	12.0	36.0
Natural gas—cents per thousand cubic feet.....	16.0	148.0
Fuel oil, No. 2—cents per gallon.....	11.0	20.0
Electricity—cents per kilowatt-hour.....	.7	2.8

Note: Consumer cost equals production cost plus distribution and transportation cost plus Federal and local tax.

We use a great deal of energy because it is very cheap. Our tax laws are already designed to make energy more expensive. For instance, automotive transportation requires three ingredients: vehicle, fuel and road. The last item belongs to the public sector and is financed mostly from taxes collected from fuel. The excise and sales tax on a vehicle is less than 10 percent of the manufactured cost, but on gasoline it is equal to manufactured cost.<sup>7</sup> Despite this fact, the capital and maintenance cost of a piece of energy-using equipment is usually 15 to 20 times the annual cost of fuel, for automobiles, air conditioners, and electric power plants<sup>8, 7</sup>. As long as fuel is cheap and

equipment dear, we burn it up prodigiously. When prices go up, we complain but go on burning without a pause. Past investment in equipment is very expensive and cannot be changed readily. When copper is expensive, we can shift to aluminum; when butlers are too expensive, we phase them out; but when energy is more expensive, we have neither alternative nor can we do without. If it were not for the fact that engineers continue to improve equipment to save fuel, our use of energy would be even more prodigious. For instance, in 1925 it took 25,000 BTU to make a KWH of electricity but today it takes only 9,000 BTU<sup>8</sup>.

Historically, the principal determinants of energy use have been number of people and scale of affluence<sup>9</sup>. Figure 1 (not reproduced) shows the per capita gross national product of various nations against per capita energy use in 1961<sup>10</sup>. It can pass as a fairly straight line, the richer one is, the more energy he burns up. If you look at such curves long enough, you can begin to see an S-curve. As you get richer you will buy more information and service, which require less energy than hardware. U.S. commercial energy use is about 120 times the human intake of food energy; while in India it is about 3 times—for all manufacturing, farming and transport. Figure 2 (not reproduced) shows the historical U.S. GNP growth in constant 1958 dollars (where the effect of inflation is taken out) and energy consumption in Quads (a Quad is a quadrillion BTU, or a million times a billion BTU)<sup>11</sup>. It appears that of late, energy growth lags a little behind GNP growth. An increase in affluence without corresponding increase in energy use has never been achieved in the past and is difficult to see in the future.

There may be frivolous uses of energy, such as the electric toothbrush; but the bulk is necessary to our way of life: home fires should be kept warm, people have to get to work, food must be delivered to the local supermarket, and the wheels of industry have to turn. The pattern of sources and uses of energy today, together with a government forecast for the year 2000, is given in Table 2.<sup>12</sup>

Oil and gas have been capturing markets steadily from coal for the last thirty years, since they are cleaner, more convenient and cheaper. Nuclear power will rise to capture markets from oil and gas in the future. In the use side, electricity generation has been the fastest growing segment and will continue to be.

TABLE 2.—U.S. SOURCES AND USES OF ENERGY AS PERCENT OF TOTAL

	1970	Projected 2000
Sources:		
Oil.....	43	32
Gas.....	31	26
Coal.....	21	16
Hydro.....	4	3
Nuclear.....	1	23
Uses:		
Residence-commerce.....	22	13
Transportation.....	25	23
Industry.....	31	20
Electricity generation.....	22	44

##### III. THE TWO NEW CRISES

In recent years, the use of energy suddenly faces two new crises: shortage and environment. Hardly a day goes by without a black eye for energy in the mass media: Delmarva Power and Light refusing new customers in natural gas, a blackout of electricity in the eastern seaboard, birds dying in oil spilled at Santa Barbara, trip mining in W. Virginia opposed, scientists predicting that the polar ice cap will melt and flood all coastal cities due to too much carbon dioxide in air, scientists predicting combustion dusts will black out sun light and cause a new ice age, and a Wall Street Journal article declaring that planet Earth is approaching an energy

Footnotes at end of article.

ceiling<sup>13, 14</sup>. A year ago, Daniel Patrick Moynihan asked, "When would this insane increase in energy use stop?" It may seem that the only way out is to use less energy in the future, save the irreplaceable resources for our grandchildren, and repair the damaged environment.

I would like to advance the thesis that there is no inevitable collision course between more energy use and better environment; a cleaner environment would mean much more use of energy. The main flaw of ecologists prophesizing doom is their failure to appreciate the ingenuity of scientists and engineers in inventing technological alternatives.

A cleaner automobile means more use of fuel, to produce hotter and cleaner exhaust and to overcome pressure drop in afterburners. Taking lead out of gasoline would mean a lower compression ratio and less efficient engine, which means more fuel. Cleaner smoke stacks in power plants mean either cleaner fuel by more refining of oil and coal, or stack gas scrubbing and dust removal, all requiring more energy. The Biological Oxygen Demand (or BOD) discharged into rivers and lakes by residential-industrial-agricultural activities would require more sewage treatment and dissolving more oxygen into water, which means more energy. The recycling of solid wastes means more energy use. Provided that society will face the facts and give the engineers the resources and time, all the pollutants can be reduced to any required level by sufficient expenditure of energy—and a necessary increase in prices, which will decline as experience grows.

At the end, energy is used to remove all other pollutants and a vast quantity of waste heat becomes the ultimate pollutant. So far, this is a local dispersal problem rather than global problem. The fishes are hot in the outlet of a power plant, and New York City is three degrees hotter than the countryside in the winter. But the man-made waste heat rejection is currently only 50 ppm of the earth's heat budget, or the quantity of solar radiation that the earth receives and sends back into space.<sup>15</sup>

The supply of some forms of energy is short and prices are increasing. The oil price increase is due to the demands of oil exporting countries in the Middle East, Libya, and Venezuela, plus a shortage of tankers; the natural gas shortage is due to the industry's unwillingness to explore and to lay pipelines under the low existing government regulated prices; the coal shortage is due to earlier forecasts of its demise, and consequent underinvestment in opening new mines and manufacturing railway hopper cars; the nuclear power shortage is due to unforeseen difficulties in construction. All of these are short-term problems, many due to past underinvestment in R & D and plants, that can be solved later.

The mining and extraction cost of a fuel is divided into two parts: the technology and rent costs.<sup>16</sup> The technology costs are managed by the geologists and engineers in exploration and drilling holes—these costs reflect the bounty of earth and our present state of technology and cannot be changed except by innovations in technology or by new discoveries. The rent cost includes royalty and bonuses to the land owners, production and severance taxes, federal income taxes, and windfalls for the lucky wildcaters—this cost is negotiable and represents the bargaining position of various parties and can be changed suddenly. We read that in the Persian Gulf, the technology cost of a barrel of oil is only 10 cents, but the rent cost is \$1.60 and going up. Despite the engineers' effort to cut cost every year, the rent costs can go up much faster. To an affluent nation such as Japan and U.S., this cost in-

crease is an unwelcomed burden but, to less developed nations such as India, this cost increase is a serious blow.

TABLE 3.—FUEL PRICES

	Cost	Equivalent cost <sup>1</sup>
Electricity.....	0.8 cents per kilowatt-hour.	2.34
Gasoline.....	12 cents per gallon.	1.00
No. 6 fuel oil (1% S).....	\$4 per barrel.	.69
Bituminous coal.....	\$10 per ton.	.46
No. 6 fuel oil (high S).....	\$2.50 per ton.	.43
Natural gas.....	40 cents per thousand cubic feet.	.40

<sup>1</sup> Dollars per million B.T.U.

Note: East coast wholesale, without tax.

Since the Arabs have more than two-thirds of the free world oil, can they obtain indefinite increases in prices? We know that North America contains vast fuel resources in coal, oil shale and tar sand—many times greater than all the oil in the Middle East. Laboratory and pilot plant runs show that they can be turned into oil and gas. Given enough money and time to do research and development, the chemists and engineers will find out how this could be done in great scales economically, and without damage to environment. Present guesses on synthetic crude oil prices are in the range of \$4–\$6 a barrel from these solid fuels, while small projects such as the Sun Oil process in tar sand in Alberta is almost competitive at present prices.<sup>17</sup> These vast resources can form a price ceiling to oil and other energy sources for many years to come. The public and our government need to learn the facts, debate the issues, and pass rules on their exploitation. We do not know how to do the mining-extracting-refining yet in the most economical manner, and without damage to the environment. If the engineers are given the job and the resources, they will rise to the occasion.

The approximate current wholesale prices of the more important fuels are shown in Table 3.<sup>18</sup> The clean and convenient natural gas seems under-priced in this table. Lower sulfur fuel oils are naturally more expensive than high sulfur fuel oils. Electricity is the cleanest to the consumer, totally available to do useful work, and the most expensive.

#### IV. FUTURE ENERGY USES

The large-scale generation of electricity at remotely located nuclear plants and by burning coal at the mine mouth would remove much danger and pollution from great concentrations of population. Distance certainly lends enchantment here. The increased cost of electricity transmission could be decreased by new developments, such as cryogenic cables that are super-conducting. I am afraid that after the engineers did their jobs well in cutting technology costs, the dominant cost in electricity transmission would turn out to be a rent cost again, paid to land owners to acquire the right of way.

Radiation hazards in nuclear plants can be minimized to any desired level by spending more money. The final radioactive hot wastes are being stored in caves now. Eventually, they will be disposed of by some other means, such as being sent into the sun by rockets. The sun is exceedingly radioactive now—a little bit more would not hurt—and it can be our ultimate garbage dump.<sup>19</sup>

When it comes to transportation, oil is the dominant fuel. Outside of a few electric trains and bicycles, almost everything else moves by oil on the land, in the sea, or in the air. Its dominance is due to its ease in use as a liquid, as well as high power density and low cost. Nature appears to have arrived at the same solution for transportation fuel much earlier. When nature prepares something for a long journey, such as a walnut

for dispersion, a coconut for ocean voyage, a salmon traveling upstream to spawn, or a goose migrating to South America, the body carbohydrates are converted into lipid or fat.<sup>20</sup> These fats differ from petroleum only by the presence of a little oxygen. In fact, some geochemists believe that petroleum originates in animal fat buried in the rocks for eons, and that the oxygen is removed by catalytic action of bacteria or the clay. Table 4 gives the comparative power density of a number of fuels and batteries.<sup>7</sup> It may be a bit unfair to compare gasoline to a battery in power density, since the battery carries both fuel and oxidizer, but the oxidizer of gasoline is ubiquitous air that is always available except in space and under water.

TABLE 4. ENERGY DENSITY IN STORAGE

	Chemical energy		Electric-mechanical energy watt-hour/pound (20 percent heat efficiency)
	KCAL	GM	
Gasoline.....	11.0		1,150
Lipid.....		9.3	
Methanol.....	5.2		550
Ammonia.....	4.8		510
Carbohydrate.....		4.1	
Protein.....		4.1	
Sodium-sulfur battery.....			385
Conceptual superflywheel.....			200
Lead acid battery.....			85
Super flywheel.....			40
Rubber band.....			1

For intercity traffic on land, and for long distance travel in the air or in the seas, it is difficult to see how oil can be replaced. For center city stop-and-go traffic, it would be well to switch to vehicles with stored energy that is less heat generating. The rubber band is an obvious energy storage device, but rather low in capacity. The flywheel was tried in buses in Switzerland and is capable of tremendous improvements. One can conceive of a rotor with an exceedingly high speed of revolution, kept inside a high vacuum to minimize friction, and made of composite material of carbon filaments in epoxy resin to withstand the tremendous centrifugal forces.

There is a great technological innovation on the way that can greatly influence the future pattern of population distribution and transportation needs: the videophone. People live in great metropolitan regions for the ease of contacting many other people and to use common facilities. These great concentrations lead to crowded cities and tremendous transportation problems. With a technically advanced videophone, one can have vivid and direct communications without leaving his home. Managers and white-collar workers, scientists and artists can live anywhere they choose and do all their work at home and by videophone; housewives can shop by videophone; students can talk to their professors by videophone. There is no need for people to get together except when they want to have fun together. People would only travel for pleasure then. This could result in a great dispersion of people back to the countryside.

#### V. FUTURE SUPPLY OF ENERGY

The recoverable resources of energy in the world are quite large. The solid fuels are much greater in quantity than the liquid and gaseous petroleum, as shown in Table 5, based on a study by King Hubbert.<sup>20</sup> The quantities are measured in Quints, where a Quint is a thousand Quad, or a billion times a billion BTU. We know they are available, but we do not yet have the technology or agreed-upon ground rules for their exploitation. Before these tremendous resources can be touched, there must be research and development, environmental regulations, and ownership and profit rules established.

Footnotes at end of article.

TABLE 5. ESTIMATED WORLD ENERGY RESOURCES

[Q equals 10<sup>9</sup> B.T.U.]

	Recoverable quantity	Energy in Q
Oil.....	2,500,000,000,000 barrels.....	15
Natural gas.....	12,000,000,000,000 cubic feet.....	12
Oil shale.....	2,000,000,000 barrels.....	12
Tar sand.....	300,000,000,000 barrels.....	2
Coal.....	7,600,000,000,000 tons.....	190
Total.....		231
Uranium.....	1,300,000 tons.....	100
Lithium 6.....	670,000 tons.....	230
Deuterium.....	50×10 <sup>6</sup> million tons.....	12×10 <sup>9</sup>
Photosynthesis on earth.....		1
Solar energy on earth.....		14,000
Total solar output.....		13×10 <sup>12</sup>

1 Q per year.

For the nuclear fuels, a dependence on uranium oxide ores of \$10/lb would mean a rather limited future in comparison with coal, based on the assumption that the breeder reactor is already developed. There may be much more uranium to be discovered. If we are willing to pay more, we can use a great deal of low grade uranium and thorium, such as Chattanooga shale and the Conway Granite in New Hampshire, at about 60 ppm. The so-called unlimited resources of fusion power center on the deuterium-tritium reaction. The source of tritium is lithium 6, which is only 7.4 percent of naturally occurring lithium and is limited in supply. The deuterium-deuterium reaction requires much higher initiation temperature and density, and is rated a much more remote target. Deuterium exists as 25 ppm in the ocean and is truly unlimited. Future energy supplies will be plentiful but not necessarily cheap. But we must plan ahead!

For comparison, we see the truly overwhelming solar energy in yearly flux, and it is the ultimate energy source when all else is gone. A most imaginative use of solar energy was proposed by Peter Glaser of Arthur D. Little.<sup>21</sup> He envisioned synchronous satellites that constantly hover overhead at orbits 22,000 miles away, with solar cells 25 square miles in area. The electricity collected from the sun is beamed to earth at a safe intensity on 10 cm microwave and collected on giant antennas. This is available night and day, and goes through mist and driving rain with less than 5 percent absorption loss. This idea is not far from today's technological capabilities.

For a trial balance, let the world energy demand increase by 4 percent a year, compounded, based on modest population-GNP growth. The reserve needed is then equal to cumulative past production plus ten times the current annual production rate. With fossil fuel alone, we may be in trouble after 2050; adding cheap uranium, we are in trouble after 2070. After 2100, man made energy release is 1 percent of natural solar influx and the waste heat disposal problems have to be solved.

## VI. SUMMARY

There is no inevitable collision course between high energy use and good environment. The public should be informed that there are technological alternatives. We read that after 150 years of fog, when sulfur containing coal is replaced by clean natural gas, winter sunshine is returning to London.

Scientists and engineers can solve nearly all environmental problems when they are given the task, the resources and the time. Any combustion waste can be cleaned up; radioactive wastes can be sent into the sun; phosphates can be removed by tertiary sewage treatments; hot fishes near power plants can be saved by dry air cooling towers; solid wastes can be reduced to ashes, and the remains recovered and recycled. Many of these solutions are within today's technological capabilities. We are only holding back to see which is the best solution, and who should

pay, before vast investment programs begin. Even the waste heat disposal problem for earth may eventually succumb to the ingenuities of our scientists and engineers, just as the spectre of world famine forecasted by William Crooks was dispelled by Haber and Bosch.

All of these may not be cheap, and the cost of using energy may have to go up. But let us tell everyone that a clean and adequate energy supply can be managed if we give the chemists and chemical engineers a chance, but we must plan ahead and may have to pay a higher price.

## FOOTNOTES

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<sup>4</sup> *Oil and Gas Journal*, p. 100, March 1, 1971.

<sup>5</sup> *Energy News*, vol. 1, No. 10, March 15, 1971.

<sup>6</sup> *Electrical World*, March 15, 1971.

<sup>7</sup> My utility bill at Princeton, N.J.

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<sup>10</sup> H. H. Landsberg and S. H. Schurr, "Energy in the United States", Random House, 1968.

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<sup>13</sup> G. A. Mills, H. R. Johnson and H. Perry, "Fuels Management in an Environmental Age", *Environmental Science and Technology*, p. 30, January 1971.

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<sup>19</sup> T. J. Gordon, remark at a conference at the Institute of Man and Science, Rensselaerville, N.Y., 1969.

<sup>20</sup> A. White, P. Handler and E. L. Smith, "Principles of Biochemistry", p. 282, McGraw-Hill, 1964.

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## BRISTOL LABORATORIES SEEK ANSWERS TO DRUG ABUSE

## HON. JEROME R. WALDIE

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 14, 1971

Mr. WALDIE. Mr. Speaker, I would like to enter in the RECORD a letter which Representative CLAUDE PEPPER, chairman of the Select Committee on Crime, received from Dr. Irwin Pachter, vice-president of Bristol Laboratories, Bristol-Meyer Co.

Dr. Pachter's letter focuses on the activities of private industry in the field of drug abuse and drug dependency. It includes a description of the specific activities and accomplishments of Bristol Laboratories in this area of research.

Particularly noteworthy are Dr. Pachter's comments on the forces motivating drug research by private industry and his claims that Government support of industries' internal research is nonessential.

The letter follows:

BRISTOL LABORATORIES,  
Syracuse, N.Y., June 21, 1971.

HON. CLAUDE PEPPER,  
Chairman, Select Committee on Crime, House of Representatives, Washington, D.C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN PEPPER: It was with great interest that I read your letter of June 14, 1971, describing your thoughts on the subject of drug abuse and approaches to its treatment. You are certainly correct when you speak of "encouragement of the private drug industry to work cooperatively with the Federal Government" as being one of the best ways of making substantial progress in this critical area. On the other hand, your information "that only a very minimal amount of research in this direction is ongoing currently" is not accurate. In this letter I would like to answer your questions, describe some of the activities of the Bristol Laboratories Division of the Bristol-Myers Company in the area of drug abuse and make some suggestions as to where we feel the Government could be more helpful.

Bristol Laboratories decided some fifteen months ago that the problems associated with drug abuse and drug dependence had reached such staggering proportions in our country that it was time for a major industrial pharmaceutical firm to tackle research in this area with an all-out effort. We were fortunate that we could number among our research and executive scientific personnel people who had synthesized and developed naloxone, compounds of the cyclazocine family of drugs and compounds of the cyclophran series of narcotic antagonists. Our staff for this research, which is carried out in our laboratories in both the United States and Canada, has grown to where it presently includes nine chemists and biologists at the Ph.D. level and eleven at the M.S. and B.S. level. These scientists are synthesizing and testing new narcotic antagonists and blocking agents in the laboratory. In addition, other personnel in toxicology are evaluating the safety of the new compounds in animals before introduction to human study; pharmaceutical development personnel are preparing safe, stable dosage forms; and our staff of medical doctors is in the process of setting up appropriate clinical studies with top U.S. research doctors in this field. We are

working in close consultation with Dr. Nathan Eddy and have benefitted from advice of the Committee on Problems of Drug Dependence. Dr. William Martin of the Addiction Research Center at Lexington, Kentucky, has scheduled studies to aid our research and, thus far, we have received every encouragement from the FDA.

We expect that our expenditures may approach one million dollars per year. Although the Canadian Government, through its programs in support of industrial research, has encouraged some of our work in the area of drug abuse, the great bulk of our expense is borne by our own company research budget. We do not seek Federal Government support and look forward to the recovery of part of our expense once a useful drug has been developed and made available for sale. Although our prime motivation for this research comes from an acute awareness of the great need of society for drugs of this kind, you must undoubtedly be aware of the fact that compounds analogous to naloxone and cyclazocine have been found to be useful, non-addicting analgesic drugs. Our research therefore has the potential of providing us with additional fall-out in the form of new non-addicting synthetic agents for the relief of pain and cough discomfort. We think that our commitment to research in the drug abuse area is not atypical of our research in general. It is all undertaken with an understanding and weighing of the financial risks involved, the hope of discovering superior drugs which will satisfy important medical needs and the hope for products which will provide financial return for our company. We see adequate incentive for conducting research of the kind described in your letter and do not consider it necessary for the Federal Government to offer us support for working in this important field.

To get down to specifics, our activities to date have resulted in progress in two important areas. We asked ourselves how we could prevent the abuse by injection of narcotic drugs which, like methadone, Darvon, Demerol, etc., are intended for legitimate oral administration. We discovered that naloxone, which is very potent by injection but very weak orally, can be added to all narcotic drugs intended for oral administration. With naloxone present, the drugs are fully effective when used as intended but cannot be abused by needle. We submitted the attached report on our findings to the Committee on Problems of Drug Dependence and are working together with FDA, Lexington and the methadone programs to prevent diversion of legitimate drugs by making them worthless as drugs of abuse.

The larger part of our effort has gone into the preparation and evaluation of new narcotic antagonist blocking agents which are not addictive themselves. We realized immediately that we needed new synthetic methods. Our chemists did an excellent job and devised ways to prepare a host of new agents for evaluation. The first of these, BC 2605, is much longer acting than naloxone, more potent than cyclazocine and fully synthetic so that supplies are not derived from opium. This compound is being studied for safety in animals and should be ready for human trials later this summer. BC 2605 may be useful in the "immunization" approach to treatment of heroin dependence. Several other equally promising materials are in earlier stages of laboratory evaluation. We reviewed our research program recently with Dr. Nathan Eddy and he was amazed that we had gotten so far in just a year's time.

Earlier in my letter I offered to make suggestions as to where Government could be more helpful. Most critical, I believe, is the funding of the Addiction Research Center at Lexington, Kentucky. Although Drs. Martin and Jasinski have been most cooperative, their limited facilities constitute a bottleneck. All new narcotics antagonists and analgesics are funneled through this labo-

ratory for safety and abuse evaluation in addicts. With their present budget and staff they can handle only about three new compounds per year. We believe that the output of new agents by Bristol Laboratories alone will more than overwhelm their limited facilities. We would like to urge, very strongly, that addiction research in man at Lexington, Kentucky, be doubled or tripled as fast as possible.

A second appropriate area for Government funding would be in the wider clinical evaluation of new antagonists as therapeutic agents. Although industry is perfectly capable of supporting its own internal research, increased Government support for external clinical studies would be very welcome and would help attract more competent clinical investigators to narcotic antagonist evaluation research.

I would be pleased to answer additional questions if you should require some clarification of the foregoing comments.

Your interest is appreciated.

Yours sincerely,

THE UNITED MINE WORKERS AND  
THE LANDRUM-GRIFFIN ACT

HON. ROBERT P. GRIFFIN

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, July 14, 1971

Mr. GRIFFIN. Mr. President, yesterday I testified before the Senate Subcommittee on Labor, presided over by the distinguished Senator from New Jersey (Mr. WILLIAMS), in connection with the subcommittee's investigation of certain activities of the United Mine Workers of America.

I ask unanimous consent that my statement before the subcommittee be printed in the RECORD.

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

STATEMENT BY U.S. SENATOR ROBERT P. GRIFFIN, BEFORE THE LABOR SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE COMMITTEE ON LABOR AND PUBLIC WELFARE, JULY 13, 1971

Mr. CHAIRMAN: I appreciate the opportunity to appear before the Committee this morning to make a statement.

Ever since the enactment of the Labor-Management Reporting and Disclosure Act of 1959 (commonly referred to as Landrum-Griffin), needless to say, I have followed the course of its administration and enforcement with interest and concern—and, I must say, with growing dismay.

As a general observation, I am compelled to say that, not only have the courts given the letter and spirit of Landrum-Griffin far too narrow and restricted a construction, but over the past 12 years under four Administrations the Labor Department has generally been timid and reluctant to give Landrum-Griffin the vigorous implementation and strict enforcement that Congress expected.

I must confess that when I asked to be scheduled to appear this morning I was concerned, and under the impression, that the committee was about to close down shop and quit its investigation of the United Mine Workers.

Since then—in fact, it was yesterday—the Chairman (Senator Williams) has indicated, and I quote him: "We are continuing our inquiry in order to fulfill our responsibilities to ensure that the great principles of union democracy live and breathe within the ranks of the Nation's coal miners."

I hail that statement of commitment by the Chairman, but I hasten to add that if

the great principles of union democracy are to live and breathe within the ranks of the UMW, this committee—and the Congress—have a great deal of work yet to do.

As you know, the Landrum-Griffin Act came into existence following a thorough and extensive investigation in 1958 and 1959, of scandals in the labor movement, particularly in the Teamsters Union.

That investigation was conducted by a select committee of the Senate—composed of 4 Democrats and 4 Republicans—headed by Senator McClellan. Many do not realize that the McClellan Select Committee of those days went out of existence when it finished that assignment. The McClellan Committee we hear about today is, of course, a Subcommittee of the Government Operations Committee.

Very frankly, when the Yablonski murders raised such serious questions, I advocated that a full and complete investigation of the UMW and the need generally for reform of our labor laws be undertaken by another Select Committee of the Senate—similar to the old McClellan Committee.

I must state candidly that I was disappointed when the Senate did not follow my advice. However, I was glad that this Committee recognized a responsibility and did undertake the task. I must say, however, that I will not be satisfied until and unless this committee performs and achieves the goal set forth in that lofty statement of commitment by the Chairman.

Without taking too much of the Committee's time, I should like to focus upon some of the matters that trouble me deeply.

1. One important concern that led to the 1959 Act involved the abuse of the trusteeship device by some unions as a means of depriving and denying democratic principles to the rank and file. Title III of Landrum-Griffin was the product of that Congressional concern and it contains provisions which are supposed to severely restrict the use of trusteeships. In December of 1964, the Labor Department initiated a suit here in the Federal Court in the District of Columbia seeking to abolish some UMW trusteeships so as to restore to the workers their right to vote for their district officers. Incredibly, as I appear before you this morning, that case still has not come to trial. I believe this committee ought to do some inquiring: how is it possible that an effort to dissolve trusteeships could be delayed for 79 months, thus depriving workers in 19 of the 23 UMW districts of their right to vote for district officials? I am pleased to note that, finally, the case has been scheduled for trial this week. But nonetheless this extraordinary delay, and the attendant loss by workers of basic rights, for six and one-half years, ought to be carefully scrutinized. The committee should fix blame for such a scandalous situation, and should recommend and report reforms in the law, if needed, to assure that this situation will not be repeated.

2. Another subject that troubled Congress and the country in 1959 was the failure on the part of some unions to keep adequate records concerning the handling of funds.

Evidencing that concern, Title II of Landrum-Griffin provides not only for record-keeping and reporting to the Secretary of Labor but makes it a federal criminal offense to willfully violate these requirements.

It was apparent for a long time that UMW reports to the Labor Department were not in compliance with the requirements of Title II. Yet the Labor Department in prior Administrations took no action to compel compliance. Finally, eleven years after enactment of the Landrum-Griffin Act, the Department moved to require proper record-keeping as a part of the suit brought in 1971 to upset the 1969 election. Recently, Federal District Judge Bryant issued an order requiring the UMW to keep adequate records. But it seems to me that the Committee has a responsibility to go back and scrutinize UMW records for prior years to

determine whether and to what extent the requirements of the law were ignored.

3. During Mr. Yablonski's effort to win the Presidency of the UMW in 1969, the reform movement within the union pleaded with the Labor Department for an investigation of circumstances surrounding the campaign. The documented pleas of the group are set forth in the hearings of this Subcommittee. The response of the Labor Department was that it always had been the policy of the Department not to investigate during the course of an election.

To be sure, the Labor Department under this Administration correctly restated the restrictive and limited interpretation placed on the law by previous Administrations. But I am not so sure that such a policy by the Department was necessary or in the public interest.

Section 601(a) of Landrum-Griffin clearly states:

"The Secretary shall have power when he believes it necessary in order to determine whether any person has violated or is about to violate any provision of this Act . . . to make an investigation and in connection therewith he may enter such places and inspect such records and accounts and question such persons as he may deem necessary to enable him to determine the facts relative thereto."

I can understand that the Department would want to exercise its discretion prudently and with some restraint. I further understand the need to balance objectives of Title IV against the objectives of Title VI. But I submit that it is difficult to imagine a case which more clearly justified exercise of the authority conferred by the Act upon the Department—authority recognized by the Supreme Court when it said:

"The Secretary's authority under Section 601, 29 U.S.C. Section 521, both supplements his investigative mandate under Section 402 (b) and authorizes inquiry without regard to the filing of a complaint by a union member." *Laborers' case* 389 U.S. 477, 483.

4. Yesterday this Subcommittee heard testimony from a miners' reform group which refers to itself as Miners for Democracy, concerning an election in December 1970 in District 5 of the UMWA. The testimony sets forth allegations of corruption, tyranny and unfair practices that sound like a familiar record—like the Yablonski allegations of 1969 all over again. According to the testimony you heard yesterday, it was a repeat performance.

Once again, however, the response of the Department of Labor has been less than vigorous, to say the least. I understand that the Labor Department waiver of the Title IV requirement that an action be brought by the Department within 60 days after the filing of the complaint, means that the two principal officers of District 5, both convicted in Federal court of keeping false books and records, can continue to remain in office. Surely, this is a matter that the committee ought to explore thoroughly. If the present law is not adequate as written to prevent abuses such as those alleged, then the committee ought to recommend and report revisions to make the law meaningful.

5. The basic purpose of Title IV—to assure free and fair elections—is subverted when court suits to set aside elections are not disposed of promptly. Consider the difficult position of a reform group within a union while and during the period that an invalid election has not yet been set aside. During the interim the incumbents remain in office and can continue to use their positions of power and influence to further undercut the strength of the challenging group.

The Boyle-Yablonski election was held over a year and a half ago; still there has been no trial of the suit to set aside the election—and those who are accused, in the meantime, remain in office.

I commend this Subcommittee on its work in uncovering the fact that funds were illegally used by incumbents in that UMW election, and I urge now that the committee seek to determine just why it has taken so long to move this case to trial.

6. I was disappointed when the Labor Department considered it necessary to oppose an effort by the reform group to intervene in the Department's suit to set aside the 1969 election. Even though Congress gave exclusive authority to the Secretary of Labor to initiate such suits, I am aware of no clear requirement that complaining parties must be excluded once legal proceedings have been initiated. Once again it seems to me, doubts have been resolved against the worker and in favor of the entrenched union hierarchy.

7. Two issues which the reform group sought unsuccessfully to inject into the suit concerning the 1969 election merit full investigation by this Subcommittee. First, I refer to Mr. Boyle's conduct as a trustee of the UMW Welfare and Retirement Fund when, allegedly, pension benefits were increased during the Boyle-Yablonski campaign for the purpose of influencing the election.

As the committee knows, Mr. Boyle has been removed as trustee of the pension fund; and when he took that action, Federal District Judge Gerhard A. Gesell said (and I quote):

"Boyle, however, violated his duty as trustee in several particulars. His actions in forcing through the pension increase, partly by misrepresentation, in haste and without consulting the neutral trustee, reflect an insensitivity to fiduciary standards."

It appears to me that Judge Gesell's findings contradict testimony by Mr. Boyle before this Subcommittee in March of 1970. Particularly in light of that development, I don't see how the Committee can let the matter drop.

8. Another circumstance surrounding the election which ought to be investigated involves the allegation that there are some 600 local unions, each of which has a membership of less than 10 active miners and is composed largely of pensioners. Questions have been raised as to the legality of these pensioner locals under the constitution of the United Mine Workers, and whether they are a subterfuge for maintaining and perpetuating incumbent officials in office.

I believe the situation is particularly serious with respect to those pensioner locals which have no working miners as members because, as I understand it, the Labor Department requires no record-keeping or reporting whatever of those locals. Clearly, the alleged use and abuse of such pensioner locals is a subject that the Subcommittee ought to examine most carefully.

9. The kind and extent of difficulties experienced by a slate of candidates which dares to challenge incumbent union officers was illustrated by the efforts of the Miners for Democracy—the UMW reform group—to communicate with the membership of the union. A cursory review of almost any issue of the *United Mine Workers Journal*—and it is not much different from the publications of other labor organizations—leaves little doubt that it has, and is being used, as a political propaganda organ for incumbent union officers. During the 1969 election campaign, the situation got so bad that the reform group was able to obtain an injunction against the continued use of the *Journal* as campaign literature for the incumbent president. But, once the election was over, the UMW officers went back to the customary practice of using the *Journal* for the benefit and promotion of incumbent officers.

When it takes so long to get action on a complaint to set aside an election, the advantage left in the hands of incumbents charged with violations of the Act is unconscionable.

Once again, there is an obvious need to reform the Act—one way would be to have and require government supervision of every election of union officers (or perhaps those cases when a timely request is filed by say 10 percent of the membership, much like the way the NLRB now conducts and supervises every representation election).

10. It seems to me that the Committee ought to look into allegations that pensioners have been forced to maintain their UMW membership in order to receive their pensions after retirement. Judge Gesell found that applicants for pensions were misled into believing that continued Union membership was a prerequisite for eligibility to receive a pension—when in fact there is no such legal requirement.

This situation raises a question whether incumbent control over the UMW has been maintained by forcing pensioners to continue their membership in the union, then voting them as a block for the incumbents, thus depriving the working miners of their fair say as to who should govern the union to which they are required to belong for their livelihood.

11. I have read the interchange of correspondence between the Miners for Democracy group and the Labor Department on the question of whether a monitorship should be established over the UMW until the case is decided and a new election can be held (this correspondence appears in the Congressional Record for June 2, 1971). Once again, it appears to me that the Labor Department is very reticent about protecting the rights and interests of the rank and file.

Section 402 of the Act states that in an election suit, "The court shall have power to take such action as it deems proper to preserve the assets of the labor organization."

Since misuse of UMW assets has already been established, and the incumbent President has been removed as a trustee of the pension fund, there can be little question concerning the court's power to act. It seems to me that we indeed have a strange and unusual situation, to say the least, when Mr. Boyle, who has been removed as a director of the National Bank of Washington because he was indicted for embezzlement, continues, while his election is being challenged, to head this giant labor organization, which controls a bank of which he cannot be a director—as well as a pension fund of which he cannot be a trustee.

12. Needless to say, a primary aim of Landrum-Griffin was to protect the rights of individual workers within a union—to protect such rights as the right of free speech and the right to run for office and to campaign for candidates who dare to challenge incumbents. Yet, I am told, and I believe that the members of the Miners for Democracy, the reform group, feel threatened by reprisals because of their activity. This cloud of fear, which has hung over the UMW, particularly since the Yablonski murders, deserves the most searching and determined inquiry by this Subcommittee.

Mr. Chairman, it is essential that the members of this committee recognize that they are dealing with a subject and with issues that cannot be swept under a rug and cannot be brushed aside. The public simply will not allow that to happen. The public demands that every allegation of any substance concerning the conduct of UMW officials be thoroughly investigated until the whole truth is laid bare.

Only if such a thorough-going investigation is pursued will Congress be able to determine the extent and nature of amendments to Landrum-Griffin which may be needed. If tougher enforcement of the law by the Labor Department can be secured, some amendments may be unnecessary. But the situation probably requires a combination of both stronger enforcement and changes in the law.

If at any point, for any reason, this Committee determines that it will not follow through with the searching vigorous investigation that is needed, then I hope the Committee will join me in recommending appointment of a Select Committee—like the old McClellan Committee—to carry on the work which this Committee has started.

In 1959, Congress passed a law which was designed to guarantee democracy and to prevent corruption, violence and tyranny within unions. While the 1959 Act has been most helpful to millions of workers, I am compelled to say that it has fallen short of its aims—at least as it has been interpreted and administered over the years by the courts and the Labor Department.

Now, reform of the law is needed—and this Subcommittee of this Committee has the primary jurisdiction over such legislation in the Senate of the United States.

It happens to be an interesting circumstance that the major labor laws on the statute books of our country have been enacted after intervals of 12 years.

In 1935, Congress passed the Wagner Act, hailed as labor's Magna Carta. Subsequently, in 1947—twelve years later—Taft-Hartley was enacted into law.

Then, twelve years later, in 1959, Congress passed the Landrum-Griffin Act.

Now, twelve years later, in 1971, the need for major reform is obvious once again.

This Committee has a solemn and a sacred obligation to the American people—but particularly to the workers of this nation. I hope and trust that the Committee will fulfill that obligation.

#### YOUTH CAMP SAFETY

### HON. DOMINICK V. DANIELS

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 14, 1971

Mr. DANIELS of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, the Washington Post recently carried an article concerning the death of a young boy in a Federal recreational area. His death was not only senseless but could have been prevented if sufficient safety standards had been implemented. Our national parks and summer camps operated on a profit and semi-profit basis are the scene of death and injury to many children because of inadequate supervision and poor safety standards. Recreational safety is an area to which we in the Congress have devoted little attention while every summer hundreds die or are seriously injured in camping accidents.

Last year, I introduced a bill on youth camp safety which failed to pass the House of Representatives. However, this year I have introduced stronger legislation designed to establish health and safety standards in youth camps. Hearings are scheduled for this bill, H.R. 1264, on July 21 and 22 and testimony will be heard from various organizations representing campaign associations, safety councils, and crippled and disadvantaged children's groups. The summer has almost passed and it is urgent that we act now so that next summer there is not a recurrence of such tragedies.

The article follows:

MEASURES

(By Jean Heller)

On June 28, 1970, James and Amy Hecht stood amid the natural wonders of Yellowstone National Park and watched in horror

as their nine-year-old son Andy was killed accidentally.

The Hechts, of Richmond, Va., had just seen Old Faithful erupt and had strolled with a crowd of other tourists to one of Yellowstone's famous thermal basins where pools of water boil up from the depths of the earth.

As Andy stepped onto the circular wooden boardwalk around the rim of Crested Pool, a wind gust blew a cloud of steam into his face. Momentarily blinded, he stumbled off the boardwalk and into the pool.

The water temperature in Crested Pool was over 200 degrees. Andy died in seconds.

The youngster was one of 165 park visitors killed last year. The figure was down from the high of 182 in 1969—it illustrates a growing problem as increasing numbers of Americans jam the national parks for summer vacations.

If this is a typical year, 175 vacationers will die in accidents, and another 5,000 will be seriously injured.

The Park Service, while moving to improve safety measures, notes that the death and injury figures last year were but a fraction of the 167 million visitors. Still it concedes major defects in its safety program, most of which have been called to public attention by James Hecht, a research chemist, who has pursued an unrelenting campaign for park safety since the death of his son.

A Park Service study done after Andy's death showed that wind currents frequently blew steam clouds over the Crested Pool boardwalk. Yet there were no guardrails and the only warning was a sign which read, "Stay on Walk," a warning that Andy observed.

Andy's father insists that had he known the thermal area was so dangerous he would have taken strict precautions of his own.

The Park Service concedes that park visitors often encounter hazards they do not understand which are not forcefully communicated to them. One of the better known park dangers is from wildlife, yet every year several hundred park visitors are injured in brushes with park animals, particularly bears.

The Park Service all but ended bear maulings in the Smokey Mountains by imposing heavy fines on anyone caught feeding or molesting the animals. When people stopped feeding the bears, the bears stopped approaching the people.

"We have not fully tried it in other parks," said John Hast, chief Park Service safety officer. "Our biggest problem is in Yellowstone and we've talked to the park people out there about it. We intend to bring about stricter enforcement in Yellowstone in particular and in other parks where we have the problem beginning this summer."

After Andy Hecht's death and injuries to several other persons in thermal pools last year, the Park Service erected guardrails around some pools in Yellowstone. Warning signs were changed from "Stay on Walk," to "Hazardous Thermal Area. Boiling water. Unstable ground. For your protection stay on designated trails." But most of Yellowstone's 10,000 thermal pools, mud pots and geysers remain unguarded. Scenic mountain overlooks with inadequate safety railings are danger areas at Yellowstone and elsewhere.

Along the Grand Canyon rim, some railings have gaps large enough for a child to crawl through.

"When you invite somebody to an overlook, I agree, we have a responsibility to make that overlook as safe as we possibly can," said Hast. "Unfortunately, in many cases where potential deadly problems exist, we don't know they exist."

The service doesn't know because Hast is its only full-time safety officer.

Among steps taken or contemplated to improve safety:

The Park Service has requested Congress

to authorize funds for six additional full-time safety officers, one for each park region. A House Appropriations subcommittee has approved the request and, in addition, has told the Park Service to take \$125,000 from some other section of its fiscal 1972 budget and apply the money to improving park safety.

A committee has been established to review publications and literature available to the public to determine, among other things, if they provide adequate warnings of park hazards.

Safety programs are to be reviewed and updated by the Park Service and the National Safety Council under a Park Service contract. In the interim, sightseers are crowding the national parks at a rate that is expected to push visitations this year to the 184 million mark, up nearly 17 million from 1970.

In 1959 the Park Service brochure for Yellowstone had strongly worded warnings that began on the cover and continued through the pamphlet, often illustrated by graphic photographs.

All that's left of those warnings in the 1971 brochures are a few mild sentences buried in hundreds of words of park publicity.

In other park brochures, now called mini-folders, there are no warnings. The hazards of Death Valley for example are not spelled out.

This summer the Park Service began printing a new brochure which clearly details park dangers, but only 2.5 million of them were produced, barely enough for nine parks to begin their heavy tourist season.

#### THE CONNECTICUT INTERN PROGRAM

### HON. LOWELL P. WEICKER, JR.

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, July 14, 1971

Mr. WEICKER. Mr. President, Representative STUART MCKINNEY, Representative ROBERT STEELE, and I, as I mentioned on Thursday, June 17, 1971, are currently sponsoring a unique intern program for young people throughout the State of Connecticut. For each of 9 weeks during the summer we are bringing about 50 students, all under the age of 21, to Washington to view all aspects of their Government first hand. I have asked each of the students to write a brief essay on their experiences. I have previously submitted two of these essays for the RECORD.

Mr. President, I again ask unanimous consent that two additional essays be submitted for the RECORD.

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

#### THE NEW ROLE OF TEENAGERS IN GOVERNMENT (By Mary N. Young of Roxbury, Conn.)

In the past, the role a teenager could play in politics was very well defined: one could lick stamps for campaign brochures, one could put bumper stickers on cars, or perhaps stand on street corners and hand out literature.

This paper is intended to discuss the new place for young people in politics and government. There has been a revolution in this area, and teenagers today have more and more opinions about more and more issues.

There are several reasons for this revolution. The most obvious reason is the increasing interest brought about by the acceptance of the 18 year old vote. Another reason is the Vietnam conflict, which has provided an

issue in which all Americans have a stake. Due to this issue, young people have become more interested in the prospect of having a part in the resolution of the war. Many are willing to work for a candidate who offers a reasonably sound hypothesis for this end.

This activity in campaigning and other political areas by younger people, has forced politicians to take a good look at their programs and attitudes concerning young people. The clientele of a member of Congress has become more diverse with the addition of 18 to 21 year olds, and he must begin to think about how he will help make these young people useful members of the populus and responsible voters as well.

The primary step in meeting this challenge is to properly educate the new voters. Leaders of our country must now create more opportunities for young people to learn about their government. The best way to learn about the government is to be there and watch it in action, or even better, to take part in it. Programs designed to achieve either of these ends are in existence today under the label of "internships". These programs provide valuable education which will be discussed presently.

As a participant in the Connecticut Intern Program, which consisted of one week of constant review of the government and its system of checks and balances, I found myself analyzing my role in government to a degree that I had never done before. The relationships between the representative and the constituents also became more clear, and helped in the understanding of the representative democracy that exists in the United States.

Through the internship program, one can see new hope for many young people. The government must continually be revised and modernized, and there is no reason why interested young people cannot take part in this process up to a certain point. As the younger generation matures, young people must be ready to assume the responsibilities of government.

Politicians must now sit up and take note of the new power that 18 to 21 year olds have with the vote. Young people tend to disregard politicians that deliberately duck questions and refuse comment. Such tactics seem to encroach upon the public's right to know. As a result, most politicians are quite open with young audiences.

The new trend of openly educating young people in government practices will probably prove to be of ultimate importance in the future. A better educated populus will undoubtedly elect better public officials that will do the governmental system some good.

I believe that an intern program must be viewed as a part of a much larger picture. It is only a small segment of the education that a person may choose to help himself become a more responsible citizen through better understanding of the government and its operation.

#### AN ESSAY

(By Diane McDonald of Fairfield, Conn.)

Today the United States is facing what looks like uncountable and unsolvable problems. Our seeming failure to resolve crisis after crisis has led in recent years to a sense of bewilderment and frustration among some Americans, especially the young. Many of these people have abandoned any conviction that our system of government is a viable institution. Unfortunately, such actions and attitudes themselves are helping to worsen a deteriorating situation.

For this reason, the week-long intern program sponsored by Senator Weicker and Congressmen Steele and McKinney, is crucially important and valuable. During the past week we have seen the federal government at work. The programs have given us a thorough and balanced feel for the business of Washington.

Thanks to this opportunity, I am con-

vinced that the aims and ideals of the men who began this experiment in 1789 remains relevant and viable today. Any feelings of cynicism, anger or contempt soon vanish with first-hand observation. What we usually regard as clichés about America, simply express a great truth: The United States of America has the ideals, and is attaining, free government equality and justice for all. America faces great trials today. Our institutions of government will not fail before them. Future generations should not look back on the history of this republic and conclude that our ideals were false, our hopes empty. Our attempt to build a free society, with a free government, has not been in vain.

That is the lesson of this week's experience.

#### ALCATRAZ—A SYMBOL FOR AMERICAN INDIANS

HON. JEROME R. WALDIE

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 14, 1971

Mr. WALDIE. Mr. Speaker, last month, the Federal Government removed the last 15 Indians from Alcatraz Island in the San Francisco Bay. For the past 2 years the island has been occupied by any number of Indians. This number fluctuated off and on, but numbers became meaningless. The "Rock" had become a symbol for the Indians, a symbol of unity and strength in their somewhat dreary existence. It was a rallying point, a place of pride in Indian heritage and ideals.

A San Francisco television station, KPIX, recently gave an editorial that dealt with the end result of this occupation. It illustrated the ultimate "victory" the Indians had gained by their stay at Alcatraz.

The hope generated by that occupation woke up a slumbering nation, once oblivious to the Indians' plight. Alcatraz will forever be a symbol of Indian pride. The Congress must not forget this courageous stand and continuing crusade. For these purposes, I enter the following:

#### ALCATRAZ VICTORY

Visitors to the Bay Area, looking toward Alcatraz, invariably ask, "Are there any Indians still there?" Many Bay Area residents became uncertain during the last few months. But the government reminded us all in a show of force and now the Indians have a fresh chance to influence public opinion and raise support.

One could argue that their take-over of the island was legal or illegal. Did they vandalize the island? Or were they forced to loot for their own survival when the government cut off their water, electricity and the free exchange of visitors?

But there is one thing which should not be forgotten. Before Alcatraz, the Indians were, for the most part an invisible people, divided among themselves, short on pride, unfamiliar with their own history and culture, and suffering from political and economic deprivation.

Alcatraz was a dramatic symbol. Since the take over, the Taos Indians have recovered the Blue Lakes, 45,000 acres of their sacred territory. Indians have started a new University, Deganawidah-Quetzalcoatl (Day-ga-na-wee'-da Ket'-sul-kwa-tul) University near Davis. And the Bureau of Indian Affairs has moved from managing Indians to serving them.

There are other concrete accomplishments, but more important is what Alcatraz did to promote pride and unity among the Indians.

They have a new desire to know their own history and culture, and a new experience at working together to bring about change.

If for no other reason, this made the symbolic occupation of Alcatraz, in spite of its painful moments and ignominious end, well worth the comparatively small cost.

#### GOVERNOR MILLIKEN ARGUES FOR REVENUE SHARING

HON. ROBERT P. GRIFFIN

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, July 14, 1971

Mr. GRIFFIN. Mr. President, recently, Michigan's Gov. William G. Milliken appeared before the Ways and Means Committee of the U.S. House of Representatives. He testified as Governor of Michigan and as a member of the National Governors' Conference panel on general revenue sharing.

As a Senate sponsor of the administration's proposal for general revenue sharing, I share Governor Milliken's strong view that this legislation is urgently needed.

In Michigan, State and urban resources have been strained almost to the breaking point. Between 1959 and 1969, State and local per capita general expenditures increased 114 percent.

Michigan has a 4-percent State sales tax and recently the Michigan Senate voted to increase the State income tax to 3.6 percent. Some Michigan cities levy local income taxes in addition to the State taxes.

As everyone knows, such flat rate taxes strike hardest at the poor and middle income groups. By distributing a share of the revenues raised by the Federal Government through its progressive income tax, needed relief could be provided to our distressed States and cities before it is too late.

I ask unanimous consent that the text of Governor Milliken's statement before the Committee be printed in the RECORD.

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

#### STATEMENT BY GOV. WILLIAM G. MILLIKEN

Mr. Chairman, members of the committee, I appreciate the opportunity to be part of the National Governors' Conference panel presenting testimony on general revenue sharing.

I come here not to plead for a financial hand-out for Michigan, nor to evade my responsibilities as Governor of Michigan, but to petition for a strengthening of the federal system and, in so doing, discharge a part of my responsibility as Governor of this major industrial state.

By preempting the graduated income tax, and therefore by far the major source of revenue in the nation, the federal government has left to state and local governments a combined base of sales, property and income taxes, the burdens of which fall disproportionately heavily on low and moderate income families.

In addition to the automatic growth superiority of the personal income tax, the National Government enjoys another revenue raising advantage—its freedom from the real fears of inter-local and inter-state tax competition. The more limited a government's jurisdictional tax reach, the more apprehensive a government becomes about its tax climate. Two forces will increase this sensi-

tivity to intergovernmental tax competition—the growing desires of state and local officials to promote economic development and the increasing interdependency of their economy.

There are those who say that the federal government has nothing to share except its own huge debt. I disagree. What the federal government has to share is the major tax base, namely, the graduated income tax, which in the case of Michigan takes nearly \$13.5 billion a year from our taxpayers and returns only about half that amount in federal aid. If the federal government would be willing to share the base, rather than the revenue that base produces, I would be completely willing, as Governor of this state, to propose additional state taxes to fill the vacuum created by the federal government in reducing the federal income tax. This, in fact, might ultimately be a much sounder procedure. But it would not solve the immediate crisis in that such combined federal and state action might consume two or three years. States and cities must have additional money now.

There are those who say that it is impossible, because of other commitments, for the federal government to return more of its revenue to the states. I would remind those persons that in cases of war and other extreme national emergencies, lack of money has never stood in the way of our accomplishing what must be done. I submit to you that this nation faces a crisis of monumental proportions in fighting for the survival of its states and cities. To meet this crisis also will require a total commitment. Revenue sharing could be as significant for this country as the Marshall Plan was for Europe.

You have had ample evidence from Detroit Mayor Roman Gribbs and other mayors as to the despair of our cities. It is not merely a question of revitalizing or improving the cities. It is a question of saving them, of saving them from the decay and despair that are making them death mounds of our civilization instead of the monuments they should be.

There are those who say the states are not doing enough to meet their responsibilities and therefore do not deserve federal help. That is not true in Michigan.

From fiscal 1959 to 1969, Michigan state and local per capita general expenditures increased from \$288 to \$615 in current dollars for an overall increase of 114%.

To balance our next budget and to grant necessary relief from skyrocketing property taxes, we will have to more than double our present state income tax. We already have a 4% sales tax.

In addition, we have instituted nearly three-fourths of a billion dollars in bonding programs to finance pollution control, housing construction, and recreation facilities throughout the state including our big cities.

I challenge anyone to say that Michigan has not been meeting its responsibilities or that we can go much further without some assistance from the federal income tax base.

Just as the President was the first to submit a revenue sharing proposal, this could be the first Congress truly to help meet the financial crises facing state and local governments. This could be the first Congress to help meet these crises through development and adoption of a revenue sharing plan. Details of that plan, obviously, will have to be worked out by the Congress. But I would respectfully suggest that whatever plan finally is adopted should meet these criteria:

To the extent possible, any distribution formula should be based on need, population, and upon relative tax effort as a basic expression of that need.

Relative tax effort has a high degree of validity as a measure of need since it is highly improbable that state or local governments would make a tax effort greater than the average for all such units unless the de-

mand or need for public services was above the norm, and/or their ability to raise revenues was below the norm.

In Michigan, where state-local revenue sharing is a well-established principle, I have expanded this concept through a specific proposal for an innovative approach for sharing state revenue with local units. The basic criterion in my formula is tax effort—not revenue raising capability.

You, Mr. Chairman, this committee, and the Congress as a whole, are being asked to decide whether revenue sharing is in the best national interest. I am convinced that it is in the best national interest, and that we need a reordering of our priorities with more emphasis on trying to make our federal system work. I believe the future of our states, of our cities, and of our federal system is at stake.

The United States at long last is removing itself from a war that has been consuming our resources abroad at a rate far greater than would be expended at home by general revenue sharing. What better time to escalate the war against poverty, pollution, crime and other enemies that are within this country. *This is the war we must win.*

Personally, I am not interested in which leader or which political party gets the credit for whatever federal revenue sharing plan ultimately is adopted. If the plan is right, there will be enough credit to go around. If it is wrong, or if there is no plan, the burden of that failure will fall deservedly on all of us.

#### FEDERAL CHILD CONTROL

### HON. JOHN G. SCHMITZ

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 14, 1971

Mr. SCHMITZ. Mr. Speaker, from the time of Plato some have argued that the community rather than parents ought to assume responsibility for children. This idea, resisted strongly in history, assumed frightening dimensions when the state became centralized and more and more powerful. For it has become increasingly possible for a government to root out the basic unit of society—the family—and replace it with state control. A study of totalitarianism in today's world clearly illustrates the effectiveness of such destruction of the basic family unit.

We as a free people must constantly be on guard against such unwarranted excursions by government into this private family province. It is for this reason that we must view with alarm recent developments and trends in the Congress. One such item is contained in the President's "welfare reform" program which recently passed the House and is pending in the Senate Finance Committee. This particular piece of the package carries a \$750,000,000 price tag for the first year and gives the Federal Labor and HEW Secretaries power to arrange free day care for children of welfare recipients involved in Government training and rehabilitation projects. This free care includes supervision as well as health, vocational and other supportive social services. \$50,000,000 alone is proposed for a nationwide governmental system of child care facilities.

But from this relatively small base, a program of comprehensive national child

development and advocacy measures is contemplated—these programs would cover not only the poor, but virtually all of the Nation's children. They would provide—in addition to day care—comprehensive health, educational, food, and social services for all preschool and schoolage children at an estimated initial cost of \$4 to \$5 billion.

Over 100 bills have already been introduced to this end. One, H.R. 6748, was approved by a House Education Subcommittee recently. The purpose of this bill, as stated in the preamble, is to "establish the legislative framework for the future expansion of such programs to provide universally available child development services."

Such development services would include child care centers, comprehensive physical and mental health services, education and nutrition programs and family consultation. HEW's new Office of Child Development would be in charge of coordinating this Federal child activity.

Similar legislation is being pushed in the Senate by a bipartisan group of liberals headed by Senator WALTER MONDALE. The Senate versions contain provisions for a National Center for Child Development which would have authority to encourage and implement experimental programs with the children themselves as the subjects of the experimentation.

The Senate is also considering a National Child Advocacy System proposed by Senator ABRAHAM RIBICOFF. This system, which would explore the feasibility of demonstration projects is similar to provisions in the House legislation designed to create officially authorized and funded pressure groups at all levels of government to lobby for and secure expanded child care programs and legal rights for children.

Oppressive government is not instantly empowered but results from accumulative programs which have sounded like boons to mankind. In the political chess game today, it is often difficult to oppose individual legislative moves unless each is seen in relation to a common end—totalitarian checkmate.

#### FLAG DAY, 1971

### HON. J. CALEB BOGGS

OF DELAWARE

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, July 14, 1971

Mr. BOGGS. Mr. President, recently there came across my desk a copy of a remarkable address by Mr. John J. Petras of Wilmington, Delaware. The address was delivered on Flag Day at ceremonies held by Wilmington Lodge No. 307, Benevolent and Protective Order of Elks.

Mr. Petras, in his remarks, recalls words spoken by former Secretary of the Interior Franklin Knight Lane on a Flag Day 57 years ago.

Mr. President, in the interest of brevity, I ask unanimous consent that portions of Mr. Petras' address be printed at this point in the Record.

There being no objection, the excerpts

were ordered to be printed in the RECORD as follows:

Today we celebrate Flag Day, 1971. Please bear with me and imagine that the Flag is speaking:

"I am not the flag; not at all. I am but its shadow. I am whatever you make me, nothing more. I am your belief in yourself, your dream of what a People may become. I live a changing life, a life of moods and passions, of heartbreaks and tired muscles.

"Sometimes I am strong with pride, when men do an honest work. Sometimes I droop, for then purpose has gone from me. Sometimes I am loud, garish, and full of that ego that blasts judgment. But always, I am all that you hope to be, and have the courage to try for.

"I am song and fear, struggle and panic, and ennobling hope. I am the day's work of the weakest man, and the largest dream of the most daring. I am the clutch of an idea, and the reasoned purpose of resolution. I am no more than what you believe me to be and I am all that you believe I can be. I am what you make me, nothing more.

"I swing before your eyes as a bright gleam of color, a symbol of yourself, the pictured suggestion of that big thing which makes this nation. My stars and my stripes are your dreams and your labors. They are bright with cheer, brilliant with courage, firm with faith, because you have made them so out of your hearts. For you are the makers of the flag and it is well that you glory in the making."

These words, regarding the flag speaking, are not mine, but the words of that great patriot Franklin Knight Lane, Secretary of the Interior, in a Flag Day address given in 1914. They are applicable today, as they were then.

The Flag is a multitude of faces, backgrounds, races and religions. It is the President in the White House, the kid in the slums.

Patriotism demands a great deal from Americans. It is in essence practicing the principles which have set our Nation on a firm course. Without a renewed commitment, our society cannot hope to withstand the assaults by those who have set out to destroy our way of life. That is why every American must be willing to do his share. I am. Are you?

#### HUD APPROPRIATIONS FOR FISCAL YEAR 1972

### HON. LOUISE DAY HICKS

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 14, 1971

Mrs. HICKS of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, I would like to share with my colleagues some views concerning the Housing and Urban Development appropriations for fiscal year 1972, which was recently passed by the House:

#### HOUSING AND URBAN DEVELOPMENT APPROPRIATIONS FOR FISCAL YEAR 1972

A praiseworthy balance of national concerns is reflected in the fiscal year 1972 appropriations for H.U.D. programs contained in H.R. 9382 as it was passed by the House of Representatives. The provisions of that bill lend substantial support for programs to meet the housing and urban needs of the country. At the same time, the careful pruning of some Administration program requests and supplementation of others by the Appropriations Committee produced a bill which avoids an excessive and inflationary increase in total expenditures. A great deal of credit is due to Mr. Boland, the Chairman, and the

members of the Subcommittee having jurisdiction over HUD appropriations and to Mr. Mahon and all the members of the Appropriation Committee for the excellent execution of their responsibilities. The House as a whole is to be congratulated on its passage of the bill.

The total appropriations of over \$3.2 billion contained in the bill plus \$775 million that had been held in reserve by the Office of Management and Budget in fiscal year 1971 should make available a total of over \$3,981,000,000 for housing and urban development activities in fiscal year 1972. That amount is some \$940 million more than was appropriated for comparable activities in fiscal 1971.

Extensive and well considered appropriation measures were adopted to support the provision of sorely needed housing. Limitations on authorizations for contractual annual payments for three basic assisted housing programs—rent supplements, Section 235 and Section 236—were increased in an aggregate amount of \$385 million. The amounts of increased contract authorization in H.R. 9382 are modestly below the amounts requested in the President's budget, but equal to the 1971 increase for rent supplement housing and more than 20 percent above the 1971 level for the Section 235 and Section 236 housing programs.

For college housing debt service grants, new contractual authority of \$9.3 million was provided the same as in 1971.

Increases in annual contract authority for public housing are provided in basic legislation. However, funds for the annual contributions payments for low income tenants under contract authorities previously provided by the Congress, had to be appropriated, along with funds for the Section 235 and 236 housing interest subsidy and rent supplement payments due under previously authorized contracts. The total amount of such housing assistance payments approved by the House of Representatives in H.R. 9382 for fiscal year 1972 was \$1,373,000,000. Comparable amounts will be larger in future years, providing tangible evidence of the Nation's determination to meet its national housing needs.

The bill also, for the first time provided funding of \$3 million for counseling services for families of low- and moderate-income who would become homeowners or who live in public housing. Such counseling is needed to help those families become self-sufficient and to help assure the soundness of the housing programs.

Technical assistance and seed money loans for non-profit organization sponsors of low- and moderate-income housing would also be supported through a \$3 million appropriation for that purpose. This is a very worthwhile investment to aid many sincere and hard working organizations in achieving successful completion of their housing projects.

A significant step toward greater preservation of the existing housing inventory was also taken through an appropriation of \$90 million to the rehabilitation loan program authorized under Section 312 of the urban renewal statute. This appropriation was \$50 million more than had been requested. It will enable thousands of property owners in urban renewal and code enforcement areas to obtain loans at favorable terms to finance rehabilitation of their structures. These loans will represent well-warranted investments of public funds.

The largest single HUD program appropriation in H.R. 9382 is for urban renewal. An appropriation of \$1.2 billion, plus the use of \$200 million from 1971 that was proposed in the budget, would make available a total of \$1.4 billion for commitments for urban renewal programs in fiscal year 1972. The need for renewal of our cities is one of the highest national priorities and substantial Federal support is justified.

Additional aid to local governments in combating blight and decay was provided through an appropriation for the Model Cities program. There had been no budget request for this program, since none of the \$575 million of the 1971 appropriation was to be used until fiscal 1972, and it was contemplated that Model Cities activities would be funded under proposed special revenue sharing. Pending the enactment of special revenue sharing for community development, however, the full \$575 million from fiscal year 1971, plus \$150 million appropriated in H.R. 9382, should make available \$725 million for continued support of model cities activities in fiscal year 1972. Cities entered into the Model Cities program with the understanding that it would be a planned five year undertaking. Funds to continue the local Model Cities program are essential to fulfill the promise of the basic legislation to the cities and the promise to the residents of the model cities neighborhoods which has been raised by the initiation of the programs.

Another auxiliary program to help make cities more livable was funded in the full amount requested through a \$40 million appropriation for grants to local public bodies to assist in financing multipurpose neighborhood service facilities.

A small but important appropriation to help improve the administration of our urban programs was made to continue funding the community development training and urban fellowship program.

Better utilization of our valuable land resources will also be enhanced by adequate appropriations for comprehensive planning grants and for open space land acquisition grants.

A more far reaching program of better land utilization, that was expanded in 1969, was given support through an appropriation for new community assistance supplementary grants. The bill contains \$5 million for six new community assistance grants. New community development needs and deserves all the support and encouragement that we can give it, in order to provide suitable living environments for our growing population.

Two other very significant activities will be funded through appropriations contained in H.R. 9382. One is the research and technology program of HUD which supports Operation Breakthrough, Secretary Romney's program to develop lower cost housing, as well as various other research and demonstration activities. The other is for administration of fair housing and related equal opportunity activities that are the statutory responsibility of the Secretary.

This brief review can only summarize the potential benefits to be derived from the HUD program appropriations contained in H.R. 9382. It can serve to establish for the record, however, that the House of Representatives has provided support for a well balanced and comprehensive program of housing and urban development activity in fiscal year 1972.

#### VOICE OF AMERICA SHOULD BROADCAST PROGRAMS IN YIDDISH TO THE JEWS OF THE SOVIET UNION

### HON. RICHARD S. SCHWEIKER

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, July 14, 1971

Mr. SCHWEIKER. Mr. President, recently I was pleased to join with my two able colleagues, the Senator from New Jersey (Mr. CASE) and the Senator from California (Mr. TUNNEY), in cosponsoring Senate Resolution 145. The resolution

urges the Voice of America to begin broadcasting programs in the Yiddish language to the Soviet Union, in order to recognize the cultural heritage of the more than 3 million Soviet Jews and to display our Nation's support for the Soviet Jewish struggle for freedom.

Mr. President, for several years, first as a member of the House and more recently as a Senator, I have been calling upon the Soviet authorities to afford full religious and cultural rights to the Soviet Jewish community. I have urged that the Soviet Union not only assure these rights to Jews within the Soviet Union but also permit those Jews who wish to emigrate to do so.

I am pleased, therefore, to join in this resolution, which points to something quite practical and wholly within the control of our own Government—the instituting of Yiddish programming on the Voice of America as a morale booster for the courageous Soviet Jews who, at this moment, are struggling for their freedom. Many are awaiting trial or have already been convicted for acts related to their status as Jews in the Soviet Union. Others are waiting literally for several years for permission to emigrate to Israel and other nations where they could live a fuller Jewish life. I feel that our Voice of America should begin reaching these people in Yiddish as the very least that our Nation could do for these brave, unfortunate people at this period in their history.

Moreover, I understand that there is precedent for what we are asking the Voice of America to do, since the Voice of America already broadcasts in the native tongues of other communities within the Soviet Union. These include the Latvians—1.9 million persons, the Estonians—1.3 million, the Lithuanians—2.7 million, the Georgians—2.8 million, and the Armenians—2.9 million. The Jewish community in the Soviet Union, numbering over 3 million, should certainly then be entitled to similar recognition, especially when, as in the past, the Soviet authorities are singling out the Jewish community for persecution.

Mr. President, last month I visited Israel and because of my long interest in the Soviet Jewish issue, I made a point of meeting with some newly arrived immigrants from the Soviet Union. My meeting with these three courageous persons has only bolstered by willingness to try to help the Soviet Jews in their cause. Visiting them at their quarters at a Jerusalem center for new immigrants, I listened to their stories, and now I would like to share them with Senators.

Alexander Rabinovich, 33, formerly a dentist in Riga, Latvia, had just come to Israel with his parents, his wife and his two small children, in search of a life, he told me, where Jews could perpetuate their own culture. His children, he told me, had frequently been taunted by the schoolmates with the derogatory Russian term for Jew, "zhid."

Clara Nachimofsky, also of Riga, is the mother of two sons, one 25, and the other 15. She and her husband waited 9 years for permission to leave the Soviet Union. When the permission finally came through, they were allowed to take out

their younger son, but their older one was kept behind and is still there.

Rachel Rabinovich, 25, from Vilna—no relation to Alexander—is one of the young Jewish activists who staged a sit-in last March at the Supreme Soviet. She told me she was sure this was what caused the authorities to let her come to Israel, although the next group of demonstrators to try that approach were all placed under arrest.

Looking back on that meeting with these three, I particularly recall what Rachel told me about the indomitable spirit of Jewish youth in the Soviet Union:

The Jewish youth in Russia now want to get out. The activities are not going to stop. They are not going to stop until they all come here, to Israel.

Mr. President, I strongly support our Nation's taking a firm stand on behalf of the Soviet Jewish struggle for freedom, and Yiddish programming by the Voice of America would be a significant step toward that objective.

#### INFORMATION AND NATIONAL SECURITY

### HON. JOHN G. SCHMITZ

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 14, 1971

Mr. SCHMITZ. Mr. Speaker, George Washington, declining the request of the House of Representatives for papers leading up to the negotiation of the Jay Treaty, said:

The nature of foreign negotiations requires caution, and their success most often depends on secrecy; and even when brought to a conclusion a full disclosure of all the measures, demands, or eventual concessions which may have been proposed or contemplated would be extremely impolitic; for this might have a pernicious influence on future negotiations, or produce immediate inconveniences, perhaps danger and mischief, in relation to other powers.

There is an old saying to the effect that knowledge is power. In truth knowledge forms the base of power. Power is simply the ability to effect change, and bringing about a desired change is usually based on correct knowledge of that which one desires to alter.

For thousands of years the secrets of nature were hidden to man and he lived in a world of technological poverty. Control of the external material world came into being when man began to acquire accurate knowledge of factors theretofore hidden, of secrets kept by nature. Man learned how to effectively interfere in the course of material events when science revealed to him the actual relationship existing between things.

Knowledge of actual relationships, as opposed to ignorance of these relationships, gives man the power to influence the course of events. This applies no less to the world of men and nations than it does to the strictly non-human world of things.

It is necessary to understand this when examining the question of govern-

mental classification of certain information. Outside the Government of the United States lies more than just the citizenry of our Nation. There lie foreign powers led by men whose hostile intent, disregard for basic morality, and proclivity for violent action is well known. To increase their ability to interfere in our affairs is not in the best interest of our citizens. Therefore the Government limits the distribution of certain types of information through various classification procedures when it is determined that the possession of this information would enhance the ability of hostile nations to adversely influence our national interest.

Although the power to classify has been abused—and what power has not—the basic rationale behind limiting access to certain types of information is unassailable. Thus, it is disturbing to see that efforts are being made to utilize the furor engendered by the New York Times' publication of highly classified stolen documents to strike further blows at our system of safeguarding information—information of inestimable value to nations whose object is the destruction of the United States and other free world nations.

For example, there was legislation recently introduced in the House of Representatives which called upon the Central Intelligence Agency, the Department of Defense and the Department of State to furnish "full and complete information" not only on the exact future plans for the deployment of U.S. Armed Forces in South Vietnam but also for a full analysis of South Vietnam's military capability. Information of this sort is, of course, the primary objective of enemy intelligence operations.

While the need to safeguard defense-related information is obvious—and accepted by most people, it is also necessary, as George Washington pointed out, to limit access to some of the information concerning our relations with foreign nations. If confidential communications between ourselves and our allies begin to appear regularly in our Nation's dailies we will not long have frank exchanges of information with our allies, nor, for that matter, will we for long have any allies.

The importance of maintaining working alliance systems at this point in time was brought home to me at a recent breakfast meeting with Secretary of Defense Laird. I asked the Secretary whether he would agree with the thrust of the late Congressman L. Mendel Rivers' great speech concerning the Soviet threat which he gave shortly before his untimely death—see Newsletter 70-14. Congressman Rivers, then chairman of the House Armed Services Committee, had stressed the fact that the U.S. was now second to the Soviet Union in overall military strength. Secretary Laird replied that this was probably true if we were to consider the United States by itself; but, when we also consider the strength of our allies, the free world is still in first place.

Regardless of the dubious merits of basing our own force posture relative to the Soviet Union on the totality of free world strength, it is apparent that our

allies add substantially to the total military might ranged against the Soviet Union and enhance the strength of the United States both directly and indirectly. If, through the revelation of diplomatic information considered sensitive by allied governments, we were to lose, say, our Polaris-Poseidon bases in Spain and Scotland, it is obvious that our military position would be severely weakened.

Limiting access to some types of information in the interests of national security is absolutely necessary. What our enemies do know can definitely hurt us.

#### SOUTH DAKOTA STATE CAPITOL

### HON. JAMES ABOUREZK

OF SOUTH DAKOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 14, 1971

Mr. ABOUREZK. Mr. Speaker, there are many tourist attractions that would recommend my State of South Dakota to the person who is planning a vacation. Most of these are well known. Mount Rushmore, the Black Hills, the Great Lakes of South Dakota, the Badlands, the Corn Palace, all have been seen and enjoyed by millions of visitors over the years. Less well known to the tourist, but of vital importance to the citizens of South Dakota, is the State Capitol in Pierre. It was a great pleasure to me, both as an attorney and a citizen of South Dakota, that the July issue of the American Bar Association Journal featured as its cover story an article on the South Dakota State Capitol. Since this article not only relates the interesting history of that structure but also vividly describes the visual pleasures of the building, I would call it to your attention:

[From American Bar Association Journal, July 1971]

#### A PRAIRIE STATE CAPITOL

(By Roy E. Willy)

South Dakota was admitted to the Union as a state by an enabling act adopted on February 22, 1889. In this act, at least 82,000 acres of public lands, consisting of one tract of 50,000 acres and a second of 50 full sections, were set apart for the construction, equipment and maintenance of public buildings at the state capital. The wealth of public lands then available for settlement is evidenced by the fact that in Section 17 of the enabling act, a total of 500,000 acres was given to the state for educational institutions and public buildings. This was in addition to the two sections from each Congressional township that were set aside for public school purposes. As these lands were sold by the state, the proceeds were to go into trust funds for the specific purposes as named in the act.

In the state constitution, which became effective in 1889, provision was made that an election should be held for the selection of a temporary state capital. At this election Pierre was selected as the temporary capital and confirmed as a permanent capital in 1890. In 1904 a legislative act was passed and submitted to the vote of the people to change the state capital from Pierre to Mitchell. After a very spirited election fight, in which the two main railroad lines in the state, one serving Pierre and the other Mitchell, took a most active part, Pierre received a substan-

tial majority of the vote and was continued as the capital city.

As a means of ensuring that the selection of Pierre as a permanent site would remain undisturbed, it was decided that the state should also have a permanent capital, and to achieve this result a capitol commission was created with power to select an architect and construct a building. The magnitude of this undertaking is evidenced by the fact that the total population of the state in 1910 was 585,888, the population of Pierre was only 3,656, and the population of the county in which Pierre is situated was only 6,271.

The effort to build the capitol was marked by a series of legal battles, including an effort by local contractors to force the use of native granite in its construction. Even after the contract was let, an injunction was secured against it because it did not provide for the use of Sioux Falls granite. Ultimately, however, these legal difficulties were overcome.

The original legislative act for the building of the capitol provided for an expenditure of not to exceed \$1,000,000. A second act reduced the amount to \$600,000. The actual contract was awarded in 1907. A capitol commission was created by the legislature, whose members received compensation of \$5 a day. While in that period \$5 in South Dakota was regarded as a substantial daily compensation, it wasn't considered large enough to influence the members of the commission to delay the execution of their task unduly. The commission traveled to Montana with a Minneapolis architect who had prepared the plans for the Montana state capitol, which had been constructed a few years previously. The commission was impressed by the facts that the structure had been built for a relatively modest fund and that by using the Montana plans it could probably save about \$10,000 in architect fees. These plans were ultimately selected, although revised to provide for a building some forty-one feet longer with a larger and more impressive dome.

The capitol was constructed on an eminence, ensuring that it would remain as a prominent landmark. It is 300 feet long and 100 feet wide in its center portion, with a dome 160 feet in height. The first floor construction is brown sandstone, and above that is Bedford limestone. The main contract for the completed structure was \$540,525, an amount which would probably be insufficient today to pay for the land on which the capitol buildings and grounds are now located. The building was dedicated by the grand master of Masons for South Dakota, who laid the cornerstone in June 1908, and the completed structure was delivered to the state in June 1910, without a bond issue and with no unpaid debt.

The rotunda is a picture in itself. The general color effect is blue, ivory, tan and gold, harmonizing with the maple wainscot and the columns. Filling the circular panels on the dome are figures of a heroic type on a solid, Roman-gold background, the color blending with the general decorative scheme. Throughout the building are various murals depicting the early history and settlement of South Dakota. The murals represent the family, mining, agriculture and stock raising. The lunette at the head of the massive, marble main stairway is intended to represent the beginning of commerce in the Northwest. A mural in the governor's reception room, painted by Edward H. Lashfield, a South Dakota product, deals with conflict among the trappers, the settlers and the Indians. The Louisiana Purchase is the subject of a mural painted by Charles Holloway and found in the Senate room. The conflict with the Indians is the subject of another painting by Holloway in the House chamber.

The grounds of the building contain a lake, which over the years has become a favorite haven for migratory waterfowl. In addition to swans, there is a permanent pop-

ulation of Canadian geese and mallard ducks which nest and make it their home the year around. The capitol grounds include the governor's mansion and spacious lawns.

The building, which is now some sixty years old, is well preserved and has been kept in excellent condition. Much of its original beauty has been preserved by the fact that as the state has grown in population and wealth, the office buildings necessary to house the expanding bureaus and commissions have been erected on separate but adjacent grounds to the south and do not in any way interfere or form a part of the main capitol grounds.

The building is very much of a tourist attraction and draws thousands of visitors who annually pass through Pierre on their way to the Black Hills and the national parks. It serves as a monument to the activities of a group of public-spirited citizens who, at the time South Dakota was in a pioneer stage, used excellent vision and foresight with limited funds.

#### KENNEDY WILL NEED A BETTER ANSWER

### HON. ROBERT H. MICHEL

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 14, 1971

Mr. MICHEL. Mr. Speaker, I note that two more Democratic Members of Congress, one from the House and one from the Senate, are apparently giving serious consideration to announcing their candidacy for the Presidency next year and if they do, we are going to have to assign numbers to all of them and issue a program so that we cannot keep them straight in our minds.

There has been an abundance of stories and reports about those who have long been considered as candidates for the Democratic nomination and in that regard, I noticed an editorial in today's Chicago Tribune which should be of interest to the voters around the country if the gentleman in question does finally win the nomination. He is apparently having some difficulty in deciding what his position should be with respect to what should and should not be made available to the public and, as the editorial points out, he will have to come up with a better response than he has furnished to date.

I ask that the article be placed in the RECORD at this point:

[From the Chicago Tribune, July 14, 1971]

#### KENNEDY WILL NEED A BETTER ANSWER

The latest Harris poll shows Sen. Edward M. Kennedy [D., Mass.] closing the gap on President Nixon in a prospective 1972 race for the Presidency. The poll comes on the heels of another Harris survey indicating Mr. Kennedy moving into first place among Democrats as the preferred choice for the party's 1972 Presidential nomination.

That eager noncandidate for the Presidency, Sen. Edward M. Kennedy of Massachusetts, continues to display a curious posture on what secret documents should be made public. When disclosures of the Pentagon Papers began to leak out, he was in the forefront in championing the cause of the public's right to know. He suggested that those aspects of the Viet Nam war dealing with the conduct of his late brothers, John and Robert, be published, even if unfavorable to them.

When Sen. Kennedy endorsed publication of the study in a Senate office building meeting, a questioner had the audacity to ask why he shouldn't permit the Massachusetts grand jury report on the Chappaquiddick incident to be made public. A stunned Kennedy stalked out of the room without offering a reply.

If Mr. Kennedy indeed does become a Presidential contender, he will have to come up with a better response than that.

#### THE PEACH KING OF THE UNITED STATES PASSES

### HON. TOM S. GETTYS

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 14, 1971

Mr. GETTYS. Mr. Speaker, it saddens me to report to my colleagues, particularly in the South Carolina and New Jersey delegations, the death of a dear friend and a great American, Mr. Vincent G. Caggiano, Sr.

Mr. Caggiano migrated from his native Italy in 1896. He located near Bridgeton, N.J., where he found employment with fruit and vegetable producers. His energies and ambitions to become a successful fruit farmer were soon to start him on the road to becoming the "Peach King" of his adopted country.

In 1928 Mr. Caggiano and his eldest son, the late Anthony Caggiano, founded the Sunny Slope Farms of New Jersey. The Caggianos were so successful in their New Jersey operation that they expanded their operations to Gaffney, S.C., where Sunny Slope Farms of South Carolina is headquartered.

Vincent Caggiano during his 90-plus years was an outstanding individual in all human respects and was devoted to our great country, as well as being considered a genius in his chosen profession of farming and his bent for producing better fruits and vegetables for the American market basket. He was a keen observer of horticulture research and worked closely with the experimental stations in South Carolina and New Jersey. When Ezra Taft Benson was Secretary of Agriculture, he acclaimed Mr. Caggiano as the "Peach King of the United States," a trademark which has stuck with Mr. Caggiano to this day.

Not unlike other farmers who suffer from the elements, late frosts, lack of rainfall or too much rainfall, hail and pests, Mr. Caggiano and his sons built an organization which will forever stand as a symbol of our great American farmers and their good business judgment.

Vincent and his sons put into effect, a profit-sharing plan for his year-round employees. Many of these employees have been with the Sunny Slope Farms for over 25 years. Because living conditions for migrant workers were always a concern to the senior Caggiano, he built and maintained good living quarters for them. Recently a swimming pool for their convenience and enjoyment was installed.

Vincent Caggiano was admired and looked up to by horticulturists as a man who was anxious to learn, always a good listener as well as a master planner in

his chosen field. From a meager start in New Jersey in 1928, the Sunny Slope operation in New Jersey now operated by Alfred Caggiano has over 1,000 acres, while Louis Caggiano heads the operation at Gaffney, S.C., which encompasses some 3,000 acres. The annual approximate production of the combined operations now produces about one-half million bushels of marketable fruit as against an estimate of 5,000 bushels in the 1940's. Over 500 people are employed in the seasonable operation.

Mr. Caggiano was the recipient of numerous awards in horticulture and financially supported many experiments in the belief that they might help produce a better way of life for all through good food.

At the age of 91, Mr. Caggiano passed away Wednesday, June 30 in Bridgeton, N.J. He was a member of the Knights of St. Gregory of Sacred Heart Church of Gaffney, S.C. He was the founder and builder of the church. He is survived by a daughter, Mrs. George Ruggero of Hammonton, N.J.; four sons, Dominic, Louis, and Vincent, Jr., of Gaffney, S.C., and Alfred of Bridgeton, N.J.; 21 grandchildren and 11 great-grandchildren.

#### NETWORK OF VOCATIONAL SCHOOLS

### HON. ROMAN C. PUCINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 14, 1971

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, one of my major concerns as chairman of the General Subcommittee on Education is to expand and improve America's system of vocational education.

With more than 80 percent of today's jobs requiring some vocational skills and only one student in eight receiving any sort of vocational training while in school, we must prepare young people for some skills with which to confront the world of work beyond the classroom.

In this regard, I was pleased to note the work of an exceptional man, Mr. James R. Clemens, president of the Williamson Free School of Mechanical Trades in Philadelphia. Mr. Clemens believes wholeheartedly that training young people to do necessary and important jobs adds immeasurably to their own sense of their place in our society.

The Christian Science Monitor recently described a little of Mr. Clemens' successes in vocational educational and I include the article here today with the hope that my colleagues will find it of interest:

#### NATIONWIDE NET OF RESIDENTIAL VOCATIONAL SCHOOLS PROPOSED

(By Kenneth G. Gehret)

MEDIA, PA.—It cost \$6,000 a year to keep a boy in reform school: we maintain and educate youths here for less than half of that."

James R. Clemens, president of the Williamson Free School of Mechanical Trades here in suburban Philadelphia, is saying in effect: Wouldn't it be better to put public money into skills training and save on reformatory and other social costs?

Himself a graduate of Williamson, Mr. Clemens is convinced that the downgrading

of vocational education is detrimental to youths and to society.

"As long as our nation does not meet the basic needs of 50 percent of our young people [those not entering college,] we only postpone real solutions and increase the staggering costs of government."

Mr. Clemens points to the incongruity of the public schools providing vocational training for only 1 student in 8 at a time when nearly 80 percent of all jobs in the United States require some technical skills.

To meet the problem head on, he advocates a nationwide system of live-in vocational schools, modeled after Williamson. He sees this arrangement as educationally desirable and as an antidote for a variety of social ills.

Mr. Clemens claims that 100 such residential complexes, two in each state, could be built and endowed for \$20 million each in government funds, then be self-supporting in their operation.

The Williamson school is not itself entirely self-supporting, though close to it. The state of Pennsylvania contributed about 10 percent of the institution's \$490,000 budget last year. The figure has now dropped to 5 percent.

Too, the school has donors, though income from this source is not large. And some return is realized from founder Isaloh V. Williamson's trust.

But the school stays solvent largely on the self-help principle which is inherent in its philosophy and to which Mr. Clemens wholeheartedly subscribes. The school, he says, proves what can be done in this direction, not only to cut expenses but also to educate and help develop "the whole man."

To make his point, he ticks off the making of steam, generating electricity, and erecting buildings as examples of local do-it-yourself projects. At present, two faculty houses are under construction, dormitories are being renovated, and a laundry is being converted into a systems lab.

Students are involved in much of this, as part of their class activity. They also work on the grounds and in the kitchen. In fact, with student help, five paid workers can handle the culinary department, which serves 200 youths plus staff.

Similarly, the school manages with only one regular maintenance man and one groundsman on its 240 acres, 40 percent of which is campus. Eight dorms, four shops, a science building, the administration and classroom building, faculty residences, and incidental structures comprise the facilities. Faculty number 14 full time and 4 part time.

Aiming at a well rounded education, Williamson divides the day's schedule between trade classes and academic subjects (20 periods a week on each of these groupings) during the first two years of study. In the third and final year, the entire curriculum becomes vocation oriented, consisting largely of technical theory and shop for about half of the students or of a particular technology (construction, electric power, electronics, etc.) for the other more advanced half.

The school has no difficulty filling available places, Mr. Clemens reports. "We can admit only about one-fourth of those who apply. All have an equal opportunity, except we do give preference to the needy."

It also helps to have a good high-school average and to be known as a "solid citizen, one who is not in trouble," the president acknowledges.

Although high-school graduation is desirable, it is not absolutely essential for admission. Completion of 11th grade is required. The age restriction is 16 to 18.

Applicants must pass tests in math, verbal reasoning, and mechanical aptitudes.

Students live on campus for 10 months of the year, without any charges whatsoever during the three-year training period.

The school offers excellent placement serv-

ice through its strong contacts with employers in the area.

There's a decided point of view behind the Williamson program. You might call it a philosophy of education.

"We're teaching more than knowledge and skills," explains Mr. Clemens. "We're teaching self-discipline and responsibility. 'Fair but firm' is our approach.

"We don't have much difficulty with students. But when a situation arises, I tell the student: 'Tell the truth, or I'll throw the book at you.'

"Discipline cases go before a three-faculty tribunal. Punishment for guilty parties is menial chores on Saturday afternoons or restriction to the grounds.

"The goal of our program is discipline, integrity, and an education to make a living," Mr. Clemens summarizes. "The public schools have gotten away from these basic principles. The time has come for them to reach pupils on this basis."

The school is rooted in this tradition. Founder Williamson is quoted as saying of its purpose: "to help men use their own energy and intelligence, and aid them in developing self-reliance and self-respect."

Mr. Williamson, a Philadelphia businessman-philanthropist of the late 19th century, decided to establish a free trade school when he saw a group of unemployed and untrained youths loitering on a street corner. The result was a \$5-million deed of trust, signed in 1888.

Mr. Williamson's friend and fellow Quaker John Wanamaker thought so well of the idea that he, too, wanted to set up a school of this type. That did not happen, however. But the trustees of his estate have erected on the edge of the Williamson school property five instructional buildings for the full and exclusive use of students there.

#### CBS CONTEMPT CITATION

### HON. WILLIAM S. BROOMFIELD

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 14, 1971

Mr. BROOMFIELD. Mr. Speaker, I believe that yesterday's vote on the CBS Contempt Citation was a major test of our ability to preserve, in the context of a modern technological society, those key freedoms guaranteed by the U.S. Constitution. I might say at the onset that I am encouraged by the outcome of that test.

The technology which created the broadcast media has done, I am sure, great service to the American public, but it has, in the process, presented us with certain difficult and critical questions of judgment. By its very nature, after all, the broadcast media, unlike the newspaper industry, is accessible to only a limited number of operators. Who shall be privileged to use the media and what criteria shall determine the extension of that privilege are matters of the utmost sensitivity. Under their surface, in fact, they ask a terrifying question: Who will be given the right to free speech over the airwaves?

The fact of limited access to radio and TV frequencies leaves open the possibility that some will be denied their right to free speech: that the several operators granted the privilege of broadcast shall so monopolize the media as to all but eliminate viewpoints opposed to their

own. It is to this possibility that many members of Congress have reacted, and I must say that I sympathize and understand their feelings. If competition is strictly limited, a broadcaster may have an absolute freedom to argue his position—argue it falsely, if he wants—fearless of critical opposition. With all its undertones of Big Brother that is, to be sure, a frightening proposition.

It was, in fact, the proposition addressed by the Congress when it declared the airwaves to be within the public domain. To the question "Who shall have free speech over the air?" we answered long ago, "The public." It was and still is a wise solution to the problem.

Unfortunately, however, it was a solution which demanded Government regulation of the broadcast media: licensing operators and establishing criteria for the extension of the license privilege. And the existence of Government regulation will continue until the technology which created the need for it has eliminated that need; when for example, cable TV, with its capability of unlimited access, is able to offer the major networks critical and extensive competition. At that time, the selection offered to the consumer still be large enough to all but eliminate any danger of monopoly viewpoints; Government regulation will and must give way to the private, consumer regulation of the free market. In the meantime we must make do with what we have.

The fact of public ownership of the airwaves and Government licensing of broadcasters has been used by the Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee to justify the issuance of a subpoena to CBS demanding the station produce the outtakes of its show "The Selling of the Pentagon." The committee has argued that it has the right to determine whether the frequency granted CBS is being used to present distorted and deceitful programming; whether CBS is not, in fact, violating the requirement of its license that it serve the public interest. It is an inexcusable, if understandable, position.

The prime criteria for licensing is not that a station be honest but that it offer programming that serves and is representative of the public interest. The fairness doctrine, for example is an element of that requirement: Broadcasters must offer equal time to those expressing opposing viewpoints to their own. This is, it seems to me, a reasonable and valuable requirement, for adherence to it can be measured objectively by the Government. An opposing viewpoint is, after all, an opposing viewpoint; there is very little room or need here for subjective judgment.

What the committee, however, has asked is to, in effect, extend Government regulation to the determination of truth or falsehood in a broadcast. Their position, at the extreme, would argue that, even if an opposing viewpoint is allowed to be expressed, the existence of distortion in the first instance is a matter for Government regulation. While it may seem a logical demand, it carries with it the most alarming implications, for it sets up a Government standard of truth against which all other expressions must

be measured; it gives the Government the power to judge the truth from its own peculiar, even insulated position.

This is the critical awareness we must draw from the CBS contempt citation. I am not a lawyer, and I may even say that I was disappointed by certain of the practices used by CBS to slant "The Selling of the Pentagon," but I understand this contempt citation as an attempt to compromise the first amendment freedom of the press, and I will not see that freedom abridged. The whole point of freedom of speech and freedom of the press is that there is no objective truth; truth resides in no one man's mind, let alone the Government's. To allow the Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee to attempt a determination of the truth or falsity of "The Selling of the Pentagon" is to set it up as the sole arbiter of what is true; no committee, be it composed of the most intelligent men the world has ever known, can assume that role.

It is a difficult and complex problem technology has created for us. For centuries men have grappled with the prospect of an irresponsible press, but always with the assurance that the public would be its final judge. The existence today of a medium with only limited access for competitive viewpoints casts some doubt upon that assurance; enough, in fact, to require Government regulation of the medium.

We are fortunate, indeed, Mr. Speaker, that the measure of Government regulation we have so far applied is not so great as to compromise the citizen's historic right to determine the truth as he sees it. Had this citation been approved, we should have been taken perilously close to that final abridgment of an American's freedom.

#### NATIONAL FARM SAFETY WEEK

### HON. PAUL FINDLEY

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 14, 1971

Mr. FINDLEY. Mr. Speaker, with farming the third most accident-prone industry in the Nation, this year's National Farm Safety Week proclamation by President Nixon takes on added importance. The President has declared the week of July 25-31 as National Farm Safety Week. Theme of the week is, "Protect Yourself—Work Safely."

In his proclamation, President Nixon said,

There is sharp irony in the fact that this great industry, so accomplished in the scientific nurture of plant and animal life, remains among the industries in which human life is most precarious and accident rates are highest. The farm and ranch environment abounds in potential hazards—powerful machinery, exposed working conditions, physically demanding jobs—experience shows that caution, common sense, and protective equipment can do much to counter them and keep accidents and injuries to a minimum.

The efforts put forth in the past to reduce accidental farm deaths shows that

progress is being made. The number of accidental farm deaths dropped from 6,900 in 1969 to 6,700 during the past year according to the National Safety Council. While this is a step in the right direction, a good deal more effort needs to be brought to bear on these accidents, costly both in economic terms as well as human misery.

Secretary of Agriculture Hardin deserves our appreciation for establishing a task force on safety in agriculture within the USDA. In establishing the task force, Secretary Hardin said,

Our goal must be a substantial reduction in the number of people killed, injured or incapacitated by accidents or hazardous conditions on farms, in other agricultural industries, and in other places in rural areas.

The American Society of Agricultural Engineers has also adopted a commendable objective—a 50 percent reduction in farm accidents by 1980. Two of the major farm machine manufacturers in my home state of Illinois—John Deere and International Harvester—also deserve commendation for their efforts in developing protective equipment to reduce injuries and deaths caused by the overturn of farm tractors.

Of the estimated 1,000 accidental deaths connected with tractors in 1970, 600 of those deaths resulted from tractor overturn. The National Safety Council estimates that 90 percent of the lives lost in tractor overturns could have been saved by protective cabs or frames and safety belts such as developed by the two manufacturing firms mentioned.

The biggest success story in recent year efforts at farm safety has been the Slow-Moving Vehicle emblem developed just 8 years ago. Today some 30 States have legislation requiring or encouraging the use of the Slow-Moving Vehicle emblem on farm equipment which travels on highways and roads.

All these are productive steps being taken toward reducing the number of farm deaths and accidents. But it is obvious with more than 6,700 accidental farm deaths and 580,000 disabling injuries resulting from farm accidents during the past year we need to encourage all farm residents to think of safety and to protect themselves with the equipment that is available and the recommendations of organizations devoted to reducing farm accidents. National Farm Safety Week is commemorated for that reason.

#### THE IMPORT BLUES

HON. JAMES R. MANN

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 14, 1971

Mr. MANN. Mr. Speaker, throughout our history, country folk have had a way of expressing their joys and woes in lyrical terms, usually accompanied by the soft strains of a guitar or other musical instrument.

Recently, one of my more poetic constituents, James Marion Waldrop of Greenville, S.C., translated the woes of a typical textile worker into a ballad which

he calls, quite appropriately, "The Import Blues." The lyrics were requested by a country music entertainer who intends to use it in his regular repertoire.

I do not think there is any question but that "The Import Blues" will have a great deal of appeal among thousands of textile workers and their families throughout the country, as well as other victims of the import deluge. But more importantly, Mr. Waldrop hopes it will find a sympathetic audience among my distinguished colleagues here in the Congress and the powers that be in the White House, who have thus far turned a deaf ear to less lyrical but no less compelling pleas for relief.

I commend "The Import Blues" to your attention at this point in the RECORD:

#### THE IMPORT BLUES

(By James Marion Waldrop)

I got the import blues . . . and I got 'em bad.

I'm a cotton mill man . . . and my heart is sad.

I used to work six days a week, sometimes more . . .

Now it's three days a week, and I sure am sore.

I'm good at my business, a weaving hot-shot And still I ain't got . . . a heckuva lot.

I've made big money at the weaving trade But now, the people of Jay-Pan have it made.

They make cheap-john goods in a sleazy style And ship these goods the whole world wide.

And my little wife . . . well . . . she runs to the store

Gobbles 'em up, and says when you gonna get more?

She bought me a shirt that was import made And I got mad . . . because it hurt my trade.

She bought a Jap-made Mini, way 'bove the knee

And when she washed the thing it was a sight to see.

I got a high priced house and a high powered car

But my inflation money . . . sure don't go far.

And I'm a singin' the blues of remembered days

When a chicken in the pot was the only craze.

Buying Jap-made goods so sleazy to see Is a darn fool thing for you and me;

And I'm fightin' back because I won't run From the slant-eyed people of the Risin' Sun.

Chorus:  
I got the import blues . . . and I got 'em bad.

I'm a cotton mill man . . . and I'm fightin' mad.

Used to work six days a week, sometimes more.

Now . . . it's lay-off time, and I sure am sore.

#### POLLUTION, NO QUICK BUCK

HON. ROBERT N. GIAIMO

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 14, 1971

Mr. GIAIMO. Mr. Speaker, if the rhetoric about pollution control could be translated into consistent and predictable support for industries which do attempt to regulate their waste products, the "pollution-control industry" would be a bonanza for the engineers, scientists, businessmen, and investors in this field.

The experience of Resource Control, Inc., of West Haven, Conn., shows that this support does not come easily, however, and that the development of a thriving industry devoted to pollution control requires innovative thinkers, determined promoters and managers, and adequate financing.

A recent article in the financial section of the New York Times details the problems Resource Control, Inc., encountered in applying a unique technology in the alleviation of industrial pollution. This article, inserted below, notes that two recent developments have given executives of the company hope that their birth and growing pains will lessen. One of these developments is particularly worthy of comment, showing as it does how the Federal Government can cooperate with private industry to abate pollution, and how this cooperation can take place without involving either a total Government handout or the bankruptcy of the industry involved.

In a unique Federal pollution control development, Resource Control, Inc., will provide the equipment and technical services necessary to help the New England Plating Co. of Worcester, Mass., control cyanide and chromate liquid wastes resulting from that latter company's metal finishing processes.

The plating company is investing \$273,000 in controlling its own pollution, an amount supplemented by a \$119,424 grant from the Environmental Protection Agency. This Federal grant serves the dual purpose of rewarding Resource Control for the results of its private investment and development, and helping an otherwise financially pressed company to control its pollution and thereby continue to provide jobs and economic stimulation for Worcester.

My congratulations to all involved in this innovative venture.

The article follows:

#### POLLUTION, NO QUICK BUCK

(By Gerd Wllicke)

Having the technology to alleviate industrial pollution is one thing, selling it is quite another.

That has been the harsh lesson learned over the last several years by Resource Control, Inc., a tiny New England company that nearly went under in the process.

It is a safe assumption that many American companies, striving to turn the environmental issue into profit, have shared or are still sharing the experience of Resource Control.

Even large corporations with sizable research and development budgets have found there is no "quick buck" in pollution control. The Dow Chemical Company, for example, over the last 10 years has conducted a massive program to develop processes to clean up the air and water. This year, for the first time, the company expects this part of its business to end up in the black.

Resource Control does not expect such good fortunes, although the company is confident that its books for the current quarter will show the first positive cash flow in quite a while. The fiscal year ends Sept. 30.

Resource Control, which has its headquarters in West Haven, Conn., thought it was a natural for the pollution-control business because of its expertise in the metal-plating industry, which it had been supplying with chemical process equipment.

There are an estimated 3,000 independent metal-plating shops in the country, plus an additional 10,000 that are captive. Their

common problem is that they discharge wastes that are overloaded with cyanide and dissolved metals.

Although technology has been available to treat the waste water, it has been costly.

Resource Control, under its founder and former president Avery B. Smith, developed an electrolytic system that the company said made the removal of cyanide 80 per cent to 90 per cent cheaper than by the chlorination technique.

The process uses electricity instead of chemicals to oxidize or reduce undesirable ions in the water.

Although the company thought it had something unique, its seven salesmen in the field did not make a single sale in 1969.

"Nobody would buy," recalled Allen Duffy, the chairman, the other day.

Interviewed jointly with Joe H. Shockcor, the executive vice president, and Barry Goldin, vice president for finance, Mr. Duffy said that to compound the problem, the company also ran out of money by late 1969.

Still, believing it had unusual technology, Resource Control signed up with the Stauffer Chemical Company in early 1970 to have the much more experienced company market the pollution-control equipment.

"Stauffer had the same experience. It wasn't a matter of selling," Mr. Duffy said, "We couldn't even get our units into plants for demonstration purposes at no cost."

By the middle of 1970 Resource Control was in serious financial difficulties. For the eight months ended Sept. 30, the company showed a loss of \$249,982, on sales of \$213,413.

"We had three major problems," Mr. Goldin said. "We owed a substantial amount of money to two major banks on demand, we had 225 creditors, and we had two long-term leases on 65,000 square feet of space."

Concentrating during the balance of 1970 on getting out of the problems, Resource Control arranged for the banks to turn the demand obligations to long-term debt, defer interest, give a line of credit and reduce interest rates. With the creditors it was arranged to pay 100 cents on the dollar over a long-term. The company also secured releases from the long-term lease arrangement, reduced the leased space by 94 per cent to a little under 4,000 square feet.

"Everything was scaled down," Mr. Goldin said, "because we were determined to hold on to our technology." Scaling down also meant a cut in salary for the few executives and a reduction in the work force from 40 to 11.

"Management had geared up for big business, we got zero," Mr. Duffy said. Mr. Shockcor added: "We were reading what the rest of the public was reading," he said, reflecting about the public outcry over pollution.

The three executives said that the management strategy was to shift from ecological to economic sales.

While the company is waiting for the outcome of evaluations of its water-pollution-control device by Degussa, a leading West German concern, and Nissho-Iwai, Ltd., a Japanese trading company, Resource Control also has begun marketing an air-pollution-control device that it feels improves the performance of precipitators.

Most encouraging are two developments that happened last month, the executives feel.

One is that the company was picked to supply its water-pollution-control equipment for a Federally sponsored demonstration project to be conducted by the New England Plating Company. Under the \$392,000 project, the plating company will provide \$270,000 of the capital, the Federal Government the rest.

The second development is a chance that the company will have to demonstrate its technology in acid main drainage problems in a project conducted by the State of Pennsylvania.

## SUMMER FEEDING PROGRAMS

### HON. HERMAN BADILLO

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 14, 1971

Mr. BADILLO. Mr. Speaker, just a few days ago our Nation's cities were faced with the grim prospect of hundreds of thousands of youngsters going without the hot meals they were anticipating due to an arbitrary limitation placed by the Department of Agriculture on funds available for the summer feeding programs. This crisis arose because, despite speedy action on the part of Congress to make the necessary funds available, the Department decided to fund the programs only partially. As a consequence, States and localities that have, with the encouragement of the Federal Government, planned extensive programs found themselves unable to meet the demand.

Something had to be done and I turned to my colleagues for help. I asked them to cosign letters going to Secretary of Agriculture Clifford N. Hardin and Director of the Office of Management and Budget George Shultz, urging those gentlemen to heed the intent of Congress and release the necessary monies.

The response was heartening. Despite the holiday weekend and the consequent unfortunate timing of the appeal, a great many Members responded, showing sincere concern and a desire to help. As it turned out, it was not necessary to send out the letters. Two hours after I was assured on Thursday, July 8, that no change in the funding of the programs was contemplated, Senator CLIFFORD P. CASE of New Jersey received a hand-carried letter from the Office of Management and Budget, assuring him that the funds would be made available.

Due to the great interest shown by Members in the plight of the youngsters I want to insert in the RECORD for their information the text of the letters going to Secretary Hardin and Director of the Budget Shultz. Also included is a list, by States, of Members of Congress who have agreed to cosign the letters and actively supported the summer feeding project effort.

I again thank my colleagues for the help and cooperation they have given me on this matter. I was impressed by their concern and courtesy.

The text of the letters and the list of names follows:

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES,  
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,  
Washington, D.C., July 9, 1971.

HON. CLIFFORD M. HARDIN,  
Secretary, Department of Agriculture,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. SECRETARY: We are writing to urge your immediate reconsideration of the limits placed by your Department on the funds being allocated to this year's summer child feeding programs. These programs provide needed nutritious meals for thousands of needy children in our urban areas.

On June 28th your Department announced that it would make 18.1 million dollars available for the programs, noting at the same time that this figure represented a three-fold increase over the amount allocated for these programs last summer. Unfortunately, the figure also represents 15 million dollars

less than what is needed to insure full funding for the programs. While the Department of Agriculture set the figure needed and applied for at 26.6 million dollars, a survey conducted recently by the National League of Cities—U.S. Conference of Mayors indicated that requests for funding of the summer feeding programs amounted to 33 million dollars. Considering the quickly growing number of children in need of these programs, we believe the latter to be a more accurate assessment of actual need. Consequently, millions of children across the nation will go hungry unless you use your authority as Congress requested and spend Section 32 funds to meet the need of the children of our nation.

Our cities and states moved to satisfy the increased need for free and reduced price meals in the belief that support and funding would be forthcoming from the Department of Agriculture. Your Department has urged our nation's cities to expand their efforts to include more youngsters in school lunch and summer feeding programs and, consequently, programs were planned in full faith that the Department of Agriculture would stand behind its promise to fund. Congress did its part to cooperate fully by acting swiftly to provide the spending authority and funds when questions arose about possible difficulties to fund these programs. The House Committee on Education and Labor stated when reporting out H.R. 5257:

"Most States and local school districts have expeditiously moved to provide these free and reduced price meals. The number of children receiving free and reduced price lunches has increased from 2.8 million in 1969 to 7.2 million in March of this year. The greatest increase occurred within 1 year—from 4.7 million in February of 1970 to 6.8 million in February of 1971."

The Committee took cognizance of the plight of States and localities that found themselves without funds to carry out the programs they had planned in reliance upon the Federal Government's actions to furnish the necessary finances: "... Many States and cities have contacted the committee pleading for additional funds. California claims that unless it receives an additional \$5 million it will have to discontinue all its programs this month. Florida needs an additional \$1.4 million to pay local schools for costs which they have already incurred. Massachusetts needs \$1,441,000, and Georgia, \$416,575. . . ."

It was in response to the pressing needs of the states and cities that Congress authorized you to spend 35 million dollars from Section 32 funds for fiscal 1971 summer programs and 100 million dollars for fiscal 1972 programs, in addition to whatever funds were already included in the Department of Agriculture's appropriations bill. We are deeply disturbed that you intend to disregard this Congressional mandate and plan to spend only 18.1 million dollars this summer.

The question of funding the summer feeding programs is of the greatest urgency. In our cities the children are out of school. By far the larger percentage of those among them, and there are very many, who have looked forward to participating in summer programs will have to be denied food unless you act immediately. We respectfully urge you to carry out the intent of Congress.

Sincerely yours,

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES,  
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,  
Washington, D.C., July 9, 1971.

HON. GEORGE SHULTZ,  
Director, Office of Management and Budget,  
Executive Office of the President,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. SHULTZ: We are writing to urge your immediate reconsideration of the limits placed on the funds being allocated to this

year's summer child feeding programs. These programs provide needed nutritious meals for thousands of needy children in our urban areas.

On June 28th the Department of Agriculture announced that it would make 18.1 million dollars available for the programs, noting at the same time that this figure represented a three-fold increase over the amount allocated for these programs last summer. Unfortunately, the figure also represents 15 million dollars less than what is needed to insure full funding for the programs. While the Department of Agriculture set the figure needed and applied for at 26.6 million dollars, a survey conducted recently by the National League of Cities—U.S. Conference of Mayors indicated that requests for funding of the summer feeding programs amounted to 33 million dollars. Considering the quickly growing number of children in need of these programs, we believe the latter to be a more accurate assessment of actual need. Consequently, millions of children across the nation will go hungry unless, in accordance with the intent of Congress, additional funds are allocated to meet the need of our children.

Our cities and states moved to satisfy the increased need for free and reduced price meals in the belief that support and funding would be forthcoming from the Department of Agriculture. That Department has urged our nation's cities to expand their efforts to include more youngsters in school lunch and summer feeding programs and, consequently, programs were planned in full faith that the Department of Agriculture would stand behind its promise to fund. Congress did its part to cooperate fully by acting swiftly to provide the spending authority and funds when questions arose about possible difficulties to finance these programs. The House Committee on Education and Labor stated when reporting out H.R. 5257:

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It was in response to the pressing needs of the states and cities that Congress authorized the Secretary of Agriculture to spend \$35 million from Section 32 funds for fiscal 1971 summer programs and 100 million dollars for fiscal 1971 programs, in addition to whatever funds were already included in the Department of Agriculture's appropriations bill. We are deeply disturbed that the Secretary intends to disregard this Congressional mandate and plans to spend only 18.1 million dollars this summer.

The question of funding the summer feeding programs is of the greatest urgency. In our cities the children are out of school. By far the larger percentage of those among them, and there are very many, who have looked forward to participating in summer

programs will have to be denied food unless additional funds are immediately allocated. We respectfully request that full funding of the summer feeding programs be reconsidered in light of Congressional action.

Sincerely yours,

LIST OF COSIGNERS

ALASKA

Nick Begich.

CALIFORNIA

Alphonzo Bell, Phillip Burton, John C. Corman, Ronald V. Dellums, John Edwards, Augustus F. Hawkins, John E. Moss, Thomas M. Rees, Edward R. Roybal, Jerome R. Waldie.

CONNECTICUT

William R. Cotter, Ella T. Grasso.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

Walter F. Fauntroy.

HAWAII

Patsy T. Mink.

ILLINOIS

Frank Annunzio, Kenneth J. Gray, Ralph H. Metcalfe, Abner J. Mikva, Dan Rostenkowski.

INDIANA

John Brademas.

KENTUCKY

Tim Lee Carter, Romano L. Mazzoli, Carl D. Perkins.

MARYLAND

Parren J. Mitchell, Paul S. Sarbanes.

MASSACHUSETTS

F. Bradford Morse, Edward P. Boland, Harold D. Donohue, Robert F. Drinan, Michael Harrington, Louise D. Hicks, Thomas P. O'Neill.

MICHIGAN

John Conyers, Jr., Charles C. Diggs, Jr., William D. Ford.

MINNESOTA

John A. Blatnik, Bob Bergland, Don Fraser, Joseph E. Karth.

MISSOURI

William L. Clay, William L. Hungate.

NEW JERSEY

Cornelius E. Gallagher, Henry Helstoski, Peter W. Rodino, Robert A. Roe, Frank Thompson, Jr.

NEW YORK

Bella Abzug, Joseph P. Addabbo, Herman Badillo, Mario Biaggi, Jonathan Bingham, Hugh L. Carey, Emanuel Celler, Shirley Chisholm, James J. Delaney, John Dow, Seymour Halpern, James M. Hanley, Edward I. Koch, Ogden R. Reid, Benjamin S. Rosenthal, William F. Ryan, James Scheuer.

OHIO

Charles J. Carney, John F. Seiberling, Louis Stokes.

PENNSYLVANIA

William A. Barrett, John Dent, William S. Moorhead, Robert N. C. Nix.

RHODE ISLAND

Fernand J. St Germain.

SOUTH DAKOTA

James Abourezk.

TENNESSEE

William R. Anderson, Richard H. Fulton.

TEXAS

Bob Casey.

WASHINGTON

Brock Adams, Thomas S. Foley, Mike McCormack, Lloyd Meeds.

WISCONSIN

Les Aspin.

THE THRIVING NAACP

HON. DON EDWARDS

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 14, 1971

Mr. EDWARDS of California. Mr. Speaker, in Minneapolis last week the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People held its 62d annual convention. This grand old organization for civil rights, which has been in the forefront of the struggle for racial justice and equality in this Nation from the very beginnings of that struggle, is continuing this leadership role today and girding itself for the future struggle for a truly democratic and just society. Under the wise and determined leadership of its executive director, Roy Wilkins, the NAACP has emerged from the turbulent 1960's as a strong and resourceful organization able to forcefully define, articulate, and work toward the achievement of the goal of equality of opportunity for all in every area of our national life.

I commend to the attention of the Congress the excellent article written by New York Times Reporter Thomas A. Johnson which appears in today's New York Times. Mr. Johnson's perceptive analysis of the sources of strength of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People goes a long way towards explaining why this organization maintains its leadership role in the civil rights movement.

[The New York Times, Wednesday, July 14, 1971]

THE THRIVING NAACP

ITS SURVIVAL AND PROSPERITY ARE TIED TO A SENSE OF FAMILY AND CRUSADING SPIRIT

(By Thomas A. Johnson)

Why has the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People survived and prospered as a haven for Negroes who believe, and for those who want to believe, in America? To someone who observed the 62d annual convention of the association, which ended in Minneapolis on Friday, it appears that the mass-membership organization has somehow managed to combine elements of family, church, social and political groups with the feeling of participation in a great moral crusade.

In addition, the N.A.A.C.P.'s longevity, growth and general health are greatly sustained by the fact that many volunteer leaders in its 1,700 chapters in 50 states are also local leaders in other fields. The association itself has been a primary training ground for many blacks who have succeeded outside the organization.

But it is the sense of family exhibited by the association members at their annual gatherings that invariably impresses the outside observer.

For while they planned last week for the association's future, they also relived past conventions at mass meetings, caucuses, business breakfasts and dances. They put in long work hours and still found time to enjoy themselves.

ACTUAL FAMILIES

The association boasts of several actual families, like the Mitchells of Maryland and the Alexanders of North Carolina, who are mainstays for the organization in their regions.

Henry Lee Moon, the organization's 70-year-old public relations director, grew up in the N.A.A.C.P. chapter founded in Cleveland by his father, Dr. Eugene T. Reed of Amityville, L.I., a leader of the Young Turk faction of the association, grew up in a branch—the first branch on Long Island—set up by his mother. Dr. Reed's children are also active in the association.

Most of the 480 youth delegates, who made the work sessions seem like a showplace for up-to-date fashions, were seasoned conventioners, having been, as it is commonly stated, "raised in the N.A.A.C.P."

Roy Wilkins, the executive director, in giving his reasons why the N.A.A.C.P. has prospered, suggested that "since 1909, the association has hit upon the main channels of black aspirations and ambitions."

Three black delegates agreeing with the general concept last week were 93-year-old Christopher Columbus Jones of Carbondale, Ill., a retired schoolteacher who has been an N.A.A.C.P. member 40 years; Lucious Woods, a 41-year-old window washer from Chattanooga, and Thomas M. Kelly Jr., 41, a peppy lawyer from Davenport, Iowa.

The association, with some 400,000 dues-paying members, is probably the best-organized repository of black Americans who consistently demonstrate their faith in the ability of the United States to solve its racial problems, and in their own capacities to contribute to this.

Because of this faith, the association's leadership and members have reacted strongly—both in support and in condemnation—to national administrations.

President Johnson's Great Society legislation and his appointment of Thurgood Marshall—former head of the N.A.A.C.P. Legal Defense and Educational Fund, Inc.—to the Supreme Court, were seen by many N.A.A.C.P. members as a vindication of their faith in the country.

Several acts by President Nixon have convinced some members of the organization that he has betrayed their trust. Their complaints center on what they consider his failure to come out strongly enough against segregation in housing and in the schools, and on his attempts to appoint two men to the Supreme Court who blacks felt would work against their aspirations.

#### LOVE AND PRAISE

One factor contributing to the N.A.A.C.P.'s successes as an organization is that so many of its members express great love for it and talk about it in superlatives.

There were rousing cheers when the organization's top official, Bishop Stephen Gill Spottwood, called the association "the oldest, largest, most experienced, most successful, most consulted, most feared of all civil rights organizations."

Actually, no other organization competes with the wide-ranging N.A.A.C.P. operation. Its activities range from a Washington lobby to a system of volunteer and nearly autonomous chapters in 50 states that, among other things, build houses, picket adversaries and conduct nurseries.

Its \$6-million annual budget outstrips all other black groups engaged in the general field of civil rights except the National Urban League. The league is not a mass-membership organization but, rather, is made up of professional staff people working out of some 98 offices around the country. It spends some \$36-million annually.

#### CBS

**HON. STEWART B. MCKINNEY**

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 14, 1971

Mr. MCKINNEY. Mr. Speaker, today we face a situation in which a spade is

not a spade. Is CBS guilty of contempt? I think so. Should we approve the contempt citation? I think not.

Consider, if you will, two individual but equal cases: two men are brought to court, both accused of stealing a loaf of bread. Both admit to being guilty and are legally found so. In testimony, however, it is revealed that the first stole to feed his family; the second, stole for kicks. Would you, as a judge, mete out equal penalties? I think not.

And so it is today. We have before us a clear case of contempt but as the distinguished chairman of the Judiciary Committee has said:

The First Amendment towers over these proceedings like a Colossus.

As judges, we face—as in the case of the "equal thieves"—extenuating circumstances. We cannot judge this case on a simple yes or no contempt question. We must, if we are to do justice to our Constitution, consider its ramifications—its extenuating circumstances, if you will.

As I consider this, I would like to associate myself with the remarks of my colleague from Alabama (Mr. EDWARDS). As you know he said, in part:

It would be ever so easy to vote yes today. CBS has maligned the South, colored the news, handled the coverage of the war in a biased manner, played up the bad and played down the good—all of this and more. But I would not exchange all this, as bad as it may be, for the evil that would infect this Nation from a controlled press. Oh, there are times when I get so exasperated with them I would like to ban all TV, but that exasperation is nothing compared to what it would be if we had a press that had to answer for its editorial judgment, however, bad, to a committee of the Congress.

I would agree with the contention that CBS has done wrong and here is an important point—they have for all intents and purposes admitted it; it was their only alternative in the face of the material the committee already had.

I would also agree that CBS has done wrong in the past and unfortunately, we have no guarantee that it will not do wrong again. In point of fact, it is likely.

But we must not tear apart the first amendment because of this transgression, mainly because the great bulk of the reporting is done in fairness. Overall, I have great faith in the integrity of reporters, the overwhelming majority of whom view the first amendment not only as a right but as a responsibility.

No matter the outcome of this case, I am certain its very airing has renewed their determination and that the numbers of that overwhelming majority will increase because of it.

Today, therefore, I will cast a vote—not to condone the actions of CBS but to affirm the meaning of the first amendment.

#### WOMEN IN JOURNALISM

**HON. DONALD M. FRASER**

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 14, 1971

Mr. FRASER. Mr. Speaker, the following article by Marion Buhagiar in Date-

line '71, the magazine of the Overseas Press Club, is an excellent account of the outlook for women in the field of journalism. Marion Buhagiar is an associate editor of Fortune magazine. The article follows:

#### FOR WOMEN IN JOURNALISM—OUTLOOK HOPEFUL

(By Marion Buhagiar)

The past has little or nothing to teach us about the future of women in journalism. For too long this near-profession was for women what the fight ring was for the kid from the ghetto—an all-or-nothing way out for the very few. Not out of poverty—for the background of most women journalists is and has been middle-class. For the women, rather, it was a way out of the powerlessness, the tedium, the anonymity, and the oppression of the genteel life.

A surprising number of the women who "made it" in journalism in the past had theatrical ambitions—which some of them carried out in flamboyant careers in print. No wonder then that most of the women cooperated with their publishers' merchandising of their picturesqueness, their crankiness, their cheeky audacity, their incongruous presumption, and their cuteness. For women who lusted for travel and who relished the mantle of power that the publication made available and the tough equality the interview situation made tangible, the slights and sarcasms of the city room and editorial office were endurable.

The changes that are now taking place are not the symptoms of some fulminating disorder—triggered by heightened consciousness among women and the legal arm of the Civil Rights Act. The business is changing and those changes are probably going to affect women in the business more than men.

For years, the men who hired and fired the staffs of newspapers and magazines had a richness of resources. First, the ambitious, driven, and gifted sons of the lower middle class—eager to move out of factory and clerking jobs into a semi-profession where wit and talent were the license. The Depression leavened this stock with the graceful sons of the upper classes who wound up college educated and unemployed.

That mixture remained quite stable until the 1960s, when the alternatives for the application of wit, talent, and drive began paying a lot more than journalism. The choices—education, foundations, nonprofits, government—became a lot more attractive and honorable; they were also far less challengeable than the old "sell-out" to Hollywood or public relations. A widely shared, unprovable, impression is that the talent and energy level of men coming into journalism is less than it once was—while that of the women is higher.

The case can be made most dramatically, perhaps, by trends in business and economic reporting. One of the most successful new magazines in the field, Institutional Investor, began using a high proportion of women writers—notably Heide Fiske—right from the start. The Wall Street Journal finally let down the barriers to women a few years ago. Perhaps the most distinguished writer on the business of Wall Street is Carol Junge Loomis on the staff of Fortune. And when Mrs. Loomis left the magazine's "Personal Investing" column to write middle-of-the-book stories some years ago, Fortune tried out and flunked a series of four or five male writers before settling on the most logical in-house candidate: Miss Wyndham Robertson.

The plain fact is that most men who take pains to learn enough about the intricacies of sophisticated finance and the apparatus of business and corporate operations think they can make more money in that system than outside writing about it. Women have been excluded from corporate executive life with far more rigor than they have been excluded

from reporting about it. And they are doing a very rigorous analysis of business personalities and operations with a lot less cynicism and more gracefulness than the situation might justify. This may well be an area of journalism that will be dominated by women over the next couple of decades.

And there lies a clue to how the future will differ so radically from the past. In the 1960s, the era of lady reporter as adventurer and footloose traveler came to a well-deserved end. It had a long life: Nellie Bly, after all, set sail from New York for her breathless round-the-world trip more than 80 years ago. The *image* is not quite dead, however. Shirley MacLaine was quoted recently as wishing she had been a journalist because she likes "to keep moving"—a curious throwback reason for a woman whose book, at any rate, suggests an unweary independence and intensity of concern for the events of our time that might be more useful qualifications. For too long the spiritual descendants of Nellie Bly have been obliged to make the news in order to write the news: look! a woman on the battlefield; look! a woman badgering the President at a press conference.

Nowadays the abundance of women writers and journalists in the ranks of the women's liberation struggle have made it very hard to distinguish—if one must, that is—where the movement ends and personal careers begin. That movement and its progenitor, the black liberation struggle, as well as the antiwar movement, the social crises in our cities, and the youth culture are not fast-breaking "events" in the traditional journalists' sense where the victory goes to the swiftest, the luckiest or the most audacious. The story itself is often hidden within the events. The fact that women are, by and large, still excluded from the "big" reporting assignments—e.g., the White House, with all its seductions of inside briefings from informed sources—may prove to be their best training for the real opportunities of the new journalism.

Women in this business have had to find the news even when they were being kept from it. Lorena Hickok, the first woman given a top straight political reporting job at AP, had won her first by-line years before by writing a bitter, witty story about not getting an interview with singer Geraldine Farrar. Midy Morgan was scornfully offered the job of livestock reporter when she asked The New York Times for a job almost a century ago. She took it. By ferocious devotion, such as sleeping in a barren room in a New Jersey railway station so that she could count cattle cars as they lay in the Hoboken rail yards, she became such an expert on cattle and horse flesh that General Ulysses S. Grant and King Victor Emmanuel of Italy sought out her advice.

A hundred years after Midy, another New York Times woman, Charlotte Curtis, also made a virtue out of being in a department instead of in the city room. The grit of city life has often been better and earlier reflected on the "women's" page of the Times than in the Lindsay-oriented metropolitan news or the reproachful scoldings of the editorial page. One woman who recently left the department after more than a dozen years, just to have a change in beat, says nostalgically: "It's a great place to write. Where else can you get two columns to say what you want to say? You'd be lucky to get one paragraph—and that would be cut out of the second edition."

Taking an enriched prospective of what's important news, and applying again that indicator of recently launched successful journalistic ventures, you come up with a high probability that women certainly have the opportunity—and may seize it—of being the chief contributors to the new journalism of the coming years. New York magazine reached editorial and commercial suc-

cess with astonishing speed by identifying a need for information—whether silly, fashionable, or serious—on what it called "urban strategy." It started with and still has a high proportion of women on its staff and among its contributors. The Village Voice, which pioneered reporting on the "alternate culture," has also consistently used a number of women reporters. It also has as city editor Mary Perot Nichols, whose reporting on the city politic was long unmatched by the city's daily newspapers.

It would be an absurd tactic for women to concentrate their efforts and talents and measure their success by breaching the citadels of journalistic distinction defined by their male bosses—the Washington bureau, say. A few women will get such assignments, certainly. But those few additions will not make any significant difference to the quality of that reporting, considering the bloat of talent already installed. What is already happening in business reporting is bound to happen in other reporting fields that require an expertise and perspective that goes beyond the day's events. And many of those areas will increasingly fall to highly qualified women where once they fell to men on the staff who were on their way up to somewhere else where the "real" reporting was, or to men who were marked never to make it there.

Think of all the wastelands of journalism—wastelands far more fertile and full of potential than Midy Morgan had any reason to expect from livestock reporting. Real estate is, by and large, handled as a series of transaction notices and new tract-housing announcements. But the whole issue of deteriorating central-city housing, windfall profits on government subsidization programs, failure of innovations in construction techniques, and changing sources of financing go remarkably uncovered in any consistent and systematic way. (A reminder here, incidentally, that innovating journalists Jane Jacobs and Ada Louise Huxtable are women.) Education is reported as a series of crises—boycotts, budgets, strikes, etc. But how rare is the detailed, day-by-day reporting on the quality of the process. Transportation, so powerful and often so calamitous in its effects on the well-being of a city's people and its business, certainly deserves reporting that goes beyond an account of the day's worst traffic jams, the late trains, and the latest wage settlements. City and local financing is also treated as a series of headline stories around the annual budget or bond issue—together with that inevitable pie-chart on "where your tax dollar went." But hardly any publisher or broadcaster spares the effort to thread through the intricacies of public accounting to assess what the real priorities of the administration are. Consumerism and the environment issue are the stuff of which great journalism can be made—but they were issues raised initially by insistent cranks who would not settle for an official statement as an answer.

Admittedly, this is a very optimistic projection of the future of women in journalism. It presupposes that a rational deal will be struck between the glaring needs of the profession and the availability of talent to do that work. But the presumption also is that publishers and broadcasters are businessmen—and that they understand that lost opportunity is a terrible business cost.

#### "ECONOMY VERSUS ECOLOGY"

### HON. DON H. CLAUSEN

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 14, 1971

Mr. DON H. CLAUSEN. Mr. Speaker, much has been said and done in recent

times in the name of ecology. Unfortunately, and all too often, I might add, the real effect of what is done is not felt for many months or even years.

Seldom is serious thought given to the potential effects of these actions on those who reside in a given area and, indeed, seldom are the desires and thoughts of these people given much consideration when these actions are contemplated.

Recently, Kathryn Jackson spoke to the McKinleyville, Calif., Chamber of Commerce on the subject of "Economy vs. Ecology." In my judgment, she has graphically demonstrated the fact that there must be a balance between the wise use and the pure enjoyment of our natural resources.

Her speech follows:

#### ECONOMY VERSUS ECOLOGY

As all of you know, the economic situation in this area is steadily becoming worse with the unemployment rate increasing, and more and more people becoming dependent upon welfare aid. You are familiar with the widespread belief that the Redwoods are almost completely destroyed, and those remaining must be saved at all costs. A Eureka friend of mine, while attending a meeting in New York recently, was asked if she lived anywhere near the last few remaining Redwoods. The person was astonished to learn my friend had three of the big trees growing in her backyard.

People who have never lived in forested areas such as ours, have the idea that all trees are fast becoming extinct, and that all land is eroding away. They have no idea of modern forest practices, reseeded and replanting procedures, and climatic conditions conducive to rapid growth in this particular part of the country. A friend, born and raised in Los Angeles, visited us and was amazed to see such a variety of vegetation growing along the road banks and wouldn't believe none of it had been planted by man!

There are campaigns going on now to discourage buying Christmas trees, convincing people that our forests are being destroyed ruthlessly. The latest move seems to be to create a primitive area out of the entire North Coast region of California. People need to be educated about facts: that there are such things as Christmas tree farms and selective cutting in some forests each year for a good reason; that with certain types of timber there are advantages for clear cutting in blocks; that Redwoods regenerate themselves profusely and many groves are now being cut for the second time; that with few exceptions forests should be harvested, and with good planning and management everyone will derive benefits.

A harvested forest abounds with wild life, while a mature forest may be practically sterile and lifeless. Starting a cycle in cut over lands, grasses, berry vines and other plants spring up very soon. Many varieties of insects, birds and small animals move in to feed on roots, berries and seeds. Rotting stumps and other wood pieces attract ants and boring insects which are delectable food for various birds and animals, such as woodpeckers and bears. Quick growing shrubs and trees provide food for the browsers and helps to protect them from predators. Animals, such as rabbits and deer, feed on leaves and twigs all summer and on the twigs and bark in winter. Because in nature every thing is food for something else, the predators move in to prey on the browsers.

With full sunlight on harvested areas, thick undergrowth develops, making ideal feeding grounds for wild animals. It also provides shelter for the slower growing conifers. Rotting leaves each winter fertilize the new tree crops, making for vigorous, healthy growth. As the new conifer trees reach for

the sun and tower above their protective hardwood thickets, sunlight becomes filtered on the forest floor and much of the plant life gradually dies out, forcing animal life to move to better pastures.

Left to nature a mature forest gradually dies and rots away, making room for a new cycle to begin. Also left to nature, lightning fires would accomplish the same ultimate goals, but not in a controlled manner as man does by sensibly harvesting a ripe timber crop and burning slash.

If it weren't for medical science, most of us would not even be here. Left to nature, only the strongest would have survived. It is surprising that the radical ecologists and environmentalists haven't advocated elimination of medical science and urged survival of the fittest! Maybe that will come next.

Timber crops depend a great deal on climatic conditions. An annual temperature change of five degrees in some parts of the country has caused one specie to die out and another emerge. Growth of timber in one area does not necessarily follow the same pattern as that in other areas. Along the Pacific Coast Range, there is evidence that at one time there were large bodies of Sugar Pine. Two, three hundred years ago, possibly due to climatic changes, Sugar Pine did not reseed itself. The White Fir and Douglas Fir began to take over, explaining the fact that so much of the timber is of one age and now over ripe. How many people know about destruction of Redwood groves caused by flooding and earth disturbances throughout the ages? Road building, well drilling and other recent excavations have uncovered Redwood trees buried long ago under tons of dirt. Nature caused that!

People make conclusions without first obtaining facts. As an example, some out of the area tourists complained bitterly to me about how the taxpayers' money was being wasted because of all the flagmen stationed within a short area of road construction between Willow Creek and Hoopa. However, when I informed them that almost every man they saw in that area was a prisoner from the Honor Camp, they changed their whole attitude and began to talk about how there should be many more such projects.

A conservation newsletter showed a picture of dead fish along Redwood Creek and headlined an article about pollution of the stream causing the fish to die. I wonder if the author ever heard about salmon spawning, becoming soretails, and then dying, their life cycle ended?

The same jumping to conclusions exists concerning timber industries, flood control projects, Indians, or anything else which vitally concerns all of us here. A one-time, short-term vacationer visiting our area goes home as an expert on what should or should not be done.

Forested areas I saw being logged 30 or 40 years ago, now have beautiful stands of timber to replace the mature timber which was cut before it died and rotted away. Placer mines that cut away mountain sides are now almost obliterated where vegetation took over through nature. Fish were plentiful in spite of muddy waters from mining and extensive netting by Indians. Now there are constant attempts to stop all types of mining and to keep Indians from netting fish. Does anyone complain about the tons of salmon being caught today off the coast and at the mouth of rivers by commercial fishermen and sportsmen?

The North Coast Forest Industries has excellent bits of information on local TV stations concerning our forests, but just how much more widespread is this information being publicized? Lumber mills have series of pictures taken over the years showing rapid changes taking place on cut over and reforested lands. Various conservation projects and recreational programs by timber industries, U.S. Forest Service, and others

have been highlighted now and then. Some companies have placed informative articles in major magazines containing colored pictures about timber harvesting and wild life in the forests.

These things are all great, but they are just bits and pieces. True information should actually be put out by individuals or organizations not directly connected with forest industries. Companies are being called liars, among other names, by persons believing that timber barons are putting out false information to cover up selfish motives, and that reforestation is not taking place as shown in the "Demonstration Forest" areas. They believe this is just a cover up gimmick.

Most people never think of timber as a crop to be harvested. Reaping, without replanting to assist nature, was a mistake of the past, but because of that, we can't let the pendulum swing so far now as to stop the wood products industries altogether. Common sense has to prevail. What hurts our economy here has an adverse effect on the whole nation. What's going to happen when unemployment insurance runs out, and the taxpayers' money no longer stretches to cover the increasing burden of welfare grants? Jobs here create jobs elsewhere. If we can't work here, where can we go? A sagging national economy will even cut down tourism. If this region all becomes a wilderness area, who will benefit? Do you suppose the tourists who do come might bring peanuts to feed us the same as caged monkeys in a zoo?

As members and guests of the Chamber of Commerce, I'm sure all of you are concerned about the economic future of our north coast area. I strongly believe that unless something is done to turn the tide, one of these days we will wake up and find our forests preserved in a gigantic playground for a privileged few. Only those physically strong enough and with the time and money will be able to enjoy wilderness areas, whereas through multiple use, almost everyone will benefit in one way or another. One-sided, often inaccurate publicity that continually plays upon people's emotions can be very detrimental for everyone.

It is up to all of us to gather factual information and make others aware of the truth. We can't sit back and let a few outspoken persons sway the masses through emotionalism fed by half-truths and deliberate lies. We are products of nature too, and were given the abilities to utilize the resources around us. There is room for all, so let's strive for a balance.

#### CONGRESSMAN WILLIAM S. MOORHEAD SCOLDS MITCHELL FOR NO RESPONSE ON KENT STATE QUERY

### HON. WILLIAM S. MOORHEAD

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 14, 1971

Mr. MOORHEAD. Mr. Speaker, the promptness with which the Justice Department moved to squelch the New York Times and the Washington Post from publishing the Pentagon papers has been well documented.

I guess—the final decision aside—this proves that, properly motivated, the Justice Department can, indeed, do some of the things historically it has been known to do, such as bring suits, carry out investigations, and convene Federal grand juries.

Contrast Justice Department's haste in the newspaper case with its total re-

fusal to act on convening a Federal grand jury to investigate the killings of four students at Kent State University more than a year ago, and one wonders what proper motivation is needed to get some action out of Attorney General Mitchell and company.

The answer alone cannot be just cause. Since the Kent State matter is riddled with so much doubt and speculation that even an FBI investigation has cast strong doubt on the excuses offered by the Ohio State National Guard in defense of their killing four students.

On May 24 of this year, the gentleman from Ohio (Mr. VANIK), myself and 18 of our colleagues, sent a letter to Mr. Mitchell asking that he convene a Federal grand jury in the Kent State case to determine if any Federal laws had been violated in the killings or in the disturbances which led to the killings.

To date we have yet to receive an answer to our letter. For one, I am sick and tired of the attitude of Mr. Mitchell. He is next to unapproachable as far as testifying before House committees and in this instance he has refused to send even the most perfunctory reply to 20 Members of this body who made a request of him in writing.

I would like to enclose a copy of a letter which I sent to Mr. Mitchell today and also I would like to enclose a letter to the editor of the Washington Post from Mr. Arthur Krause, whose daughter was one of the four young people killed at Kent State.

If Mr. Mitchell's personal priorities are reflected in carrying out his responsibilities in the Times-Post case and the Kent State issue, I for one will be most happy to see his exit from Government.

The material referred to follows:

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES  
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,  
Washington, D.C., July 13, 1971.

HON. JOHN NEWTON MITCHELL,  
Attorney General, Department of Justice,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. ATTORNEY GENERAL: I must assume, since I have received no response to my May 24 letter requesting a federal grand jury investigation of the Kent State killings, that you and the Justice Department believe that none of the many unanswered questions involving the deaths of four students merits the convening of a federal grand jury.

I must conclude that the FBI study which raises the question of a "fabrication", regarding the Ohio National Guard's claim that its members' lives were in danger prior to the shooting, has no meaning for you.

I must conclude that President Nixon's statement of March 11, 1971 ("Justice delayed is not only justice denied, it is justice circumvented, justice mocked, and the system of justice undermined"), is just so much rhetoric and has no influence on the actions of the Justice Department.

I must conclude that the Justice Department believes that four deaths, at the hands of the Ohio National Guard, were justified.

And finally I must conclude that you hold the request of 20 United States Congressmen in such contempt that you feel it is not necessary to furnish us with an answer to our demand that a federal grand jury be convened to uncover what really occurred at Kent State.

In closing I ask one question Mr. Attorney General, what do you believe occurred at Kent State? Does your silence support the killing of four students? I must assume it

does because you have taken no actions to belie that.

Sincerely,

LETTER TO THE EDITOR

Gentlemen, I am one of those Americans who find it extremely difficult to understand why the deliberate killing of my child and the three who died with her evokes no "comparable priority." And in despair I ask you how it is that so many hints that the shooting was a "conscious deliberate act" can be so cynically and callously ignored?

I will conclude by saying that this letter was prompted by the following item in this week's issue of Time Magazine concerning your legal conflict with the Justice Department:

"The White House insisted, with much justification, that it must take action when it feels that a law has been violated. 'How would you explain to people that you elected not to enforce the law?' asked one presidential aide."

ARTHUR S. KRAUSE.

PITTSBURGH.

COMPREHENSIVE HEALTH MANPOWER TRAINING ACT OF 1971

HON. LOUISE DAY HICKS

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 14, 1971

Mrs. HICKS of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, I would like to share with my colleagues some views concerning the recently passed Comprehensive Health Manpower Training Act of 1971, and its companion, the Nurse Training Act of 1971.

COMPREHENSIVE HEALTH MANPOWER TRAINING ACT OF 1971

Mr. Speaker, during the last decade in American history, it became abundantly clear that the people of this Nation were prepared to invest enormous sums toward improving the health and well-being of all segments of our population. In fiscal year 1960, for example, national health expenditures amounted to approximately \$26.4 billion, or about 5.3 percent of the gross national product. In 10 years, however, national health outlays rose to a staggering \$67.2 billion, or 7 percent of the value of all goods and services produced in a nearly trillion dollar economy. This national investment for health purposes is continuing to grow and may soon represent the Nation's No. 1 social priority.

To meet these rising social expectations, steps must be taken now to assure that an adequate supply of health resources will exist in future years to meet growing public demands for more and better health care. We have, in the proposed Comprehensive Health Manpower Training Act of 1971, a unique opportunity to provide these assurances. This legislation provides for a short-term investment of some \$2.8 billion over 3 fiscal years to support a number of essential health professions manpower training programs.

For example, under the bill (H.R. 8629), the authority contained in existing law to assist in the construction of

teaching facilities in the various professions will be continued, but at a much higher level. New authority in the bill will also provide alternative sources for the construction of educational facilities. This is through a new program of guaranteed Federal loans and through interest subsidies on loans used to finance construction projects.

A new capitation grants program will replace the outmoded program of formula grants used to provide operational assistance to health education facilities. Under the capitation grants program, the level of financial support to these institutions is substantially increased. Special funds will also be available to aid those schools which have run into severe financial problems in recent years.

Major improvements in the student assistance programs are also contained in the new legislation. Students in the health professions will now be able to obtain loans annually in amounts up to \$3,500, instead of the present limit of \$2,500. Loan cancellation provisions in existing law are extended to students in each of the health professions. A new provision will permit the Government to cancel up to \$15,000 or 75 percent of any professional education loan, if the graduate agrees to practice in an area where his skills are in short supply.

By no means, of course, can this piece of legislation—as important as it is—resolve the so-called health care crisis which plagues us at the present time. But unless we are prepared now to vigorously support an expansion of our health professions educational system, prospects for other health legislation in future years will founder for lack of trained personnel to implement National goals in the health care field. H.R. 8629 is a timely and wisely conceived legislative measure and one which deserves our complete support.

NURSE TRAINING ACT OF 1971

Mr. Speaker, like its companion measure—the Comprehensive Health Manpower Training Act of 1971—the proposed Nurse Training Act of 1971 (H.R. 8630) deserves our complete support. It is generally recognized that there are acute shortages of various skilled health personnel in the country, but it is doubtful whether any of these shortages are as critical as the shortage of nurses.

Estimates of nursing personnel needed by 1980 indicate that there must be 1,100,000 trained registered nurses, 675,000 licensed practical nurses and 550,000 nursing aides, if the demands for nursing services are to be met. To recruit, train and actually retain this number of personnel is an enormous challenge to us all.

Fortunately, the proposed Nurse Training Act of 1971 can do much to help in the recruiting and training of the necessary personnel we do need. In this regard, the student assistance programs contained in the bill are especially crucial. Under revisions in the scholarship program, for example, scholarship amounts to a student in any 1 year will be increased from \$1,500 to \$2,000. The bill also provides a new formula designed to make more money available for scholarship purposes to nursing schools

to start with. Hopefully, prospective nursing students will be encouraged by this new source of financial assistance.

The student loan program for nurses is also revised under the new bill. Like scholarships, the maximum amount of a loan in any 1 year will be raised from the present \$1,500 to \$2,000, while the maximum amount that could be borrowed during training is increased from \$6,000 to \$10,000. The loan cancellation feature is also revised. If a graduate agrees to practice in a shortage area for 3 years, the Government will pay the principal and interest of any educational loan up to \$10,000 or 75 percent of the loan, whichever is less.

The members of the committee which recommended this legislation to the House noted alarmingly:

The Nation's need for health manpower is critical—a need which is both quantitative and qualitative. It is reaching crisis proportions. If we are to move closer to the goal of adequate health care for every American we must have the skilled personnel to provide essential services.

The proposed Nurse Training Act of 1971 is a vital part of any strategy to overcome this potential crisis. I, for one, support its provisions completely.

OPPOSITION TO CONTEMPT OF CONGRESS CITATION AGAINST CBS AND PRESIDENT FRANK STANTON

HON. DONALD M. FRASER

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 14, 1971

Mr. FRASER. Mr. Speaker, had the House not voted to return the resolution citing CBS for contempt of Congress to committee for further study, I would have voted in opposition to the resolution.

I was opposed to the resolution for several reasons. First, because I feel that the editing involved in the program, "The Selling of the Pentagon," was not "deceitful" and did not exceed editing procedures normally considered acceptable by the written media; second, that all material necessary to evaluate the accuracy of this documentary TV program, is either already in possession of the committee or could easily be obtained by interviewing the individuals who appeared in the documentary; and third, that the electronic media are entitled to the same first amendment protections as the written press. To use the power of a contempt citation to force the electronic media to submit materials it used in creating a news story would only result in having a "chilling" effect on investigative journalism by the electronic media. This, I believe, would ultimately be very damaging to freedom of information for the American public.

The action of the House yesterday in refusing to go along with the committee's request for a contempt citation, returning the request to committee for

further study, is a vindication of the 13 committee members who prepared a detailed report of minority views opposing the request for citation.

#### ENERGY CONSUMPTION AND GROSS NATIONAL PRODUCT

HON. JAMES A. McCLURE

OF IDAHO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 14, 1971

Mr. McCLURE. Mr. Speaker, the House Republican task force on energy and resources, of which I am chairman, has met with Dr. Bruce C. Netschert, vice president of National Economic Research Associates, Inc. concerning the relationship between energy consumption in the United States and gross national product. It is of more than academic interest to note that this relationship has changed in recent years, resulting in an even greater need for energy than that which was expected due to population increases and an increased consumption of energy per capita. Dr. Netschert presented to the House Republican task force on energy and resources a special report prepared by National Economic Research Associates, Inc., which I will now place in the RECORD for the appraisal of my colleagues:

#### ENERGY CONSUMPTION AND GROSS NATIONAL PRODUCT IN THE UNITED STATES: AN EXAMINATION OF A RECENT CHANGE IN THE RELATIONSHIP

##### ABSTRACT

The ratio of aggregate energy consumption to Gross National Product (the energy/GNP ratio) underwent a long-term secular decline during the period 1947-1966, following a trend that began in the 1920s. Since 1966, however, the trend has reversed, and the ratio has shown an uninterrupted increase. If the trend prior to 1966 had persisted, energy consumption in 1970 would have been lower by an amount greater than the total electric utility consumption of coal in that year. An analysis of the possible reasons for this trend reversal indicates that it cannot be ascribed to any single cause but that a major part of it is apparently the result of: (a) the increasing relative importance of nonenergy uses of the fuels, (b) a tapering off in the year-to-year improvement in thermal efficiency at central power stations, and (c) the increasing relative importance of air conditioning and electric heating. The net result of these factors is a tendency toward a sustained high growth rate in aggregate energy consumption and a consequent increase in the energy/GNP ratio except in years of high GNP growth rate (i.e., when GNP growth is sufficiently high to exceed the growth in energy consumption).

##### A SPECIAL REPORT

At a time when environmental preservation has become a dominant national concern and when the inherent conflict between measures to that end and the continuing growth in energy consumption is creating a growing policy dilemma, it is of interest to examine a recent phenomenon that has occurred in the statistical series measuring energy consumption per dollar of (constant dollar) GNP. As shown in Table I, the ratio followed a secular decline (at an annual compounded rate of 0.7 per cent) between the end of World War

II and 1966; since then the year-to-year change has been consistently upward (at an annual compounded rate of 3.0 per cent). On the basis of preliminary 1970 figures, the ratio has risen to the level of the early 1950s. The trend reversal is all the more interesting because of the full length of the period of decline, which was previously shown to date from the early 1920s.<sup>1</sup>

This phenomenon has profound implications for the energy-environment policy dilemma. The demand for energy *in toto* can be viewed as being separate and distinct from the demand for the individual forms of energy because of the wide range of substitutability among the different energy commodities. A given level of population and GNP will generate a certain demand for energy which will be satisfied by a mix of energy commodities, the nature of which will be determined by relative price levels, convenience and taste. As long as the energy/GNP ratio declines, economic growth results in a less than proportionate increase in energy consumption; but with an increasing ratio, economic growth acts as a multiplier. Even with the declining trend in the ratio there has never been any dispute that the economy will require very large increases in energy supplies during the coming decades. A reversal in the trend of the ratio, however, implies even greater increases in the future and consequently greater difficulties in reconciling energy consumption (and the economic growth responsible for it) with environmental preservation.

One can obtain a measure of the significance of the trend reversal by assuming that it did not occur and calculating what aggregate energy consumption would have been on that basis in 1970. The actual level of the ratio in 1970 was 95,400 Btu per dollar of GNP. Projecting the 1947-1966 trend in the ratio to that year, the ratio would have been 84,000 Btu per dollar of GNP, or 12 per cent less. When this ratio is applied to the 1970 GNP figure, we find that aggregate energy consumption in that year would have been 8,258 trillion Btu, or 12 per cent, less than actual consumption. This difference is a quantity of energy equivalent to more than the total coal consumption by electric utilities in 1970. *Indeed, it seems fair to conclude that in the absence of the trend reversal in the energy/GNP ratio, the energy supply crisis of 1970 would have been far less severe or would not have occurred at all.*

There is, then, more than academic interest in questioning what the statistical phenomenon really signifies. Is the trend reversal real or is it only a statistical illusion? Has the economy crossed a watershed in the energy/GNP relationship in the past five years, and if so, what is the explanation? Is the reversal, if it is real, something that can be expected to persist indefinitely or is it only temporary?

The following discussion represents the results of ongoing work by NERA in the area of energy consumption and economic growth. We believe that the work done thus far has enabled us to identify the factors accounting for at least one-half of the "excess" energy consumption in 1970 due to the trend reversal.

By definition, an increase in the energy/GNP ratio will occur whenever the annual growth in energy consumption exceeds that in GNP. In the 19-year period from the end of World War II to 1966 this occurred six times, with one instance of two consecutive years (see Table I): 1951 (0.2 per cent increase); 1955 (2.1 per cent increase); 1956 (3.3 per cent increase); 1958 (0.2 per cent increase); 1960 (1.0 per cent increase); and

Footnotes at end of article.

1963 (0.2 per cent increase). The four years of consecutive increases from 1967 through 1970 averaged 2.5 per cent. In all but two years (1958 and 1970) the increases were accompanied by an increase in GNP, but the fact that increases occurred in years of both increasing and declining GNP would appear to rule out any business cycle influence.

In one respect there is a clear distinction between the last four years, in which the ratio has risen, and the preceding nineteen years: the average annual increase in energy use has been higher and that in GNP has been lower. In the period 1947-1966, the energy increase averaged 2.98 per cent, versus 4.98 per cent in the 1967-1970 period; for GNP the averages were 4.09 per cent and 2.42 per cent, respectively. On the other hand, there were several years in the earlier period when energy growth was higher and GNP growth lower than the recent averages.

Obviously, if GNP had continued at its average annual growth rate of the 1962-1966 period—5.78 per cent—the long-term decline in the energy/GNP ratio would have continued, since that rate exceeds the growth rate in energy consumption during all but one of the succeeding years. Yet prior to 1967 there were five years (in the period since World War II) in which energy consumption grew at 5 per cent or more, and in four of those years GNP grew at a rate of 6.5 per cent or more. In 1956, the one year of exception, a 5.1 per cent growth in energy accompanied a 1.8 per cent growth in GNP. The anomaly of the post-1966 period is that sustained high growth rates in energy accompanied moderate, low or negative growth in GNP. In what follows we examine a series of possible explanations for the trend reversal.

##### GNP sector composition

We must look first to the energy consumption and GNP series themselves for an explanation. Each is an aggregate, and it is possible that changes in the relative importance of components in either or both have caused subtle changes in the relation between the level of GNP and energy consumption. The Resources For the Future examination of the earlier history of the relationship back to 1850<sup>2</sup> sought to explain an opposite reversal, when the secular decline subsequent to 1920 supplanted a secular increase that had persisted before that time. The conclusions, emphasized as "hypotheses which appear to fit the facts which have been examined," were as follows:

"Changing economic structure in the direction of greater industrialization and mechanization in terms of rated horsepower equipment compared to output, which should lead to greater energy consumption per unit of national product, was apparently a dominant factor at work in the period until about World War I. Following 1920, changing economic structure still worked in the same direction, but with greatly reduced force. The other factors examined—changing composition of the energy aggregate, faster increases in thermal efficiency of energy utilization, the impact of electrification, and the acceleration in the rise of over-all economic productivity—all of which worked on balance in the direction of less energy input per unit of national output, were dominant."

One of the explanations suggested by the Resources For the Future study for the trend reversal it was attempting to explain was the increasing importance of the services sector of the economy, which is not energy intensive. As shown in Table II, however, changes in this proportion, or in that of any other sector, do not appear to have contributed to the recent trend reversal. There are no significant shifts in the relative importance of goods output versus services, or in the rela-

tive importance of any sector in the 1966-1969 period compared with earlier years.

*Conversion factors used in deriving aggregate consumption figures*

Since energy is consumed in the form of the several fuels and electricity, it is necessary to use a common denominator for aggregation. The conventional unit is the British thermal unit (Btu), which is a measure of the amount of energy required to raise the temperature of one pound of water one degree Fahrenheit. The Bureau of Mines publishes two series of aggregate energy consumption in Btu terms, one of which appears in the annual *Minerals Yearbook*; the other is contained in an annual summary of petroleum statistics published separately from the *Minerals Yearbook*. Annual figures in the two series are identical for only occasional years, but the differences between them when they are not identical are not large. We have used the *Yearbook* series because the conversions are more detailed (viz., the use of separate conversion factors for each petroleum product), hence the aggregate Btu figures tend to be more accurate. (See also the discussion of coal, below.)

One possible source of change in the energy/GNP ratio would be the manner in which physical quantities of energy commodities are converted into the Btu common denominator. For this purpose it is necessary to use conversion factors, and either changes in the conversion factors over time or the use of a constant factor that did not accurately reflect changes in actual energy equivalence could contribute to a change in the ratio. In fact, both instances have occurred. One concerns the conversion into Btus of kilowatt-hours of electricity produced from falling water and nuclear energy, where one has the option of converting on a pure equivalence basis (1 kwh=3,412 Btu) or on the basis of the fossil-fuel Btus that would have been required to obtain the same number of kilowatt-hours (known as the "heat rate" in fossil-fuel power generation).<sup>4</sup> The Bureau of Mines chose the latter.<sup>5</sup> Now, the heat rate is not constant from year to year, so that the conversion factor for nuclear and hydro-power is not constant. The significance of this is discussed below in the productivity section.

The instance of constant conversion factor in the face of changing actual circumstances is coal. Coal of different kinds and grades exhibits a wide range in Btu content, and the Bureau of Mines has for many years used a nominal factor of 26,200,000 Btu per short ton for bituminous coal.<sup>6</sup> The reported Btu content of the coal burned by electric utilities is, however, significantly less, and has been declining over time. In 1952 (the first year for which industry statistics on Btus of coal consumed by utilities are published) it averaged 24,200,000 Btu/ton, versus 23,400,000 in 1968-9. In its energy aggregation procedure the Bureau of Mines uses 24,000,000 Btu/ton in converting utility consumption of bituminous coal to Btus and applies an arbitrary higher factor to nonutility bituminous coal so as to obtain an overall coal conversion factor of 26,200,000 Btu/ton for total bituminous coal consumption. Utility use has accounted for an increasing share of total bituminous coal consumption, however (rising from 15.8 per cent in 1947 to 60.8 per cent in 1969), so that the Bureau's procedure introduces a clear upward bias into the coal figure.<sup>7</sup>

Here, then, is a factor affecting the trend reversal in the energy/GNP ratio, but when tested it does not prove to be a large enough factor to account for the trend reversal by itself. Recomputation of the ag-

gregate energy figure using the Btu content of coal as reported annually by the utilities and 26.2 MMBtu/ton as the conversion factor for all other coal consumption still yields a rise in the energy/GNP ratio from 1966 on.

*Energy consumption by consuming sector*

If one assumes that the cause of the reversed trend in the energy/GNP ratio lies in some particular energy use or group of uses it should be possible to detect this effect in the rates of growth in energy consumption by the sector or sectors in which they occur. Table III shows the annual growth rates in the several consuming sectors for the years 1962-1970. (The series extends back only to 1961.) Columns 1, 3 and 5 give the growth rates for the direct fuel use of energy in the sectors, as reported by the Bureau of Mines. The Bureau gives electricity use also by sector, but converts it into Btus at the theoretical equivalent of 1 kwh=3,412 Btu. To get a combined total for the input of all energy into each sector, including electricity, we have converted the kilowatt-hour figures to Btus at the prevailing heat rate in central stations for each year. The growth rates for the overall energy consumption in each sector are shown in columns 2, 4 and 6. It will be seen that the growth rates in the transportation sector are little affected by this procedure because of the small electricity consumption in that sector.

The adjusted series, including electricity consumption, in Table III show no pattern or anomaly that suggests any one of the sectors as the perennial determinant of a high growth rate in aggregate energy consumption. Each of the sectors has grown faster than the aggregate in some years, more slowly in others. Looking at the period of the reversal in the energy/GNP trend, in 1967 the household-commercial and transportation sectors had high growth rates, which were more than offset by a low rate in the industrial sector, resulting in a modest rate in the aggregate. In 1968 the industrial and transportation sectors had a high growth rate and the household-commercial sector a relatively low one, resulting in a high rate for the aggregate. In 1969 the household-commercial sector alone had a high growth rate; but the rates in the other sectors were moderate and the aggregate rate was less than in the preceding year. And in 1970 the household-commercial sector was again the highest, but the growth in the other sectors was still lower and the aggregate rate again fell.

One could postulate that the increasing possession of energy-intensive equipment and appliances by residential and commercial consumers (i.e., electric heating, air conditioning and color television) would make the level of energy consumption in this sector resistant to slow or negative growth in GNP, but the absence of any pattern consistent with this assumption removes it as a possible explanation. How does one explain the low growth rate in this sector in 1968, when GNP growth was comparatively high?

In sum, the data on energy consumption by sector offer no evidence that would explain the trend reversal.

*Productivity and heat rate*

As noted above, the Resources For the Future investigation of the energy/GNP ratio suggested that increased economic productivity and efficiency of energy use were significant determinants of the prior reversal in the trend in the ratio from increasing to declining. During the period 1966-1969 total private output per man-hour increased, but at lower rates than in the years from 1947 to 1966—the averages were 2.42 per cent and 3.46 per cent, respectively. (See Table IV.) On the other hand, in four years of the

earlier period (1952, 1954, 1956 and 1960) the productivity gain was at or below the average level of the later period, yet in only two of those years (1956 and 1960) was the increase in GNP less than the increase in energy consumption (i.e., the circumstances necessary for a rise in the energy/GNP ratio). What we see, in other words, is the relation between productivity gain and GNP growth, but not an explanation for the trend reversal in the ratio.

The counterpart of productivity on the GNP side is the heat rate on the energy side; that is, just as increased output per man-hour contributes to increased GNP, increased efficiency in energy use means less energy consumption per unit of output, hence contributes to a decrease in the energy/GNP ratio. If the heat rate were to have anything to do with the trend reversal, we should therefore expect it to experience a similar reversal. As Table IV shows, in two of the four years of the reversal the heat rate declined, and it rose in 1966, the year before the reversal. It is, nevertheless, significant that there is a clear slowing down in heat rate improvement over the period since World War II as a whole, with an apparent trend reversal dating from 1966. (Since the 1970 figure is from a different source, the size of the increase in that year may be exaggerated.) For the years 1947-1959 the annual decline in the heat rate averaged 2.94 per cent. From 1960 to 1966 the decline was only 0.64 per cent; and for the four years 1967-1970 the heat rate increased, on the average, by 0.88 per cent per year.

This slowdown in the decline in the heat rate is to be expected, since the minimum feasible level with current technology is in the neighborhood of 8,500 Btu/kwh. As this level is approached, additional gains in efficiency become both more difficult and more expensive. The overall heat rate can be lowered, moreover, only through the addition of new plants with lower than average heat rates; thus the rate of decline must slow down as the difference between the average of existing plants and the level of new plants decreases. Finally, the extra cost of the improved heat rate is viewed in a less favorable light by the utilities in periods of high interest rates. It is therefore likely that in some years there may be an increase in the average heat rate, as new plants coming on line in that year operate at a higher rate than the new plants of the previous year.

We have tested the effect of the declining improvement in the heat rate by assuming that it continued to decline at the annual compounded rate of decrease in the period 1947-1961 (there was an abrupt drop in the annual rate of improvement in the subsequent years). We have assumed that 8,530 Btu/kwh (40 per cent efficiency) is the physically feasible limit and have held it constant at that level after it was attained. This is, of course, wholly theoretical, since the 8,530-Btu level implicitly assumes that all plants are at that level. Nevertheless, it does provide an indication of whether the heat rate experience is an explanation of the energy/GNP trend reversal. As shown in Table V, however, even under this assumption the ratio increases after 1966.

It should be borne in mind that the effect of the heat rate on aggregate energy consumption is considerably diluted in the statistics because it is totally masked in utility use by the constant conversion factor for coal. It appears in the aggregate only through hydropower and nuclear power. The proof that the change in the heat rate is not itself a complete explanation of the reversal in the energy/GNP ratio is the use of the 1966 heat rate as the conversion factor for non-fossil-fuel power in each of the succeeding years. The trend still reverses.

Footnotes at end of article.

*The substitution of electricity for direct fuel use*

Morrison and Reading<sup>8</sup> have previously discussed the relation of energy consumption to GNP and have pointed out that the ratio of the percentage change in energy consumption to a one per cent change in GNP—which they termed the “energy coefficient”—had shown an increasing trend from 1947 through 1965. They attributed this to the much more rapid rate of growth in the electric utility sector relative to the other sectors (i.e., household, commercial, industrial and transportation) and the increasing displacement of direct fuels in these sectors by purchased electricity. Because of the one-third thermal efficiency in power generation, to the extent this substitution occurs, the net increase in energy inputs is doubled (allowing for the Btus that would be consumed in direct fuel use).

Unfortunately, there is no way of measuring, in the consumption statistics, the degree to which electricity has substituted for direct fuel use in recent years. In one sense, all electricity use is a substitute for fuel use, but conversion from mechanical power to electricity is almost wholly a matter of past history. The significant substitution in recent years has been in heating in the residential, commercial and industrial sectors. Data are available for the years through 1968 on the number of electrically heated homes and average annual kilowatt-hour usage per home. When aggregate energy usage is adjusted to take this use into account by computing the net increase in Btu input due to indirect fuel usage, the difference in the aggregate is too small by itself to offset completely the trend reversal in the energy/GNP ratio.

The largest effect, however, is in the commercial and industrial sectors, since one all-electric office building may be the equivalent of hundreds of homes, and an industrial electric furnace can be the equivalent of a whole town of electrically heated homes. Unfortunately, there are no data from which to compute a reliable measure of this effect. It is clear, in any event, that electric heating *in toto* is a significant factor in the reversal in the trend of the energy/GNP ratio, especially in view of the rapid growth of electrically heated buildings in the past few years.

*Air conditioning*

The increased use of air conditioning is one of the most notable phenomena of the period since World War II in the field of energy consumption. It is primarily a use of electricity<sup>9</sup> and is also an addition to energy use—it does not replace or supplant any previous use. As an element in the growth of electricity use, air conditioning could possibly be an explanation of the trend reversal in the energy/GNP ratio.

To test this possibility we first computed the ratios of monthly residential and commercial electric energy sales in July, August and September to the twelve-month centered moving averages for the period 1960–1969. The results indicated a rise in the seasonal index for those months during that period (see Table VI). This is what one would expect; with the spread of air conditioning, consumption during the summer constituted an increasing proportion of total annual consumption.

In the absence of direct statistics on actual air-conditioning electricity use in the household sector we derived estimates. From room air conditioners we used annual estimates of the number of homes with this appliance<sup>10</sup> and kilowatt-hour consumption per appliance.<sup>11</sup> Extrapolating from 1960 Census data (1970 data are not yet available), we

assumed that homes with room air conditioners had 1.6, on the average, in 1966, increasing to 2.1 per home in 1970. For central air-conditioning we used estimates of the number of dwelling units so equipped supplied by the Air Conditioning and Refrigeration Institute and assumed an average annual usage of 4,900 kwh per residential unit.<sup>12</sup>

For the commercial sector we used the statistics on kwh sales in the “commercial and industrial class (small light and power),” as reported by the Edison Electric Institute. We assumed that the difference between average kwh consumption during the months from June to October (the “cooling” season) and the average monthly use for the preceding seven months represented air-conditioning consumption of electricity in this sector. We converted the resulting kwh figure to its Btu equivalent using the prevailing heat rate in central stations and added it to our figure for residential air-conditioning consumption, converted to Btus on the same basis.

The results are shown in Table VII. The statistical basis of this adjustment is admittedly weak, since we have compounded assumptions and estimates, but we believe that on balance the results tend, if anything, to understate the magnitude of this energy use. Nevertheless, subtraction of the total calculated air-conditioning Btus from aggregate energy consumption falls to eliminate the reversal in the energy/GNP trend, and falls by a sufficient margin to indicate that whatever understatement of air-conditioning energy use may be present does not make the difference: air-conditioning use by itself does not completely explain the reversal, although it is a factor contributing to it.

*Energy intensive industries*

A possible cause of the rise in the ratio could be an increase in energy consumption in the industrial sector, which would follow from an increase in the relative place, among all industry energy consumption, of those industries accounting for a substantial part of the total, either because they are themselves energy intensive or because they are moderately energy intensive but large in the scale of total energy use. Just such an increase is suggested by the data in Table VIII, which show that the ratio between energy consumption by the industrial sector and the Federal Reserve Board (FRB) index of mining and manufacturing production declined from 1961 through 1966 and reversed from 1967 through 1970, exactly paralleling the energy/GNP ratio.

The role of the energy intensive industries in this reversal can be assessed by examining the six two-digit SIC categories which account for two-thirds of all industry energy use: food; paper; chemicals; petroleum and coal products; stone, clay and glass products; and primary metals. (See Table IX.) Taking the energy bill for these six categories as reported by the Census for 1966 and 1967, and deflating by the Wholesale Price Index for fuels and power, the increase between the two years was 0.2 per cent. The FRB index of mining and manufacturing for those two years increased by 0.8 per cent, however, while the deflated energy bill for all industry increased by 3.0 per cent. Thus the energy intensive industries did not account for the increase in the energy/FRB ratio in 1967. (In fact, the energy consumption of the other industries increased by 10.3 per cent.)

There are no Census data on energy consumption available subsequent to 1967, but one can get a measure of the significance of the energy intensive industries in the behavior of the energy/FRB ratio in the following years by assuming that there has been no significant change in the energy/

production ratio in those industries and examining the percentage increases in their (FRB) production indexes during the period 1967–1969. Between 1967 and 1968 all six categories increased their production, but output in three of them (metals, petroleum and food) rose at a rate equal to or less than that of the overall index. Between 1968 and 1969 two categories (petroleum and food) rose less than the overall index. One can thus conclude that the increase in energy consumption by industry was pervasive and was not concentrated in those industries that account for most of overall industrial consumption of energy. The hypothesis that energy consumption in the energy intensive industries was a factor in the trend reversal is not supported by our analysis of the data.

*Nonenergy uses of the fuels*

In the strict sense the Bureau of Mines figure for aggregate energy consumption overstates the true energy consumption of the economy since it includes such nonenergy uses of the fuels as carbon black, petrochemicals and coal chemicals. Thus an increase in these uses could increase the energy/GNP ratio without there having been a true change in the amount of energy consumed relative to economic activity. Between 1966 and 1970 the total Btus attributable to raw material usage did indeed rise by more than one-third, but as a percentage of the aggregate Btu figure the increase was from 5.0 per cent to 5.6 per cent. Obviously, the non-energy uses by themselves do not provide a complete explanation for the reversal, but just as obviously they were an important contributing factor.

*The combined effects of statistical bias and growth elements in energy consumption*

We have seen that none of the factors examined above is by itself an explanation in itself of the reversal in the trend of the energy/GNP ratio, but it is possible that their combined effect could be sufficient to provide an explanation. This possibility is presented in Table X, in which all of the adjustments to the aggregate consumption figures for the years 1966–1970 are made together. When this is done, the upward trend in the energy/GNP ratio remains. Nevertheless, it has been considerably reduced. The increase in the ratio in Table I between 1966 and 1970 is 10.3 per cent. In Table X it is 5.3 per cent.

Table X also shows that adjusted total energy consumption increases by 8,102 trillion Btu from 1966 to 1970. Actual energy consumption rose by 12,151 trillion Btu, however. Thus, our six explanatory factors account for 4,049 trillion Btu of the total increase in energy consumption between 1966 and 1970. Had these factors not been operative, the increase in energy consumption in the period would have been 4,049 trillion Btu less, and consumption in 1970 would, of course, have been 4,049 trillion Btu less. Since the “excess” energy consumption in 1970 was some 8,000 trillion Btu, we conclude that our six factors account for at least one-half of the excess.

The relative contributions to the trend reversal of the causes we have identified are summarized in Table XI: nonenergy use of fuels is the most important cause, followed by the decline in (or possible cessation of) improvement in the heat rate in fossil-fuel power generation. Together these two causes account for three-quarters of the identified basis of the trend reversal. Another way of looking at the mix of causes is to distinguish between the real and apparent increases in aggregate energy consumption. The real increases are in nonfuel use,<sup>13</sup> the slowdown in heat rate improvement, air conditioning and electric heating. The apparent increases are those due to statistical conversion methods

Footnotes at end of article.

and factors which fail to reflect correctly changes in real Btu inputs. The real increases account for 85 per cent of the total.

If the foregoing findings are correct, they carry interesting implications for the future course of the energy/GNP ratio. The reversal in the trend which occurred in the latter half of the 1960s was the result of several trends in energy use (including nonenergy use of fossil fuels) which have been building up during the period since World War II. By the time of the trend reversal in the ratio, the growth in these general energy use trends had raised the absolute levels to the point where their trends began to increase the rate of growth in aggregate energy use. This meant that any faltering in GNP growth, such as has occurred since 1966, was likely to result in an increase in the ratio. For the future it means that anything less than high GNP growth (even the 4.3 per cent assumed by the Bureau of Labor Statistics in its GNP forecasts) is likely to be less than the energy growth rate, and the energy/GNP ratio will therefore increase. The annual increases in our calculated air-conditioning use (12.2 per cent, 19.3 per cent, 22.5 per cent and 19.9 per cent) are so high as to be suspect, but there is every reason to believe that whatever the true level, it is higher than the growth rate in aggregate energy consumption and will thus tend to raise that rate. Similarly, although our calculated energy consumption in electric heating is still very small compared with aggregate energy consumption, its growth rate is also much higher than that of the aggregate, and as it continues to increase in absolute terms its influence on the aggregate will increase. Finally, nonenergy uses, with growth rates of 10.1 per cent, 7.8 per cent, 13.8 per cent, and 1.4 per cent, respectively, in the period 1967-1970 (the low 1970 figure nicely reflects the lack of GNP growth in that year), can also be expected to continue to increase the aggregate growth rate in the future. In sum, although there may be years of high GNP growth rate sufficient to exceed the aggregate energy rate, these will be the exceptions, and it is likely

that the trend reversal in the energy/GNP ratio will continue for the indefinite future. Whether it will rise steeply or gradually depends on the success of the government in maintaining high economic growth. There is certainly nothing on the horizon short of government intervention to suggest any slackening in the energy growth rate.

## FOOTNOTES

<sup>1</sup> S. H. Schurr, B.C. Netschert et al., *Energy in the American Economy: 1850-1975* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1960), pp. 157-190.

<sup>2</sup> *Idem.*

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 190.

<sup>4</sup> In the strict sense the correct figure would be the actual Btu output of the nuclear reactor. The nuclear plants built to date have a lower thermal efficiency than fossil-fueled plants because of the lower temperature of their operation. The use of the prevailing heat rate in fossil-fueled plants thus understates the actual energy input. On the other hand (see text below), the Bureau of Mines does not express the heat rate in Btu terms but in pounds of coal per kwh, which is converted into Btu terms at a rate of 24 million Btu per ton of coal. Since the reported Btu content of the coal burned by utilities in recent years is less than this, the Bureau of Mines procedure tends to overstate the actual energy input.

<sup>5</sup> There is considerable disagreement among energy statisticians over which conversion method is appropriate. The United Nations, for example, uses the pure equivalence factor of 3,412 Btu/kwh, which is the same as assuming that the electricity, if generated from fossil-fuel combustion, had been obtained at 100 per cent thermal efficiency. The actual efficiency approaches 40 per cent in some new plants and averages around 30 per cent for all plants. Clearly the choice of one or the other conversion method does not concern this discussion except that the Bureau of Mines' choice of the experienced heat rate introduces a fluctuating conversion factor.

<sup>6</sup> Anthracite has accounted for a very minor amount of total utility coal consumption. It is ignored in this discussion, although it is included in the statistics.

<sup>7</sup> This is still preferable to the procedure used in the other series, in which a factor of 26.2 MMBtu/ton is applied to all bituminous coal consumption.

<sup>8</sup> W. E. Morrison and C. L. Reading, *An Energy Model for the United States, Featuring Energy Balances for the Years 1947 to 1965 and Projections and Forecasts for the Years 1980 and 2000*, Bureau of Mines Information Circular 8384 (Washington: United States Department of the Interior, 1968).

<sup>9</sup> Air conditioning based on other principles and not involving the familiar motor-driven compressor is also used in the commercial sector, but this can be disregarded in the present instance.

<sup>10</sup> Using the midyear average of January 1 estimates published in *Merchandising Week, Statistical and Marketing Report, 1966-1971*.

<sup>11</sup> Edison Electric Institute, "Approximate Wattage Rating, and Estimated Annual Kilowatt-hour Consumption, Electrical Appliances.—Assuming Normal Use," mimeo reports of January 1965, January 1967, and April 1969.

<sup>12</sup> This figure was derived from data in Federal Power Commission, *All Electric Homes, 1969*.

<sup>13</sup> There is a small semantic difficulty here. It could be argued that since the nonenergy fuel uses do not involve an energy input into the economy, they should not be included in the aggregate at all. On the other hand, if one thinks of the energy resources as a class of inputs and the Btu common denominator as just that—not a measure of energy—the aggregate figure is a correct measure of the total energy resource input. The fact that some of the energy resources are used as raw materials rather than energy sources is beside the point. Also, the effect of the heat rate on conversion of the hydro figure is in a sense real. We have chosen to consider this effect statistical because it involves a statistical conversion.

TABLE I.—ENERGY CONSUMPTION, GROSS NATIONAL PRODUCT, AND THE ENERGY/GNP RATIO, 1947-70

Year	Aggregate energy consumption		GNP (1958 dollars)		Energy/GNP ratio	
	Amount (trillion B.T.U.s)	Percent change from preceding year	Amount (Billions)	Percent change from preceding year	Amount (thousands B.T.U.'s per dollar)	Percent change from preceding year
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
1947	32,870		\$399.9		106.1	
1948	33,994	+2.5	323.7	+4.5	105.0	-1.0
1949	31,604	-7.0	324.1	+1	97.5	-7.1
1950	34,153	+8.1	355.3	+9.6	96.1	-1.4
1951	36,913	+8.1	383.4	+7.9	96.3	+2
1952	36,576	-9	395.1	+3.1	92.6	-3.8
1953	37,697	+3.1	412.8	+4.5	91.3	-1.4
1954	36,360	-3.5	407.0	-1.4	89.3	-2.2
1955	39,956	+9.9	438.0	+7.6	91.2	+2.1
1956	42,007	+5.1	446.1	+1.8	94.2	+3.3
1957	41,920	-2	452.5	+1.4	92.6	-1.7
1958	41,493	-1.0	447.3	-1.1	92.8	+2
1959	43,411	+4.6	475.9	+6.4	91.2	-1.7
1960	44,960	+3.6	487.7	+2.5	92.2	+1.0
1961	45,573	+1.4	497.2	+1.9	91.7	-5
1962	47,620	+4.5	529.8	+6.6	89.9	-2.0
1963	49,649	+4.3	551.0	+4.0	90.1	+2
1964	51,515	+3.8	581.1	+5.5	88.7	-1.6
1965	53,785	+4.4	617.8	+6.3	87.1	-1.8
1966	56,948	+5.9	658.1	+6.5	86.5	-7
1967	58,868	+3.4	675.2	+2.6	87.2	+8
1968	62,448	+6.1	707.2	+4.7	88.3	+1.3
1969	65,832	+5.4	727.1	+2.8	90.5	+2.5
1970 <sup>1</sup>	69,099	+5.0	724.3	-4	95.4	+5.4

<sup>1</sup> Preliminary.

<sup>2</sup> Corrected from Bureau of Mines published values on the basis of Federal Power Commission data.

Source: Col. (1)—1947-67: U.S. Department of the Interior, *Minerals Yearbook*, vol. II, 1962-68; 1968: U.S. Department of the Interior news release of Apr. 7, 1970, revised; 1969-70: U.S. Department of the Interior news release of Mar. 9, 1971. Col. (3)—1947-65: U.S. Department of Commerce, *Business Statistics*, 1969, 17th biennial edition (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1969); 1966-70: U.S. Department of Commerce, *Survey of Current Business*, July 1970, and unpublished data.

TABLE II.—SELECTED COMPONENTS OF GNP 1947-69  
AMOUNTS IN BILLIONS (1958 DOLLARS)

Year	Total GNP	Total goods output	Durable goods	Non-durable goods	Services	Structures	Government purchases of goods and services	General government
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
1947	\$309.9	\$172.2	\$60.1	\$112.2	\$106.5	\$31.2	\$39.9	\$28.6
1948	323.7	178.4	61.3	117.1	109.3	36.1	46.3	28.7
1949	324.1	174.2	58.0	116.2	112.4	37.5	53.3	30.1
1950	355.3	192.6	73.4	119.1	117.5	45.2	52.8	31.1
1951	383.4	208.4	84.1	124.3	130.5	44.4	75.4	38.8
1952	395.1	214.0	84.6	129.4	136.3	44.7	92.1	41.8
1953	412.8	225.4	91.0	134.4	140.3	47.0	99.8	41.7
1954	451.0	215.1	81.9	133.2	141.8	50.2	88.9	40.9
1955	438.0	236.1	96.5	139.7	147.5	54.3	85.2	40.7
1956	446.1	239.0	96.5	142.5	153.0	54.0	85.3	41.3
1957	452.5	239.8	96.2	143.6	160.1	52.6	89.3	41.9
1958	447.3	230.8	83.6	147.2	163.4	53.1	94.2	42.2
1959	475.9	247.7	94.0	153.7	171.2	57.0	94.7	41.5
1960	487.7	256.0	97.8	158.2	176.6	55.0	94.9	43.7
1961	497.2	257.3	94.9	162.3	184.0	55.8	100.5	44.8
1962	529.8	277.3	107.0	170.3	193.7	58.8	107.5	46.9
1963	557.0	289.7	114.2	175.6	200.9	60.4	109.6	47.8
1964	581.1	308.7	124.6	184.1	210.8	61.6	111.2	49.1
1965	617.8	330.7	136.5	194.2	221.9	65.2	114.7	50.8
1966	658.1	356.8	151.8	205.1	236.3	65.0	126.5	54.6
1967	675.2	363.1	152.2	210.9	249.1	63.0	126.5	57.6
1968	707.2	380.7	162.1	218.6	260.0	66.6	148.3	59.7
1969	727.1	392.2	170.1	222.1	268.2	66.6	147.8	60.7

TABLE II.—SELECTED COMPONENTS OF GNP 1947-69  
AMOUNTS IN BILLIONS (1958 DOLLARS)

Year	Total GNP (1)	Total goods output (2)	Durable goods (3)	Non-durable goods (4)	Services (5)	Structures (6)	Government purchases of goods and services (7)	General government (8)
PERCENT OF TOTAL GNP								
1947..	100.0	55.6	19.4	36.2	34.4	10.1	12.9	9.2
1948..	100.0	55.1	18.9	36.2	33.8	11.2	14.3	8.9
1949..	100.0	53.7	17.9	35.9	34.7	11.6	16.4	9.3
1950..	100.0	54.2	20.7	33.5	33.1	12.7	14.9	8.8
1951..	100.0	54.4	21.9	32.4	34.0	11.6	19.7	10.1
1952..	100.0	54.2	21.4	32.8	34.5	11.3	23.3	10.6
1953..	100.0	54.6	22.0	32.6	34.0	11.4	24.2	10.1
1954..	100.0	52.9	20.1	32.7	34.8	12.3	21.8	10.0
1955..	100.0	53.9	22.0	31.9	33.7	12.4	19.5	9.3
1956..	100.0	53.6	21.6	31.9	34.3	12.1	19.1	9.3
1957..	100.0	53.0	21.3	31.7	35.4	11.6	19.7	9.3
1958..	100.0	51.6	18.7	32.9	36.5	11.9	21.1	9.4
1959..	100.0	52.0	19.8	32.3	36.0	12.0	19.9	8.9
1960..	100.0	52.5	20.1	32.4	36.2	11.3	19.5	9.0
1961..	100.0	51.7	19.1	32.6	37.0	11.2	20.2	9.0
1962..	100.0	52.3	20.2	32.1	36.6	11.1	20.3	8.9
1963..	100.0	52.6	20.7	31.9	36.5	11.0	19.9	8.7
1964..	100.0	53.1	21.4	31.7	36.3	10.6	19.1	8.4
1965..	100.0	53.5	22.1	31.4	35.9	10.6	18.6	8.2
1966..	100.0	54.2	23.1	31.2	35.9	9.9	19.2	8.3
1967..	100.0	53.8	22.5	31.2	36.9	9.3	20.8	8.5
1968..	100.0	53.8	22.9	30.9	36.8	9.4	21.0	8.4
1969..	100.0	53.9	23.4	30.5	36.9	9.2	20.3	8.3

Source: U.S. Department of Commerce, Survey of Current Business, July 1970 and July 1968. For earlier years, U.S. Department of Commerce, "The National Income and Product Accounts of the United States, 1929-1965" (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1966).

TABLE III.—COMPARISON OF ANNUAL GROWTH RATES IN ENERGY CONSUMPTION BY SECTOR, FOR DIRECT FUEL USE AND INCLUDING ELECTRICITY CONSUMPTION, IN AGGREGATE ENERGY CONSUMPTION AND IN GNP, PERCENT—1962-70  
[In percent]

Year	Household and commercial		Industrial		Transportation		Annual growth in aggregate energy consumption (7)	Annual growth in GNP (8)
	Direct fuel use (1)	Includes electricity consumption (2)	Direct fuel use (3)	Includes electricity consumption (4)	Direct fuel use (5)	Includes electricity consumption (6)		
1962..	5.6	6.0	3.7	4.3	3.9	3.8	4.5	6.6
1963..	6.6	3.3	5.1	4.8	4.8	4.8	4.3	4.0
1964..	1.8	4.0	5.1	5.1	2.5	2.4	3.8	5.5
1965..	5.4	6.4	2.9	3.5	3.7	3.7	4.4	6.3
1966..	4.7	5.8	5.1	6.1	5.0	4.9	5.9	6.5
1967..	5.0	5.8	5.1	6.1	6.0	6.0	3.4	2.6
1968..	3.8	6.9	4.0	4.5	4.1	4.0	5.4	2.8
1969..	3.3	5.4	3.1	4.4	3.2	3.2	5.0	-0.4

SOURCE

Cols. (1)-(6): Calculated from data contained in U.S. Department of the Interior, "Minerals Yearbook," vol. II, 1964-1968. For 1968, U.S. Department of the Interior, news release of April 7, 1970, revised, and for 1969-1970, U.S. Department of the Interior, news release of March 9, 1971. Cols. (7) & (8): Table I.

TABLE IV.—OUTPUT PER MAN-HOUR AND HEAT RATE 1947-70

Year	Output per man-hour (1957-59=100)			Percent change from previous year in output per man-hour			Heat rate B.t.u. per kw.-hr. (7)	Percent change from previous year (8)
	Total private <sup>1</sup> (1)	Total nonfarm (2)	Manufacturing (3)	Total private (4)	Total nonfarm (5)	Manufacturing (6)		
1947..	69.0	74.1	72.3				15,600	
1948..	72.0	76.5	76.4	+4.3	+3.2	+5.7	15,738	+0.88
1949..	74.2	79.5	79.3	+3.1	+3.9	+3.8	15,033	-4.48
1950..	80.3	84.4	85.0	+8.2	+6.2	+7.2	14,030	-6.67
1951..	82.7	86.3	86.9	+3.0	+2.3	+2.2	13,641	-2.77
1952..	84.3	87.0	87.3	+1.9	+0.8	+0.5	13,361	-2.05
1953..	87.8	89.6	90.2	+4.2	+3.0	+3.3	12,889	-3.53
1954..	89.9	91.6	91.8	+2.4	+2.2	+1.8	12,180	-5.50
1955..	93.9	95.7	97.2	+4.4	+4.5	+5.9	11,699	-3.95
1956..	94.1	95.2	96.2	+0.2	-0.5	-1.0	11,456	-2.08
1957..	96.9	97.2	98.2	+3.0	+2.1	+2.1	11,365	-0.79
1958..	98.8	99.7	98.1	+3.0	+2.6	-0.1	11,090	-2.42
1959..	103.4	103.1	103.7	+3.6	+3.4	+5.7	10,879	-1.90
1960..	105.0	104.4	105.5	+1.5	+1.3	+1.7	10,701	-1.64
1961..	108.6	107.9	109.9	+3.4	+2.9	+2.3	10,552	-1.39
1962..	113.8	112.3	114.3	+4.8	+4.6	+5.9	10,493	-0.56
1963..	117.9	118.9	118.9	+3.6	+3.0	+4.0	10,438	-0.52
1964..	122.5	120.0	124.7	+3.9	+3.7	+4.9	10,407	-0.30
1965..	126.6	123.6	129.8	+3.3	+3.0	+4.1	10,384	-0.22
1966..	131.7	127.9	131.8	+4.0	+3.5	+1.5	10,399	+0.14
1967..	134.4	130.0	132.0	+2.1	+1.6	+0.2	10,396	-0.03
1968..	138.3	133.7	138.2	+2.9	+2.8	+4.7	10,371	-0.24
1969..	139.3	134.2	141.1	+0.7	+0.4	+2.1	10,457	+0.83
1970..	(*)	(*)	(*)	(*)	(*)	(*)	10,769	+2.98

<sup>1</sup> Includes farm.  
<sup>2</sup> Not available.  
<sup>3</sup> Based on Bureau of Mines data.

Source: Cols. (1), (2) and (3): U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, Handbook of Labor Statistics, 1970, for 1947-66. Revised data for 1967-69 from Division of Productivity Research of Bureau of Labor Statistics.  
Col. (7): Edison Electric Institute, Statistical Year Book, 1969 and Edison Electric Institute, Historical Statistics of the Electric Utility Industry.

TABLE V.—HEAT RATE EFFECT—GENERATION OF ELECTRICITY FROM FOSSIL FUELS, ADJUSTED AGGREGATE ENERGY CONSUMPTION, AND THE ADJUSTED ENERGY/GNP RATIO 1966-70

Year	Steam generated electricity (billions kw.-hrs.) (1)	Trended (1947-61) heat rate (B.t.u./kw.-hrs.) (2)	Required B.t.u.'s (trillions) (1) x (2) (3)	Reported generation from fossil fuels (trillion B.t.u.'s) (4)	Adjusted aggregate energy consumption (trillion B.t.u.'s) (5)	Adjusted energy/GNP ratio (thousand B.t.u.'s) (6)
1966..	944	8,707	8,219	9,994	55,173	83.8
1967..	988	8,530	8,428	10,425	56,871	84.2
1968..	1,102	8,530	9,400	11,556	60,292	85.3
1969..	1,187	8,530	10,125	12,676	63,281	87.0
1970..	1,222	8,530	10,424	14,112	65,411	90.3

<sup>1</sup> Unpublished data from the Federal Power Commission.

SOURCES

Col. (1): U.S. Department of Commerce, "Statistical Abstract," 1967-70.  
Col. (2): 1966: Projected value from calculated trend of annual reported heat rates, 1947-61 (Edison Electric Institute, see table IV), 1967-70: Assumed minimum feasible heat rate.  
Col. (4): 1966-67: U.S. Department of the Interior, "Minerals Yearbook," 1968. 1968: U.S. Department of the Interior, News Release of Apr. 7, 1970, revised. 1969-70: U.S. Department of the Interior, news release of Mar. 9, 1971.  
Col. (5): Bureau of Mines aggregate energy consumption (see table I) less col. (4) plus col. (3).  
Col. (6): Adjusted aggregate energy consumption, Col. (5), divided by GNP, 1958 constant dollars, table I.

TABLE VI.—RATIO OF ACTUAL MONTHLY RESIDENTIAL AND COMMERCIAL ELECTRIC ENERGY SALES TO 12-MONTH MOVING AVERAGE, SELECTED MONTHS, 1960-69

Year	July	August	September
1960..	99.6	103.0	103.3
1961..	99.2	104.2	104.3
1962..	101.5	103.6	102.1
1963..	103.4	107.4	104.2
1964..	105.3	109.0	104.9
1965..	103.4	107.1	105.8
1966..	106.6	110.6	105.6
1967..	104.8	107.6	102.7
1968..	104.3	110.5	107.5
1969..	107.4	111.8	109.3

Source: Based on the monthly electric energy sales to customers in the "residential" and "commercial and industrial (small light and power)" classes reported by Edison Electric Institute in its Statistical Year Book, annual issues. Monthly data for 1959 required to obtain the July, August, and September 1960 ratios. The 1960 ratios were adjusted to include Alaska and Hawaii.

TABLE VII.—BTU'S ATTRIBUTABLE TO AIR CONDITIONING, RESIDENTIAL AND COMMERCIAL 1966-70

Line No.	1966	1967	1968	1969	1970	
<b>Residential (trillion Btu's):</b>						
1	Attributable to window air conditioning.....	316	400	491	632	770
2	Attributable to central air conditioning.....	186	216	246	282	327
3	Total.....	502	616	737	914	1,097
<b>Commercial (million kw-hr):</b>						
4	Sum of sales from June through October.....	102,909	108,773	119,371	129,889	142,910
5	Total for preceding 7 months.....	118,974	131,261	142,283	153,165	166,842
6	Average monthly sales of preceding 7 months.....	16,996	18,752	20,326	21,881	23,835
7	Sum of differences between June-October sales and average monthly sales of preceding 7 months (line 4 minus 5 by line 6)....	17,929	15,013	17,741	20,484	23,735
8	Heat rate (Btu/kwh).....	10,399	10,396	10,371	10,457	10,769
9	Attributable to commercial air conditioning (line 7 by line 8) (trillion Btu's).....	186	156	184	214	256
10	Total, residential and commercial.....	688	772	921	1,128	1,353

<sup>1</sup> Based on Bureau of Mines data.

Source: Line (1) and line (2): Estimated from use of data from: Edison Electric Institute, Approximate Wattage Rating, and Estimated Annual Kilowatt-hour Consumption, Electrical Appliances—Assuming Normal Uses," mimeo reports of January 1965, January 1967, and April 1969; Federal Power Commission, All Electric Homes, annual issues; Merchandising Week, Statistical and Marketing Report, 1966-1971; and unpublished data supplied by the Air Conditioning and Refrigeration Institute; line (4) and line (5): Edison Electric Institute, Statistical Year Book, 1969 and 1968. For 1970, in press release supplied by Edison Electric Institute; line (8): See Table IV.

TABLE VIII.—INDUSTRIAL ENERGY CONSUMPTION VERSUS THE INDEX OF INDUSTRIAL PRODUCTION (MINING AND MANUFACTURING), 1961-70

	Energy consumption by the industrial sector (trillion B.t.u.'s)	Index of industrial production (mining and manufacturing), (1961=100)	Ratio (trillion B.t.u.'s), (1)+(2)
	(1)	(2)	(3)
1961	18,930	100.0	189.3
1962	19,749	107.8	183.2
1963	20,703	113.2	182.9
1964	21,767	120.4	180.8
1965	22,523	130.6	172.5
1966	23,899	142.5	167.7
1967	24,232	143.7	168.6
1968	25,924	149.9	172.9
1969	27,099	156.1	173.6
1970	28,310	150.8	187.7

Source: Col. (1)—U.S. Department of the Interior, Minerals Yearbook, vol. II, 1964-68. For 1968, U.S. Department of the Interior news release of Apr. 6, 1970, revised, and for 1969-70, U.S. Department of the Interior news release of Mar. 9, 1971. Includes electricity consumption. Col. (2)—Calculated from the Federal Reserve Board separate indexes of mining and manufacturing production.

TABLE IX.—THE COST OF FUELS AND ELECTRICITY USED BY INDUSTRY GROUPS, PERCENT OF TOTAL, AND PERCENT OF VALUE ADDED AND VALUE OF SHIPMENTS, 1967

SIC No.	Total cost of purchased fuels and electricity as percent of total	Cost of purchased fuels and electricity, as percent of—	
		Value added	Value of shipments
20	8.5	2.5	0.8
21	2	.7	.3
22	3.7	3.5	1.4
23	1.2	.9	.4
24	2.7	4.2	1.9
25	.8	1.4	.8
26	7.4	5.9	2.8
27	1.6	.9	.6
28	15.4	5.0	2.8
29	5.8	8.3	2.1
30	2.2	2.6	1.4
31	.5	1.3	.7
32	8.3	7.6	4.4
33	21.5	8.3	3.6
34	4.5	2.0	1.0
35	4.8	1.3	.8
36	3.7	1.2	.7
37	4.9	1.4	.6
38	.7	.9	.6
39, 19	1.5	1.2	.7
	100.0	3.0	1.4

Source: Calculated from U.S. Department of Commerce, "Fuels and Electric Energy Used in Manufacturing," Preliminary Report, 1967 Census of Manufacturers, Series MC67(P)-7, July 1969, and U.S. Department of Commerce, "General Statistics for Industry Groups and Industries," Annual Survey of Manufactures—1968, M58(AS)-1, June 1970.

TABLE X.—SUMMARY OF THE ADJUSTMENTS TO AGGREGATE ENERGY CONSUMPTION AND THE RESULTING ENERGY/GNP RATIO, 1966-70

Year	[Trillion B.t.u.'s]												
	Reported aggregate energy consumption		Heat rate effect on electricity generation from hydropower		Heat rate effect on electricity generation from fossil fuels		Nonutility coal use		B.t.u.s' attributable to air conditioning	Substitution effect of electric heating	Nonenergy use of the fuels	Adjusted aggregate energy consumption	Adjusted energy/GNP ratio (thousand B.t.u.'s)
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)					
1966	56,948	1,698	2,073	8,219	9,994	6,059	6,633	688	78	2,849	50,609	76.9	
1967	58,868	1,894	2,341	8,428	10,425	5,692	6,283	772	96	3,136	51,829	76.8	
1968	62,448	1,894	2,355	9,400	11,556	5,556	6,199	921	115	3,381	54,771	77.4	
1969	65,832	2,132	2,706	10,125	12,676	5,390	6,065	1,128	139	3,846	56,919	78.3	
1970	69,099	2,175	2,746	10,424	14,112	5,264	5,968	1,353	172	3,900	58,711	81.0	

<sup>1</sup> Corrected from Bureau of Mines published values on the basis of Federal Power Commission data.

Source: Cols. (1), (3), (5), (7) and (10)—U.S. Department of the Interior, Minerals Yearbook, vol. II, 1966-68. For 1968, U.S. Department of the Interior news release of Apr. 7, 1970, revised, and for 1969-70, U.S. Department of the Interior news release of Mar. 9, 1971; col. (2)—Calculated by using hydro generation as reported in the U.S. Department of Commerce Statistical Abstract, various years, converted to B.t.u.'s using the 1947-61 trended heat rate (see table V); col. (4)—Table V;

col. (6)—Calculated from tonnage of coal used for nonutility fuel from Bureau of Mines data, converted to B.t.u.'s using the conversion factor of 26,200,000 B.t.u./ton., col. (8)—Table VII; col. (9)—Calculated by taking 5/4 of the total B.t.u.'s attributable to heating in all electric homes, based on data in the Federal Power Commission, "All Electric Homes," 1966, 1967, and 1968, and converted to B.t.u.'s using EEI's prevailing heat rate (table IV); col. (11)—Cols (1) plus (2) minus (3) plus (4) minus (5) plus (6) minus (7) minus (8) minus (9) and minus (10); col. (12)—Calculated based on GNP, 1958 dollars, table I.

TABLE XI.—INDIVIDUAL ADJUSTMENTS AS A PERCENT OF TOTAL ADJUSTMENTS TO AGGREGATE ENERGY CONSUMPTION, 1966-70

Year	Total adjustment to aggregate energy consumption (trillion B.t.u.'s)		Heat rate effect on hydro input		Heat rate effect on fossil fuels		Nonutility coal use, statistical adjustment		B.t.u.s attributable to air conditioning		Substitution effect of electric heating		Nonenergy uses	
	Adjustment (trillion B.t.u.'s)	Percent of total	Adjustment (trillion B.t.u.'s)	Percent of total	Adjustment (trillion B.t.u.'s)	Percent of total	Adjustment (trillion B.t.u.'s)	Percent of total	Adjustment (trillion B.t.u.'s)	Percent of total	Adjustment (trillion B.t.u.'s)	Percent of total	Adjustment (trillion B.t.u.'s)	Percent of total
1966	6,339	375	5.9	1,775	28.0	574	9.1	688	10.9	78	1.2	2,849	44.9	
1967	7,039	447	6.4	1,997	28.4	591	8.4	772	11.0	96	1.4	3,136	44.6	
1968	7,677	461	6.0	2,156	28.1	643	8.4	921	12.0	115	1.5	3,381	44.0	
1969	8,913	574	6.4	2,551	28.6	675	7.6	1,128	12.7	139	1.6	3,846	43.2	
1970	10,388	571	5.5	3,688	35.5	704	6.8	1,353	13.0	172	1.7	3,900	37.5	

Source: Calculated from data on table X.

## NORWOOD DEDICATION

### HON. JAMES A. BURKE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 14, 1971

Mr. BURKE of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, I would like at this time to pay tribute to a man who dedicated a major portion of his life to making the town

he loved, Norwood, Mass., a better place to live and work and grow.

The town of Norwood has honored the memory of John Abdallah by dedicating one of the major entrances to the town as the John A. Abdallah Bridge. It is fitting that the town to which he gave so selflessly now has a lasting memorial to his devotion.

John Abdallah served his town tirelessly in an official capacity as a member

of the board of selectman and in an unofficial capacity as a man who gave freely of his time and energy.

A marker which will serve as a reminder of his many contributions was unveiled a short time ago in the presence of his family, friends, and State and local dignitaries. Yet as General Manager Walter Blasenak stated,

The reflections of his efforts appear everywhere. That is the inheritance John Abdallah left to you and me.

ASSUMPTION OF UNWARRANTED  
POWERS BY FEDERAL JUDICIARY

## HON. HARRY F. BYRD, JR.

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, July 14, 1971

Mr. BYRD of Virginia. Mr. President, the Richmond Times-Dispatch of July 11 contains an excellent column by Ross Valentine concerning the assumption of unwarranted powers by the Federal judiciary.

Mr. Valentine makes the point that Thomas Jefferson warned against the evil effects of too much concentration of power in the hands of Federal judges.

Mr. Valentine makes reference to a Constitutional amendment which I have proposed—Senate Joint Resolution 106—which would require reconfirmation of Federal judges every 8 years by the Senate. In my view, this measure would go far toward restoring proper balance in the Government.

I ask unanimous consent that the text of this column, entitled "Usurpation of Powers," be printed in the Extensions of Remarks.

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

[From the Richmond Times-Dispatch,  
July 11, 1971]

(By Ross Valentine)

## USURPATION OF POWERS

Usurpation of legislative and executive powers by the Supreme Court and its network of federal subsidiaries has violated the language and principle of the U.S. Constitution, a "constitution of limitations" as set forth in Article X of the Bill of Rights.

Article X makes it clear that sovereignty is reposed in "the people", as represented in Congress and the legislatures of the several states.

The right and power to amend the Constitution when deemed necessary, was wisely left in the hands of the people.

The statesmen who drafted the Constitution made one bad mistake.

They assumed that men honored with lifetime appointments to the highest court and its subsidiaries could always be trusted to be guided by the Constitution, and would refrain abusing the vast power invested in them.

One Virginian foresaw the danger inherent in this false premise. Thomas Jefferson, in a letter of October 27, 1823 to Associate Justice William Johnson (appointed by Jefferson in 1804) warned that such "general power"—

"May justify forcing the meaning of words hunting after possible constructions and hanging inference on inference, from heaven to earth like a Jacob's ladder."

"Such licentiousness of construction and inference would authorize claim to all power, general particular . . . (via) metaphysical subtleties—which may make anything mean everything of nothing—at pleasure."

That Jeffersonian prophecy has now come true.

He concluded:

"But the Chief Justice (Marshall) says there must be an ultimate arbiter somewhere. True, there must. But (under the Constitution) the ultimate arbiter is the people of the Union, assembled by their deputies in convention . . . and it has been the peculiar wisdom and felicity of our Con-

stitution to have provided this peaceable appeal." (Article X.)

For 17 years this column has pointed out that Article X prescribes the only legal means by which changes in "the law of the land," can be brought about.

Now Virginia's Sen. Harry F. Byrd Jr. has done something about it.

He has introduced a joint resolution (S.J. Res. 106) proposing an amendment to the U.S. Constitution providing for reaffirmation of all federal judges after a term of eight years to be approved or rejected by the U.S. Senate.

In his Senate speech introducing this joint resolution, Byrd said among other things that "For the better part of this republic's existence, the unwritten canon of judicial restraint was one of our most hallowed legal principles, as expressed by such great justices as Holmes, Brandeis, Stone, Hughes, Cardozo and Frankfurter. . . ."

"Now acting under the premise that 'the Constitution is whatever the judges say it is'—"

"Prayer has been swept from our schools; the historic right of a state legislature to redistrict itself has been abolished; the Fourth Amendment search-and-seizure provisions have been rewritten; sociology treatises have replaced the common law; the Commerce Clause has been tortured into meaninglessness; the traditional equity powers have been enlarged to allow rule by judicial fiat.

As Section I, Article 3, of the Constitution now reads, political appointments of federal judges, for life, have destroyed that fundamental doctrine of individual immunity against all centralized power.

It must be amended.

## PUERTO RICAN DAY CELEBRATION

## HON. PETER W. RODINO, JR.

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 14, 1971

Mr. RODINO. Mr. Speaker, on July 25, 1971, the Governor of Puerto Rico, with the commendation of the Federal Government, will proclaim the annual celebration of the establishment of the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico.

It is for this occasion that I invite our colleagues to join all Puerto Ricans, in Puerto Rico and in the mainland, in celebrating July 25 as a date redolent with significance in the history of Puerto Rico.

In celebrating this holiday, we should keep in mind the skill and indomitable will demonstrated by the Puerto Rican people in their fight to develop their island, along with their struggle for the freedom of their people. They have exhibited courage and tenacity.

I pay tribute to the Commonwealth and her people and in this end I particularly want to pay homage to the Puerto Rican community in Newark—the largest Puerto Rican population of any city in New Jersey—for it has been an integrative force for cooperation and understanding.

I am aware that life in our cities and urban America has been difficult and is becoming increasingly complex. While we have made progress toward the eradication of poverty and disease, I know that we still have a long road ahead. I share in the anxiety, frustration, and

most important in the commitment to find viable solutions to the completion of these tasks.

I want to commend Mr. Pedro Diaz, president of the Puerto Rican State Wide Parade Committee of New Jersey, Luz Miriam Hernandez, executive secretary, Jose Rosario, Anthony Perez, Marie Gonzalez, and Deputy Mayor Ramon Aneses for their dedication and outstanding service to this event as well as to the community.

I know that all America joins me in saluting the Puerto Ricans on their native holiday. I am certain that by a joint effort we can continue to improve the way of life for all citizens by making it better, safer, and more satisfying.

A TRIBUTE TO EUGENE R. ANTONUCCI,  
AN OUTSTANDING AMERICAN

## HON. MARIO BIAGGI

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 14, 1971

Mr. BIAGGI. Mr. Speaker, it is a special privilege for me to pay tribute before my colleagues in the U.S. House of Representatives to a man whose life pattern could well be considered a model for others to emulate. My good friend Mr. Eugene R. Antonucci, a dedicated public servant who, for more than 25 years, was a respected and productive member of the State of New York's Department of Labor, also saw fit to devote a lifetime of community involvement to better the lot of his fellow citizens.

Mr. Antonucci's achievements are many and each stands as a monument to his concern for his country, his neighbors, and, indeed, for the course of life in the world around him.

A native-born American, Mr. Antonucci was educated by the Jesuits in Italy, his parents' country of origin. In 1930, when he was 21 years of age, he returned to the United States and immediately assumed the role of a dedicated American. He continued his higher education and was awarded a bachelor's degree by the City University of New York in 1938, and later went on to earn his master's degree from Fordham University.

Mr. Antonucci served as a teacher for 4 years and during the war years of 1942 to 1945 he became part of the enormous industrial productive force of this country which so ably rallied the manpower and resources of America to hasten the defeat of tyranny across the globe.

In 1945 he became a member of the New York State Department of Labor and this month, after more than 25 years of exemplary service in the industrial safety division, Mr. Antonucci has decided to make the great State of Florida his retirement home.

Mr. Speaker, the limitless energy and drive of this outstanding American caused him to engage in the affairs of his community in addition to serving his State government. Mr. Antonucci has

involved himself as a civic leader in New York for more than 40 years and his dynamic personality and his serious concern for the problems facing his neighbors has enabled him to touch and affect the lives of so many of his fellow New Yorkers.

I, therefore, join the thousands of people from the North Bronx in expressing our gratitude for Eugene R. Antonucci's many contributions to our community welfare and I pay personal tribute to his boundless energy and tremendous civic pride that has made our county of the Bronx a more pleasant place to live in.

GRASSROOTS CONFERENCES IN  
MINNESOTA'S SIXTH CONGRES-  
SIONAL DISTRICT

HON. JOHN M. ZWACH

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 14, 1971

Mr. ZWACH. Mr. Speaker, one of the axioms of journalism is that the people have the right to know.

In all my years of public service, I have tried to follow that philosophy.

It is a privilege and an honor for me to be the Representative in Congress from the Minnesota Sixth Congressional District.

So that I can keep my people informed of my actions in Congress, I send news releases each week to all of our 87 weekly and nine daily newspapers, as well as 40 radio and television stations.

During each session of Congress, I send out reports listing the bills I have introduced and supported and other pertinent information about the session.

I also make a radio tape each week which is sent to the 21 radio stations in the Sixth District.

In order that I may know what our people think of the issues of the day, I send out a congressional questionnaire early in each session of Congress.

During the August recess, I schedule a series of grassroots conferences so that the people may meet their Congressman face to face to discuss their problems with him.

I maintain a district office at St. Cloud, staffed by a very competent secretary. Because all of the people cannot get to this district office, I have recently added a district assistant, who travels throughout the area, helping the people with any problems they may have in dealing with the Federal government.

Mr. Speaker, the motto of the great State of Minnesota is "L'Etoile du Nord," Star of the North. But Minnesota is the star, not only of the north, but of the entire firmament of our 50 States.

Picture an area of 84,068 square miles, in which, like shimmering jewels, are nestled 15,291 lakes of 10 acres or more, the largest being Red Lake, 451 square miles and with 123 miles of shoreline.

This land of the North is the birthplace of our Father of the Waters. It

nourishes three great drainage systems, the Mississippi, rising in Lake Itasca and draining into the Gulf of Mexico; the Red River of the North, which drains into Hudson Bay; and the St. Louis River system which works its way to the Atlantic.

Most of our Minnesota waters are still unpolluted, clear, cool, and sparkling. They attract 5 million vacationers annually. A dozen varieties of fish abound in these waters and myriads of waterfowl are found on its surfaces and shorelines.

Our stately forests provide a steady income from the harvesting of timber and pulpwood and provide employment in lumber and paper mills. Wildlife abounds in their shadowed depths.

But with all of our lakes and forests, our Minnesota Sixth Congressional District is one of the most thoroughly agricultural in all the Nation.

We have 32,500 farms on which live 130,000 people. Each farmworker provides food and fiber for himself and 44 others. Agricultural production in our district provides eventual employment for over 600,000 people.

Our farms have 25 percent of Minnesota's dairy cows and 28 percent of our State's hogs. We are a leading producer of corn, soybeans, and flax.

We are proud of our public school system that ranks among the best. And we are a leader in vocational education for those who are not college bound. We are proud, too, of the seven colleges in our district whose graduates take their places among the leaders of our great Nation.

Mr. Speaker, I am deeply grateful for the opportunity to be of service to the people of this most generously endowed area. My constant aim is to serve my constituents in the best way possible.

This year, during our official August recess, I am again taking time to hold these grassroots conferences throughout our district at convenient public buildings.

I deeply appreciate the fine cooperation of the many public officials who have made these meetings possible by making meeting places available so that I can render this public service.

I have arranged the following schedule. All of the meetings will be held in the county courthouse except that which will be held at my district office in the Federal building in St. Cloud:

SCHEDULE

Monday, August 9: 1 to 3 p.m., Stearns County in St. Cloud, Sixth District Office, 216 Federal Building.

Tuesday, August 10: 9 to 10:30 a.m., Sherburne County Courthouse in Elk River; 1:30 to 3 p.m., Mille Lacs County Courthouse in Millaca; 7 to 8:30 p.m., Benton County Courthouse in Foley.

Wednesday, August 11: 9 to 10:30 a.m., Wright County Courthouse in Buffalo; 1:30 to 3 p.m., Meeker County Courthouse in Litchfield.

Thursday, August 12: 9 to 10:30 a.m., Kandiyohi County Courthouse in Willmar.

Friday, August 13: 9 to 10:30 a.m., Morrison County Courthouse in Little Falls; 1 to 2:30 p.m., Crow Wing County Courthouse in Brainerd.

Monday, August 16: 9 to 10:30 a.m., Redwood County Courthouse in Redwood Falls; 1:30 to 3 p.m., Yellow Medicine County Courthouse in Granite Falls.

Tuesday, August 17: 9 to 10:30 a.m., Renneville County Courthouse in Olivia; 1:30 to 3 p.m., Chippewa County Courthouse in Montevideo.

Wednesday, August 18: 9 to 10:30 a.m., Swift County Courthouse in Benson; 1:30 to 3 p.m., Stevens County Courthouse in Morris.

Thursday, August 19: 9 to 10:30 a.m., Big Stone County Courthouse in Ortonville; 1 to 2:30 p.m., Lac Qui Parle County Courthouse in Madison.

Friday, August 20: 9 to 10:30 a.m., Lyon County Courthouse in Marshall; 1 to 2:30 p.m., Lincoln County Courthouse in Ivanhoe.

50TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE AIR  
FORCE LOGISTICS COMMAND

HON. JACK BRINKLEY

OF GEORGIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 14, 1971

Mr. BRINKLEY. Mr. Speaker, as the Member who is privileged to represent the district in which the Warner Robins Air Materiel Area is located it is, indeed, an honor to call to the attention of my colleagues that today marks the 50th anniversary of the Air Force Logistics Command. For half a century the AFLC has supplied outstanding logistics support to Air Force weapon systems located throughout the world.

As a command, AFLC is represented in Georgia by the Warner Robins Air Materiel Area—WRAMA—one of the five primary logistics centers and two specialized activities. WRAMA is responsible for Robins AFB, which constitutes the largest single payroll in Georgia. As the heart of Robins AFB, WRAMA is engaged in management, computers, heavy maintenance, engineering, shipping, storing and receiving, and hosts of related fields.

In terms of management, WRAMA is responsible for total logistics support to certain aircraft, missiles, helicopters, vehicles, guns, accessory equipment, ground-based computers, and other material used throughout the world. In terms of territory, WRAMA is responsible for logistics support to Air Force bases located from the eastern tier of States in this country, to the dividing line between East Pakistan and India.

There are some 18,000 WRAMA personnel, men and women, military and civilian, who live in 23 middle Georgia counties. Their mission is to preserve peace through strength and readiness. Gen. Jack Merrell is the AFLC commander and Lt. Gen. Francis C. Gidion is vice-commander at Wright-Patterson AFB, Ohio. Maj. Gen. A. J. Beck is the WRAMA commander, and Brig. Gen. Ralph T. Holland is the vice-commander. As AFLC celebrates its golden anniversary, WRAMA this month observes the 30th anniversary of the selection of the site of Robins AFB.

Through AFLC and WRAMA the State

of Georgia is identified with logistics now and into the future. Aerospace power for peace is the profession of the dedicated people in this command.

**EIGHTY MEMBERS COSPONSOR  
DRUG RESOLUTION TO SUPPORT  
PRESIDENT'S EFFORTS TO STOP  
INTERNATIONAL DRUG TRAFFIC**

**HON. LOUIS FREY, JR.**

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 14, 1971

Mr. FREY. Mr. Speaker, I am today reintroducing House Concurrent Resolution 352 which the Republican Task Force on Drug Abuse, of which I am chairman, introduced on June 30. The resolution expresses the support of the Congress for the President's diplomatic offensive to stop the production and trafficking in illegal drugs and states further that if action is not taken within a reasonable time by other nations, the Congress will take "appropriate unilateral action." The concern which the Congress has over the flow of drugs to this country is made apparent by the fact that 80 Members from both sides of the aisle have cosponsored this resolution. This is a nonpartisan issue. Through the passage of this resolution we can show to the world that the American people through their representatives strongly support the efforts of the administration to encourage other nations to voluntarily undertake efforts to stop the production and trafficking in illegal drugs. Following is a statement I made when the resolution was first introduced on June 30:

**RESOLUTION IN SUPPORT OF PRESIDENT'S DIPLOMATIC OFFENSIVE AGAINST ILLEGAL DRUG TRAFFIC**

Mr. FREY. Mr. Speaker, as we are all aware the illicit traffic in narcotics and dangerous drugs spans the globe. Since most of the countries involved in the production and illegal traffic of opium and its derivatives do not themselves have a serious drug problem, they have no sense of urgency about the problem and are hesitant to take action to stop the flow of illegal drugs to the United States.

The President has initiated a diplomatic offensive to persuade the nations involved in this traffic to take action to stop the production or traffic in illegal drugs. The 16-member Republican task force, which I am chairman of, is today introducing a resolution expressing the support of the Congress for the President's diplomatic offensive and stating further that if action is not taken within a reasonable time by other nations to stop the production and illegal traffic, the Congress will take "appropriate unilateral action."

On this issue, Mr. Speaker, we in the Congress need to show to the world that we solidly support the effort to seek international cooperation.

Of course, a negotiated agreement to agree to voluntarily limit production and stop the illegal traffic is preferable. We must let the diplomatic process operate. However, if the nations involved in this illegal traffic are still reluctant to act, then we in the Congress should take appropriate unilateral action. Most of these countries are dependent upon the United States for security and economic

assistance. If they fail to see their moral and treaty obligations to stop illegal drug traffic, then the American people through the Congress should reappraise our responsibilities to them.

The text of the resolution follows.

**H. CON. RES. 352**

*Resolved by the House of Representatives (the Senate concurring), that—*

- (a) the Congress declares and finds—
- (1) there are 250,000 heroin addicts in the United States and an additional 30,000–40,000 addicts among U.S. troops in Southeast Asia;
  - (2) that drug abuse, particularly the use of heroin, is causing major social upheaval in the United States and, if not checked, may result in the loss of an entire generation;
  - (3) that most of the countries involved in the production or illegal traffic of opium or its derivatives are dependent on American military or economic aid;
  - (4) that there is no sense of urgency on the part of the governments of those countries involved in the production or illegal traffic of opium or its derivatives to undertake immediate action to stop the production or illegal traffic; and
  - (5) that the President is conducting a broad-based diplomatic offensive to gain the full cooperation of foreign governments in eliminating the production and illegal traffic in opium and its derivatives, including a \$2 million contribution to the United Nations Special Fund for Drug Abuse Control.

(b) The Congress, therefore, gives its full support to the President's diplomatic offensive and—

- (1) requests the President (A) to exercise all economic and diplomatic pressures he can to encourage other nations to honor their international treaty obligations and take action to stop the production and illegal traffic in opium and its derivatives, (B) to exercise all diplomatic pressures to encourage other nations to contribute to the U.N. Special Fund for Drug Abuse Control and to encourage the U.N. to take more effective action to prevent the production and illegal traffic in opium and its derivatives, and (C) to request an early meeting of the International Narcotic Control Board to consider and adopt proposed U.S. amendments to provide the NCB with the authority to control the production and illegal traffic in narcotic drugs; and
- (2) unless action is taken within a reasonable time to stop the production and illegal traffic of opium and its derivatives by the other nations of the world, the Congress will take appropriate unilateral action.

**RESUME STATEMENT**

As a result of illegal exportation of drugs to the United States and South Vietnam, there are 250,000 heroin addicts in the United States and an additional 30,000 to 40,000 addicts among U.S. troops in Southeast Asia.

There are two main currents of illicit traffic in opium and the opiates. One begins in the Middle East and ends in North America. The other pattern is from Southeast Asia directed to Hong Kong, Japan, China—Taiwan—and the west coast of America. Secondary flows include routes from Mexico into the United States.

The North American Continent is the principal target of illicit heroin traffic. The bulk of this drug is produced from opium poppies grown in Turkey. The raw opium is converted into morphine base in clandestine laboratories close to the growing areas and then shipped through Istanbul and Beirut and smuggled into France to be processed into heroin. At this point, the heroin may be smuggled directly into the United States or transported through Italy, Canada, or Mexico.

It is, nevertheless, destined for the U.S. market. Underground heroin trade from France generally involves large quantities of heroin smuggled by well-organized international traffickers who have contrived all types of devious methods and devices to conceal the contraband.

In the Far East, opium is cultivated in vast quantities in the Yunnan Province of China and the Shan and Kachin States in Burma. Although much is consumed by opium smokers in the region, considerable amounts of the drug find their way to the United States. In Burma and Thailand, large quantities of opium are converted to morphine base and smuggled to Hong Kong and Macao for local use or diverted to the United States. In recent years, an increasing demand for heroin by addicts in the Far East has somewhat decreased the supply available to U.S. addicts.

Opium is produced illegally in remote areas of Mexico by farmers who elude the Government's poppy eradication program. It is converted into heroin in clandestine laboratories and smuggled across the Mexican border into the United States concealed in automobiles, baggage, on travelers, or in any of a thousand possible ways limited only by the smuggler's imagination.

The cocaine traffic in the United States begins in the Andes Mountain regions of Bolivia, Chile, Peru, Colombia, and Ecuador where the coca leaf is grown. These leaves are processed into cocaine in clandestine laboratories and then smuggled into the United States through Miami and New York, often in airplane baggage or ship cargo. One important pattern in this trade originates in Peru through Ecuador and Panama, then to Mexico and the United States. Another route starts in Chile, extends through Latin America to Pacific coast ports and into the United States. A third route can be traced from Bolivia through Brazil to the West Indies and North America.

Methods of distribution of narcotic and dangerous drugs are similar. Both are transferred from the major trafficker to the distributor, then to the street peddler and finally to the user.

Once the drugs reach the user, the cost has escalated. For example, the same 10 kilograms of raw opium grown in Turkey and sold to an underworld broker for \$350 will produce nearly 45,000 packets of 5 percent pure heroin worth \$5 each, or a total of \$225,000.

The Bureau of Narcotics and Dangerous Drugs has identified over 200 international "distribution systems" of illegal drugs. Of these, nine major systems cover the entire spectrum of narcotics and dangerous drugs and involve well over a thousand identified individuals.

Three of the nine systems are comprised of organized criminal groups in this country operating with related groups in Canada and Italy. Close ties also exist between the Italian ethnic groups and criminal groups in France providing a capability of delivering multikilogram quantities of heroin into the United States.

One of the most important systems involves an international heroin organization which is "global" in nature and according to current intelligence, is responsible for more heroin being introduced into the United States than any

other single organization. Another of the major systems relates to a distribution network controlling large amounts of drugs entering the United States via Mexico. It is estimated that these nine major systems account for approximately 80 percent of the heroin, almost 100 percent of the cocaine, tons of marihuana, and millions of dosage units of dangerous drugs being used in the United States today.

President Nixon has made the curtailment of traffic in illegal drugs one of the major goals of his administration. As a result of U.S. prodding, the United Nations Commission on Narcotic Drugs created a special fund for antinarcotics programs, and the United States led the way in pledging \$2 million to this fund. The resolution we introduce today requests the President to encourage other nations to contribute to the U.N. special fund and to encourage the U.N. to take more effective action.

Last February, under the leadership of the United States, an international treaty was signed in Vienna by 20 nations to control the traffic of dangerous drugs.

Also, some progress has been made in working directly with individual countries. The largest source of narcotics, Turkey, has promised to license the farmers as they are required to do under the Single Convention on Narcotic Drugs, buy the entire annual crop, and help the farmers to convert to other types of crops. The United States has loaned \$3 million to Turkey for law enforcement and other purposes, and Turkey is applying considerable financial resources of its own.

A cooperative program has also been developed with the French. At our urging, the French have expanded their antinarcotics force in Marseilles and Paris from 18 to 100. They are training all of the 60,000 National Police in Narcotics enforcement and BNDD agents are helping instruct them. Also, an agreement enabling the enforcement agencies of the two countries to work together was signed—the first such agreement between two countries.

Operation Cooperation, a joint program with Mexico, has for the last 1½ years attempted to destroy poppy and marihuana production in Mexico and intercept smugglers. The United States has provided helicopters and other equipment to search out and destroy poppy and marihuana production.

The President in his new drug program just announced further efforts to do the following:

First, to begin a diplomatic offensive to obtain better cooperation from those countries involved in production or traffic of drugs;

Second, to request the World Health Organization to seek synthetics to replace opiates;

Third, to request \$1 million for BNDD to train foreign narcotics officers;

Fourth, to request the Congress to permit assistance to presently proscribed nations in their effort to end drug trafficking; and

Fifth, to obtain support for United States amendments to the Single Convention on Narcotics for greater control by the International Narcotics Control Board to control the production and illegal traffic in narcotic drugs.

Mr. Speaker, the President means business. The passage of this resolution together with the President's announced diplomatic intent should be persuasive evidence of the serious concern which this country has that action be undertaken immediately to stop illegal drug traffic.

Most of these nations belong either to NATO or SEATO, and the United States has been the primary benefactor of both. Over \$100 million has been furnished to Turkey alone to enable Turkey to fulfill its NATO commitment. Moreover, we have proffered large amounts of economic assistance and trade concessions to these same countries.

It is only right that in exchange for the nuclear umbrella we have placed over these countries, that reciprocal action be taken to assist the United States in stopping the flow of drugs to this country. They must appreciate the fact that they have by their acquiescence encouraged the spread of a national disease—narcotic addiction.

If the President's efforts fall short of his objectives, we in the Congress should be on record that appropriate, if unstated, action will be taken by the Congress. As President Nixon stated in his remarks last week:

We want good relations with other countries, but we cannot buy good relations at the expense of temporizing on this problem.

#### AEC AUTHORIZATION BILL

### HON. CRAIG HOSMER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 14, 1971

Mr. HOSMER. Mr. Speaker, Representatives MELVIN PRICE, CHET HOLIFIELD, and I have distributed to our colleagues the following communication recommending that several anticipated efforts to amend the AEC authorization bill, H.R. 9388, be rejected:

#### AEC AUTHORIZATION BILL

Some amendments expected to be offered Thursday to the AEC authorization bill (H.R. 9388) together with our recommendations are the following:

Move to delete authorization for *East Breeder Reactor* development. *Vote no.* This authority is needed to progress with the demonstration of safe, economic and environmentally compatible new electric energy sources to meet growing demands.

Move to delete authorization of money for *Cannikan* underground nuclear test scheduled for Amchitka in October. *Vote no.* Arms control agreements being considered for both sides at SALT call for ABM to protect national command centers of both US and USSR. One of two US warheads essential for this purpose cannot be developed without *Cannikan* data. Dropping *Cannikan* could

roadblock SALT progress. Other US and Soviet high yield underground tests have established environmental compatibility and discredited allegations of nuclear, seismic or tsunami hazards.

Move to delete authorization of funds to acquire *Yyons, Kansas salt mine* for possible use as underground radioactive waste storage site. *Vote no.* Site will not be used for storage unless further R&D certifies to safety, but ownership authority now is almost essential for the purpose of conducting R&D vital to safe storage of existing and future atomic wastes.

Moves to increase authorized funds for *sundry research* purposes such as "safety" or "fusion" research, etc. *Vote no.* The pace of research funding has been geared carefully to what needs to be done and who is available to do it *how* fast. The committee amounts are realistic.

#### VIETNAM DRUG ADDICTION

### HON. JEROME R. WALDIE

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 14, 1971

Mr. WALDIE. Mr. Speaker, I have recently received a letter from Mr. Charles Deutschman, senior project participant of Reach project in Antioch, Calif., which he expressed better than any official document or statistics; the urgent need for attention and help for those men who became addicts while serving in Southeast Asia. Mr. Deutschman understands the problem well as he was one of these men.

I include in the RECORD the contents of his letter:

#### REACH PROJECT,

Antioch, Calif., June 4, 1971.

HON. JEROME R. WALDIE,  
U.S. Congressman, Cannon House Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN WALDIE: I am writing you as an ex-G.I. who served in a combat zone, had his first taste of opium overseas, became strung out on heroin upon reentering society, and who eventually kicked the habit.

When I was strung out, I asked the Veterans Hospital for help and they had nothing to offer. Under pressure I went to the federal program in Ft. Worth, Texas and discovered that it was nothing more than a jail. Fortunately, I was able to get into a California state hospital treatment program even though I was an Arizona resident.

A year ago I wrote another letter to my Arizona representative requesting help for Arizona (which now has a good program) and for individuals in the Armed Services.

Contrary to modern thought, heroin addiction is not like treating malaria or influenza. I am perhaps one of the 2% that has managed to stop using heroin. The stigma of heroin addiction will long plague American society, for it is merely a symptom of deeper problems in a shallow society.

I beg you to be deep in your understanding and initiate some programs to help G.I.'s who are returning to a hostile society. The programs available now certainly do not take advantage of the newer methods developed such as "The Family" program at Napa State Hospital in Inola, California. This particular program utilizes ex-addicts (as para-professionals) and professionals to create a program run by the people in the program itself.

There is no panacea for addiction and no

antidote other than self-awareness. Chemical addiction is society's problem, and primarily the Armed Services problem in this instance.

Seize the time before this crisis turns into an epidemic of self-destruction.

Sincerely,

CHARLES DEUTSCHMAN,  
Senior Project Participant Reach Project.

### THEY ONCE VIEWED "LEAKS" DIFFERENTLY

#### HON. JOHN E. HUNT

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 14, 1971

Mr. HUNT. Mr. Speaker, the self-righteousness of the New York Times and the Washington Post during the recent "Pentagon papers" episode has been revealed as something less than a matter of principle. In other words, perhaps more indicative of their political leanings, the sanctimonious rantings of these newspapers, insisting upon the publication of these top secret documents on the grounds of freedom of the press and the right of the people to know of Government secrets respecting U.S. involvement in Vietnam, are 180 degrees out of phase with the avowals of these same newspapers during the Army-McCarthy hearings in the 1950's. At that time, both papers soundly condemned Senator Joseph McCarthy for suggesting that he felt it the duty of every Federal employee to give his—Senator McCarthy's—committee any information they might have about 'graft, corruption, Communists and treason.'

Indeed, asked the Times:

What kind of advice can the President expect to get under such circumstances? How can there be any real freedom of discussion or dissent; how can anyone be expected to advance positions that may be politically unpopular or unprofitable?

As for the Post, Senator McCarthy's urgings of such underground disclosures were tantamount to "an open defiance of the laws."

Mr. Speaker, the questions so piously raised by the Times and the Post then are even more pertinent today, and the stakes are ever so much greater. I dare say, however, that neither will come forward any time soon to offer the answers.

I include at this point in my remarks the complete text of the Philadelphia Inquirer's Background and Opinion Column of July 2:

Virtually overlooked and unmentioned on by the press in the whole New York Times-Washington Post-Vietnam Papers Capers is the 180-degree policy change exhibited by both papers in their publication of the classified documents. As far as the Times and Post are concerned it appears that there are good security leaks and bad security leaks. It all depends on who is leaking what to whom.

For example:

In the 1950's, during the so-called Army-McCarthy hearings, Sen. Joseph McCarthy was editorially lashed by both the Times and the Post for suggesting that he felt it the

duty of every federal employee to give to his committee any information they might have about "graft, corruption, Communists and treason." McCarthy said there was no loyalty to a superior officer which could tower above and beyond their loyalty to their country.

The Times, in an editorial titled "Invitation to Anarchy" blasted McCarthy for "undermining the structure of our federal system" and encouraging every "malcontent, every disgruntled office holder or office seeker . . . every political sycophant" to disregard the whole fabric of "law and order" that holds this or any government together.

The Post was equally indignant and in an editorial titled "Above the Law" took McCarthy to task for what the paper called "an open defiance of the laws."

In an editorial titled "Breach of Security" in December of 1962, the Times roasted authors Stewart Alsop and Charles Bartlett for a story in the Saturday Evening Post about what went on in a National Security Council meeting during the Cuban missile crisis. Although the Alsop-Bartlett article contained no word from any NSC report or any other secret document, unlike the Vietnam report published by the Times and Post, the Times asserted that the "secrecy of one of the highest organs of the United States Government has been seriously breached."

The Times asked rhetorically: "How can advisers to the President be expected to give advice freely and easily and at all times honestly and with complete integrity if they have to worry about what their arguments will look like in print in a few weeks later?"

"What kind of advice can the President expect to get under such circumstances? How can there be any real freedom of discussion or dissent; how can anyone be expected to advance positions that may be politically unpopular or unprofitable?"

In 1963, when State Department security officer Otto Otepka furnished a Senate subcommittee with two classified documents to prove that certain of his superiors had lied under oath regarding him and department security procedures, both the Times and the Post lambasted Otepka.

In an editorial titled "The Congressional Underground" the Times declared: "Orderly procedures are essential if the vital division of power between legislative and executive branches is not to be undermined. The use of 'underground' methods to obtain classified documents from lower-level officials is a dangerous departure from such orderly procedures."

As columnist Stewart Alsop wrote last week in Newsweek magazine: "Indeed, the Times series, by the Times' own standards, is the most serious 'breach of security' in modern history. Yet those who wait for the Times to denounce this particular breach will have a long wait."

### VIETNAM VETERANS AGAINST THE WAR

#### HON. JEROME R. WALDIE

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 14, 1971

Mr. WALDIE. Mr. Speaker, in April of this year, the Vietnam Veterans against the War aroused the feelings and sensitivity of the Congress. They illustrated the sentiments of thousands of veterans who had experienced the futility of the war and now chose to opt for peace.

One of the most moving periods of their demonstration involved the discarding of medals awarded for heroism in battle. A constituent of mine, Mr. Richard Linebarger, brought to my attention the July issue of Ramparts wherein this event was described. Art Goldberg relates this experience in a manner that should be made known to all Members of Congress. It is for this reason, I now enter the following excerpt:

VIETNAM VETS: THE ANTIWAR ARMY BY  
ART GOLDBERG

On Friday morning, April 23, the Vietnam Veterans against the War gathered at the west steps of the Capitol for their final symbolic act of separation from the government they considered less legitimate with each passing day. One by one, about 800 men walked up to a wire fence erected the day before to keep the April 24 antiwar march off the steps. There they threw their medals toward the statue of the first Chief Justice of the U.S. Supreme Court, John Marshall. It took two hours for all the men to throw down all the Bronze Stars, Silver Stars, Purple Hearts and campaign ribbons they had been awarded in Vietnam. First in line was a 27 year old former Marine sergeant from West Hartford, Connecticut, Jack Smith, who said:

"We now strip ourselves of the medals of courage and heroism . . . those citations for gallantry and exemplary service. . . . We cast away as symbols of shame, dishonor, and inhumanity. Our tale is one of a Vietnamese people whose hearts were broken, not won. Our commanders were not concerned with lives, but with body counts. Our testimony gives definition to words like genocide, racism and atrocity."

### MILITARY INVESTIGATION OF PRIVATE CITIZENS

#### HON. MARIO BIAGGI

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 14, 1971

Mr. BIAGGI. Mr. Speaker, military involvement in civilian affairs is the topic of discussion in several of our committees as well as in committees of the other body. In the interests of furthering this discussion with inputs from various groups of Americans, I am including at this point in the record a resolution passed unanimously on March 16, 1971, at the muster of the Neumann-Goldman Post No. 69 of the Jewish War Veterans, Bronx, N.Y. I know the resolution will be of interest to my colleagues:

RESOLUTION ON MILITARY INVESTIGATION OF  
PRIVATE CITIZENS

Hitler's coming to power dealt a severe blow to all minority groups in Germany. He achieved his aims through setting up a network of informers, spies and investigators in and out of government, instilling fear, setting up dossiers on individuals, setting one against the other and, in general, building a climate of fear, hate and repression.

In this country, we got a small taste of it during the McCarthy era. Today, we have become more sophisticated in our approach and we have developed finesse in our methods. Hence this resolution.

Whereas the F.B.I. by law is the recognized agency with the power to protect our coun-

try from internal subversion, through investigation, interrogation and exposure, with the right to arrest and prosecute, and,

Whereas the military has the sole responsibility to protect our country and its people from any attack from within or from enemies outside our country. To protect our interests no matter where as long as it is the will of the people (through Congressional Action or Executive Order) and,

Whereas their G-2 has ostensibly been set up to gather information about the "enemy" at all times, and not members of government, leaders of movements, civilians pursuing their daily life.

Therefore be it resolved that the members of the Neumann Goldman Post #69, J.W.V., go on record condemning the military, for their actions of investigating private citizens, maintaining records of their movements, speeches and thoughts. That we demand that these records either be destroyed or turned over to a proper civilian agency for study and determination and to cease and desist from any such further activities and,

That the said resolution be sent to all echelons of our organization.

#### A FOURTH BRANCH OF GOVERNMENT

**HON. MANUEL LUJAN, JR.**

OF NEW MEXICO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 14, 1971

Mr. LUJAN. Mr. Speaker, one of the best arguments I have heard for adoption of the revenue-sharing plan was advanced last week by the Dallas Morning News in an editorial that did not once mention revenue sharing.

The editorial, entitled "The Fourth Branch," concerns the busing of school-children to achieve racial balance in schools. But the News very perceptively points out that our Government is operated by "the professional bureaucrats who are not accountable to the voters or, obviously, to anyone else."

The News said:

The fact is that we now have a fourth branch of government, one that is not only more entrenched than any administration and more powerful than the Congress, but one that is beyond the influence of the voters themselves. This branch of government governs in ways that are not only undemocratic but antidemocratic.

Mr. Speaker, I would remind my colleagues that it is this very fact, so painfully recognized by us all and highlighted so ably by the Morning News, that makes the revenue-sharing legislation so overwhelmingly important to the Nation at this time.

I do not believe there is a single Member of this body who is unaware of the vast gulf between the passing of legislation by the Congress and the implementation of that legislation by the bureaucracy. We enact programs to meet current problems and appropriate money to fund those programs, but by the time the programs are filtered through the bureaucratic establishment there is precious little of our intent and even less

of the money that is ever applied to the problem.

The revenue-sharing concept will bypass those to whom the News refers as "officials no constituency could hold accountable at the polls." Revenue-sharing will permit us to make an end run around the professional bureaucracy and take our programs and money directly to the people in the cities, counties and states for whom they were intended.

This excellent editorial is also a stunning exposition on the need to pass the Government Reorganization Act. The machinery of government is clogged with the layers of entrenched and outmoded thinking. We have hundreds of thousands of decision-makers in the bureaucracy whose thinking is controlled by concepts they formed 10, 20 or 25 years ago, and they are in business to defend and justify those concepts rather than to move on to new thinking to meet new conditions.

This machinery will not respond to a tuneup or to patchwork repairs. It needs a major overhaul, and that is what the Government reorganization plan will do.

In submitting the editorial from the Dallas Morning News, I commend that newspaper for so capably turning the spotlight on one of the most urgent problems facing our nation today. The editorial follows:

#### THE FOURTH BRANCH

Sen. Lloyd Bentsen declared Thursday that "obviously excessive and objectionable" busing plans will hurt the Nixon administration politically in 1972.

He is probably right, for when something angers the electorate the administration minding the store at the time is likely to get the blame. That's traditional and understandable, but it is not strictly fair, for reasons that shine through the senator's other remarks.

He said that the Department of Health, Education and Welfare has gone far beyond the federal courts' requirements. Furthermore, he said, "the President says one thing and HEW goes completely contrary to it."

This is true. And the senator might also have added that during the Johnson administration, the Democrat-controlled Congress said one thing in laws that it passed and HEW went "completely contrary to it".

In fact, the policy HEW is implementing is not administration policy, not congressional policy, not Democratic policy, not Republican policy, but bureaucratic policy—the policy favored by the professional bureaucrats who are not accountable to the voters or, obviously, to anyone else.

The voters have influence over the making of policy by the chief executive, over the making of laws by the Congress.

Their wishes must be taken into account in the political positions of both the Democratic and Republican parties, for the voters can hold the elected officials responsible for their actions and for the failure of their policies. Even the judiciary can be influenced indirectly and over the long term by the electorate. But not the bureaucracy.

It is amusing, in a painful sort of way, to read current comments by liberals about the Vietnam policies of the 1960s. There are complaints about the insoluble problems of trying to pin down responsibility in the bureaucracy, to determine who did what, who was accountable for which action. There are cries of outrage that pivotal, irreversible de-

isions were made by people no voter elected, by officials no constituency could hold accountable at the polls.

This, of course, is precisely the state of affairs on the domestic side that conservatives have been denouncing for decades, during all that long span when liberals were proclaiming that the welfare state bureaucracy was the panacea, the modern answer to the problems of getting around the creaky deliberations of democratic government.

The fact is that we now have a fourth branch of government, one that is not only more entrenched than any administration and more powerful than the Congress, but one that is beyond the influence of the voters themselves. This branch of government governs in ways that are not only undemocratic but antidemocratic.

So the Congress passes a law forbidding the closing of schools or busing to achieve racial balance, so what? So the president gives an order that such a policy will prevail, so what?

It then filters down several layers and disappears. So nearly every winning candidate promises the voters he'll oppose busing, so what? Politicians come and go, citizens rant and rage, but the bureaucrat goes on forever.

So long as the bureaucrat acted only in his assigned role of carrying out policies and laws made by the elected officials, this worked well for us—his expertise and experience provided stability in times of transition from administration to administration, during swings of opinion in Congress.

But when the bureaucracy began to take over the role of making policy, the people of this country began to lose the self-rule for which this Republic was established.

#### THE BREZHNEV DOCTRINE—RE-STATEMENT OF THE MARXIST-Leninist POLICY

**HON. JOHN R. RARICK**

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 14, 1971

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, virtually all educated men realize that an easy bridge to understanding the ruling philosophy of men is through a close examination of their written work.

If we accept this as a guiding principle in our study of the thought and objectives of Soviet Russia—the avowed enemy of free people, dedicated to world domination—the true import of the present Communist regime is made clear. It is simply a modern version of the old Marxist-Leninist view of the world—a world engulfed in an irreconcilable confrontation between the two socioeconomic systems—capitalism free, and socialism, slave.

I cannot emphasize this too much—the struggle between Soviet Russia and the United States is the struggle between two antagonistic socioeconomic systems, capitalism and socialism, a struggle that is irreconcilable, one that must go on until one or the other is eliminated. This is peace to the Communists—Socialists.

I repeat, these two systems cannot exist together; there can be no peaceful coexistence that can endure.

That this is true, and that this is the ruling principle of the present regime in Soviet Russia, has never been made more

clear than in the excellent article by Charles T. Baroch, entitled "The Brezhnev Doctrine," appearing in the July 1971 issue of the American Bar Association Journal. Mr. Baroch bases his argument on an incisive reading of Brezhnev's own works, including both his speeches and papers.

In the light of the recent actions of this House and this Congress authorizing appropriations to programs designed to push this country further down the path to socialism—especially, the recent passage of H.R. 1 guaranteeing a minimum annual income—I feel that this article is of immeasurable importance.

I especially call this excellent study by Mr. Baroch to the attention of my colleagues and insert it in the RECORD at this point.

[From The American Bar Association Journal, July 1971]

THE BREZHNEV DOCTRINE  
(By Charles T. Baroch)

More than two years ago the non-Communist world was shocked by the ruthless intervention of Warsaw Pact armed forces in the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic. The alleged purpose of the intervention was "to defend the socialist character" of a member of the world socialist system and its "socialist achievements".

The Warsaw Pact countries, especially the U.S.S.R., were accused, even by some Communists, of having violated Czechoslovak sovereignty and right of self-determination. Non-Communist reaction was well summed up by the indignant editorial in *The New York Times* of September 28, 1968, in which the name "Brezhnev Doctrine" may have been coined:

"The latest Kremlin attempt to justify the invasion of Czechoslovakia is further indication of Stalinism ascendant in Moscow.

"The earlier attempt to claim a status of semi-legality on the basis of a supposed invitation to the invaders from high Czechoslovak Government and Communist party leaders has apparently been discarded. Instead, Pravda now enunciates what must be called the Brezhnev doctrine, though the same thinking was manifest in the brutal repression of Hungarian freedom in 1956. The core of this doctrine is the assertion that Communist-ruled states enjoy neither genuine sovereignty nor genuine rights of territorial integrity, that the Soviet Union may at any time it deems proper send troops into any such states in order to pressure Communist rule.

"What permits the Soviet Union to issue and even to implement such doctrine is, of course, Soviet military power. This reliance on force and contempt for law must raise fears among others that some day Moscow will decide that the sovereignty and territorial integrity of non-Communist nations is also being interpreted too abstractly and without due attention to class principles."

Questions arise as to the origin and scope of this allegedly new doctrine. It seems that the editorialist who coined the term, which has become an international household word, had in mind an analogy with certain American policy pronouncements now, with the acquiescence of other states, part of customary international law. Analogy with the most famous of these, the Monroe Doctrine, is very tempting, but, as I hope to demonstrate, despite superficial similarity, the so-called Brezhnev Doctrine is precisely its opposite in every respect.

There are three fundamental problems regarding the Brezhnev Doctrine: (1) Can it

be attributed to Brezhnev? (2) What is its relation to international law? and (3) What are its real content and implications?

PERSONAL DECISION MAKING BY COMMUNIST LEADERS IS MINIMAL

Certain aspects revealing a conventional, narrow understanding of the Communist world outlook are usually stressed by authors considering the Brezhnev Doctrine. It is assumed that the *Secretary General* of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (C.P.S.U.), with the approval of the Politburo, formulated a new doctrine of the limited sovereignty of a member of the socialist system of states. Yet, there is in Communist-controlled states very little personal decision making by individual leaders, however exalted their positions. The "fraternal assistance" to Czechoslovakia was a vital policy decision of the C.P.S.U. Politburo based on evaluation of the global situation and recommendations by several departments of the C.P.S.U. Central Committee apparatus, of which the present Secretary General is a product. He therefore hardly deserves to be honored as the doctrine's originator.

There is the widespread conviction, also, that this doctrine represents a new foreign policy formula or, at least, a revival of policy discarded after Stalin's death. It is enough, however, to consult earlier Communist documents to see the fallacy of this view.

1957 DECLARATION REAFFIRMS BASIC MARXIST-LENINIST TENET

In 1957, for instance, following the suppression of Polish and East German unrest and the Hungarian uprising of the year before, the ruling Communist Parties of the twelve socialist countries met in Moscow to define the Communist co-ordinated policy for the later 1950s and 1960s. They sought to outline basic rules of a conduct to avoid the pitfalls of mechanical copying of C.P.S.U. methods (the so-called dogmatism) and, what was considered even more dangerous, of revisionism of Marxist-Leninist tenets or right-wing opportunism. Their declaration stated:<sup>1</sup>

"In our epoch, world development is determined by the course and results of the confrontation [*sorevovaniye*]<sup>2</sup> between two diametrically opposed social systems [socialism versus capitalism]. [In that confrontation] the strengthening of the unity and fraternal cooperation of the socialist [Communist-controlled] states and of the Communist and Workers' Parties of all countries and closing the ranks of the international working class, national-liberation and democratic movements take on special importance."<sup>3</sup>

While asserting that "the socialist countries base their relations on the principles of complete equality, respect for territorial integrity, state independence and sovereignty as well as non-interference", the declaration emphasizes that, however important, these principles "do not exhaust the essence of relations". (Emphasis added.) Fraternal, mutual assistance is an integral part of these relations and "finds its expression in the principle of socialist internationalism",<sup>4</sup> which has thus been elevated to a fundamental doctrine, superimposed on international law in socialist interstate relations.

In order to offset the dangers of revisionism, the twelve participating parties forcefully reaffirmed the correctness of the basic Marxist-Leninist tenet that "the processes of the socialist revolution and socialist construction are governed by a number of basic laws, applicable in all countries embarking on the socialist path."<sup>5</sup> Their declaration then lists these generally valid prin-

ciples and rules of conduct binding on all Communist Parties, ruling or nonruling alike:

1. Leadership of the toiling masses by the working class, whose vanguard is the Marxist-Leninist Party, in bringing about a proletarian revolution in one form or another [either by peaceful or violent (civil war) means] and in establishing some form of the dictatorship of the proletariat;

2. Alliance of the working class with the bulk of the peasantry and other strata of the toilers;

3. Abolition of capitalist ownership and establishment of public ownership of the basic means of production;

4. Gradual socialist reorganization [collectivization] of agriculture;

5. Planned development of the economy with the aim of building socialism and communism;

6. Completion of a socialist revolution in the sphere of ideology and culture and formation of numerous intelligentsia devoted to the working class, the toilers and the cause of socialism;

7. Elimination of national oppression and the establishment of equality and fraternal friendship among people;

8. Defense of the achievements of socialism [emphasis added] against encroachments of external and internal enemies; solidarity of the working class of a given country with the working class of other countries—proletarian internationalism.<sup>6</sup>

Two observations should be made with regard to the 1957 declaration. The Soviet delegation to the 1957 conference was headed by the then First Secretary of the C.P.S.U. Nikita S. Khrushchev, who, for all his reputation as promoter of peaceful coexistence, in 1956, as will be remembered, had given fraternal military assistance to orthodox Hungarian Communists led by Janos Kadar in their effort to preserve socialist achievements in that country.

Also, the same basic rules for Communist conduct defined in the 1957 declaration are quoted, as we shall see, in Brezhnev's arguments to justify the 1968 Warsaw Pact occupation of Czechoslovakia. A constantly deteriorating situation (from a Communist viewpoint) had developed there, with the local Communist Party in disarray and losing its total control (dictatorship) over the state,<sup>7</sup> resembling the 1956 Hungarian crisis.

In the view of the Warsaw Pact governments this situation fully justified armed intervention, aimed at restoring the Communist Party power monopoly. The non-Communist world, however, branded it as "contrary to every elementary rule of international law, to say nothing of the UN Charter".<sup>8</sup>

It is of major interest, therefore, to look next into the Communist attitude toward these elementary rules of international law, which are essential for normal intercourse among states. Since legal norms are basically rules and guidelines of conduct, whether of individuals or states, the importance of understanding the Soviet legal system and its underlying philosophy cannot be over-emphasized in our search for communist policy motivation. Secretary of State William P. Rogers summed it up very well when as Attorney General he wrote in this *Journal*:

"When we talk about competing with International Communism in the realm of ideas, we are talking in large measure about the ideas which are the basis of our legal system."<sup>9</sup>

The so-called Brezhnev Doctrine has often been qualified in the non-Communist world as a doctrine of limited sovereignty, applicable only to a socialist state. What, briefly, is the Communist concept of state sov-

Footnotes at end of article.

ereignty within the international law context?

#### STATE CONCEPT DIFFERS FROM TRADITIONAL NOTIONS

The state concept—and sovereignty is an important attribute of the state—as defined in the Marxist-Leninist theory of state and law differs substantially from traditional notions. The theory of the origin, nature and aims of the state was formulated by Lenin, a lawyer by education, who relied heavily on Frederick Engels's work, *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State*. As is well known, Engels tied the state's origin to the appearance on the historical scene of private ownership of the means of production and the resulting split of society into antagonistic classes. The state emerged, and continued to exist, as an organ of class rule (slave-owners over slaves, feudal lords over serfs).

At present, Marxist-Leninist theory distinguishes between two basic forms of class society: in one the classes are *hostile* and *antagonistic* towards each other and are engaged in bitter class conflict (bourgeoisie vs. the working class in a capitalist state); the other, after doing away with private ownership of the means of production, is identified by co-operation of *friendly* classes (the working class and *kolkhoz* [collective farm] peasantry in a proletarian-socialist state) in a joint task and aim: building socialism and, ultimately, communism.

"Marxism-Leninism disclosed the class nature of the state, and, in a society with antagonistic classes, it considers the state as a machine of suppression. "The state"—noted V. I. Lenin—"is a machine used to support the domination of one class over another." The figurative word "machine" immediately indicates the gist of the class nature of the state; it helps to explain that a state like any machine is a tool in the hands of people, a tool which multiplies their strength as representatives of the ruling class. Consequently, the state in its essence is an instrument of a dictatorship—of class domination."<sup>11</sup>

The state in a capitalist society, according to Marxism-Leninism, serves as an instrument for the oppression of the majority (the toiling masses) by the minority (the bourgeoisie). The state of the dictatorship of the proletariat, on the other hand, serves as an instrument of suppression of a minority (the remainder of the vanquished exploiting classes) by an overwhelming majority (the working class and the peasants). Only after the complete victory of socialism does the state cease to be an organ of class domination; under socialism it continues to serve as an instrument of political power of the friendly classes of toilers.

#### POPULAR SOVEREIGNTY IS A FICTION

In theory, the working class rules the proletarian-socialist state and is thus the bearer of its sovereignty. In fact, however, popular sovereignty is a fiction in such a state because of the unique position of the Communist Party, a position equivalent, ultimately, to one of exclusive and total control over the state. The ruling Communist Parties not only formulate policy for all aspects (economic, political and cultural) of society's life, but they also select cadres for the state apparatus who carry out and supervise their policy.<sup>12</sup> This is justified by the party's claim to be the vanguard of the working class in its revolutionary mission to transform the world.

The class character of the Communist-controlled party-state and, consequently, of its sovereignty introduces a new international or, better to say, supranational con-

cept into interstate relations between socialist states themselves as well as between "capitalist" and "socialist" states.

In their interstate or, rather, interparty relations, Communist-controlled states claim to be primarily guided by the principles of socialist internationalism and not by general international law,<sup>13</sup> although, Soviet jurists assert

"The socialist states consistently uphold the observance in international intercourse of the generally recognized democratic principles of international legality and law . . . they are inserting a new content into old legal forms, a new quality arising from the socialist character of those states."<sup>14</sup> [Emphasis added.]

This process is being described as the formation of a separate socialist international law, which will gradually replace general international law "when the world socialist system will occupy a dominant position in all areas of international relations."<sup>15</sup>

Meanwhile, intercourse between socialist and capitalist states is allegedly regulated by norms of general international law, often called by Communist jurists "the Law of Peaceful Coexistence" between states of the two antagonistic social systems. It is not a law of peaceful intercourse in the traditional, non-Communist meaning, but a set of norms operating in a historical situation characterized by the absence of major (nuclear) conflict between the two systems, whose "coexistence" is described as

"A specific form of class struggle between socialism and capitalism in the international arena. . . . Peaceful coexistence between the two systems does not exclude revolutions in the form of armed uprisings and just national liberation wars against imperialist oppression, which occur within the capitalist system."<sup>16</sup>

In this context the international law principles of the sovereignty of a capitalist state and noninterference in its internal affairs, despite formal acceptance by the Communists, are logically also subordinated to the overriding aims of class struggle (for example, international civil war) and are devoid of traditional significance.

It appears that the negative influence of the Brezhnev Doctrine on international law's validity is self-evident.

#### BREZHNEV'S ROLE HELPS TO EXPLAIN HIS DOCTRINE

For an understanding of the real content and implications of the Brezhnev Doctrine, we must return to Brezhnev's role, even though the doctrine may not be so new and he is not its author. It would be a great mistake to minimize the influence of this most important representative of the C.P.S.U. Central Committee apparatus, which wields enormous power emanating from the party's totalitarian control over the Soviet state and, indirectly, even over the world socialist system. In his public pronouncements the Secretary General interprets and communicates to the world the genuine "Brezhnev Doctrine", a complex set of concepts and motivations which make the C.P.S.U. and other Communist Parties "tick", despite their "rifts". We speak here, of course, of the Communist world view, the Marxist-Leninist doctrine, which is the global, ideological framework of the Communist Parties.

In a recent collection of speeches and articles the Secretary General summarizes "the Party's experience in directing communist construction and the foreign policy of the USSR."<sup>17</sup> It is C.P.S.U. directed foreign policy interpreted by Brezhnev, then, that will offer us an insight into the problem of "sovereign" relations among communist-controlled states, and, ultimately, also, between those states and their noncommunist counterparts.

#### INVASION OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA HAS BEEN AN IMPORTANT TOPIC

The invasion of Czechoslovakia in August, 1968, a critical foreign policy decision within the socialist system, has been an important topic in Brezhnev's speeches. On November 12, 1968, his address to the Congress of the Polish United Workers (i.e., Communist) Party showed not only concern with a local (Czechoslovak) problem but reflected the communist global view:

"We are living, comrades, in a complicated, stormy and interesting time. The revolutionary process, which centers around the confrontation of the two principal social systems of our epoch—socialism and capitalism—is progressing irresistibly."<sup>18</sup> [Emphasis added.]

He admonishes the Communists of the socialist countries that the recent activation in Czechoslovakia of forces hostile to socialism should be understood in terms of this confrontation and that

"It is vitally important . . . to carry high the banner of socialist internationalism and constantly strengthen the solidarity and cohesion of the socialist countries."<sup>19</sup>

Despite remarks in support of the observance of traditional sovereignty of all states, Brezhnev emphasizes the special importance for the Communists of defending the sovereignty of states which have chosen the road of building socialism. He equates the sovereignty of a socialist country with building "a society free of every oppression and exploitation". True consolidation of sovereignty and independence requires that—

"Each socialist country determine the concrete forms of its development along the path toward socialism, while taking into account the specific character of its national conditions."<sup>20</sup>

But, Brezhnev warns, in order to uphold "socialist" sovereignty:

"There exist also generally binding principles of socialist construction, whose neglect could lead to a retreat from socialism. . . . And when internal and external forces hostile to socialism make an attempt to reverse the development of a socialist country in the direction of the restoration of the capitalist system . . . then this threat represents not only a problem for the people of that country, but a common problem and task of all socialist countries."<sup>21</sup> [Emphasis added.]

Mutual fraternal assistance, based on principles of socialist internationalism, includes, according to Brezhnev, direct military intervention, even though only as "an extraordinary measure, in order to nip in the bud the threat to the socialist order".

Brezhnev did not elaborate on these generally binding principles and rules, knowing quite well that his host, Gomulka, was one of the signers of the 1957 declaration of the twelve Communist and Workers' Parties that spelled them out in detail.

Two years later, in a monumental discourse, "The Work of Lenin Lives and Triumphs", on April 21, 1970, Brezhnev again reminded his listeners, Communists and sympathizers from practically every country in the world, of the "collapse" of the antisocialist plot in Czechoslovakia, proving "the great importance of the international solidarity of the socialist countries". He remarked, "Neither our friends nor our enemies doubt its force and effectiveness—and that is very good."

When we compare this speech with the 1957 Moscow Declaration, the remarkable continuity of Marxist-Leninist thinking should not surprise us. Prepared by the same apparatus, it repeats the declaration's main points almost word for word: The path of different countries to socialism, and the socialist system itself, are characterized—"as has been emphasized by the fraternal

Footnotes at end of article.

Parties"—by "common landmarks", the socialist revolution in some form which crushes the state machinery of the exploiters and replaces it by the state (dictatorship) of the proletariat; the proletarian (socialist) state, which, in turn, liquidates the exploiter classes, socializes the means of production and inaugurates a cultural revolution in Lenin's meaning.

As for the socialist system once constructed, its fundamental obligatory characteristics are: the rule of the toilers, implemented through the control of the Marxist-Leninist party over society's development; social ownership of the means of production and a planned economy; education of the entire people in the spirit of the ideology of scientific communism; and, last but not least, a foreign policy based on the principles of proletarian-socialist internationalism.

Bearing in mind the doctrinal continuity displayed by the C.P.S.U. apparatus, it is only natural that Brezhnev should publicly deny not only authorship but also the very existence of a "Brezhnev" doctrine. Speaking in Moscow on June 9, 1969, before an international conference of seventy-five Communist and Workers' Parties held to consider the tasks of the struggle against imperialism, he accused "the imperialist propagandists" of having:

"Fabricated and circulated the notorious doctrine of limited sovereignty [and of] slandering the principle of proletarian internationalism by contrasting it artificially with the principles of independence, sovereignty and equality of national detachments of the workers' and communist movement [Communist Parties]." <sup>22</sup> [Emphasis added.]

In support of his argument he quoted as "by no means obsolete" Lenin's definition: "to be an internationalist means to do the utmost possible in one country for the promotion, support and stirring up of revolution in all countries." <sup>23</sup>

The genuine "Brezhnev Doctrine" is, then, a restatement of the Marxist-Leninist world view: a world engulfed in an irreconcilable confrontation between the two antagonistic socioeconomic systems—capitalism and socialism—which is bound to end with a revolutionary transformation of capitalist society according to Marxist-Leninist tenets. To this supranational revolutionary end everything is subordinated, including interests of whole nations (their sovereignty, equality, independence, etc.) as well as the interests of individuals, irrespective of whether they are part of the capitalist or socialist system.

The present Secretary General may, of course, at some future date be replaced by another *apparatchik* (prominent member of the C.P.S.U. Central Committee apparatus), who will continue promoting the Marxist-Leninist doctrine, the true driving force behind the Communist effort.

## FOOTNOTES

<sup>1</sup> Pravda, November 22, 1957, page 1. Represented were the Communist Parties of Albania, Bulgaria, Hungary, Vietnam, East Germany, China, North Korea, Mongolia, Poland, Rumania, the U.S.S.R., Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia. All but Yugoslavia signed the document.

<sup>2</sup> The widely used English equivalent, "competition", is a misleading translation in the author's opinion, since it does not reflect this struggle's irreconcilable character.

<sup>3</sup> Pravda, November 22, 1957, page 1.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>6</sup> "Zavoyevaniya sotsializma" (achievements of socialism), in the author's opinion, is better translated literally "conquests of socialism", since it reflects the Communist large-scale application of crude force and legalized terror in transforming society.

<sup>7</sup> Pravda, November 22, 1957, page 1.

<sup>8</sup> Read a more detailed analysis of the situation in the author's brochure, *THE SOVIET DOCTRINE OF SOVEREIGNTY, THE SO-CALLED BREZHNEV DOCTRINE*, published by the American Bar Association Standing Committee on Education About Communism and Its Contrast With Liberty Under Law. (1970).

<sup>9</sup> The New York Times, September 28, 1968, page 32.

<sup>10</sup> Rogers, *Our Great Goal: Peace Under Law*, 45 A.B.A.J. 1181 (1959).

<sup>11</sup> FUNDAMENTALS OF THE THEORY OF STATE AND LAW [in Russian], legal textbook of the Sverdlovsk Law Institute (1969).

<sup>12</sup> *Id.* at 197-198.

<sup>13</sup> TUNKIN, *THEORY OF INTERNATIONAL LAW* [in Russian] 504 (1970).

<sup>14</sup> Korovin, *Proletarian Internationalism and International Law*, *SOVIET YEARBOOK OF INTERNATIONAL LAW—1958* [in Russian] 55 (1959).

<sup>15</sup> Usenko, *International Law in the intercourse of Socialist Countries*, *SOVIET YEARBOOK OF INTERNATIONAL LAW—1966-1967* [in Russian] 44 (1968).

<sup>16</sup> *4 Philosophical Encyclopedia* [in Russian] at 452-454.

<sup>17</sup> 1 BREZHNEV, *THE LENINIST POLICY COURSE: SPEECHES AND ARTICLES 1964-1970* [in Russian] 3.

<sup>18</sup> *Id.*, Volume 2, at 325.

<sup>19</sup> *Id.* at 328.

<sup>20</sup> *Id.* at 329.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>22</sup> *Id.* at 397.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*

## LEAD POISONING: ZOO ANIMALS MAY BE THE FIRST VICTIMS

## HON. DAVID R. OBEY

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 14, 1971

Mr. OBEY. Mr. Speaker, researchers at the New York Medical College have discovered that a large proportion of the animals at Staten Island Zoo suffer from lead poisoning. "And while some of the lead in the animals' bodies may have come from paint in their cages," notes an article in the July 9 issue of *Science*, "the major source appears to be atmospheric contamination."

Analysis of 16 paints used in some of their cages—all marketed as lead-free interior paints—showed that 11 of them contained lead in concentrations ranging from 0.01 to 3 percent. "Significantly," the article continues, "the animals kept in outdoor cages, including those in cages without paint, showed the highest levels of lead in their bodies."

In the words of the pathologist who directed the study, "The findings have ominous implications for the people who live in that area of the city." Indeed, they are ominous for all of us who care about what we are doing to our air.

I include the article, headed "Lead Poisoning: Zoo Animals May Be the First Victims":

## LEAD POISONING: ZOO ANIMALS MAY BE THE FIRST VICTIMS

(By Robert J. Bazell)

NEW YORK.—Death and illness as a result of simply breathing polluted urban air is a specter of the future that only the more

alarmist environmentalists conjure up from time to time. Nevertheless, researchers at New York Medical College (NYMC) have discovered that a large proportion of the animals at Staten Island Zoo suffer from lead poisoning. And while some of the lead in the animals' bodies may have come from paint in their cages, the major source appears to be atmospheric contamination. In the words of Ralph Strebel, the pathologist who directed the study, "The findings have ominous implications for the people who live in that area of the city."

The first indication of trouble at the zoo came last November, when an 11-month-old leopard became weak, started losing its hair, and refused to eat. The cat was taken to New York Medical College, where sick animals from the city's five zoos are treated under the comparative pathology program. Although Strebel and his colleagues could find no evidence of disease, the leopard died 24 hours later.

Three weeks later, zoo keepers found the leopard's fraternal twin, a black leopard (formerly known as a black panther) named Mr. Leo Pard, lying paralyzed in his cage; he too was taken uptown to the medical school. Again there was no evidence of any known disease. But in response to symptomatic treatment, Mr. Leo Pard survived and regained his muscular coordination. At this point, Dennis Craston, a toxicologist from the city's Medical Examiner's Office and an instructor at the medical college, tested Mr. Leo Pard for heavy metal poisoning and found extremely high levels of both lead and zinc in the animal's hair, blood, and feces. A check of the first leopard's preserved organs also revealed high concentrations of the same two metals.

After 6 weeks of intensive treatment at the hospital's animal facility, Mr. Leo Pard was well enough to return home to the Staten Island Zoo. But once there, the level of lead in his body again began to rise. After he went into convulsions, he was taken back to the hospital, where he is still recuperating.

On the basis of their experience with the two leopards, the NYMC researchers decided to check other animals in the zoo for lead poisoning. They found not only that other animals had high concentrations of lead in their bodies, but that the victims ranged from reptiles to primates.

For some time, snakes at the zoo had been dying after having lost sufficient muscular coordination to slither properly. Sure enough, chemical analysis of the preserved carcasses revealed high concentrations of lead. Hair chippings, along with blood and fecal samples, from a variety of cats and primates showed many of the animals to be contaminated with lead—often in amounts far exceeding the level considered toxic in man. Even a great horned owl, brought to NYMC because it had lost its feathers, was found to be a victim of lead poisoning.

Searching for the source of the contamination, the NYMC investigators first tested the zoo's water, food, and bedding and found them all to be free of heavy metals. An analysis of the paints used in some of the cages, however, revealed that 11 out of 16 paints contained lead in concentrations ranging from 0.01 to 3 percent. This finding is significant in itself, according to Craston, because all of the paints are marketed as lead-free interior paints.

But perhaps even more significant were the levels of lead found outside the cages. Grass, leaves, and soil collected on the zoo grounds contained lead in quantities as high as 3900 micrograms per milligram dry weight—an amount equal to or exceeding that found along the sides of major highways, where automobiles continually spew out lead-con-

taining exhausts. "We can only conclude," said Strebelt, "that most of the lead taken in by the animals resulted from atmospheric fallout."

Significantly, the animals kept in outdoor cages, including those in cages without paint, showed the highest levels of lead in their bodies. Even the carcasses of dead mice found inside and outside the zoo buildings were loaded with lead.

Lead poisoning of animals apparently is not confined to the Staten Island Zoo. The same doctors made a preliminary investigation of animals in the Bronx Zoo and turned up the same problem, although fewer animals seem to be affected.

Originally an occupational hazard, lead poisoning in recent years has been identified in slum children who eat chips of paint in old, dilapidated buildings (*Science*, 5 September 1969). Several studies have found an increasing concentration of lead in the air over many cities. And, although the question has been raised, little is known about the effect of this lead on the cities' inhabitants.

It is known, however, that increasing exposure to lead in the air can increase the amount of lead in a person's blood. And a recent position paper drawn up by the Air Pollution Control Office of the Environmental Protection Agency concluded that atmospheric lead pollution does indeed pose a health hazard, particularly for children exposed to lead from other sources.

Since there is little data on the levels of lead in the bodies of adult residents of New York, the findings from the zoo animals cannot be compared with those from the human population. But the wide range of species that were affected in the zoo seems to indicate that man might well be in danger. One of the difficulties in detecting widespread lead poisoning is the lack of specific symptoms. For many years, the headaches and listlessness experienced by slum children who were suffering from subclinical cases of lead poisoning were overlooked by doctors—simply because they were unaware of the problem. And so it could be with some of the city's residents who simply breathe the city air.

Over the past few years, however, New York City has compiled a good deal of data on levels of lead in the blood of children, and according to Vincent Guinee, director of the New York lead poisoning prevention program, there is no apparent correlation between levels of lead in children's blood and those areas of the city in which airborne lead pollution is highest. "I would therefore doubt," said Guinee, "that the animals in the zoo developed clinical symptoms just from breathing the air. But," he added, "I'm prepared for surprises."

The NYMC researchers intend to continue their investigation, in order to correlate their findings in the zoo animals with the surrounding human population. "The zoo animals," said Strebelt, "could potentially serve as barometers of the medical effects of the variety of pollutants in the city's air."

#### WILL THE REAL RED CHINA STAND UP?

**HON. JOHN E. HUNT**

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 14, 1971

Mr. HUNT. Mr. Speaker, the staged sudden thaw of Red China relations with the Western world that began with the

invitation of the American ping-pong team to that country should be realistically assessed as a propaganda move and not the extension of a hand of friendship by the Chinese Communist regime.

In the Philadelphia Inquirer of May 30, Mark Gayn candidly observed the many gestures of friendship as one of the first two correspondents admitted to Red China after the ping-pong episode, but he goes on to assert:

China's hostility towards the U.S. Government and its policies has not changed. Nor has there been any sign that Peking intends to reduce its aid and comfort to North Vietnam, the Vietcong, the Pathet Lao, the friendly forces in Cambodia, or the guerrillas on the Thai-Malaysian border. What has changed radically in this season is the tactics of the struggle.

The people-to-people campaign is clearly meant to reach the man in the street in the United States, to do what Hanoi has done with such success. The Chinese believe that the American people are disowning President Nixon. The "Ping-Pong episode" is obviously meant to speed up the process . . .

Peking has its eye on the American public—and on the American policymaker now trying to decide what to do about the China issue in the United Nations.

As for the kind of future we can expect based on the education of Red China's young people, an article in another paper—accompanied by a photograph—notes:

Military training has been stepped up. Youngsters shout "Down with U.S. imperialism, down with Soviet revisionism!" and then do a fierce bayonet drill with wooden rifles. They pitch imitation grenades and go on long marches with packs on their backs.

Mr. Speaker, I look upon these manifestations of the real Red China regime with a great deal more credibility than upon the friendly gestures calculated for public consumption that have been, can be, and will be again, turned on and off whenever the suitable occasion arises.

#### CANCER RESEARCH NEEDED, NOT MORE BUREAUCRACY

**HON. PAUL G. ROGERS**

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 14, 1971

Mr. ROGERS. Mr. Speaker, since the concept of an independent Cancer Authority was first proposed I have been concerned over the impact that this might have on the actual fight to cure cancer.

At this time we have seen many developments which are encouraging and should pursue these with all our available resources. The appropriation of an additional \$100 million for cancer research is an important step in realizing the goal of one day finding a cure for cancer.

I am concerned still, however, that the bill passed in the Senate last week will detract from our goal of finding a cure.

I do not feel that we should divert so much as one dollar to building additional bureaucracy when that money could be spent in research.

I think the New York Times editorial of this week sets out very clearly many of my concerns and the concerns of many men of medicine who have worked all their lives in the fight against cancer. I would like to insert the editorial in the RECORD at this time for the information of my colleagues.

The editorial follows:

[From the New York Times, July 11, 1971]

#### CANCER CONQUEST OR SETBACK

The weakness of Congress in handling a technical issue has rarely been more glaringly demonstrated than in the 79 to 1 vote by which the Senate approved the so-called Conquest of Cancer Agency. Only Senator Gaylord Nelson had the political and moral courage to oppose a move which has drawn critical fire from a large percentage of the nation's biomedical researchers.

Presumably most Senators who voted affirmatively—and who are far from expert in this field—feared that their dissent might be exploited by future demagogic political opponents who would seek to represent them as friends of cancer. Yet there is real question and serious debate as to whether the "Conquest of Cancer Agency" will speed up or retard the search for means to cure this dread family of afflictions.

Perhaps the most disturbing element of the Senate debate was the argument that scientists are "close to a breakthrough in cancer," so close that "one final push" will attain victory, as Senator Javits suggested. In the biomedical research community, there are many respected clinicians and researchers who are highly dubious that success is around the corner. Meanwhile Senator Javits and others have unfortunately aroused great hopes among millions who could be cruelly disappointed.

There has been much research progress in the cancer field recently. Basic researchers have thrown new light on the role of viruses and on the immunological aspects of the problem, while important therapeutic strides have been made by biochemists, surgeons and radiologists. There is certainly ground for further intensive investigation financed by generous appropriations. But many students of cancer still question whether scientists are even yet near the heart of the matter. Moreover, it is far from certain that all the manifestations of cancer—from melanoma and leukemia to Hodgkins Disease and all the different sarcomas and carcinomas—have the same cause and are all amenable to the same cure.

These considerations raise a warning signal that research too narrowly focused on cancer as such may prove unavailing because it may miss the broader—and perhaps still unsuspected—biological phenomena that may lie at the root of the degenerative processes described as cancerous. Researchers directed by bureaucrats who believe they are "close" to a "final breakthrough" run serious risks of slighting the basic investigations which many informed scholars believe are still essential before cancer can be understood and cured. Inevitably, once a crash cancer program with separate budget and autonomous institutional power comes into being, spokesmen for other sufferers will demand the same privileges. Are heart disease, schizophrenia and nephritis patients less worthy than cancer victims?

The National Institutes of Health as they now exist and are organized have proved to be very effective means of attacking the en-

tire spectrum of ills under which men sicken and die. The possibly illusory "cancer conquest" program threatens to begin a process of fractionation which could destroy the N.I.H. and reduce the productivity of the nation's research dollar.

Only a legislature that failed to understand the true complexity of the issues involved could have given a 79 to 1 vote in favor of this controversial program in the face of the many doubts knowledgeable critics have been expressing in recent months.

**CONGRESSMAN ROBERT H. STEELE  
DISCUSSES "OUR MOST DANGEROUS  
EPIDEMIC"**

**HON. CHARLES W. WHALEN, JR.**

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 14, 1971

Mr. WHALEN. Mr. Speaker, all of us in this House and the entire Nation are deeply indebted to our colleague from the Second District of Connecticut, Bob STEELE, for the effort he has made to make us aware of the depth of the drug abuse problem among our Vietnam servicemen.

The report which Bob and Congressman JOHN MURPHY prepared, following their firsthand study of the drug situation in Vietnam, and the legislation which they have introduced in this area are contributions of significance seldom equaled by freshmen members of this body. Further, the quality of their investigation is as worthy of commendation as the service they rendered in uncovering this difficulty.

In the July 1971, issue of Nation's Business, Bob discusses the drug abuse problem not only with respect to Vietnam but also with respect to its effect on the Nation's welfare. I am pleased to take this opportunity to insert at this point in the RECORD his comments, which I am sure will be of great interest to the Members of the House:

**OUR MOST DANGEROUS EPIDEMIC**

(By Representative ROBERT H. STEELE)

The most serious, most tragic and most baffling problem in our nation today is drug abuse.

No child, no school, no home is immune from the epidemic dangers of narcotics.

No business, big or small, is safe from the thefts, absenteeism, turnover, decreased productivity or shattered morale caused by the burgeoning drug problem.

Like snowflakes, a white plague of heroin has blanketed the U.S. military command in Indo-China. The bleak prognosis is that, in an Asian version of an ancient Greek tragedy, thousands upon thousands of American boys will be discharged into society hooked on the heinous "white poison."

Just look at these chilling statistics:

There are 250,000 "known" heroin addicts in the United States, according to the National Institute of Mental Health.

The cost of stolen goods to pay for the heroin these addicts need is an estimated \$10 billion a year.

Better than 50 percent of all urban crime in the United States is drug-related.

At a minimum, between 30,000 and 40,000

CXVII—1603—Part 19

of our troops now in Viet Nam are addicted to heroin.

In five major U.S. cities last year, according to the Bureau of Narcotics and Dangerous Drugs, drug-related deaths totaled 1,273. The breakdown: Miami—38; District of Columbia—63; Chicago—46; Philadelphia—71; and New York—1,055. Addiction is the single largest cause of death for those between the ages of 15 and 25 in New York City.

**A GROWTH INDUSTRY**

Unquestionably, the fastest-growing industry in this nation today is the illicit traffic in drugs. Moreover, it is one of the most profitable industries on earth.

For example, 2.2 pounds of raw opium, the base for heroin, costs roughly \$30 at the source. Processed and packaged, it can bring in approximately \$300,000 at retail level—with profits ranging from 15 per cent to 1,000 per cent for every one along the line.

Spawned in the ghetto, drug addiction has hedgehopped to middle-class suburbs, colleges and high schools, to the armed services and, now, to corporations across the country. To support their habit, on-the-job users often become pushers and ensnare co-workers into narcotics addiction.

It is estimated that one out of every 40 workers in the U.S. uses drugs illegally and that three out of every four plants with 50 or more employees have a drug problem.

The coffee break has become the "drop" (swallow a pill) or "fix" (injection) break. Liquor in the locker room has been replaced as the scourge of industry by the secreted barbiturate or amphetamine capsule, the sneakily-dragged marijuana in the stairwell or the hastily dumped syringe in the wash-room.

Dilated eyes, shaky coordination, impaired depth perception and drowsiness—the addict's symptoms—result in accidents, lost productivity and thievery.

"Strung out" workers reportedly account for much of the \$2.5 billion worth of tools, office machinery and other goods stolen from corporations and stores each year. For example, in New York City, which conservatively counts 100,000 heroin addicts, 80 percent of the shoplifting is attributed to drug users, particularly those employed in the stockrooms of major department stores.

As little as two years ago, drug abuse in industry was considered a rarity. Today it is an exploding problem because new workers, fresh out of school, are imbued with the drug culture.

There is a sad parallel between corporate officials who once denied their firms had a drug problem—and are trying now to cope with it—and the armed services, which once unsuccessfully tried to kick the menace under the rug.

**WHEN JOHNNY STAGGERS HOME**

It took, frankly, a Congressional trip to bring home the horrendous statistics and focus attention on the fact that this nation has a tremendous problem on its hands as "Junkie Johnny" comes marchin' home from Viet Nam.

I recently returned from a 22-day, nine-nation narcotics probe—which Congressman Morgan F. Murphy of Illinois and I conducted for the House Foreign Affairs Committee—with the sickening news that 10 to 15 per cent of American troops in Viet Nam are using heroin.

Top government officials have not only verified there is an epidemic troop addiction rate, but report our statistics, fearfully, may be on the "conservative" side.

This is the Greek tragedy alluded to earlier. In return for the sacrifice of 50,000 American lives and billions of dollars, the U.S. is get-

ting a homeward-bound military force riddled with drug addicts.

At least 60 GI's now die each month from overdoses of the super-grade heroin supplied by our "allies" and marketed with the blessing of corrupt Southeast Asian officials. Both Army Secretary Stanley R. Resor and John E. Ingersoll, director of the U.S. Bureau of Narcotics and Dangerous Drugs, have been in Saigon recently giving President Nguyen Van Thieu a belatedly blunt list of demands to curb the heroin traffic directed at American servicemen.

It could be a case of too little and too late.

At least 1,000 tons of raw opium are illicitly produced yearly in the Shan States of Burma, the border area of China's Yunnan Province, northern Thailand and northwestern Laos—the so-called "Fertile Triangle." In laboratories in the Burmese-Laotian border area, in Vientiane Laos, and in Bangkok, Thailand, the bulk of the opium is eventually refined into 94 to 97 per cent pure heroin produced exclusively for the U.S. market and for U.S. troops in South Viet Nam.

The stuff can be bought anywhere, from combat zone to Saigon cabaret, and by American standards of income—even military income—it is dirt cheap. A 97 per cent-pure quarter-gram sells for as little as \$2.20. In New York City, a fourth as much sells for an estimated \$8, and it's nowhere near as pure. In this country, the strength of heroin is usually only 4 to 6 percent.

**A HANDY "HIGH"**

Although marijuana has always been a problem, there was very little heroin use among U.S. troops in Viet Nam until December, 1969.

Then, GI's discovered that this almost pure heroin could be smoked or snuffed, producing the same "high" they would get from injecting American heroin directly into the bloodstream. Also, there is no odor from smoking heroin, as there is with marijuana. It is less bulky, easier to hide.

And suddenly, the Army found itself in a new crisis. Fifty-nine overdose deaths in Viet Nam were confirmed by autopsy last year and more than 30 others were suspected. At first, commanders refused to believe they had a troop addiction problem. Now, they are scurrying to find a solution.

But the sorry fact remains that a once-magnificent fighting machine has suffered heavy losses in discipline, morale and effectiveness—not because of the enemy, but because of an insidious white powder. The number one domestic crisis facing this nation in days to come will be in dealing with GI users and addicts when they return to the States. After sniffing or smoking the pure stuff in Viet Nam, many will be forced to use the needle in this country to achieve the "high" they are now accustomed to.

And this means higher crime rates to pay for the higher priced, less-pure heroin available Stateside.

Once, the services simply kicked out drug users with dishonorable or bad conduct discharges. But after the scope of the problem hit home, the Department of Defense in October offered a rehabilitation program featuring an olive leaf of amnesty held out to those turning themselves in.

Few servicemen, however, have availed themselves of the program.

The big reasons is that there are no "cook-book" solutions to the drug habit and the ready availability of narcotics. The Veterans Administration started a rehabilitation program only a year ago. At present there are five facilities, with eight more planned by 1972. Adequate funds, oddly enough, are not a problem. But finding trained personnel and workable techniques are.

There are, of course, a few bright spots. Administration officials quietly are making control of the international traffic in narcotics a top priority of U.S. foreign policy. The Bureau of Narcotics and Dangerous Drugs, the Customs Bureau and other law enforcement agencies have intensified crack-downs on the flood of high-grade heroin and other hard narcotics coming into the country—a lot of it in military mail parcels.

In Viet Nam, the II Field Force has opened a "Pioneer House" which realistically provides drug information, counselors and medication—and complete amnesty. At home, similar projects have been started at various bases. And the Pentagon has formed an all-service drug abuse committee.

All in all, there is now a great awareness in industry—as in the services—of the drug abuse crisis. But for corporations, as for the services, the newness of the problem makes it difficult to deal with.

Today, our nation of 200 million has an estimated six million alcoholics; tomorrow, that tally may be surpassed by the growing number of heroin addicts.

Corporations should expect that as they recruit from among students and Viet Nam veterans, they risk hiring drug users.

But until all of labor and all of business face the facts, the cost in lower output and lost careers will be exorbitant.

Now that drug abuse has spread to all age groups and social levels, the nation can no longer excuse it by hiding behind cries of "generation gap" or "communications gap."

#### OMNIBUS LEGISLATION

Implementing recommendations in a report we made on the heroin menace, Rep. Murphy and I have introduced omnibus legislation to provide for detection, detoxification and rehabilitation of GI addicts, using both military and civilian services.

The legislation, which has attracted more than 75 cosponsors, would require that the Defense Department start an extensive urinalysis program to identify military heroin addicts; and that if rehabilitation efforts prove unsuccessful, a military addict may be civilly committed—prior to his discharge—to the Veterans Administration for up to three years of treatment.

Rep. Murphy and I also have conferred with many Executive branch officials. On June 17, after several months of preparation, the President unveiled a far-reaching drug abuse program which closely parallels many of the recommendations in our report.

We hope our input played a role in the formulation of these policies.

The war on drug addiction must be our top national priority. We cannot begin to solve our social problems until we win it.

Let me put it another way. When our country's security is threatened, the threat is met by total mobilization. If we had an epidemic of malaria or polio moving as fast as heroin addiction is, we would declare a national emergency.

We have such a national emergency on our hands. We must fight it with total mobilization of all forces—government, industry and labor.

#### EQUAL RIGHTS AMENDMENT

### HON. MARTHA W. GRIFFITHS

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 14, 1971

Mrs. GRIFFITHS. Mr. Speaker, at this time, I would like to insert into the

RECORD a copy of a letter sent to me by Dr. Clara Raven of Detroit and directed to Chairman EMANUEL CELLER of the House Judiciary Committee. The letter refers to recent action taken by the committee, amending the Equal Rights Amendment, House Joint Resolution 208. The letter follows:

JUNE 26, 1971.

The Hon. Pep. EMANUEL CELLER,  
Chairman, House Judiciary Committee, Congress of the United States, Washington, D.C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN CELLER: I am one of the many women in the U.S. who are distressed to hear that the Equal Rights Amendment met its Waterloo in your committee. You disappoint me since the famous Dr. Emily Barringer has always credited you with success in passing legislation to commission women physicians for the first time in history of the U.S. Army.

I was one of the first six women to be commissioned and served in France and Germany in WWII and in Japan and Korea during the Korean War. Please believe we have justified ourselves, and so have women in other services. It will be a discredit to your wonderful record to have history record that you helped defeat or nullify Rep. Martha Griffiths' Equal Rights Amendment!

Please forgive if I relate the following: "During the month of Sivan when the Jewish people celebrate the giving of the Torah at Mt. Sinai, I learned that the Jewish woman had a primary part in this event. Our Sages relate that when G-d was about to give the Torah to the Jewish people, he told Moshe Rabbeinu (Moses, our teacher) to approach the women first and persuade them to accept the Torah, and only then approach the men." Have we forgotten the part and responsibility of women?

Sincerely, respectfully,

CLARA RAVEN.

#### HOUSE RESOLUTION 319

### HON. ANDREW JACOBS, JR.

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 14, 1971

Mr. JACOBS. Mr. Speaker, the following is the language of House Resolution 319, which I introduced on March 17, 1971. I was hoping it might catch the attention of the administration:

#### HOUSE RESOLUTION 319

Whereas the President of the United States on March 4, 1971, stated that his policy is that: "as long as there are American POW's in North Vietnam we will have to maintain a residual force in South Vietnam. That is the least we can negotiate for."

Whereas Madam Nguyen Thi Binh, chief delegate of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Vietnam stated on September 17, 1970, that the policy of her government is "In case the United States Government declares it will withdraw from South Vietnam all its troops and those of the other foreign countries in the United States camp, and the parties will engage at once in discussion on"

"the question of ensuring safety for the total withdrawal from South Vietnam of United States troops and those of the other foreign countries in the United States camp."

"the question of releasing captured military men."

Resolved, That the United States shall forthwith propose at the Paris peace talks that in return for the return of all American prisoners held in Indochina, the United States shall withdraw all its Armed Forces from Vietnam within sixty days following the signing of the agreement: Provided, That the agreement shall contain guarantee by the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the National Liberation Front of safe conduct out of Vietnam for all American prisoners and all American Armed Forces simultaneously.

#### AIR FORCE ACADEMY CADET HAS REMARKABLE RECORD

### HON. WILLIAM R. ANDERSON

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 14, 1971

Mr. ANDERSON of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, when any American student sets such a high standard of academic excellence that it means perfection, I consider such an achievement deserves recording, both for its historical significance and for the example it provides to all students in the pursuit of knowledge and excellence.

From Springfield, Tenn., we have a young man who has reached near perfection at the U.S. Air Force Academy. His name is Cadet David C. Henderson whose name has already been entered in the record books at the U.S. Air Force Academy. Because his record is so outstanding, I have requested that a recent statement about Cadet Henderson from the Academy be entered in the RECORD:

#### STATEMENT

Cadet David C. Henderson of Springfield, Tennessee, a member of the Class of 1972 at the United States Air Force Academy, ranked first in his class in the General Order of Merit during the past year.

Cadet Henderson was nominated to the Academy by Congressman William Anderson.

The General Order of Merit standing includes a cumulative average of academic and leadership grades for the past three years.

During his Second Class (junior) year, Cadet Henderson achieved a perfect 4.00 grade point average in the fall semester and a 3.93 average in the spring semester.

He is the son of Mrs. Edmund C. Henderson of 314 Lynwood Circle in Springfield.

The Academy recognized Cadet Henderson for outstanding performance by placing his name on the Honor Lists of the Superintendent, the Commandant, and the Dean. Additional privileges are granted to cadets on the honor rosters.

Cadet Henderson's photograph appears on the cover of the new 1971-1972 Air Force Academy Catalog. His photo is shown in silhouette form featuring an art concept to depict the typical cadet and the Academy mission.

Copies of the catalog were mailed to high schools and public libraries throughout the country in May of this year.

Cadet Henderson was the Wing Sergeant Major on the Air Force Cadet Wing Staff during the past year.

He participated in several extracurricular activities including the Math Club, History Club, Ski Club, and Saddle Club.

Cadet Henderson entered his First Class (senior) year at the Air Force Academy in June 1971.

## INADEQUATE AIR TRANSPORTATION SERVICE

HON. WILLIAM L. DICKINSON

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 14, 1971

Mr. DICKINSON. Mr. Speaker, since I have been a Member of Congress, I have made regular trips home on the average of twice a month. These trips for the most part are made on regularly scheduled commercial airlines. One would probably assume that service has greatly improved during the past 6½ years. Unfortunately, that is not the case. In the last few years, direct flights to cities in Alabama have become few and far between. These flights have virtually become nonexistent and now everyone is most familiar with Atlanta's skyline.

It has been my experience that the major cities of Alabama—Birmingham, Huntsville, Montgomery, and Mobile—are inaccessible to and from major cities without the State—unless, of course, the traveling public is willing to endure the inconvenience and time consuming routing through Atlanta, Ga.

The Atlanta Airport is suffering from overcrowded conditions and congestion of the airways. Routing through Atlanta is commonplace and one normally is faced with the annoyance of missed connections and/or inordinate layovers.

If I were the only person who has spent more hours in the Atlanta Airport than in the air on my way to my destination, I would not complain. However, the problem is universal to those people who fly within 150 miles of Atlanta. I guess the reasoning is: "if they are that close, let's route them through Atlanta." Perhaps I am being a bit facetious, but the problem has become intolerable.

The Alabama Legislature has recognized the situation—inadequate air transportation service in and out of the major cities of Alabama. Senator Doug Cook of Birmingham introduced a joint resolution to petition for an investigation of air travel in Alabama. The resolution was adopted by the legislature of Alabama on June 16, 1971. I join with Senator Cook, the members of the Alabama Legislature, and concerned citizens who are subjected to inadequate and poor service when attempting to travel by air in this effort to secure for Alabama the adequate air service to which we are entitled.

I am calling on the Civil Aeronautics Board today asking that a full investigation be conducted in regard to the adequacy of scheduled air service in and out of the cities of Alabama and to include in their investigation the several points set down in Joint Senate Resolution No. 28 as passed by both Houses of the Alabama Legislature.

The resolution follows:

## RESOLUTION TO PETITION FOR AN INVESTIGATION OF AIR TRAVEL IN ALABAMA

Whereas there exists in the judgment of the Alabama Legislature on behalf of the

air traveling citizens of this State, an inadequate air transportation service in and out of the major cities of Alabama, and;

Whereas, most existing schedules to major cities without the State require the traveling public to endure inconvenient and time consuming routing through Atlanta, Georgia, and;

Whereas, the nature of air service is so regulated to provide service where the need exists and not determined altogether by the economic justification of each flight, and;

Whereas, the people of Alabama are entitled to adequate service in and out of the State under the supervision and control of the Civil Aeronautics Board, and;

Whereas, the scheduled air service should be thoroughly examined by Federal officials to determine the adequacy of service in and out of the major cities of Alabama as presently served by the regularly scheduled airlines.

Now, therefore, be it resolved, that the Legislature of Alabama, both Houses thereof concurring, does hereby petition the Civil Aeronautics Board to conduct a full investigation of the adequacy of scheduled air service in and out of the cities of Alabama to include:

(1) frequency of direct and indirect flights by existing air lines,

(2) the possible need for additional service via non-existent routes of present carriers,

(3) the possible need for additional carriers to establish connections in Birmingham, Huntsville, Montgomery and Mobile,

(4) the possible need for additional service through any method deemed appropriate by the Civil Aeronautics Board; and

Be it further resolved, that the Alabama Attorney General join in this petition to the Civil Aeronautics Board for an investigation into the apparent discrimination of Alabama citizens by the regulated air carriers presently serving the State; and

Be it further resolved, that the Alabama Congressional and Senatorial Delegations are also hereby asked to join in this petition on behalf of Alabama citizens, and;

Be it further resolved, that the Governor of Alabama be asked to join in this petition by virtue of his signature to this Resolution and any other means he so chooses, and;

Be it further resolved, that if the Civil Aeronautics Board, in its best judgment, does initiate an investigation into the number of schedules, frequency of schedules, the number of carriers, and the present origin and destination of all flights, that such investigation should include oral hearings for the benefit of those in the State desiring to be heard before making any final determination, and;

Be it further resolved, that the Secretary of the Senate mail a certified copy of this Resolution to the Civil Aeronautics Board, the Alabama Congressional and Senatorial Delegation, the Governor of the State of Alabama and the Attorney General of the State.

I hereby certify that the above is a true, correct and accurate copy of Senate Joint Resolution No. 28 by Mr. Cook, adopted by the Legislature of Alabama on June 16, 1971.

## MODEL CITIES

HON. FLETCHER THOMPSON

OF GEORGIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 14, 1971

Mr. THOMPSON of Georgia. Mr. Speaker, I insert in the RECORD the sec-

ond of a series of articles concerning model cities that recently appeared in the Atlanta Constitution:

## PROMISES, RESULTS ARE FAR APART

(By Duane Riner)

There's little disagreement that the gap between promises and achievements in providing new housing for Model Cities residents is enormous.

An Emory University sociology professor, Alvin Boskoff, set out to determine why.

He minced no words in assessing the blame:

"Our interviews cover a wide range of information and judgments, but collectively they suggest considerable confusion, lack of decisiveness, the dominance of modest levels of motivation and/or middling competence and, most significantly, ill-conceived and largely inadequate administration."

A team of auditors from the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD), the federal agency that provides the \$7.2 million a year with which Model Cities is supposed to do its job in Atlanta, was astounded at what happened to four displaced Model Cities families.

The audit, which both HUD and Model Cities officials declined to make available, was obtained through City Hall channels.

Auditors said they reviewed special relocation assistance records of the Atlanta Housing Authority, the operating agency under contract with Model Cities, and noted that "four families, reimbursed for moving expenses, had moved into substandard housing."

In other words, the families used federal grants issued by the Housing authority to move from squalor to squalor.

"These families," said the audit, "were displaced because of city code action and in reality moved from one substandard house to another."

"A Housing authority official told us that the four relocation cases were self-moves; however, no documentation was immediately available by which we could determine what efforts were made to relocate the families in standard housing."

The auditors then reviewed the aims of the Model Neighborhood Program as set forth in the 1966 Model Cities act and pointedly noted: "The objectives of this act can only be achieved through a concerted effort of the (Model Cities agency) to provide adequate housing for its model neighborhood residents. We do not believe this objective has been realized in the first action year."

The Model Cities timetable for new housing starts, rife with slippage and unkept deadlines, never seems to link up with reality. An illustration is found in Atlanta Model Cities' last quarterly report to HUD.

The report, covering the period from last Jan. 1 through March 31, says:

"In the area of housing, the CDA (Model Cities Agency) has continued to make progress toward the start of construction and development."

Later in the report, housing production is described as "approximately 30 days off schedule" and projections were made indicating February construction starts for 35 units in Peopletown, 190 units in Summerhill and 180 units in Mechanicsville. Another 125 units in the Pittsburgh community were projected for an April start.

February and April went by the boards and nothing happened. May has come and gone and nothing has happened.

"ANY DAY NOW"

Desperate but ever the optimist—at least for publication—Model Cities director Johnny C. Johnson blames the Federal Housing Administration (FHA) for his troubles and

says the 35 Peopletown units will get under way "any day now."

In fact, Johnson appears to be staking his career on a promise to have ground at least broken for 530 housing units by November.

As recently as April 12, Johnson felt constrained to pack up a sheaf of correspondence between himself and FHA and send it to Earl H. Metzger Jr., assistant HUD regional administrator for Model Cities.

Entitled "chronology of events," it amounts to an elaborate rationalization.

#### NO RESULTS

Here's an example of what Johnson told Metzger about efforts in March to shake loose FHA commitments:

"Almost daily contact and various conferences with various Federal Housing Administration officials including (state FHA director) Cary Hooks produced no results in removing the bottleneck in securing Federal Housing Administration approval on all four redevelopment sites . . ." The Model Cities staff said each contact "only produced a promise by Federal Housing Administration to respond by Friday."

Hooks says FHA issued a feasibility letter for Azalea Gardens, the Peopletown apartments to be sponsored by Mount Nebo Baptist Church, on April 15, meaning that final plans can be drawn. The next step will be a firm FHA commitment for mortgage insurance, he said.

#### SIMILAR LETTER

A similar feasibility letter for the 180 Mechanicsville units, Mount Calvary Terrace, was issued April 22.

The other two aren't so far along. In fact, according to Hooks, they're "way down the road from being started."

Hooks turns aside Johnson's complaints that FHA is stalling with the comment, "Any time Model Cities comes to us, we're ready."

Asked whether he had received any directive form HUD to expedite Model Cities projects, Hooks replied:

"I am HUD."

### THE LATE SENATOR THOMAS E. MARTIN

#### HON. THOMAS M. PELLY

OF WASHINGTON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 6, 1971

Mr. PELLY. Mr. Speaker, I was sorry, indeed, to read of the death of the late Senator Tom Martin. It was my privilege to have served in the House of Representatives with this highly respected Member of Congress, who served eight terms in this body and was elected to the Senate in 1954. Upon his voluntary retirement, Tom Martin moved to Seattle to be near his children, and thereby became a constituent of mine in the First Congressional District.

It was a rewarding experience to have known Tom Martin for he was not only a warm person who made friends easily but also a person of the highest integrity. His mark was left in America by his long service to the U.S. Congress.

Mr. Speaker, it is a deep honor to have served with him and to have had the privilege of his friendship. His death brings sorrow to all of us who knew him.

#### WALTER NAGLE EULOGY

#### HON. DON H. CLAUSEN

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 14, 1971

Mr. DON H. CLAUSEN. Mr. Speaker, it is difficult to capture the true picture of a man who meant so many things to so many people. A man who was truly bigger than life itself.

Such a man was Walter Nagle of Santa Rosa, Calif. Gregory Jones, Jr., also of Santa Rosa has, in my judgment, captured this picture in a eulogy delivered following Walter's passing.

Therefore, I am including a copy of Mr. Jones' eulogy to Walter Nagle at this point in the RECORD:

#### EULOGY FOR WALTER NAGLE

Ladies and Gentlemen: I really never expected to be called upon to deliver a eulogy for Walt Nagle, nor did I expect to be part of a ritual team for the Elks Club commemorating the passing of such a man. I have been a part now of a good deal of reverence to Walt and I expect Walt at times was a very reverent man. I have known times when he was not quite so reverent, and now looking both ways is to pass judgment upon Walter as being an extremely human man, which I think is an accolade we might all enjoy for ourselves. Leota, Walter's lovely wife, hoped possibly, that I might touch today on the thing that was probably the largest and most fun thing in Walter's life which was his baseball career and possibly this job might better have fallen to lawyer George Murphy who is so expert in such things.

I only grew to know Walter at the time of his 70th birthday, and so far as I know Walter has been with us forever. My father used to chase baseballs at Chutes Park in Los Angeles when he was 11 years old and Walter was then playing Pacific Coast League baseball. My father is now 77. He thought of Walt as Mr. Nagle. I was fortunate enough to think of him as Walt, and my 19-year-old son had the pleasure and privilege of knowing him again as Mr. Nagle.

The Elks Club has just said that Walter's ship will sail no more. I disagree in part. I will always think of Walt as being a part of my life and so with me his ship sails on. He used to be down on Orchard Street and he will always be down the street on Orchard Street for me.

How do you mourn a man like Walter Nagle? He certainly, at the age of 91, wouldn't really expect people to mourn for him. I think we mourn for his family; we mourn for the lovely Leota who has been part of his life for the last 60 plus years; I think we mourn for ourselves. Walt's life was rich. Those of us here in this room that knew him can honestly say that our lives are, by far, richer for having known him. He was alive so recently that it just seems, as I look at him here, that I refuse to believe he is not with us as always.

Alive has a very special meaning when describing some people and Walt Nagle was truly alive. The word "alive" denotes to me more than just not being not alive. You are alive to something or you are alive to things and Walt was alive to everything. Walt was alive to us; Walt was alive to the simple joys of life, and some of the complicated joys of life as well. He was alive to his wife; he was alive to politics; he was alive to jobs in government; he was alive to baseball, and being alive to all of these things, all of the time, made him so special, and made him

seem, somehow in our eyes, to be somewhat bigger than all of the rest. He not only was physically taller than most of us, but he just seemed to be something a little special—something with a little extra ingredient added along the way. What more can you say about him? Maury Nelligan seated in the front row here was as much a part of Walt's life as any man I know, and I know if Maury was standing here in my place I think that my description of Walt being alive to things rather than just being alive, would probably be concurred in.

Most of my time has been taken already and I don't want to usurp the time of the clergyman sitting here with us. I think I would like, however, to speak to you in closing as Walt said it himself. I will take the liberty, if you will allow me, of reading what he wrote in his book, thinking at his then age of 84 that this might be said at almost any moment. Six or seven years have gone by before I have been given the privilege of reading to you his words from his book—*A Wish and a Farewell*. "Because of interruptions, this manuscript was started when I was 82 and finished when I was 84 . . . The sands of time are running low for me. I can accept this intellectually but my outdoor living has kept me in such wonderful health that I still can grasp the spark of my emotions. The soft blossom-scented zephyrs of spring are as sweet; the extravagantly beautiful colors of autumn as brilliant as when I was 15."

He was 15 in 1895.

"My head turns as quickly as ever at the sight of a pretty girl."

I know this was so true what with stopping at the old Double Play down next to old Seals stadium or when watching Walt squirm watching an inept pitcher, he always had time to watch a pretty girl go by. I hope to have that power at 90.

"I hope that when these, and the other joys of life leave me, they do so quickly with life itself."

He couldn't have had his wish granted any more perfectly. He died quite suddenly the day after watching the Giants beat the Dodgers and build a ten game lead in their division.

"It would be my greatest blessing if I had time to see this little manuscript in print in having some influence however slight in restoring baseball to its rightful position as the national pastime. But whether or not this wish becomes a delightful reality, I can at least bid a fond farewell to hundreds of wonderful friends whom I may not see again."

And I do this now.

### FREDERICK HOUSING PROJECT FOR ELDERLY WINS HUD OUTSTANDING RATING

#### HON. GOODLOE E. BYRON

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 14, 1971

Mr. BYRON. Mr. Speaker, recently the housing authority project on Motter Avenue in Frederick, Md., known as Catocin View was awarded a rare outstanding rating from the Department of Housing and Urban Development. The rating came from the HUD Region III headquarters in Philadelphia following an initial maintenance and engineering survey.

HUD officials suggested a few minor changes and corrections but termed the entire building outstanding. It has been recommended to the national HUD office as a good example of a turnkey project.

I would like to congratulate the Frederick Housing Authority on this excellent HUD rating. The Catocin View project has been an outstanding success and certainly deserves the praise it received from the HUD inspectors.

#### PANAMA TREATY NEGOTIATIONS JEOPARDIZE AMERICAN RIGHTS

### HON. LEONOR K. SULLIVAN

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 14, 1971

Mrs. SULLIVAN. Mr. Speaker, as former chairman for 14 years of the Panama Canal Subcommittee of the House Merchant Marine and Fisheries Committee, I have been deeply involved in the affairs of the Panama Canal and the Canal Zone.

In recent weeks, the Nixon administration initiated efforts with the Government of the Republic of Panama to reopen treaty negotiations concerning the present Canal and certain other aspects of our relationship with Panama. Because of my deep concern and intimate knowledge of the subjects of these negotiations which I believe would have very serious and adverse effects upon our Government and the situation in the Canal Zone if they are to continue under reported present negotiations, I feel that I must alert the Members of Congress and the public.

Therefore, I am making available certain correspondence and other pertinent material relating to this alarming development and I urge it be given careful and immediate consideration.

On May 20, 1971, I addressed a letter to the President of the United States setting forth my concern about the treaty negotiations, which is as follows:

MAY 20, 1971.

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

MY DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: As you may know, I have been associated with matters in the Republic of Panama, the Panama Canal and more especially the Canal Zone, since the mid-1930's. For the past fourteen years I have been deeply involved in these affairs as Chairman of the Subcommittee on the Panama Canal of the House Merchant Marine and Fisheries Committee. Unfortunately, I was forced to relinquish this important subcommittee Chairmanship this year because under the new reorganization of the 92d Congress, with certain exceptions, no Member may hold more than one subcommittee chairmanship.

As a result of all my years of work and associations with Panama, the Canal, and the Canal Zone, I have become increasingly convinced that the United States should not surrender its sovereignty and jurisdiction over the Canal Zone to the Republic of Panama. Because of the unsettled and volatile conditions around the world, I feel that it would be dangerous for the United States to begin such negotiations at the present time.

If these negotiations begin and the Panamanian negotiators over-extend their promises to the people of Panama far beyond their ability to deliver, they may reach the point where it would be impossible for them to back down without real trouble.

Newspaper reports from Panama state that these negotiations are to begin immediately in the United States. I am not certain whether this is fact or propaganda from Panama. As I said before, I firmly believe that it is in the best interest of the United States not to cede our jurisdiction or our sovereignty over the Canal Zone to Panama, especially since we have so many recent examples of the confiscations of property by dictatorial governments such as we have seen in Cuba, Chile, Peru and elsewhere. Once we lose our sovereignty over the Canal Zone, nothing could stop them but armed intervention to protect the canal.

Attached is a copy of an insertion of mine in the April 1, 1971, *Congressional Record*.

I believe, Mr. President, that you will find the majority of Members of Congress in both Houses in agreement with the expressions contained herein. May I have your thinking on this matter?

Respectfully submitted,  
LEONOR K. (Mrs. John B.) SULLIVAN,  
Former Chairman,  
Panama Canal Subcommittee.

#### A NEW PANAMA CANAL TREATY AT WHAT PRICE?

Mrs. SULLIVAN. Mr. Speaker, it has recently come to my attention that the administration is initiating efforts with certain officials of the Government of the Republic of Panama to reopen treaty negotiations concerning the present canal, a new sea-level canal, and certain other aspects of our relationship with Panama. I regard this activity on the part of the administration at this time to be extremely dangerous and ill advised.

Because of my strong feelings on this matter, Mr. Speaker, I am inserting in the RECORD a statement of mine on this subject as I believe it should be brought to the attention of the Members of the Congress.

#### NEW PANAMA CANAL TREATIES—POTENTIAL DISASTER FOR THE UNITED STATES

I am gravely concerned over reports we have received to the effect that the Administration is taking active steps which may result in the reopening of treaty negotiations with the Republic of Panama.

I have been associated with affairs in the Republic of Panama, and more particularly in the Canal Zone, since the mid-1930's and officially since 1953. As past Chairman of the Subcommittee on Panama Canal, I have worked closely with the Panama Canal Company, the people of Panama, and the people of the Canal Zone. In light of this long association with the affairs of Panama and the Canal Zone, I was amazed and dismayed to learn that the Administration has sent Ambassador Robert B. Anderson to discuss the reopening of negotiations for new treaties with the Provisional Government of General Torrijos. Ambassador Anderson, of course, was the Special Representative who headed the team which negotiated the three treaties with the Republic of Panama between 1964 and 1967.

It is a fact, Mr. Speaker, that the abortive 1967 treaties never came to fruition and ended on a very negative note. For example, copies of these draft treaties were never made available to the Congress of the United States but apparently were being circulated on the streets of Panama back in 1967. In addition, these proposed treaties evoked loud protest from the people of the United States and, more particularly, from the Congress. Indeed, the House of Representatives in the Ninety-first Congress expressed itself as to

the 1967 treaties blunder through the introduction of some 105 resolutions declaring it to be the policy of the House of Representatives and the desire of the people that the United States should maintain its sovereignty and jurisdiction over the Panama Canal Zone. In fact, since 1967, the Provisional Government of Panama itself has made known its objections to the 1967 draft treaties in unmistakable terms.

From the standpoint of the U.S., there were a number of disabilities inherent in those treaties. They would have, for example, resulted in the United States relinquishing its powers of sovereignty over the Canal and would have operated in such a way that the United States would not be able to control effectively the Panama Canal or provide for its defense in a satisfactory manner. In addition, those treaties contemplated an unrealistic and unreasonable increase in tolls, rates and revenues and did not take into account the constitutional authority of Congress over the disposal of United States property. Also, those treaties would have removed the Canal from the authority of the United States Congress. In this connection, it should be noted that under the 1967 draft treaty relating to the present locks canal, control of the Canal would have passed from the Congress to the nine-man governing authority and the five American members would be appointed by the President subject to confirmation by the Senate and responsible to the Executive, not to the Congress. This arrangement alone would tend to cast the treaties in an unfavorable light with respect to the Congress. May I also call to the attention of the House, the report of the Subcommittee on Panama Canal dated December 1, 1970 which goes into some detail on the 1967 treaty proposals and other subjects concerning the operation of the Panama Canal.

Aside from the disabilities inherent in these treaties, they are based on a number of erroneous premises. For example, at the time the 1967 treaties were drafted and negotiated, it was thought that a sea-level canal was economically feasible and could be built by nuclear excavation. It is clear from the Atlantic-Pacific Inter-oceanic Canal Study Commission Report that nuclear excavation has been eliminated for the foreseeable future. Absent nuclear excavation, it would cost approximately \$2.5 to \$3 billion (at 1970 estimate cost figures) to construct a new sea-level canal on Route 10, as recommended by the Inter-oceanic Canal Study Commission. Testimony before our Committee has shown that based on traffic forecasts and the Canal Improvement program, the existing Canal should be able to handle the traffic to the end of the century. At the present time, it seems clear that the Republic of Panama, or anyone else for that matter, cannot premise treaty negotiations on the assumption that Congress will authorize the construction of a new sea-level canal or enact legislation to transfer the existing Canal to any other country.

If the 1967 proposals were unacceptable to the American people and to the Congress, how much more unacceptable will new treaties be which go even further than the last round of treaties in ceding American jurisdiction and sovereignty in the Canal Zone? For the Government of Panama expressed its dissatisfaction with the 1967 treaties in an August 5, 1970 letter to our Secretary of State and simultaneously released a 32-page document explaining the reasons for rejecting the 1967 draft treaties. In general, this document took an extreme position which, in effect, rejected U.S. control of the Canal, the right of the U.S. to maintain military forces on the isthmus, and rejected the management of the Canal for the benefit of shipping rather than the enrichment of Panama.

It seems to me that it is entirely improper and incorrect when so many priority prob-

lems are facing the country at this time, that we should be pressured into opening up negotiations on new treaties that will once again engender enormous controversy and opposition. Undoubtedly, reopening negotiations on the type of treaties anticipated will result in protest by the American people when they learn the facts.

The possibility of new treaty negotiations raises several basic questions in my mind:

1. Why must we enter into treaty negotiations which give every indication of being contrary to the best interests of the United States?

2. Must we enter into treaty negotiations at this time which can only cause further unrest in both the United States and Panama?

3. Where has the United States failed in living up to its duties, obligations and commitments as set out in the basic 1903 treaty and its revisions of 1936 and 1955?

I would be at least a little less apprehensive if someone in the Administration could answer these questions for me.

On May 25, 1971, the following acknowledgment was made of my letter to the President:

THE WHITE HOUSE,  
Washington, D.C., May 25, 1971.

HON. LEONOR K. SULLIVAN,  
House of Representatives,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MRS. SULLIVAN: I would like to thank you for your May 20 letter to the President giving him the benefit of your views regarding jurisdiction of the Canal Zone.

I will be pleased to call these views to the President's attention at the earliest opportunity.

With cordial regards,

Sincerely,

WILLIAM E. TIMMONS,  
Assistant to the President.

Following a telephone call I made to the White House, Mr. Richard K. Cook, Special Assistant to the President, addressed a letter to me under the date of June 16, 1971, as follows:

THE WHITE HOUSE,  
Washington, D.C., June 16, 1971.

HON. LEONOR K. SULLIVAN,  
House of Representatives,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MRS. SULLIVAN: President Nixon has requested that I reply further to your letter of May 20, 1971, expressing your views on United States jurisdiction over the Panama Canal and the Canal Zone. We are aware of and appreciate your long-standing interest in this important matter.

We share your concern that the United States safeguard its vital interests in the Panama Canal. The question of our interests in the Canal, and how we might best maintain them in light of Panama's interests in discussing our treaty relations, is now under broad review within the Executive Branch. Please be assured your views will be taken into account during this process.

Sincerely,

RICHARD K. COOK,  
Special Assistant to the President.

An April 24-25, 1971, the St. Louis Globe-Democrat, under the by-line of Edward O'Brien, carried the following story:

THE PANAMA CANAL; ST. LOUIS CONGRESSWOMAN LEONOR K. SULLIVAN IS READY TO TAKE ON THE NIXON ADMINISTRATION, AS SHE DID THE JOHNSON ADMINISTRATION, IF ANOTHER ATTEMPT IS MADE TO GIVE AWAY WATERWAY

(By Edward O'Brien)

WASHINGTON.—A battle is building up between the Nixon Administration and a determined lady from St. Louis over the future of the Panama Canal.

Democratic Representative Leonor K. Sullivan took on the Johnson administration in 1967 on the same issue and won. Now she has served notice she will fight just as hard again to block what she regards as a renewed effort to give away one of this country's prize resources—the canal and the strip of land beside it from the Atlantic to the Pacific.

A few days ago she warned the House she had learned of a step toward quiet reopening of negotiations between the State Department here and officials of the Republic of Panama.

"I regard this activity on the part of the administration at this time to be extremely dangerous and ill advised," she said.

"Undoubtedly, reopening negotiations will result in protest by the American people when they learn the facts."

As seen by Mrs. Sullivan, who was chairman of the House Panama Canal Subcommittee for 14 years, the basic facts about the canal are clear and persuasive:

Under the original treaty of 1903, the United States built the canal, pays rent, and has operated not only for the benefit of the western hemisphere but as a trustee for the entire world.

The United States has lived up to all its treaty obligations and in fact has voluntarily liberalized its side of the bargain on several occasions.

The canal has been managed with showcase efficiency, bringing untold benefits to world commerce and the people of Panama.

It has been of immense strategic importance, economically and militarily, to the United States, and has served to unify the nations of the Americas.

After making this case, Mrs. Sullivan wonders why the United States seems eager to surrender its lawful rights, which amount to American sovereignty over the canal, and transform a solid and priceless asset into a shakely and unreliable pawn of Panamanian politics.

Neither in 1967 nor at present has a satisfactory answer ever been given to her question.

When representatives of the two countries agreed tentatively on a revised canal treaty in 1967, after four years of talks, a principal justification for surrendering of United States control was that Washington probably would want to build a second canal in the Republic of Panama and would have to make serious concessions to obtain the needed land and permission.

But now, according to Mrs. Sullivan, the second-canal project is just about dead. The waterway could not be built by the hoped-for nuclear excavation because of technical problems and the international ban on open-air nuclear blasts.

Without nuclear excavation, the new canal would cost \$2.5 to \$3 billion. Since it would be sea-level ditch and would join the waters of the Atlantic and Pacific, serious ecological questions also were raised.

The solution as urged by Mrs. Sullivan and others, is to continue to improve the ship-carrying capacity of the present canal. If this is done she says, the canal will be adequate until at least the year 2000.

The 1967 treaty proposal was never signed by either country. Alerted by Mrs. Sullivan, Democratic Representative Daniel J. Flood, of Pennsylvania, and others in both parties, Congress went on record as overwhelmingly opposed to what was widely regarded as a State Department blunder of the first magnitude.

No less than 105 resolutions were introduced in the House of Representatives demanding that the United States maintain its jurisdiction and control over the canal, and drop the proposed new treaty.

In the Republic of Panama, anti-American elements also fought the treaty.

Radicals denounced the government for making "concessions" to the United States,

and the negotiators tried to defend the agreement by saying, with undeniable candor and accuracy, that it would "reduce to a minimum the presence of the United States in Panama."

Today, several governments later, Panama's military dictatorship is pressing in several ways to obtain control of the canal and increase its financial take through higher tolls.

A year-end report by Mrs. Sullivan's subcommittee stated that Panama "has embarked on a calculated program of protest and harassment of the United States."

While making false charges of improper conduct against the United States, the report said, Panama has violated its own commitments by taking "illegal and discriminatory" actions against Americans in the canal zone and has kept up "a constant drumfire of anti-American propaganda."

The Sullivan report, with some charity, characterized Panamanian behavior as intended to "force new negotiations and treaties" even more damaging to the United States.

One of her allies in the canal fight, Sen. Strom Thurmond (Rep.), South Carolina, used stronger language.

"It is clear that the Panamanians are seeking to seize upon their geographic position as a means of extorting enormous revenues, not only from the United States, but from every user of the canal," he said recently.

"If Panama were allowed to take over the operation of the canal, the canal's long history of impartial access for ships of every nation would be destroyed.

"Panama would be in the gleeful position of a pirate strategically positioned in a narrow strait.

"The whole motivation of the Panama takeover and the real goal behind their crocodile tears about the alleged insult to their sovereignty and dignity can be seen as a remarkably ingenious greed for seizing control of a waterway which must be used by the world."

Mrs. Sullivan is sympathetic to the plight of Panama's poor. She has criticized the country's ruling elite for selfishly exploiting the country's wealth for their own enrichment instead of raising the lot of the masses.

In her recent subcommittee report, she suggested increased U.S. foreign aid to Panama as well as a system of assistance underwritten by the major maritime nations and principal users of the canal.

But the canal itself, she insists, should never be tossed into the aid pot.

Mrs. Sullivan is no longer chairman of the House Panama Canal Subcommittee. Under a new housekeeping rule in the House, she may not serve as chairman of more than one subcommittee.

But her expertise is still recognized as it was in 1967. On the other side, Washington has sent to Panama the same chief negotiator, Robert B. Anderson, who was Treasury Secretary in the Eisenhower administration.

On June 17, 1971, the Wall Street Journal carried an article by James C. Tanner, titled "Puzzle in Panama—Torrijos Brings Calm, Prosperity to Nation at Expense of Freedom," as follows:

PUZZLE IN PANAMA—TORRIJOS BRINGS CALM, PROSPERITY TO NATION AT EXPENSE OF FREEDOM

(By James C. Tanner)

PANAMA CITY.—Over lunch of chicken and rice in the sprawling white headquarters of the National Guard, Brig. Gen. Omar Torrijos, the nation's dictator, tells this story: While visiting peasants recently, he tried to explain his agrarian-reform plan. But they talked and talked and wouldn't let him get a word in. Finally, he exploded. "For Pete's sake, who's the dictator here?"

Actually there's no doubt who the dictator of Panama is. The only doubt is the direc-

tion in which this country may be headed under the 42-year-old strong man. The U.S. is concerned, of course, because of key U.S. military bases here and the strategic Panama Canal.

That U.S. stake in Panama will come under scrutiny this month, when the U.S. and Panama begin negotiations in Washington covering controversial treaties in effect since 1903. The talks will concern replacing these pacts with new ones governing the operation of the bases and the canal.

Aided by a heavy flow of U.S. financing, Gen. Torrijos has brought a goodly measure of prosperity and what he calls "social peace" to this volatile S-shaped isthmus since the National Guard took over in a bloodless coup in late 1968.

The general, supported by the powerful paramilitary guard he commands, controls Panama's provisional president and a puppet cabinet. For the moment, at least, he has silenced all opposition by jailing or driving into exile major foes and by abolishing the national assembly, banning political parties and muzzling the press.

But now Gen. Torrijos is setting out on a bold new course to build popular support and possibly to put new pressure on the U.S. as the treaty negotiations approach. He openly admires the leftist military regimes of Peru and Bolivia, and he is beginning to steer his government to the left also.

Observers see in the trends ominous hints of an anti-U.S. campaign designed to ring new concessions from Washington regarding the 50-mile-long canal, which splits Panama geographically and psychologically. For the coming talks, Gen. Torrijos handpicked the three negotiators, whom he describes as "the new intellectual aristocrats" of Panama. Some Americans here fear that major demonstrations against the U.S. will follow, perhaps leading to mob violence and riots similar to those that began in 1964.

#### A PROBLEM OF JURISDICTION

Gen. Torrijos agrees that there may be violence. But he says this will occur only if the U.S. again balks on the hot issues of jurisdiction over the 10-mile-wide canal zone and of Panama's share of the waterway's growing revenues. The U.S. has repeatedly refused Panamanian demands to give up its control of the zone and to increase the flat royalty of \$1,930,000 that Washington pays annually to Panama.

Gen. Torrijos insists, however, that he has been making sweeping changes among top governmental officials not because he wants to pressure the U.S. but because he is looking to the poor of Panama for the power base he lacks. With some success he is wooing peasants, workers and students. At the same time he has decreed stiff new taxes and other measures equally distasteful to the oligarchy—the wealthy families who traditionally have owned most of Panama's resources and, until the National Guard assumed power, its politics.

In the process, some known Marxists are finding work in key government agencies, and critics of the government contend they are being encouraged to do so by the leftists Gen. Torrijos named to top government posts. Indeed, the Moscow-leaning Communist Party in Panama is operating openly although all political parties and politicking are outlawed by the Torrijos government. (But a Peking-oriented Communist group has been smashed by the National Guard.)

#### MAJOR CAUSE FOR CONCERN

It was a recent cabinet shakeup by Gen. Torrijos, however, that is causing the most concern among businessmen, who worry that the backgrounds of some of the new ministers are a clear indication of the government's leftist push.

Most of the new ministers term themselves pragmatic nationalists. "I believe in a social reordering that will bring justice," says Jose

Guillermo Alzpu, the new finance minister. "If it's necessary to call that socialistic, then I may be a little bit to the left."

Even some of the dictator's most avid supporters have been saddened by his appointments of Juan Materno Vasquez to the prime post of minister of government and justice and of Romulo Escobar Bethancourt as rector of the University of Panama. Vasquez is a brilliant but controversial jurist known to have been a Marxist, and Escobar is an extreme leftist who numbered among his friends Cuba's late Che Guevara.

Both are former classmates of Gen. Torrijos, who praises their political expertise and staunchly defends them. "As an adolescent one gets to be an anarchist by virtue of social injustice," the dictator says. "But if after reaching 30 he still follows that line, he is a fool."

Gen. Torrijos firmly declares: "Those who oppose us brand us Communists. But the humble classes of people who make up nine-tenths of our population are more concerned with the intentions of the government than its origin." Then he adds, "The first rule of government is not to fail."

Following this rule, the dictator stumps the interior by helicopter to increase his popularity among peasants and workmen. To keep the oligarchy in hand, he exercises an old tactic of dictators—fear.

Even if criticism of the government weren't a crime—and it is—there wouldn't be any place to voice it. The six daily newspapers are run by publishers appointed by the government. All political meetings are banned. Former politicians are afraid even to be seen talking with a foreign newsman. Through an intermediary a meeting is arranged with a former president. But on the way to the site the reporter is taken on a twisting path through back streets so that anyone following will be thrown off the trail.

Many Panamanians insist that their phones are tapped and complain of harassment by the government. It is well-known that the government has built a network of informants. The investigative arm of the National Guard openly appeals for additional informers. In a series of newspaper ads, it urged that "suspicious persons" and "important information" regarding "security of the country" be reported to the Guard.

Government spokesmen insist that no political prisoners are being held. Other sources, maintain that at least 200 are in Panama's jails. Just after the 1968 coup, there were an estimated 1,600.

#### "WELL-TRAINED, LEAN AND MEAN"

But plotting against the government continues despite arrests and other harsh restrictions imposed by the Guardsmen, whom one U.S. military analyst describes as "well-trained, lean and mean." One recent plan to topple Gen. Torrijos was postponed at the last moment. But many Panamanians opposed to the dictator say any change in government depends largely on the U.S.

Some are bitter because the U.S. hasn't at least choked off funds that help the general stay in power. And a former holder of a high Panamanian political post says the U.S. is "morally obligated to intervene."

Except for a handful of Congressmen who charge that the Soviet shadow is beginning to reach across the Panama Canal, U.S. officials generally disagree with the theory that Washington should intervene. These officials note that President Nixon's approach is to deal with governments as they are.

Because of the restraints against politicking and criticism, there apparently isn't anyone closer than Miami who has a chance of overthrowing Gen. Torrijos. The most likely prospect is Arnulfo Arias, the legally elected president of Panama.

#### BATTING AVERAGE: THREE FOR THREE

Mr. Arias is perhaps the most popular and controversial political figure ever to emerge

in Panama. A former wealthy plantation owner and Harvard-trained surgeon, he has always drawn strong support among the nation's poor. But some in the oligarchy scorn him, and the National Guard has always fought him. He has been elected president three times, only to be ousted by the Guard on each occasion. The last time he served as president for only 11 days. Now nearing 70, Mr. Arias lives in exile in Miami.

Mr. Torrijos, a major in a province garrison at the time, surfaced as one of the instigators of the October 1968 Guard revolt against President Arias. Subsequently, Mr. Torrijos emerged as the leader. In December 1969 while the general was on a trip to Mexico, a group of colonels in the Guard staged a counter-coup—brief and unsuccessful. Gen. Torrijos hustled back to Panama, marching triumphantly into the capital just in time to intercept telegrams intended for his would-be successors.

Moving to strengthen his political base, Gen. Torrijos appointed as provisional president Demetrio B. Lakas, a Panama contractor and trusted friend. Speaking in a Texas accent after seven years spent in that state, President Lakas bristles at talk that the general now is turning to the left. "I will never follow a Communist," the president declares, "but I will follow a man with social sensibility."

A suggestion of this "social sensibility" came a year ago. In a letter to Sen. Edward Kennedy, Gen. Torrijos predicted the emergence of "a new type of military" in Latin America "convinced of the value of peaceful changes that promote the replacement of old structures."

#### EXCEDRIN HEADACHE—LATIN STYLE

Today Gen. Torrijos doesn't give any indication he plans to restore constitutional government any time soon. "One thing proved in the America's," he says, "is that the parliamentary systems and political parties are obsolete museum figures." He contends that "every country has to look for its own brand of aspirin to cure its own headaches."

Indications that the general was setting out on a deliberate course to cross the U.S. began appearing months ago. First, he refused to renew an agreement on U.S. use of the Rio Hato air base, from which Americans now have withdrawn. Then he told the Peace Corps to go home. And he recently announced that Japan was interested in bidding on construction of a new sea-level canal across Panama, a waterway that many authorities believe will soon be needed to handle increasingly larger ships.

Whatever his differences with the U.S., Gen. Torrijos is getting some plus marks at home. His government attracts bright young men with advanced degrees from U.S. universities who are pleased at the social challenges and the lack of bureaucratic red tape. To get laws passed, all they have to do is persuade the general to issue a decree. "Technicians and intellectuals disappear from the political arena when a government is dangerous. Here there is a remigration of brains," says Hernan F. Porras, the minister of commerce and industries.

The streets of the capital are free of garbage—long a political issue—and the gross national product of Panama has reached \$1 billion and grows in real terms at a rate of 4% to 5% a year. Per-capita annual income approaches \$625, ranking third or fourth in Latin America.

#### THE ROLE OF THE CANAL

The canal is a big contributor. In payrolls and purchases, it adds about \$160 million a year to the Panamanian economy. The U.S. has lent Panama \$100 million in the past 10 years, much of it since Gen. Torrijos has taken power.

How much of the prosperity is due to government pump-priming isn't known. It has borrowed heavily from abroad, and some

observers suggest that Panama may be nearing a credit crunch. "What happens when the money runs out?" one observer asks.

The government, however, is beginning a push for tourists and is trying to attract more foreign investments. A wave of such investments is coming in from South America, Europe and Japan, and U.S. companies have already invested \$1 billion here.

"For peace and prosperity we are giving up certain intangibles, like freedom of speech and the other political rights," a Panamanian businessman says. "How soon we get to the point where the sacrifice of intangibles no longer is equal to the tangibles we have gained is the big question."

Gen. Omar Torrijos, the real power behind the Government of Panama, and his Minister of Foreign Affairs Juan Tack, have been holding many meetings and speaking of their demands for the terms of a new treaty.

The Miami Herald, in its issues of July 7, 1971, carried an article under the headline of "Panama's New Dictatorship Often Arbitrary, Repressive" which is as follows:

**PANAMA'S NEW DICTATORSHIP OFTEN ARBITRARY, REPRESSIVE**  
(By Don Bohning)

PANAMA.—Among the slogans of Panama's military-controlled government is one that proclaims: "Revolution Without Dictatorship, Liberty With Order."

It might be more accurately read: "Revolution With Dictatorship, Order Without Liberty."

And there is even some question as to the authenticity of the "revolution" to which Gen. Omar Torrijos, Panama's unchallenged ruler, and his military colleagues pay repeated lip service.

Panama today is a military dictatorship; one that can be, and often is, as arbitrary and repressive as any in the hemisphere.

In fairness, there have been positive actions since the 6,500 man National Guard, Panama's only military force, seized power Oct. 11, 1968.

Hitherto unknown political stability has been imposed. The country is prospering economically. The government has professed an awareness of, and an interest in, the problem of the underprivileged both in the cities and the countryside. And, what seems to have made the greatest impression on some, the streets are cleaner and the garbage is being picked up regularly.

Before the guard seized power, Panama had what ranked among the most venal and corrupt political systems in the hemisphere.

By contrast, government by the guard initially looked almost puritanical. That image is fading, as rumors of corruption, nepotism and immorality grow and are too widespread to be dismissed.

Where freedom of the press was previously abused, it now is nonexistent. Although there is no formal censorship, newspapers publish only what the government sees fit to print.

Political activity is banned. And, although Torrijos made vague noises about the beginning of a return to constitutional government late in 1970, there has been no recent indication that he now has any plans to do so.

Perhaps the most distasteful of all is the atmosphere of fear in which much of the politically aware population finds itself living.

Recent newspaper advertisements, inviting abuse, called upon the citizenry to protect the "national security" by reporting suspicious activity or persons and "important information."

It is presumed that telephones are tapped by the government, and conversations are cautious. Once politically active Panamanians are fearful of being seen with foreign news-

Of the 19 hemisphere countries Gov. Nelson Rockefeller's fact-finding mission for President Nixon visited in the summer of 1969, Panama was the only one where the Secret Service found the mission conference room bugged.

An extensive system of informants also is said to be active, reporting to the National Guard G2 or intelligence section, headed by Lt. Col. Manuel Noriega, an ambitious officer with a reputation for ruthlessness.

In some instances it is known that physical pressures have been exerted on prisoners at various "houses of interrogation" operated by the guard in Panama City and Tocumen International Airport.

Even American citizens have not been immune from arbitrary arrests by the guard, including Robert Frizell, a Chiriqui province land-owner, who the government apparently thought was implicated in some kind of anti-government activity although he repeatedly denied it.

Frizell was held incommunicado for several days last October. He was released Nov. 3 for lack of evidence.

So that is the National Guard control that Panamanians are cynically disbelieving when the government professes no knowledge of such things as the recent disappearance of Father Hector Gallego, a young Colombian activist priest kidnaped in remote Santa Fe parish in the Panamanian interior.

Neither has the United States escaped the arbitrary action of the military government, including the expulsion of the Peace Corps contingent from the country early this year.

The commonly accepted, although unofficial version, is that the Peace Corps departure was ordered by Panama in retaliation for the arrest in the Canal Zone by U.S. authorities of a Panamanian citizen on drug trafficking charges. He was then sent to the United States to stand trial.

For those Panamanians who hope for a change, the prospect is dim.

Torrijos and the guard are firmly in control. They have neutralized all possible sources of opposition, including the university.

Anti-government elements at the university have been purged, and pro-government groups have been created to replace them.

Political parties are banned, and the commercial class is cowed.

The only remaining independent institution that could effectively challenge the government is the Roman Catholic Church. It is for that reason that the case of Father Gallego is being followed with more than passing interest.

Mr. Speaker, I believe it is the inherent right of the people of the United States to be informed of what is happening in what could become a volatile situation; that should these negotiations be allowed to continue without the refutation of any of the statements that are being made by Gen. Omar Torrijos and Foreign Minister Tack in the name of the Republic of Panama, we are in danger of being placed in a position of having to defend our right to operate the Panama Canal under the Treaty of 1903.

I urge the Members of Congress and the public to express their opinions to the President and the Senate on the giving away of our rights now being exercised under a legitimate treaty to operate the Panama Canal in the territory known as the Canal Zone.

What will happen to the approximately 5,525 housing units now occupied by American citizens and non-American citizens who are employees of the Panama Canal Company? What will happen to the schools and other buildings located in the Canal Zone? Should the area

known as the "Canal Zone" be wiped out under a new treaty, all of this property, including the Panama Canal, would be located in the Republic of Panama, subject wholly to its laws. What would stop the expropriation of the Panama Canal by the present Government of the Republic of Panama should the authority of the United States in the Canal Zone be abdicated? Only armed force by the United States could stop it. The negotiators representing the United States must be made to understand that such agreements as are now being suggested will not be tolerated by the people of the United States.

**THE NEGRO AND THE LABOR MOVEMENT**

**HON. JAMES G. O'HARA**

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 14, 1971

Mr. O'HARA. Mr. Speaker, the opening of avenues of access for minority workers into the mainstream of labor has long been of concern to many of us in the Congress.

In the difficult and challenging process of recruiting and training unskilled men and women from minority groups and upgrading those who are employed, labor unions, large and small, play a vital role.

Early this year, the League for Industrial Democracy and the New School for Social Research in New York City sponsored a Labor Relations Luncheon lecture series which featured a debate on the subject "The Negro and the Labor Movement: Two Views."

Participants in that debate were Mr. Don Slaiman, director of the AFL-CIO's Department of Civil Rights, and Mr. Herbert Hill, national labor director for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

Recently I had the opportunity of reading the transcript of this debate and believe that it would be of interest to my colleagues. I include the transcript in the Record at this point:

REMARKS BY DON SLAIMAN

The relationship between the Negro and the labor movement is of tremendous importance not only for black workers and not only for the labor movement but for the whole of American society.

As Bayard Rustin said:

"Everything important that has happened since the time of Franklin D. Roosevelt, happened when the minority groups, the trade union movement and the liberals stood together, and every time we had a failure is when that coalition has been broken."

What is today's discussion about?

It is not a debate between the NAACP and the AFL-CIO, for both would agree with what Rustin said. It is not a debate over whether discrimination still exists in unions; it does. Nor are we debating whether such discrimination should be covered by anti-discrimination laws. Title VII aimed at discriminatory practices of both unions and corporations, was included in the 1964 Civil Rights Act largely through the special efforts of President George Meany with the unanimous consent of AFL-CIO affiliates.

The issue is: What is the best way to ex-

pand economic opportunity and trade union participation for minority workers and, at the same time, strengthen the national coalition between minority groups and the labor movement, which is the key to social progress.

Now, it has become fashionable in some quarters, far removed from the front lines, to pooch-pooch this coalition as obsolete or nonexistent. These sideliners would do well to listen to Clarence Mitchell, the director of the Washington Bureau of the NAACP and the number one civil rights lobbyist, I quote:

"... I believe that it would be a fatal mistake in this country if civil rights and labor groups did not continue to work together... we must never forget that we are the foundation on which the House of Freedom is built. If we crumble and fall apart the whole structure may very well collapse."

The coalition is not an abstraction; it is a nuts-and-bolts operation with a proven record of substantial achievement—thanks to which the lives of millions of Americans, black and white, have been changed. The AFL-CIO was no Johnny-come-lately in this effort.

Roy Wilkins recalled how, in 1956 at the Democratic Party Platform Committee Hearings, President Meany departed from his presentation and

"... off the cuff made as fine a presentation and argument in behalf of Civil Rights as any person who is active in the Civil Rights field alone could have made. I have never forgotten that because it came straight from his convictions and from the history of the labor movement, and outlined in very graphic fashion the identity of our interests despite the seeming conflicts."

If we agree with Roy Wilkins that there is an identity of interests between labor and the Negro; if we agree with Clarence Mitchell that these natural allies are—not potentially, not ideally, not some day, but now, actually and concretely—the foundation on which the House of Freedom is built—if we accept these premises, then we have a context, a sense of perspective and proportion, in which to approach today's discussion.

These premises, let me make clear, do not justify a whitewash of racial discrimination by unions, but they do demand that we approach our differences with a contempt for the kind of demagoguery that would obscure the fundamental alliance between the labor and civil rights movements, that would deprecate the great progress they have jointly achieved, that would divide workers along racial lines, and that would, in the process, aid and abet our common enemies.

Of course, there are people who do not agree with Roy Wilkins, Clarence Mitchell and Bayard Rustin. They do not agree with the NAACP and the AFL-CIO on the Coalition's struggle for integration.

There are the nationalists and the separatists, including CORE. Here we have an organization which led the Freedom Rides, now offering us the monstrous spectacle of its leader, Roy Innis, sitting down with Governor Lester ax-handle Maddox to discuss how to keep school segregation. It is no coincidence that CORE has also supported so-called "Right-to-Work" laws.

Then we have a wide assortment of New Leftists, and elite liberals, predominantly white and well-off, who view the labor movement—and, indeed, the working class itself—as reactionary obstacles to social progress. They place their hopes in a variety of new coalitions that exclude the labor movement and the traditional civil rights movement.

Now, for some of these people, the simple-minded way to ensure that there is no discrimination by labor unions is to weaken unions.

But in recent years, the peddlers of the open shop and "Right-to-Work" laws have been repeatedly rejected, by the mass of Negroes and other minority groups.

Their support for labor's fight against the open shop is no mere "quid pro quo" for

labor's support of civil rights legislation. Not only Negro leaders but masses of Negro voters have understood what some intellectuals have not: that the minority worker is most exploited in the non-union sectors of our economy and in those parts of the country where unions are weakest.

They understand, too, that there is a deep unity of purpose between the labor and civil rights movements. As the Reverend Martin Luther King told the 1961 AFL-CIO Convention:

"This unity of purpose is not a historic coincidence. Negroes are almost entirely a working people. There are pitifully few Negro millionaires and few Negro employers. Our needs are identical with labor's needs: decent wages, fair working conditions, livable housing, old age security, health and welfare measures, conditions in which families can grow, educate their children, and have respect in the community."

To fulfill these needs requires the thorough elimination of all forms of racial discrimination from employment, education, housing and all aspects of American society. But ending discrimination is not enough. After all, discrimination cannot explain why there are millions of white American families whose basic needs are also not being fulfilled.

Nor can it explain why, in the decade between the 1954 Supreme Court Decision and the 1964 Civil Rights Act, when racial discrimination was being reduced, the income gap between Negroes and whites began to widen. The gap widened, not because of increased discrimination, but because of the economic stagnation policy of the Republican Administration, the recession of 1957, and the impact of technological displacement. These factors held Negroes back more than the elimination of discriminatory barriers allowed them to move forward.

Then, during the years of the Johnson Administration, the income gap narrowed. As Andrew Brimmer, the first Negro member of the Federal Reserve Board, has pointed out:

"... in 1965 the median family income of Negroes stood at 54 percent of that for white families. By 1967... the ratio had risen to 59 percent."

He went on to note that:

"... not only do median incomes of both white and Negro families in the South lag behind the incomes of both groups, respectively, in the rest of the nation, but the greatest disparity between Negro and white family income among regions is also found in the South."

I need hardly remind this audience that the South is where trade unions are weakest.

Why did the income gap narrow during the Johnson years? Mr. Brimmer attributes this progress to four factors. One, to be sure, is the reduction of discrimination; another is increased levels of education and skills in the Negro community; third is the overall reduction of unemployment in those years; and, finally, the manpower, anti-poverty and other social programs.

All of these factors, not just one, are necessary to expand economic opportunity for minority workers and to close the income gap. All of these factors resulted from social and economic policies for which the unions have struggled, both at the bargaining table and in the legislative halls. And if we are to reverse the disastrous economic policies of the Nixon Administration, which threaten to undo our earlier progress, it will be because we have strengthened the labor civil rights coalition, because we did not heed those who would divide us, because we did not "crumble and fall apart."

I come now to the question of what the labor movement has been doing to eliminate discrimination in its own house.

In a labor manual issued by the NAACP in 1968, Mr. Hill listed four basic categories of racial discrimination practiced by unions affiliated to the AFL-CIO. I quote:

"Exclusion of Negroes from membership; segregated locals; separate seniority lines in collective bargaining agreements and refusal to admit qualified Negroes into apprenticeship training programs."

As far back as 1959 and 1961, AFL-CIO Convention resolutions called for action by affiliated unions specifically to eliminate discrimination in each of these four areas. Our Civil Rights Department has been working to implement these resolutions.

Now, what is the record?

*On exclusion:* First, you should know that 95 percent of all union members are automatically enrolled when hired by the employer. The remaining five percent are concentrated in the building and other trades, where unions control job referrals. Nonexclusion is now the policy of every building trades union, as it is of all our international unions. There have been some violations of this policy at the local level, but the small number of cases that have been filed indicate the extent of the problem, and that problem is being solved by our Outreach Programs.

I might add that today there are over two million Negroes in the labor movement, and it has recently been estimated that one out of every three new union members is a minority group worker.

*On segregated locals:* In October 1965, the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission stated that any labor organization which operates on a racially segregated basis is in violation of Title VII of the Civil Rights Act.

That very day, President Meany issued the following statement:

"The interpretation issued today by the EEOC is entirely consistent with the policies of the AFL-CIO as determined and reiterated by its conventions. It is precisely the policy which we urged the Congress to adopt when it was debating the Civil Rights Act of 1964."

In fact, the AFL-CIO had called upon its affiliates to merge segregated locals with all possible speed in 1959. The merger process was accelerated by the passage of the Civil Rights Act five years later. What are the results?

The Railway Carmen had 64 all-Black locals, whose members were limited mainly to helpers jobs. Now all but two of these locals have been merged, and many of their Negro members have been upgraded to the Carmen classification.

The Musicians Union had at least 55 separate all-black locals. Last week I was told that there is only one left.

The Oil Workers, the Molders, the Tobacco Workers, the Papermakers and a number of other affiliates that had segregated locals have none today.

I hasten to say that this problem has not been completely solved, but we are resolutely determined that it will be. Meanwhile, remember the somewhat snide crack about the southern Negro worker whose children go to integrated schools while he goes to segregated union meetings? How ironic that some of these snide liberals are today advocating separate all-black unions. Predictably they have few followers among Black workers.

*On separate seniority lines:* Racial segregation in collective bargaining units and the maintenance of lines of promotion or seniority on the basis of race is a violation of Title VII. This is the position of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, and it is the position of the AFL-CIO.

Segregation in collective bargaining units resulted not from union action but from the discriminatory policies of management, which had exclusive control of hiring in industry: By hiring Negroes only for certain categories of low-paying jobs, employers had created segregated departments whose workers had less access to promotion and advancement, and sometimes none. Even when the lines of promotion and seniority seem reasonable in themselves, they may

have the effect of codifying the disadvantage in which Negro workers have been placed by the previous discriminatory policies of management.

Now I am sure you will hear from Mr. Hill about the resistance of some of our industrial unions to changes in seniority agreements. The fact is, however, that many changes have been made by unions in their collective bargaining agreements. A good number of these changes have been initiated by unions themselves, while others required complaints by minority workers or civil rights organizations. The point is that in most of the cases that went to court, the adversary position of the unions rested not on a defense of the discriminatory status quo but on a disagreement as to what the new setup should be.

*Finally, on apprenticeship:* Technological change has been wiping out many semiskilled jobs. It is not surprising, therefore, that so much attention should be focused on apprenticeship training programs.

In 1959 the NAACP issued a pamphlet entitled "The Negro Wage-Earner and Apprenticeship Training Programs," which said, and I quote:

"The minimization of Negro participation in apprenticeship programs, traditionally and currently, results in both the misdirection and mal-preparation of Negroes for skilled-craft occupations. Negroes, as a rule, must seek skilled training opportunities outside of formal apprenticeship programs. These in turn, do not usually provide the recipient with the qualitative preparation requisites for truly skilled standing in today's economy. This holds true when the training was just 'picked up' or whether it involved more formal but equally inferior instruction in *de facto* segregated school systems. In either event, some of the emerging Negro craftsmen are not adequately trained, nor do they usually perform as well in their chosen vocations. As a result, they remain marginal employees. . . ."

This is an important statement. Its main points are: that the skilled crafts do require training and qualifications; and that the best training is provided by formal apprenticeship programs. It follows that the participation of minority youth and workers in these programs must be vastly expanded.

Now, what progress has been made?

By 1960, the number of Negroes in registered apprenticeship programs had risen from one to less than 2½ percent—which prompted Roy Wilkins to observe that "at the present rates of advance, it will take Negroes 138 years or until the year 2094, to secure equal participation in skilled-craft training . . ."

But it hasn't turned out that way. In 1969, according to the U.S. Department of Labor, the number of nonwhites in apprenticeship programs totaled 20,000 out of 255,000, approximately 8 percent.

But that's not all. Of the 73,000 new enrollees in the first half of 1969, 11 percent came from minority groups, and the numbers continue to increase.

As of September 30, 1970, the number of apprentices placed by Outreach Programs alone, in over 80 cities, passed the 8,000 mark. Of these, over 7,500 were in the building trades.

Of these 7,500, almost 4,400 were in the electricians, carpenters, ironworkers, sheet metal workers, plumbers and pipe fitters. These are not the trowel or "mud" trades. These are certainly not "low-paying" jobs.

In 1960 the NAACP reported on the basis of the 1960 Census that there were 90 minority plumber apprentices out of 11,000. Today Outreach alone has placed 755. The NAACP reported that there were only 90 minority electrician apprentices in the country. Today Outreach alone has placed 855. The NAACP found only 60 carpenters apprentices. Outreach alone has placed 1,726.

Now, I have been giving you facts—not fantasies. Very significant changes have occurred in minority participation in apprenticeship, especially in the building trades. These changes are the product of sound programs initiated by civil rights groups—such as the Urban League, the Workers Defense League and the A. Philip Randolph Educational Fund—financed by the Department of Labor, and having the cooperation, not only of national, but of local building trades unions and their councils. And all of this aided by the systematic efforts of the Civil Rights Department of the AFL-CIO.

And the surest sign of our success is Mr. Hill's reaction to it. For he has shifted his position from advocating that minority youngsters press for inclusion in apprenticeships to attacking apprenticeship as such. What better proof that the exclusion of minority youth from apprenticeship programs is coming to an end?

In a speech at the 1970 NAACP Convention, Mr. Hill endorsed the following statement by Assistant Secretary of Labor Arthur Fletcher, I quote:

"The apprenticeship program is one of the worst training programs in the country in terms of completions. Seventy per cent of the people who go into apprenticeship drop out; only thirty per cent finish. That is the highest dropout rate of any training program of any kind anywhere in the United States. We can prove statistically and in many other ways that it is an invalid training program."

To which Mr. Hill added, with relish: "I agree with Secretary Fletcher. He is, of course, absolutely correct."

Well, Mr. Fletcher is not absolutely correct. He is not even relatively correct. He is absolutely wrong. The apprenticeship dropout rate is not 70 percent. It is approximately 50 percent; and, in fact, among the apprentices placed by Outreach Programs, the rate is less than 20 percent. Apprenticeship does not have the highest dropout rate of any training program of any kind in the country. The apprenticeship dropout rate is roughly equal to the college student dropout rate in this country, and is less than most manpower programs.

Is there not something bizarre, even cruel, in Mr. Hill's new line? After all these years of striving to get minority youngsters into the best skilled training programs that exist; after years of these youngsters being told they didn't have what it takes; now when we have finally broken down the barriers, now when these youngsters have proven they can make it, and enter jobs paying \$6.00, \$7.00 and more an hour—now comes along Mr. Hill to demand that this ladder to dignity be torn down and that the Government stop funding these programs to train minority youth to be skilled electricians, plumbers and sheetmetal workers. Thank you, Mr. Hill!

I know that this is not the policy of the NAACP, but Mr. Hill's freewheeling demagogic spirit is irrepressible. He attacks the Workers Defense League, the A. Philip Randolph Educational Fund, the Urban League, the Trade Union Leadership Council, the Philadelphia Negro American Trade Union Council and other organizations working in the Outreach Programs. He told the NAACP Convention, and I quote:

"Given the fact that Government officials are aware that the system of apprenticeship training, especially in the construction trades, is senseless, it is all the more scandalous that millions of dollars of public funds are spent annually to subsidize these programs."

Mr. Hill is not only out to destroy apprenticeship. He is after something much more fundamental.

When Mr. Hill and I were children, and maybe earlier, a great man of militant integrity was waging a hard and often lonely fight against discrimination within the labor

movement. But A. Philip Randolph also fought, at the same time, to organize Negro workers into unions against exploitation by their employers. He always advised Negro workers to struggle within the House of Labor and to build and strengthen the labor movement. There was a lot more discrimination in the labor movement during the twenties, thirties and forties than there is today. But A. Philip Randolph could never dream of advocating the open shop.

Mr. Hill is of a different breed.

He became so enamored of the Nixon Administration's phony Philadelphia Plan that even when its unworkability had become evident to most, his response was, and I quote: "Continued control of job opportunities by the racist building trades is the heart of the matter. If the 'home-town' plans became operative, it would not in any way alter the fact that a non-governmental, non-elected private group, namely the building trades unions, will continue to exercise absolute control over the livelihoods of American citizens in the construction industry."

I am not quoting the Chamber of Commerce. I am not quoting the National Association of Manufacturers. I am quoting Mr. Hill.

Understand, Mr. Hill is not calling for the opening of all construction unions to minority workers. He is not calling for recruiting and training programs to accelerate their entry and to make these unions more integrated and responsive to the needs of all workers, black and white. Mr. Hill is demanding an end to union control of jobs because these are innately "racist institutions."

Reading Mr. Hill's words, I recalled a passage from Perlman and Taft's *History of Labor in the United States*, in which they described how the open shop movement sought its objectives by

"placing organized labor on a moral defensive. Instead of labor being viewed as a victim of oppression, the propaganda of the employers sought to convince the public that labor was both the aggressor and the oppressor . . . This idealistic propaganda, appealing as it did to the traditional American individual, was very influential in shifting public support from the worker to the employer."

Now, it would seem from Mr. Hill's statement that control of jobs should shift from unions to government, not to employers. After all, employers are also "non-governmental, non-elected private groups." But in April, 1967, Mr. Hill told a Cleveland meeting: "We are going to insist that there be open hiring and that the employer, not the union, should determine who will work."

Never mind that union leaders are elected by workers and that unions, however imperfect, are workers' instruments. It is the employer, elected by nobody, who should determine who will be a worker and who will not.

In December, 1967, Mr. Hill wrote in the publication *Contractor News* that

"Contractors have abdicated their responsibilities by turning over the hiring process to the discriminatory building craft unions . . . The hiring function is solely reserved for the contractor . . . a union has no right to establish union membership—or any other qualification—as a condition for employment. Only the employers can determine qualifications for employment."

These statements make it crystal clear that Mr. Hill does not really object to job control by "non-governmental, non-elected private groups"—so long as they aren't free and independent trade unions.

What Mr. Hill really wants is the open shop. He wants to weaken trade unions, or at least he lends himself to such efforts. And not just in the construction industry.

Listen, for example, to this account, from the San Francisco Examiner (January 3,

1968), of Mr. Hill's plans to "smash the lily-white, illegal closed shop" in the Bay Area.

"Hill indicated that the Bay Area campaign would start with the construction industry and move gradually into other industries where the illegal closed shop prevails.

Some Negro leaders already have expressed a belief that Bay Area Negroes would be better off under the open shop and have indicated they would support an initiative to outlaw the union shop in California.

Other Negro leaders have argued that Negroes in open shop states are far worse off than they are in California and it would be a serious mistake for Negroes to support the national *Right to Work* movement which, incidentally, recently opened Bay Area offices."

What did Mr. Hill have to say to these Negro leaders who were debating whether to support the *Right-to-Work* movement: Did he say what Roy Wilkins, A. Philip Randolph, Clarence Mitchell, Martin Luther King, Dorothy Height, Bayard Rustin and Cesar Chavez said—that *Right-to-Work* laws "constitute an obstacle to the progress of Americans belonging to racial, religious, and national minorities"?

Or does he tell them that unions are what constitute the obstacle to the progress of America's minorities?

What does Mr. Hill say to Negro youngsters who now have an opportunity to enter apprenticeship training programs leading to jobs as well-paid skilled craftsmen? Does he tell them that these programs are "senseless" and scandalously unworthy of support, and that these youngsters should reject the good pay of craftsmen because it is the fruit of excessive union power, including job control?

Or does he tell them that they have an opportunity, not only for economic advancement and dignity, but to be part of a generation that is involved in a historic transformation of both the work place and the union hall, and that this opportunity must be seized.

And finally, what does Mr. Hill have to say to black workers who want, as all working people everywhere have always wanted, to organize to protect themselves against exploitation by their employers and to determine for themselves the conditions under which they will sell their labor?

Does he tell them what A. Philip Randolph has said over and over again—that Negro workers must be an integral part of the labor movement, opposing separatism and dual unionism, while fighting discrimination within the House of Labor?

Does he tell them what Martin Luther King said—that between the Negro and the labor movement there is a "unity of purpose" and that the Negro's needs "are identical with labor's needs"?

Or does Mr. Hill tell black workers that they should not join unions because unions are racists?

Does he tell them that unions are too powerful and that black workers should look to their employers for their well being?

Does he tell them that the American labor movement is a reactionary obstacle to social change?

I do not know the answers to all these questions. But I do know that between Mr. Hill and me there is more than a difference over tactics. There are, fundamentally, two opposing views of the Negro and the labor movement.

One view was expressed by Mr. Hill more than eight years ago, and it has guided his actions ever since. He wrote:

"... the militant Negro worker is confronted not with a trade union movement that is a force for social change but on the contrary, with a national labor organization that has become a very conservative and highly bureaucratized institution, closely allied in many cities and states to reaction-

ary political forces and defending that status quo which is now directly attacked by the Negro in virtually every area of American life."

The other view was expressed by Clarence Mitchell two years ago, and it has guided his actions. He said:

"Without the help and day-to-day work of the legislative representatives of labor, headed by Andrew Biemiller, no civil rights legislation would have passed in any session of Congress. Without the help of labor, the great marches for civil rights that brought thousands of Americans to Washington would not have been a success. Labor contributed its brain power, its manpower and its finances to make these historic events possible . . . I believe that it would be a fatal mistake in this country if civil rights and labor groups did not continue to work together . . . We must never forget that we are the foundation on which the House of Freedom is built. If we crumble and fall apart the whole structure may very well collapse."

As between these two views, I know Clarence Mitchell's to be correct. It guides the actions of the AFL-CIO, and it is the standard by which we judge others.

#### REMARKS BY HERBERT HILL

It is clear from Mr. Slaiman's remarks that he thinks that he has an argument with me. Mr. Slaiman's argument is not with me. Mr. Slaiman's argument is now with the judicial record of the past 35 years.

Even though Mr. Slaiman has adroitly and selectively distorted many of the quotes that he presented—in one case saying that I wrote some things and actually it was a quotation, and it was an inaccurate quotation and he further compounded the inaccuracy by quoting the inaccurate quotation inaccurately—and by very selectively juxtaposing parts of statements together, he presented a strawman so that he could then of course score debaters' points.

But there is no argument really; Mr. Slaiman's argument is not with me. Mr. Slaiman's argument is with 30 years now of the judicial record on the question of trade union discrimination. It is an incontrovertible record. For the past few years the argument is not between Slaiman and Hill. Slaiman enjoys that kind of an argument, that's fine. I think people should be permitted to indulge themselves somewhat, but that is not the question.

I propose in the very, in the all too limited time this afternoon, to examine what has occurred. It seems to me this is the only basis for making a judgment about the *great progress* that Mr. Slaiman told us about, to make a comparison between the kind of complaints that came before the first FEPC.

Mr. Slaiman is right about one thing: that the old provisional Fair Employment Practices Commission established under President Roosevelt's Executive Order 8802 in 1941 was the direct result of the guiding genius and brilliant organizational strategy of A. Philip Randolph of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters and his colleague, Milton Webster—and I entirely agree and as long as I live, I am to pay great tribute to Mr. Randolph who is the Father of this movement; and I am so delighted that he is here today.

But the question is what has happened, and it seems to me this provides us a basis for making an analysis—what has happened between the issuance of the first Federal Executive Order, establishing a Fair Employment Practices Commission in 1941, and the passage of Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. And in the limited time available to me today I am going to have to be selective. This, it seems to me, provides a realistic basis to judge the repeated claims made by Slaiman and others about *great progress* in eliminating racist practices within organized labor.

I propose to do this within the perspective

of 30 years. Let's see, let's see what kind of *great progress* has occurred in 30 years. In the past 30 years, beginning with 8802, there has been an imposing array of Federal statutes, together with state and municipal laws; and seven Executive Orders have been issued by five Presidents prohibiting employment discrimination by government contractors and today, one of every three jobs in the national economy exists directly as the result of a Federal Government contract.

An evaluation of the racial practices of organized labor during the past 30 years—that is in the period between the creation of the first FEPC in 1941 and the establishment of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission as the result of the passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964—provides a realistic, sound basis to judge the nature of the claims, the validity of the claims about great progress.

Prior to the passage of Title VII, labor unions used their extensive powers to eliminate or to limit black workers as a group from competition in the labor market by a variety of methods. Among these, but not exclusively so, were: Exclusion from membership by racial provisions in union constitutions or ritual bylaws or exclusion of Negroes by tacit agreement or the absence of written declarations, segregated locals, separate racial seniority and promotional provisions in union contracts that limited black workers to menial unskilled jobs, refusal to admit Negroes into union-controlled apprenticeship programs and denial of access to union hiring halls and other job-referral operations, especially where such systems of job control are the exclusive source of employment.

Mr. Slaiman is absolutely, historically wrong about one point on the question. He is wrong about many points, but about one point right now which I address myself to in the perspective of the past. The record will clearly show that in many many situations where there was an informal system of seniority and discrimination in job assignment, the introduction of the union contract codified, made more rigid, made more systematic and in some industries, as a matter-of-fact, introduced the seniority system. The black workers would have limited seniority and that they would only be promotable in all-black labor classifications and the historical record is clear on this: Union agreements made more rigid throughout the South, and some places in the North in some cases, unions introduced the system of separate racial seniority lines.

These, and other discriminatory practices by major labor unions, in conjunction with the racial practices of employers, have had a cumulative effect in forming the occupational characteristics of the black labor force in the United States. Now although some isolated progress has occurred, *isolated* progress, problems of discriminatory employment practices have not been eliminated on a broad basis by either employers and labor unions, this new body of Federal civil rights laws notwithstanding. The patterns, and I am talking about *patterns* of racial discrimination, remain intact. But two new phenomena have emerged: Where once they were openly racist and acknowledged to be so, these practices have now become covert and subtle. New testing devices and non-job relative qualifications, although non-discriminatory on their face, exclude black workers just as effectively as did the "white only" clauses in the past.

But, Mr. Slaiman tells us that much progress has been made in eliminating separate racial seniority lines in union agreements. He's simply not telling the truth. The fact of the matter is that what has changed is the *language*. Once upon a time the union agreements said, and I collected these, I have hundreds in my office, on one side of the page it would say the "colored seniority line", usually they use that phrase, "the col-

ered seniority line"; on the other side of the page it would say the "white seniority line". The nomenclature has been removed but for operational purposes it remains the same and there has been some concessions but the pattern of job assignments on the basis of race has been kept intact and today many major unions affiliated with the AFL-CIO are in court defending those practices.

I am delighted that Mr. Slaiman informs us that Mr. Meany said that it was the official policy of the Federation to oppose separate racial seniority lines in union agreements. Fine! Then why are attorneys for many, many labor unions affiliated to the AFL in court defending these discriminatory practices? Even though the Federal Courts have spoken again and again and declared them to be invalid, why are unions spending literally hundreds of thousands of dollars of their workers' money, of the dues payers' money, to defend the discriminatory provisions? The judicial record is clear on this and I will go into some detail as we go along on these questions. Separate racial seniority provisions in union contracts, which once were clearly designated as white and colored lines of promotion, now continue to operate through a series of euphemisms which mean the same thing. I am concerned with the substance of a reality. Mr. Slaiman is concerned with the form. The nomenclature has changed, but the consequences for black workers remain the same. The racial situation has changed little or not at all in many industries.

The second new development is to be found in the way many labor unions have responded to the requirements of the new body of law prohibiting discriminatory racial practices and the use of what has become known as "tokenism," i.e. as a means of preserving old patterns and as a tactic to evade genuine compliance with the law. Thus at best there has been a minimal strategic accommodation by labor organizations to the entire body of Federal and state anti-discrimination laws and executive orders.

Now down to some specific cases: The Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, with its power to receive complaints, to initiate investigations, to hold hearings and to refer findings of discriminatory employment practices to the Department of Justice, has now been in operation for more than five years. It is now possible with a high degree of accuracy, case by case, community by community, international by international, to assess the degree to which organized labor has altered its racial practices to conform to this new body of law and to determine if significant changes have occurred, between the issuance of Executive Order 8802 in 1941, and the beginning of operations by the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission in 1965.

I have spent more than two years now, (I do one or two other things as you may gather) but I have spent some two years going through 50,000 items in the files of the old FEPC that reside in the National Archives in Washington, D.C. and they are very rich. And I have compared many of those cases, the cases that have now come before the Federal Courts, and have come before the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, and there is a fantastic continuity. Here we see the nature of change. A detailed examination of the records of the FEPC in the 1940's involving labor unions with the union cases that have come before the EEOC in the 1960's, reveals that many major labor unions are substantially continuing the same discriminatory practices.

In some instances, such as the cases involving the Machinists—the I.A.M., the Railway Clerks, many building trades craft unions, the operating railroad unions, the longshoremen and other labor organizations, the practices, ladies and gentlemen, are virtually identical to those of 30 years ago. In

many instances the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission has investigated and found reasonable cause involving the *exact same* discriminatory practices of the *exact same* labor unions cited by the FEPC 30 years ago. This is true of the fundamental question of separate racial seniority lines and many of the other issues that I have mentioned.

Let me give you some case histories and I wish time permitted me to give you all, but I can't, there just isn't time. I just want to cite a few so I may perhaps evoke something of a historical continuity that I am describing. I want to suggest that it is only within this perspective of time that one can make a meaningful judgment regarding the nature of progress.

In the early 1940's the FEPC received complaints against the International Longshoremen's Association, an affiliate of the American Federation of Labor, charging a pattern of segregated locals and discriminatory job assignments in many cities along the Atlantic Coast and in the Gulf District. Twenty-six years later, the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission received complaints against the ILA involving the exact same locals and the exact same practices.

In Philadelphia, not Savannah or New Orleans, but Philadelphia, the Commission found reasonable cause after a two years investigation, to believe that ILA locals systematically denied black workers opportunities to enter into the desirable higher-paying job classifications, such as checkers and clerks.

The Equal Employment Opportunity Commission found reasonable cause in charges brought by members of the all-black segregated ILA locals in Philadelphia that the all-white local, Local 1242, which operates the hiring hall for checkers and clerks, refuses to refer black workers to the desirable high-paying jobs. And similar findings were found involving the ILA in Baltimore, Galveston, in Port Arthur, and there is now pending over, over 36 locals in ten Texas cities, in Baltimore, and in Pennsylvania, there are court cases pending against ILA locals. Some of them are private party suits under Section 706 and others are actions by the U.S. Attorney General under Section 707A of the Act, but the interesting thing is that these are the *exact same* locals charged with the *exact same* practices 30 years ago!

Now I can show the same line of continuity in cases involving the Brotherhood of Railway and Steamship Clerks. I have it all down here but time will not permit an extensive examination in cases involving the International Association of Machinists, in cases involving the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, in cases involving the railway brotherhoods, and many many other major affiliates of the AF of L, over a 30-year period. The only thing that has changed is the name of the black worker on the complaint! And in one or two cases I have been fascinated; it's even the same name. But let me give you one, one typical example:

In 1945, the old FEPC received complaints against the old oil workers international union, now the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers Union, charging discriminatory practices throughout the South West. In 1966, the EEOC received charges filed by black workers against the same union on very much the same issue, in the same area. For instance, the Monsanto Chemical Company in El Dorado, Arkansas, has collective bargaining agreements with a lily-white local of the IAM—this is where the skilled white workers belong, Local 224—and the Oil Workers Union which has the production workers. This ostensibly integrated local of the Oil Workers Union, however, is divided into two departments: the labor department which is all black and the operating department which is all white. And after conciliation by the EEOC, provisions in the union contract were debated, requiring that a

worker loses all seniority when transferring from one department to another, the black worker was frozen in the all-black labor classification. The EEOC found that the highest-paid black man earns *less* per hour than the highest-paid white employee.

The black workers were denied access to the training programs and recently imposed new qualifications, that is, that new standards were established. The company and union said we no longer discriminate. But they established new standards, new qualifications requiring that all new members of the operating department, the lily-white operating department, that they must have a high school education and they must pass a new test which was not previously required of whites.

Evidently, this is all right with Mr. Slaiman. This is the kind of conciliation he thinks is fine but objectively for the black worker it means that the old pattern is maintained. White boys never had to take a rest. In the past white boys never had to have a high school education, but now in compliance with the law, the union and the company agree to a new system that on the fact of it, it is entirely non-discriminatory of course, but objectively results in *freezing* black workers where they always were. And I can give you many, many other such cases. Some of these are in court today.

Before Title VII went into effect, black workers in the all-black labor classifications in this industry and throughout the steel industry, the paper industry, were absolutely prohibited from transferring into the all-white operating departments by clauses in union contracts. Now the black worker has the theoretical right to transfer into higher paying jobs in the all-white operating departments but only after passing a qualifying test which did not exist before 1965 and also he will lose all accumulative seniority. Progress here consists entirely of a theoretical abstraction which only serves to maintain the traditional racist practice. This is Mr. Slaiman's progress. This is not my progress and this is not the progress that is acceptable to the NAACP and to the black workers for whom we speak.

In many industries employing tens of thousands of black workers, powerful labor unions today insist upon maintaining the old racist practices even though they have been declared again and again by the Federal Courts to be illegal. For instance, some day day law scholars will be writing Ph. D. theses and tomes on this subject.

More than 20 years ago, black steelworkers began a campaign, within the United Steelworkers of America, to eliminate the discriminatory job provisions contained in that union's collective bargaining agreements with many major steel corporations, including U.S. Steel. After more than 20 years of protest by black steelworkers against separate racial seniority lines, together with the filing of complaints with the National Labor Relations Board, and the futile confrontations with the union leadership, the Steelworkers Union still persists in maintaining the discriminatory seniority provisions in its collective bargaining agreement. Today, this union is vigorously defending their practices in a series of lawsuits pending in Federal district courts in Ohio, Alabama and Virginia.

Just a few weeks ago, after three years of fruitless conciliation attempts by the Government, the Justice Department initiated a series of lawsuits against the U.S. Steel Corporation and the United Steelworkers Union and the American Federation of Labor and the international union—and I should tell you that I was directly involved. I filed the initial complaints with the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission. This is really pathetic. I am happy to know, Mr. Slaiman tells us, that Mr. Meany says that

we are opposed to this. Then *why* is the Steelworkers' Union so adamantly defending these practices?

There is a history that goes back to the early forties—the famous Whitfield decision. And then the Whitfield decision has been challenged by black workers who are now back in the Federal Courts and it's a Taylor case. And the Steelworkers Union probably has spent over a hundred thousand dollars in legal fees by now, and instead of saying, and the same thing is true of many other unions—the Papermakers and the Paperworkers, the Pulp and Sulphite Workers Union and many other unions—Boys, you may not like it, but this is now the law and we really have to change this in substance; instead, these unions—and the Steelworkers Union is a progressive union, it's not as Neanderthal as the building trades. This is a progressive, liberal union. I believe the League for Industrial Democracy some time ago honored its President at one of those evenings where everybody gives everybody else an award. You know the Plaque Makers Association has a conspiracy, I sometimes think, and it is possible to devote a separate series of seminars on the history of how that one union has over a period of more than 30 years been in the Federal Courts for hundreds of thousands of dollars to defend and protect their system. That means that in practice, race is a factor in job assignments.

Now, the courts are speaking on this and Mr. Slaiman, your argument is not with me, your argument is now with the American judicial system. Federal court decisions involving the Tobacco Workers Union, the Papermakers and Paperworkers Union, the Asbestos Workers, the Brotherhood of Pulp Sulphite and Papermill Workers among many others have declared in clear, unambiguous terms that separate racial seniority agreements leading to job assignments on the basis of race are violations of the law. And even though the Federal Courts are now providing clear legal definitions for the first time of what constitutes racial discrimination in employment, administrative remedies *still* *outblock* as many labor unions continue their defiance of the law and attempt to defend their traditional racist practices in complex court challenges.

Oh how I wish time permitted me to tell you how labor lawyers are with *brilliant ingenuity* introducing a complex tangled web, keeping cases bottled up in court for 3 or 4 years on procedural questions to prevent the realization of what other court decisions now say belong to black workers. The legal departments of many labor unions are now busily engaged in raising procedural legal questions in an attempt to prevent change by conducting a rear-guard holding action of the courts that I would compare—I do this with full implication of what I am saying—that I would compare with the action of southern school boards in conducting a similar rear-guard delaying action in the Federal Courts after the Supreme Court Decision in the school segregation cases in 1954. And it seems to me that this is the *real measure* of the Federation's policy and practices, not George Meany's after-dinner speeches. This is more significant than the ritualistic pledges of non-discrimination by Mr. Slaiman, and by all the other spokesmen for the Federation; the real test if this has come to an end Don—then why are union lawyers in many courtrooms all over the country spending hundreds of thousands of dollars of the dues-paying members defending the old racist system?

Examination of the files of the old Fair Employment Practices Commission in the 1940's, deposited in the National Archives (whenever you are in Washington, instead of going to the National Theatre or the National Gallery, go to the National Archives!). Any citizen is free to examine them, it's all there. I repeat, by comparing that material with

the material we have before the EEOC today, we are forced to conclude that there are many instances of continuity in racist practices that have not changed in more than a quarter of a century.

I want to deal with one case: It deals directly with Mr. Slaiman's argument that the pattern of discrimination in the building trades has substantially changed. Mr. Slaiman, in a variety of ways says that there are isolated pockets here and there but the pattern has changed. But here and there are a few bad spots. I want to directly challenge this and once again the record of the court—there are many many cases and more in almost half of the States in the Union now, where either there is litigation pending or where decisions have already been rendered. And let me deal with one case which I think is symbolic.

Among the very first hearings held by the old FEPC in 1942 were those that involved the building trades unions, including the series of complaints against the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers in Cincinnati, Ohio. Now one cannot but be fascinated by the current findings of the courts and the Commission and the recent decisions of the Federal Court involving unions across the country. And in light of the historical record on the same question, if one reads the complaints of the 1940's and the complaints of the 1970's, one is forced to conclude in the perspective of time that the only thing that has changed, as I said, is the name of the plaintiffs.

The case I want to discuss is a case that is a landmark decision in labor law. It is known in the Constitutional law books as *Dobbins* (there are actually two cases). *Dobbins vs. Local 212, International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers and U.S. vs. Local 212, International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers.*

On September 13, 1968, in the U.S. District Court of Cincinnati, Ohio, Judge Timothy S. Hogan ruled that Anderson L. Dobbins, a black electrician, must be admitted to Local 212, a lily-white local of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers.

This local has jurisdiction in Cincinnati and 13 surrounding counties in Ohio, Kentucky and Indiana and *yes* Mr. Slaiman they have an illegal closed shop. The Federal courts have ruled that they have an illegal closed shop and it is an illegal closed shop for the simple reason that black workers solely by virtue of their race and color don't get referred to jobs out of that local hiring for the 13 counties and so the U.S. District Court found in the *Dobbins* case. I want to tell you something about Mr. Dobbins.

Mr. Dobbins is a veteran of the United States Army, he holds a B.S. degree from Hampton Institute. He is a fully certified journeyman electrician and since 1956 attempted to secure admission into Local 212 of the IBEW. Now before the Civil Rights Act of 1964 was passed, when he came to the local union headquarters and sought admission he was told openly that this was a white man's union and we don't take your people. After the Civil Rights Act was passed, they said you aren't qualified. And Mr. Dobbins went before the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission and eventually, after some grand attempts to conciliate the matter, Local 212 refused to admit Mr. Dobbins.

And the case went to the Federal Court and spokesmen for organized labor have repeatedly held that there is no discrimination, it's just that black workers are not qualified. And the attorneys for the union argued that Mr. Dobbins was not qualified, even though he was a college graduate, had a Bachelor of Science degree, and the union said he wasn't qualified.

Judge Hogan found that Dobbins had a wide range of experience, that the union was guilty of discriminatory practices and, in a 90-page opinion, ordered the union to admit him. And the union said alright, we will put

him on the waiting list. And the judge said no, you will not put him on the waiting list, you will give him immediate union membership. The union said alright, we will give him the union qualifying test. And the court said no, no, no, 'cause you've discriminated against him for so many years you will not give him the qualifying test, you will give him immediate union membership.

Now the interesting thing here is, that even though the court found that the union had committed eleven separate acts of racial discrimination, it was a clear violation of the Act that Local 212 had limited its membership to white persons only. And I quote from Judge Hogan's Decision: "It effectively controls who will work for union contractors within its jurisdiction and the court disbanded the hiring hall and suspended the union referral system."

Local 212 took in Mr. Dobbins and one other black man and refuses to admit any other black workers similarly qualified. In order to prevent them from becoming potential litigants, they give them temporary working permits. And in February of last year the union asked release from the onerous restrictions placed by the court upon its practices. In other words, they want to go back to their old practices.

Now, the interesting thing is that on March 5 thru 15 in 1945 the FEPC, the old FEPC, held hearings in Cincinnati and among the unions found to be violating Executive Order 8802 was the very same union, the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers in Cincinnati. So that here, we have *thirty years, thirty years* we are back in court, we are back in court and we have gotten in two black workers! Mr. Slaiman, is that progress? It would seem to me that this symbolizes the nature of progress.

I can cite hundreds of other similar cases, the Lock Case and many, many other cases. We have the situation of the Quarles Case involving the Tobacco Workers Union. The courts have spoken very clearly on the question of job assignment on the basis of race by unions.

Now, the historic decision in the Crown-Zellerbach case where the Papermakers Union threatened to walk off the job if the union gave up and Mr. Slaiman is wrong here when he says that it is the company who imposed this. The company did not want to lose this government contract which is a very lucrative government contract, and when the company said that they would give up the separate racial seniority lines, the Papermakers Union threatened to go out on strike. And it was only an injunction secured by the United States Attorney General that prevented the union from going out on strike. And similar events have taken place in Seattle, in St. Louis and many other cities around the country, where the unions are the decisive factor in insisting upon the retention of the old discriminatory system. There are literally many, many more of these cases, and obviously I hope I just suggested some of the meaning of this. And I want to provide an interpretation; let me just take a few more minutes time on this point because Mr. Slaiman has used, you know, some pretty harsh language.

I am not going to have a debate with Mr. Slaiman here today, I am not going to have an argument with him as I said his argument is with the Federal Judiciary and the record of these and hundreds of other cases. I want to explain why I think organized labor is resisting these changes. They have a reason for it. It's not that they are bad guys; that they are vicious; or a bunch of prejudiced ----- That is not it at all.

By the turn of the century, by 1900, the labor movement had settled into a policy of racial exclusion expressed in the refusal to organize black workers in many occupations or to establish segregated locals or to include blacks in certain job classifications.

The purpose of these early union practices beginning in the 1880's and 1890's, in the post-Reconstruction period, was to drive the black worker out of competition with white unionized labor and use the greater exploitation of the black worker as a means of subsidizing the wages of the white worker. This policy had the effect of lowering total labor costs because the employer could trade off higher wages for white workers at the expense of low-paid, more highly exploited blacks. From the employer's point of view this policy also diminished the power of organized labor—a point which the AF of L leadership never understood and still is unable to understand.

And this pattern continues today. It is the legacy of the tradition established in the early years of the AFofL. For example, in many steel plants the millwright is white and the millwright's helper is black. They do substantially the same work. In fact, the black helper usually teaches the white millwright who receives higher pay in a higher job classification. Many examples of this pattern can be cited in other industries, such as in the paper industry and tobacco manufacturing and petrochemicals among many others.

Apart from this consequence to organized labor, employers have derived substantial benefits from this labor policy as it results in total lower-average labor costs. A major example of this is to be found in the trucking industry. Inter-city, or as they are known, "over-the-road truck drivers" who are white and organized by the teamsters union, get paid an average hourly rate plus a substantial mileage bonus. Thus their annual earnings are much greater than black drivers limited to intra-city trucking, where no mileage rate is paid.

This greatly benefits the trucking industry. The employer, of course, can afford to pay the higher wages of the white over-the-road driver, subsidized by the low-wage exploitation of the black worker, and this is implicit in the whole strategic operation of the American Federation of Labor for the past 70 years.

The clearest example of this policy is provided by the highly unionized railroad industry. It has existed for generations—a racial pattern of white brakemen vs. the black train porters. This discriminatory pattern has been demonstrated in a very important legal case now pending in the Federal Courts, known as the Norman Case. The black and white workers do identical work but black porters receive less pay and segregated status, and who knows this better than Phil Randolph!

Employers and white workers benefit. The white employer and the white worker both benefit from the deprivation of blacks, which subsidizes higher wages and working conditions for whites as a class. Segregated unions and segregated job lines have directly contributed to this process. In reality, job discrimination against the black worker has been a form of subsidization to the white worker, and the union has been the specific instrumentality of achieving this. Organized labor and employers have for generations jointly created a highly exploited class of cheap black labor rigidly blocked from advancing in the all-white occupations.

Now I just want to summarize. I know the time is running out. I was going to deal with the building trades in greater detail than I can now, but just let me make one comment that deals directly with Mr. Slaiman's remarks. Mr. Slaiman says that the NAACP changed its position between 1959. And he did, I was delighted, he did quote me accurately in an apprenticeship training study I did in 1959 for the NAACP. I want to thank you, Don, for quoting me accurately at that time. He quoted me absolutely accurately, word for word, which proves several things: That he's capable of doing so, I sup-

pose, and in other cases chooses not to. And then he says that now that the outreach program has become so effective, we have changed our policy. Uh, uh, we haven't changed our policy one damn bit. It's the building trades unions that are now using this as a device to perpetuate the racial status quo. Let me show you how this is done.

In the case of Vogler—and I am deliberately limiting myself to cases that are either decided by the Federal courts or where the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission has already found, so that this is not simply Herbert Hill's opinion, but this is now a matter of judicial finding.

There is a case that has been going on for four years in New Orleans, the case of Vogler vs. Asbestos Workers Union Local 53. And the judge in that case has gone to the 5th Circuit Court of Appeals. The union appealed the original decision. And the 5th Circuit finally held that the union had discriminated against Mexican-Americans and Negroes as a class and ordered the union to admit all blacks and Mexican-Americans as workers in this industry for a stated period of time.

The union's response to the judge was: All right, we will now establish an apprenticeship training program and we will have an outreach program. And the attorneys for the NAACP said no, because for something like 50 years before, this union never had an apprenticeship training program, and they never had an outreach program. White workers became journeymen like that! If you are not too bright, you can become an asbestos worker in about two days. If you are a backward white man in New Orleans, you become an asbestos worker in four days.

This union never had an apprenticeship training program. And attorneys for the NAACP told this to the judge, and we argued that it would now constitute discrimination to set up an outreach program and then an apprenticeship program that would dure for four or five years, and this constitutes a discriminatory practice, one more device to perpetuate the traditional exclusion of black workers.

And the judge listened to us and he did something that had never been done before: a circuit court judge suspended a local union's constitution, suspended the membership standards of that local union. And by the way, let me say that attorneys for organized labor are leading their clients down a very, very dangerous road, because on questions of race you are opening up the doors to some very dangerous matters by your bitter intransigence to change and by forcing us to go into the courts and challenge these traditional practices, you are opening up the doors to dangerous things, and you are doing it yourselves, we are not doing it.

But in that case, and in many other cases, unions are now establishing outreach and apprenticeship training programs that they never had before. And I will conclude by dealing with the outreach thing in about two minutes and then we are finished.

I want to use the figures that both Mr. Slaiman and George Meany use. At the time that the Philadelphia Plan was debated, Mr. Slaiman pointed out that great progress had been made and I want to now examine those figures very, very carefully.

We have been told that between 1960 and 1970 the increase has been from 2 percent to 7.2 percent. That was the figure that George Meany used last March when the Philadelphia Plan was being debated and he boasted of the fact that Outreach has become "our way of overcoming the segregated patterns."

Let's take a look at New York City: in 1950 black workers constituted 1.5 percent of the apprentices and 13 percent of the population of New York City. In 1960, blacks constituted 2 percent of the apprentices and 22 percent

of the population of New York City. It is estimated that by 1970, that the current Census will show that nonwhites constitute at least 34 percent of the population of New York City and the same pattern is being repeated throughout the country. The rapidly changing population characteristics of the black community provide the only meaningful context in which to measure the rate of progress of black workers in organized labor and all other institutions. And if one examines this, if one examines the changes that Mr. Slaiman is now so proud of, then you will see that we are in fact maintaining the traditional ratio of the past 50 years, that nothing is being changed.

As a matter of fact we are in a far worst position today. Black workers continue to lose ground today from where they were 50 years ago when W. E. DuBois did his study of the Philadelphia Negro, the first great sociological study of an American black community, published in 1902. He had statistics provided by government sources indicating the number of blacks in skilled craft occupations in the construction industry in 1900, proportionate to their total numbers in the population. Ladies and gentlemen, in Philadelphia, New York, Baltimore and virtually every Eastern Seaboard city, there are fewer black craftsmen in the construction industry today, than there were in the 1900's.

Because from that period the unions engaged in what I call the process of occupational eviction, where they redesignated this work from "nigger work" to "white men's jobs" and they drove out hundreds of thousands of black men from this industry. So we have not yet even regained, black workers have not yet regained, black men were the basic construction industry labor force in this country, and black men have not even regained the numerical proportion of black participation in the skilled trades at the turn of the century.

I repeat, given their numbers, their total numbers in the population in New York, Philadelphia, Boston or Buffalo, there are fewer blacks now, in skilled jobs in the construction industry than there were at the turn of the century. And I suggest that Outreach and related programs are simply another device to perpetuate the appallingly low participation of blacks. The black youth who do come out of these programs, who are still not given journeyman status. The issue is journeyman status, not admission into a 4-5 year apprenticeship program. Last week in Buffalo, New York, the State Commission for Civil Rights found four unions guilty of refusing to admit black youths who had gone through an outreach program into unions, and there are similar complaints in Cleveland, in Newark and elsewhere. This is the real test, this is the nature of the tinsel of progress over a 30-year period. Thank you.

Applause.

Thank you, Mr. Hill. Mr. Hill went over his time and by prior agreement, the over-extension will be deducted from the rebuttal time.

Before calling on the audience for questions, and questions only, let me introduce a minor corrective fact: That the League for Industrial Democracy did not give an annual award to I. W. Abel, President of the Steelworkers—although we are grateful for the suggestion! What did happen however was that Mr. Abel presented the League's 1967 Annual Award to A. Philip Randolph, by whose presence here today we are all honored.

Applause.

According to the rules we will take only questions, brief questions, no speeches, no comments and I will ask the speakers to respond to the question briefly as well. Mr. Rustin?

#### QUESTION AND ANSWER PERIOD

Mr. RUSTIN. Mr. Hill, will you give us some insight as to how you take the position you

do, when Mr. Wilkins, Mr. Mitchell take such diametrically opposing positions?

Mr. HILL. Well, Mr. Wilkins has answered this question again and again and again. He is asked this question all the time and the answer is very simple. This shouldn't be any great mystery. Anybody as sophisticated and intelligent as Mr. Rustin can certainly understand this, and I suspect he has asked a rhetorical question. There's no contradiction at all between the NAACP's participation in what you have termed coalition politics and the fact that the NAACP has a Labor Department whose job is to eliminate employment discrimination within organized labor, with any other aspect of American institutions that contribute to employment discrimination.

See, it's the nature of the power relationships that you're really talking about within that coalition, and somehow everybody seems to think that because we are in your coalition, and I think we belong in a coalition—that's been no argument with that coalition, and when you are dealing with legislation. But if you think that our participation in joining with you on legislative matters in Washington, means that we are not going to fight against discrimination, against practices by any other component of that coalition, then you are making a sad mistake. We have a black constituency. We have thousands of black workers who come to us with their complaints every year. And there is absolutely no contradiction between the fact that on the electoral front we participate with a wide range of organizations for legislation, and the fact that the Association fulfills its other obligation, to eliminate discrimination in American life.

That's the important, that's the unique characteristic of the NAACP, that we do not subordinate the interests of the black worker to any other a priori interest that may exist for other groups in American life.

Further questions—Let me see, back there? Mr. Hill, are Don Slaiman's figures on apprenticeship in 1959, 1960 and 1970, accurate, fairly accurate, or not at all?

Mr. HILL. No. They are all wrong. I have researched very carefully the Manpower Administration in Washington, D.C. I get the same figures that Slaiman gets. First of all, Art Fletcher is absolutely right about the dropout rate. As a matter of fact, thanks, Mr. Novik is giving me an opportunity to talk on this point.

The dropout rate is reported by the unions themselves. The dropout rate is reported by the sponsors. Now the dropout rate as reported by the sponsors is bad enough, and Mr. Slaiman has not even included the dropout rate as reported.

But in some cases, and I am proud to say at my instigation—since you all know I am an instigator—I have gotten investigators from the Department of Labor to go and check those figures. And let me tell you that recently in Tulsa, Oklahoma, the unions reported, oh, I don't know, something like two or three dropouts, a minimal figure. And an investigator from the Department of Labor went down and there is only small numbers in that program to begin with down there, and they found that 43 had in fact dropped out, when only 2 or 3 had actually been reported. This was a few months ago. Not only this fully—well the figures are not accurate—I am answering the question.

The real test is not how many people are in these programs, the real test is how many are there at the end of the 4 and 5 year-program, and how many will become journeyman members of the union.

When Mr. Slaiman can tell me that a specific number in the seven critical crafts, and let me spell those out: sheetmetal, structural steel, the structural iron workers, the elevator constructors, the IBEW, pipe fitters and steamfitters, the seven or eight critical crafts, the real test is not how many are in

the apprenticeship training programs, but how many become journeymen members of the union. And the last data from the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, based upon the 1969 report of that commission, was that on a national basis minority workers, black workers, are about 2 percent in the 7 skilled crafts.

What Mr. Slaiman does, he fudges the figures by putting together the common laborers, and those in the mud trades, in the traditional black occupations with those in the highly skilled jobs, and he says—you see, how many blacks there are in the construction industry!

I have a friend who is a professional statistician who is fond of saying that statistics are very much like a beautiful woman in a bikini. They suggest that which is interesting, but obscure that which is essential. Mr. Slaiman has done that for us.

MODERATOR. Mr. Slaiman, do you have any comments?

Mr. SLAIMAN. Well, I want to do a little with statistics. Really the shoe is on the other foot. Mr. Hill is playing with figures. Now, when he says Mr. Fletcher is correct, that the dropout rate in apprenticeship is 70%, he is absolutely wrong. Mr. Fletcher is not only absolutely wrong, I will tell you where the 70% came from. He got a little mixed up. That's the figure that Mr. Hill always uses.

Mr. HILL. I use 50%.

Mr. SLAIMAN. 70% of present journeymen didn't go to apprenticeship and poor Art got mixed up so when he said the dropout rate is 70%, Mr. Hill tells me he uses 50%. I don't know why Herbie says yes he's absolutely correct. Now, let me tell you something about the 50%. 50% is the overall dropout rate in apprenticeship. That includes Carpenters, Bricklayers, Electricians and Plumbers. But, the dropout rate in the mechanical trades which we are interested in, is less than 10%.

So you take an overall figure and you play tricks with it. But, let's take the Outreach Programs which the Ernie Greens and these fellows are playing games maintaining the racist status quo. The dropout rate there is less than 20% overall, including Carpenters.

Mr. HILL. How many have become journeymen?

Mr. SLAIMAN. Now, we'll get to that. Now, Mr. Hill knows because he is a great scholar that the case that he was so interested in New York was Sheetmetal and it went through the courts. We thought the local was wrong to resist so long but they got a court decision and they got a court decision which set up a civil service system and until we got an Outreach Program that still didn't bring in anybody.

But, the Outreach Programs have brought the percentage of minorities in Sheetmetal up to higher than the ratio in the population of the city and they are graduating and becoming journeymen. Of the first 12 who went in, placed by the Workers Defense League, eight got their journeymen cards six months ago. One of the others went in the Army and two others took other jobs. The retention rate that reached the journeymen job that pays \$9.00 an hour was over 85%.

Tomorrow night or Friday night there will be graduation of the IBEW's program in New York. There will be seven journeymen cards going to youngsters recruited by the brother sitting over there.

Now, let me tell you something about Outreach in the Vogler Case. Herbie's right. The Asbestos Workers don't have an Outreach Program, they don't have an apprentice program. He took the extreme isolated local union that didn't even listen to their International to settle that case, that didn't even listen to their own lawyer, and says this is typical of what is happening in the trades.

Did the Electricians and the Steamfitters and the Sheet Metal Workers create apprenticeship last week to be court cases? The fact is that the Electricians, Plumbers, Steamfit-

ters and Iron Workers and Sheet Metal Workers have apprenticeships for white workers and it wasn't created yesterday to keep out black workers.

And Herbie was right in 1959 to say we had to open these programs. And suddenly when they are open, and we are not talking about two people in Tulsa, we're talking about 8,000 apprentices that are in the program now, that are going through with a retention rate higher than any manpower program of the Federal Government. And they are black and Puerto Rican and they are becoming Journeymen on their own two feet and is it a time to say this is a means of maintaining the racist status quo? All it means is that what we've always wanted, that the unions should become integrated, that they will be better unions. Now Mr. Hills says that's the trouble, they'll be better unions and those unions will be able to maintain high wages and good working conditions and union security on an integrated basis. This is no good!

I know Mr. Hill would like to respond to that, but I'm going to avoid this back and forth exchange, something should be saved for the rebuttal.

MODERATOR. Mr. Slaiman mentioned in his remarks, he referred to the phony Philadelphia plan and I wonder if he could explain why he used that term?

Mr. SLAIMAN. Yes, we predicted, George Meany and I predicted, that the Philadelphia Plan wouldn't produce any jobs for black workers. We did it because we said it was based on a wrong assumption with wrong figures. And we got the results. The record is clear.

The Labor Department came back to Philadelphia one year after the Philadelphia Plan was put in. And it found working on 25 Federal jobs, of over one half million dollars apiece, 41 black workers in the mechanical trades and it said, this is a great victory. This is 22% of the mechanical workers on the job, whereas the trades only had 2% when we started.

Herbie's right. People can really do things with figures. Now, I went back to Mr. Fletcher's memo and the reason he put in the Philadelphia Plan, he found there were only 96 workers in the mechanical trades in that city. There were 35% black workers in the trades in that city, not only in the Laborers, but in the mud trades and the Carpenters and others, but in the mechanical trades there were only 2%.

But, on the basis of 41 on Government contracts, and some of these were apprentices brought in by the Outreach Program, and the others were mostly guys who were members before, they find 22% on Government contracts. Don't mean a thing!

To get into the building trades in any city, you have to become a member of the total work pool—not a worker on an individual job that lasts two weeks, or two months or even a year because there are no permanent jobs like in industry. So what you have to do is bring workers into the union and you bring them in either as apprentices or as journeymen or some other method in which they get into the union on an upgrading proposal. It doesn't matter what figures or what quotas you send on an individual job.

We predicted that what would happen in the Philadelphia Plan is the contractors would play musical chairs. They take black workers off private jobs and put them on Federal jobs to meet their quota. And we pointed out that all the Philadelphia Plan did was say to a contractor, you have to agree to a range (which is a quota) of 5, 6, 7% and you have to make a good faith effort to get blacks on that job so if you need 12 electricians, 3 have to be black or two have to be black. And the contractor could do one of three things: He could go to the union and say I need 12 electricians, I wish you would make sure two or three of them are

black and if the union did it by playing around, he was in compliance.

And if the union didn't do it or it didn't have any then he went to the community and the Government and would say, find them for me. And if they sent them to him, even if it violated the union agreement, he put them on and he was in compliance. And if they didn't have any journeymen, he was still in compliance. That's why we said it was phony.

And the last reason it was phony is the Government, in order to justify this, found that there were hundreds and literally a few thousand Negro journeyman in the city in these various crafts. But, when the unions asked the Government to produce these people and offered to take them into the union, the Government said we can't give you their names, we don't know where they are. The fact is they weren't there.

And that is why today the Philadelphia Plan is not working; it is producing nothing; it was a phony political gimmick to begin with by the Nixon Administration as it retreated along the line on civil rights enforcement in schools, in voting, in hospitals, you name it, in housing that they made a gambit with doing something for Negro workers against the trades and there were too many people that fell for it. And the record is there. One year after the Philadelphia Plan they produced 41, they don't say any of them were new. The Outreach Program alone placed in the mechanical trades in that period over 60 new minority apprentices.

Mr. HILL. I would like very much to comment. The Philadelphia Plan was not born during the days of the Nixon Administration. The Philadelphia Plan was born in a court suit known as *Ethridge vs. Rhoades* and decided by Judge Joseph E. Canary in the United States District Court in Columbus, Ohio in May of 1968. In this case, a 14th Amendment Case, the judge found the IBEW guilty of discriminatory practices and other unions involved in the State construction project. The defendant was Governor Rhoades, then the Governor of Ohio.

The court came up with a remedy that was urged on them by the NAACP and that remedy was not simply to bring relief to the individual plaintiff, *Ethridge*, but rather to establish the principle of the manning tables as the only way to secure compliance with the Federal Executive Order 11246.

The manning table concept is a very simple one. It says that: a contractor, before he is eligible to bid on a public construction contract, must agree in writing, in the contractual agreement, that there will be a specified minimum number of black workers or minority workers in each craft at every stage of construction. It was now necessary to go beyond pledges of passive nondiscrimination by unions and contractors and that the burden fell upon the State under the 14th Amendment when public funds were used to abuse the manning tables.

And where the manning tables were used as in Columbus, Ohio, in Cleveland, they worked until the AFL killed the manning table plan and there never was a Philadelphia Plan. It never went into effect. The unions engaged in a self-fulfilling prophesy because they never permitted it to work in Philadelphia.

Now, there is a great deal wrong with the Philadelphia Plan, the minimums are too low, the enforcement procedures are terrible, there are all kinds of loopholes and escape clauses that I have criticized again and again. But it has one thing and this is why the unions were opposed to it, why the unions killed it and why there never was a test in Philadelphia or any place else. The Philadelphia Plan never got off the ground because the unions would not permit it to get off the ground.

Even after a U.S. District Court Judge in Philadelphia, Judge Harold Wiener in a very eloquent decision, sustained the Philadelphia

Plan. He said it was entirely consonant with Constitutional principles. The contractors aided and abetted. I just read the brief submitted by the AF of L building trades unions in support of the contractors' position. They are now appealing and they are in the 3rd Circuit Court in Philadelphia appealing this.

The fact of the matter is that we cannot say the Philadelphia Plan did not work because it was never applied in Philadelphia. The unions engaged in this self-fulfilling prophesy. They prevented it from ever taking off the ground and in the two places where the principle of the manning tables were applied, in Columbus, Ohio and Cleveland, until the building trades unions and the real leader of the building trades union, George Meany, used his not inconsiderable political powers to have the United States Department of Labor, the Office of Federal Contract Compliance, reverse itself by applying the so-called revised Federal Guidelines which required the manning tables. If the manning tables were permitted to work, if the unions supported them, this could be the most potent, the most effective breakthrough of discrimination in the building trades.

MODERATOR. I think we're only going to have time for one more question.

EDDIE JOHNSON. Mr. Hill, did you say that there were instances where minority youngsters finished an apprenticeship program and then did not get their journeymen's cards?

Mr. HILL. In Buffalo, in Newark, in New Jersey, in Cleveland and several other cities, there are youth who have gone through programs that were concluded by now. Just last week, and I have read the findings of the New York State Commission against Discrimination in Buffalo, where four unions were found guilty and will now go to court, the black youth have signed depositions, sworn statements of their complaints to the Commission that they have gone through the same kind of apprenticeship training that whites went through. The whites were admitted into union membership as journeymen, the blacks were not. There are court cases pending in several other cities on precisely, this was a Build Program, this was a Justice or a Build Program in Buffalo and we have similar cases around the country.

Now, the real test, the real test is that there are black men who are working and who are certified by the State as master mechanics. In Buffalo, in a related case that is now in the District Court there, there are seven black mechanics in various different jurisdictions who are certified by the State of New York as journeymen. They carry journeymen certificates in their pockets and they do bootleg work in the public school system at night and the unions sort of look the other way when there is a job shortage. They are fully qualified journeymen. The State of New York has certified them as journeymen and the unions still refuse to admit them. These are men in their 50's and 60's who put in twenty or thirty years of work. This is not Alabama, this is not Mississippi, this is Buffalo, New York where there are fully qualified journeymen, who are certified by the State of New York as journeymen and the unions still refuse to admit them. This I submit, is the crucial test.

If things have changed, then why do unions all over the country defend their restrictive practices in court rooms where men who are certified by State licensed agencies and have worked for 30, 40 or 50 years as licensed plumbers or electricians, why do the unions still refuse to admit them? This is the real test, this is the key.

MODERATOR. Mr. Slaiman is asked to comment and then we'll move into rebuttal.

Mr. SLAIMAN. I am only going to comment on one little piece of this in regard to Mr. Johnson's question. Herbie again is playing games. He says that there are court cases on youngsters going through an outreach program that didn't get their journeymen card.

Mr. Johnson asked him if there were fellows recruited by Outreach that finished an apprenticeship program that didn't get their journeymen cards. He is talking about a 29-week program, not an apprenticeship, which didn't have whites in it, which was a special program to get guys who were partially trained guys to become journeymen and there were four locals that didn't go along with it. Mr. Hill uses this as an example to make the charge that there are youngsters finishing apprenticeship programs in four and five years and then being refused journeymen cards. There is no such case, it never happened, but he spreads this stuff to the newspapers to print over and over and over again. The only effect of which can be that when we have a program, run by blacks in most cases, recruiting youngsters that are getting into programs and getting their cards it can only have the effect of discouraging them from using the opportunities.

MODERATOR. We move now into rebuttal, of reverse order of presentation. Mr. Hill will have seven minutes and Mr. Slaiman will have twelve. Our first speaker is Mr. Hill.

Mr. HILL. If we accept everything that Mr. Slaiman says is true, obviously I am doing this for purposes of the debate, if we accept everything he says as being absolutely true, which I do not because I believe he is seriously engaged in full distortions, half distortions and general fudging them. Let us accept that everything and then some and then more is true.

Given the context of the thirty years of radical, dramatic, revolutionary struggles in this country in terms of the struggles for back rights, the period that for purposes of demarcation, we will call the period between the issuance of the first Federal Executive Order 8802 in 1941 and five years of Title VII of the Equal Employment Section of the Civil Rights Act of 1964—Is anybody really prepared to say that there has been great progress in eliminating the pattern?

That organized labor has substantially complied with the requirements of this new body of laws, I want to suggest that the record is clear. Sure, there has been progress. But it has been a minimal strategic accommodation with the requirements of the law. In some cases and in other cases, there has been bitter intransigent resistance to what the law now requires. The record is clear—thirty years of litigation, thirty years of finding by State and Federal administrative agencies and within that context, within that context, it is simply the most dubious kind of sophistry or self-delusion or simply public dishonesty to argue that there has been large scale significant progress within that 30-year time span of dramatic revolutionary change in American race relations.

The record of organized labor and these questions within the past thirty years is not a proud one on this issue. Mr. Slaiman has educated me on one thing today, and that is what has changed (only one thing has changed) is the public relations facility to apostate the truth not to comply with the new body of civil rights laws.

MODERATOR. Thank you Mr. Hill. May I request that the people that have to leave now, to please leave quietly and that you give the speaker your attention. The final speaker is Mr. Slaiman.

Mr. SLAIMAN. I said at the beginning that the debate wasn't over whether there is discrimination in the labor movement. I think Mr. Hill's summation, as well as some of his other things, indicate the problem we have to deal with. Thirty years (the AFL-CIO was merged in 1955, thirty years ago was 1940).

Mr. HILL. All the union...

Mr. SLAIMAN. I didn't interrupt you, Herbie, purposely. Now, the question isn't whether there is still discrimination. Mr. Meany has said over and over and over again we have made progress, there is more to be done and we are not satisfied with the rate.

This is why the AFL-CIO supported Title VII because we are not trying to fool anybody that our efforts would move fast enough.

We have sixty thousand local unions affiliated to one hundred and thirty international unions all over the country. We are not a government. We are not a monolithic structure.

I don't think the labor movement has anything to apologize for. If anything, in the last years since we helped get a law, since the merger took place when the AFL came in together with the CIO, the rate of activity of union effort to move in this field has increased tremendously as has the crescendo of Mr. Hill's opposition to the Labor Movement increased tremendously.

As we accelerate our success, he gets to be more anti-labor. Now let me tell you something about his landmark case. I was so happy that he mentioned Cincinnati. It was a pure case, Dobbins was discriminated against. The local did not listen about taking him in. And the judge did find the pattern of discrimination, but he didn't agree with the Justice Department's demand that they eliminate the referral hall, that they throw out the baby with the bath, that they make the open shop.

He said a period of time when the referral hall would be controlled where any Negro applicants would be treated as if they had come in before. They took no test, they were referred as if they were a journeyman, even if they did not have five or four years in the trade. And do you know how many people were referred in the thirteen months of the landmark case taken by the NAACP headlines in the paper? Do you know how many Negroes came out and went to the hall and asked to be referred in thirteen months? NINE.

Mr. HILL. That is not true because the union has given twelve work permits already.

Mr. SLAIDMAN. Nine individuals were referred, there were twelve referral applications.

Mr. HILL. There were twelve Negroes working as of this morning with temporary working permits from the unions. How can you say that—you are lying now. Now you are lying. There is no other word for it in the English language.

Mr. SLAIDMAN. I have the figures here.

Mr. HILL. As of this morning twelve men in Cincinnati are working with temporary working permits from Local 212.

Mr. SLAIDMAN. I have the figures here and I will mail them to Mr. Hill. From December, 1968 to November, 1969 there were twelve applications of nine or ten men. In the year after that there has been a few more.

There are not two members as he said but eight members who have journeymen's cards in Cincinnati. There are another six guys who are still on permit and haven't become members.

The point is there are not any more guys who come forward in Cincinnati because Herbie's statement that there are thousands of qualified journeymen being kept out by referral halls is bumcum.

The IBEW International President sent a letter to every construction local two years ago telling them to take in as members every Negro who is qualified who applies and given a way that they should be processed. The Outreach Programs have been recruiting journeymen.

I got the figures from the Joint Apprenticeship Program. In their fifteen cities they have placed, getting journeymen's cards in the last year and a half, 270 black workers. In New York, in Cleveland, in Buffalo, in Boston the fact is the reason there is not more progress of journeymen coming in is because unless people get the training for skilled jobs and there is no question that many more would have had it if there was less discrimination in the past, no matter what games the government plays or the courts lay down there will not be larger numbers.

This is why we said the Outreach Program is so important. It does not maintain racism, it gives the opportunity for people whether they are youth or older workers to get into the trades on the exact same basis as the guys who were in there before. And Mr. Hill opposes it.

Next point. There were many people who thought that Mr. Hill was only after the building trades. That it wasn't the labor movement. It was just the building trades because they were such racist institutions. You heard him today. His attacks on the Steelworkers, the Paperworkers, any other union you name that they have institutionalized in collusion with management a system of exclusion in which they have only given token compliance because there is a law, because they live off the backs of the black workers is what's the real issue here.

Herbie has an obsession. He says he's for coalition but how in the devil can you talk of a progressive coalition when you believe that you are in South Africa. That there is white employers and workers who in collusion and the colonial black mass of workers that are just being kept out. Now that is not the situation in the United States. Absolutely not the situation.

There are two million black members of trade unions. In 99 and 9 tenths percent of the cases, they get equal benefits, equal pay in the same jobs. Now let me come to his devastating point that unions like the Steelworkers and others are in courts because although they know they had to make a slight adjustment they are still in collusion with the companies to give the business to black workers. That is very slanderous.

You can have disagreements over what a union should do if it makes changes. You can have disagreements between even black and white workers in the plant but this kind of characterization is what's the problem. The Steelworkers have lawyers who are active in civil rights, who have consciences. They have a serious problem when they come to change seniority lines and the Government has people involved in this who don't know anything much about labor relations and about seniority and some of them could care less and you have a very difficult situation.

He referred to the Whitfield decision. Now long ago there was a decision that seniority lines in the Steel industry had to be open. That Negroes couldn't be kept just in the labor department. And the judge ruled that Negroes had to be moved up into these other jobs but that they start with new seniority at the bottom of these job lines, by the way, a practice many white workers go through in many plants. I am not saying it is good or bad but it's a fact of conditions.

Now when you not only open the lines but you make decisions about changing from departmental to plant wide seniority there are real problems. This isn't merely a question of being vicious or racist. There are legitimate problems to look at and the fact that the government demands that you change the seniority system one way without knowing what they are talking about doesn't mean that the unions are spending hundreds of thousands of dollars to give the business to their Negro members in order to keep them in a subordinate position to a white colonial aristocracy.

This kind of conception is what is between Mr. Hill and I. Now he says there are no changes. That there are two here and four there. The fact is that the patterns of hiring and promotion in industry after industry, building trades and otherwise have changed significantly, sometimes from union initiative and sometimes they have had to be pushed, including by the AFL-CIO.

George Meany didn't make after dinner speeches. I am not playing games with this stuff. We do serious work in this area and the results are there. They are there in Negroes upgrading; they are there in unions getting manpower bills to get money to help

them upgrade; they are there in working with Outreach Programs; and they are there in looking to recruit journeymen who aren't even applying.

These are serious efforts and we don't have to apologize for them and most of the people in the civil rights movement understand that, and this is why Clarence Mitchell and Roy Wilkins speak as they do. They are not playing power games and covering up things.

The point is that Herbie has an obsession that the main obstacle to Negro workers are white workers, and the main institution in their way is the trade union movement. And this is very sad business. And it's a very dangerous business.

I have no argument with Herbie over what discrimination existed. I have no argument that the law should be used. I have no argument that progress isn't as fast as it should be. But I am not playing games with figures. I will back up everyone I gave everywhere, documented, in fact I am going to take that tape and take every statement made and put down the answers documented.

The problem is a very serious one. We are not living in a little world of just bad unions and good unions and bad workers and good workers. We live in a country in which the predominant economic interest is capital, is employers and the government is led by people who represent them more than they do working people and more than they do Negroes.

And the question is when people have to change things are they in a better position if they think they are enemies of the labor movement or the white workers standing over there or they see an objective or clear picture even if its a little complex. That's what the problem is, and all the court cases that Herbie indicates.

I come back to Cincinnati—the landmark case that took away all union control from preventing Negro workers from getting in who are not only qualified journeymen but even had any experience produced in two years. You take his figures rather than my figures, twelve, eighteen, twenty people.

The Outreach Program which he pooh poohs have brought in dozens times that many of qualified youngsters. And I gave you the figures. Although they haven't been recruiting journeymen as long, the Workers Defense League alone got journeymen's cards for 270 Negro workers in New York, Cleveland, Boston, and maybe one or two other cities.—270. That's far more than the Dobbins case produced in Cincinnati or the Manning tables produced in Cleveland or the Philadelphia Plan produced in Philadelphia.

Lastly, the Manning tables under the Wirtz Administration claimed they were doing a lot in Cleveland. So we had that checked. They claimed that 129 black workers went to work on government contracts and we found out that most of these were apprentices recruited by the outreach programs and guys who were already in the unions.

It is a phony but more than that what appeals in it is that it is an open shop approach which could only be justified if there were no other possible approach. This is the problem to take that kind of approach when the union policy that's being implemented offers a way of bringing Negroes in, in a way that white workers are not against, in which they can get a stronger union on mutual terms in an industry which has a higher unemployment rate today nationally than the average unemployment rate of Negroes.

To make this the fighting grounds to pit Negro against white. Taking head-on the existing unions security system with the connivance or cooperation or ignorance or what have you of the most "liberal part" of the Nixon Administration. John Mitchell's Justice Department, and to give this as militant, liberal, progressive, scholarly, intelligent, hard hitting answer to the backwardness of the labor movement is a sorry thing. I think the only thing we really can say is that Mr.

Hill is the anti-labor secretary of the NAACP. APPLAUSE.

MODERATOR. I know that you will join me in thanking both of our speakers for their presentation and we will see you next month. Thank you for coming.

#### FAMILY ASSISTANCE PLAN

**HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI**

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 15, 1971

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, it is my deep conviction that with the recent passage of the welfare reform provisions contained in H.R. 1, the House started this country down an irreversible avenue on the long route to socialism.

There is still time for the Senate to correct the situation but, unless they do so, the wisdom of repeated warnings issued over the years will be too late confirmed and the rhetoric will become reality.

I was very disappointed in the House action, though there was some measure of consolation in the extent of the opposition to the ill-conceived family assistance plan. My keenest disappointment, however, has been the continued strong support of this measure by the Republican administration and the Congressional leadership of my party, in the face of so highly preferable an alternative as the Curtis-Duncan bill offers.

Though I have been extremely skeptical of the family assistance plan from the beginning, I could understand the administration's enthusiasm for it when it seemed the only alternative to the present chaotic program. It is doubtful that anything we might do could be worse than the mess we have now and FAP offered, at least theoretically, hope for improvement.

When President Nixon outlined his goals for welfare reform to the Governor's Conference at Williamsburg in the spring, the Curtis-Duncan alternative was not an actuality. Yet, it struck me even then that H.R. 1 was in several respects inconsistent with the goals the President stated.

With the advent of the Curtis-Duncan bill, which not only seems to me a vastly superior concept of welfare reform but offers an opportunity for the administration to achieve its high priority revenue sharing concept in the bargain, continued insistence upon the adoption of H.R. 1 became totally inexplicable, except perhaps in terms of political expediency. There was, no doubt, a natural "pride of authorship" since FAP was initially an administration proposal to the 91st Congress. But the bill which passed the House this year with full administration and leadership support had been extensively reworked by the Ways and Means Committee. There was no longer any need for the administration to claim it and, thus, its continued support cannot even be accurately described as politically expedient.

All this has had me, I confess, quite puzzled. It is, therefore, with consider-

able interest that I have noted the recent speeches of several of my colleagues intimating that there are around the President, advisers whose political philosophy commits them to a solution of the sort contained in H.R. 1 and that, in their enthusiasm for the bill, they have been less than candid—or to be more charitable, less than thorough—in advising the President of its content.

This led me to review the President's speech at Williamsburg and I find myself compelled to reach the same conclusion.

Let me set out, if I may, some specific examples. At one point in his speech, the President said this:

What I advocate is a fundamental change of direction. I do not advocate putting more people on welfare rolls, as some have contended our program would do. What I advocate is getting more people off of welfare rolls.

Yet, it is an indisputable and undenied fact that H.R. 1, by providing welfare assistance to an entirely new category of families where there is an employable or employed adult member, will nearly double the number of people eligible for welfare in the first year of operation.

Theoretically, the bill will operate to move off the welfare rolls these families and others now receiving welfare, over the long run. Even if that proved true, I question whether it is necessary to nearly double the welfare caseload for the short run in order to accomplish the goal the President seeks.

Realistically, however, a reduction in the caseload, even over the long run, is not likely to occur if H.R. 1 is enacted. First of all, by incorporating the "guaranteed annual income" concept as it does, it creates a built-in escalating factor which is likely to more than cancel any caseload reduction resulting from the application of its "work incentives" provisions.

During House debate on the bill my colleague from Oregon (Mr. ULLMAN), very ably and accurately described the predictable consequences of adopting the guaranteed annual income concept.

Once you make the decision to accept that guaranteed annual income . . . you have reached the point of no return. Once you have adopted that principle, then the only question is: Are you guaranteeing enough? And, of course, all of us know . . . that you can mount a tremendous argument that it is not enough. . . . So the pressure on you to increase this income are going to build and build and build.

The pressures for economic justice through regular increases in the level of the guaranteed income will be just as strong—or stronger—than they have been for similar increases in social security benefits. And every time the level is increased new families become eligible and families who might otherwise have worked their way off the rolls remain eligible.

Surely the President must understand that if the provisions of H.R. 1 have been accurately represented to him.

The President went on to state in his Williamsburg speech:

I do not favor a guaranteed annual income.

Both administration spokesmen and congressional advocates have gone to

great lengths to disguise the "guaranteed annual income" provisions of the family assistance plan as income maintenance or income supplement or some other more salable commodity—a tastier and more easily swallowed purgative. But this is a classic case of "a rose by any other name" smelling the same.

I simply cannot believe that President Nixon could be taken in by so thinly disguised a ruse unless the provisions of H.R. 1 have not been accurately represented to him.

However, on still another point the President's clearly articulated goals for welfare reform have been seriously diluted if not overtly repudiated in H.R. 1.

For he said at Williamsburg:

I advocate a system that will encourage people to take work, and that means whatever work is available.

And, again:

On the contrary, I think those who refuse to register for work, and accept work or training should be ineligible for welfare payments.

Yet H.R. 1 begins by limiting to those jobs paying at least three quarters of the Federal minimum wage the categories of work an able-bodied welfare recipient must take or lose a part of his benefits. This hardly qualifies as "whatever work is available."

Then note that if he refuses even a job paying the required level of wages, he loses only a part of his welfare benefits—in the case of a family of four, \$800 of the guaranteed \$2,400—this hardly meets the President's expressed "ineligible for welfare payments" criteria for judging the obligation to those who refuse work or work training.

Finally, as pointed out in the House debate, there is a loophole a mile wide in the work requirement of H.R. 1, for section 211 contains language enabling an otherwise employable individual to escape the work requirement if the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare determines that he is "unable to engage in work or training because of illness or incapacity." Note that this determination does not require certification by a physician. It will be made under delegated authority by a local social worker. What kind of guarantee have we, then, that able-bodied adults will take work—"whatever work is available"—or be "ineligible for welfare payments."

Surely the President knows the extent to which present abuses of the welfare system are traceable to the ingrained opposition on the part of both HEW officials and local social workers to the concept of work incentives and moving people off the relief rolls into the working force. If he does not, he need only read the reports of numerous State studies—the Oregon House of Representatives Task Force on Welfare, Governor Ogilvie's recommendations to the Illinois Legislature, Governor Reagan's findings in California.

If he realizes this, as I believe he must, then I can only conclude that he has been misinformed—or not informed—as to the content of H.R. 1.

Such inconsistencies are glaring

enough when there is no alternative. When a viable alternative is offered, and consideration of it is refused, those inconsistencies become indefensible.

I sincerely hope, therefore, the Curtis-Duncan proposal will receive not only thorough and favorable consideration of the Senate Finance Committee, but that the administration, too, will review its position and consider the possibility that this alternative is closer to its own expressed goals on welfare reform as well as more nearly in the best interests of the truly needy, the American taxpayer, and traditional American values in general.

Again I stress that there is a better way to welfare reform and it is achievable. I hope the citizens of this country will demand the best legislation possible—and get it.

Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to include at the conclusion of my remarks and excellent column by Willard Edwards in the June 12, 1971, Chicago Tribune which describes the importance of the Curtis-Duncan bill.

[From the Chicago Tribune, June 12, 1971]  
CAPITAL VIEWS—CURTIS HAS SIMPLE WELFARE SOLUTION

(By Willard Edwards)

WASHINGTON, June 11.—It's going to be tough for President Nixon to find fault with the simple solution for welfare reform put before the Senate yesterday by Sen. Carl Curtis (R., Neb.).

It is based on Nixon's own vigorous statements of his goals.

Studying the President's remarks of April 19 at the Republican Governors' Conference in Williamsburg, Va., Curtis was impressed by Nixon's eloquent plea for revenue sharing and his description of the present welfare system as "disastrous."

Both revenue sharing (allocation of \$16 billion in Federal revenues to the states) and welfare reform (a family assistance plan with a \$1,000 guaranteed annual income for a family of four) have been listed by Nixon among his "six great goals."

Why not, Curtis asked himself, adopt the Nixon concept of revenue sharing as the basic principle of welfare reform? Why not solve two problems at once and aim for two goals by dealing with welfare reform thru the mechanism of revenue sharing?

There was no time to waste, because a welfare reform bill had been completed by the House Ways and Means Committee under Chairman Wilbur Mills (D., Ark.) and scheduled for early House consideration.

Curtis drafted his proposal and presented it as "reasonable alternative" more in keeping with the administration's aims than the Mills bill.

Since the President and Elliot Richardson, secretary of health, education, and welfare, have praised Mills and his committee for their work, they presumably are opposed to the Curtis substitute. They may find it embarrassing to explain this negative reaction.

The measure will have appeal, for example, to those conservatives and moderates disturbed by the guaranteed annual income concept (raised to \$2,400 in the Mills version). The Curtis plan eliminates this concept.

Instead of enlarging the HEW bureaucracy by federalizing all welfare programs, as the Mills bill does, the Curtis proposal would dismantle that apparatus, returning to the states the responsibility for determining the nature of their welfare programs and regulations for administering them.

"The President," Curtis noted, "has pointed up the need to reverse the flow of

power—to get more of the power of government back into the hands of states and localities.

"But the federalization of welfare goes exactly counter to the President's thinking on revenue sharing. I am told that the family assistance plan is designed to reduce welfare rolls and put able-bodied recipients back to work. But I look at the projected cost, and reason rebels. You don't cure a problem by doubling its size and its costs."

Curtis, No. 2 ranking Republican on the Senate Finance Committee, which will write its own version of welfare reform after the House acts, believes he will get some committee support for his substitute plan which leaves untouched those sections increasing Social Security benefits.

He may get an even quicker test of congressional sentiment on his proposal when the Mills version of welfare reform reaches the House floor in a week or two.

A group of 10 House Republicans, headed by Representatives Philip Crane (Ill.) and Edward J. Derwinski (Ill.), began soliciting votes for the Curtis substitute. They predicted cosponsorship by a minimum of 72 members, thus insuring a spirited floor battle and record vote unless the Democratic leadership succeeds in a current attempt to impose a gag rule on amendments.

#### HISTORIANS COULD ANNOINT NIXON

#### HON. J. HERBERT BURKE

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 14, 1971

Mr. BURKE of Florida. Mr. Speaker, I call the attention of my colleagues to a recent column by Pete Laine in the Miami Herald which opens with the question: "Is Richard Nixon heading for a spot in history as one of the greatest Presidents?"

After reviewing the record the writer concludes that "chances are building that history will like the Nixon record."

The article follows in full:

[From the Miami Herald, May 25, 1971]

HISTORIANS COULD ANNOINT NIXON

ONE OF THE GREATS?

(By Peter Laine)

WASHINGTON.—It's a thought that takes some getting used to, but is Richard Nixon heading for a spot in history as one of the greatest Presidents?

Tricky Dick of the used-car gag? The re-treaded reject? The packaged image? Has there been some mistake?

The question may answer itself in the negative since a nuclear age may have no historians.

But, assuming there are some, they will possibly agree that the last pre-Nixon year, 1968, was when the United States came closest to insanity.

Even now it sears the memory. The assassinations. The burning cities. The machine-gun outside the White House. The debate about actually sending more troops to Vietnam. Chicago. LBJ, the President who couldn't travel freely in his own land.

Thirty months have passed since the election. Which of the happenings of this period will stand out, say, 30 years from now?

One will surely be the U.S. withdrawal from the war, easing global tension. For those who like their history in date form, 1969 may turn out to be the year the nation shed its delusions of divine majesty in world affairs.

Will the rate of withdrawal from the war

seem as important in years to come as it does now? Probably not.

It may be observed in retrospect that Cambodia and Laos did not, after all, provoke retaliation from Red China. It will certainly be noted that the United States and Red China had friendly contacts for the first time in a generation.

Historians will hardly fail to remark that the cities of America stopped burning, the desegregation of schools was stamped final, the college presidents reoccupied their offices, the fight to save the environment cranked up, and the Pentagon spending curve turned down.

One event of recent days, the SALT accord, may deserve to be remembered as a turning-point in human affairs.

It would be absurd for one man, even a President, to claim all the credit for all good works. Events often lead, compelling men to follow. Luck plays a part, like throwing in a first moon landing planned by someone else.

Yet how is a President judged if not by the milestones the nation passes while he's in the driver's seat?

Richard Nixon may still be cashing in mostly on the windfall of not being Lyndon Johnson, which could have happened to anyone.

Whatever its cause, chances are building that history will like the Nixon record—especially since historians will see it unencumbered by the heavy hands and loud voices within his own establishment.

#### REPORT ON SEX IN THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS

#### HON. BELLA S. ABZUG

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 14, 1971

Mrs. ABZUG. Mr. Speaker, the public schools in this country continue to perpetuate the powerlessness of women in society. This report on sex bias, prepared by the National Organization of Women, discusses the many different forms of discrimination against women in the educational system.

Overtly, women are assigned to sex-segregated classes, teachers who favor their male students, and guidance counselors who discourage them from many careers that have limited numbers of women in higher levels of administration. A more subtle, but nonetheless extremely damaging practice common in the public schools is the stereotyping of sex roles. Teachers, administrators, and the curriculum all dictate that a woman must accept subordinate roles in society—that they must have a certain career aspirations rather than others—not because they are not capable of doing all kinds of jobs, but simply because they are women.

I support NOW's efforts to expose this sex bias in the public schools in order to bring it to an end. We must offer the young women in our society the same opportunities we offer the young men—by opening all educational opportunities to both male and female students—as well as by putting an end to the damaging stereotyping of sex roles that prevails.

Social expectations strongly expect women to be passive, dependent, and submissive. Until the schools stop judging students' abilities on the basis of

their sex, society will be denying itself the realization of the full potential of over one-half its members.

The report follows:

#### REPORT ON SEX BIAS IN THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS

I asked Miss Jonas if my daughter could take metal working or mechanics, and she said there is no freedom of choice. That is what she said.

The COURT. That is it?

The WITNESS. I also asked her whose decision this was, that there was no freedom of choice. And she told me it was the decision of the Board of Education.

I didn't ask her anything else because she clearly showed me that it was against the school policy for girls to be in the class. She said it was a Board of Education decision.

Q. Did she use that phrase, "no freedom of choice"?

A. Exactly that phrase; no freedom of choice.

That is what made me so angry that I wanted to start this whole thing.

Q. Now, after this lawsuit was filed, they then permitted you to take the course; is that correct?

A. No, we had to fight about it for quite a while.

Q. But eventually, they did let you in the second semester?

A. They only let me in there.

Q. You are the only girl?

A. Yes.

Q. How did you do in the course?

A. I got the medal for it from all the boys there.

Q. Will you show the court?

A. Yes (indicating).

Q. And what does the medal say?

A. Metal 1970 Van Wyck.

Q. And why did they give you that medal?

A. Because I was the best out of all the boys.

The COURT. I do not want any giggling or noises in the courtroom. Just do the best you can to control yourself or else I will have to ask you to leave the courtroom.

This is no picnic, you know. These are serious lawsuits.

DEAR BOARD OF EDUCATION: You and we have a lot in common:

People blame all their problems on us.

We sometimes feel defensive.

We sometimes make mistakes.

We both work to educate.

We both confront a bureaucratic maze.

We both believe our work can improve the future.

EDUCATION COMMITTEE,  
NATIONAL ORGANIZATION FOR WOMEN,  
NEW YORK CITY CHAPTER.

#### WHAT WE HAVE FOUND (RESEARCH COMPILED BY CLAIRE PAISNER DOUBROVSKY)

##### ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS

The Education Committee of the New York City Chapter of the National Organization For Women has received numerous complaints from parents of elementary school pupils. These complaints have had to do with the following problems:

##### A. GENERAL SEGREGATION

Administrators and teachers frequently group, line up, or seat students according to sex. Activities are frequently assigned according to sex. (One teacher who considers herself "liberated" because she disliked housework, had her pupils making paper hats—baseball caps for the boys and nurses caps for the girls!)

##### B. GYM

Even where boys and girls are given physical education at the same time, they are often sexually segregated. Boys may have more exacting exercises to perform (chin-ups, push-ups) while girls are doing such things as jumping rope. In many cases, boys are given the opportunity to play basketball

and softball more frequently than girls. When the girls play softball, it is among themselves, with lenient rules (they are given several chances). Girls often play on smaller, unmarked fields, while boys use the baseball diamond with marked bases on the playground. Sometimes boys play against girls, instead of forming teams with boys and girls on each team. Teachers frequently make the mistake of pitting one sex against the other with such phrases as "Boys shouldn't hit girls."

##### C. MUSIC

In some cases boys are encouraged to learn certain instruments and girls are encouraged to learn others.

##### D. TEACHER'S HELPERS

Administrators and teachers frequently favor boys over girls for helping with such chores as carrying books, holding doors, working with audiovisual equipment, etc. Those who are chosen to help are often considered "elite" by other students, as well as by themselves.

##### E. PLAYS

The way parts are assigned in various plays and skits in the classroom and the auditorium often reflects traditional stereotypes. For example, the part of the doctor, principal, or business executive would be played by a boy and the part of the nurse, teacher, or secretary by a girl.

##### F. LESSON MATERIAL

In addition to readers (See Appendix, pp. 13-19), teachers assignments frequently show stereotyped attitudes toward males and females. In math problems, women work with recipes while men handle high finance. Exercises in grammar of English and other languages ask students to diagram, memorize or phrase a reply for sentences which invariably show males and females in stereotyped roles (mother washes dishes while father reads the newspaper).

##### JUNIOR HIGH SCHOOLS

Our committee has received many complaints from junior high school students and parents regarding discriminatory requirements and/or restrictions in home economics, shops, physical education, and extra-curricular activities. Since witnesses in the Sanchez case testified to similar discriminatory practices in the schools, I will not describe those grievances here, but merely call attention to the court records reproduced in the Appendix, pp. 21-28.

##### ACADEMIC HIGH SCHOOLS

*The Public High Schools, New York City, 1970-71* lists three academic high schools for boys: Haaren, DeWitt Clinton and Boys High School; it lists five for female students: Hunter, Washington Irving, Walton, Bay Ridge and Prospect Heights.

Until recently, women were excluded from Stuyvesant and Brooklyn Technical, two of the four "specialized" high quality academic high schools, which require special entry exams. (The other two, Bronx High School of Science and Fiorello LaGuardia High School of Music and Art have been co-ed.) Stuyvesant and Brooklyn Tech prepare for higher education leading to careers in science, math and technology. Stuyvesant was sexually desegregated in 1969-70 as a result of the celebrated court suit of Alice De Rivera, who won her right to attend the school through a conciliation settlement on May 5, 1969. Probably also as a result of that decision, the Board of Education decided to open up Brooklyn Tech to women students the following year, 1970-71.

The National Organization For Women is concerned about the slow pace at which these two schools are opening to women. Last year Stuyvesant had about a dozen women, this year about 220. There are 2,250 students in the school. Brooklyn Tech, as of September, 1970, had 2 women students out of a total

of 5,200 students (See Appendix, p. 29). There is reasonable cause for the low enrollment of women in these two schools since the *Official Directory of the Board of Education, 1970-71* still lists Stuyvesant and Brooklyn Tech as "boys" schools, and the mimeographed sheet of corrections for the Directory makes no mention of the change in Board policy regarding admissions to these schools.

##### VOCATIONAL HIGH SCHOOLS

The favoritism for male over female students stands out in a particularly blatant way in the system of vocational education. A Board of Education catalog, *The Public High Schools, New York City, 1970-71* lists 17 segregated high schools for either "Boys only" or "Girls only." Of these 17, 12 are for male students and only 5 are for females. The National Organization For Women is particularly disturbed that certain highly specialized vocational high schools are reserved only for male students, such as, Automotive, Aviation, Food and Maritime Trades, Thomas Edison, George Westinghouse, and others. These schools prepare students for careers in mechanics, catering and the electrical industries.

It is particularly ironic that women who are required to take cooking in Junior High School, are not allowed to enter Food and Maritime Trades High School, the only school in the city where they may study to be chefs.

Not only are many vocational schools segregated, but many courses in the co-educational vocational schools are closed to girls. A flyer put out by the High School of Fashion Industries lists, out of nine areas of specialization, three areas for "boys only" (Production Techniques, Upholstery Manufacturing, and Men's Clothing Design and Manufacturing) and one field for "girls only" (Women's Apparel Construction). This means 1/3 of the program offered by the co-educational school, is closed to female students, and 1/9 of the program (that specifically devoted to women's clothes) is closed to male students. Such segregation does not even make a pretense of being "separate but equal."

If we consider the course offerings in all of the vocational schools, *The Public High Schools* lists 77 major technical courses open to males, while a mere 36 are listed for females. Most of the courses on the female students' list, such as typing, stenography, forestry, and cosmetology, are also on the list for male students, but most of the subjects on the male list are not on the female list, such as architectural drafting, radio and TV mechanics, jewelry making and, as I mentioned earlier, commercial cooking and catering.

Although the catalog of high schools, for the first time this year, does not list the New York School of Printing as "for boys only", the same catalog does not list any printing trades courses open to female students. And there are in fact no women enrolled in the New York School of Printing. Furthermore, administrators of that school seem unaware of any move to end the sex segregation in the school (with the exception of the post graduate evening school).

We question the exclusion of men from courses in Practical Nursing and Pre-Registered Nursing. And we find the distinction between the male course in dentistry (Dental Laboratory Processing) and the female course (Dental Office Assisting) remarkably blatant in its discrimination against women.

The Vocation High Schools for males only, as listed in *The Public High Schools, 1970-71* are Chelsea, Alexander Hamilton, Automotive, Alfred E. Smith, Samuel Compers, Food and Maritime, Manhattan, East New York, George Westinghouse, William E. Grady, Aviation and Thomas A. Edison. In addition, the *Official Directory of the Board of Education, 1970-71* lists the New York School of Printing as for male students. In other words, two directories for the current year have con-

flicting information. Vocational high schools for girls as listed in *The Public High Schools, 1970-71* are Mabel Dean Bacon, Jane Addams, Clara Barton, William H. Maxwell, and Jamalca. Again the *Official Directory of the Board of Education, 1970-71* lists one more as for "girls": Sarah Hale. Moreover, the sheet of corrections given out with the *Official Directory* does not indicate that either the New York School of Printing or Sarah Hale now welcome both sexes. Thus, there is confusion as to what the policy of the Board of Education is.

#### SEX EDUCATION

The institution of Sex Education courses was originally supported by feminist groups. However, the courses as they are currently taught have generally failed in our original hopes. They do not provide any information on contraception; they in no way emphasize the ecological crisis we face due to overpopulation. Instead they purport to teach "ideal" sex role behavior.

As of September, 1969, Sex Education was taught to some of the students in 295 out of the 900 public schools in New York City, including 45 of the 100 high schools. These classes are still given separately to male and female students.

In the teachers manual prepared especially for these classes, the words "contraception" and "birth control" are not used a single time. "Family Planning" is referred to only briefly in passing.

According to the coordinator of the courses at the Board of Education, Herbert Karp, who was interviewed in the Spring of 1970, not only does the Board wish to avoid offending anyone's religious principles, but it is afraid the teaching of birth control in too great depth might be legally interpreted as "undermining the morals of a minor," thus exposing the instructors to the dangers of legal suit.

The biology of human and/or animal reproduction is covered at every grade level, but it comprises only 15% of the total curriculum, the rest of the course being devoted to problems of "family living."

Aside from the illogicality of sex education classes which avoid the subject of contraception, we note some other surprising elements in the curriculum as set forth in the teacher's manual called "Family Living Including Sex Education." Notions of female passivity and the "woman's place" have been instilled as early as grade one, where the manual tells us that girls "usually play with dolls and engage in housekeeping activities and sewing," while boys "are generally very active, almost in constant motion" (1967-68 edition, p. 16). The manual goes on to show six-year-olds the "kinds of work men usually do" and "the kinds of work women usually do" (p. 17). In grade ten when students are subjected to such topics as "finding life's purpose in raising children" (p. 55), we witness the school reinforcing all of the social pressures which propel young women toward early motherhood. A revised edition, published in 1970 still instructs teachers in grades one and two to "talk about the kinds of work men and women usually do."

#### GUIDANCE

Apart from specific cases of official pre-emptive based on sex, high school women have complained of more subtle ways in which guidance counselors, teachers, and the curriculum tend to channel young women into the so-called "female" occupations which provide low salaries and little chance for advancement.

If 98% of domestic workers, 97% of secretaries, and 3 out of 4 clerical workers in this country are women, it is partly because the schools have failed to motivate them and prepare them for more remunerative roles. In saying this, we fully recognize that the education system did not itself create sexual and racial discrimination in the business

world. But the education system is none the less responsible to help young women as well as young men develop to their greatest potential.

#### PERSONNEL AND ADMINISTRATION

Finally, we leave the students' side of the question and come to the position of women on the staff of city schools.

In the 1967-68 term, women students at the senior colleges of the City University received 61% of the advanced certificates in education, and 62% of the Masters Degrees. Of these Masters Degrees received by women, 75% were in education.

In the fall of 1969, women held 59% of the city's teaching positions, but only 36% of the supervisory positions.

Furthermore, of all principals in the city schools, women accounted for only 23% of elementary school principals, 12% of junior high school principals, and 14% of senior high school principals.

We believe these figures indicate a pattern of discrimination against women, and we feel it is the responsibility of the Board of Education to investigate and attempt to correct these inequities.

In conclusion, this evidence of sex discrimination which we have enumerated raises vital questions of concern to all parents and citizens of all ethnic and economic backgrounds. For we are talking about the basic right to prepare one's self to earn a living, to harness one's skills, and to contribute in the fullest measure to the productive forces of our society.

#### WHAT WE RECOMMEND

(By Anne Grant West)

Our discontent comes from the fact that we, as women, have been doing what we have been raised to do. We have prepared thousands of meals for our families, but we have been unable to wield power in industries that are poisoning the food we cook. We have spent our best years raising our children, only to find that we have no power over the job market that condemns our daughters to economic dependency, and we have no power over the political and military system that sends our sons around the world to kill and be killed.

We are here tonight in the hope that our generation of women will be the last to be made so powerless in such desperate times.

Our specific recommendations to you, the Board of Education of the City of New York, are as follows:

At the elementary school level, we demand an end to all sex segregation on playgrounds and in classes. Principals and teachers should be instructed that there shall be no grouping, lining up, or seating of students in sex-segregated groups in classrooms, corridors, lunchrooms, or auditoriums, and that different activities will in no way be specified for different sexes.

The same rules shall apply to intermediate and junior high schools. New York State requires two years of shop and/or home economics courses. We feel the appropriate adaptation of this is to require one year of shop and one year of home economics in coeducational classes.

We further urge that courses in sex education be coeducational, and that the curriculum contain factual information on contraception and on the ecological crisis we face due to overpopulation. Such courses should no longer put forth an "ideal" or "norm" of "masculine" and "feminine" behavior.

We are convinced that most physical education courses could be taught beneficially in coeducational classes. We urge that the normative standards set for athletic performance be set by the entire school population, both male and female. This would allow females the dignity of competing against the same standards as males, and it

would protect non-athletic males from the emotional tension and physical stress of having to perform to the level of an unnecessarily high "male norm." The new norm will in no way prevent the high athletic achievers from setting new records.

We especially urge that coeducational courses in self-defense be provided for all students in the hope that they will be better able to protect themselves against sexual and non-sexual attacks.

We urge that all discriminatory guidance practice, such as the tracking of females into secretarial courses, be ended immediately, and that all guidance counselors and students be made aware of the full range of courses open to all students, regardless of sex.

We expect that the various school directories issued by the Board of Education will be updated to indicate that formerly sex-segregated schools are now coeducational. And we expect that meanwhile, a mimeographed sheet announcing these changes will be distributed to all guidance counselors and to all students now applying to high schools.

We expect that neither academic nor vocational high schools, nor evening trade schools will remain sexually exclusive. This means that no high school will place a de facto quota on females admitted. It further means an end to all public school sponsorship of training programs in cooperation with unions which continue to bar women from apprenticeship programs, from union membership, and from equal opportunities with men in job placement.

We expect that no courses, either in vocational or academic high schools will be barred to either sex, and that all classes will be coeducational.

We expect that experimental programs which provide work-study opportunities to help students complete their high school work shall no longer bar girls from participation, and that such programs shall provide the same work experiences and opportunities for both males and females.

We urge that no school be permitted to sponsor any sex segregated extra-curricular or service squads. We demand that males and females be allowed an equal opportunity to serve as office and library aides, and on hall patrols, audio-visual equipment squads, stage squads, and all other clubs. We expect that all principals and supervising teachers shall be informed of this policy.

Females who are competent athletes should not be barred from any teams, including official school teams which compete against other schools and which receive trophies and publicity.

Just as college cheerleaders are frequently male, high school men should be encouraged to be on cheerleading squads.

We urge that a bibliography and resource manual of women's studies be distributed to all school librarians, and that current textbooks in social studies be supplemented with materials on women's studies. We urge the Board of Education to notify publishers that the image of girls and women presented in texts for all courses will be taken into consideration on all future purchases of textbooks. We suggest that this Report on Sex Bias in the Public Schools accompany the Board's notice to publishers.

We demand that all schools be required to submit to their District School Boards and the Board of Education a report, to be made public, of the number of men and the number of women holding positions as regular teachers, teachers with special job assignments, department chairpeople, supervisors, principals, and so forth. We expect that schools showing evidence of sexual discrimination shall be required to comply to fair standards of employment and assignment for all teachers, regardless of sex.

We recommend that the Board of Education issue publicity to stress the right of women to apply for higher positions in the

school system in order to impress upon college advisors, as well as upon men and women in education, that women are as much entitled as men to support themselves and their families by filling high-ranking positions in the school system.

We urge you to seriously investigate the possibility of conducting classes on the business day schedule so that children will not be excused from school three hours before their parents return home from work. The present school hours are not only unnecessary, since we now have electric lights to read by, and since our children no longer have farm chores to perform, but they also place an unreasonable burden on the modern urban family. The school schedule requires at least one parent to limit work opportunities to unrealistic hours, or to find other arrangements for childcare in the intervening hours. The situation is especially intolerable for families with only a single parent.

We urge the institution of accredited in-service courses to help educators become conscious of their own sexual assumptions while they deal with the problem of sex discrimination in the schools. Mrs. Grady will present this proposal more fully.

Finally, we ask if a Board member here will move the establishment of a Committee on Sex Bias in the Schools. The responsibilities of such a Committee would be to study the recommendations we have set forth, and to suggest methods of implementing these recommendations in the schools. We would hope that at least three of our members would be permitted to sit on such a Committee. The Committee would be limited to advisory power, but it would have authorization to gather information on the schools, and it would be officially introduced to the District School Boards as an advisory Committee of the Board of Education.

In conclusion, we hope to effectively cooperate with you to bring women into full and equal partnership with men in the schools, and soon, throughout all of our society.

**A PROPOSAL FOR CONSCIOUSNESS-RAISING IN THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS**  
(By Kathleen Grady)

**RATIONALE**

As members of the Education Committee of N.O.W. we have spoken to many people in the school system: psychologists, principals, and teachers. Our original goal was to point out specific discriminatory practices against the students. Again and again we found we were dealing with their own sex prejudice. For example, Junior High School principals in the Executive Training Program were given a questionnaire to fill out and 63% men as well as women, agreed with the statement: "I can recognize in myself a certain amount of bias against women."

This bias took many forms. It was perhaps most evident in the questions relating to hiring. In a general question dealing with hiring a better qualified woman or a man with a family, only 44% would hire the woman. In a more specific question on hiring a secretary, 31% said they would hire a less qualified woman over a more qualified man, presumably because of sex-stereotyping: secretarial work is thought to be woman's work. Presumptions about sex-related traits and a fairly narrow definition of social roles was also evident throughout the questionnaires. Many of the responses indicated simple misinformation or ignorance of relevant research and data about the differences between men and women.

All the school personnel we spoke with were well-meaning, intelligent people who have simply not examined their presuppositions and assumptions in this context. Many showed surprise at some of the facts we presented and interest in the ideas. It is clear

that we have all been subject to the pervasive sex prejudice of the society at large. Teachers, along with the rest of us, see themselves in roles limited by their sex and condition their students to the same views, often unknowingly, through differing evaluations and expectations of the sexes.

**PURPOSE**

We would like to propose an in-service training course on sex prejudice and social roles for teachers, guidance counselors, and any and all other interested school personnel. Our main objective is to interrupt the inheritance of prejudice through an educative process that will bring such attitudes to the conscious level, allowing them to be retained or discarded in a rational fashion. Our specific objectives are as follows:

- (1) to understand society's sexual bias and expectations of the individual,
- (2) to allow school personnel to understand their own sexual bias and expectations of themselves, of their associates, and of their students,
- (3) to permit the people enrolled in this program to become familiar with the traditional means of establishing sexual roles,
- (4) to enable school personnel to examine their own and their students' sex-defined roles,
- (5) to establish an atmosphere that will allow the participants of this program to explore widening choices of sexual roles.

**METHODS**

Consciousness-raising is a technique developed by persons desiring to increase their sensitivity to such problems as racism and sexism. Its core is the small discussion group, but it differs from other such groups in several significant ways. Consciousness-raising falls between lecturing and encounter group interactions. It has the immediacy and some of the emotional content of the latter, but the idea orientation and choice of beliefs of the former. The major feature that distinguishes it from lecturing or topical seminars is the personal aspect. Participants relate ideas to particular experiences. Everything theoretical is firmly grounded in practical instances and examples.

To facilitate consciousness-raising in the limited period of time that the course will run, certain assertive techniques will also be included. The advantage to introducing some of these techniques of encounter group interactions is to help participants recreate experiences for demonstration, re-experience them in a different role, and in other ways consider themselves and commonly accepted attitudes in novel ways. The purpose is to interest the participants, help them to enjoy the experience, and to provide a bridge from theory to practice.

An important aspect of this course will be that all activities within it will be voluntary. No one will be required to participate in psycho-drama or even discussion, and intervention by the leader should keep group pressure for conformity in check.

**NOTES ON CURRICULUM**

- I. The individual examining the role conditioning in her/his own life:
  - (a) Choice of profession.
  - (b) Acceptance of responsibility on the job.
  - (c) Ambition for advancement.
  - (d) Single or married: does the individual consider her/himself fulfilled?
  - (e) Dress for job: what does the individual consider appropriate?
  - (f) Dealings with the other sex on equal, higher, or lower levels.
  - (g) How seriously does the individual take the importance of the job to her/himself, her/his family?
  - (h) Language and facial expressions used in dealing with other personnel and the students.

(i) How the individual reacts to the sex bias of her/his students.

(j) How do men and women feel toward women administrators?

II. Differing expectations by teachers of the students in regard to—

(a) Temperament—do teachers expect and tolerate more independence, aggressiveness, loudness, restlessness from boys? more dependence whining, giggling from girls?

(b) Intellectual abilities—do teachers believe that girls are more verbal, boys more mathematical? that aggressive curiosity is more to be expected from boys?

(c) Socialization—do teachers expect girls to be more "mannered" in the conventional sense and encourage them to be "feminine" (passive, dependent)? Do they encourage boys to be "gallant" (move the girls' chairs, etc.)? Do they expect the girls to be more religious and moral, boys to be more loyal and ethical?

(d) Language use—do teachers expect and tolerate more slang, rough language from the boys?

(e) Dress—do teachers expect girls to be neater, follow fashion styles and seasonal changes more closely? do they pity girls who are unable or unwilling to play the fashion game? do they reinforce those who do? do they react unfavorably to boys who have long hair, wear earrings, or girls who wear slacks? do they stress modesty for girls?

(f) Health—do teachers expect boys to be more robust, less complaining and reinforce girls for being "sick" monthly? do they encourage a healthy respect and confidence in their bodies in boys and a morbid anxiety and fear on the part of girls?

(g) Athletics—why are boys and girls segregated if they are in their athletic activities? do teachers expect competence from boys and failure from girls? are the terms "sissy" or "tomboy" ever applied?

(h) Interests—do teachers expect girls to be more interested in childcare, home, and family? do they expect boys to be interested in cars, sports, building and creating with permanent materials (rather than food and cloth)?

(i) Career goals—do teachers expect boys to be doctors, girls nurses? do they encourage the continual sorting out of career options by boys and overlook the need in girls?

(j) Sexual attitudes—do they think boys have stronger sexual urges and interest and therefore expect and tolerate more from them in the way of questions, jokes, masturbation?

(k) Monitorial duties—do teachers expect girls to do light housework and secretarial chores in the classroom, boys to do the heavy work and executive duties?

In addition to these personal and school-related themes, general presentation of the relevant biological and cultural research on sex differences will be included as well as the evolution of the social roles of men and women. It is important to remember that every difference between boys and girls increases with age. Until and unless the school system treats them absolutely equally, there is no reason to assume that it isn't the school system itself that is creating these differences.

**SEX ROLE STEREOTYPING IN ELEMENTARY SCHOOL READERS**

According to the statement of purpose adopted at the organizing conference of the National Organization for Women in Washington, D.C., October 29, 1966:

"We believe that it is as essential for every girl to be educated to her full potential of human ability as it is for every boy, with the knowledge that such education is the key to effective participation in today's economy and that, for a girl as for a boy, education can only be serious where there is expectation that it will be used in society. We believe that American educators are ca-

pable of devising means of imparting such expectations to girl students."

Are American educators taking the potential of girl students and their expectations seriously? A study of elementary school textbooks carried out by the Central New Jersey Chapter of N.O.W. indicates that they are not. It further indicates that girls are being actively demotivated as participants in the life and work of the nation by the concepts conveyed in the books they read in school.

An introductory essay entitled "A Message to the Teachers from the Authors" in Lippincott's Basic Reading Program refers to the rewards of learning to read:

First, there is the great satisfaction of mastering a skill in an orderly fashion. The reward of emulating the grown-ups for whom reading is obviously very important, is the long-range goal, but the skill itself is reward and delight to the beginner. On top of this delight in learning for itself we seek to reward the young learner with amusing or exciting stories as fast as we have words for them.

In a total of 144 readers examined (from fifteen reading series and ranging from primer to sixth grade level) there are 881 "amusing and exciting" stories centering around boys to 344 stories centering around girls. This represents 72% boy-oriented stories to cater to 49% of small boys in the elementary school population.

Similarly, there are 282 stories centering around adult males to 127 stories centering around adult females. There are 131 biographies of famous men to 23 biographies of famous women.

In the early grade readers the oldest child in a family is always a boy. Boys are associated with making, earning, playing active games, learning, romping with dogs and helping their fathers.

Girls are associated with helping their mothers or brothers, playing with kittens, getting in to minor forms of trouble and being helped out by their brothers. Patterns of dependence, passivity and domesticity are apparent. Story lines from Scott Foresman's first three primers go as follows:

"Boy sets up carnival act. Boy teaches dog to jump for food. Boy solves problem of keeping mother's floors clean. Boy solves problem of runaway dog. Boy plays ball. Boy uses magnet to solve problem for girl. Boy builds car, girls interfere."

Story lines for girls go:

"Girl is frightened by older brother. Girl is helped by older brother. Girls play with Toddy and kitten. Girl is helped by older boy. Girls solve their own problem (this is very unusual). Girl mistakes cat on television for her own kitten. Girl goes shopping with mother. Girl helps mother choose books. Girl paints picture of cat."

In Book One of the same series boy story lines begin to offer specific achievements for boys as well as contacts with adults outside the home:

"Boy finds policeman's button and returns it. Father mends boy's sled and they go off together to ride it (leaving mother at home). Boy wins race with renovated sled. Boy helps to deliver groceries. Boy waits for postman, longs for letter, learns of new boy on block and makes friends. Boy on farm befriends pony."

Girls in the same book have no outside contacts or achievements other than shopping expeditions. They begin to show tendencies to minor stupidities and mishaps.

"Girls boast of new dresses, find they are identical. Girl goes shopping for mother and forgets where her pocket is. Girls go shopping, drops apples, forgets eggs. Girl loses bunny, boy finds it for her. Girl longs for her own telephone call, finally gets one from mother, calling the children home. Girls make corn patties, chickens eat them."

In Harper and Row's Basic Reading Program "Around the Corner, Primer Level", a

girl wanting to "do something different" is taken on a shopping expedition to buy her brother some new T shirts. A little lamb asks her mother what she can be, and mother replies: "Some day you will be a sheep. A mother sheep, just like me! That is what you can be."

Derogatory comments directed at girls in general are common in all series. Thus, in the Ginn basic readers Book Six, a girl gets lost in London, with the comment: "Girls are always late." In the Harper and Row Basic Reading Program, Primer Level, page 45, we find: "Look at her, Mother, just look at her. She is just like a girl. She gives up."

In the same series: "Get lost," said Ann, "I am just a girl, but I know enough not to do that." Also: "you cannot write and spell well enough to write a book. You are just two little girls." Finally: "Let a girl do the starting? Not a chance!" and "That's right, Fatty, let a girl do the work!"

It is accepted in the reader universe that to denigrate girls is a satisfactory sign of masculinity in small boys. The effects of this attitude on girls themselves is not considered.

Mothers in all the series read are occupied with domestic cares and services. In illustrations they wore skirts, smiles, short, neat hairdos and aprons, and they often carry trays of cookies. Sometimes they drive cars. In one Bank Street Reader a working mother is found (but only in a school food line), and a Harper and Row Book Five story describes a fat, unhappy bully whose problem, by implication, is that his mother works and is not at home to welcome him after school. (page 107) "Martin had never minded, or anyway, not very much, and it wouldn't have mattered if he had minded, because the Hastings family needed the extra money she made." This child conflicts in the story with a "good" boy whose mother is at home every day to give him cookies and milk. The implicit social judgment is unmistakable.

Mothers are never shown doing independent work of their own or coming back to the family after some personal expedition. They are described as emotional and unreasonable. Thus in S.R.A.'s "The Purple Turtle," page 95: "My Mom says 'Don't, you'll mess your shirt.'" On page 152: "Roger's mother wept, afraid that her son would be eaten. But Roger was a brave boy." Also: "Mama's face was sad, and her voice was soft. 'Do not worry, Mama!'"

In "A King on a Swing" in the same series, page 28: "Mom will be mad. She'll yell at me, she'll spank me." (this boy is speaking to his father) Also: "You know, if you are bad Mom will spank you." Mothers are shown as disciplinary and repressive, fathers as the bringers of fun and stimulation. Fathers never display emotion, even anger is not represented. Father is a beloved being who never loses his cool.

In Harper and Row's Book G, under the chapter heading, "Boys' Adventures" an extreme of anti-mother feeling is reached. The story of Roald Amondson as a small boy whose father dies is told. "Roald was left with his mother. She was a determined woman. But he was determined too." She wants him to become a doctor, but he wishes to be an explorer. In the end she dies, and this event releases him to do as he wishes. Teachers' notes to this story include the question to the class: "Is twelve years old too young to plan for your future?"

Girls are never found planning for their futures, but at the fourth, fifth and sixth grade levels boys in all series begin to look forward to manhood. Earning and achievement become increasingly important. Quotes of specific incentives to manhood include the following:

"Camping out, eh?" said the tall man, "Get more like your father every day. He would have been here fast, but he couldn't have come faster than you did." (Lippincott's Basic Reading Program, Book G, page 247)

Also: "In a family when a boy does his work well, perhaps he can earn his wish." (Girls are never paid for domestic chores.)

Boys begin to control their emotions and quotes like the following begin to appear: "He would go over the falls on his feet, standing like a man. He would not cry out like a little boy for help." (Laidlaw Brothers 4th grade reader)

Geographical range becomes important for boys while girls remain domestic or neighborhood in their settings. Thus in the Ginn basic readers, story lines go as follows:

Boy visits Moon base with father. Puerto Rican boy starts business with his grandfather. Farm boy does "a man's job" harvesting corn after his father is injured. Arab boy rescues a lamb. Lapp boy does "a man's work" in a wolf hunt. Canadian boy learns a skill. . . . a boy is really getting to be a man when he learns to handle a kayak."

In the Ginn Basic Readers Book Five we find a boy who shoots a grizzly: "Pa had left him to be the man of the house. Here was the dead grizzly to prove that he had been worthy of the trust." On the other hand, when a mother settler shoots a wolf in Lippincott's Series Book G (her husband is away from home), she says modestly, "It wasn't hard, the wolf was a good target against the snow."

In Ginn's Book Five again a boy has a flood adventure during a picnic: "You did a dangerous thing, bringing that boat across the flood, and a brave thing. You acted like a man."

Biographies of men often show the progression from boyhood ambition to manly achievement. Thus in Lippincott's Basic Reading Program Book E we find Buffalo Bill: "Even when he was a little boy of five he had learned to ride a horse. By the time he was eight he was an expert rider." Kit Carson in the same book escapes some bears in a hunt. "When Kit was a small boy he wanted to be a hunter and trapper. His father had taught him how to shoot straight." Parallel incentives for girls are totally lacking.

Sometimes little girls take it upon themselves to play little mother and encourage their brothers to achieve. Thus in Lippincott's Basic Reading Program Book D, page 30, a girl convinces a boy that he needs to learn to read: "You need reading and writing and numbers for almost everything. A salesman must be able to read his orders. He must add up his bills." She mentions mechanics and painters with similar needs. Her own future needs are not considered.

In Harper and Row's Basic Reading Program Book Five an attempt is made to handle the problem of female adulthood. A girl comes across an old house in which she finds traces of a woman who once lived there. She examines a girlhood portrait and a fan and an adult portrait. These are her thoughts: "She'd had cheeks like speckled eggs and a merry look despite her serious lips. How had she become a woman who'd used the fan? How had a girl who looked so honest and everyday fit in with a fan that looked like moonlight, music and romance? This tomboy Netta had managed to grow up and still stay her own self. . . . Katie wasn't sure what she herself meant by womanhood. Well, she'd find out in time . . . the important thing was that a tomboy girl had handled growing up. If she could do it, I can do it too," Katie nearly shouted."

The message is that growing up for a girl involves a mysterious metamorphosis from a merry tomboy to a romantic woman, with a veiled hint at loss of identity in the process. The next book in the series, a sixth grade reader, has no girl-centered stories at all.

A story in the Ginn Basic Readers describes a girl who impersonates a boy and rides the pony express, having always longed to be a boy. A bandit captures her but lets her off discovering her sex. He says, "It is always wisest for girls to be happy that they are girls." Do

educators take it for granted that boys are unlikely to be satisfied with their status as boys? It is clear that being a girl in our present social climate requires a certain resignation.

In Houghton Mifflin's "Looking Ahead," Book Four, we find: "Agnes was 10 years old, but she still thought that playing Jack-in-the-box would be fun. Since, however, she was the only girl in the family, she knew she should help her mother." Boys by contrast feel no sense of obligation to help their fathers. They desperately long to do so, since this means added status and brings them closer to the desirable state of manhood.

In biographies of famous women the facts of achievement are often qualified in some way, such as this in Harper and Row's Book TE: Annie Oakley says of Frank Butler, "He's the finest looking man I ever say. I wish I didn't have to beat him.

In the Ginn Basic Readers female achievement is shown as freakish and exceptional, thus in Book Five: "From the very beginning Amelia Earhart was different from other little girls." Also: "Except for one thing Maria Mitchell seemed like any other young girl on Nantucket Island." The point is made in the story that Maria Mitchell had to put the kitchen in order first before she could study the stars. Another quote illustrates the derogatory attitude to female achievement which is widespread in these readers: "You did alright for a girl, ridin' the Pony Express."

The numbers and variety of adult males in different occupations shown in all readers contrasts strongly with the numbers of female adults in different occupations. In D.C. Heath's primer series Book Two adult males include: Father, pet store owner, postman, fireman, policeman, zoo keeper, ice cream man, a clown, railway conductor, sheep farmer. Women in this book include Mothers, ladies next door, and grandmother. Where adult females appear, throughout the series read, they tend to be in a supervisory or service relationship to a child, or the wives of varying male figures.

In Scott Foresman's Book Five ("Vista") an extreme in female exclusion is reached. Male minor characters include explorers, scientists, naval commanders, submarine commanders, forest ranger, a king, a gaucho, a pilot, a school principal, a railroad inspector and various fathers. No female minor characters appear, although there is one story involving two silly girls who hold a progressive lunch and two female biographies, one of a brave doctor (frontier) and the other an eight section biography of Helen Keller. Female exclusion becomes more acute as the grade levels rise. In Harper and Row's sixth grade reader there are no girl-centered stories at all.

Fairy tales offer examples of pretty heroines rewarded for their looks and sweet dispositions by marriage to princes, but as far as achievement goes, Hansel says to Gretel: "Don't worry, sister, I will take care of you." (Lippincott's Book G) The message is that females are good so long as they are pretty, and that age and ugliness are synonymous with evil. Snow White, Cinderella, Beauty and the Beast and many others illustrate traditional attitudes of male possessiveness towards the lovely young female coupled with fear and mistrust of the older woman. Such stories are part of our cultural picture and cannot be eliminated from school curricula, but they do require interpretation and understanding. Myths such as Pandora's Box which express man's fear of "female evil" must be discussed in depth and explained.

In spite of many good intentions American educators are in fact directing female children into those subordinate occupations and attitudes which most closely serve the short-term convenience of an adult male hierarchy. It is no wonder that rates of academic and other forms of achievement show a sad fall-

ing off among women. The female population of this country has internalized Charles Kingsley's sentiment:

"Be good, sweet maid, and let who will be clever!"

A complete report of the findings of this committee will be available in May, 1971 from: Women on Words and Images, R. D. 4, 25 Cleveland Lane, Princeton, N. J. 08540:

The New Jersey women believe that their sons as well as their daughters are harmed by the notion of sex-stereotyped roles and by the assumption that boys must be strong and girls agreeable, that males must direct and males obey.

They want their sons to be gentle as well as strong and their daughters to be adventurous as well as sensitive. They want the books their children read to emphasize the variety of choices open to them regardless of their sex. And they want readers—the most important books of the early school years—to present to their children a positive image of women as well as men, one that is based in reality and founded on equality and respect. —from "Harmful Lessons Little Girls Learn in School", Betty Miles, Redbook, March 1971, copyright 1971 McCall Publishing Co.

#### ANALYSIS OF MATH TEXTBOOKS FOUND IN NEW YORK SCHOOL LIBRARIES

Seeing Through Arithmetic Five (Scott Foresman).

Mathematical problems in this text present math concepts in social contexts which strongly reinforce stereotyped sex roles. Following are some examples, with page numbers:

Page 22—Brownies are cooking and sewing to raise money.

Page 26—Boy is building with his father, thus stressing active work as related to males.

Page 45—Out of ten problems, five dealt with girls cooking and sewing.

Page 65—Problems dealing with club activities: girls are shown making sandwiches, while boys build dividers.

Page 84—Shows girls' 4H Club activities. Fourteen problems deal with sewing and cooking.

Page 110—Out of 14 problems, 3 deal with mother cooking and girls helping.

Page 133—Girls and women are shown cooking and cutting cakes.

Page 154—Father takes boys on camping trip. Mother stays home and bakes.

Page 183—Boy goes out planting with father while mother stays home and bakes.

Page 214—Women and girls are shopping for food and sewing supplies.

Page 220—Problems deal with women cooking and sewing, men driving cars and hiking.

Page 264—Women and girls are shopping and cooking. Problems dealing with men have them building, repairing, and earning money.

Math Book 5 (Heath).

This book contains fewer problems than the preceding book, but where there are problems, role teaching is just as evident. Some examples follow:

Page 155—Out of ten problems, five deal with boys working at physical activities, and two problems have girls babysitting and sewing.

Page 166—Out of five problems, one has girls sewing, and two problems have boys playing marbles while girls are jumping rope.

Page 173—There are 12 problems altogether, eleven dealing with boys earning money, building things and going places, while one deals with a girl buying a ribbon for a sewing project.

Page 197—Out of five problems, three deal with boys and men doing varied activities while one problem deals with one girl shopping and one girl sick.

Sally Nussbaum distributed the following message to students leaving JHS 82 on April 7, 1971:

1491 Montgomery Ave., Bronx, New York 10453.

DEAR PARENTS AND CITIZENS: Girls at JHS 82 are discriminated against in curriculum and sports. They are barred from taking industrial arts courses of woodwork, metalwork, electric shop, and sometimes printing and mechanical drawing. They are programmed into domestic courses such as crocheting sewing, home, etc., and child care, instead.

My daughter, Daniela Romero, was refused entrance to metalwork class.

Girls at JHS 82 do not have supervised afterschool handball and tumbling. A girls basketball team was formed but no games were ever arranged for it with other schools. Games were arranged for the boys' basketball team. Girls seldom participate in chess and pingpong, and not in citywide or districtwide tournaments, but to my knowledge no special effort is made to find out why they do not take part, nor to encourage them to do so.

Recently I sent a petition to Dr. Milton Stier, Principal, JHS 82, signed by some parents, asking that the industrial arts courses be opened to girls on the same basis as boys. If you agree let the school authorities know.

A bill, no. 4811, has been introduced by State Assemblyman Al Blumenthal (D, Man.) to end discrimination by sex in admissions to courses of instruction or teams. I urge you to write your State legislators to support this bill.

American Civil Liberties Union is attempting to establish the basis of a class action suit against the Board of Education for sex discrimination in the junior high and high schools. This is being done on behalf of the High School Women's Coalition, a student organization. ACLU claims it violates the 14th Amendment to the Constitution—equal protection of the laws. For information, call ACLU, 924-7800.

Let the following know that you want your daughters to get the same education as your sons, so that all children will have the chance to develop their talents to the fullest:

Dr. Milton Stier, Principal, JHS 82, Macombs Rd. & 176 St., Bx. Andrew Donaldson, District Superintendent, 1377 Jerome Ave., Bx. Gerald Morton, Pres., Comm. Sch. Bd., 1377 Jerome Ave., Bx. Una Roskind, Pres., Parents Assn., JHS 82, Macombs Rd. & 176 St., Bx. Isaiah Robinson, V. Pres., Bd. of Ed., 110 Livingston St., Brooklyn.

The following excerpts are public testimony in the case of Bonnie Sanchez and Laura Edelhart against Harold Baron, Principal of Junior High School 217, and Hugh McDougall, District Superintendent of District 28, New York City Board of Education (69 C 1615) given in United States Court-house, Brooklyn, New York, on January 29, 1971, and March 19, 1971. For further information on this case, contact New York Civil Liberties Union, 84 Fifth Avenue, New York, N.Y.

Excerpts of testimony of Laura Edelhart (continued from front cover):

After I got home, I started calling the Board of Education. But I never got through to anyone. I must have made a dozen calls at least.

Q. Did anyone at the Board of Education ever tell you anything to do about this matter?

Well, eventually I was told that because the school was decentralizing that I should go back to the school for this problem; that it wouldn't be a matter of the Central Board any more.

Q. And did you do that?

Yes, I did. I called the school. I spoke to Mr. Baron . . . and he said that we have too many boys in the school to be able to allow the girls to take metal work and mechanics.

Q. Mrs. Edelhart, when you were in high school, did you attempt to take a metal working course?

Mr. MAURER. Objection.

The COURT. How long ago was it?

The WITNESS. About twenty years ago. The COURT. Objection sustained. Unrelated. Mr. ENNIS. Your Honor, I wish to show that it is related, in this sense: I wish to show that the only named plaintiff in this case was the named plaintiff because she had the support of her mother. She had the support of her mother because her mother was also denied permission to take a metal-work class when she was in high school, and it is because of that continuing problem—

The COURT. I am not persuaded. The objection is sustained.

Q. Mrs. Edelhart, do you think that having taken the course it was valuable for your daughter?

Mr. MAUER. Objection.

Yes, I do.

The COURT. What is the relevancy of that? Mr. ENNIS. Well, Your Honor, I wish to establish that, having taken that course, Bonnie Sanchez was a more self-reliant and capable individual than she was before.

The COURT. Let us assume that is so. What has that got to do with the policy?

Mr. ENNIS. It has to do with whether or not that policy is damaging the lives of female students in high school. We intend to show that it is; that the Board of Education policy is depriving female students of the opportunity to become self-reliant people—

The COURT. Do you expect to offer any statistics on it, or do you expect to rely on the testimony?

Mr. ENNIS. We will offer statistics, Your Honor.

Excerpts of testimony of Gigi Gordon, JHS 217 (Van Wyck), Ninth Grade:

Q. Can you tell me what shops are available at your school?

They have sewing and cooking available to the ninth grades. That is only for girls. And for the boys, they have metal and printing, and I think they also have ceramics.

Q. What shop are you taking now?

We just changed shops and I was assigned to sewing.

Q. Which shop did you want to take?

I wanted to take printing.

Q. Did you make any attempt to take printing?

Yes, I did. I went to several people, one of them was Mr. Wydlock, and he told me he would check into the matter and he would try to get me into the boys' shop. Then I saw him again and he said he thought they were all filled up. And then I saw him a third time and he said there was no room in the boys' shop for any more girls.

Q. Do you know whether there are any more girls in there now?

No, there aren't any girls.

Q. Did he say it was a boys' shop specifically?

Yes.

Q. How many shops are there for boys?

Two or three; it depends upon what periods. There are two in one period and three in another.

Q. How many for girls?

Two.

Q. Do you know what the percentage of boys and what the percentage of girls was?

I don't know the percentages, but it is about evenly distributed.

Q. Are there any other classes or subjects for credit that only have boys?

Yes. There is an AVI Squad, which is a squad with audio-visual aids, and it is for boys. And the boys are supposed to set up equipment to show films, and projectors and things like that. I tried to get into that and the teacher said it would be okay to get into it. We had to fight for that, but we got into it. And the teacher said that he would show us how to work the things. And he showed us how to work them. And then we never got called to be on the squad. We never got called to set up any such equipment.

Q. Did you ask to—

Yes. We went to the teacher. We asked him why we weren't called.

He said, "Well, there are plenty of other boys who can do the job and they have been on the squad longer than you."

Q. You mentioned Mr. Wydlock before. Can you tell me who he is?

He is the Dean of Boys. He is also in charge of the shops for girls and boys, but mostly the boys.

Q. And what did he tell you yesterday?

He said that the shops were all filled up with boys and that he didn't think I could get in because of the boys, because there was no room for any more girls in the shop.

Q. Now you are scheduled to take sewing; right?

Yes.

Q. When is that course given?

Mondays and Wednesdays, the third and fourth periods.

Q. And when is the printing course given? The same time.

Q. Do you know of any other girls who tried to get into the print course?

Yes. Helen Kartis.

Q. Did you speak to the principal about your discussions with Mr. Wydlock?

No, because the principal is not available to discuss matters with students.

Q. Did you try?

I have tried before on different issues than this and the principal doesn't speak to the students unless it is a matter of extreme urgency; and even then he is usually at suspension hearings.

Q. Did you try this time?

No. But I did speak to the assistant principal, Mr. Niler.

Q. What did he say?

He said that I should ask the shop teachers if they wanted girls in their classes.

Excerpts of testimony of Julie Nives, JHS 217 (Van Wyck), Ninth Grade.

Q. Could you tell me how the gym classes are set up in your school?

Yes, there is a boys' gym and a girls' gym. We have it once a week for two periods.

Q. What do you learn in the girls' gym?

At the beginning, the first marking period, we did volley ball, and after that, after the marking period was over, we continued doing that. So me and some friends complained because we were supposed to have a new curriculum each marking period. And they said, "O.K., we will try to do something," and they did. Finally they got us records which had exercises on them, but the exercises were not working out very well because they were only to slim your waistline and help you walk down the street, well, things like that. So after a while it wasn't really working out well. So then we complained again, you know, we should have something a little more, you know, better, because nobody was getting prepared—you have to wear gym suits—and so they had not done anything about it and we refused to get dressed. That day we went down, we were looking around for some guy—our assistant principal—to complain to, and he wasn't there. And the Dean sent us back into gym, and since then we have not been doing anything.

Q. Can you tell me what the boys do in gym?

The boys do exercises. They play basketball. They can go out when it is warm, which the girls are not allowed to do. They play handball. Baseball. They have certain teams after school for just baseball, basketball, track teams, which the girls do not have.

Q. Have you asked to do any of the sports which the boys do?

We asked for basketball. They said there wasn't enough equipment. The boys prefer to have it first. Then we will have what it left over. We haven't really gotten anywhere.

Q. Gigi mentioned the AVI program before. Did you also try to get into that?

Yes, I was with her. And my teacher, who is also our science teacher, he tried—he complained to him a few times that he has not been calling us down to use the projectors. And he said that he would try to but there were too many boys that were taken care of first. And one day he did call me down and then he said, "Oh, forget it. I have somebody else to do the job."

Excerpts of testimony of Catherine Reinheimer, JHS 104, Eighth Grade

Q. Why did you decide to testify?

Because last year and this year my friends and I have tried to get into ceramics. We are not allowed to take it. The only thing girls can take is sewing and cooking.

Q. What are the boys' shops?

Wood, metal, printing and ceramics.

Q. How do you students get into these shops? Can they choose them or are they assigned to those classes?

No, they are assigned.

Q. Are any girls assigned to either printing, metal, wood, or ceramics?

No, just cooking and sewing.

Q. Are any boys assigned to sewing and cooking?

No.

Q. Have you tried to get into any of the boys' shops?

Yes, ceramics.

Q. How did you try to get into those?

I asked our assistant principal, Miss Piccarello. We asked her if we could change from sewing or cooking to ceramics, and she said, "No. Those are boys' shops; you can't get into them."

Q. Did you ask anybody else?

Yes. After she said we couldn't, when we had group guidance, where we can tell the things we have problems with to our group guidance teacher guidance we can't get into ceramics. She said to bring it up at the student body conference. So our representative of our grade brought it up at the conference and she didn't have any luck with it.

Q. So right now you can't take any of those classes, wood, metal, printing or ceramics?

Q. When Miss Piccarelli told you that you couldn't come in to the shop class, the ceramics class, did you try to speak with the principal of the school?

No, because Miss Piccarelli was closer to the children than Mr. Frank was—like, he did very, very important things—well, Miss Piccarelli told us today she is in charge of the Department of Shops—

Q. Would you recognize that the principal is in charge of the school?

Yes.

The COURT. Do you deny that a counsellor has authority to advise the children as to what the policy is concerning the exclusion of a particular course? . . . don't impose the obligation on the child to go to a higher authority before she understands she is excluded.

Excerpts of testimony of Marcy Silverman, Jamaica High, Eleventh Grade.

Q. Are there any classes or activities or programs within the classes that are open to male students and not to female students?

Well, within my physics class last year, our teacher asked if there was anybody interested in being a lab assistant, in the physics lab, and when I raised my hand, he told all the girls to put their hands down because he was only interested in working with boys.

Q. Did you make any further attempts to become a lab assistant?

Yes. I spoke to Mr. Chaffiff. He is the head of the student organization, and I told him what my physics teacher had said and he said he would see, you know, what might be done; but I never heard about it again.

Q. Are there any other activities in the school that women are not members of, and have you attempted to be in any other activities?

Yes. There is an Honor Guard, which are students who, instead of participating in gym for the term, are monitors in the hall, and I asked my gym teacher if I could be on the Honor Guard Squad. She said it was only open to boys. I then went to the head of the Honor Guard, a Mr. Baron, who said that he thought girls were much too nasty to be Honor Guards. He thought they would be too mean in working on the job, and I left it at that.

Q. Is the Honor Guard a credit activity?

Yes. If you're a member of the Honor Guard, you get credit for the term's work of physical education.

The Court. How do you get appointed to it? How does a boy get appointed to it?

They just come into the boys' gym and say "Who wants to be on it?" And those who want to be on it are on it, but they never came in and said that to our girls in gym class.

Q. Are there other classes that you take that the boys and the girls are separated or the boys and the girls have different curricula?

Yes. The hygiene classes are—there's boys' hygiene and girls' hygiene and I know in some of the boys' hygiene classes they—I'm not quite sure if it's specifically in the curriculum but there has been discussion of birth control in the boys' hygiene classes, and when we attempted to, you know, discuss it in our girls' classes, they told us that we couldn't do it, we couldn't talk about things like that, and girls have tried to bring in booklets to distribute in the class, so as—you know, if we couldn't have a discussion, maybe we could distribute some material, and they told us to get it out of the school.

Q. To your knowledge, are there any other programs that are open to the boys and not to the girls?

Well, along with—in the hygiene program last week there was a—at a student council meeting, at which I was home room representative, a teacher spoke as a narcotics advisor in the school. There is a new program in the school, and he said he would be distributing material to the boys' hygiene classes on drug abuse and they would be starting a new program together. But he mentioned nothing about the girls' classes.

Q. You are taking gym now, is that correct?

Yes, I am.

Q. Do you have the same activities in your gym classes that the boys do?

No, we don't. Right now we're doing folk dancing and we asked—there were about twenty girls in the class that I knew who would like—who would have liked to go out and run track as the boys do. They play ball out in the recreational fields, and I asked one of the gym teachers if we could get a group of girls who would like to go out and run track or play ball in the fields. Since there are about six or seven gym teachers and since they divide the boys' classes up with teachers taking certain groups out, if we could do this in our class. First she said I should get the names of fifty girls who would want to do it. I proceeded to ask around and I had about thirty girls in the first day who wanted to do it, and then the next day in gym she said to forget about it because she had spoken to Mrs. Klein, the head of the girls' Health Education Department. She said that just couldn't be done.

Q. Are the girls able to go out at all or is it just a question of running track?

The girls are only allowed to go out in the very, very early part of the term, at the beginning of September, and then again in June, which comes to a total of about three weeks. When the boys go out—they go out all the time, except, you know, when the weather just doesn't permit.

Q. Do the boys and girls have the same equipment in their gym classes?

The only equipment in my years of gym in Jamaica High School, the only equipment I've ever seen is basketball and a volley ball. And the boys have ropes. They have pegboards that they use for climbing. I don't know. I've never been in the boys' gym. I've only heard from friends, but I know the equipment that we use and it's not the same. . . . All I've ever seen is a basketball and a volley ball and a record player.

Q. What other programs in gym do you have? You play baseball?

We don't. We spend a lot of time—I think there are a few weeks that we are supposed to be playing baseball, but every time we keep learning over and over again, which leaves about two or three days left to actual game playing.

Q. You play volley ball?

Yes, we play volley ball also.

Q. And when you go outside, what sort of classes do you have?

We play this game. I don't know. It's called Ogre Take, where you just throw the ball and you run around.

Q. And you're running around a lot?

There is no equipment, though, and when I asked if we could play soccer, since I saw other—the boys' gym classes playing it and since I've played soccer on my own time, I was told that the boys use the fields and, you know, because of that we're not allowed to use them. Because they get priority. The teacher told me that.

Excerpts of testimony of Leslie Lubin, Jamaica High, Eleventh Grade

In the fall of my junior year I tried to get on the Honor Guard Squad.

Q. What happened at that time?

I had talked to a few of the boy gym teachers because they were the head of the Honor Guard and they told me that I could not be an Honor Guard because I was a girl.

The Court. What teachers did you talk to?

I had spoken to Mr. Malin and Mr. Baron about it.

Q. Is the Honor Guard the same Honor Guard that Marcy Silverman testified to earlier this morning?

Yes, it is.

Q. Is that an alternate to gym, a credit course alternate to gym?

Yes.

Q. Did you ever try again to be on the Honor Guard?

I had continued speaking to Mr. Malin about it and I managed to sway him to believe that he needed a girl on his squad.

Q. Why was that?

Because I had told him that it was not right to have boys guarding the girls' bathrooms. You needed a girl to go in there because otherwise a boy would have to interrupt a teacher's classroom to have a female teacher go into the bathroom to, you know, control what was going on in there.

Q. So at that point did he agree to let you be on the Honor Guard?

Yes.

Q. And how long did you serve on the Honor Guard?

For about four months.

Q. What happened at the end of that four-month period?

I was walking around the halls with my Honor Guard button on and it seems that Mr. Sugar, who is the principal, and Mr. Baron, who is the head of the boys' gym department, had seen me with the button on and they told Mr. Malin, who at the time was head of my squad, that he would have to fire me.

Q. Did Mr. Malin tell you that?

Yes.

Q. Did he fire you for that reason?

Yes.

Q. So that you're not now on the Honor Guard any longer?

No.

Excerpt of testimony of Pamela Charney, Bronx High School of Science, Twelfth Grade.

Q. Approximately how many girls are there in your school?

There are 3,600 students, and it's—well, they say there is—no one ever tells you anything about admissions being different, but if you look at the old yearbooks, it's approximately two-thirds male and one-third female.

Excerpt of testimony of Susan Horowitz, Bronx High School of Science, Eleventh Grade.

Q. Have you ever attempted to participate in the Stage Squad program at Bronx Science?

Yes. I originally wished to join the Stage Squad in the beginning of my sophomore year, and I went—there was an ad in the Daily Bulletin, which is posted every day in the home room, which advertises extra-curricular openings, and there was an ad for interested boys to join the Stage Squad.

Q. Is that what the ad said, interested boys?

Yes, interested boys to join the Stage Squad, please come to such-and-such room. And I wanted to be on the squad so I went, and the advisor of the Stage Squad, Mr. Schlessel . . . He said that the work only involved moving around heavy chairs and things like that and that I couldn't do that.

Q. Do you receive any sort of credit if you serve on the Stage Squad?

Yes. You get service credit, which is credited towards your credit total, which is used if you want to join Arista.

Q. What is Arista?

It's an honor society. It looks good on your record. It helps you get into college and things like that.

Q. After you were not permitted to join the Stage Squad in your sophomore year, what did you do then?

I sort of forgot about about it. I just assumed that I couldn't join, and then after that I was attending the Women's Lib Club, and we were discussing things, like Stage Club and the Prince—

Q. Excuse me. The Women's Lib Club, is this a club in the school?

Yes. It's a school-sanctioned club. And we discussed things that were in the school that were not open to women, such as the Stage Squad and the Prince Squad and the Audio Visual Squad. . . .

In April 1970, the Board of Education decided not to list Brooklyn Technical High School as a "boys" school in the catalogue, THE PUBLIC HIGH SCHOOLS. This seems to have been a weak decision to admit women to the school even though the change was not adequately announced and the Board's OFFICIAL DIRECTORY continues to call Brooklyn Technical a "boys" school. Out of 5,200 students in September 1970, this "coeducational" school boasted 2 women students. As late as October 1970, the following letter was sent:

William H. Car Junior High School, Hyman Birnbaum, Principal:

OCTOBER 1970.

To Parents of 8th Grade and 8SP Boys:

DEAR PARENTS: New York City offers to qualified boys of the eighth grade the privilege of applying for admission to Brooklyn Technical High School. This school offers a special program of work geared towards the student who desires to concentrate in the field of engineering, architecture, or applied science, in the future.

Applicants to the school must successfully pass the entrance examination. This exam. is given in January and the closing date for the receipt of applications will be Dec. 4, 1970. No child will be permitted to take the exam. unless he meets the minimum requirements set by the school.

In order to answer any questions that may arise concerning this school, Junior High School 194 will hold a discussion group with the parents and guardians of pupils who are eligible to apply and who are interested in having their sons attend.

I shall meet with these parents on Monday, Oct. 19, 1970, in the auditorium of J.H.S. 194 (17th. Ave. and 157th. St.) at one-thirty P.M.

Please keep the following points in mind:

(a) The Board of Education feels that it is unwise for a student to attend a high school that requires more than two hours of travel time per day. (One hour to and one hour from school)

(b) Students who are in the first year of the two-year SP program are not eligible for the above school at this time. They may apply when they are in the second year of this program.

Very truly yours,

BERNARD M. SILVER.

**HIS: VOCATIONAL AND TECHNICAL COURSES FOR BOYS**

Architectural Drafting & Building Construction\* (Technical).

Automatic Heating Mechanics\*.

Automation Instrumentation\* (Technical).

Automotive Mechanics\*:

Auto Body & Fender Repair.

Automotive Machine Work.

Gas Station Operation.

Aviation Mechanics\*.

Business Education:

Accounting (Bookkeeping & Business Practice).

Computer Data Processing.

Distributive Education (Merchandising & Sales).

Office Machine Operating.

Recordkeeping & Clerical Practice.

Stenography & Typewriting.

Clock & Watch Mechanics.

Commercial Art\*:

Advertising Art.

Architectural & Building Design.

Cartooning.

Ceramics.

Costume Design & Illustration.

Fashion Illustration (Technical).

Illustration.

Industrial Design.

Modeling (Sculpture).

Photography.

Sculpture & Stone Carving.

Window Display.

Commercial Photography.

Commercial & Domestic Refrigeration.

Cosmetology\* (Beauty Culture).

Dental Laboratory Processing.

Electrical Installation & Practice\*.

Electricity\* (Technical).

Electronics\* (Technical).

Equipment Repair Technology\*.

Fashion Industries\*:

Fashion Merchandising.

Fur Garment Manufacturing.

Garment Machine Operation.

Men's Clothing Manufacturing.

Patternmaking Design.

Floristry.

Food Trades\*:

Baking.

Cooking and Catering.

Meat Merchandising.

Foundry Work.

Hairdressing.

Industrial Chemistry\* (Technical).

Instrument Technology\* (Technical).

Jewelry Making.

Machine Shop Practice\*.

Maritime Trades.

Mechanical Design & Construction\* (Technical).

Optical Mechanics.

\*Entrance examination required for admission.

Plumbing.

Printing Trades\*:

Book & Job Makeup.

Bookbinding.

Graphic Arts.

Hand Typesetting.

Ludlow Typesetting.

Machine Typesetting.

Offset Presswork.

Presswork.

Printing & Presswork.

Stonework (Printing).

Radio & TV Mechanics\*.

Sheetmetal work.

Theatre Arts.

Upholstery.

Woodworking Trades:

Residential Carpentry.

Cabinetmaking.

Woodturning & Patternmaking.

("Vocational and Technical Courses for Boys" as printed above, and "Vocational and Technical Courses for Girls" on the following page are the complete listings given in the Public High Schools, New York City, 1970-1971, A Guide for Pupils and Parents, released by the Board of Education of the City of New York, pp. 18-26.)

**HERS: VOCATIONAL AND TECHNICAL COURSES FOR GIRLS**

Business Education:

Accounting (Bookkeeping & Business Practice).

Computer Data Processing.

Distributive Education (Merchandising & Sales).

Electric Data Processing.

Office Machine Operating.

Recordkeeping & Clerical Practice.

Stenography & Typewriting.

Commercial Art\*:

Advertising Art.

Architectural & Industrial Design.

Cartooning.

Ceramics.

Costume Design & Illustration.

Fashion Illustration.

Illustration.

Industrial Design.

Modeling (Sculpture).

Photography.

Sculpture & Stone Carving.

Window Display.

Commercial photography.

Cosmetology\* (Beauty Culture).

Dental Office Assisting\*.

Fashion Industries:

Garment Machine Operating.

Special Garment Machine Operating.

Trade Dressmaking.

Trade Millinery.

Women's & Children's Garment Operating.

Floristry.

Interior Design.

Health Careers (Medical Office Assisting).

Practical Nursing.

Pre-Registered Nursing.

Theatre Arts.

"A woman needs what will make her a queen of the household and of society, while man needs what will fit him for the harder, sterner duties of life, to which ladies should never be driven except in cases of exigency. "She cannot afford to risk her health in acquiring a knowledge of the advanced sciences, mathematics, or philosophy for which she has no use. . . . Too many women have already made themselves permanent invalids by an overstrain of study at schools and colleges."—editors of a student newspaper, Agricultural College of Pennsylvania, 1889.

[From the New York Times, Mar. 14, 1971]

**BROOKLYN HIGH SCHOOL BLENDS CLASS WORK AND JOBS**

(By Eleanor Blau)

Running into a truant officer on the street one day hardly seemed like good luck to

Alexander Jennings. But the officer asked him a strange question:

Would he like to go to high school every other week instead of every day?

Young Jennings was being invited to participate in an experimental program at Thomas Jefferson High School in Brooklyn's East New York section, in which boys alternate between attending classes and working in junior high school cafeterias.

The qualifications are serious truancy and almost total scholastic failure. The program represents a final attempt to keep the boys in school until they graduate.

"This is the first time these kids feel there's someone interested in them," explained Mrs. Dorothy Laufer, coordinator of the two-and-a-half-year-old program.

Many of the students in the program have arrest records. Some have been thrown out of their homes and are living in youth shelters. When they suddenly are offered a job as well as an opportunity to graduate, it is as if someone told them, for the first time, "I have faith in you," Mrs. Laufer reported.

On boy in the program remarked recently: "I felt like something great. I had money in my pocket that I didn't steal. I even gave my mother some."

Alexander Jennings, who is now 17 years old, joined the program nearly two years ago. He started going to night school as well, and he expects to be graduated next January.

Recalling his life before meeting the truant officer—"I used to mess around, stay home all the time, sleep"—he said; "I don't know where I would have been now."

Young Jennings and most of the 67 other students in the program work six hours a day and earn \$2.31 an hour. They clean tables, wash dishes, sweep floors and sometimes help cook.

For satisfactory work performance, they receive school credit equivalent to a major subject. After a year, they may receive a Civil Service job.

During the weeks in which they go to class, the boys attend double periods of English, history and science or mathematics, in a school day that lasts from 7:25 A.M. to noon.

They are not required to take minor subjects, such as art or music, although these will be required before graduation.

A few of the youths are not yet employed because there are not enough cafeteria jobs available, so they have been attending the special classes every week. *Girls do not participate in the program because the cafeteria work is not considered suitable for them*, Mrs. Laufer said.

The general work and study concept is not new. Under the Cooperative Education Program, which was begun in 1915, some 7,000 high school juniors and seniors in the city are gaining experience in jobs related to their school studies.

But the Thomas Jefferson program does not require related employment, Mrs. Laufer said. The value of the job experience is psychological, not practical.

Mrs. Laufer said the success of the program had amazed even its sponsors. Most of the students, who formerly rarely went to class at all, have nearly perfect attendance records. Students who formerly failed every subject now are passing three, four or even five. And few are dropping out.

Last year, 47 of 58 who registered remained in the program. During the term just ended, 61 of 65 remained.

Mrs. Rene Sherline, director of the Bureau of Cooperative Education, who helped set up the program, attributes the success in part to the warm personality of Mrs. Laufer.

As a youth parole worker remarked in a letter to Mrs. Sherline, the boys feel that in Mrs. Laufer they have "someone concerned about, rather than outraged at, their behavior and progress."

Another reason for the program's success, Mrs. Sherline said, is that some students

"learn better outside the environment of the school." Somehow, the work experience makes classes more important to them.

It is hoped, Mrs. Sherline said that the boys will start thinking about what subjects they ought to study to get a better job after they are graduated.

Fred Grant, who is 17, wants to go to college and then get a job that involves traveling.

Alfonso Williams, also 17, has not made up his mind yet as to what kind of work he would like to do. But, he added: "I know, for one thing, I don't want to be a bum. I want to have some clothes and stuff."

Does he find school more interesting in the experimental program?

"I wouldn't say that," Alfonso replied. "But the teachers, they help you out more. And it's better than going to school every day."

#### WOMEN IN U.S. HISTORY HIGH SCHOOL TEXTBOOKS

(By Janice Law Trecker)

"Should the Ku Klux Klan receive reams of documentary material [in textbooks] and woman suffrage none? . . . Is Henry Demarest Lloyd more important than Carrie Chapman Catt? Are the lengths of skirts significant enough to dwarf other information about women?" These and other questions are asked—and answered—by Janice Law Trecker, who has taught English at L. P. Wilson Junior High School in Windsor, Connecticut, and reviewed films for the West Hartford News. Her analysis is a sharp protest against treating women as "supplementary material."

Early in our history, enterprising groups of English gentlemen attempted to found all-male colonies. The attempts were failures, but the idea of a society without women appears to have held extraordinary appeal for the descendants of those early colonists. Throughout our history, groups of intrepid males have struck off into the wilderness to live in bachelor colonies free from civilization and domesticity.

The closing of the frontier and the presence, even from the earliest days, of equally intrepid females ended these dreams of masculine tranquillity. Yet, the hopeful colonists may have had their revenge. If women have had their share in every stage of our history exactly what they did and who they were remains obscure. Ask most high school students who Jane Addams, Ida Tarbell, or Susan B. Anthony were, and you may get an answer. Ask about Margaret Sanger, Abigail Duniway, or Margaret Brent, and you will probably get puzzled looks. Sojourner Truth, Frances Wright, Anna Howard Shaw, Emma Willard, Mary Bickerdyke, Maria Mitchell, Prudence Crandall, and scores of others sound like answers from some historian's version of Trivia.

Interest in the fate of obscure Americans may seem an esoteric pursuit, but this is not the case. History, despite its enviable reputation for presenting the important facts about our past, is influenced by considerations other than the simple love of truth. It is an instrument of the greatest social utility, and the story of our past is a potent means of transmitting cultural images and stereotypes. One can scarcely doubt the impact of history upon the young in the face of recent minority groups' agitation for more of "their history."

Minority groups are perhaps not the only ones with a complaint against the historians and the schools, nor are they the only ones to show the effects of stereotypes. Consider the most recent reports of the President's Commission on the Status of Women. According to the 1968 report of the Commission, American Women, in the fall of 1968 only 40% of entering college freshmen were women. The lag in female participation in higher education is even more noticeable at the graduate level. Statistics from the Commission's 1968 report indicated that women

earned only 1 in 3 of the B.A. degrees and M.A. degrees granted and only 1 in 10 of the doctorates. It is seldom noted that this represents a percentage decline from the 1930's when women received 2 in 5 B.A. degrees and M.A. degrees, and 1 in 7 Ph.D. degrees. The loss of potential talent this represents is clear from the Commission's information that among the top 10% of our high school seniors, there are twice as many girls as boys with no college plans.

Able girls are not entering science and mathematics in any great number, and, according to the Conant Report, they fail to take courses and programs commensurate with their abilities. There seems to be a clear need for an examination of the factors which permit the loss of considerable amounts of female talent.

The Education Committee of the President's Commission on the Status of Women was concerned about this loss, noting that: Low aspirations of girls are the result of complex and subtle forces. They are expressed in many ways—even high achievement—but accompanied by docility, passivity, or apathy. The high motivation found in the early school years often fades into a loss of commitment and interest, other than in the prospect of early marriage.

The Committee found some of the reasons for this loss of motivation are the stereotypes of women in our culture and in the lingering ideas of female inferiority.

Educators should be aware that the school is one of the means by which the stereotypes of women and their capacities are transmitted. As one of the main cultural forces in the society, the school shares a responsibility for the diminished aspirations of its female students. Looking at the position of women in our society, one would have to be very sanguine to say that the education of American girls needs no improvement. Something is wrong when women are concentrated in a relatively few, lower-paid positions; when there are few women represented in the upper levels of government and industry; and when the symptoms of discontent and frustration are all too clearly manifesting themselves among militant young women.

Something is indeed wrong, and educators should begin a rigorous investigation of their programs and practices in order to discover if they are reinforcing the cultural pressures which discourage talented girls.

#### ANALYSIS OF HIGH SCHOOL TEXTBOOKS

A reasonable place to start, considering the admitted obscurity of most women in American history, is the United States history text. Are the stereotypes which limit girls' aspirations present in high school history texts?

The answer is *yes*. Despite some promising attempts to supplement the scant amount of information devoted to women in American history texts, most works are marred by sins of omission and commission. Texts omit many women of importance, while simultaneously minimizing the legal, social, and cultural disabilities which they faced. The authors tend to depict women in a passive role and to stress that their lives are determined by economic and political trends. Women are rarely shown fighting for anything; their rights have been "given" to them.

Women are omitted both from topics discussed and by the topics chosen for discussion. For example, while only a few women could possibly be included in discussions of diplomacy or military tactics, the omission of dance, film, and theater in discussions of intellectual and cultural life assures the omission of many of America's most creative individuals.

Women's true position in society is shown in more subtle ways as well. While every text examined included some mention of the "high position" enjoyed by American women, this is little more than a disclaimer. Wherever possible, authors select male leaders, and

quote from male spokesmen. Even in discussions of reform movements, abolition, labor—areas in which there were articulate and able women leaders—only men are ever quoted. Even such topics as the life of frontier women is told through the reminiscences of men. When they are included, profiles and capsule biographies of women are often introduced in separate sections, apart from the body of the text. While this may simply be a consequence of attempts to update the text without resetting the book, it tends to reinforce the idea that women of note are, after all, optional and supplementary. Interestingly enough, the increase in the amount of space devoted to Black history has not made room for the black woman. In these texts Black history follows the white pattern, and minimizes or omits the achievements of the black woman. Like the white woman, she is either omitted outright, or is minimized by the topics selected.

These assertions are based upon the examination of over a dozen of the most popular United States history textbooks. Most were first copyrighted in the sixties, although several hold copyrights as far back as the early fifties, and one text is copyrighted back to 1937. Included are the following:

Baldwin, Leland D. and Warring, Mary. *History of Our Republic*. Princeton, D. Van Nostrand Co., Inc., 1965.

Bragdon, Henry W. and McCutchen, Samuel P. *History of a Free People*. New York, The Macmillan Company, 1965.

Brown, Richard C.; Lang, William C.; and Wheeler, Mary A. *The American Achievement*. New Jersey, Silver Burdett Company, 1966.

Canfield, Leon H. and Wilder, Howard B. *The Making of Modern America*. Boston, Houghton Mifflin Company, 1964.

Frost, James A.; Brown, Ralph Adams; Ellis, David M.; and Fink, William B. *A History of the United States*. Chicago, Follett Educational Corporation, 1968.

Graff, Henry E. and Krout, John A. *The Adventure of the American People*. Chicago, Rand McNally, 1959.

Hofstadter, Richard; Miller, William; and Aaron, Daniel. *The United States—The History of a Republic*. Englewood Cliffs, Prentice Hall, Inc., 1957.

Kownslar, Allan O. and Frizzle, Donald B. *Discovering American History*. 2 Vols., New York, Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1964.

Noyes, H. M. and Harlow, Ralph Volney. *Story of America*. New York, Holdt, Rinehart & Winston, 1964.

Todd, Lewis Paul and Curti, Merle. *Rise of the American Nation*. (1 Vol. & 2 Vol. editions) New York, Harcourt, Brace & World, 1966. 2 Vol. edition includes selected readings.

Williams, T. Harry and Wolf, Hazel C. *Our American Nation*. Ohio, Charles E. Merrill Books, Inc., 1966.

#### COLLECTIONS OF DOCUMENTS

Hofstadter, Richard. *Great Issues in American History*, 2 Vols., New York, Vintage, 1958.

Meyers, Marvin; Kern, Alexander; and Carveit, John G. *Sources of the American Republic*. 2 Vols., Chicago, Scott, Foresman & Company, 1961.

All entries indexed under "Women" were examined and various other sections and topics where information about women might reasonably be expected were examined. Particular attention was paid to women in colonial and revolutionary times, education, the women's right movement and suffrage, reform movements, abolition, the Civil War, labor, frontier life, the World Wars, family patterns, the present position of women, and all sections on intellectual and cultural trends. The resulting picture is a depressing one.

Based on the information in these commonly-used high school texts, one might summarize the history and contributions of

the American woman as follows: Women arrived in 1619 (a curious choice if meant to be their first acquaintance with the new world). They held the Seneca Falls Convention on Women's Rights in 1848. During the rest of the nineteenth century, they participated in reform movements, chiefly temperance, and were exploited in factories. In 1923 they were given the vote. They joined the armed forces for the first time during the second World War and thereafter have enjoyed the good life in America. Add the names of the women who are invariably mentioned: Harriet Beecher Stowe, Jane Addams, Dorothea Dix, and Frances Perkins, with perhaps Susan B. Anthony, Elizabeth Cady Stanton and, almost as frequently, Carry Nation, and you have the basic "text." There are variations, of course, and most texts have adequate sections of information on one topic, perhaps two, but close examination of the information presented reveals a curious pattern of inclusions and neglects, a pattern which presents the stereotyped picture of the American woman—passive, incapable of sustained organization or work, satisfied with her role in society, and well supplied with material blessings.

#### 1. Revolutionary and early Federal periods

There is little information available in most texts concerning the colonial woman, or on her daughters and granddaughters in the revolutionary and early Federal periods. The amount of information ranges from one textbook's two paragraphs on women's legal and social position to another textbook's total absence of anything even remotely pertaining to women during the early years of American history. Most texts fall in between. Some attention is commonly paid to the legal disabilities inherited from English law, although one textbook limits itself to "tobacco brides" and a note about William Penn's wife. Usually, little is said about the consequences of the social, political, and legal disabilities of the colonial woman, although the sharp limitations of the nineteenth century and the exploitation of the working-class women in the early industrial age were a direct result of woman's lack of political influence and her gradual exclusion from "professional" and skilled jobs. The texts are especially sensitive to the problem of religious and clerical prejudices against women. The long opposition of most American religious groups to women's rights is almost never suggested.

The perfunctory notice taken of women's education in the early period is discussed below. It should be noted, however, that few texts take any note of sectional differences in women's education or in other aspects of the position of women.

Although a number of texts mention the high regard in which the colonial woman was held, few are named and only one gives much information about the amount of work done outside the home by colonial women. Women mentioned are Pocahontas and Anne Hutchinson. Sections on Pocahontas tend to favor discussion of such questions as "Did Pocahontas really save John Smith?", rather than on any information about her life or the lives of other Indian women. Anne Hutchinson is almost always subordinated to Roger Williams. In one book, for example, she is described as another exile from Massachusetts. In more generous texts, she may receive as much as a short paragraph.

In general, the treatment of the early periods in American history stresses the fact that the America of the colonies, and early republic, was a "man's world." The authors wax eloquent over the "new breed of men." Any doubt that this might be merely linguistic convention is soon removed. The colonial farmer is credited with producing his own food, flax, and wool, in addition to preparing lumber for his buildings and leather goods for himself and his family. What the colonial farmer's wife (or the female colonial farmer) was doing all this time is not revealed, al-

though plenty of information exists. Such passages also convey the unmistakable impression that all the early planters, farmers, and proprietors were male.

Education is important in consideration of the position of women because, as Julia Cherry Spruill points out in *Women's Life and Work in the Southern Colonies*, lack of opportunities for education finally ended women's employment in a variety of areas as technology and science made true "professions" of such occupations as medicine. In the early days, women, despite stringent legal restrictions, participated in almost all activities save government, the ministry of most religions, and law (although the number who sued and brought court cases is notable.)

Usually, if any notice at all is taken of the education of girls and women, it is limited to a bland note that "... girls were not admitted to college" or "Most Americans thought it unnecessary or even dangerous to educate women." These statements are presented without explanation. A mention of the existence of the dame schools completes the information on women and education.

After the colonial-revolutionary period, it is rare for more than one paragraph to be devoted to the entire development of education for women. Often, none of the early educators are mentioned by name. The facts that women literally fought their way into colleges and universities, that their admission followed agitation by determined would-be students, and that they were treated as subservient to male students even as such pioneering institutions as Oberlin, are always absent. The simple statement that they were admitted suffices.

#### 2. Sections on rights and reforms

The most information about women appears in two sections, those on women's rights and suffrage and general sections on reform. Yet a full page on suffrage and women's rights is a rarity and most texts give the whole movement approximately three paragraphs. The better texts include something on the legal disabilities which persisted into the nineteenth century. These sections are sometimes good, but always brief. Most of them end their consideration of the legal position of women with the granting of suffrage, and there is no discussion of the implications of the recent Civil Rights legislation which removed some of the inequities in employment, nor is there more than a hint that inequities remained even after the nineteenth amendment was passed.

Leaders most commonly noted are Susan B. Anthony, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, and Lucretia Bott. Aside from passage of the nineteenth amendment, the only event noted is the Seneca Falls Convention of 1848. Even less space is devoted to the later suffrage movement. Anna Howard Shaw is seldom mentioned and even Carrie Chapman Catt is not assured of a place. The western leaders like Abigail Duniway are usually absent as are the more radical and militant suffragettes, the members of the Women's Party. Alice Paul, leader of the militants, is apparently anathema.

This is perhaps not too surprising, as the tendency in most texts is to concentrate on the handicaps women faced and to minimize their efforts in their own behalf. One textbook, which dutifully lists Seneca Falls, Stanton, Mott, Wright, Anthony, Stone, and Bloomer, tells very little about what they did, noting "the demand for the right to vote made little headway, but the states gradually began to grant them more legal rights." The text mentions that by 1900 most discriminatory legislation was off the books and describes the post-Civil War work of the movement in these terms: "the women's rights movement continued under the leadership of the same group as before the war and met with considerable success."

Later two lines on suffrage and a picture of a group of suffragettes complete the story. Least this be considered the most glaring example of neglect, another textbook devotes two lines, one in each volume, to suffrage, mentioning in volume one that women were denied the right to vote and returning to the topic in volume two with one line on the nineteenth amendment in the middle of a synopsis of the twenties. This book actually includes more information on the lengths of women's skirts than on all the agitation for civil and political rights for women.

Other texts show a similar lack of enthusiasm for the hundred years of work that went into the nineteenth amendment. One places woman suffrage fifth in a section on the effects of the progressive movement. Catt, Anthony, and Stanton are mentioned in a line or two, while whole columns of text are devoted to Henry Demarest Lloyd and Henry George.

At times there appears to be a very curious sense of priorities at work even in textbooks which give commendable amounts of information. One book uses up a whole column on the Gibson Girl, describing her as:

"Completely feminine, and it was clear that she could not, or would not, defeat her male companion at golf or tennis. In the event of a motoring emergency, she would quickly call upon his superior knowledge. . . ."

The passage goes on to point out that this "transitional figure" was politically uninformed and devoted to her traditional role. One would almost prefer to learn a little more about the lives of those other "transitional figures," the feminists, yet there is almost no mention of their lives, their work, or their writings.

Only one text quotes any of the women's rights workers. It includes a short paragraph from the declaration of the Seneca Falls Convention. The absence in other texts of quotes and of documentary material is all the more striking, since a number of the leaders were known as fine orators and propagandists. Books of source materials, and inquiry method texts, are no exception; none of those examined considers woman suffrage worthy of a single document. One book is exceptional in including one selection, by Margaret Fuller, on the topic of women's rights.

The reformers and abolitionists are slightly more fortunate than the feminists. Three women are almost certain of appearing in history texts, Harriet Beecher Stowe, Jane Addams, and Dorothea Dix. Addams and Stowe are among the few women quoted in either source books or regular texts and, along with the muckraking journalist Ida Tarbell, they are the only women whose writings are regularly excerpted. Addams and Dix are usually given at least one complete paragraph, perhaps more. These are sometimes admirably informative as in certain sections on Dix. Other reformers, including the women abolitionists, both white and black, are less fortunate. The pioneering Grimké sisters may rate a line or two, but just as often their only recognition comes because Angelina eventually became Mrs. Theodore Weld. None of the female abolitionists, despite their contemporary reputations as speakers, is ever quoted. Interest in Black history has not made room for more than the briefest mention of Harriet Tubman, whose Civil War services are deleted. Sojourner Truth and the other black lecturers, educators, and abolitionists are completely absent. The texts make little comment about the nineteenth century's intense disapproval of women who spoke in public, or of the churches' opposition (excepting always the Quakers, from whose faith many of the early abolitionists came).

Women journalists are given even less notice than the early lecturers. The women who ran or contributed to newspapers, periodicals, or specialized journals and papers

for abolition, women's rights, or general reform are rarely included.

The reform sections of these high school texts frequently show the same kind of capriciousness that in sections on the twenties assigns more space to the flapper than to the suffragette. In discussions on reform movements, they give more prominence to Carry Nation than to other more serious, not to say more stable, reformers. The treatment of temperance is further marred by a failure to put women's espousal of temperance in perspective. Little stress is placed on the consequences for the family of an alcoholic in the days when divorce was rare, when custody of children went to their father, and when working women were despised. Nor is there much mention of the seriousness of the problem of alcoholism, particularly in the post-Civil war period.

### 3. Neglected areas

The most glaring omission, considering its impact on women and on society, is the absence of a single word on the development of birth control and the story of the fight for its acceptance by Margaret Sanger and a group of courageous physicians. The authors' almost Victorian delicacy in the face of the matter probably stems from the fact that birth control is still controversial. Yet fear of controversy does not seem a satisfactory excuse. The population explosion, poverty, illegitimacy—all are major problems today. Birth control is inextricably tied up with them as well as with disease, abortion, child abuse, and family problems of every kind. Considering the revolution in the lives of women which safe methods of contraception have caused, and the social, cultural, and political implications of that revolution, it appears that one important fact of the reform movement is being neglected.

A second, largely neglected area is the whole question of woman's work and her part in the early labor movement. Although the American woman and her children were the mainstays of many of the early industries, for a variety of social and political reasons she received low wages and status and was virtually cut off from any hopes of advancement. The educational limitations that gradually forced her out of a number of occupations which she had held in pre-industrial days combined with prejudice to keep her in the lowest paid work. Whether single, married, or widowed, whether she worked for "pin money" or to support six children, she received about half as much as a man doing the same or comparable work.

Obviously under these conditions, women had exceptional difficulties in organizing. Among them were the dual burden of household responsibilities and work, their lack of funds, and in some cases their lack of control over their own earnings, and the opposition of male workers and of most of the unions.

Despite these special circumstances, very little attention is paid to the plight of the woman worker or of her admittedly unstable labor organizations. Information on the early labor leaders is especially scanty; one textbook is unique with its biographical information on Rose Schneiderman. On the whole, the labor story is limited to the introduction of women workers into the textile mills in the 1840's. As a caption in one book so concisely puts it, "Women and children, more manageable, replaced men at the machines." Others note the extremely low pay of women and children, one text calling women "among the most exploited workers in America." Anything like a complete discussion of the factors which led to these conditions, or even a clear picture of what it meant to be "among the most exploited," is not found in the texts.

Several things about women and labor are included. Lowell mills receive a short, usually complimentary, description. The fact that the Knights of Labor admitted women is

presented. There then follows a hiatus until minimum wage and maximum hour standards for women workers are discussed. The modern implications of this "protective legislation" is an area seldom explored.

Despite the fact that abundant source material exists, the sections on labor follow the familiar pattern: little space is devoted to women workers, few women are mentioned by name, and fewer still are quoted. Most texts content themselves with no more than three entries of a few lines each.

The absence of information on the lives of women on the frontier farms and settlements is less surprising. In the treatments of pioneer settlements from the colonial era on, most texts declare the frontier "a man's world." This is emphasized by the importance the authors place on descriptions and histories of such masculine tools as the Pennsylvania rifle and the ax, the six-shooter, and the prairie-breaker plow. One textbook is perhaps the most enthralled with these instruments, devoting five pages to the story of the six-shooter. Scarcely five lines is spent on the life of the frontier woman in this text, and most other works are also reticent about the pioneer woman.

Only "man's work" on the frontier is really considered worthy of description. This is particularly puzzling, since there was little distinction in employment, and marriage was a partnership with lots of hard work done by each of the partners. On pioneer farms, typical "woman's work" included, in addition to all the housework, the care of poultry; the dairy—including milking, feeding, tending to the cows, and making butter and cheese; the care of any other barnyard animals; the "kitchen" or vegetable garden; and such chores as sewing, mending, making candles and soap, feeding the hired hands, and working in the fields if necessary.

Considering these chores, it is hard to see why discussions of pioneer farming content themselves with descriptions of the farmer's struggles to plow, plant, and harvest. The treatments of the frontier period also omit mention of the women who homesteaded and claimed property without the help of a male partner. According to Robert W. Smuts in *Women and Work in America*, there were thousands of such women. Information about the women on the frontier tends either to short descriptions of the miseries of life on the great plains frequently quoted from Hamlin Garland or to unspecific encomiums on the virtues of the pioneer woman. One text states:

[The women] turned the wilderness into homesteads, planted flowers and put curtains in the windows. It was usually the mothers and school teachers who transmitted to the next generation the heritage of the past.

The relationship between women's exertions on the frontier and their enlarged civil and political liberties in the Western states and territories is often noticed. Their agitation for these increased privileges is generally unmentioned.

With little said about women's life in general, it is not surprising that few are mentioned by name. Sacajawes, the Indian guide and interpreter of the Lewis and Clark expedition, shares with Dix, Stowe, and Adams, one of the few solid positions in United States history texts. Occasionally the early missionaries to Oregon territory, like Nerissa Whitman and Eliza Spaulding, are included, and one book even adds a "profile" of Nerissa Whitman. Most, however, only mention the male missionaries, or include the fact that they arrived with their wives.

### 4. Civil War period

Like the frontier experience, the Civil War forced women from all social strata into new tasks and occupations. In *Bonnet Brigades*, a volume in the *Impact of the Civil War Series*, Mary Elizabeth Massey quotes Clara Barton's remark that the war advanced the position

of women by some fifty years. Great numbers of women dislocated by the war were forced into paid employment. The war saw the entry of women into government service, into nursing, and into the multitude of organizations designed to raise money and supplies for the armies, to make clothing, blankets, and bandages. The result of this activity was not only to force individual women outside of their accustomed roles, but to provide the experience in organization which was to prove valuable for later suffrage and reform movements. The war helped a number of women escape from the ideas of gentility which were robbing women in the East of much of their traditional social freedom, and brought women of all classes into the "man's world." In addition to the few women who served as soldiers, women appeared in the camps as nurses, cooks, laundresses, adventurers; they served in the field as spies, scouts, saboteurs, and guides; they worked in the capitals as the "government girls"—the first female clerks, bookkeepers, and secretaries. Women opened hospitals, set up canteens, and developed the first primitive forms of what we know as USO clubs and services. After the war, they served as pension claims agents, worked to rehabilitate soldiers, taught in the freedman's schools, entered refugee work, or tried to find missing soldiers and soldiers' graves.

Of all these activities, women's entry into nursing is the only one regularly noticed in the texts. The impact of the war upon women, and upon the family structure, is barely mentioned, although a few texts include a paragraph or two on the hardships which women faced during the conflict. The only women mentioned by name are Clara Barton and Dorothea Dix, who held the position of superintendent of women nurses. Other women, like Mary Bickerdyke, who was known both for her efforts during the war and for her work for needy veterans afterwards, are omitted. No other women, black or white, are named, nor is there any information on the variety of jobs they held. The special problems of black women in the post-war period rarely get more than a line, and the efforts by black women to set up schools and self-help agencies are omitted.

### 5. The two World Wars

While women in the Civil War era receive little attention, even less is given to them during the two World Wars. In both cases, their wartime service is glowingly praised, but few details are presented. At least half of the texts examined make no note at all of women's wartime activities during the first World War; in a number of others, the story of women's entry into what were formerly labeled "men's jobs" is dealt with in a captioned picture.

As far as social changes between the wars, a number of texts devote several paragraphs to the "liberation of women" and to their changing status. In one textbook there are four paragraphs devoted to these liberated ladies—the only two mentioned being Irene Castle and Alice Roosevelt. Like other texts, this one devotes a considerable amount of space to fashions and flappers and to the social alarm which they occasioned.

There is little about the later stages of the rights' movement, although two textbooks note the relationship between women's wartime service and the increasing willingness of the nation to grant rights and privileges to women. One limits itself to three sentences, noting women's work "in factories and fields" and their efforts behind the lines overseas. "Women's reward for war service was the Nineteenth Amendment which granted them the franchise on the eve of the 1920 election." Readers might wish for greater elaboration.

The period from the depression to the present day receives the same laconic treatment in the texts. The one woman sure of notice in this period is Frances Perkins,

Roosevelt's Secretary of Labor. She receives at least a line in most texts and some devote special sections to her. Frances Perkins appears to be "showcase" woman, for no other American woman is regularly mentioned—this includes Eleanor Roosevelt, who is omitted from a surprising number of texts and who is mentioned only as Roosevelt's wife in quite a few more.

The World War II era marked the beginning of the Women's Military Corps. This fact is invariably mentioned, usually with a captioned picture as an accompaniment. As in World War I, women entered factories, munitions plants, and "men's jobs" in great numbers. This development rarely gets more than a paragraph and the differences between the experience in World War I and the longer exposure to new jobs in World War II are seldom elucidated. The impact of the war on women and specific information about the variety of jobs they held is sketchy or non-existent.

Information on women in the post-war era and in the present day is hardly more abundant. The history texts definitely give the impression that the passage of the nineteenth amendment solved all the problems created by the traditional social, legal, and political position of women. Contemporary information on discrimination is conspicuously absent. The texts are silent on current legal challenges to such practices as discriminatory hiring and promotion and companies' failures to comply with equal pay legislation. They do not take account of agitation to change laws and customs which weigh more heavily on women than on men. There is nothing about recent changes in jury selection, hitherto biased against women jurors, or reform of discriminatory practices in criminal sentences; there is no information on the complex problems of equitable divorce and guardianship, nor on the tangled problem of separate domicile for married women.

A number of texts do, however, provide good information on changes in the structure of the family, or provide helpful information on general social and political changes. The impression, insofar as these sections deal directly with American women, is a rosy picture of the affluence and opportunities enjoyed by women. Many books note the increasing numbers of women employed in the learned professions, but never the percentage decline in their numbers. While women undoubtedly enjoy more rights, opportunities, and freedoms than in many previous eras, the texts give an excessively placid picture of a complex and rapidly changing set of social conditions.

#### 6. Intellectual and cultural achievements

A final glimpse of the position of the American woman may be gained from sections dealing with intellectual and cultural trends and achievements. Since most texts extol the role of women in preserving culture and in supporting the arts, one might expect women to be well-represented in discussions of the arts in America. A number of factors, however, operate against the inclusion of creative women. The first, and one which deprives many creative men of notice as well, is the extreme superficiality of most of these discussions. Intellectual and cultural life in America is limited to the mention of a few novelists and poets, with an occasional musician or playwright. Only a few individuals in each category are ever mentioned, and the preference for male examples and spokesmen, noticeable in all other topics, is evident here as well. In individual texts, this leads to such glaring omissions as Emily Dickinson and Margaret Fuller. To be fair, the text guilty of ignoring Miss Dickinson appears to feel that John Greenleaf Whittier was one of our greatest poets, yet ignorance of American poetry is hardly an acceptable excuse.

Dickinson and Fuller, however, are among the small, fortunate circle including Harriet Beecher Stowe, Willa Gather, and Margaret Mitchell who are usually named. The principles governing their selection and decreeing the omission of other writers like Edith Wharton, Ellen Glasgow, Eudora Welty, and Pearl Buck are never explained. Apparently their presence or absence is determined by the same caprice which decrees Edna St. Vincent Millay the only modern female poet.

Only a handful of texts discuss painters and sculptors, but of those that do make some effort to include the visual arts, only one reproduces a painting by Mary Cassatt. Georgia O'Keeffe is also represented in this text. Other texts, even when including Cassatt's fellow expatriates, Sargent and Whistler, omit her—an exclusion inexplicable on grounds of quality, popularity, or representation in American collections. Contemporary art is totally ignored and everything after the Ashcan School is left in limbo. This omits many painters of quality and influence, including the many women who have entered the arts in the twentieth century.

More serious than the sketchy treatment given to the arts covered by the texts is the omission of arts in which women were dominant or in which they played a major part. Dance is never given as much as a line. This leaves out the American ballerinas, and, even more important, it neglects the development of modern dance—a development due to the talents of a handful of American women like Isadora Duncan, Martha Graham, and Ruth St. Denis.

There is a similar neglect of both stage and screen acting. If film or drama are to be mentioned at all, directors and writers will be noted. It hardly seems necessary to point out that acting is an area in which women have excelled.

Music sees a similar division with similar results. Composers and instrumentalists, chiefly men, are mentioned. Singers, men and women, are omitted. This particularly affects black women. Only one textbook mentions Marian Anderson and Leontyne Price. White classical singers are ignored as are the black women jazz singers.

If intellectual and cultural developments are limited to areas in which men were the dominant creative figures, it is obvious that American women will not receive credit for their contributions. It also seems clear that such superficial accounts of the arts are of questionable value.

#### SUMMING UP

Although it is tempting to imagine some historical autocrat sternly decreeing who's in and who's out—giving space to Harriet Beecher Stowe but not to Marianne Moore; to Dorothea Dix but not to Mary Bickerdyke; to Pocahontas but not Margaret Brent; to Susan B. Anthony but not Abigail Duniway—the omission of many significant women is probably not a sign of intentional bias. The treatment of women simply reflects the attitudes and prejudices of society. Male activities in our society are considered the more important; therefore male activities are given primacy in the texts. There is a definite image of women in our society, and women in history who conform to this image are more apt to be included. History reflects societal attitudes in all topics, hence the omission of potentially controversial persons like Margaret Sanger or that militant pioneer in civil disobedience, Alice Paul. Sensitivity to social pressure probably accounts for the very gentle notes about religious disapproval of women's full participation in community life and for omission of contemporary controversies, especially on sexual matters, which would offend religious sensibilities.

Another factor which affects the picture of women presented in these texts is the linguistic habit of using the male pronouns to refer both to men and to men and women. While this may seem a trivial matter it frequently

leads to misunderstanding. Discussing the early colonists, for example, solely in terms of "he" and "his" leads to the implication that all early proprietors, settlers, planters, and farmers were men. Given the cultural orientation of our society, students will assume activities were only carried on by men unless there is specific mention of women.

To these observations, authors of high school texts might reasonably respond that their space is limited, that they seek out only the most significant material and the most influential events and individuals; that if dance is omitted, it is because more people read novels, and if such topics as the role of female missionaries or colonial politicians are neglected, it is for lack of space. One is less inclined to accept this view when one notices some of the old things which authors do manage to include. One feels like asking, "How important was Shays's Rebellion?" Should the Ku Klux Klan receive reams of documentary material and woman suffrage none? Do we want to read five pages on the six-shooter? Is two columns too much to give to Empress Carlotta of Mexico, who lived most of her life in insanity and obscurity? Is the aerialist who walked a tightrope across Niagara Falls a figure of even minor importance in American History? Is Henry Demarest Lloyd more important than Carrie Chapman Catt? Are the lengths of skirts significant enough to dwarf other information about women?

There are other questions as well: How accurate is the history text's view of women and what images of women does it present? The texts examined do very little more than reinforce the familiar stereotypes.

It should be clear, however, that changes in the construction of high-school-level history texts must go beyond the insertion of the names of prominent women and even beyond the "profiles" and "special sections" employed by the more liberal texts. Commendable and informative as these may be, they are only the beginning. Real change in the way history is presented will only come after those responsible for writing it, and for interpreting the finished product to students, develop an awareness of the bias against women in our culture, a bias so smooth, seamless, and pervasive, that it is hard to even begin to take hold of it and bring it into clear view. Until this awareness is developed, until the unquestioned dominance of male activities and the importance of male spokesmen and examples is realized, texts will continue to treat men's activities and goals as history, women's as "supplementary material."

One sees this quite clearly in the existence of sections dealing with women's rights, women's problems, and women's position, as if women's rights, problems, and position were not simply one half of the rights, problems, and position of humanity as a whole, and as if changes in women's position and work and attitudes were not complemented by changes in the position, work, and attitudes of men. A sense of the way the lives and duties and achievements of people of both sexes is intermeshed is needed in expositions of life in all periods of American history.

To do this it is clear that material hitherto omitted or minimized must be given more consideration. For example, information about mortality rates, family size, and economic conditions must be included, along with more information on the impact of technological change, on the mass media, and on moral and religious ideas. More information about how ordinary people lived and what they actually did must be included as well as information drawn from the ideas and theories of the educated classes.

This is not to deny that certain developments have had far more effect on women than on men, or that women's experience might be different from men's: for example,

the early struggles to form unions. Nor is it to deny that more information on women leaders is needed and more space for their particular problems and achievements. More information on all aspects of women's life, work, and position—legal, social, religious, and political—is needed, but more information alone, no matter how necessary, will not really change histories. What is needed, besides more information, is a new attitude: one which breaks away from the bias of traditional views of women and their "place" and attempts to treat both women and men as partners in their society; one which does not automatically value activities by the sex performing them; and one which does not relate history from the viewpoint of only half of the human family.

(NOTE.—To this fine article we would only add that history books have ignored the long and yet unsuccessful struggle to pass the Equal Rights Amendment—Education Committee, NOW.)

## COLLECTED BIOGRAPHIES

A Bibliography of Girls and Women, which follows, was compiled by Eileen T. Nebel, librarian of Junior High School 7, in order to call the attention of the school's students and faculty to books about girls and women, other than romantic fiction and fashion magazines, and in hopes of encouraging girls to set meaningful goals for themselves beyond marriage and motherhood. The list excludes fiction and all works about women whose only historical significance is marriage to famous men. For example, a copy of *Wives of the Presidents* is not included. The list is selective in no other way. Works of high quality are included with those of decidedly lesser value.

The Board of Education occasionally issues bibliographies and resource manuals on specific subjects, such as Black Studies or Puerto Rican Studies. Librarians are encouraged to order heavily from these lists, and to give prominent display to the new materials. A year ago, Ms. Nebel requested a similar Bibliography on Women's Studies, but she has received no reply, and the Board of Education has still not issued such a bibliography or resource manual. We repeat her request. We also urge librarians to begin on their own to compile lists like Ms. Nebel's, to set up displays of materials about notable girls and women, to try not to order either books which present a negative or stereotyped view of females, or career books which imply that certain careers are only suitable for one sex or the other, and finally, to be sure that both boys and girls have equal opportunity to become library monitors.

## [Author and title]

Bolton, *Lives of Girls Who Became Famous*.  
 Borer, *Women Who Made History*.  
 Boynick, *Pioneers in Petticoats*.  
 Buckmaster, *Women Who Shaped History*.  
 Curtin, *Gallery of Great Americans*.  
 Daugherty, *Ten Brave Women*.  
 Dolin, *Great American Heroines*.  
 Fleming, *Doctors in Petticoats*.  
 Foley, *Famous American Spies*.  
 Gersh, *Women Who Made America Great*.  
 McNeer and Ward, *Armed With Courage*.  
 Miller, *Westering Women*.  
 Nathan, *Women of Courage*.  
 Ross, *Heroines of the Early West*.  
 Sickels, *In Calico and Crinoline*.  
 Sterling, *Four Took Freedom*.  
 Trease, *The Seven Queens of England*.  
 Waite, *Valiant Companions*.  
 Waltrip, *Indian Women*.  
 Yost, *American Women of Science*.

## BIOGRAPHIES

Person the book is about, title, and author  
 Jane Addams, *Twenty Years at Hull-House*, Addams.

Jane Addams, *Jane Addams World Neighbor*, Gilbert.  
 Jane Addams, *City Neighbor*, Judson.  
 Jane Addams, *Jane Addams Little Lame Girl*, Wagoner.  
 Louisa May Alcott, *Louisa May Alcott*, Papushvly.  
 Louisa May Alcott, *Invincible Louisa*, Meigs.  
 Marian Anderson, *My Lord What a Morning*, Anderson.  
 Marian Anderson, *Marian Anderson: Lady from Philadelphia*, Newman.  
 Jane Austen, *Young Jane Austen*, Sisson.  
 Gladys Aylward, *Small Woman*, Burgess.  
 Emily Barringer, *First Woman Ambulance Surgeon*, Noble.  
 Dr. Isabel Barrows, *So Much in a Lifetime*, Stern.  
 Clara Barton, *Clara Barton*, Pace.  
 Sarah Bernhardt, *Great Lady of the Theatre*, Noble.  
 Mary McLeod Bethune, *She Wanted to Read*, Carruth.  
 Mary McLeod Bethune, *Mary McLeod Bethune*, Peare.  
 Elizabeth Blackwell, *First Woman Doctor*, Baker.  
 Brontes (sisters), *The Young Brontes*, Bentley.  
 Brontes (sisters), *The Young Brontes*, Jarden.  
 Elizabeth Barrett Browning, *How Do I Love Thee?* Waite.  
 Pearl S. Buck, *My Several Worlds*, Buck.  
 Catherine the Great, *Catherine the Great*, Scherman.  
 Cleopatra, *Cleopatra of Egypt*, Hornblow.  
 Dixie Cline, *Animal Doctor*, McDonnell.  
 Prudence Crandall, *Prudence Crandall Woman of Courage*, Yates.  
 Babe Didrikson, *Babe Didrikson Girl Athlete*, De Grummond.  
 Amelia Earhart, *Amelia Earhart Heroine of the Skies*, Garst.  
 Queen Elizabeth I, *The Young Elizabeth*, Plaidy.  
 Queen Elizabeth I, *Queen Elizabeth and the Spanish Armada*, Winwar.  
 Princess Elizabeth & Princess Margaret Rose, *The Little Princesses*, Crawford.  
 Alice Fitzgerald, *Nurse Around the World*, Noble.  
 Anne Frank, *The Diary of a Young Girl*, Frank.  
 Anne Frank, *The Works of Anne Frank*, Frank.  
 Elizabeth Garrett, *Elizabeth Garrett, M.D.*, Manton.  
 Althea Gibson, *I Always Wanted To Be Somebody*, Gibson.  
 Lady Jane Grey, *Lady Jane Grey Reluctant Queen*, Vance.  
 Cornelia Hancock, *Cornelia The Story of a Civil War Nurse*.  
 Carol Heiss, *Olympic Queen*, Parker.  
 Joan Of Arc, *Story of Joan of Arc*, Nolan.  
 Joan of Arc, *Joan of Arc*, Ross.  
 Helen Keller, *Three Lives of Helen Keller*, Harriety.  
 Helen Keller, *Story of My Life*, Keller.  
 Sister Elizabeth Kenny, *Sister Elizabeth Kenny*, Thomas.  
 Mary Kingsley, *African Traveler*, Syme.  
 Jenny Lind, *Enchanting Jenny Lind*, Benet.  
 Juliette Low, *Juliette Low Girl Scout*, Higgins.  
 Juliette Low, *Juliette Low*, Pace.  
 Juliette Low, *Juliette Low Girl Scout Founder*, Radford.  
 Anne Sullivan Macy, *Teacher*, Keller.  
 Edna St. Vincent Millay, *America's Best-Loved Poet*, Shafter.  
 Maria Mitchell, *America's First Woman Astronomer*, Baker.  
 Lucretia Mott, *Lucretia Mott*, Serling.  
 Najmeh Najafi, *Persia Is My Heart*, Najafi.  
 Florence Nightingale, *Florence Nightingale*, Nolan.  
 Anne Oakley, *Annie Oakley*, Garst.

Anne Oakley, *Annie Oakley*, Graves.  
 Alice Palmer, *Alice Freeman Palmer*, Fleming.  
 Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit, *Madame Ambassador*, Guthrie.  
 Molly Pitcher, *Molly Pitcher Girl Patriot*, Stevenson.  
 Beatrix Potter, *Nothing Is Impossible*, Aldis.  
 Eleanor Roosevelt, *The Eleanor Roosevelt We Remember*, Douglas.  
 Eleanor Roosevelt, *Shy Girl*, Gilbert.  
 Eleanor Roosevelt, *Story of Eleanor Roosevelt*, Hickok.  
 Sacajawea, *Sacajawea*, Voigt.  
 Sansan, *Elighth Moon*, Sansan.  
 Mary Slessor, *Nigerian Pioneer*, Syme.  
 Monica Sone, *Nisei Daughter*, Sone.  
 Harriet Beecher Stowe, *Harriet Beecher Stowe*, Widdemer.  
 Harriet Beecher Stowe, *Harriet Beecher Stowe*, Wise.  
 Harriet Tubman, *Freedom Train*, Sterling.  
 Queen Victoria, *Queen Victoria*, Boeth.  
 Lillian Wald, *Lillian Wald Angel of Henry Street*, Williams.  
 Phillis Wheatley, *Story of Phillis Wheatley*, Graham.

## PAPERBACKS

Author and title  
 Goode, *Women in Divorce*.

## OTHER NON-FICTION

Author and title  
 Coolidge, *Women's Rights*.  
 Flexner, *Century of Struggle*.  
 Foster, *Votes for Women*.  
 Yoien, *Pirates in Petticoats*.

## THE EFFECTS OF TEACHER BIAS

(By Kathleen E. Grady)

I would like to talk about how the schools affect the female students, particularly in terms of the nonconscious assumptions that are made by teachers, administrators, and eventually the students themselves. It is through pervasive, unexamined attitudes about the nature of women that girls are tracked into the most menial, lowest paid jobs. It is because of an unwarranted emphasis on their biological potential that girls develop an overriding concern with their most superficial aspects, their physical attractiveness. It is not the schools' fault alone, but it does seem that the schools do very little to help girls to overcome a basically negative self-image that includes what is generally defined as the essentials of femininity: submissiveness, dependence, docility, masochism, narcissism, and above all, passivity.<sup>1</sup>

By the time girls reach Junior High School age, the negative effects of attempting to conform to a rigid feminine role begin to appear.

There is evidence that girls who are under-achievers in high school usually begin to be so about the onset of puberty, while for boys underachievement in high school usually has an earlier onset. This contrast is a further indication that the achievement drop-off among girls as they reach maturity is linked to the adult female sex role.<sup>2</sup>

Career aspirations also diminish. One study by Hartley<sup>3</sup> showed that girls' intention to work after marriage declined with age, the eleven-year-olds showing that they have come to terms with reality. Another study by

<sup>1</sup> Laws, Judith Long. "Toward a Model of Female Sexual Identity," *Midway*, (University of Chicago), Summer 1970.

<sup>2</sup> Shaw, M. C. and J. T. McCuen. The onset of academic underachievement in bright children. *J. Educ. Psychol.*, 51, 103-8, 1960.

<sup>3</sup> Hartley, Ruth E. Children's concepts of male and female roles. *Merrill-Palmer Quart.*, 6:84-91, 1960.

Davis<sup>4</sup> involving high school girls, found that 80% felt most women would like to work. Only 25% said they actually expected to attain their chosen occupations. Why are teenage girls so pessimistic about their ability to succeed? Of obstacles they perceived, 41% gave marriage as the reason.

Girls are constantly told that they must choose between marriage and a career—and the correct choice is always quite explicit. The option to choose a career only exists in a very technical sense. All the pressures—from parents, peers, the media, and even the schools—are in the direction of a limited social role for women defined by their biological potential. Certainly boys are never told that they are going to grow up to be husbands and fathers first and something else second. A man's success in work is never tempered by such phrases as "despite being married and the father of three children." In discussing occupational aspirations, he is not constantly reminded of his future role as parent and spouse. These constraints are ever present for the female child. Can we honestly say that this prolonged and exclusive socialization procedure is justified any longer (if it ever was) in terms of the now limited demands of motherhood?

But perhaps more importantly, what do such constant reminders do to young girls? For one thing numerous studies have shown that girls do not reach out into the future—particularly toward the occupational world but also toward higher education—the way boys do. Thirty-three percent of National Merit finalists in high school who aspire to attend medical school are girls but only 8% of medical school applicants are girls. This is true across all professions and the loss of talent is enormous.

Because of the stress on motherhood as the primary career, girls are encouraged to limit themselves to occupations that can be attained with a minimum of training and can be stopped and resumed according to the demands of parenting. Such jobs often have common characteristics. They are usually supportive and ancillary to a "man's job," such as a secretary to a boss or a nurse to a doctor. Although the pragmatic parenthood reason can be given for these occupations, it is also clear that they reinforce the image of woman as helper, supporter, cheerleader—basically the inferior of man. Another common characteristic is that these jobs are poorly paid. This insures women's dependence on men and virtually rules out any options to the traditional family picture of man as the sole provider. In most cases, it simply isn't economically feasible for women to work outside the home.

But there are even more insidious consequences to such an emphasis on biological potential. Girls start to think of themselves first in terms of their attractiveness, their ability to get and hold a man. They quickly become aware of the negative social consequences (i.e., rejection by men) that will accompany successful surviving, and they learn that, if they're smart, they'll play dumb. Worse, they start to believe in their own inferiority. Horner<sup>5</sup> documented that there is a strong motive to avoid success in women, which has been called "the will to fail." The Bernreuter Personality Inventory's norms for women show that they are more neurotic, less self-sufficient, more introverted, less dominant, less self-confident, and more socially dependent than men. These sex differences do not appear younger than high school age. Does this mean that females become more neurotic or males less so as they grow

up? An explanation which is at least plausible is that as males and females learn more about the places in life they are expected to fill, personality adjustments are made accordingly.

Another researcher, McClelland,<sup>6</sup> found as long ago as 1953 that in achievement tests, if social rather than intellectual acceptability were manipulated, women's motivations rose. Girls learn early and well that it is more important to be accepted—even defined—socially than to achieve according to their full potential. The essence of this dependence on acceptance by others is passivity. The girl learns that her role is to be attractive—basically, she prepares herself, waits, and hopes. Ambition and aggressiveness of any kind are incompatible with these attitudes.

But what do educators have to do with these self-denying attitudes that girl students admittedly accept for themselves? Rosenthal<sup>7</sup> has recently shown that teacher expectation is one of the most important, if not the most important, determinant of student achievement. He gave teachers false evidence of students' I.Q.'s, and found through standardized tests given at the beginning and end of the year that those students the teachers (incorrectly) believed to be the most intellectually capable improved more than those who were actually intellectually superior. There is no longer any doubt that the social expectations that surround the pupils strongly influence the outcomes. As long as parents, peers, the media, and especially educators expect girls to be submissive, dependent, docile, masochistic, narcissistic, and passive, such expectations will operate as a self-fulfilling prophecy, and society will continue to be denied the realization of the full potential of one half of its members.

#### THE PSYCHOLOGY AND SOCIOLOGY OF WOMEN

Following are topics and an abbreviated bibliography for The Psychology and Sociology of Women, a course given by Linda Fidell and Jane Prather at San Fernando Valley State College. Much of this material would be useful in the in-service Consciousness Raising Course on Sexual Attitudes which N.O.W. urges for administrators and personnel in public schools.

Physiological Differences Between the Sexes: The Basis for Biological Determinism: Maccoby *The Development of Sex Differences*, Ch. 13; Beach *Hormones and Behavior*; Brecher and Brecher *An Analysis of Human Sexual Response*; Ford and Beach *Patterns of Sexual Behavior*; Masters and Johnson *Human Sexual Response*; Money *Sex Research; New Developments*.

Psychological Differences Between the Sexes: Maccoby *The Development of Sex Differences*, Chs. 2 and 3; Weisstein *Kinder, Kuche and Kirche as Scientific Law*; Erikson in *Lifton Women in America*; Kagan and Moss *Birth to Maturity*; Klein *The Feminine Character*; Terman and Miles *Sex and Personality*.

Socialization and a Cross-Cultural Comparison of Sex Roles: Bird and Briller *Born Female: The High Cost of Keeping Women Down*; Hacker *Women as a Minority Group* Bobs-Merrill reprint S108; Rossi in *Lifton Women in America*.

Her Story: Degler in *Lifton Women in America*; Conway in *Lifton Women in America*; Erikson in *Lifton Women in America*; Flexner *Century of Struggle*.

Women in the Law: Murray and Eastwood *Jane Crow and the Law: Sex Discrimination and Title VII*.

Birth Control and Sex: Brecher and Brecher

*An Analysis of Human Sexual Response*; Ford and Beach *Patterns of Sexual Behavior*; Masters and Johnson *Human Sexual Response*.

Motherhood and Marriage: Engles *The Origin of the Family*; DeBeauvoir *The Second Sex*, Chs. 11 and 16; Mainardi *Politics of House Work*; Prather *Momism by Default*; Rostow in *Lifton Women in America*; Selly and Cresi *Crestwood Heights*; Schur *The Family and the Sexual Revolution*.

Women in the Work Force and the Professions: Benston *The Political Economy of Women's Liberation*; Jordan *The Place of American Women*; Rossi in *Mattfeld and VanAken Women in the Scientific Profession*; Ballyn in *Lifton Women in America*; Bernard *Academic Women*; Epstein *Women's Place*; Peterson in *Lifton Women in America*.

The Cop-Out: The Achievement Motive in Women; Horner in *Psychology Today*; McClelland in *Lifton Women in America*; Atkinson *Motivation*.

The Image of Women in Literature, the Mass Media and Fashions: Manis in Farber and Wilson *The Potential of Woman*; Trilling in *Lifton Women in America*; Cleaver *Soul on Ice*; Lessing *The Golden Notebook*, etc.; Ibsen *The Doll's House*.

Women's Liberation Movements: Dixon *Why Women's Liberation?*; Jones and Bower *Toward a Female Liberation Movement*.

THE FOLLOWING ALLEGATIONS, MADE BY A CITY HIGH SCHOOL TEACHER, ARE UNDER LEGAL INVESTIGATION

Perhaps the most egregious example [of sexual discrimination] was a February meeting of department chairmen at which [the principal] instructed chairmen to hire male teachers when humanly possible.

There is a hall patrol consisting of three male teachers per period. Each teacher is relieved of a class for this chore. No females are accepted even when they volunteer.

In the main building there are 92 male, and 75 female, teachers. Males are systematically selected for the choice jobs, often before the job positions are advertised. In the main building 65 male teachers hold special jobs instead of the full five-period teaching program. In addition to these 65, other male teachers have been relieved of official classes, and one has been relieved of all classes and assigned the job of controlling drugs in the school. Only 27 female teachers have been given special jobs, and many of these jobs border on the ridiculous.

There are two major results of giving male teachers the preponderance of assignments:

Women are largely selected to teach in the annex (similar to Siberian exile, and about as healthy!) since this selection is made only from those teachers who do not have special assignments and/or special courses.

Teachers with special courses carefully cream off the better students to place in their own few classes, leaving the rest of us with truly homogeneous classes of low achievers.

In summary, our school operates under a blatantly discriminatory power structure in which men decide policy and women do the bulk of the teaching.

#### LIFE ARTICLE ON CHAIRMAN WILBUR D. MILLS

HON. CHARLES A. VANIK

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 14, 1971

Mr. VANIK. Mr. Speaker, in the current issue, July 16, 1971, of Life magazine, an article is included by Marshall Frady entitled, "The Wooing of Wilbur

<sup>4</sup> Davis, Ethlyn. Careers as concerns of blue collar girls. In *Blue Collar World: Studies of the American Worker*, ed. Arthur B. Shostak and William Gomberg, pp. 154-64. New York: Prentice-Hall, 1964.

<sup>5</sup> Horner, Matina. Women's will to fail. *Psychology Today*, 3:36-42, 1969.

<sup>6</sup> McClelland, D. et al. *The Achievement Motive*. New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1953.

<sup>7</sup> Rosenthal, R. *Pygmalion in the Classroom: Teacher Expectation and Pupils Intellectual Development*, New York: Holt, Rinehart, & Winston, 1968.

Mills," the distinguished chairman of the House Ways and Means Committee.

This article presents a scholarly insight into the personality and the work of the most skilled and diligent legislator serving in the Congress.

I recommend this article to the attention of the Members of the House:

THE WOOING OF WILBUR MILLS  
(By Marshall Frady)

In contrast to the proud and glamorous stags who stalk the aisles of the Senate, the House of Representatives is populated mostly by prosaic and homespun men. Shrewd and diligent but consummate commoners, they still belong—if only because they must renew themselves there every two years—to the simple Main Streets and town squares, the Rotary luncheons and church suppers out in the plain everyday life of the land. One of the most unobtrusive members of their company is Wilbur Daigh Mills, for 32 years representative from a remote piney district in Arkansas, since 1958 chairman of the House Ways and Means Committee. A sedulously sober man of middling height, with zinc-gray hair combed sleekly straight back and frail gilt-frame bifocals printed on a face as homey and honest as a boiled turnip, he tends to strike even fellow congressmen as "some real estate broker or Pontiac dealer up here from Little Rock, paying his respects to his congressional delegation."

But as chairman of Ways and Means, Mills presides over the inception and delivery of legislation in taxes, social security, tariffs and foreign trade, medicare, interest rates, the federal budget—in short, the means of revenue for maintaining the Republic. Accordingly, he is the man, after the President himself, most strategic to the mediation of such urgent national travails as inflation, unemployment, the desperation of the cities. And with the President's State of the Union announcement last January, Mills found himself suddenly in the imposing position of determining the fortunes of something like 70% of Nixon's domestic ambitions for the next two years, especially the President's master designs for revenue-sharing, health insurance and welfare reform. As a result, Mills has become the single most conspicuous and consequential figure in Congress.

It would seem then particularly felicitous, given the politically divided government now operating in Washington, for the administration to achieve a simpatico relationship with so crucial a congressional chieftain. But, while Mills has proven in the past to be obliging in his transactions with other administration of both parties, the Nixon White House has assumed a style toward him described even by GOP House leaders as almost perversely imperious and peremptory. "So much really lies in the personal relationships that exist between the White House and the leadership on the Hill," says one veteran political engineer in Washington, "and that's been the central blind spot with this administration in its difficulties with Congress. It's almost unreal."

At the first murmurings about his possible candidacy on the national Democratic ticket, Mills was moved to venture, "I'll tell you, I have absolutely no interest, but if that fella downtown doesn't straighten up after a while, and it would take me running on the ticket to beat him and there'd be no other way, then I think I'd do it. . . ." However whimsical that notion initially seemed, intimates eventually discovered that Mills had, indeed, become seriously beguiled by such an improbable prospect. Until this spring, he would have been the last man, in all the Hill's hierarchy of power, to occur to anyone as a presidential candidate. In his three decades in Washington, he has left behind him a wake uncannily bereft of flair or anecdotes. Inevitably over the years, awed notice has been

taken of Mills—occasional newsmagazine covers, extensive newspaper profiles—but they were like matchflares against a sheet of sandpaper: no reflection, no shimmer was given off. He seems to have a presence that defies celebration, that resounds about as vibrantly as a plank of cork. Despite his staggering clout, he has remained a resolutely unassertive figure, possessed by an implacable shyness. To expect from such an eminently unpretentious creature that most towering presumption of all—to run for President of the United States—could not have seemed more unlikely.

Yet, at the least, he is now surrounded by all the acoustics and stage sets for that presumption. He has become in the last few months a kind of national pop political phenomenon. In his daily crossings between his office and the House—at a brisk and oddly pitching walk, his chunky arms swinging cupped palms which are turned backward like mole paws, his bulky nose lifted as if seeking stray scents along his way—he trails along with him a churning and disheveled train of newsmen and photographers. Everywhere he moves, he seems to be at the center of urgent congestions of journalists and television cameras—and, in between, flurries of White House emissaries, governors, delegations of harried mayors notifying him of imminent combustions in their cities if funds for promised programs are not released, if more grants are not bestowed.

He receives this long and involuted litany of anxieties during numberless interviews in his committee's narrow chandeliered hearing room. Here he reclines at the end of a long table and sips from a Madison Little Cigar inserted into a cigarette holder which he twitches and dandles in his pudgy fingers, occasionally lifting it to his mouth in a rakish angle reminiscent of the Penguin in *Batman*. It is his solitary dapper flourish.

"I have never been much on comedy," Mills himself offers in a slow resonant voice, in which lurk the softly whanging Arktic chords of the countryside back home. Indeed, as a raconteur, he seldom essays any humor lustier than narrations of the winsome doings of his grandchildren. "In all the years I've been in Washington," an old friend on his committee reports, "I don't suppose I've seen Wilbur at more than half a dozen evening gatherings around town." Indeed whenever a new administration installs itself in the White House, Mill's office quietly notifies it to strike the chairman's name from the social invitation list. Up until recently, his single junket during all his years in Congress was a brief expedition to Baltimore, Md., some 37 miles from the capital.

"He lives in such a closed world," declares a fellow congressman, "that nobody really ever sees him except those few times he's on the House floor."

Mills suggests that, because he dwells at the eye of such turbulent pressures, he maintains his privacy out of calculated discretion. "Without casting any reflections, now," he remarks, "but why do you think they have cocktail parties in this town? You know the answer to that." Beyond his aversion to the political compressions of Washington's social events, Mills declares, "My only real amusement is work, anyway," and, "My father always impressed on me that you couldn't do a day's work and stay out all night at parties."

He and Polly, his wife of 37 years, live in the same two-bedroom apartment on Connecticut Avenue where they have been residing ever since they arrived in Washington. Polly—a thin, polite, pale lady whom Mills met in grade school back in Kensett, Arkansas—is, if anything, even sparer of word and effusion than he. They pass their evenings sedately. "We read together a lot," allows Mills, "and watch television sometimes. Also we like to listen to Lawrence Welk." They

still dine, for the most part, on the folk fare of their past: okra, butterbeans, cornbread. "Only up here," says Mills, "we'll occasionally have Brussels sprouts." After a moment he adds, "But we never eat desserts." At one time Mills regularly took long walks after supper, "but it's just not safe to do that anymore. So now, instead, after we eat I walk around the apartment a lot."

Mills's initial reaction to the rumors about him as a presidential candidate was that they had been instigated by the White House to embarrass him. "That way," Mills snorted, "they can say that whatever I'm doing, I'm doing for political reasons, you see." Probably because of his sheer bewilderment and disbelief, his early disavowals seemed to lack the zest of finality, which only served to amplify the conjectures. But eventually, sitting in his office at the end of the day, even as he signed letters returning the campaign checks that had begun ebbing in, he would note, with not a little delight and fascination, "Hell, look at this. Look at this. The folks down home, they think I'm already off and running. . . ."

Yet in the midst of the fanfare Mills still seemed strangely reluctant to emerge from his careful inconspicuousness. After a week with one journalist spent exclusively on his daily procedures at his office and committee room, Mills seemed to begin to wax somewhat more comfortable and even sporadically expansive, until at the end of one afternoon as they were leaving the Capitol, the newsman happened to mention a few names out of Mills's boyhood. This sudden ambush, this intimation of a personal curiosity beyond the formal exercises of his office, startled him momentarily. He paused transfixed with his hand on the doorknob, his coat on, and merely stared at the newsman for several seconds with a curiously accented little smile frozen on his face, his eyes softly and furiously batting behind his glasses with a touching vulnerability.

By his own admission Mills has entertained since childhood a single aspiration: to be a member of the House Ways and Means Committee. This rather specialized and solemn ambition for a 7-year-old boy he has ascribed to the periodic visitations in Kensett of his district's congressman, who belonged to Ways and Means. With the ambition Mills contracted from these awesome occasions, he compiled a respectable array of honors at Hendrix College, a small Methodist academy in nearby Conway. He went on to Harvard's law school and then returned in 1934 to work as a cashier in his father's bank while trying to muster a law practice. Soon he married Polly, who was working as the Kensett postmistress. "We didn't really have the blessings of our parents," Mills confesses. "We'd told them about a week earlier that we'd decided to do it, but times were pretty hard then, you know." This appears to constitute the most feverish venture in Mills' existence. After a night at the Albert Pike Hotel in Little Rock, the newlyweds arose at 6:30 and returned to their respective jobs.

Mills ran for his first office in 1934 and won, becoming the youngest county judge in Arkansas' history. Four years later he went to Congress, where he steadily and quietly proceeded to acquire the myriad arcane wisdoms and wiles and decorums of the House's inner cosmos. When he returned to Washington for his second term, he made his move for the Ways and Means Committee. "But I neglected to talk to the leadership about it," he says now, "as a result of which I got beat. Speaker Rayburn came up to me afterward and said he just didn't have any knowledge I'd wanted to be on Ways and Means, I should have told him and he could have got me on it. Next time around, I was put on without opposition."

Through the calm and patient passage of the next 16 years, Mills abided. He served his

apprenticeship for the committee's gavel under Jere Cooper of Tennessee. It was a wry symbiosis. Cooper, a bluff and burly spirit not given to fiscal nuances and complexities, simply activated the legislative compositions which Mills carefully fashioned out of the encyclopedic economic lore he had already amassed. Mills functioned as a kind of studious and discreet subaltern to the chairman, Cooper's wizard of strategy. For Mills, it made for an effectual and gratifying anonymity, which he relinquished not altogether comfortably when Cooper died in 1957, and Wilbur assumed his chair.

As chairman of Ways and Means, Mills inherited forbidding equipment for persuasion. In a special consideration granted to no other committee in the House, proposals from Ways and Means are received by the full House under a "closed rule," whereby no amendments are admitted from the floor, a provision to avert unmanageable melees over the delicately wrought convolutions of bills. The choice of the House, then, is whether to accept the handiwork of Mills' committee whole or discard it whole, which exercises a certain intimidating effect on disgruntlements over the particulars of those bills. Beyond that, as chairman of Ways and Means, Mills also happens to be chairman of the Democratic Committee on Committees, which makes the dispensations on committee assignments for his party—and thereby is invested with the potential for nourishing or shriveling the careers of congressmen.

Despite all this parliamentary brawn, the first bill Mills presented to the House floor as chairman collapsed; and on another bill a while later, Wilbur found his own committee scattering out of his reach. According to a number of Mills intimates, those two early disasters left the chairman, a compulsively cautious man anyway, deeply traumatized. Since then Mills has negotiated his way in a manner that seems almost perversely officious and self-effacing and he has lost only one other bill.

"Mills is so cooperative and helpful with fellow congressmen," asserts Dr. John F. Manley in his book, *The Politics of Finance*, "that they impose their own limits on what they ask of him. . . ." Occasionally, if the importunings of a colleague or lobbyist grow somewhat blustery and dogmatic, Mills will slump slightly lower in his chair and studiously run a penknife under his fingernails while a small furious tremor briefly flickers in his right cheek. "Whenever I walk in his office," declares one of his aides, "and see that little jumping in his cheek, I start shuddering." But Mills allows himself no more release of passions than that.

He has become, in fact, perhaps the most conscientiously solicitous soul to be found in Washington. During testimony at committee hearings or appeals from petitioners in his office, Mills narrows his eyes and shakes his head sympathetically, maintaining a slightly squeezed and squinty expression of attentiveness and commiseration. He seems devoutly and amiably all-absorbent, responding to the interminable recitals of woes and exhortations with nods, murmurings, "I understand you, yes. . . . Yes, that's right, sure wouldn't," agreeable hums and grunts.

This inscrutable and indiscriminate placability tends to leave all his visitors with the illusion of a genial compliance with their appeals and propositions—and for those who are inevitably disappointed by what actually emerges in the legislation from his committee, a suspicion of congenital indecisiveness. Some have suggested that Mills, like most shy and deferential people, simply has an aversion to the unsettling dissonances of dispute, contention, exception-taking. "But the truth is," declares one of his colleagues, "Wilbur keeps *himself* guessing, right up to the last minute."

In the view of some in the White House, "the man is almost Oriental." Actually, such a sense of his impulses arises out of the fact

that Mills is probably Washington's most exhaustive assembler of consensus-approaches since Lyndon Johnson departed the Senate. With an indefatigable deliberation, Mills gradually constructs the meticulous complexities of his consensus into a new legislative program. "Of course," says one of his committee members, "Wilbur is always very careful about *who* he reaches a consensus of. It tends to be who can influence, who can help the most."

His committee has always been known as "the salt mines of Congress," dealing as it does with the wan and inert materials that are the essence of Ways and Means. Mills sits through these stultifying recitations and browsings with a seemingly omnivorous and unflinching alertness, an epic patience, which leaves its other members stunned. "He just keeps going," declares one of them, "and going, and going—he outlasts you." Mills has accumulated whole reservoirs of expertise, vast bins and silos of knowledge, hoards, caches, archives of references. The reach of his familiarity with the bleak terrain of federal tax law is beyond the perception of anybody else in Washington; during committee sessions, in fact, he is wont to recite without falter whole sections of the tax code. "Hell, every time I bring up some point," says one of his committee members, "he knows more about it than I do. Doesn't make any difference what it is, he's going to know more about it than me."

Accordingly, an inclination has suffused the rest of the committee to surrender, and not uncheerfully, the real responsibility to Mills. But when he is pressed during interviews for his position on pending legislation, he will mildly insist, "Course, it's not *me*, you understand—it's the committee, and I just don't know what the committee's going to do on that yet." And at moments of uncertainty or incipient conflict over legislation Mills has devised and presented to the House, his instinct is to quietly and imperceptibly dissolve his own identity into that of the committee itself: "I am just chairman of the committee. I am bound by what the committee decides."

Though Mills most frequently alludes to himself as a conservative, his legislative orientations have revealed, more than anything else, a prudent inconclusiveness. For instance, after years of hesitation at promptings and appeals for a medicare program, he finally delivered, when he sensed a general weather of eagerness, a proposal almost dizzying in range. And even though Mills signed the Southern Manifesto in 1957 and has aligned himself with his southern colleagues against all civil rights legislation, he simply does not share the saber-whirling mentality of other Dixie legislators on the matter. He does not belong, really, to polemical postures at all. Asked recently about Mills' vote in the House on funding for the SST, an aide replied, "He voted with the committee that reported it out, which he'll do about 85% of the time. That's the way he always puts it: he voted with the committee."

Only once since that early, lonesome bid for the Ways and Means Committee has Mills ever approached an adventure beyond the protocols of the Hill. After the 1968 elections, several Democratic congressmen constructed a coalition of southern conservatives and northern liberals to replace Speaker John McCormack. Arizona's Morris Udall would run for party floor leader and Mills for speaker. At the urging of his old friend, Representative Phil Landrum of Georgia, Mills consented to the explorations—but, due to the delicacy of the maneuver, Landrum was unable to furnish Mills with a list of irrevocable commitments. As a result, Mills finally demurred. "We had it," Landrum now insists. "Hell, all he had to do was just take that little bitty step over the line and say he was going to run—just *one* little step, that's all. But he just wouldn't do it. He told me, 'Now, Phil, just leave it alone. I been thinking

about it, and we'll tear up more than we'll accomplish.'"

But Mills does hold fierce personal persuasions on certain principles of fiscal policy. They comprise a synthesis of New Deal social-program financing and the orthodox frugalities of a puritan economic ethic. He answers to those nostalgic integrities of sound money, balanced budgets, actuarial stability of insurance programs like social security, while he is also given to certain populist instincts lingering from his Arkansas origins. If he could have his way, he would overhaul the entire code of tax exemptions, with particular scrutiny applied to those privileges now enjoyed by conglomerates, foundations, the oil empires, and those prospering silk-craved entrepreneurs who, for the deductions allowed thereby, acquire country estates and then present themselves to their tax accountants each year with an alfalfa straw between their teeth. Mills is placed in an even more profound ill humor by those millionaires who pay no taxes whatsoever. As it happens, on both these counts—frugality and social responsibility—he has elemental differences with aspects of the Nixon administration's economic perspective.

Mills has professed considerable exasperation with the White House's assumption that inflation and unemployment can be remedied simultaneously. "You just can't use the same formula to reduce unemployment and inflation," the chairman asserts. "And between the two, I'd attend to all these people out of jobs first." His most spirited dissent at the moment, for an array of reasons, is over the Nixon proposal to return \$5 billion of federal tax income to states and localities through a program of general revenue-sharing. He is queasy about the lack of controls in the proposal, about surrendering the distribution of federal revenues to the vagaries of local governments. He is also concerned about the formula for dispersing this revenue to local governments; under the current proposal, the money will not be allocated on the basis of need.

From the start of the administration's ballyhoo for revenue-sharing, Mills privately assured newsmen and confidants: "I'm going to bury it. If you want to know the truth I'm going to bury revenue-sharing and I'm not even going to pronounce a eulogy over it." But publicly, he maintained his customary fastidious circumspection on the matter. When a delegation of lieutenant governors implored him to look on revenue-sharing more congenially, Mills finally notified them, his voice subsiding to a mutter of resignation, "Well, the committee just isn't going to do it, I'm afraid. I can't get more'n six or seven votes who'll go with it. So what's going to happen, I think, I'm going to try to get—I mean, the committee's going to try to get some kind of block-grant legislation instead."

Mills used the term "block grants" as shorthand for some more precise and supervised funding procedure whose priorities would be determined by Congress. He has not yet defined details of his alternative—only his intractable antipathy to the administration's program. But as the White House's revenue-sharing offensive accelerated, Mills found his public demeanor of coyness progressively more difficult to maintain, until finally in an unprecedented personal extension, he began making appearances at state legislatures to answer Agnew's circuit riding for the measure. In June when Treasury Secretary John Connally at last confronted Ways and Means to formally present the bill, Mills quietly intoned after Connally's opening remarks: "I want to congratulate you for making a very fine statement in behalf of a very weak cause." Mills then left it to the committee to interrogate the secretary through a session that proceeded like a polite enactment of wolves bringing down a longhorn.

Nevertheless, one Nixon adviser contends: "For all the flak Mills is putting out now, 90% of the President's legislation before Mills will actually be passed anyway. The other day, you know, Mills said about revenue-sharing that the Congress would pass a program, only it wouldn't be called revenue-sharing. Well, whatever it's called, to the great majority of the people in this country, it'll be the President's program, it won't be Wilbur Mill's program. I'm not talking about that sophisticated ten percent of the people, I'm talking about Mr. and Mrs. America out there."

"Is that what they're saying downtown?" Mills retorts. "Well, they don't recognize the sophistication of the average American—that's why they been missing the boat so much downtown. The average American knows the difference between block grants and revenue-sharing, don't think he doesn't."

Mills has been particularly piqued by what he regards as a circumvention by the White House of proper legislative processes in "dispatching all these delegations of governors and mayors up here to the Hill to lobby us on this thing." One White House adviser admits, "We can well understand his dislike for our hucksterism in having sold this program out in regional theaters instead of working with him exclusively in that committee. He's supreme over in that hearing room, surrounded by all those congenial aides of his."

Such crackles of static have come to characterize the relationship between the White House and Chairman Mills. One administration aide proposes, "With Wilbur, it's going to take time to build a relationship of respect for us. To do that, we're going to have to go through a few real tough ones with him." But even several members of the House's Republican leadership complain that it is precisely this approach—some instinctive adversary psychology in the White House—that accounts not only for its difficulties with Mills but with the Hill in general. "Baloney!" blared one White House aide when asked about this. "Mills is treated with great deference and respect. The fact is, Mills has often been invited here to discuss legislation with us and has frequently declined."

"That's right," Mills explains drily. "I'll go down there any time to talk with the President, but I've let every administration know I'm not going to be going down there for these sessions with administrative aides. I've told those fellas they can come up here to see me, if they want to."

A recent visitor to Mills' office, a friend from the previous administration, observed, "You know, Mr. Chairman, you've already given the White House some tremendous issues with the legislation you've turned out in the past year or so; they're going to be able to say they accomplished a tax reform act, a social security increase, welfare reform—you've just about elected Nixon to a second term." And Mills sighed, saying, "Hell, I know it, I know it."

To seriously estrange so unassuming a soul as Mills requires no small investment of ingenuity and tenacity, but to all appearances now, the White House has succeeded. There was one episode, more than anything else, that brought Mills to his present conviction that the administration is more occupied with striking political postures than in seriously working with him. Even before Nixon was inaugurated he elicited Mills' assistance in an upcoming effort to extract from the Japanese an agreement to reduce their textile exports to the U.S.—which was a Nixon campaign obligation to the textile interests in the South. Finally, after two years of futile bargaining from its own stiff list of demands, the White House in late 1970 asked Mills to append to his committee's trade bill a unilateral textile import restriction, a ruse to nudge the Japanese closer to concession. Against his own profound misgivings about arbitrary protective trade measures, Mills agreed to collaborate in this gambit. But the

Japanese remained obdurate. Subsequently Mills performed an even more elaborate bluff for the White House: Nixon aides crafted for him a baleful speech about the menace of foreign imports, which Mills then flourished before the Japanese with the implication that he would deliver it on the House floor. This at last unnerved the Japanese, and Mills struck out on a course of his own by delicately suggesting that they voluntarily limit exports themselves. The Japanese then worked out with Mills a schedule for curbing their expansion of textile exports by more than one-half over the next three years. When the announcement was issued from Tokyo, Mills gave it his blessing.

But a few days later Nixon curtly repudiated the accord. Mills insists that he kept the White House apprised "in general" of his conversations with the Japanese. However, one White House spokesman avers whenever Mills mentioned his explorations to Nixon, "the fact that the President did not raise any objections, did not signify his approval, rejection or anything."

While Mills, for his part, publicly allowed only that the administration's brusque disavowal of the agreement was "a disappointment to me," privately he was furious. "And now," mutters Mills, "that Agnew's making snide remarks about me at Republican fundraising dinners—like the other evening when he told them he had been wanting to invite me down to discuss revenue-sharing, but every time he's tried to reach me, they've told him I'm over at the Japanese embassy. There are insults gratuitously involved in that remark. . . ."

The White House has not yet found that traditional operating frequency to which Mills is most comfortably tuned: the quiet, intimate, direct businesslike manner that would pertain say, to a meeting in the board room of a city's most important bank. The administration seems simply to alternate between either offending Mills with bluff and graceless affronts, or providing him with amusement through unabashed, florid blandishments.

Not long ago, on a rare evening out, Mills appeared at an Arkansas Bankers' Association dinner at the Madison Hotel in Washington. Surprisingly, a few minutes later Treasury Secretary John Connally strode in, along with Nixon's economic adviser George Shultz. Mills, when he discovered their presence, stood with a kind of rapt smile on his face and murmured, "Look at that, will you?"

Back in March when Mrs. Mills took 4-year-old Stacy and their three other grandchildren on a tour through the White House, Nixon had them all conducted into the Oval Office. "The President called me a day or two later," Mills reports, "to tell me Stacy had jumped up in his arms and said, 'I love you,' and he said, 'I love you too.' The man actually spent about 10 minutes on the phone, telling me what precious grandchildren I got."

Mills may look at these cultivations from the White House with amusement. But there is no doubt that he finds rather heady and delicious the gustings of recent attention from astrologists of presidential prospects. He reports with unmistakable exuberance that "members of the House have been coming up to me and begging me, 'Don't close the door on this thing, now, don't close the door.' Members of the New York delegation—older members I'm talking about—they've said they're ready to start work for me right now if I just give them the word."

It has been suggested that the interest in Mills has been a conjuration of the party's liberals to distract the Southerners who would constitute a prime resource for a more imposing conservative candidate. "It might surprise you," Mills says, "but it's actually the more liberal members in the House who've been after me the most. Don't take my word for it. You ask them yourself what they think of my running, see what they tell

you. Talk to some of the Massachusetts people. Some of the New Jersey people—Illinois, Pennsylvania, California, Oregon, I'm talking about. . . ." Pausing, Mills adds, "I know people over there on that Democratic National Committee, they'd quit right now and set up a campaign headquarters here in Washington if I asked them to."

One admirer of Mills asserts, "It would be poignant—and in some way tragic—if Mills should really give himself up to this fancy." But against all plausibility, against Mill's entire career in Washington of scrupulous and unrelenting fidelity to the sensible and realistic, there are increasingly signs he has begun surrendering himself to this most extravagant tantalization of his existence. For the first time ever, he has allowed himself, with encouragement of Democratic National Chairman Lawrence O'Brien, to make extensions into the larger theater of his party's national fortunes, both in plotting strategy and setting out on fund-raising expeditions. The 1970 election in the South of a covey of temperate Democratic governors has considerably enhanced Democratic prospects in that hitherto joyless region, and thereby has magnified Mill's own national left in the party.

Mills himself still stoutly maintains, "I don't want it. I simply don't want it." Then he adds, "Anyway, a man my age, I'd be 63 years old when I was sworn in." When a visitor remarked in April that the calendar year was probably the most inaccurate approximation of true age, Mills responded, "Well, yes, I know that, because the doctor told me that all my vital bodily organs are actually those of a much younger man. I feel in fine health myself, just a little sinus trouble now and then, you know."

He chuckled, "But Polly—hellfire, last night she was just pleading with me, crying, begging me to promise her that if I was nominated at the convention, I wouldn't accept it. I just laughed and said, 'Polly, you know that's not going to happen. Not a chance in the world.' I mean, I'm pretty sure there are 23 states that could be mine almost for the asking. We'd get 23, but that'd be it. And it's going to take more than that. Polly begging me—I just had to laugh." He gave once more a few deep chugging chuckles. His visitor inquired if he had, then, promised Polly to refuse the nomination. "Aw—" he croaked, withdrawing the cigarette holder from his mouth and absorbed for an instant in tapping it over an ashtray, "well, uh—no, I just told her it was so impossible—I mean, wasn't even any point in me making such a promise. . . ."

However, only three weeks later, as endorsements continued to roll in and newsmen pressed him harder, Mills publicly proclaimed: "Should I be nominated, I'd be as active a candidate as the Democratic party ever had."

Recently, Mills was asked if, living as near the zoo as he does, he could still hear, as he once told a newsmen, the lions coughing and roaring at night. "Oh, yeah," Mills chortled. "There's one fella seems to have a regular tantrum every night. It used to bother me some, those big lions roaring out there in the dark. But they don't bother me anymore."

UNMARKED COIN REPLICAS—  
DECEPTIVE IN APPEARANCE

HON. JAMES A. McCLURE

OF IDAHO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 14, 1971

Mr. McCLURE. Mr. Speaker, recently the Colonial Newsletter published by J. C. Spilman, devoted nearly an entire issue

to my bill, H.R. 5360, which prohibits the manufacture or importation of replicas of coins unless clearly marked as reproductions.

On countless occasions coin collectors have brought to my attention instances where they were victims of coin fraud. To illustrate the need for this legislation I would like to insert in the RECORD at this point a portion of this Newsletter of May 1971. It is an especially important question in view of the fact that a number of medals, and possibly coins, will be issued in conjunction with the American Bicentennial. That will be a unique opportunity for those who prey upon coin collectors and I think some sort of legislative action should be taken to guard against it in advance. The temptation to use the Bicentennial to foist on an unwary public replicas of coins that were typical at the period of the founding of this Nation may be too great to resist. The public must not be misled in the worst possible way as we seek to commemorate the founding of the Republic. The Newsletter follows:

#### EDITOR'S NOTEBOOK

Our frontispiece illustrates the masthead from H.R. 5360 introduced by Congressman James A. McClure (R-Idaho) on March 2, 1971. This proposed legislation replaces his H.R. 9448 which died in committee during the last session. The entire text of this Bill is presented on pages 316 and 317.

It is important and essential that this Bill receive the active support of each of our Patrons. The problem of unmarked replicas of Colonial American and other coinages reached serious proportions during 1967 when several firms started distribution of large quantities of unmarked replicas through various outlets as promotional material. The listing on page 318 is an example of the problem. This tabulation of replicas of Colonial American issues are those that had become available from one New York State firm by mid-1969—all unmarked replicas extremely deceptive in appearance. Almost eighty different specimens are tabulated on this page which is but one page of some ten pages of replicas of other issues.

When this problem first reached serious proportions during 1967 ye editor wrote to the, then, Director of the Mint, Miss Eva Adams suggesting that one of the replicas being distributed, the Fugio Cent, should be considered a counterfeit of an officially authorized United States coin, and should be seized by the Treasury Department. Miss Adams' reply is presented on page 319 and makes it quite evident that the only possible solution is new legislation.

This current breed of replica is certainly not designed for purposes of fraud. They are—at best—mistaken for very high quality electros by those of us familiar with electros, but to the inexperienced they are pure poison as many of them now rest in the stock of uninformed dealers as genuine specimens. Last year one of our Patrons who is a dealer in California was offered a "recently discovered hoard of rare and valuable Colonial American coins" which turned out to consist almost entirely of these replicas. A considerable number are being traded as genuine.

No matter how much we dislike these things and resent and decry their manufacture, the Mint's statement makes it clear that there is no way to attack the problem except through legislation. It is perfectly legal for anyone to manufacture such replicas, whether marked or unmarked. We sincerely believe that the numismatic artifacts of our emerging Nation should be protected by law. Your support is needed!

So—what can you do? First, write to at

least one Senator and one Representative from your State and tell him that you want his support for H.R. 5360. Then write to Congressman James A. McClure, 1034 Longworth Bldg., Washington, D.C. and express to him your support and your suggestions or recommendations on this problem. Unless this legislation is pushed by all of us it may die, once again, in committee. Your support—and suggestions—are needed!!! Today!!!

#### OBTAINING EISENHOWER SILVER DOLLARS

### HON. LEONOR K. SULLIVAN

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 14, 1971

Mrs. SULLIVAN. Mr. Speaker, many of the Members have been asking me, as chairman of the Subcommittee on Banking and Currency which has jurisdiction over the Mint, what the situation is on the new Eisenhower silver dollars authorized by Congress last year in title II of the One Bank Holding Company Act. These coins are being offered for sale by the Treasury at \$10 each for the highly polished, double-struck proof coins, and at \$3 each for the uncirculated silver dollar coins. About 53 million order forms containing full instructions for ordering up to five of each of the two varieties of the special coins were made available on June 18 in all post offices, in banks, and other locations throughout the country, and each Member of Congress, I believe, also received a quantity of order blanks at that time.

No orders were to be accepted before July 1, 1971, so every person who has been interested in ordering any of the coins had several weeks lead time in which to obtain the order blanks and send in an order by the opening day for the acceptance of orders. Computers are being used to weed out duplicate orders, in conformance with my insistence and the insistence of Chairman Patman of the Banking and Currency Committee that every American should have an opportunity to obtain one or a limited number of the new coins rather than have them diverted in large quantities to coin dealers.

Under the enabling legislation, there can be 20 million of the proof coins produced altogether, and 130 million of the uncirculated coins. So there should be an adequate supply for all who desire to have one or a few of each type. In addition, the mint will be turning out millions of cupro-nickel dollar coins of the same design for general circulation; coins similar in composition to the new cupro-nickel half-dollar coins now in circulation, and to the quarter and dime.

CUPRO-NICKEL DOLLAR COINS TO BE MADE FOR GENERAL CIRCULATION

The regular circulating dollar coins, without silver content, should be available through the banking system later this fall, and those, of course, will be sold at their face value of \$1 each. There was no controversy over the authorization of the cupro-nickel Eisenhower \$1 coin, with a design on the reverse side emblematic of the eagle of Apollo

II landing on the moon, which passed the House in October of 1969, only to be held up in a long dispute with the Senate over the Senate's insistence that the proposed dollar coins be made of 40 percent silver. The eventual compromise, worked out as part of the negotiations on the extremely controversial One Bank Holding Company bill, authorized both the circulating cupro-nickel \$1 coins proposed by the House and up to 150 million special \$1 coins of 40 percent silver, to be sold by the Treasury at a premium. Most of the silver for these special coins is coming from the defense stockpile, because the Treasury's once-vast supply of silver had virtually all been used up or sold at weekly public auctions by the time the new coinage legislation was enacted.

In any event, Mr. Speaker, there is at present no reason why any American who wishes to spend \$3 each for uncirculated 40 percent silver \$1 Eisenhower coins, or \$10 each for the proof variety, cannot order up to five of each type with every prospect that his order will be filled in due time.

The Treasury should be able to begin to fill by mid-August or by September many of the orders received by then for the uncirculated silver dollars and may even be able to stay current with orders after that, although there is no assurance of that because no one knows how many orders eventually will come in.

As for the proof coins at \$10 each, the delay in filling orders undoubtedly will be longer because each proof coin is a painstakingly crafted, hand-made item in contrast to the uncirculated ones which are produced on high-speed automated equipment.

#### POLONIA

### HON. DAN ROSTENKOWSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 14, 1971

Mr. ROSTENKOWSKI. Mr. Speaker, recently, in the City of Chicago, the first edition of a new weekly newspaper came off the presses. This, the first issue of Polonia, an "Independent Weekly of Americans of Polish Origin," was typical of the quality that we have in Chicago have come to expect from Joe Blalasiewicz, the editor of this fine publication. I have known Joe for many years and have always admired his work in the field of journalism.

I would at this time, Mr. Speaker, like to congratulate him for the creation of Polonia, his latest achievement, and insert a copy of his lead editorial in that inaugural edition in the RECORD:

#### WHY?

(This is an English translation of the statement.)

Independence Day, this national holiday of the United States, so rich in tradition and idealism, marks the beginning of our publishing venture. A small group of people will make an effort to fill, at least partially, the gap left by the demise of several of Polonia's publications in Chicago.

We want this publication to be a worthy, wise and unyielding champion of the ideals, aspirations, needs, interests and enterprises of Polonia during an exceptionally trying time while this nation faces a magnitude of problems.

We see almost too clearly the tragic collapse of traditional spiritual and moral values in a United States, trying to cope with an unpopular war in Asia, internal conflicts, economic difficulties and a social unrest fed by the eruptions of racial passion and a lack of understanding between generations.

We observe with anxiety that these problems cast grim shadows on the communal life of a Polonia beset by its own difficulties and worries growing out of social change and an unsettled atmosphere in its own leadership circles.

We are dismayed by the loss of perspective as to what the true ambitions and needs of our community are since in spite of many valiant declarations and a seeming unity of aims, we see our great civic potential dissolve into a myriad of petty individual interests.

The history of Polish life indicates conclusively that in times of crisis there was usually confusion which led to a loss of direction, a distortion of concepts, and an improper identification of the hierarchy of objectives. However, it was in such times that a thought courageously stated in print led not only to a readjustment of the organizational life of the community but to united action as well.

Such an ambitious undertaking as this publication in our judgment is not a daydream. It is a result of an extensive deliberation rooted in a realistic evaluation of the existing dispiriting situation. It is necessary to state that the demands arising from such an undertaking are so exacting and require such serious thought, organizational effort, unity of action, concern for honesty of purpose, and finally a capital of good will and a passion for social inter-action that it is fitting that it is on this Day of Independence, bright with the ideals of true Americanism, that we have decided to bring forth a new publication to serve our community the American Polonia.

#### THE UNITED STATES

As citizens of a great Republic, we have an obligation to evaluate and take critical positions on the activities of any government in Washington.

We will take special interest in the course of Washington's reactions to the excesses of Communism, as well as to its attitudes toward the interests of the Polish Nation.

We cannot uncritically and automatically support every political whim flowing from Washington since we know through experience that the vacillation and incompetence during and after World War II has created America's present difficulties on the international scene and in particular, permitted the entrenchment of Soviet influence in Central Europe as far as the River Elbe.

We know that it was the cynical extension of this ferry-built policy which placed nations with a thousand years of their own history under the Soviets; an action which as in Poland led to the rape of divine and human laws destroying its rights to a free and independent existence and development.

We know that the vital interest of small nations have become the subject of bargainings and counter-bargainings by the ego-directed policies of the great powers.

We regard the study and evaluations of the socio-economic affairs of the United States during this critical transitory era as our civic and editorial duty. Consequently, we reaffirm that this publication will be a steadfastly independent organ of political thought and discussion not beholden to programmatic schemes or political bosses but strictly

adhering to the historic ideals of the United States as a free country for a free people.

#### POLONIA

The pluralistic nature of American society made up of ethnic groups drawn from a multitude of nations splendid in their ancient historical achievements is today a recognized fact in our lives. Its principal manifestation takes the form of a host of individual efforts to satisfy the needs and aspirations of these ethnic groups within the framework of American society as a whole.

The time has come for Americans of Polish descent to recognize and accept their identity as an ethnic group and on this basis draw some realistic conclusions as to what its posture and course of action should be.

We want to be the editorial spokesmen for Polonia in its combined aspirations and activities which arise during the normal course of its contemporary experience. We want to attest publicly to our rights as citizens as well as to our special interests as an ethnic group within the ramifications of American life. We want to fight for our common good as it arises from our common heritage.

With pride we call attention to our Polish heritage as we vouch with all our strength that we will allow no one to question its spiritual values or to belittle its contributions to our America whether during the earliest colonial period or through the many trials and tribulations it has encountered in its history to the present moment.

We recognize that in recent years as a result of a growing participation in American life and a general acceptance of its value there has been a rebirth of Polish pride. However, for full achievement there will have to be a wider unification of support around our political, social and economic centers of action. We want to help in producing a joint effort in all phases of Polonia's activity which alone will serve as convincing proof of the legitimacy of our aspirations and deeds.

#### THE POLISH NATION

Noble and heroic Poland from whose native soil we all trace our beginnings is a subject of our greatest interest. Its deeds during a millenium of history and its fortunes during the last several decades which although marked by honor, heroism, and the grandeur of its national life are also afflicted by the bitterness of periods of disaster and defeat serve us not only as explicit manifestations of our kinship but also as a means of understanding of and an empathy for the course of human events.

Collusion among the great powers directed by their own interests and not the free will of the Polish Nation has decided its present situation and fate. A foreign ideology has been forced upon it and betrayal by its allies has sealed it through international agreements.

It would be a denial of appreciation for political sobriety to usurp the right of a people to determine its own course of action within its own country by pretending to act as its representatives as so often happens among disintegrated and agitated Polish emigre groups.

The Polish Nation, a phenomenon formed by the spiritual chain of generations of people who were, are and will be, is a vital organism stubbornly defending its heritage and battling to preserve those ideals which have come as inherited treasures from the pre-partition Republic, the twenty year period of independence and the struggle for survival during World War II. It is a vital organism trying to resolve its problems under foisted conditions foreign to its very nature.

This is a Nation which has faith in God and for centuries has recognized the moral authority of the Church. Its foundations are not set in the shifting sands and it is neither a creation without an idea of its own nor a mindless mass completely devoid of freedom of will. It is a nation capable of stirring ac-

tion to retain its values and to improve its prospects.

Let no one ignore the basic fact that deep feelings of patriotism remain in the Polish Nation without being deformed by the soulless doctrines of Communism. Let no one underestimate the deep pride yearning for freedom from all foreign influence which is constantly present, the stigmata inherited by generation after generation, no matter what the form of government or the ideological propaganda ordered by its rulers.

It is impertinence, as was correctly observed by one of Polish contemporary historical thinkers, to claim to speak for a whole nation which even under the oppression of Communism dared to show that it is not an amorphous mass but a vital and vigorous organism capable of rising in its own defense. This was an action in accordance with its own historic traditions.

In addition, and this is of particular note, Poland is dependent on its own resources. It would be frivolous on the basis of its experience during the last war to count on others. It would be frivolous to wait for the benevolence of the world's great. It would be insanity to jabber that some new military conflict would produce a sensible resolution of Poland's problems.

We submit to the Polish Nation our faith in the strength of its spirit and its indestructibility through all the generations to come.

We express our admiration and wonder to a Polish Nation which after the terrible havoc of World War II under incredibly difficult circumstances, complicated by economic and political chaos, was able to rise with energy and sacrifice to its own reconstruction.

In our final assessment we distinguish between the hopes and aspirations of the people and the mechanisms of governments. In the long run the eternal people will bring forth its imperishable strengths to assure Poland its complete independence and the worthy fulfillment of its future.

These are some of the thoughts which will serve as guideposts for our totally independent publication. It will be our solemn duty as writers and publishers to serve the causes of the United States, the American Polonia, and the Polish Nation.

#### THE CLEVELAND ORCHESTRA— UNSURPASSED

#### HON. CHARLES A. VANIK

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 14, 1971

Mr. VANIK. Mr. Speaker, last night and again this evening, the Cleveland Orchestra, under the baton of Pierre Boulez, presented an extraordinary concert at the new Wolf Trap Farm in Fairfax County.

This orchestra is, indeed, one of the current wonders of the musical world. As Washington Post critic Paul Hume stated:

The Cleveland Orchestra is unsurpassed in every technical realm which means that their response to the high discipline of the Boulez baton is instant and absolute.

In the Washington area, the praise of music and drama critics is as hard to come by as a low humidity, pleasant day in August along the Potomac.

At a time and in a place where pronouncements of disappointment and failure are more often the rule, it is, indeed, noteworthy to have a report on musical

excellence. Washington knows the worth of this orchestra.

The talents and the reputation of the Cleveland Orchestra are among the constructive things that provide status to Clevelanders away from home.

Following is a report on last evening's performance, by Paul Hume of the Washington Post of today entitled "Cleveland and Boulez":

CLEVELAND AND BOULEZ

(By Paul Hume)

Pierre Boulez brought one of the current wonders of the musical world, the Cleveland Orchestra, to Wolf Trap last night for the first of two programs.

For his opening evening he chose four works, some wholly, some only slightly touched with that tricky label, "impressionist." All four were written within the two decades that began with Debussy's "Afternoon of a Faun." In 1894, Boulez surrounded Debussy, adding "La Mer" to the "Faun," with Stravinsky's sole excursion in impressionism, the suite drawn from the opera, "The Nightingale," and one of Bartok's last open tributes to Debussy in the suite from his ballet, "The Miraculous Mandarin."

The outer works were the more exotic studies, and they gave to the Debussy masterpieces an aura of something like classic stature. Stravinsky was probably right to choose his suite from the more glittering episodes of his opera, taking most of it from the second and third acts that are dominated by the mechanical bird rather than the live nightingale. These are filled with superbly chiseled facets of color that flash from every section of the orchestra.

But nothing in the score was more touching, as it is always in the opera, than the song of the fisherman, exquisitely shaped last night by the distant solo trumpet.

Among the many aspects of Boulez' conducting gifts is his stunning mastery of intricacies of rhythm that occur within the larger orchestra contexts. In the Stravinsky at the evening's beginning as in the Bartok at its conclusion, this was an element that constantly riveted the attention. The Cleveland Orchestra is unsurpassed in every technical realm which means that their response to the high discipline of the Boulez baton is instant and absolute.

But he and they are also keenly alive to the vast areas of instrumental timbres that are continually in the forefront of all of last night's music. In the subtlest regions of balance and nuance, orchestra and conductor were operating on a rarefied level. By no means all of this was audible at all places in the Wolf Trap shed. But for those sitting where the sound from the stage came across in that balance and dynamic level at which it was projected, it was a magical evening.

Nowhere was the revelatory effect of minute concern for dynamics more apparent and more rewarding than in "La Mer." Boulez takes Debussy's markings as the gospel they are meant to be. A crescendo from triple pianissimo to double pianissimo and a corresponding diminuendo remained completely within that extremely specific range, a feat that is rarely achieved, but which is open to any conductor and orchestra who believe what Debussy set down. It was a tactical error on Boulez' part to reduce his double basses in the Stravinsky and again in the "Faun."

In the latter, however much he may have wished for a more intimate sonority, the silencing of three of nine basses meant, in that shed, the loss of essential weight and tone.

But the overwhelming impression of his "Faun" was of all the desired languor, every shade of Mallarme's sensuous poem. And the Sea Triptych, which he has led many times

with this same great collection of musicians, was a total triumph.

Tonight Boulez and the Clevelanders will play an all-Berlioz evening with "Romeo and Juliet" excerpts and the Fantastic Symphony.

#### CHRISTIAN HACIENDA HOME IN MEXICO

#### HON. JEROME R. WALDIE

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 14, 1971

Mr. WALDIE. Mr. Speaker, I have received some news items from a young man with whom I had lunch. He and some 70 other young people from Orinda, Calif., are engaged in a wonderful project involving an orphanage in Tijuana, Mexico. I think my colleagues here in Congress should be aware of this work and so I am including these explanatory clippings in the RECORD. It is an idealistic act by young Americans that will do more to improve relations with Mexico than any governmental act I can conceive.

#### CHRISTIAN HACIENDA PROJECT TO BE IN CONGRESSIONAL RECORD

When 71 teens take off tomorrow from the Orinda Community Church for the fifth annual work week at an orphanage in Tijuana, Mexico, their activities will become a part of the national record.

Christian Hacienda Project '71 has developed a special emissary to Congress through Peter Thor, a former Orindan now living in Washington, D.C.

Lunching last week with Congressman Jerome Waldie (D-14th District), Thor stimulated the lawmaker's interest in this year's fifth annual pilgrimage sponsored by Orinda Community Church and local civic groups. Waldie plans to read current information on the Hacienda project into the Congressional Record.

Peter, who attended Campolindo High School, will leave tomorrow night on his second trip with the 71 local teenagers to work next week at the Tijuana children's home. He is a son of Dr. and Mrs. Eric Thor who moved to Washington last year when Dr. Thor was appointed chief administrator of the federal Farmers' Cooperative Service, an agency of the Department of Agriculture. While living in Orinda, he was associated with the University of California.

Both Peter and his sister, Ann, will be participating in the Hacienda project for the second time. Accompanying the teenage workers as an advisor will be the oldest Thor son, Eric, a doctoral student at the University of California at Berkeley.

Movie production will be a feature of his month's trip, according to Dave Lester and Bill Thomas, Miramonte High School graduates, due to a donation of 16 millimeter sound film from KTVU (Channel 2) and a camera loan from a firm in San Francisco. The two photographers expect to record the entire week's work and play at Christian Hacienda.

Participants in this summer's three trips to Tijuana plan an emphasis on education for the orphaned and abandoned Mexican children with Jeanie Elkinton, chairman of the education and interaction committee leaning heavily on members able to converse in Spanish. Language facility will also be helpful to Shirley Gorman's and Bob Ullrich's crafts committee for their instruction of the youngsters. Advisors to these groups are Mrs. John Brooke and Danielle Stegner of Walnut Creek.

Programs for the Tijuana children, according to chairmen Dana Powell and Larry Collins, will include Spanish dialogue stories in films and on tape. The program group has been assisted with Spanish songs by Matthew McGhee, Miramonte foreign language teacher.

A large contribution of construction materials from the Rohr Company will enable Dick Antoine's work projects committee to proceed on the building of a tools-instruction center for the older boys at the home. Carl Shanahorn acts as advisor to work projects.

Aided by the advertising work of Mark Joiner's promotion committee, this year's fund-raising group, headed by Bob Doten and Kay Clark, sponsored "An Evening with Betsy Chapman," a folksinger, and a Ghirardelli chocolate bar sale this month, and maintained a booth at Fiest de Moraga. Adult members of these committees are Roger Samuelsen and Mrs. Alanson Powell.

Another committee in action previous to tomorrow's departure has been the job corps with Ann Carter as chairman finding work for participants to earn their travel expenses.

During the week's stay at the Tijuana home, Jim Dana's discussion and worship committee will gather the entire company each evening. It will also plan the 10 a.m. "return-Sunday" service for June 27 at the Community Church. This event has annually followed within an hour the arrival of the project's buses at the church from the Mexican trip.

Plans for feeding the 71 plus their ten advisors have been handled by Miriam Fadavi's and Wayne Moore's committee with Mrs. William Beckner and Karen Sanford assisting. Dave Ruddell and Mrs. Carl Shanahorn are in charge of health care of the troupe.

Officers in addition to the co-chairmen, Lindi Ramsden and Alanson Powell, are Dana Selfert, vice-chairman; Karen Seavey, secretary; Kirk Littlejohn, treasurer, and the Rev. John Brooke, coordinator.

#### BETSY CHAPMAN SINGS HACIENDA FUNDRAISER

She was:

The wind whispering through a tall pine.

Morning mist rising from a still lake.

The clean perfume that follows a spring rain.

An eagle soaring across the plain.

What can you say about a religious experience? This is what aptly describes Marin County folksinger Betsy Chapman, the wisp of a miss who captivated, caressed and enchanted her audience recently in the Orinda Community Church. With a gamut of music ranging from rock to religion, she wove an evening that was as baroque as her own tapestry dress. "I made it myself," she cooed, it weighs, let me see, about eight pounds?"

Betsy was as beautiful as her message. Ruffled in a filmy white blouse, her floor-length tapestry apron dress; hair swept up in ringlets, she fulfilled your every illusion of Maid Marian.

Her message was love, and all of her love goes to the abandoned children of Tijuana's "Christian Hacienda" home. The program was the major fund-raising event of the year for the home. In addition to the usual 70 high school students, mainly from Orinda, Lafayette, and Moraga who travel south in June for a week of work at the home, there are two trips of small groups planned for later in the summer.

Betsy was accompanied by two musicians with their own special genius; Ken Melville and Rita Abrams, a celebrity in her own right. Rita, as you might know, is that lovely third grade school teacher who recently put "Mill Valley, California" on the map with her best-selling record with that title. You can come close to my celestial experience listening to Betsy's new album, "The Gift of Love."—KAREN TUCKER.

ORINDA YOUTHS WORK IN TIJUANA  
ORPHANAGE

A group of 71 youthful members of the Orinda Community Church spent last week working at the Christian Hacienda home for orphans in Tijuana. The following letter was received from Mrs. Alanson Powell, one of 10 advisors with the group, participating in one of three trips planned by the Orinda church. This is the fifth annual work-week program.

To the portion of this year's Christian Hacienda participants who have spent a work-week at the Tijuana children's home on previous years' trips, there have been distinct improvements here.

A major change has been additional staff headed by a young former San Francisco Mission worker, Kristina Darling. There are 10 Mexican adults as well.

Fortunately, recent donations have made it possible to care for nearly 25 children added to the roster during the intervening year since the group's last visit. This brings the total of children living here to 72.

Work on bunk-building for the additional children as well as foundation-laying for a new workshop are occupying most of the Or-La-Mo teenagers' time for the first days.

Hiking and a possible educational trip with the Mexican children are on the project's schedule for later in the week. The traditional trip to a nearby ocean beach will culminate activities on Friday with Saturday morning saved for goodbyes with the little Mexican friends.

CBS SUBPENA CONTROVERSY

HON. HOWARD W. ROBISON

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 14, 1971

Mr. ROBISON of New York. Mr. Speaker, one of the most thoughtful discussions about the recent CBS subpoena controversy appeared this morning on the editorial page of the Christian Science Monitor. In a balanced manner, the editors make it clear that the First Amendment is alive and well—as it should be—but that CBS, like everybody else, is capable of making errors in judgment. I think my colleagues might find the editorials of interest, and they follow in their entirety.

The editorial follows:

No, Mr. STAGGERS . . .

We hope the case of Congressman Harley Staggers of West Virginia versus the CBS broadcasting network will somehow lead to a Supreme Court test.

At the present moment no one really knows whether the First Amendment to the Constitution of the United States applies to broadcasting. Some think it does. The CBS network has tended since the days of Edward R. Murrow to behave as though it does. The two other major networks have been more cautious about asserting their presumed rights under the First Amendment. Many an individual station hasn't even tried.

Whether the First Amendment should apply to broadcasting is a very big question.

On the one hand is the now familiar argument popularized by Vice President Spiro Agnew that there is already far too much power to influence public opinion in too few hands—and mouths. If Walter Cronkite, Eric Sevareid, Howard K. Smith, Harry Reasoner,

David Brinkley, and John Chancellor all agree on some given evening on some one controversial proposition they could influence the thinking of a lot of Americans.

That the result would be in a single direction is another matter. Such a "common front" of the top names in television journalism could be negative. But it is an undeniable and important fact that these six men do have special and unusual power to shape and mold public thinking. Most Americans today take most of their information and many of their views from these six men and their programs.

The question is whether they should be as free to have opinions and to express them as do the publishers and editors of the newspapers and of the news and opinion magazines.

The right of the newspapers and magazines to print free of precensorship (the meaning of the First Amendment) has just been reaffirmed by a six-to-three vote in the Supreme Court. The editors of printed words may therefore freely continue to print first and face the consequences, whatever they may be, afterwards.

There are a lot of special interests involved here. This newspaper, like others, would benefit competitively from a Supreme Court ruling denying the First Amendment to the broadcasters. If the court were so to rule the probable effect on the networks would be to put news broadcasting back into the town crier era.

The big evening half-hour television network news programs would probably disappear, also the probing documentary. Instead, there would be "newscasters" reading bulletins between film clips of local fires and robberies. For documentaries, we would go back to travelogues. The public would have to again go to newspapers and magazines to get background information and useful opinion. It would certainly be good for newspaper circulation and advertising. But that of course is no proper basis for judging what would be good for the country.

Here we come to the argument on the other side. It starts with the proposition that the better informed the electorate the better will it share in the process of good government. News broadcasting is just another channel by which news and ideas are conveyed to people. The more channels in use the better informed will the electorate be.

Hence, we must believe in the desirability of allowing the broadcasting networks and stations the same freedom in talking which we have in printing.

They are not a monopoly on the conveying of news and ideas. They are in competition with us, with the magazines and with books.

It can be argued that broadcasters have a greater capability than do the rest of us to do damage by mistakes, whether mischievous or honest. But that surely falls down on the ground that the Founding Fathers took a chance on freedom of the press when the press did have a monopoly. If an unrestrained press was a lesser evil in the eyes of the Founding Fathers it must follow that extending the same freedom to broadcasters continues to be a lesser evil. Government control and censorship would be the greater evil.

Thus we hope that the court will soon clarify the present uncertainty, and extend to broadcasters the same freedom we newspapers enjoy to make our mistakes.

. . . BUT LIKE US ALL CBS MAKES MISTAKES

One of our readers finds it "incredible" that we print from the Pentagon papers, but have not insisted on this page on the public's "right to know what was on the remainder of the CBS films."

This refers to the outcuts from the CBS

documentary on "The Selling of the Pentagon." This is the material which Congressman Harley Staggers of West Virginia wanted CBS to hand over to Congress, and which Frank Stanton, president of CBS, declined to hand over.

We think that our reader has, although quite understandably, got hold of the wrong issues.

The issue in the Pentagon papers was not just the public's right to know, but the right of the press, under the First Amendment to the Constitution, to print first, and take the consequences.

The issue in the CBS versus Staggers case is entirely different. Here, there is no mystery about what happened. CBS made a documentary in which, as in all documentaries, a lot of material was condensed into a short space of time. There was a long interview with Daniel Z. Henkin, Assistant Secretary of Defense for Public Affairs, by CBS's Roger Mudd. The Henkin answers were edited, condensed, and fitted together in other than the original sequence.

A full text of the original interview is in the public record. Anyone interested will find the transcript in the Congressional Record of March 8, pages E-1538-E-1543. So no one is denying knowledge of the edited material to the public.

What CBS has denied is the right of the government to step in and oversee its editing process.

If CBS had handed over to Mr. Staggers and his committee all of its out-takes from that particular program a precedent would be established. The government could then demand to see the out-takes of any documentary. A logical next step would be for the government to come into any editorial office and watch over the editing of any feature story, news story, or editorial. At that point, there would no longer be a free press.

The present system does, of course, expose the public to faulty and undoubtedly in many cases to "slanted" editing.

We ourselves are not at all sure that CBS should get a passing mark on the editing it did in that particular documentary. Other sins of omission and commission have been charged against CBS.

But whether CBS committed unfair editing in that or any other documentary is a matter all by itself. Television journalism is imperfect. So is newspaper reporting and editing. Put 20 reporters on a story and how many versions do you get? Let four different television programs do a documentary on a single subject and how much alike would they be? Or take four great painters and give them the same subject and how much alike would be the result?

The answer is the same to all questions. A television documentary is an art form. No two producers would handle a subject exactly the same way. But the result is subject to criticism by critics, and by the public. "The Selling of the Pentagon" has been severely criticized by a lot of critics, including both Mr. Agnew and the Washington Post!

But the remedy for editorial faults, of which there are many, does not lie in government moving into editorial offices. It lies where it always has; in competition and in plenty of vigorous criticism from those who disapprove or disagree or think they have been injured. And in the last resort there are the courts of law.

We disapprove of inaccurate reporting and unfair editing whenever and wherever it occurs. But we must oppose any inclination of government to move into an editorial office of any kind no matter what mistakes may have been committed. We are talking not about perfection, but about the lesser evil.

It is far, far safer to let CBS make mistakes than to have the government telling CBS how to do a documentary.

## "WHAT ABOUT TOMORROW?"

**HON. WILLIAM (BILL) CLAY**

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 14, 1971

Mr. CLAY. Mr. Speaker, at the NAACP convention last week in Minneapolis, Mr. Malvin R. Goode, ABC-TV United Nations correspondent, addressed a mass meeting of the youth. His theme—"What About Tomorrow"—makes a plea to our young, the future of this country, to get involved and fight for equality and justice which have so long been denied to blacks. Mr. Goode stated,

The racial problems which afflict this Nation are so intertwined that this Nation has no choice except to decide now to change her ways, her attitudes toward the most loyal segment of its population—the American Negro . . . This Nation is diseased and afflicted with a climate—an atmosphere of divisiveness and hate which is leading us slowly toward disintegration and destruction.

He has charged the youth with the task of bringing about these changes.

I commend to my colleagues attention Mr. Goode's enlightening remarks. His address follows:

## WHAT ABOUT YOUR TOMORROW?

(By Mr. Mal Goode)

Needless to say I count it an honor to address my remarks tonight to the young members of the NAACP . . . that segment of our membership which holds the key to not only the future of Black people, but the future of this nation.

The racial problems which afflict this nation are so intertwined that this nation has no choice except to decide NOW to change her ways, her attitudes toward the most loyal segment of its population . . . The American Negro . . . otherwise she will have to relinquish any semblance of leadership in the community of nations . . . a leadership which has already been tarnished by an ungodly, unconscionable, unjustified brutal, uncalled for war against innocent people 8,000 miles away on the pretense of forestalling the spread of some ideology called Communism. This nation is diseased and afflicted with a climate . . . an atmosphere of divisiveness and hate which is leading us slowly toward disintegration and destruction.

Our society is polarized with black against white, young against the old, rich against the poor, and a spirit of repression which has led many to say we are at the end of the American era. In the Congress and in our State Assembly Halls, and in places of business and industry, those representing the far Right, the so-called Suburbanites . . . call for clearing the relief rolls, for further repression of minorities, and the very next day, they are oftentimes embroiled in some shady, political deal to confiscate the taxpayers money, or the business man is involved in some tricky in the shifting of stock certificates but they don't call that dishonesty . . . those political hacks are called "dedicated public servants" and the business man is looked upon as a distinguished member of the community.

The hardhats with flags glued to their working gear who paced Wall Street in 1970, mauling and brutally attacking students who were protesting our involvement in a cruel, ruthless war, represent another group that would deny you and me any semblance of participation in this nation's bounties.

Still another element with the signs on their automobiles—"Love It or Leave It" in-

stead of "Love It and Correct It." Most of 1970, one of the nation's leaders rode like the White Knight spuing hate and divisiveness with broad side attacks against those in our nation who would have Justice and Equality become important facets of our society, rather than Hatred, Repression and Division.

Because there has been tremendous progress in some areas of American life for the Black man—better jobs opportunities, equal travel accommodations, the opening of better educational facilities for Black people at all levels, Elementary, Secondary, and College—this does not mean the forces of Hate have given up their fight. Rather they have regrouped their forces. As long as Negroes were not pressing too hard—a few doors opened, some token opportunities arose, and in the past decade we have witnessed some trends in public accommodations which I frankly did not expect to see come about in my time. This is not to say any Black man is, or should be satisfied. Rather, these developments only serve to prove that this nation first, knows it has been wrong in her treatment of the Negro and even more important, she knows what is right and just and fair, and therefore ought to proceed to do what is right without forcing riotous confrontations to bring about changes which should come normally!

I come then to Minneapolis to plead with the young people of this nation, black and white, that you do not allow yourselves to be deterred in your efforts to turn this nation around, not only in race relations, but in the eradication of pollution, the termination of this ungodly war, the dishonesty and connivance in our Halls of government, and that you force businessmen, guised in a cloak of respectability in our communities, to stop cheating, bleeding, poisoning and fleecing their fellow citizens then quickly calling it Good Business. What we need from young people like yourselves are more Ralph Naders, more young men like Adlai Stevenson, Jr., young Tunney of California, Willie Stargell and Curt Blefary, and Congressmen Ron Dellums, Bill Clay, Charles Diggs, John Conyers, Shirley Chisholm, Aaron Henry, Dr. Wright of Jackson, Tennessee, Dr. Grant of Gary, Indiana, Rev. Jesse Jackson, Rev. Leon Sullivan, Julian Bond, Dr. Otis Smith of Atlanta and hundreds of other young men and women, black and white, Jew and Gentile, Catholic and Protestant, Democrat, Socialist, Republican—those who have in the words of the late Whitney Young, determined to see to it that this nation lives up to her commitment signed 195 years ago—"That under our laws ALL men shall be treated equal."

Because of your youth, and because you have not lived too long, I want to urge each of you to DO YOUR HOMEWORK, not only on the history of the NAACP, but on the history of the Civil Rights movement in this nation. Today you are a part of the one organization which has done more to move this country toward Equality for black people than all the other organizations put together. Moreover, millions of blacks in this nation—most of them with short memories and ungrateful, are like myself, shining examples of beneficiaries of a movement which started out sixty two years ago with the avowed purpose of aiding in the advancement of Colored People, which meant the total elimination of every vestige of discrimination, disfranchisement, inequality, denial, and ignominy based on the color of a man's skin.

I want you to read Langston Hughes' book—"The Fight for Freedom." I want you to read Walter Whites' book—"Rope and Faggot"; and Dr. Bob Brisbane's book—"The Civil Rights Movement from 1900 to 1960." Your reading will not be complete until you have read thoroughly Dr. Lewis Fenderson's book—"Thurgood Marshall—Fighter

for Justice." These books will give you the facts, not the fancy, of history and will stop some of you from using terms like "The NAACP is not relevant!" or "The NAACP is middle class!" or questions like "What has the NAACP ever done," or "What does the NAACP do with all that money?" or "The NAACP is run by white people" . . . all of these cliches which have become rather popular in recent months clearly indicate those who use them are rolling in ignorance, and they ought to get busy and do their homework.

I'm not going to burden you with history but you ought to know the NAACP fought for forty years to get an anti-lynching bill passed while thousands of black people were burned at the stake or hung from trees, and men like the late Theodore Bilbo, Cotton Ed Smith, Senator Byrd ranted and raved in Congress justifying lynching as a means of "Controlling the Nigras."

Another forty years was spent trying to get a Voting Rights Bill passed. For a generation like yours that knows nothing about Jim Crow travel, or denial of eating and sleeping accommodations, it is ironic for it to talk about the negligence of the NAACP. If they believe the NAACP is run by white people they ought to check the records and determine how many thousands of Negroes lost their jobs as teachers, porters, clerks, domestics—because they were active, contributing members of the NAACP; and then check the death records and read the inscriptions on the tombstones of Medgar Evers, Vernon Dahmer, Harry and Harriet Moore of Mims, Florida, Wharlest Jackson of Natchez, Samuel Young of Tuskegee, David Colston of Camden, Alabama, Jimmy Lee Jackson, Onell Moore of Bogalusa, Willie Brewster of Anniston, Alabama, Jonathan Daniels of Janesville, Louis Allen of Liberty, Mississippi, shot in the driveway of his home for activity in Voter Registration. These martyrs of history were not white.

Then we must not overlook the failure of Haynesworth and Carswell to attain one of the highest offices in our land—Supreme Court Justice. The NAACP and Clarence Mitchell prevented those appointments. Neither can we forget that 12 black men and one black woman now sit in Congress today and form the Black Caucus that has stirred the very heartbeat of national politics. Two weeks ago this group sponsored a \$100 per plate dinner and 2800 people from every corner of the land were in attendance to show support for this new thrust in Black politics in this nation.

The latest report shows 1860 Negroes have been elected to public office local, state, county and national levels and almost fifty per cent of those offices are below the Mason-Dixon line in states where black people would not dare enter a polling booth just a decade ago. When someone wants to know how this all came about, he needs only to check the record and find out how much money the NAACP spent these past forty years to get the Voting Rights Bill passed in 1965.

I dwell on these accomplishments not only because they demonstrate the NAACP IS relevant, the NAACP has no reference to class, the NAACP IS NOT run by white people, the NAACP has done a marvelous job against tremendous odds, but also because these accomplishments show the stupidity and shallowness of those civil rights racketeers who talk about some kind of separatism, or who spend great segments of their time nursing some "Hate Whitey" theory. I do not want you young people to get caught up in this kind of rhetoric—so useless, so meaningless—when you might well spend that time and effort in Voter Registration, raising more money for the NAACP, and fighting to improve the school curriculum in your community that your children might not be crippled by sub-standard, ineffective schools that graduate thousands of black and poor

white children every year who in the words of one critic—"Cannot Read a Funny Book" and have no qualifications which will enable them to compete in a normal day-to-day business world.

Let me take a moment or two to remind you of the change of climate which has come about because of just the Voting Rights Bill alone. Last year in Norfolk, Virginia, I interviewed Governor Len Holton who said after just three months in office, "One of my greatest opportunities has been to help reconcile the races and move forward on a basis that all citizens can exercise their full power." Last January when Governor Jimmy Carter was inaugurated in Atlanta, Georgia he said, "The time for racial discrimination is over . . . no poor, rural, weak or black person will ever have to bear the additional burden of being deprived of an opportunity of an education, a job, or simple justice. Our state pays a terrible and continuing human and financial price for these failures." Governor John West of South Carolina echoed Carter's plea vowing to, "Eliminate any vestige of discrimination from state government" and offered minority groups "full-fledged responsibility in a government that is totally color blind." Governor Dale Bumpers of Arkansas made one of his first speeches after inauguration last January, to the pro-integration Arkansas Council for Human Relations in which the same kind of pledge was made for his stewardship.

Need I remind those of you from South Carolina, Georgia, Mississippi, Alabama, Texas, of changes in the climate of education and even in business. Last April, young Walker was elected President of the South Carolina University student body with 64 per cent of the vote although there are only 400 black students on the campus out of 10,000. Lu McCashan was the quarterback on Georgia Tech's football team last Fall. In May, I covered the convention of the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party on the campus of Jackson State with 2500 delegates, over 500 of them white, when they nominated Charles Evers to run for Governor. Last Sunday, on a flight from Staunton, Virginia, to Washington on Piedmont Airlines, one of the two hostesses was a black girl. On a Delta flight four weeks ago from Jacksonville, Florida to Atlanta, one of the three was a young black girl. At the Holiday Inn in Hattiesburg, Mississippi, in May, I was checked in by a young black man about 22 years of age. Token, yes, but certainly breakthroughs in government, politics and business which is a clear cut challenge to each of us not to hesitate, nor take time out for name-calling until this job is completed.

Young American blacks must understand yours is a noble heritage and spreading the knowledge of that heritage will not be accomplished by internal name-calling, nor with some freak handshake, nor with the empty rhetoric of "Right On." I want to "Right-On" too, but I also want to share in all the good things this nation has to offer because my father's father's father contributed to this development. We have allowed ourselves to get caught up in shameful name-calling . . . "Uncle Tom," "Middle Class," "Orlo Cookie" and with rhetoric evidently needed to psyche ourselves . . . "I'm black and proud and say it out loud."

This is why I underscored earlier the need to "DO YOUR HOMEWORK". If you check the records you will automatically be Proud. The story of the Cotton Gin, the Heart operation, Blood Plasma, the Gas Mask, the American Flag at the North Pole and Mathew Perry, the Traffic Light, the automatic shoe repair machinery, the 500 products from the Peanut and Sweet Potato, the marvelous buildings in Los Angeles architected by Mr. Williams, the designing of Washington, D. C. more than 140 years ago by Benjamin Banneker, the development of the Black Press since 1827 with great publi-

cations like Ebony, Jet, the Defender, the Kansas City Call, Pittsburgh Courier, Afro-American, Atlanta World, Philadelphia Tribune . . . all these accomplishments against tremendous odds, are shining examples of the Art, the Culture, the dogged determination of Black people to make a contribution, to earn a living, and to share despite the ignominious heritage of slavery. Just tell me what other group has done any better with the psychological fetters of slavery still dangling from our limbs, and the barking of the hound dogs of bigotry and denial still as loud as ever in our ears?

There is not time tonight to delve into the Culture discussion. Suffice it to say that cultures grow and change in two main ways. 1. by invention, and 2. by borrowing. These are the processes by which cultures are improved and America is the prime example of this.

The American Negro, the Indian, every ethnic group has made a contribution by invention. As for Borrowing, World Books says we borrowed corn, beans, squash, potatoes, and tobacco from the American Indian. We learned from the Arabs how to use soap and the compass. Our knowledge of paper-making comes from the Chinese. Our seven-day week originated with the Babylonians, and our alphabet with the Phoenicians of western Asia. As complicated as all this may sound, it leads us to one conclusion that for centuries we have been interdependent; our cultures have been joined and interwoven, and no one group holds a monopoly on this thing called Americanism.

I cite this for those who stupidly tell me . . . "Go Back to Africa," and for Blacks who talk about Going Back to Africa but none seems to be in a hurry. I spent nine weeks in that great and noble continent and taught young Africans who in almost every instance, offered encouragement to Black Americans to continue their fight for Equality believing that if we made our gains, it would only help to sound the death knell for the Apartheid of Mozambique, South Africa, and Rhodesia. STAY THERE AND FIGHT was their urge to American Negroes.

In conclusion, as you young people leave Minneapolis this weekend, I urge you to resolve to GET INVOLVED in those programs which will hasten the accomplishment of that goal of Equality which the Spingarns, the James Weldon Johnsons, Dr. W. E. B. DuBois had in mind sixty two years ago. Voter Registration, Improvement of the Local School system which are hopelessly crippling our children academically, Open and Improved Housing, Unfettered, unhampered, totally equal Job opportunities so that the signs "Equal Opportunity Employer" are meaningful and not just some escape hatch for hiring one or two "show" Black people; strengthening of our church institutions to make them more than just Temples of Worship for some one or two individuals, but community institutions with Nursery Schools, Community centers, Centers for Vocational Training, for supplemental education to the public schools; and finally, determine to have a strong YOUTH NAACP Chapter to work with your elders in bringing about the Peace, the Quality, the Hope your community deserves to have.

I believe the words of Sidney Wilhelm . . . "The Negro is not challenging American basic values. He wants to join the system, not upset it, he wants to come into the house, not bomb it; and he feels an inherent right to come into that house because he helped to build it." Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. said from his Birmingham jail in 1963 . . . "The Negro is forever fighting a feeling of NOBODINESS." I might add the Mexican, Puerto Rican, the Indian, and Poor Whites as well continuously fight against this kind of despair. The eruptions here in Minneapolis, in Cleveland, in Columbus,

Ohio and Georgia, Pittsburgh, Los Angeles and four hundred other communities in recent years, have served to demonstrate this despair. America has an element with counsel and admonition to "work hard and make good like my people did" philosophy. "Their people" had one distinct advantage . . . a White skin and their forebears in the worlds of Hawaii's Senator Inouye . . . were not brought to these shores in chains."

The prattling of "All Men are Created Equal" so often unpracticed, accounts for much of our torture. America has only parroted it like a child recites . . . "Now I Lay Me Down to Sleep!" . . . with no intention of implementing it in every day life. This, you young people must determine to make meaningful. I believe you will.

Believe me when I say we adults do understand your reactions . . . call them rebellious, revolting, revolutionary . . . but we know why you won't buy our standards of morality, our ways of treating each other and I admire you for that kind of revolt. I like your qualitative difference, in the words of Sydney Harris and yourself, actualizing to make your life have point and purpose. If you are asking that an affluent society provide more than a plentitude of material goods . . . that it opens new vistas of realizing individual potential, not in the economic realm, but in the realm of moral values, sensory experiences, creative expression and personal fulfillment, believe me, young people, we are for you 100 percent.

It is too much to ask that we join forces . . . combine the best of the past with what you consider the best for the future, and build together a real TOMORROW? I've mentioned some of the bright signs. May I remind you, however, that the signs of progress are token. Blacks still fill the ghettos, clog the relief and unemployment roles, occupy most of the jail, workhouse and penitentiary cells, and hold the lowest paying jobs. The fight is not over. There's another sign . . . the slow-but-sure realization by some Americans that what Booker T. Washington said in 1897 is still true . . . "you cannot hold a man in the ditch unless you stay there with him." There is also a recognition that the nation's greatest resources is its people . . . Black people . . . White people . . . Brown People . . . Yellow people . . . and when any percentage of its people are deprived . . . the entire nation suffers, and self-perpetuating handicaps ensue to the detriment of the entire society.

In September 1963 two months before his tragic death, I heard a bright young man, speaking to a packed General Assembly at the United Nations say . . . "We have the power to make this the greatest generation of all time, or to make it the last." His name . . . John F. Kennedy, and two months later he was gone. My good friend, Malcolm X, who despised White people before his trip to Africa, but said publicly on his return . . . "We must do this job together!" Less than a month later, he was gone. Whitney Young once said . . . "If you would not have angry men in the streets of America . . . let us make those streets avenues of hope, and not despair." Now he is gone. Martin Luther King said . . . "Either we are going to learn to live together like brothers, or die together like fools." He too, is gone. Bobby Kennedy said . . . "Some men ask . . . Why do you dream dreams of a better world, but I say . . . Why not?" Now he is gone. But though they are gone . . . these young men who could have turned this nation around . . . had they lived . . . let us not betray them. To us they throw the torch of leadership and cry from the distance. . . "Be yours to hold it high."

More than 300 years ago John Donne said . . . "No man is an island entirely of itself . . . any man's death diminishes me because I am involved in mankind." I plead

with you, the vigorous, enterprising young upcoming Leadership of this great organization . . . the NAACP . . . as you leave Minneapolis, that each of you become INVOLVED for mankind.

The Chinese philosophers said many years ago . . . "The Five Great Blessings for Man are Happiness, Health, Virtue, Peace and Long Life . . . and surely all of these are possible for each of us and our fellow men, if we but meet our individual and collective responsibilities. I charge you tonight at this 1971, 62nd Annual Convention of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People with your share of the task to make these blessings possible for you and for mankind. If you bear your share, Your TOMORROW will be greater than you could have ever hoped for in this life.

Thank you and God bless each of you in your pursuits.

#### USE OF LIVE ANIMALS IN SCHOOL EXPERIMENTS

### HON. JEROME R. WALDIE

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 14, 1971

Mr. WALDIE. Mr. Speaker, the American Humane Association has long been concerned with the matter of experiments by high school students on live animals and has developed a new policy in this area which they entitled "Guidelines . . . For the Use of Animals in School Science Projects."

I have also been concerned with this matter and, after reviewing the policy or guidelines found them of such excellence and value that I include them in the RECORD:

#### GUIDELINES—FOR THE USE OF ANIMALS IN SCHOOL SCIENCE PROJECTS

With today's emphasis on the advancement of science, more and more intermediate and secondary students are participating in classroom science projects which involve experiments with live animals. Live animals should be used in classroom situations for their educational value in achieving instructional objectives, and not as research contributing new knowledge to human health and welfare as would be expected from a medical research facility.

1. In the selection of science projects, students should be strongly urged to select invertebrate animals or plants as subjects for evaluation. Invertebrates are especially suitable because of their wide variety as well as their availability in large numbers. (Several commercial firms sponsoring science talent contests now prohibit the use of vertebrate animals as qualified entries.)<sup>1</sup>

2. Although it is not recommended, should vertebrate animals be used for experimental purposes, such experiments must be pre-planned and conducted in such a manner that respect for basic animal life and all humane considerations are fully understood and carried out by the student.

3. Each student submitting a science project using animals must have a qualified adult supervisor. Such supervisor shall be a person who has had specific training in the proper care of small and laboratory type animals. The supervisor must assume the primary responsibility for all conditions of the experiment where living vertebrates are involved. An affidavit which includes the following requirements must be signed by the supervisor.

<sup>1</sup> The International Science and Engineering Fair does not permit the use of live animals in exhibits.

(a) The student has researched and studied the appropriate literature concerning previous work done in the student's chosen area.<sup>2</sup>

(b) A written preliminary outline of the student's plan of action and anticipated outcome for the science project has been submitted and is available for evaluation. Such outline would include the specific purpose of the research.<sup>2</sup>

(c) The student is prepared to orally defend his or her experiment from the standpoint of why the methodology used was the best way to arrive at the conclusions obtained.<sup>2</sup>

A sample affidavit is included with these "Guidelines" and is intended to assist the student, teacher and/or adult supervisor to insure adequate preplanning of the project. Local veterinarians in nearly every community can serve as a qualified supervisor.

4. State humane laws provide for specific care and handling of all animals. Students, teachers and supervisors must be cognizant of such laws. Copies of appropriate state humane laws are available by contacting the local humane organization, state humane federation, the Secretary of State's office or The American Humane Association. Each state also has specific animal health regulations which must be considered. Copies of animal health regulations are obtainable from the state veterinarian or state public health office.

5. No student shall undertake an experiment which includes the use of anesthetic drugs, organisms which are capable of causing disease to humans or other animals, ionizing radiation, any substance capable of causing cancerous growth, or surgical procedures unless such procedures are performed under the direct supervision of a biomedical scientist experienced in the field of the student's investigation.

6. Students using animals under investigation MUST insure for the proper housing, food, water, exercise, cleanliness and gentle handling of such animals at all times. Special arrangements MUST be made for care during week-end, holiday and vacation periods. The comfort of each animal, by meeting its basic daily needs, shall be of prime concern.

7. Prior exhibition of all animals shall be adhered to by the student in cooperation with the teacher and supervisor. During the research period, the project shall be so located and cared for to protect the animals from extremes of heat, cold, direct sunlight or prolonged darkness. Caution must be taken to avoid the animals being teased or harmed by other students.

8. When the research project has been completed and the student does not wish to maintain the animal(s) as a pet, arrangements shall be made for proper disposition. Should the animal(s) need to be destroyed, arrangements must be made with a veterinarian for euthanasia. Under no circumstances should the student be allowed to provide "experimental" euthanasia.

MR. MAURICE A. CATTANI

### HON. BARRY M. GOLDWATER, JR.

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 14, 1971

Mr. GOLDWATER. Mr. Speaker, I would like to salute Mr. Maurice A. Cattani, a resident of Sherman Oaks, Calif.,

<sup>2</sup> These requirements, which may seem stringent, are a basic part of any scientific investigation, and hence, any young scientist should begin to employ these procedures for any project using scientific methodology.

for his many years of devoted service to his community.

Mr. Cattani holds memberships in such distinguished organizations as Civitan International, Pasadena Consistory, Masonic Lodge, Al Malaikah Temple, San Fernando Valley Shrine Club and the Sherman Oaks Methodist Church.

He is also active in support of such civic, youth, and philanthropic endeavors as the March of Dimes, Centinella Valley and Wilshire YMCA branches, the City of Hope, American Cancer Society, and Little League.

He has also shown himself to be an outstanding leader of business and industry. Mr. Cattani's entrepreneurship has resulted in his founding of Shannon Manufacturing Co., which is the Nation's largest designer and manufacturer of maternity foundations and lingerie, and which is currently celebrating its 25th anniversary.

From its small one-man beginning in a Los Angeles apartment, the firm has grown into a company of 180 employees, with annual sales of nearly \$4 million.

I am very proud to have Mr. Cattani as a resident of my Congressional District. He is a fine example of what can be achieved under our free enterprise system when talented, ambitious, and committed men are willing to take the opportunity to serve others.

#### REPRESSION IN TAIWAN

### HON. DONALD M. FRASER

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 14, 1971

Mr. FRASER. Mr. Speaker, I was interested to see in the July 17 New Republic an article by Fulbright scholar Phil Ginsburg who recently left Formosa after studying there a year. He wrote about the Nationalist Chinese Government's continuing suppression of political dissent.

I also include with these remarks newspaper reports about cases Mr. Ginsburg mentions in his New Republic article. The New York Times article by Frank Ching indicates that Chinese author Li Ao removed a listening device placed in his home by Formosan political police and mailed it to the Human Rights Commission of the United Nations. The Japan Times reported that when he was arrested on a new charge, Li Ao had already been charged with tampering with government property, presumably for his "de-bugging" action.

If these reports are accurate, the Nationalist Chinese have achieved a milestone in totalitarian surveillance. They bugged the home of a citizen and then prosecuted him for removing this bug.

And many Americans continue to refer to Taiwan as "Free China."

Mr. Ginsburg's article and the newspaper clippings follow:

[From the New Republic, July 17, 1971]

REPRESSION IN TAIWAN

(By Phil Ginsburg)

TAIPEI.—The Nationalist Chinese government, made up for the most part of the

two million Mainlanders who moved here in 1948 and 1949, rides uneasily on the backs of the 12 million native Taiwanese, whose ancestors emigrated from the Mainland in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The reassertion of the Nationalists' political authority after 50 years of Japanese occupation that ended with World War II was sealed with the execution in March 1947, of some 10,000 Taiwanese business and intellectual leaders by newly arrived mainland troops. Though discussion of it is forcibly repressed, the schism remains.

The Taiwanese uprising of February 28, 1947, which inspired the brutal repression, was in protest against the heavy-handedness of the occupying Nationalist forces and the appropriation of jobs and property by the newly arrived Mainlanders. Little has changed in 22 years. Only death has any significant effect on this gerontocracy. Taiwanese are almost completely shut out of jobs in the National government; all police chiefs and most officers in the armed forces are Mainlanders or their descendants born here; 40 percent of positions in the provincial and local governments are held by Mainlanders, and their children are 29 percent of the college and university students, though they make up only 13 percent of the civilian population. Economic growth has reduced this imbalance (Taiwan now enjoys a standard of living second only to Japan's in Asia), but it is a rare Taiwanese who has anything good to say about the government in private.

Should the almost unbroken economic improvement of the last 15 years begin to falter, only their monopoly of armed power would stand between the Mainlanders and the Taiwanese majority. Always acutely conscious of this fact, the government has built a large and extensive network of political police and informers. Anything remotely connected with political dissent that goes beyond nit-picking is suppressed, including scenes of a political demonstration in the Jack Lemmon comedy, "The Out-of-Towners," and the entry for "Mao Tse-tung" in the English-language dictionaries pirated here in great abundance. (The government has never signed the international copyright convention.) Reasoning that the "temporary retreat" to Taiwan constitutes an emergency, the government retains martial law. "Spreading rumors" is punishable by a term of from seven years to life. The controlled newspapers used to publish news of arrests for "anti-government" activities, but this practice has ceased; informal channels have had to take over. It was estimated late last year that there are some 4,000 political prisoners in Taiwan's jails. The vast majority of these are Taiwanese.

Writers, teachers, and intellectuals are among the most prominent recent victims of the security forces. Po Yang, a leading novelist and essayist, was sentenced in a secret military trial in the fall of 1969 to 12 years in prison; his crime: attending a Communist spy school in Manchuria for two days 20 years earlier and trying (unsuccessfully) to persuade a friend to remain behind on the Mainland rather than flee to Taiwan. Last fall several writers on the *Central Daily News*, the newspaper of the ruling Nationalist Party were rounded up, along with a vice president of the leading broadcasting company. In April, another of the island's leading writers, Li Ao, was arrested in a sweep that also gathered in Meng Hsiang-ko, a translator of Hesse's works into Chinese; Ts'ai Mao-t'ang, a scholar and teacher at the American-run Stanford Language Center; and perhaps a dozen others. One reliable estimate is that 65 such suspects were picked up in February and March alone.

The political prisoner here is held incommunicado for months. Nothing appears in the newspapers about arrests, charges, or sentences. Chinese officials contend that the

torture and beatings used in the past have been abandoned, but in the rare case that is tried publicly witnesses are likely to hear the defendant repudiate his "confession" on the grounds that it was extracted only after long uninterrupted questioning. The right to cross-examine is denied. Like their brothers on the Mainland, the government provides a kind of thought-reform for its most tractable dissidents; officials consider a three-year sentence to one of the minimum-security thought-reform prisons a merciful outcome for the defendant, even where the offense is negligible. Given the ugly reputation of other prisons here, they may be right.

An American missionary and his wife were expelled in March for alleged involvement with the Taiwanese Independence Movement, which is active in Japan and the United States but rarely surfaces here. Within the last few months the American Armed Forces have quietly shipped out several military men at the behest of the Chinese authorities, for the same reason. Taiwanese and Mainlander alike believe that the escape from house arrest here of the Taiwanese professor P'eng Ming-min, who is now in Michigan, was engineered by the CIA.

The government has argued that it is in the interest of the US to help suppress the Taiwanese, on the theory that an independent Taiwan would be sympathetic to the Mainland. This assertion has found a less sympathetic hearing on the US side in recent months, especially since the mild flirtation between the US and the People's Republic of China. It is conceivable that a Taiwanese-run government with status as a province or semi-autonomous region of the People's Republic might serve the US and the Mainland as a face-saving solution to the two-China problem.

Recent incidents—bombings of a USIS branch library in Tainan and the Bank of America office in Taipei, petty harassment of military men—suggest the possibility of a cautionary campaign by the government against any change in US policy; there is ample precedent for such an effort in the 1957 storming of the US Embassy here, which was incited and led by Nationalist Party functionaries. Along with the suppression of domestic dissent, this kind of sniping is likely to increase with the approach of the crucial UN vote on seating the People's Republic of China.

[From the New York Times, June 1, 1971]  
U.S. TRANSFERS FIVE IN TAIWAN UNREST—MEN SAID TO BE ACCUSED OF AIDING DISSIDENTS

TAIPEI, TAIWAN, May 31.—The United States has transferred four or more military men and a junior officer of the Central Intelligence Agency from Taiwan in the last month, reportedly after Chinese Nationalist officials accused them of assisting native Taiwanese in plotting anti-Government activities.

The Nationalists, according to reliable sources, charged that the men had given technical advice to dissidents on the use of explosives and on ways to generate international publicity favorable to their cause. The Americans were also said to have used their military postal privileges to help the Taiwanese communicate with colleagues abroad.

In its protest to United States diplomatic and military authorities just over a month ago, the Ministry of Defense reportedly included detailed evidence accumulated by Chinese security agents by close surveillance of the men over a long period.

The transferred Americans include a physician at the Navy Hospital here, an enlisted man in a psychological warfare detachment, an officer in the Military Assistance Advisory Group and a civilian official in the Army Technical Group, the cover name for the sizable Central Intelligence Agency detachment here.

## AGENT DEFENDS ACTION

American sources said the intelligence agent had asserted that he was simply trying, without orders, to broaden his contacts among the Taiwanese.

The Chinese security agencies are understood to be investigating several other United States military men who left Taiwan some time ago under routine reassignment.

Both the United States and the Chinese Governments are said to regard the case as a source of embarrassment that they had hoped would not become a matter of public discussion.

For that reason, it was said, the American authorities arranged for the quiet transfer of the men, who were ordered not to discuss the affair with anyone. The United States Embassy has refused to comment on the case.

The embarrassment for the Nationalist Government stems largely from its reluctance to admit that there are any active supporters of the concept of "Taiwanese independence" on the island.

The dissidents said to be involved in the case are believed to be proponents of independents from any government of China, either Communist or Nationalist, on the ground that the 12 million Taiwanese have their own interests and historical identity. Organizations advocating independence operate abroad among Taiwanese students and exiles but are outlawed in Taiwan.

American officials here, who have been trying to assure the Nationalists that United States support for their Government will not diminish as a result of Washington's efforts to ease the tensions with Peking, appear to be even more upset than the Chinese over the case.

## C.I.A. ACTIVITY DENIED

They have already had a difficult time convincing some Nationalists that rumors of financial backing by the C.I.A. for the Taiwan independence movement were unfounded. Reports that the American intelligence agency arranged the escape from Taiwan of Prof. Peng Ming Min, an independence leader, have also gained wide credence here.

In an effort to prevent further such incidents, Vice Adm. Walter H. Baumberger, head of the United States' Taiwan Defense Command, reportedly has ordered commanders of American units here to warn their men to steer clear of domestic political activity.

A large number of suspected anti-Government activists—as many as 65, according to some reports—have been arrested in the last three months in what may be a reaction by the Government to recent setbacks affecting Taiwan's international position. In recent months the Government has also expelled an American missionary couple and arrested several Japanese tourists for allegedly having aided Taiwanese dissidents.

[From the New York Times, May 13, 1971]

DIARY SENT BY SEIZED TAIWAN WRITER

(By Frank Ching)

The diary of a popular young writer arrested last month by the political police in Taiwan has reached friends in the United States.

Apparently suspecting that he might one day be arrested, the writer, Li Ao, sent some manuscripts abroad last year, including parts of his diary. The 37-year-old writer is well known for his satirical essays, in which he pokes fun at individuals, institutions and society in general.

The diary, written in a humorous vein, describes the activities of the political police, who kept him under 24-hour surveillance for a year before his arrest, the intelligence agencies involved, and the questioning and arrest of his friends. It is now circulating privately and is being translated and edited for possible publication.

Friends of the writer are reluctant to make known details of the diary for fear that the publicity will be harmful to Mr. Li. However, they say that they will publish it if Mr. Li is not released soon.

The Government has not made known any charges against Mr. Li.

#### WATCHED CONSTANTLY

The political police, besides following him wherever he went, are said to have planted a number of listening devices in his house. In a conversation last December with a visiting American, Mr. Li said he had removed one of the "bugs" and mailed it to the Human Rights Commission of the United Nations.

The American, who met the writer for lunch, recalled that Mr. Li was followed by two men, who remained outside the restaurant.

Other friends of Mr. Li say he was watched constantly because of the Government's fear that he might escape from the country. They point out that the surveillance of Mr. Li was tightened immediately after a close friend, Prof. Peng Mingmin, escaped from Taiwan.

#### ANTI-GOVERNMENT PAMPHLET

Professor Peng, now a research fellow at the University of Michigan, was convicted by a military court in 1964, along with two of his former students, Wei Ting-chao and Hsieh Tsungmin, of having prepared an anti-Government pamphlet judged to be seditious. The three men, all Taiwanese, were released several years ago by the Government of President Chiang Kai-shek, which is dominated by mainland Chinese.

Last February, Mr. Wei and Mr. Hsieh, also close friends of Mr. Li were again arrested, and there is speculation that the arrest of Mr. Li and another mainland-born writer, Meng Hsiang-ko, may be related to that of the two Taiwanese.

However, a Chinese graduate student in California, though conceding that many of the writer's close friends may be involved in the Taiwan independence movement, said it was impossible for Mr. Li himself to be involved. "There is no way for mainlanders to get into the organization," he said. "It would be like a white man joining the Black Panthers."

There is a widespread belief among scholars and Chinese students that Mr. Li and other intellectuals are victims of a repressive political atmosphere generated by the nervousness of the Nationalist Government, which sees itself facing an uncertain future with the relaxation of tensions between the United States and Communist China.

#### SENSITIVE TO CRITICISM

With support for the Nationalist position declining in the United Nations, the Government, which claims it is the legal government of all China, is very sensitive to any criticism that can be interpreted as undermining its legitimacy.

The satirical essays that established Mr. Li's reputation are reminiscent of the style and wit of the great Lu Hsun, who died in 1936 but whose writings are still immensely popular. Although Mr. Li's writings are admired, especially by the young, they also have offended many people, both in and out of the Government.

In 1965, a magazine that Mr. Li edited, *Wen Hsing*, or *Literary Star*, was closed down by the Government.

Since the closing of *Wen Hsing*, Mr. Li has been forbidden to publish any new books. He has made a living by dealing in second-hand electrical appliances.

[From the Japan Times, April 18, 1971]

**TAIWAN WRITER HELD BY SECURITY AGENCY**  
**TAIPEI.**—Li Ao, a well known historian and writer, has been arrested and is being held by military security authorities, well informed sources said Saturday.

Sources said Li was arrested March 19 by the Taiwan Garrison Command, an Army agency responsible for island security.

Officials would not comment on the case, but it was believed Li would remain under detention for some time, and that his arrest was linked to the arrests of several, anti-Government dissidents at the end of February.

Li is a mainland Chinese whose subtle historical criticisms of the Nationalist Chinese Government earned him official enmity long ago.

He was followed constantly, and had been under virtual house arrest since late February.

When arrested he was involved in two legal cases, one a long-pending libel suit that effectively prevented him from writing, and the other a charge of tampering with Government property arising from his discovery of an electronic listening device in his home.

#### "RURAL SCENE: PICTURE OF NEGLECT"

### HON. JOHN M. ZWACH

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 14, 1971

Mr. ZWACH. Mr. Speaker, our House Committee on Agriculture is holding hearings on Rural Development.

Continued low prices for the products of the farm have resulted in unfair returns for all the countryside, since agriculture is the base on which all other countryside business depends.

Msgr. William T. Magee, in the St. Cloud Sunday Visitor, in our Sixth Congressional District of Minnesota, treated this problem of rural development in a recent editorial.

Mr. Speaker, I would like to share Monsignor Magee's editorial with all of the people who read the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD by herewith inserting it:

#### RURAL SCENE: PICTURE OF NEGLECT

(By Msgr. William T. Magee)

In line with a yet unfulfilled promise of the Administration to do something about rural America, a Congressional subcommittee toured the countryside some time ago. The journey did not get much publicity at the time and little has come of the trip.

While aboard in Iowa or South Dakota, we can't remember which state, Senator Hubert Humphrey gave a little speech which, among other things, pointed out that the government in the past had given inducements to leave the cities and settle on the land. He cited such things as Land Grant colleges, subsidizing railroads to penetrate the west, homestead enabling programs and other things.

Progress has made these former measures obsolete, of course, and challenges of free, open territory to exploit are gone. Political conquest and financial profit produced the motives for settling the land in by-gone days. Now the situation calls for assistance in overcoming economic and social problems which depopulate the country and threaten to turn it into a blighted area.

Outside of some fine rhetoric tossed out in the general direction for obtaining votes, the government has all but forgotten the open spaces of the land as it is pressured to pour money into crowded cities. Most people would prefer to cry about the symptoms of popularity density, using drastic, unneeded surgery on where it hurts rather than look for underlying causes. Depopulating migration continues, those left behind suffer social

and economic loss, and the reformers call for lopping off of heads through population control.

If one takes a ride through the country, even a few miles from a city, he is met with the sight of abandoned farms, empty houses and run-down small towns. These are as much an eyesore as beer cans, pop bottles and the other garbage the "top" ecologists are fretting about. All kinds of cute little projects are carried out to clean up the debris on the land but no one seems to see the human and social devastation. About the only thing we can see that motivates these school-boy efforts to "beautify and reclaim the land" is the effete and self-serving motive of allowing our city dwellers to have a nice, smell-free picnic or a vacation trip to LOOK AT nature. They're SO worried that they won't be able to LOOK AT an animal, bird or flower, but live there(!). God forbid. Or, maybe, they want to be able to build a nice sylvan suburban home.

The likes of Arthur Godfrey can make nasal noises about the birds and the bees and refuse to hustle detergents while he oozes commercial concern for cat and dog food to feed the useless city pets.

The ecologists take great pains to explain the balance of nature, the proper proportion between animals and environment for the preservation of both, but we find little effort to ascertain the correct balance of people for their good. Or maybe men are prone to live the lives of beehive crowding.

The social reformists are gung-ho for alleviating the conditions of slums, overcrowding and the deteriorating inner city but nary a glance at conditions of Poverty in the South or of down-grading towns and schools of other parts of rural America.

If the government once was able to induce a movement to settle and populate the country, why can't programs be projected today, plans for rural and farmer improvement? Family farms could stand help to prevent their disappearance, towns and villages could be made attractive places to live in, and small industry giving work to the people. Instead of bringing railroads to the country, inducements could be given to decentralizing of industry, instead of homestead privileges, farm improvement programs.

#### CONTEMPT CITATION AGAINST CBS

### HON. JAMES A. McCLURE

OF IDAHO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 14, 1971

Mr. McCLURE. Mr. Speaker, in Tuesday's debate regarding the contempt citation against the president of the Columbia Broadcasting System, many thought-provoking arguments were advanced on both sides of the issue. However, it seemed to me that when all was said and done, the crux of the debate boiled down to one basic question.

It was not freedom of the press as many alleged. How could it have been when we had no legislation before us? It was simply Congress' right to know. The American people expect us, as their elected representatives, to investigate any matter of concern. Is Congress itself now to be denied the right of free speech?

Ever since the Vice President first raised the questions about the integrity of the news media, I have received quite a number of letters on the subject. I

would like to share one of the more recent ones with my colleagues at this time. Our friends in the broadcasting industry should be particularly concerned about it since the author cannot be classified as an extremist.

I include the letter:

I and numerous other citizens with whom I have spoken often sit out here and watch the news on the television receiver, and we have become very much aware of a large trend in news broadcasting; that is, the public news media really seems to be anti-American and especially anti-Administration. It does not take one with a college degree to see that the news is continually and daily slanted against the Government of the United States of America. If you gentlemen are not really aware of this, I suggest you view one such program as Walter Cronkite's CBS Evening News. It seems that no American official, general, representative, senator, Vice-President of the United States, or President of the United States can say or do anything that they are able to make a positive statement about. It seems that the news media, with Walter Cronkite's CBS in the van, have only derogatory things to say about them. I grow positively weary upon viewing and reading about how incompetent our elected Government officials are.

These "worthies" are not satisfied to merely report the news, that such-and-such has happened in the world today. They must make a comment with every news report, and obviously this comment is their own opinion. They seem to take it for granted that we are a bunch of idiots out here in America. As soon as a senator, representative, or even the President of the United States, makes a speech, these "reporters" immediately appear on the air analyzing and criticizing as if they themselves have been in Government and high places the same number of years as the person they are criticizing.

The great bugaboo about freedom of the press has been stretched to cover any and all sins of the public news media. If any of our elected representatives makes so much as a remark about the unfairness of the press, there is immediately a great hue and cry about how they are attacking the freedom of the press. We know that the freedom of the press, which includes all electronic means of communication, exists solely as a profit-making organization. If no advertising was sold, there would be no news reports.

Walter Cronkite made a little blurb stating that he thought there was a great move afoot in the Government to discredit the news media. The reverse is exactly true. I think the news media, for whatever their motives, are directly and assiduously attempting to undermine the elected Government of the United States. Their protestations about the freedom of the press are only a smoke screen so they can say what they will. I am sure that the framers of our Constitution never intended that the freedom of the press should mean disrespect for the President of the United States and all the other elective representatives of the people; nevertheless, the news media in totem seems to be trying to brainwash the entire American public that our representatives in Washington, D.C., can never do anything good.

The balance of time allotted to the good news and the positive things that are happening in our country is far outweighed by obvious and long-dwelling commentaries on negativism, so-called ineptness of the Congress, and the downright incompetence of our President. I really think the National Legislature should cause the news media to be labeled as it is; e.g., Walter Cronkite should be made to announce his news program as: "Good evening, Ladies and Gentlemen, this is the five o'clock bad news and anti-Administration comments.

You only have to get into a group of intelligent people, whether they be politically oriented or not, and you will find that everyone is noticing the negative and detrimental slant of the news media.

I and others feel that our Government and our country, which, of course, includes our National Legislature and our President, have done something good and positive at least once a day. Someone, whose name I cannot recall, has written a book the title of which is, "The Left-Leaning Antenna." What did he mean? In spite of their hypocritical cries of censorship and freedom of the press, I think the Congress of the United States should really take the news media apart and make them start telling the truth and stop giving so much of their own ill-informed, un-researched, biased analysis.

The news media is not the Executive, Legislative, and Judicial branches of the United States Government. However, they try to influence public opinion that they are. This may seem like an extended tirade or diatribe, but I am quite fed up with the anti-American slant of most of the news. Many of the things that they talk about, especially Vietnam, are obvious distortions and their own opinions. I spent a full combat tour in Vietnam. I know something about what is going on, especially in the area in which I was fighting. A reporter may spend one week in one area, or perhaps a month in the whole country, and he comes back home an instant expert and critic of all our military effort and United States foreign policy. Can't the United States Senate and House of Representatives do something about this extremely dangerous practice of the news media?

JUDGE JAMES E. HANNON

HON. SILVIO O. CONTE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 14, 1971

Mr. CONTE. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to inform this body of the death of a man from my First District in Massachusetts whose life was truly a saga of one human being's triumph over adversity.

Judge James E. Hannon, who died late last month, was born blind in one eye and lost the sight in his other eye when he was eight. Nevertheless, he went on to a distinguished educational career, graduating with honors from Boston University in 1933 and 2 years later with a law degree, magna cum laude. It was the first time that any BU law student had graduated with such high rank in 4 years.

From law school, he came to Lee, Mass., and embarked on a career as a practicing lawyer which led to election to the State legislature and, eventually, appointment as associate justice of the Lee district court.

I had the honor of serving in the legislature as a State senator when Judge Hannon was a State representative. Together we worked on several important issues of benefit to the people of Berkshire County.

His passing is a tragic loss to his family and many friends. It is also a loss to people everywhere who admire courage and determination in their fellow men.

At this time, Mr. Speaker, I submit for the Record the following article from

the June 21 edition of the Berkshire Eagle which details the life of this fine man.

[From the Berkshire (Mass.) Eagle, June 21, 1971]

JUDGE JAMES HANNON OF LEE IS DEAD AT 61

LEE.—James E. Hannon, 61, associate justice of the Lee District Court, town attorney and former legislator from the old 6th Berkshire District, died last night at Hillcrest Hospital, Pittsfield, following complications that had resulted from recent minor surgery.

Born in Brockton Dec. 23, 1909, Judge Hannon was blind in one eye at birth and lost the sight in his other eye when he was 8 years old. Despite his handicap, he graduated with honors from Boston University in 1933 with a bachelor's degree and two years later with a law degree, magna cum laude. It was the first time in four years that a law student had graduated from BU with such high rank. There were 125 other students in his class.

PART IN MOVIE

Despite a life devoted to the small-town practice of law and service in the legislature, Judge Hannon was best known outside this area for his part in a movie, "Alice's Restaurant."

As the judge who was sitting in the District Court the day that Arlo Guthrie, a student at Stockbridge School, was brought in for littering, he became part of the incident that Guthrie made famous in a song, and which later became the basis for the movie, loosely based on the actual circumstances.

Judge Hannon came to Lee in 1935 and opened a law office in the same building with his late brother, Dr. John F. Hannon, who was a dentist.

The lawyer was elected to the legislature in 1944 and served until 1952, when he was defeated by the late Franklin L. Sturgis, father of the present clerk of the District Court.

Judge Hannon first served from the 4th Berkshire District and then the 6th District. The towns he represented were Becket, Dalton, Hinsdale, Lee, Lenox, Otis, Peru, Tyringham, Washington and Windsor.

As a legislator, Judge Hannon often acted in the House of Representatives in concert with now U.S. Congressman Silvio O. Conte, then a member of the Massachusetts Senate, on legislation affecting the Berkshires. For instance, both sought aid for farmers whose herds had been wiped out by disease and both sought investigation of the state Alcoholic Beverages Control Commission.

Judge Hannon also fought for minimum prices for whisky sold in package stores in the state, and against legislation designed to stop the dumping of sewage into inland and tidal waters.

He said in 1945 that he looked forward to the day when only those "with no social conscience will put sewage in lakes and rivers, but the (small) communities aren't ready yet." The proposal was to declare as a criminal offense the dumping of sewage into lakes and streams.

He was named a special justice of the District Court by Gov. Foster Furcolo June 9, 1960, to succeed the late Cornelius J. Broderick. As special justice, he sat as substitute in several other courts besides Lee.

John J. Dwyer, presiding justice of the District Court, today issued a statement that, "In the passing of Judge James E. Hannon, the citizens of Lee and Berkshire County have lost a good friend and a valuable and devoted public servant. He brought to the bench a keen mind, a distinguished educational background, a sense of fairness to all parties and a compassionate concern for the problems of the less fortunate.

"He will be greatly missed by all who had the honor of serving with him. The members and the staff of the District Court of Lee extend our deepest sympathy to his family."

## SURVIVORS

Judge Hannon leaves his wife, the former Charlotte Morrill, and a brother, William J. Hannon of Hyannis.

The funeral will be from the Kelly Funeral Home here Wednesday at 9:15 with a Liturgy of Christian Burial at St. Mary's Church at 10. Burial will be in St. Mary's Cemetery. Calling hours tomorrow at the funeral home will be from 2 to 4 and 7 to 9.

**BENITO JUAREZ CIRCLE IN WASHINGTON**

**HON. RICHARD C. WHITE**

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 14, 1971

Mr. WHITE. Mr. Speaker, I have today introduced legislation to designate the traffic circle at Virginia and New Hampshire Avenues in Washington as "Benito Juarez Circle." The circle, and the statue that dominates it, commemorate the great Mexican liberator, Benito Juarez, a contemporary of Abraham Lincoln, who united his country and gave it free government at a time when it was threatened with conquest from without and corruption and tyranny from within.

Presidents Juarez and Lincoln greatly admired one another and, although our own country was torn by civil war, President Lincoln was able to exercise his influence to prevail upon the French to halt their adventure in Mexico and permit that country to establish its own free and independent government.

Lincoln and Juarez had much in common. Juarez was a Zapotec Indian who rose from the depths of poverty to become leader in the fight for independence, the Governor of his state, and the President of his country. Lincoln, too, was of humblest origins, largely self educated, and became a successful lawyer, a U.S. Representative, and then President of the Union he did so much to save.

If you were to ask the average resident of Mexico what American of the past he most admires, the answer would probably be Abraham Lincoln. A few years ago, shortly before I came to Congress, Mexico developed in Ciudad Juarez, the city named for Benito Juarez, just across the Rio Grande from my home city of El Paso, an impressive area popularly known as "PRONAF." This stands for "Programa Nacional Fronterizo," or "National Border Program," an attempt by Mexico to establish, along its frontier with the United States, attractive ports of entry that would emphasize Mexico's cultural heritage, its superb craftsmanship, and its educational and industrial progress. At a prominent spot in the heart of the Pronaf area in Ciudad Juarez, Mexico erected a statue of Abraham Lincoln. It is a striking and unusual statue, showing Lincoln in a standing position, as if delivering a speech.

It was inevitable that a similar gesture should be made to honor Lincoln's great contemporary, Benito Juarez, with a statue in the United States. During the last meeting between Presidents Lyndon Johnson and Gustavo Diaz Ordaz, it was

agreed that a statue of the great Mexican liberator would be erected in Washington. The statue was presented, by the people of Mexico to the people of the United States, and was erected and dedicated in January 1969.

Since then, a busy traffic circle has been developed around the impressive statue, where Virginia, New Hampshire, the Twenty-fifth Streets come together. Around this circle will move traffic for the Watergate area, and for the new Kennedy Center for the Performing Arts, to be opened in September. It is fitting that this important site should bear the name of that great good neighbor of the United States whose statue so fittingly reminds us of the bond of friendship between our two Nations. I, therefore, ask the support of this Congress for designating the traffic circles described in my bill as "Benito Juarez Circle."

**CITIES TO COLLECT FREEWAY TOLLS OR USER FEES**

**HON. LES ASPIN**

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 15, 1971

Mr. ASPIN. Mr. Speaker, today I am introducing my fifth piece of environmental legislation. The bill would allow cities with a population over 200,000, to collect tolls or user fees on the freeways within their jurisdictional boundaries. The purpose of this bill is to significantly reduce automobile pollution, which now accounts for more than 50 percent of all air pollution in our cities. This legislation would also provide an added source of income to cities and would require that commuters help pay their fair share for the services in the city which they use.

Any attempt at reducing air pollution must address itself to the private automobile. Attempts to solve it with anti-pollution control devices alone are not sufficient. Our interstate highway program has been the basic cause of many of our big city woes. In addition to the tremendous air pollution problem the interstate highway program has been, and continues to be, a major factor in causing the fiscal plight the large cities presently find themselves in. Most of the people who have moved to the suburbs did so, because the freeways were built, not the other way around as the highway planners would lead us to believe. Building a new freeway out to the undeveloped suburbs makes it easier to move there and commute into the city to work. The city's loss becomes the suburb's gain. The process is a never-ending cycle. It causes a perverse sort of revenue sharing, in effect subsidizing the distribution of the city's wealth to the bedroom suburbs. The assumption that the need for new freeways should be based on rush hour congestion borders on being ridiculous. In addition, the gross underpricing of private commuter travel causes the scarce freeway space to be used unwisely.

The average occupancy rate on urban freeways is only 1.3 people per auto. If we could simply get people to double up we could eliminate half the air pollution caused by the private automobile—up to 45 percent of the total air pollution in some of our cities.

The magnitude of the commuting problem can easily be pointed out with a few figures. Three hundred and forty thousand cars enter San Francisco daily, 480,000 enter Chicago, and over 600,000 enter Manhattan. Once they arrive it becomes necessary to find a place to park them until they return to the suburbs again at nightfall. The city of Los Angeles with its 290 miles of freeways and 3½ million cars, devotes two-thirds of the total downtown area to moving, storing, and servicing cars. Parking lots yield very little property tax revenue. When you replace buildings with parking lots you must shift the tax burden to someone else within the city limits. Every time a new freeway is built more land comes off the property tax rolls.

This lost revenue is never taken into account in the cost estimates of new freeways. If it were, very few new freeways would be built. Interchanges alone take anywhere from 40 to 80 acres. One interchange in downtown Milwaukee takes approximately 60 acres of prime land. This interchange alone replaced buildings and land that yielded \$700,000 dollars per year in property taxes. To determine the total lump sum loss to the city—the added cost of the interchange—all we have to do is capitalize the annual loss of \$700,000. When capitalized at 4 percent we find that the city should have added \$17.5 million to the actual construction costs of this one interchange to get a true picture of the total cost. No such estimates are made and we build many more freeways than we would if someone would do so.

The acquisition and construction costs alone average \$4.9 million per mile for urban freeways, a full five times more than rural sections of the interstate system. The funds for construction come from gasoline taxes which generate about 1 cent per mile. If a commuter drives 25 miles to work he will pay 50 cents per round trip in gas taxes for highway construction. Prof. William Vickrey, the noted transportation economist of Columbia University, estimates that the costs of acquisition, construction, and lost property revenue from land under the freeways, totals over 10 cents a mile per automobile.

The private commuter is heavily subsidized, approximately 10 cents per mile. The individual who drives 25 miles into work each day, in effect, receives a public subsidy of approximately \$5 per day. If we subsidized mass transit like we do the private commuter we would have to pay each rider a sizable sum, in addition to giving him a free ticket.

The cost of expanding new freeways in Washington, D.C., to handle more commuters at rush hour is about \$23,000 per additional car. Thus if a person moves to Arlington and decides to drive his car into Washington to work every day, he, in effect, is asking the public

to subsidize him to the tune of \$23,000. What this really means is that cities are paying an enormous amount to increase their own air pollution and subsidize commuters who do not have to pay their fair share for freeway construction. If we continue to subsidize the private commuter to the extent we do now, it will not be long before all private mass transit companies go under for lack of riders. Mass transit economizes on the use of scarce space. One rail track can carry 70,000 people per hour, an exclusive bus lane can carry 40,000 people per hour. One lane of expressway can haul only up to 3,000 people per hour with each car having an average occupancy rate of 1.5 people per car, a somewhat larger occupancy rate than we find on most of our freeways.

The only way to rectify the problem is to remove the subsidy to the rush hour commuter.

My bill would allow large cities to place tolls on freeways. All moneys collected would have to be used for mass transit, either to construct new systems, or to provide monetary help to existing systems. It is hoped that the cities would take advantage of this. But the bill would not force them to. The tolls would be most effective if the cities would use peak hour pricing, the absence of which has caused much of our commuting problems.

Since the freeways were built primarily for rush hour traffic it is only proper to place higher tolls on rush hour use. We do this in virtually all other areas of our economy where high peak loads exist at certain times. Telephone calls are cheaper at night and on weekends, movie theaters charge more in the evening than for matinees, plays are more expensive to see on Saturday nights, hotels have higher rates in season, et cetera. Higher rush hour tolls would cause people to double up and form car pools, relieve congestion, reduce air pollution, eliminate the need for more parking lots, make mass transit more appealing, and eliminate most of the need for new freeways. There would be no need for off-peak hour tolls. This would encourage people to come downtown to shop. Once downtown, they would be able to find parking places, now almost totally reserved for daily commuters.

I urge my colleagues to give careful study to this idea, and this legislation. The passage of this bill could do much for our troubled cities.

THE POLICYMAKERS WHO INVOLVED THE UNITED STATES IN THE VIETNAM WAR

HON. STROM THURMOND

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES  
Thursday, July 15, 1971

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, on June 1, 1971, Thomas A. Lane wrote a

very thought-provoking article entitled "No Hope in U.S. Foreign Policy."

General Lane includes statements written by Chester L. Cooper who worked with the U.S. delegations to the 1954 Geneva Conference and the 1961-62 Geneva Conference which neutralized Laos. He also worked on the White House national security staff under McGeorge Bundy and Walt Rostow.

This column points out the ineptness of the policymakers of the two previous administrations who involved the United States in the Vietnam war.

Mr. President, in my view, the war could have been ended by military action years ago. However, now, President Nixon's Vietnamization plan is progressing successfully. It is my hope that South Vietnam will be able to withstand further aggression after the Vietnamese Government assumes full control over its defense.

This article points out the mistake of attempting to direct the U.S. foreign policy and military operations by means of legislative proposals.

Mr. President, a conflict in which the United States is involved should be directed and controlled by military personnel who have the knowledge and firsthand information to make the best analysis. It is impractical to assume that civilian policymakers, who have to depend upon the news media for their information, can make efficient and effective decisions involving combat operations in a country thousands of miles away.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the column "No Hope in U.S. Foreign Policy" by Thomas A. Lane, June 1, 1971, be printed in the Extensions of Remarks.

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

NO HOPE IN U.S. FOREIGN POLICY

WASHINGTON.—Writing memoirs is a popular recourse of men who have worked in policy-making positions in our government. Public concern about the issues and curiosity about the inner mysteries assure publishers of a substantial public response to such offerings.

The memoirist may use the opportunity to display his own wisdom, to glorify or deflate his erstwhile superiors, to praise the decisions he approved and to display the error of those who rejected his advice. He may even try conscientiously to tell a story which will be useful to posterity.

In the *Lost Crusade* (Dodd, Mead & Co., 1970), Chester L. Cooper draws upon his own experience in the White House basement to offer his story of the origins and progress of the Vietnam war. Cooper is a career civil servant who worked with the U.S. delegations to the 1954 Geneva Conference which divided Vietnam and to the 1961-62 Geneva Conference which neutralized Laos. He served also on the White House National Security staff under McGeorge Bundy and Walt Rostow. We have reason to expect of him a perceptive analysis of U.S. policy.

The substance of the Cooper report is that the policy makers didn't know any more than we read in the newspapers. And when press reports were so biased as to mislead the public, they misled the policy makers too. For example, Cooper writes of the May, 1963 riots

in Hue, "when Diem's troops fired indiscriminately into a crowd of Buddhists who were displaying a religious banner in defiance of a government edict". There was no government edict against displaying religious banners but only a requirement that priority of place be given to the national flag. The police did not fire indiscriminately into the crowd. Cooper's knowledge of what happened in Vietnam seems to come from David Halberstam who colored events to serve New York Times policy.

On such critical matters as President Kennedy's decision to overthrow President Diem, revealed by Kenneth O'Donnell in *Life* magazine, Cooper seems incredibly uninformed. He gives us the administration propaganda line that Diem was a dictator overthrown by his own people.

What were the wellsprings of the Kennedy-Johnson policies? According to Cooper, the policy makers thought all through the conflict that they were on the verge of winning. If they just put in a little more force, the enemy would quit. This self-delusion paralyzed policy and foreclosed critical analysis. The leaders never realized that they had created conditions which assured an interminable war of attrition.

Mr. Cooper still doesn't know what happened. In criticizing the Nixon move into Cambodia, he wrote: "President Nixon did one of the things that the Johnson Administration regarded as unthinkable—he widened the war beyond the boundaries of Vietnam." Of course this "unthinkable" option was precisely the action required to defeat the aggression we had undertaken to repel.

Who persuaded our policy makers that so simple and so legitimate a course as striking back at the aggressor was unthinkable? When and how was American strategic thought reduced to such absurdity? Cooper should know but he doesn't tell. Perhaps he never saw the issue clearly.

If Mr. Cooper will analyze his own experience, he will find that this line of thought came from his British associates. Britain long ago learned the knack of giving away the substance of its allies while conserving its own resources. Britain has profited substantially from our war in Vietnam. It has exercised a subtle dominion over U.S. policy.

In conclusion, Mr. Cooper gives us guidance for the future. We must learn to cope with subnuclear threats to the peace. "In the last analysis," he wrote, "National security can be attained only in a peaceful and ordered world." This will require "close consultations with the Soviet Union and developing effective, non-polemical channels with Communist China so that we can avoid, insofar as possible, misunderstandings and miscalculations about objectives and intentions. It will mean an expansion of American aid programs and a liberalization of our trade policies lest we find ourselves psychologically and politically besieged by Latin America, Africa and Asia."

This was the Kennedy policy which led us into war in Vietnam. Diplomats are incapable of learning from history.

CBS CONTEMPT CITATION

HON. JOSHUA EILBERG

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES  
Thursday, July 15, 1971

Mr. EILBERG. Mr. Speaker, I was opposed to House Resolution 534, which

proposed that the Columbia Broadcasting System and its president, Dr. Frank Stanton, be cited for contempt of Congress for refusing to make certain film material available to the House Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce. I favored recommitment of the resolution to the Commerce Committee.

The first amendment of our Constitution clearly prohibits inquiry into the news judgments of broadcasters. The course recommended by the majority of the Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee in this instance would violate this constitutional prohibition. A long line of Supreme Court and Federal appellate decisions have shown the judiciary to be extremely reluctant to infringe first amendment guarantees. This reluctance is especially strong where sought-after information is available from other sources, as in this case.

The committee claims that it seeks to develop legislation which will safeguard the public from distortion in the news media and that the sought-after information is necessary to this end. The facts indicate that the information needed to legislate has already been provided by the Columbia Broadcasting System or is available from other sources including the Pentagon and the individuals interviewed for the program in question. The way to temper distortion in the news media is not through an extension of congressional controls to the method by which news is obtained and reported, thus doing injury to the first amendment; rather such distortion is guarded against by the free exchange of ideas in a free press, as intended by the framers of the Constitution. Thus, the committee subpoena is both unnecessary and an overextension of congressional powers.

While the Congress has the duty to regulate the broadcast industry, it does not have the right to do so by violating basic first amendment guarantees.

#### BLACK NEWLYWEDS MARK PROGRESS IN CHICAGO

### HON. ROBERT McCLORY

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 15, 1971

Mr. McCLORY. Mr. Speaker, the Chicago Tribune yesterday reported the results of a survey conducted by the Real Estate Research Corp. which reflects that the standard of living for black newlyweds has greatly increased over the past 17 years.

For example, the survey reports that in June of 1954, 14 percent of Chicago's black newlyweds started their married life in a single, rented room. In June of 1971, the number of black newlyweds in Chicago who were forced to start married life in this manner had dropped to only 1.3 percent.

Other improvements in living conditions were also noted. The survey dis-

closed that 61.2 percent of young black couples own an automobile today, while only 42 percent had a car in 1954. And, surprisingly, a higher percentage of today's white brides than black responded that they planned to work after they were married. In 1954, 73 percent of the new black wives planned to hold a regular job after marriage—today, the number of employed black brides has reportedly dropped to 68.8 percent. While there is still a gap between black and white economic advantages as consumers there are also indications that that difference has likewise narrowed appreciably over the past 17 years.

Mr. Speaker, subtle forms of discrimination still exist to deprive black Americans of their right to full equality. I am greatly encouraged by the progress which has been made over the past several years; however, I must confess that, in my opinion, we are still moving too slowly toward the day when it will not be possible to discern any socioeconomic or political advantages of one race over another. Furthermore, I am convinced that progress comes faster and is most lasting when it is achieved in an atmosphere of mutual respect.

Mr. Speaker, I commend the progress of the past several years to the consideration of my colleagues, and I salute black Americans everywhere for their remarkably dignified march toward full equality under the law.

#### OUTSIDE EARNINGS AND THE WORKLOAD OF THE SUPREME COURT

### HON. LOUIS C. WYMAN

OF NEW HAMPSHIRE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 14, 1971

Mr. WYMAN. Mr. Speaker, just yesterday the House passed a bill to give the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court an administrative assistant. I supported this bill. There is no question that the workload of the High Court is enormous and the burden on its members staggering. I believe the Congress recognized this in voting in favor of this bill by a 2-to-1 margin.

Despite this workload, a financial statement for the first 6 months of 1971 filed by Associate Justice William O. Douglas, shows outside earnings in excess of his salary. It reports some \$37,000 on the side, chiefly from speaking and writing, contrasted with \$30,000 in salary for the same period.

In a TV interview a week ago Monday, Chief Justice Burger noted that the Court's caseload has increased from 1,100 in 1950 to more than 4,000 this year. In this situation it is more than a little perplexing that a Justice has sufficient time to earn in excess of his salary from outside activity.

Undoubtedly this practice is legal. It is not the practice of law and there is no rule or regulation prohibiting it that I know of. Equally certain is the fact that as a matter of policy it is probably not a subject that lends itself to legislative restriction.

However, it does seem to me, as well as to several with whom I have discussed the matter, that some restraints on such outside earnings might be in order as a matter of self-discipline or self-restraint or what have you. The same principle should apply to Members of Congress. If there is sufficient time to write and speak at an extrajudicial function to the tune of \$6,000 a month, perhaps the Court is not all that overburdened. Or, more significantly, perhaps those engaging in all this outside activity are throwing a disproportionate part of the load on others who stick to their heavy judicial responsibilities?

#### WILL A BULLDOZER COOL THINGS OFF?

### HON. FLETCHER THOMPSON

OF GEORGIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 15, 1971

Mr. THOMPSON of Georgia. Mr. Speaker, I insert in the RECORD the third of a series of articles concerning model cities that recently appeared in the Atlanta Constitution:

#### WILL A BULLDOZER COOL THINGS OFF?

(By Duane Riner)

Cary Hooks, state director of the Federal Housing Administration, says he's confident that the frustrations of Model Cities residents will "cool off" once they see construction begin on a couple of apartment complexes.

"Let the people see something being built. If you do a little something," said Hooks, "people will say, 'It's a start.'"

"Once they see a bulldozer down there, they'll be all right."

Model Cities residents have been waiting two years for a start. Too much land has been cleared with no results.

Emory University sociology professor Alvin Boskoff, who analyzed all aspects of the Model Cities housing program, said the housing components—clearance, relocation, rehabilitation and new housing—had produced "minor achievements and major frustrations."

He singled out the "highly detailed procedures" of the Atlanta Housing Authority (AHA) as impeding achievement and said some "informants" indicated that the authority "has not given high priority or extraordinary emphasis to the Model Cities program despite the location of a field office in the Model Cities complex."

Boskoff said implementation of clearance policy was evaluated by all those he interviewed as "difficult, disappointing and almost disastrous."

The most widespread explanation, Boskoff found, was "the general character and organization of the AHA," operating as it does "largely but not completely in response to federal regulations."

The negotiation process for land to be

cleared also came in for criticism in the Emory report.

"In the judgment of most informants," the report said, "the Housing authority and Model Cities staff had been unable to develop an adequate public relations program for Model Cities residents. As a result, there was considerable misunderstanding of clearance objectives, much misinformation and rumor, and understandable fears about having no place to live."

Boskoff said the clearance situation "reflects a confused and inefficient set of decisions—some made in haste and others representing poor judgment."

An example of the hopeless wheel-spinning that has marred the Model Cities housing effort was a parcel of land on which 14 houses stood.

The land was purchased, cleared and attempts were launched to arrange for new apartments. Disputes flared between a resident housing committee and the Atlanta Housing Authority. A suitable sponsor could not be found.

During all the furor, the contour of the land—a steep slope—was never considered. When the soil was finally tested late last summer it was found that most of the land was unsuitable for building and the project was ineligible for FHA loans.

Here's what the Emory sociologist concluded:

"Responsibility for selection of clearance sites in the Model Cities area is shared by the Model Cities staff, the AHA and the City Planning department. But the fact that their collective decisions were questionable—or ill-advised—is perhaps less significant than the fact that there was no procedure for reviewing decisions that were made under severe time pressures. In the judgment of the writer, this failure to institute responsible review and evaluation is a major symptom of the Model Cities effort."

One of the greatest public relations fiascos, according to Boskoff, involved relocation of Model Cities residents.

"Residents were confused by notices and information sheets that, in the opinion of several officials interviewed, were unclear, unattended to the educational level of most residents and even included inaccurate information."

The "highly inadequate" public relations, he said, "stimulated fear, desperation and resistances that directly conflicted with the avowed objectives of the Model Cities program in general and its housing aims in particular."

Then Boskoff found that relocation assistance for Model Cities residents was accorded low—"or maybe no priority"—by the Atlanta Housing Authority.

He found while examining files that few applicants came to the office for assistance and that housing counselors in the office "were not noticeably engaged in work over long segments of the morning or the afternoon."

In short, he concluded, the atmosphere in the office "was one of low pressure, unruffled laxity and modest involvement."

Temporary housing for displaced Model Cities residents has been the most highly publicized failing. Remember the 200 mobile homes costing about \$2 million that were found sitting idle on a lot adjacent to the Atlanta Federal Penitentiary last September? Approximately 100 were still sitting there late in April. About 30 remain late in May.

Several of Boskoff's informants gleaned the impression that City Hall and the Housing authority were "lukewarm" to temporary housing and simply did not press for quick and efficient action.

How does Boskoff sum up the Model Cities approach to housing?

"It was developed in great haste and with much vagueness as to implementation and administration. Consequently, goals were set neither in response to well documented needs of resident families, nor in line with the known capacities of operating agencies."

He also notes the lack of a "demonstration" flavor and a "virtual absence of innovation."

"The prosaic and lusterless quality of these programs was also reflected in the decision to depend on existing agencies for implementing housing goals. In other words, the same agencies that had been unable to promote a needed housing supply in the past were asked to try again under a new label."

The major burden for housing in Model Cities, he observed, remained on the "groaning shoulders" of the Atlanta Housing Authority, which was simultaneously responsible for redevelopment in other parts of Atlanta.

Boskoff says a key deficiency in the Model Cities program was the failure—until recently—of City Hall to demonstrate "either an official or unofficial interest in, or responsibility for, the Model Cities program."

He also blames the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) for providing little guidance or support for Model Cities in its housing problem.

#### AYER'S 100TH ANNIVERSARY

### HON. ROBERT F. DRINAN

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 15, 1971

Mr. DRINAN. Mr. Speaker, it gives me great pleasure to inform the house of Representatives of the 100th anniversary of Ayer, a community of great importance to the economy of north central Massachusetts.

Ayer was incorporated by charter on February 15, 1871. By its provisions, that portion of the town of Shirley lying east of the Nashua River, and that part of Groton lying south of a straight line running easterly from the point of junction of James' Brook with the Nashua River, to the point where the southern side of the county road leading from Groton by Ridge Hill Tavern to Littleton Old Common intersects a line between Groton and Littleton near Spectacle Pond, were incorporated in the new town. The physical shape of the town is in the form of a parallelogram, averaging about 4 miles long from east to west and about 2 miles wide from north to south. Bordered by Shirley on the west, Groton on the north, Littleton on the east, and Harvard on the south, Ayer is located 36 miles northwest of Boston.

The earliest name by which this southern portion of Groton was known was the name given to it by the Indians, Nonacoicus, still preserved in the name of a brook flowing through the town. Later the town was called South Groton, then Groton Junction, and finally Ayer.

On August 5, 1869, an article appeared in the Groton Junction Public Spirit newspaper advocating secession of Gro-

ton Junction from the parent town, on the grounds that the citizens had to go 4 miles to town meetings, and that while a numerical majority of the voters of the town resided at the Junction, they did not receive their fair proportion of offices in the government of the town. At a town meeting on January 3, 1871, it was unanimously voted that there would be no opposition to separation.

On January 20, 1871, a correspondent suggested in the Public Spirit the name of Ayer as—

Easy to spell and speak; not likely to be confused with that of any other town in the state, and associated in the mind of every one with the sweet strains of Robert Burns.

The name of Ayer, however, was not given to the town from the Scottish River—Ayr—"associated in the mind of every one with the sweet strains of Robert Burns, but in honor of Dr. James C. Ayer of Lowell, who said that he appreciated the high honor the town bestowed upon him, and hoped that the future would present no occasion to regret the choice they had made. Later he furnished the town with the funds necessary to construct a town hall.

Although the town was primarily an agricultural community, early industries included an oil and batting mill, grist mills, saw mills, a brewery, lumber mills, a gravestone manufacturing plant, the Martin & Co. works for the manufacture of plows and other agricultural implements, a factory for the manufacture of Ross' transparent soap, paper mills, a steam tannery, an iron furnace, fulling and coloring mills, wood-working and shingles factories and a horseshoe nail factory.

Presently Ayer is the center for the central Massachusetts apple industry. Industrial sewing machines, concrete products, industrial cutlery, silver sheen products, chemicals for can making, and packing machinery are manufactured. The town's major industry, the Hartnett Tanning Co., was destroyed by fire in 1961. During the past 50 years, Ayer has been known to hundreds of thousands of veterans who have spent some time at Fort Devens.

Many of my fellow members of the House of Representatives probably remember well the scenic beauty of Ayer and Fort Devens. I salute and congratulate Ayer on her 100th birthday, and express my best wishes for her continued future growth and development.

The entire Nation owes an incalculable debt to the people of the town of Ayer where during the frantic years of the Second World War, division after division of American men came and went through the facilities of Fort Devens.

I am certain that it is the desire of the people of the town of Ayer and of the entire Montachusett region that this unique New England town which has touched the lives of innumerable American men should continue to serve the national security of the United States by its dedication to the growth and improvement of all of the many services offered to the country by Fort Devens.