

Coal mining in both Kentucky and Indiana has been taking its lumps for a long time. It is one of the most controversial industries we have. Yet we can't do without it. And we totally agree with legislation to protect the environment against mining and to protect lives of the workers. However, none of these laws appears to be working well—either because they are not implemented or because they are bad laws in the first place. The Federal Coal Mine Health and Safety Act may fit both categories.

The U.S. Bureau of Mines is conducting a series of hearings about safety. We hope it gets the message that the Health and Safety Act is not getting the job done and that it ought to be changed. Here is a case where results don't jibe with the objectives.

ORDER FOR RECOGNITION OF SENATORS JACKSON AND JAVITS TOMORROW

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that on tomorrow, following the 1 hour which is set aside for eulogies to our late colleague, Senator Winston L. Prouty, the distinguished Senator from Washington (Mr. JACKSON) be recognized for not to exceed 15 minutes, to be followed by the distinguished Senator from New York (Mr. JAVITS) for not to exceed 15 minutes, to be followed by a period for the transaction of routine morning business.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is ordered.

PROGRAM

Mr. SCOTT. Mr. President, I rise to ask the distinguished acting majority leader, the Senator from West Virginia, if he can adumbrate the situation regarding the remainder of the week and thereafter, if he is so minded.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, in response to the inquiry of the distinguished minority leader, the Senate will convene tomorrow at 10 a.m. Immediately following the recognition of the two leaders under the standing order, there will be 1 hour set aside, under the control of the distinguished senior Senator from Vermont (Mr. AKEN), for the purpose of eulogies for our late, departed colleague, Senator Winston L. Prouty.

Following the hour for eulogies, the following Senators will be recognized, each for not to exceed 15 minutes, and

in the order stated: the Senator from Washington (Mr. JACKSON) and the Senator from New York (Mr. JAVITS).

There will then be a period for the transaction of routine morning business, not to exceed 15 minutes, with statements therein limited to 3 minutes.

At the conclusion of the routine morning business, the Chair will lay before the Senate the unfinished business, and the pending question at that time will be on agreeing to amendment No. 423, by Senator MCGEE, which deals with Rhodesian chrome ore. There is a time limitation of 2 hours on that amendment. If all the time is consumed, and if no amendments are offered thereto, a rollcall vote, which can be expected thereon, will occur at approximately 1:45 p.m.

Upon the disposition of amendment No. 423 by Senator MCGEE, the pending question will be amendment No. 429 by Senator MCGOVERN, to provide for an alternative military budget for fiscal year 1973 in the amount of \$60 billion. A rollcall vote on that amendment is expected. There is a time limitation of 1½ hours on the amendment, to be equally divided. So Senators may expect at least two rollcall votes tomorrow.

On Friday, the Senate will convene at 10 a.m. Immediately after the recognition of the two leaders, the following Senators will be recognized, each for not to exceed 15 minutes: The Senator from Georgia (Mr. TALMADGE) and the Senator from North Dakota (Mr. YOUNG). They will be in control of time for the purpose of extending congratulations to the distinguished President pro tempore of the Senate, the Senator from Louisiana (Mr. ELLENDER).

Following the recognition of the two Senators mentioned, there will be a period for the transaction of routine morning business, not to exceed 15 minutes, with a limitation on speeches of 3 minutes therein; following which the Senate will proceed to the consideration of amendment No. 432, the so-called MIRV amendment of the Senator from Minnesota (Mr. HUMPHREY). Time on that amendment will be limited to 4 hours. A rollcall vote will occur thereon. Thus, Senators may expect at least one rollcall vote on Friday.

Beyond Friday, I can only see through a glass darkly. I would not want to take a chance, as of now, on attempting to

prognosticate as to what the situation will be for Monday next.

However, there will be no session this coming Saturday. The distinguished majority leader has indicated that the Senate may very well be in session on Saturdays, if necessary, with the exception of this coming Saturday.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that it may be in order to order at any time and with one show of seconds, a rollcall vote on amendment No. 423 of the Senator from Wyoming (Mr. MCGEE), a rollcall vote on amendment No. 429 of the Senator from South Dakota (Mr. MCGOVERN), and a rollcall vote on amendment No. 432 of the Senator from Minnesota (Mr. HUMPHREY).

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. STEVENSON). Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, I ask for the yeas and nays on the three amendments.

The yeas and nays were ordered on the three amendments above named.

Mr. SCOTT. Mr. President, I thank the distinguished acting majority leader. I appreciate the rays of light which have illuminated our progress for the next few days. I hope that we can make progress as September wanes, October dawns, and Thanksgiving approaches. I hope that we will have good cause for celebrating same.

ADJOURNMENT TO 10 A.M.

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 5 o'clock and 14 minutes p.m.) the Senate adjourned until tomorrow, Thursday, September 23, 1971, at 10 a.m.

NOMINATIONS

Executive nominations received by the Senate September 22, 1971:

SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE FOR TRADE NEGOTIATIONS

William D. Eberle, of Connecticut, to be Special Representative for Trade Negotiations, with the rank of Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary, vice Carl J. Gilbert.

EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

VICE ADM. BERNARD F. ROEDER,
U.S. NAVY, RETIRED

HON. GOODLOE E. BYRON

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 22, 1971

Mr. BYRON. Mr. Speaker, earlier this month Vice Adm. Bernard F. Roeder, one of the Nation's foremost proponents of seapower and probably the highest ranking native Cumberlander in any military force, died in Balboa Naval Hospital. Admiral Roeder retired 2 years

ago while serving as Commander of the San Diego-based First Fleet. Before that he commanded the Pacific Fleet Amphibious Force headquartered at Coronado, Calif.

Admiral Roeder was a man of honor, integrity, and courage—a soldier in the best sense. Those who knew him and those who knew his reputation will miss him and the unique contribution he brought to the Nation and his community. His distinguished career was reviewed in a recent article in the Cumberland Sunday Times and I would like to share it with all of you.

ADMIRAL ROEDER

Adm. Roeder was only 16 years old when he graduated from Allegany High School and entered the Naval Academy in 1927.

During his next 42 years he saw the debut of nuclear power and jet aircraft into the U.S. fleet and the aircraft carrier replace the battleship as the backbone of Navy task forces.

In his retirement address, he warned that the U.S. shipbuilding program has been completely inadequate to provide for any degree of modernization or replacement of "tired veterans that have been our first line of defense. If we are to continue enjoyment of freedom of the seas, a proper substantial plan of naval shipbuilding must be instituted and supported without delay."

He urged the same for the U.S. merchant marine.

17 YEARS IN COMMUNICATIONS

During his career, he served as director of all naval communications for three and one-half years. He spent a total of 17 years of his career in positions directly related to naval communications.

He is credited with playing a prime role in the transition of naval communications from that of a dit-dot-dash radio operation to the multi-channel, high-speed teletype circuits in use throughout the Navy today.

Adm. Roeder was responsible for developing a defense against anti-ship missiles such as the Russian Styx.

He was also instrumental in equipping selected Navy ships with satellite communications facilities.

BORN HERE IN 1911

Adm. Roeder was born in Cumberland on February 4, 1911, the son of the late William P. and Anne (Ritter) Roeder. Prior to entering the Naval Academy, he graduated from Allegany High School.

One of the youngest graduates of the Naval Academy, he was graduated with distinction and was commissioned ensign on June 4, 1931. He subsequently attained the rank of rear admiral on August 1, 1958 and vice admiral on March 25, 1965.

From 1931 to 1937 he saw sea duty aboard four different ships and in July 1937 was ordered to the office of the Chief of Naval Operations-Communications Division, in Washington and remained there until 1939.

After service in the 16th Naval District in the Philippines, in 1940 he was assigned to the staff of the Commander in Chief, Asiatic Fleet, as security officer and assistant communications officer. At the outbreak of World War II, he was made communications officer for the Naval Forces, Surabaya, Java, and later was flag lieutenant and communications officer for the Asiatic Fleet.

WAS IN JAPAN

In January 1943 he was assigned to the office of the Chief of Naval Operations in Washington and was awarded the Legion of Merit for his services until August 1945. From September 1945 to February 1947 he was executive officer of the USS New Jersey, the flagship of the commander-Fifth Fleet based at Yokosuka in support of the occupation of Japan.

He returned to shore duty in December 1946-1947 with the Communications Division of Chief of Naval Operations, remaining there until he attended Naval War College, Newport, R.I. in 1949-50.

In May 1950 he was made commander of the Destroyer Division 112 which was assigned to Korea and the Formosa Straits. He was in command of the ships which commenced the siege of Wonsan, Korea, on February 16, 1951, and continued until the Korean armistice. He was awarded gold stars in lieu of second and third Legions of Merit for his Korean service.

HAD MANY MEDALS

From 1951 to 1953 he was in the Naval Intelligence Division in Washington. Following several commands in August 1956 he reported for duty as commander of Amphibious Squadron 1 and commander of Transport Division 12, Pacific Fleet. In September 1957 he became deputy director of Naval Communications for the Naval Security Group and later as assistant chief of Naval Operations-Communications where he was awarded a gold star in lieu of the Fourth Legion of Merit for his service from October 1961 to May 1965.

On May 10, 1965, he became commander, Amphibious Force, Pacific Fleet.

In addition to his Legion of Merit awards and Naval Commendation Ribbon, he was the recipient of the following campaign and service medals: American Defense Service Medals; Asiatic-Pacific Campaign Medal,

World War II Victory Medal; Navy Occupation Service Medal, Asia Clasp; National Defense Service Medal, Korea Service Medal; Republic of Korea Presidential Unit Citation; Republic of the Philippines Presidential Unit Citation, and Philippine Defense Ribbon With Star.

MANDATE FOR REFORM

HON. GEORGE McGOVERN

OF SOUTH DAKOTA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, September 22, 1971

Mr. McGOVERN. Mr. President, as I travel around the country I find that there is a great deal of interest in the reform of the Democratic Party and just how the party will differ from 1968. I am proud to have been the chairman of the Commission on Party Structure and Delegate Selection to the Democratic National Committee which laid down the guidelines for the political reform of the party and am now pleased to serve the present chairman, Representative DONALD M. FRASER, in attempting to see that these guidelines will be implemented to the greatest possible extent.

I firmly believe that the 1972 Democratic Convention will be the most open political convention in American history if people across the country dedicate themselves to the full and fair implementation of the guidelines contained in the commission report.

I am pleased to ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD the "Mandate for Reform."

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

MANDATE FOR REFORM: A REPORT OF THE COMMISSION ON PARTY STRUCTURE AND DELEGATE SELECTION TO THE DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL COMMITTEE

MEMBERS OF THE COMMISSION ON PARTY STRUCTURE AND DELEGATE SELECTION

Chairman

Honorable George S. McGovern, U.S. Senator from South Dakota.

Vice Chairman

Honorable Harold E. Hughes, U.S. Senator from Iowa; former Governor of Iowa.

Mr. I. W. Abel, President, United Steelworkers of America, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania.

Honorable Birch Bayh, U.S. Senator from Indiana.

Professor Samuel Beer, Professor of Government, Harvard University; former National Chairman of Americans for Democratic Action.

Mr. Bert Bennett, former Chairman, State Democratic Executive Committee of North Carolina.

Mr. Warren Christopher, former U.S. Deputy Attorney General, Los Angeles, California.

Honorable Leroy Collins, former Governor of Florida.

Mr. Will Davis, former Chairman, State Democratic Executive Committee of Texas.

Mr. William Dodds, Director, Community Action Department, United Auto Workers, Bethesda, Maryland.

Mr. Frederick Dutton, Executive Director, Robert Kennedy Memorial; former Special Assistant to President Kennedy, Washington, D.C.

Mr. John F. English, National Committeeman from New York.

Honorable Donald M. Fraser, U.S. Repre-

sentative from the 5th Congressional District of Minnesota.

Mr. Peter Garcia, former Deputy Director, Community Action Program, San Francisco, California.

Mr. Earl G. Graves, President, Earl Graves Associates, New York, New York.

Dr. Aaron E. Henry, Chairman, Democratic State Committee of Mississippi; member of the national board of directors, NAACP, SCLC, & SRC.

Mr. John Hooker, President, Minnie Pearl International, Nashville, Tennessee.

Mrs. Patti Knox, Vice Chairman, Democratic State Central Committee of Michigan.

Mr. Louis E. Martin, Publisher, Chicago Daily Defender; former Deputy Chairman, Minorities Division, Democratic National Committee.

Honorable Oscar Mauzy, Texas, State Senator, Dallas, Texas.

Mr. George Mitchell, National Committeeman from Maine; former Chairman, Democratic State Committee of Maine.

Mr. David Mixner, Co-Director, Vietnam Moratorium Committee, Washington, D.C.

Honorable Katherine Peden, former State Commerce Secretary of Kentucky.

Honorable Albert A. Pena, County Commissioner, Bexar County, Texas.

Honorable Calvin L. Rampton, Governor of Utah.

Professor Austin Ranney, Professor of Political Science, University of Wisconsin; editor of the American Political Science Review.

Honorable Adlai Stevenson, III, State Treasurer of Illinois.

Mrs. Carmen H. Warschaw, National Committeewoman from California.

COMMISSION STAFF

Robert W. Nelson, Staff Director; Eli J. Segal, Chief Counsel; Kenneth A. Bode, Director of Research; Joan C. Skoff, Executive Secretary.

RESEARCH STAFF

Jennifer Cafritz, Carol Casey, Richard Downey, John Elrod, Mark Gersh, Mark Gitenstein, Marcia Goodman, Richard Norling, Alex Sanger, Ted Tschudy.

SUMMER INTERNS

Michael Biel, Catherine Boucree, Jessie Bourneuf, Joseph Gebhardt, Robert Henry, Jerry Hildebrand, Leonard Levine, Charles Longley, Richard Lyon, William McDonald, Charles Nau, John O'Sullivan, Durrell Sackl, Douglas Serdahely, Rodney Smith, Richard Stearns, Fran Ulmer, James Wright.

VOLUNTEERS

Tina Bauman, Mark Feinberg, Cindy Grofic, Jack Hoadley, Priscilla Martinez, Diane Moore, Jack Schmidt, Diane Summers, Conner Wheatley.

CONSULTANT COMMITTEE

Mrs. Anne Wexler, Chairman; Alexander M. Bickel, Professor of Law, Yale University; Richard C. Wade, Professor of History, University of Chicago.

DEMOCRATIC LEADERS SPEAK

"I commend the McGovern Commission for giving the Democratic Party the most comprehensive and detailed analysis and recommendations in its history on delegate selection. Unlike the Republicans, the Democrats have been willing to debate these admittedly controversial issues and to set down Guidelines for state and national action. I am confident that the national and state parties will find the Commission's work to be most helpful in achieving a party capable of meeting the critical issues of the 1970's."

THE HONORABLE HUBERT H. HUMPHREY,

December 15, 1969.

"An effective political party must be responsive to the needs of its constituents and responsible in the exercise of its power. To be such a party it must be constantly alert to the need for reforming its structures and its procedures to insure maximum oppor-

tunity for meaningful participation in the democratic process. The McGovern Commission has engaged in a searching and honest examination of the problems of party reform. Its Guidelines provide us with a base on which to build a more effective party, which is responsive and responsible."

SENATOR EDMUND S. MUSKIE,

February 12, 1970.

"In 1968, many people were asked to test our political system through the Democratic Party. That system was found lacking. If people are to turn to the Democratic Party again, there must be substantial evidence that the events of 1968 will not recur. The Guidelines of the McGovern Commission require provisions for timely delegate selection, 18 year old participation, adequate public notice, one man-one vote, and the existence of party rules—as well as the elimination of all mandatory assessments, proxy voting, unit rule, and closed slate-making. These Guidelines, if enforced, will open up the party to new ideas and new people.

"The danger is that this document will be just one more paper that politicians may prefer to ignore rather than implement. The national Democratic Party must—if it is to be worthy of its name—reform its own processes and procedures."

SENATOR EUGENE J. MCCARTHY,

March, 20, 1970.

"The Guidelines developed by the McGovern Commission are a major step toward the Democratic Party's goal of broadening citizen participation in the nominating process. I am confident that the Guidelines will provide the 1972 Convention with effective criteria for assessing the delegate selection process in each state, criteria which themselves have been arrived at openly and with the fullest possible participation of the entire spectrum of the Party.

"The members and staff of the Commission deserve the Party's thanks for reporting early enough so that all state and local party organizations will have ample opportunity to achieve full compliance in time for the next convention."

Senator EDWARD M. KENNEDY,

March 17, 1970.

"I am impressed with the work accomplished by the McGovern Commission, and I believe the great majority of Democrats will welcome its Guidelines as being fair and long overdue.

"We have no greater task than assuring that ours will be an open party, encouraging the widest possible participation in all of our affairs. The Democratic Party must serve, not be served; it must facilitate choice, not deny it; it must invite diversity, not discourage it. The Guidelines of the McGovern Commission are a most important step toward these goals."

Senator FRED R. HARRIS,

December 4, 1969.

"The work of the Commission chaired by Senator McGovern spotlights a crucial question confronting our nation today: whether our traditional political party system can be modernized and rehabilitated to meet the challenges of the democratic process in the 1970's. I believe we will meet that test only if we enlarge upon the efforts already underway and if we assure the fullest participation of all in our Party who wish to associate with us, while being vigilant against the exclusion of any segment or any element."

LAWRENCE F. O'BRIEN,

Chairman, Democratic National

Committee, April 8, 1970.

COMMISSION ON PARTY STRUCTURE

AND DELEGATE SELECTION,

Washington, D.C., April 1970.

DEAR FELLOW DEMOCRAT: The 1968 Democratic National Convention adopted a resolution requiring that all Democratic voters be given a "full, meaningful and timely" opportunity to participate in the delegate selection process and authorized the crea-

tion of a commission to "aid the state parties" in meeting this requirement.

Early in 1969, Senator Fred Harris, then Chairman of the Democratic National Committee, announced the establishment of this Commission—the Commission on Party Structure and Delegate Selection—and invited me to serve as Chairman.

From the beginning, the Commission, with the assistance of a small staff and the cooperation of Democrats throughout the nation, set out to find methods which would guarantee every American who claims a stake in the Democratic Party the opportunity to make his judgment felt in the presidential nominating process.

After intensive study, during which testimony was taken from hundreds of Democrats, the Commission concluded that the processes by which delegates to the National Convention are presently chosen are inadequate for assuring the opportunity for widespread participation. To remedy this weakness, the Commission has adopted Guidelines for delegate selection that are binding on all state parties for 1972. In the following report, the Guidelines are placed in the historical context of 1968 which gave birth to the reform mandate of our Commission.

Throughout its deliberations, the aim of the Commission has been to strengthen the National Convention, and, in the process, to strengthen our Party and American democracy. I believe that the adoption of these Guidelines by all the states will contribute to the regeneration of the Democratic Party as a more responsive and dynamic servant of the American people.

I hope that you will give the Guidelines the most careful study and consideration.

Sincerely,

GEORGE MCGOVERN,
Commission Chairman.

MANDATE FOR REFORM

The 1968 Democratic National Convention in Chicago exposed profound flaws in the presidential nominating process; but in so doing it gave our Party an excellent opportunity to reform its ways and to prepare for the problems of a new decade.

The delegates to the Convention, concerned by the chaos and divisiveness, shared a belief that the image of an organization impervious to the will of its rank and file threatened the future of the Party. Therefore, they took up the challenge of reform with a mandate requiring State Parties to give "all Democratic voters . . . a full, meaningful, and timely opportunity to participate" in the selection of delegates, and, thereby, in the decisions of the Convention itself.

In order to ensure that this mandate would be implemented, the Convention directed the Democratic National Committee to establish a Commission to aid state Parties in meeting the Convention requirement.

In February 1969, Senator Fred Harris, Chairman of the Democratic National Committee, appointed us to that body mandated by the Convention—*The Commission on Party Structure and Delegate Selection*. We are Democrats who represent every segment of our Party. We find common cause in our Party's history of fair play and equal opportunity. We believe that the continuing vitality of the Democratic Party depends upon its adherence to this heritage.

Since its inception, our Party has been an open party—open to new ideas and new people. From the days of Jefferson and Jackson, the Democratic Party has been committed to the broad participation of rank-and-file members in all of its major decision-making.

In the American two-party system no decision is more important to the rank-and-file member than the choice of the party's presidential nominee. For this reason, popular control over the nominating process has been

a principle of the Democratic Party since the birth of the National Convention 140 years ago.

This tradition for participation and popular control, however, has not always been adequately expressed. After a lengthy examination of the structures and processes used to select delegates to the National Convention in 1968, this is our basic conclusion: meaningful participation of Democratic voters in the choice of their presidential nominee was often difficult or costly, sometimes completely illusory, and, in not a few instances, impossible.

Among the findings the Commission has made about delegate selection in 1968 are the following:

In at least twenty states, there were no (or inadequate) rules for the selection of Convention delegates, leaving the entire process to the discretion of a handful of party leaders.

More than a third of the Convention delegates had, in effect, already been selected prior to 1968—before either the major issues or the possible presidential candidates were known. By the time President Johnson announced his withdrawal from the nominating contest, the delegate selection process had begun in all but twelve states.

Unrestrained use or application of majority rule was the cause of much strain among Democrats in 1968. The imposition of the unit rule from the first to final stage of the nominating process, the enforcement of binding instructions on delegates, and favorite-son candidacies were all devices used to force Democrats to vote against their stated presidential preferences. Additionally, in primary, convention and committee systems, majorities used their numerical superiority to deny delegate representation to the supporters of minority presidential candidates.

Secret caucuses, closed slate-making, widespread proxy voting—and a host of other procedural irregularities—were all too common at precinct, county, district, and state conventions.

In many states, the costs of participation in the process of delegate selection were clearly discriminatory; in others, they were prohibitive. Filing fees for entering primaries were often excessive, reaching \$14,000 in one state, if a complete slate of candidates had been filed. "Hospitality" fees were often imposed on delegates to the convention, reaching \$500 in one delegation. Not surprisingly, only 13% of the delegates to the National Convention had incomes of under \$10,000 (whereas 70% of the population have annual incomes under that amount).

Representation of blacks, women and youth at the Convention was substantially below the proportion of each group in the population. Blacks comprised about five percent of the voting delegates, well above their numbers in 1964; since blacks make up 11% of the population and supplied at least 20% of the total vote for the Democratic presidential candidate, however, they were still underrepresented at the Convention. Women comprised only 13% of the delegates with only one of 55 delegations having a woman chairman. In a majority of delegations there was no more than a single delegate under 30 years of age, and in two delegations the average age was 54. The delegates to the 1968 Democratic National Convention, in short, were predominantly white, male, middle-aged, and at least middle-class.

As this information emerged, we recognized that two alternative courses of action were available to us. First, we could suggest that the institution of the National Convention had outlived its usefulness and should be discarded. To be sure, at our public hearings several Democrats gave testimony expressing the judgment that the convention system did not deserve to be saved. There was a substantial body of feeling, in fact, that a national primary within each Party would

be the most democratic means of selecting presidential candidates.

Second, we could conclude that there was nothing inherently undemocratic about a National Convention; that 1968 was a culmination of years of indifference to the nominating process, rather than a startling aberration from previous years; that purged of its structural and procedural inadequacies, the National Convention was an institution well worth preserving. The Commission has taken this second course. The following are some of our reasons:

In view of the stringent demands made upon a President of the United States, the challenge imposed upon any contender for the nomination in seeking support in a wide variety of delegate selection systems should be maintained.

The face-to-face confrontation of Democrats of every persuasion in a periodic mass meeting is productive of healthy debate, important policy decisions (usually in the form of platform planks), reconciliation of differences, and realistic preparation for the fall presidential campaign.

The Convention provides a mechanism for party self-government through the election and instruction of a National Committee.

While endorsing the institution, the Commission believes that if delegates are not chosen in a democratic manner, the National Convention cannot perform its functions adequately. In order to ensure the democratic selection of delegates, the Commission has adopted 18 Guidelines binding on all state Parties.

These Guidelines represent the Commission's interpretation of its mandate to ensure that all Democrats are provided a full, meaningful, and timely opportunity to participate in the delegate selection process. To this end, the requirements and recommendations of the Guidelines are directed toward the elimination or regulation of:

(a) Rules or practices which inhibit access to the delegate selection process—items which compromise full and meaningful participation by inhibiting or preventing a Democrat from exercising his influence in the delegate selection process;

(b) Rules or practices which dilute the influence of a Democrat in the delegate selection process, after he has exercised all available resources to effect such influence;

(c) Rules and practices which have the combined effect of inhibiting access and diluting influence.

The Commission believes that there is no one selection system ideal for all states. Therefore, we did not find it desirable to lay down uniform rules for delegate selection in the Guidelines.

Instead, we have adopted certain minimum standards of fairness, that all states are expected to meet. Once these standards are met, state Parties are free to adopt any procedures they may prefer. The Commission believes that this preservation of local genius is an important element of a healthy National Convention.

These Guidelines are meant to serve no ideology and no geographic segment of our Party. They are designed to stimulate the participation of all Democrats in the nominating process and to re-establish public confidence in the National Convention.

The Commission has proceeded in its work against a backdrop of genuine unhappiness and mistrust of millions of Americans with our political system. We are aware that political parties are not the only way of organizing political life. Political parties will survive only if they respond to the needs and concerns of their members.

In adopting our Guidelines and in presenting this report, we have been guided by the firm belief that the Democratic Party is incapable of closing its eyes and ears to this unhappiness and mistrust. While the Republican response to popular demands for more participation and open processes has been

indifference, the Democrats have chosen to face the matter head on.

Our Party's longevity is due in no small way to its capacity to respond to these demands in a positive fashion. We are confident that it will do so again.

HISTORY OF THE COMMISSION

Few National Conventions of political parties have aroused as much interest and public debate as the 1968 Democratic National Convention. In one sense, the Convention accomplished its purpose; a Democratic nominee for the Presidency of the United States was chosen. But in another way, the Convention was a failure. A great political party was left bitterly divided, with its morale eroded and its leaders predicting defeat.

One of the reasons for this condition was the belief of many rank-and-file Democrats that the Convention and the events leading up to it had been closed to them. The most striking aspect of the politics of 1968 was that so many people who were engaged in active dissent from the policies of the Administration were using the time-honored avenues of primaries and state conventions to channel that dissent. But as state after state readied its delegation for the Convention, dissatisfaction with these avenues began to grow and allegations of unfair treatment became common.

Origins, mandate and organization of the commission

In the summer of 1968, Governor, now Senator Harold E. Hughes of Iowa, sensitive to this feeling, as well as to the painful schism among Democrats, took the initiative of organizing a *Commission on the Democratic Selection of Presidential Nominees*. The report of this Commission, presented to the 1968 Convention, represented the first serious effort undertaken by any Party to study the procedures by which National Convention delegates are selected. The Hughes Commission report painted a disheartening picture of these procedures. The authors of the report were alarmed enough to conclude that "State systems for selecting delegates to the National Convention display considerably less fidelity to basic democratic principles than a nation which claims to govern itself can safely tolerate."

Given the atmosphere in Chicago in the summer of 1968, the Democratic National Convention could not have ignored the evidence of disregard for popular expression presented by the Hughes Commission. For Democrats the way was clear: "The cure for the ills of democracy," it was long ago said, "is more democracy." So in the tumult of Chicago, the Democratic Party, with active support from all presidential camps, issued a mandate for reform.

Nonetheless, a major floor debate did ensue over how rigorously the Convention should use its powers to compel the state Parties to undertake reform. The Rules Committee, under Governor Sam Shapiro of Illinois, proposed that the Democratic National Convention appoint a commission to "give serious consideration" to certain reforms. The Credentials Committee under Governor Richard Hughes of New Jersey went a step further by proposing that a committee be appointed "to aid the state Democratic parties" in enacting reforms, and report its "efforts and findings" to the 1972 Convention.

But a minority of the Rules Committee brought to the floor a still more stringent resolution. They proposed that the 1972 Convention "shall require," in order to give "all Democratic voters . . . full and timely opportunity to participate" in nominating candidates, that (1) the unit rule be eliminated from all stages of the delegate selection process and (2) "all feasible efforts (b) made to assure that delegates are selected through party primary, convention, or committee procedures open to public participation within the calendar year of the

national convention." This minority report of the Rules Committee, subsequently passed by the delegates assembled in Chicago, carried an unquestionably stern mandate for procedural reform.

In early February of 1969, Senator Fred Harris of Oklahoma, then Chairman of the Democratic National Committee, acted on the Convention mandate and officially a 28-member Commission on Party Structure and Delegate Selection. We are that Commission. We represent all ideological and geographical elements of the Party. We are present and former public officeholders, party officials, teachers, labor leaders, and civil rights organizers.

On March 1, 1969, we held our first meeting in Washington, D.C. At that time we took two actions: first, we directed the staff to analyze the delegate selection systems of each state and to report their findings to us; secondly, we decided to organize into five-member task forces and hold regional hearings on the strengths and weaknesses of our party.

Beginning in April, the Commission conducted hearings in seventeen cities and heard the testimony of more than five hundred Democrats.² Among them were Vice President Hubert Humphrey, Senator Eugene McCarthy, Reverend Channing Phillips, Senator Edmund Muskie and Senator Edward Kennedy. They ranged from such established party leaders as former National Chairman John Bailey, former Governors Richard Hughes, Phillip Hoff and Carl Sanders, and Mayors Richard Daley, Ivan Allen, and James Tate to professors, party insurgents, Young Democrats, and one witness who was a member of both the New York State Democratic Central Committee and the Students for a Democratic Society. From the statements of rank-and-file Democrats and party leaders at these hearings, the Commission has concluded that there is a genuine, broadly based commitment to reform within the Party.

At the same time that testimony was being taken in the field, the staff was examining the maze of state laws and party regulations which determines how National Convention delegates are selected in each jurisdiction. After integrating the testimony, consulting with experts in universities, studying news accounts and seeking the advice of state party leaders, the staff gradually evolved a tentative set of standards which could achieve the objectives of a National Convention.

In September 1969, the Commission modified this tentative set of standards and adopted its proposed Guidelines for delegate selection, which were then circulated for comment among 3,000 interested Democrats. On the basis of these comments, some revisions were made. Then, on November 19 and 20, the Commission reconvened and after lengthy deliberations, adopted the final version of the Guidelines. Democratic state Party chairmen, members of the National Committee, Governors, and U.S. Congressmen and Senators received copies of these guidelines in late December. They have been available to the general public since February 1.

Aiding the States

With the adoption and distribution of the Guidelines, the Commission has completed the first phase of its work in the area of delegate selection. Under the terms of the 1968 Convention resolution, however, the Commission's work in delegate selection is not done until it completes the process of aiding state Parties to meet the requirements of the Call to the 1972 Convention.

This second phase of our work has begun. We have sent letters to each state chairman and each member of the National Committee comparing the Guidelines with his state's selection system. We have consulted with party leaders in several states. We have

²Footnotes at end of speech.

served as an information conduit between the state reform commissions. We have prepared memoranda on the different methods state Democratic Parties are using to modernize their procedures.

We plan to continue these services in the months ahead. The National Convention told us that party reform was to be a joint effort of the state and national Party. We mean to keep it this way.

We present this report in this spirit of cooperation. We have worked from the assumption that when Democrats have the information on a subject, they will respond quickly and honestly. In the following pages, therefore, we offer a narrative on the events and lessons of 1968. Our staff is available for any additional information that is needed.

DELEGATE SELECTION IN 1968

The slow evolution of the National Convention and the system by which delegates are chosen, together with the cherished federal character of the major parties, has resulted in a varied nominating process in which no two states choose their delegates in exactly the same way. In order to clarify the formal and informal aspect of delegate selection, the Commission offers the following analysis of the processes used in 1968.

Delegate selection systems

The Commission has discerned three broad systems of delegate selection: election by party convention, the most widely used; selection by party organization, many vestiges of which still survive; and election by direct primary. Hybrids of the three major systems are common and a few systems escape ready classification altogether.

Some of the intricacies and distinctions among the systems will become clearer when the ways in which delegates were chosen to the 1968 Democratic National Convention are examined in the following pages.

Convention systems

In 1968, 26 states and three territories selected their entire delegation to the National Convention at state conventions. Three other states selected part of their delegates in this manner.

There are two major kinds of state conventions: in one, rank-and-file party members select the delegates; in the other, party officials make the selection. Of the 32 states and territories which selected their delegations by convention, 21 relied on rank-and-file members, and six on party officials. In five states, both methods were used.

In the typical convention system, party members assemble in their wards, townships, or precincts to elect delegates to a county or some other intermediate convention which in turn sends delegates to the district and/or state convention. In a few smaller states, Maine, Vermont, and Hawaii, for example, the election to the state convention from the precinct or town is direct.

In many of the convention states not all of the National Convention delegation is actually chosen at the state convention. Instead, delegates to the state convention caucus by congressional district to nominate and sometimes elect a share of the delegation. In Minnesota, Tennessee, and Iowa, for example, more than half of the delegation was formally "nominated" at congressional district caucuses and conventions, although these nominations were never opposed at the state conventions. In Michigan and Missouri, among others, delegates were actually elected at the congressional district level.

The majority of state conventions allow for a wide degree of popular participation. Party members are invited to attend their local precinct meetings and nominate and elect delegates to the next highest convention, or stand as candidates for delegate themselves. In several states, including Colorado, Utah, Kentucky, and Texas, a higher percentage of Democrats participated in the

selection process in 1968 than in some primary states.

Where party officials select the delegates in state conventions, there is usually only indirect participation by the rank-and-file party member. Delegates to these party meetings are party officials or their agents: precinct and ward chairmen, county chairmen, and officers of congressional and legislative districts.

In Kansas in 1968, for example, precinct chairmen and co-chairmen met with their county officers to select delegates to a state party convention. This party convention selected one-quarter of the state's delegation to the National Convention at large. The county officers in turn met with the congressional district leaders to choose the remaining three-quarters of the delegation.

Delegate selection systems in 1968

Convention systems: Alaska, Canal Zone, Colorado, Connecticut, Delaware, Guam, Hawaii, Idaho, Iowa, Kansas, Kentucky, Maine, Michigan, Minnesota, Mississippi, Missouri, Montana, Nevada, New Mexico, North Carolina, North Dakota, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, Utah, Vermont, Virginia, Virgin Islands, Wyoming.

Committee systems: Arizona, Arkansas, Georgia, Louisiana, Maryland, Puerto Rico, Rhode Island.

Primary systems: Alabama, California, District of Columbia, Florida, Massachusetts, Nebraska, New Hampshire, New Jersey, Ohio, Oregon, South Dakota, West Virginia.

Mixed systems

Illinois: Two-thirds of the delegation was selected by convention and one-third by primary.

Indiana: The delegation was selected at a state convention, but was bound by the results of the presidential preference poll.

New York: One-third of the delegation was selected by committee and two-thirds by primary.

Oklahoma: One-half of the delegation was selected by convention and one-half by committee.

Pennsylvania: One-fourth of the delegation was selected by committee and three-fourths by primary.

Washington: Two-thirds of the delegation was selected by convention and one-third by committee.

Wisconsin: Most of the delegation was selected by either the State Administrative Committee or Senator Eugene McCarthy, the winner of the presidential preference primary in eight of ten congressional districts and at-large.

Committee systems

In 1968, four state Democratic Parties, Arizona, Arkansas, Maryland, and Rhode Island, and one territory, Puerto Rico, selected the entire delegation to the National Convention by party committees. In four other states, Oklahoma, New York, Pennsylvania, and Washington, a portion of the delegation was selected by party committees. These ranged from one-third of the delegates in New York to one-half of those in Oklahoma. Two additional states, Georgia and Louisiana, permitted their Governors, in effect, to appoint their entire delegations to the National Convention.

Just as in some convention systems where party officials select the delegates, in committee systems there is only indirect participation by the rank-and-file in the delegate selection process. All delegates so selected are chosen by party officials whose duties go far beyond delegate selection. In these instances, the officials are elected mainly on the basis of their abilities to perform other responsibilities in party affairs.

Furthermore, states which permit the selection of delegates by party committees often leave other decisions which fundamentally affect the selection of delegates to the decision of the party committee itself.

Footnotes at end of speech.

In New York and Pennsylvania, for example, the party committees which appoint the at-large delegates are also empowered to determine how many delegates shall comprise the at-large segment of the delegation, and how the remainder of the delegates shall be apportioned.

Primary systems

Sixteen states and the District of Columbia used primaries in 1968 either to elect some or all of their delegation to the National Convention, or to bind or advise a delegation as to the preference of party members regarding potential presidential candidates.

In 1968, primaries directly elected the entire state delegation to the National Convention in eleven states and the District of Columbia, and parts of the delegation in three others (Illinois, New York, and Pennsylvania). Indiana and Wisconsin were unusual in that their delegations, bound by the results of the presidential preference primary, were selected after the primary itself—Indiana by a state convention and Wisconsin by the State Administrative Committee and Senator Eugene McCarthy, the winner of the primary.

Presidential preference polls, although often confused with the primary election of delegates, ordinarily occupy a separate place on the ballot. Their purpose is to discern the favorite among candidates for the presidential nomination of the state's party voters. Some preferential polls are binding on the state's delegates, as are Indiana's and Oregon's; others are of only an advisory nature, like New Jersey's and West Virginia's. Pennsylvania permits the delegate to indicate on the ballot whether he will be bound by the outcome of the preferential vote. Where the poll is binding, the nature of the obligation varies. Indiana, for example, binds the delegate for one ballot, Oregon for two (unless in the interim the favored candidate's share of the Convention vote falls below 20 percent or he releases his pledges). Many of the preferential polls are held only if the presidential candidate or his supporters take the initiative to place his name on the ballot. This is true, for example, in Illinois and New Hampshire. The primaries in Wisconsin and California are important exceptions to the distinction between the election of delegates and the preference poll. In Wisconsin, the law permits the winner of the preference poll to name his delegates after the primary; therefore, the preference poll, in effect, elects the delegates. In California, the names of candidates for delegate do not even appear on the ballot; the slate of delegates pledged to the winner of the preference poll is automatically elected.

An important difference among primary systems for direct election of delegates by primary is the degree to which candidates for delegate are permitted or required to identify themselves with a presidential candidate. At one extreme, New York does not permit the candidate for delegate to indicate his presidential preference on the ballot in any manner. At the other extreme, Wisconsin and California do not permit the ballot to name the candidates for delegate. A candidate in Florida's primary may use a presidential candidate's name, but, if successful, is in no way obliged to vote for him. A New Hampshire candidate may list himself as "pledged" in which case he is bound, or as merely "favorable to," in which case he is not.

Another important difference is statewide election of delegates and election in smaller constituencies. In two states in 1968, California and South Dakota, and in the District of Columbia, delegates were elected at-large. Five states chose delegates by the primary results in each Congressional District; while the majority, nine, used a mixed at-large Congressional District formula.

These distinctions by no means exhaust the intricate variations among the different state primaries. As primaries become more popular (Rhode Island, Maryland, and New Mexico adopted primaries in 1969) so will the com-

plexities that distinguish the different state systems.

DELEGATION SELECTION IN PRACTICE

Through the years, people have analyzed the presidential nominating process by looking to the formal systems of delegate selection that state parties used. In 1968, however, allegations of irregularities and barriers to full participation made this kind of analysis superficial. For example, in all three selection systems, excessive costs and fees assessed of candidates for delegate and alternate precluded full participation.

The delegates to the 1968 Convention, therefore, refrained from isolating any one kind of system as the ultimate problem in delegate selection. Our analysis of the selection process in 1968 supports this judgment. For the most part, the procedural irregularities, discrimination and structural inadequacies discussed below were not unique to any one selection system.

Procedural irregularities

The Commission found at the beginning of its inquiry that no written party rules existed in at least 10 states, and that rules in many other states did not describe the delegate selection process in sufficient detail, leaving important decisions to the discretion of elected or appointed party officials. In some instances, where codified rules existed, they were inaccessible despite persistent efforts to secure them, bringing the total to at least twenty states where the Commission found rules either non-existent or unavailable to Democrats who sought to participate in the nominating process of the Party. The absence, inadequacy, or inaccessibility of rules explains what the Commission found to be the most common area of abuse—procedural irregularity.

These are some of the most frequent and substantial examples of unfair procedure that the Commission examined:

The unit rule

The unit rule is a practice by which a majority of a meeting or delegation can bind a dissenting minority to vote in accordance with the wishes of the majority; it has been an issue of controversy within the Democratic Party for over a century. The unit rule and other procedural devices such as favorite-son candidacies and obligatory instructions have been widely used at party meetings from the precinct level to the national conventions, binding the members of a delegation to vote as a single unit. Delegates so bound are frequently required to cast votes against their personal preferences—indeed against their consciences—at the next stage of the nominating process.

In 1968, prior to the National Convention, the unit rule, in one form or another, was used at party meetings in at least 15 states. In 224 of the 254 county caucuses in Texas, for example, the unit rule was imposed. Many Connecticut town committees employed the unit rule or binding instructions at the meetings where delegates to the State Convention were selected. Two states, Oregon and Massachusetts, which selected delegates by a primary process, also bound their delegations to vote for the candidate who received a majority or plurality of the vote in the presidential preference poll, regardless of the delegates' personal choice, as declared on the primary ballot. In Indiana, delegates actually chosen in a State Convention were bound to vote for the plurality winner of a previous primary.

Proxy voting

Proxy voting is a process by which one person is empowered or authorized to act in the name of another or many others. Many state parties have authorized or permitted the use of proxies, although the Commission found that rarely were adequate safeguards against their abuse provided for or enforced. As a result, proxy voting was a source of much real and felt grievance in 1968. Some

abuses involved irregularities discovered only after proxies had been cast and enforced. In Hawaii, for example, proxies were voted at the state convention from unorganized precincts. One such precinct consisted of an urban renewal area comprised largely of vacant lots. In another case, a Missouri party official cast 492 unwritten proxies in a township caucus. These proxies, totaling three times the number of party members physically present, were cast as a single unit on behalf of a candidate whose supporters were clearly a minority at the meeting.

Public notice

A necessary condition for full and meaningful opportunity to participate in delegate selection is information on the nature of that process. In many states in 1968, the Commission found that there was little or no information made available to the voter that the process was taking place. In several states, for example, lack of provisions in state law or party rules for adequate newspaper (or other) information made secret precinct caucuses common. In other states, information was supplied too late in the process for many people to participate.

Related to this problem was the situation in many states where voters participated in the nominating process without benefit of information that may have been critical in making an informed choice. In Pennsylvania, Alabama, Florida, New Jersey, Oregon and the District of Columbia, for example, delegates elected by primary opted to run with no notice of which presidential candidates they would support if elected. In New York a portion of the delegation was elected in congressional district primaries, but state law forbids candidates for delegate to inform voters of their presidential preference on the primary ballot.

The remainder of the New York delegation was appointed by the Democratic State Committee elected in the same primary with no public notice on the ballot of the presidential preferences of candidates for the state committee. In seven other states some or all of the delegation was also appointed directly by the state or district committees. In none of these states were the members of the committees elected with adequate notice to the voter that one of the responsibilities of the committee would be the appointment of delegates to the National Convention. In an additional 10 states, party committees elected in primaries, with no notice on the ballot that they would perform this function, chose delegates to district and state conventions.

Slatemaking

Regardless of the formal procedures specified for delegate selection in state laws or party rules, it is often the case that the final selection of National Convention delegates is made or influenced by those who nominate candidates for delegate and alternate. In many states, one or more slates of prospective delegates are presented to the official decision-making body (for example, party members, state convention, or state committee) for choice among them. In most cases, these slates can be altered or opposed only with great difficulty, if at all. Slatemaking, therefore, is a crucial step in the selection process. If it is closed, effective citizen participation is precluded.

In 1968, however, in many states the official slate: (1) was prepared in a manner which made participation difficult; (2) was given preferential status on the primary ballot; or (3) was protected from effective challenge by rules or tradition in convention systems. Some examples follow:

(1) In California, a committee of three party members assembled an entire "at-large" slate of National Convention delegate nominees whose names never appeared on the primary ballot. In many convention states, including Connecticut, Iowa, Kentucky, Michigan, Minnesota, and Missouri, official

or traditional slates were prepared by the state chairman or special party committees. In New York and Pennsylvania, where some delegates are appointed by the State Committee, the state chairman made up an at-large slate which is submitted to the Committee. In all of these instances, the slate makers were elected or appointed without adequate notice that they would perform this function.

(2) In several primary states, there was no challenge to the state committee's slate. Where challenges did occur, they often stood little chance of success. In Connecticut, slates of delegates to the State Convention are nominated by official party committees and automatically elected unless challenged in the primary. If the official slate is challenged it receives special designation on the ballot as the "Party Endorsed Slate." In Massachusetts, New Jersey and Ohio, official slates are challenged so infrequently that in operation delegate selection is more by committee system than by primary (although in 1968, effective challenges were made in New Jersey).

(3) In several convention systems, party rules and/or tradition made challenge to the official slate difficult or impossible. In some states, floor nominations were not allowed at lower stages of the selection process. In other states, including Kentucky, Maine and North Dakota, floor nominations of additional or alternative candidates for delegate were contingent upon a Convention vote to amend or reject the official slate or the report of the nominating committee. In many others, "informal" slatemaking procedures were no less influential in the election of slated delegates.

Dates and times for the conduct of meetings

In several states, considerable discretion is exercised by local party officials in the choice of dates and times for meetings involved in the delegate selection process. In some cases, existing party rules give such authority to party officials. In other cases, party rules do not cover such matters. Whatever the circumstances, the consequence of this absence of uniformity in 1968 was an added burden imposed on party members who wished to participate in the selection of delegates.

In at least three states, Connecticut, Delaware, and Tennessee, procedures by which delegates are selected, including the dates and times of the initial meetings and caucuses, are governed by local rules—with no provisions for uniform procedures statewide.

In Missouri, where in 1968 no rules governed the selection of delegates at any level, township and ward chairmen operated with total discretion in the scheduling of caucuses. As a result, many were held unannounced, often in private homes and at times not designed to insure maximum participation.

Quorum requirements

The rules of many state Parties contain no quorum provisions governing party committee meetings. In these and other instances where quorum regulation exist but are exceptionally lenient, committees are permitted to reach decisions affecting procedures related to the nominating process or the actual appointment of delegates with a small number of eligible representatives present.

In Alabama, for example, no permanent rules govern the procedures and the entire delegate selection process is determined each four years by the State Committee. At the meeting to determine how National Convention delegates will be elected in that state, 17 of 72 members (23 percent) constitute a quorum. Similarly, in Arizona, where National Convention delegates are chosen at a meeting of the State Committee, 25 percent of the membership of that Committee constitutes a quorum. In its selection of at-large delegates, the New York state committee permits business to be conducted once 33 percent of its members are present in person or represented by proxy.

Selection of alternates, filling of vacancies

Because alternates succeed to delegate status in many cases, the provisions for their selection and succession are of great importance in the delegate selection process. The Commission found that in many states, however, the provisions dealing with alternates are not described with sufficient clarity. In other states, including Florida and Oregon, each delegate is allowed to name his own alternate in any way he sees fit.

In still others, state party chairmen, or their agents, are empowered to fill vacancies. The Connecticut State Convention in 1968, for example, approved an incomplete slate, leaving several delegate and alternate positions open to the appointment by the chairman. In California, a nominating committee of only three people is empowered by state law to select all alternates and fill all vacancies.

In some states, including Connecticut and California, existing provisions for filling of vacancies permit the insertion of new members onto the delegation instead of the succession of duly elected alternates.

DISCRIMINATION

A second area examined by the Commission was the level of representation of blacks, women and young people at the 1968 Convention. The Commission found that each of the groups was significantly lacking in representation.⁵

Blacks

Only 5.5 percent of the 1968 delegates were black, although blacks constitute over 11 percent of the total population and an even higher percentage of Democratic voters. The most creditable data we have from the 1968 general election indicates that 85 percent of the black Americans who voted cast their presidential ballots for the nominee of the Democratic Party. In 1964 when 94 percent of all blacks voted Democratic, blacks comprised only 2 percent of the entire National Convention. When Democrats assembled in Chicago for the 1968 Convention, thirteen states and three territories still had no black delegates or alternates whatsoever, and fifteen had no voting delegates. Another eleven states had only one black member, and six more had three or less.

Young people

The participation of American youth in the nominating process of the Democratic Party was one of the outstanding features of the politics of 1968.

Yet, at the National Convention, 16 delegations had no voting members under the age of 30, and another thirteen had only one delegate from that age group. In eight states, Alaska, Arkansas, Delaware, Idaho, Illinois, Indiana, Maryland, and Wyoming, the average age of the delegation was over 50 years. Young people, in short, proved significantly unable to translate their widespread participation into delegate status at the Convention.

Women

Women, who now comprise a majority of the voting age population in the United States, showed a dramatic increase in political awareness and activity during the 1960's. Like young people, and blacks, however, they found delegate positions at the Democratic Convention to be among the political offices that remained beyond their reach. In the 1968 Convention, women comprised only 13 percent of the voting delegates. In no state were women represented commensurate to their presence in the population; in ten delegations, there were insufficient women to fill the positions traditionally assigned them on the four permanent committees of the convention. In Ohio, only 6 of

116 delegates were women; in Illinois only 8 of 118. Representative Edith Green of Oregon was the only woman chairman of the fifty-five state and territorial delegations.

PROPORTION OF BLACK DELEGATES AT THE 1968 DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL CONVENTION, COMPARED TO PROPORTION OF BLACK POPULATION, BY STATES,¹ 1968

	Percent of black delegates from State	Percent of State population that is black ²
Alabama.....	4	30
Alaska.....	0	3
Arizona.....	3	3
Arkansas.....	2	22
California.....	5	6
Colorado.....	8	2
Connecticut.....	7	4
Delaware.....	5	14
Florida.....	7	18
Georgia.....	26	29
Hawaii.....	0	1
Idaho.....	0	0
Illinois.....	6	10
Indiana.....	8	6
Iowa.....	2	1
Kansas.....	3	4
Kentucky.....	8	7
Louisiana.....	18	32
Maine.....	0	0
Maryland.....	6	17
Massachusetts.....	3	2
Michigan.....	20	9
Minnesota.....	5	1
Mississippi.....	50	42
Missouri.....	4	9
Montana.....	0	0
Nebraska.....	0	2
Nevada.....	7	5
New Hampshire.....	0	0
New Jersey.....	9	9
New Mexico.....	0	2
New York.....	6	8
North Carolina.....	6	25
North Dakota.....	0	0
Ohio.....	3	8
Oklahoma.....	9	7
Oregon.....	1	1
Pennsylvania.....	5	8
Rhode Island.....	3	2
South Carolina.....	13	35
South Dakota.....	0	0
Tennessee.....	11	17
Texas.....	4	12
Utah.....	0	1
Vermont.....	0	0
Virginia.....	6	21
Washington.....	0	2
West Virginia.....	2	5
Wisconsin.....	0	2
Wyoming.....	0	1
District of Columbia.....	67	54

¹ Information on the 4 territories was unavailable.
² Proportion of each State's population that is black is necessarily based on the 1960 census.

REPRESENTATION OF YOUNG PEOPLE¹ AND WOMEN AT THE 1968 DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL CONVENTION, BY STATES (AS PERCENT OF EACH DELEGATION)

	Total number of delegates ²	Percent under 30	Percent women
Alabama.....	50	8	14
Alaska.....	22	5	5
Arizona.....	34	0	21
Arkansas.....	54	2	22
California.....	174	5	14
Colorado.....	42	0	14
Connecticut.....	44	0	16
Delaware.....	22	0	9
Florida.....	63	5	44
Georgia.....	88	9	19
Hawaii.....	26	4	8
Idaho.....	26	0	15
Illinois.....	118	1	9
Indiana.....	68	0	6
Iowa.....	52	4	17
Kansas.....	42	0	24
Kentucky.....	62	3	20
Louisiana.....	52	4	10
Maine.....	30	3	13
Maryland.....	49	0	8
Massachusetts.....	83	1	12
Michigan.....	102	1	19
Minnesota.....	62	3	7
Mississippi.....	45	1	18
Missouri.....	78	1	15
Montana.....	32	3	25
Nebraska.....	30	20	23
Nevada.....	30	10	17
New Hampshire.....	26	8	12

	Total number of delegates ²	Percent under 30	Percent women
New Jersey.....	82	0	12
New Mexico.....	34	6	12
New York.....	236	1	9
North Carolina.....	74	1	10
North Dakota.....	25	4	28
Ohio.....	125	0	6
Oklahoma.....	58	5	21
Oregon.....	35	9	23
Pennsylvania.....	164	5	11
Rhode Island.....	34	0	12
South Carolina.....	42	0	5
South Dakota.....	26	4	23
Tennessee.....	66	0	9
Texas.....	121	1	12
Utah.....	26	0	23
Vermont.....	22	5	18
Virginia.....	65	2	11
Washington.....	54	7	14
West Virginia.....	38	11	5
Wisconsin.....	62	3	19
Wyoming.....	28	0	18
District of Columbia.....	23	9	35
Canal Zone.....	8	0	50
Guam.....	8	0	13
Puerto Rico.....	14	0	21
Virgin Islands.....	8	0	13
Total.....	3,084	4	13

¹ The ages of all delegates were not available to the Commission; therefore, the percentage of young people indicated may be taken to indicate a minimum proportion of each State's delegation.
² Distinguish total number of delegates and total number of delegate votes. In 1968, 3,084 delegates cast 2,622 votes.

STRUCTURAL INADEQUACIES

A third area of the Commission's investigation involved practices which, though seldom intentionally discriminatory, had the effect of limiting access to the delegate selection process.

Untimely delegate selection

In 1968, some or all of the duly accredited delegates to the Democratic National Convention from the following states were selected by a process which began before the calendar year of the Convention:

[In percent]

Arizona.....	100
Arkansas.....	100
Connecticut ¹	² 48
Delaware.....	² 65
Florida ¹	100
Georgia.....	² 50
Idaho.....	100
Illinois ¹	50
Iowa ¹	43
Kansas.....	100
Louisiana.....	100
Maryland.....	100
Massachusetts ¹	66
Michigan.....	100
New Jersey ¹	100
North Dakota.....	² 91
Ohio.....	58
Oklahoma.....	² 53
Pennsylvania.....	² 25
Rhode Island.....	100
Tennessee.....	² 64
Virginia ¹	42
Washington.....	² 56
Wyoming.....	100

¹ Party officials or committees which are empowered to nominate or endorse delegates, choose nominating committees or prepare official slates of delegates, are themselves elected prior to the calendar year of the Convention.
² Approximately.
³ The Georgia "Regulars."

Altogether, these states selected delegates who cast approximately 860 votes at the 1968 Convention. Since there was a total of 2,622 votes cast at the Convention, this represents 33 percent of the delegate votes cast. When the 110 votes cast by members of the Democratic National Committee (themselves elected in 1964) are added to this total, the percentage of votes cast by delegates selected

Footnotes at end of speech.

in an untimely manner rises to 38 percent (970 delegate votes).

This means that the day Eugene McCarthy announced his candidacy, nearly one-third of the delegates had in effect already been selected. And, by the time Lyndon Johnson announced his intention not to seek another term, the formal delegate selection process had begun in all but 12 of the states. By the time the issues and candidates that characterized the politics of 1968 had clearly emerged, therefore, it was impossible for rank-and-file Democrats to influence the selection of these delegates.

Costs, Fees, and Assessments

In an era when Americans have become belatedly conscious of the extremes of wealth and poverty in this country, the Commission's studies indicate that the personal and financial expense of participation in the presidential nominating process may exclude many at the outset. Filing fees, party assessments, the costs of campaigning for and serving as delegates, cumulative in most cases, limit the participation of some Democrats and preclude the participation of others.

A glance at the income levels of the Democrats who serve as National Convention delegates gives an initial indication of the extent to which Convention delegations are unrepresentative of the population. In 1964, the median income of delegates to the Atlantic City Convention exceeded \$18,000 (compared to a national median of under \$6,000); the average personal expenses incurred by delegates attending the Convention that year were \$455. By 1968, the situation had not changed—40 percent of the delegates in Chicago had incomes of over \$20,000 and only 13 percent had incomes under \$10,000. (The comparable figures for the population as a whole are 12 percent over \$20,000 and 70 percent under \$10,000.) These disparities are explainable in part by the fees and assessments levied on delegates and alternates and candidates for delegate and alternate that made participation costly.

Some primary states, for example, require excessive filing fees of candidates for delegate. Florida imposes a mandatory \$25 fee on all candidates for congressional district delegates and a \$50 fee on all candidates for at-large delegates. In Nebraska, candidates for delegate must pay a filing fee of \$25; candidates for alternate must pay a fee of \$15.

Often, slates which carry the endorsement of party officials were given preferential treatment with regard to fees or ballot positions. For the challenge primary for delegates to the 1968 State Convention in Connecticut, the official party slate received free access to the ballot and special designation. Challengers, on the other hand, would have had to pay over \$14,000 in non-refundable filing fees to mount a statewide challenge.

There were numerous examples of mandatory assessments placed on delegates to the 1968 National Convention. In Indiana and Iowa, for example, each delegate was assessed \$250 by the state Party. Members of the Indiana delegation were charged an additional \$250 to defray the costs of the Party's hospitality suite—bringing the total delegate assessment in that state to \$500 exclusive of personal expenses.

Ex-officio designation of delegates

The Commission has found that some state Parties grant public office-holders and/or party officials automatic status as delegates to the National Convention or to party meetings related to the delegate selection process. These ex-officio delegates are usually not subject to popular appraisal in the calendar year of the Convention.

In 1968, party and public officials of several states served as delegates at precinct, county and state conventions. Furthermore, in Geor-

gia, Washington, Maryland, and New York party rules or special resolutions provided for the automatic National Convention delegate status of several party officers. In Washington, for example, of the 47 votes allotted to the delegation, 12 were cast by ex-officio delegates individually named by resolution of the state central committee.

Apportionment

The Commission found wide variation in the formulas used to apportion National Convention delegates within the states, and in those used to apportion party meetings and conventions at which such delegates are chosen. Many of these apportionment formulas are based on outmoded considerations of territorial units, without due regard for either population or Democratic voting strength. In 1968, in Vermont, Hawaii, Connecticut, Idaho, Louisiana, Maine, and Pennsylvania, party committees or assemblies directly related to the delegate selection process were apportioned wholly or in part on the basis of representation by town or county, independent of considerations of population and Democratic vote. In only six states, Oklahoma, Washington, Tennessee, Kentucky, Maine, and North Dakota, do apportionment formulas take account of the previous presidential vote in the state, though many experts have suggested that this should be the most influential factor in apportioning delegates and alternates to the National Convention.

Committee systems

In about one-fifth of the states, some or all of the delegates are selected by party committees. These vary from the selection of the entire delegation by an executive committee of the state committee to the selection of a part of the delegation by county or district committees. In many cases, these party committees meet in what is described as conventions, although membership at these meetings is limited to party officers.

In all of these systems, the selection of delegates is indirect and never affords adequate notice to the voter of his role in the election of the party committee. The Commission found a higher level of misunderstanding and confusion and a lower level of meaningful participation by the voter in selection by committee than in selection by primary or convention.

Fair representation of minority views on presidential candidates

One issue of special concern to the Commission was the fair representation of supporters of each presidential candidate on the state's delegation. Many witnesses at our hearings believed that the unrestrained application of majority rule in primary, convention and committee systems, produced much of the bitterness and divisiveness characteristic of 1968.

In California, a "winner-take-all" primary state, Senator Robert Kennedy received 46 percent of the vote (compared to 42 percent for Senator Eugene McCarthy and 12 percent for the slate ultimately committed to Vice President Hubert H. Humphrey). The delegation pledged to Senator Kennedy became the sole representatives of California Democrats to the National Convention. In New Hampshire, on the other hand, McCarthy received only 42 percent of the vote in the presidential preference primary, yet 83 percent of the delegates to the National Convention from New Hampshire cast their ballots for him.

In Minnesota, a caucus-convention system, the supporters of Senator McCarthy comprised 42 percent of the delegates to the state convention, but, by majority vote, were denied any of the 20 at-large delegates elected by that body. In New York, where the at-large segment of the delegation is appointed by the State Committee after the

delegate primary, the delegates chosen by a majority of that committee bore scant resemblance in their presidential preferences to the results of the primary election, causing a serious rift among Democrats in the state.

THE GUIDELINES

The Guidelines that we have adopted are designed to eliminate the inequities in the delegate selection process discussed in the last chapter. We view popular participation as the lifeblood of the National Convention system; any compromise with this threatens the future of the Convention.

Since the inception of the Convention system, there has been a trend toward more and more popular participation in the nominating process. First there was the effect of the communications and transportation revolutions of the 19th Century. Then there was the introduction of primaries in the early years of this century. In more recent years, Democrats have eliminated the two-thirds rule and racial discrimination. In 1968, the delegates to the Democratic National Convention accelerated this trend with the adoption of the reform resolution and the authorization for the creation of our Commission. In the pages that follow we summarize the Guidelines, which are based on the resolution, discuss the legal status we have to effect the changes our Guidelines require, and present the Guidelines themselves.

SUMMARY OF THE GUIDELINES

The Guidelines are divided into two broad classifications, one in which the Commission requires certain action by state Parties, and one in which the Commission urges action by the Parties.

The following is a summary of the guidelines the Commission requires state Parties to adopt. "Requires" means that the stated purpose is within the "full, meaningful and timely opportunity" mandate of the 1968 Convention, and that the Commission considers the accomplishment of the stated purpose to be the minimum action state Parties must take to meet the requirements of the Call of the 1972 Convention. These Guidelines are meant to apply at all levels of the process by which delegates and alternates are selected.

1. Adopt explicit written Party rules governing delegate selection (A-5).
2. Adopt procedural rules and safeguards for the delegate selection process that would:
 - a. forbid proxy voting (B-1).
 - b. forbid the use of unit rule and related practices like instructing delegations (B-5).
 - c. require a quorum of not less than 40% at all Party committee meetings (B-3).
 - d. remove all mandatory assessments of delegates to the National Convention (A-4).
 - e. limit mandatory participation fees to no more than \$10, and petition requirements to no more than 1% of the standard used to measure Democratic strength (A-4).
 - f. ensure that in all but rural areas, Party meetings are held on uniform dates, at uniform times, and in public places of easy access (A-5).
 - g. ensure adequate public notice of all Party meetings involved in the delegate selection process (C-1).
3. Seek as broad a base of support for the Party as possible in the following manner:
 - a. Add to the party rules and implement the six anti-racial-discrimination standards adopted by the Democratic National Committee (A-1).
 - b. Overcome the effects of past discrimination by affirmative steps to encourage representation on the National Convention delegation of minority groups, young people and women in reasonable relationship to their presence in the population of the State (A-1, A-2).
 - c. Allow and encourage any Democrat of 18 years of age or older to participate in all Party affairs (A-2).

4. Make, where applicable, the following changes in the delegate selection process:

a. Select alternates in the same manner as prescribed for the selection of delegates (B-4).

b. Prohibit the ex-officio designation of delegates to the National Convention (C-2).

c. Conduct the entire process of delegate selection in a timely manner, i.e., within the calendar year of the Convention (C-4).

d. In convention systems, select no less than 75% of the total delegation at a level no higher than the congressional district and adopt an apportionment formula which is based on population and/or some standard measure of Democratic strength (B-7).

e. Apportion all delegates to the National Convention not selected at large on a basis of representation which gives equal weight to population and Democratic voting strength based on the previous presidential election (B-7).

f. Designate the procedures by which states are prepared and challenged (C-6).

g. Select no more than 10% of the delegation by the State committee (C-5).

The following is a summary of the Guidelines the Commission urges state Parties to adopt. "Urges" means that the stated purpose is within the Commission's mandate, that the Commission considers the accomplishment of the stated purpose by the state Parties to be desirable, but that the Commission is not prepared to require such action before the 1972 Convention.

1. Remove all costs and fees involved in the delegate selection process (A-4).

2. Explore ways of easing the financial burden on delegates and alternates and candidates for delegates and alternates (A-4).

3. Assess the burdens imposed on a prospective participant in the delegate selection process by registration laws, customs and practices, and make all feasible efforts to remove or alleviate voter registration laws and practices which prevent the effective participation of Democrats in the delegate selection process. These restrictive laws and practices include annual registration requirements, lengthy residence requirements, literacy tests, short and untimely registration periods, and infrequent enrollment sessions (A-3).

4. Provide for party enrollment that (a) allows non-Democrats to become Party members and (b) provides easy access and frequent opportunity for unaffiliated voters to become Democrats (C-3).

5. Terminate all selection systems which require or permit party committees to select any part of the state delegation (C-5).

6. Adopt procedures which will provide for fair representation of minority views on presidential candidates (B-6). (The Commission has also recommended that the 1972 Convention adopt a rule requiring state Parties to provide representation to minority political views to the highest level of the nominating process. Recognizing the overwhelming importance of this issue, the Commission will make every effort to stimulate systematic public discussion of it now and at the 1972 Democratic National Convention.)

LEGAL STATUS OF THE GUIDELINES

Because the Commission was created by virtue of actions taken at the 1968 Convention, we believe our legal responsibility extends to that body and that body alone. We view ourselves as the agent of that Convention on all matters related to delegate selection. Unless the 1972 Convention chooses to review any steps the Commission has taken, we regard our Guidelines for delegate selection as binding on the states.

We believe that we have been restrained in our exercise of our authority. We have proceeded in much the same manner as any administrative agency. We held hearings, adopted proposed standards, invited comments on those standards and finally adopted our official Guidelines.

Unlike some administrative agencies, however, we have no direct enforcement power. But this does not mean that our Guidelines are merely suggestions for the state Parties.

At the 1964 Convention, the Special Equal Rights Committee was created to "aid the state Democratic parties" in meeting the anti-discrimination requirements of the 1968 Call. After holding a series of hearings, that Committee adopted six basic elements to determine compliance with the 1968 Call. In 1967, Governor Richard Hughes of New Jersey, Chairman of the Committee, attached these elements to a letter he sent to all state chairmen. In the letter, he informed them that in the event of nonconformity with the elements "this Committee will recommend that the Credentials Committee declare the seats to be vacant and fill those seats with a delegation broadly representative of the Democrats of the state".

The Commission on Party Structure and Delegate Selection has the identical legal status and options available to it that the Special Equal Rights Committee had. Although as a matter of policy we plan to work as closely as possible with state Democratic Parties and the Democratic National Committee, we recognize that our obligations to the 1968 Convention may necessitate action similar to that of the Special Equal Rights Committee.

We believe that our Guidelines place no unreasonable demands on state Parties. We did not adopt them with the intention of stimulating credentials challenges in 1972.

In this regard, we did not believe that we should hold state Parties to the same rigid standards if compliance requires a change in state law. Our mandate is to work with state Parties and not with state legislatures—even those with Democratic majorities. Therefore, where compliance would require state legislative or constitutional action, the Commission has relieved state Parties from the obligation of actually accomplishing the required statutory change once "all feasible efforts" have been made. "All feasible efforts" means that the state Party had held hearings, introduced bills, worked for their enactment, and amended its rules in every necessary way short of exposing the Party or its members to legal sanctions.

Regardless of whether conformity is to be achieved by change in state law, or party rule or practice, the Commission believes that state Parties have considerable power at their disposal to democratize their delegate selection process. Therefore the Commission recommends that in the event of any contest or challenge involving an allegation of failure to fulfill the provisions of the following Guidelines, the Credentials Committee of the 1972 Democratic National Convention be guided by the principle that state Parties must assume the burden of ensuring opportunities for full, meaningful and timely participation in the delegate selection process for party members.

THE OFFICIAL GUIDELINES OF THE COMMISSION

On November 19 and 20, 1969, the Commission, meeting in open session in Washington, D.C., adopted the following Guidelines for delegate selection.

Part I—Introduction

The following Guidelines for delegate selection represent the Commission's interpretation of the "full, meaningful, and timely" language of its mandate. These Guidelines have been divided into three general categories.

A. Rules or practices which inhibit access to the delegate selection process—items which compromise full and meaningful participation by inhibiting or preventing a Democrat from exercising his influence in the delegate selection process.

B. Rules or practices which dilute the influence of a Democrat in the delegate selection process, after he has exercised all available resources to effect such influence.

C. Rules and practices which have some attributes of both A and B.

A. Rules or practices inhibiting access

1. Discrimination on the basis of race, color, creed, or national origin.
2. Discrimination on the basis of age or sex.
3. Voter registration.
4. Costs and fees.
5. Existence of Party rules.

B. Rules or practices diluting influence

1. Proxy voting.
2. Clarity of purpose.
3. Quorum provisions.
4. Selection of alternates; filling of delegate and alternate vacancies.
5. Unit rule.
6. Adequate representation of political minority views.
7. Apportionment.

C. Rules and practices combining attributes of A and B

1. Adequate public notice.
2. Automatic (ex-officio) delegates.
3. Open and closed processes.
4. Premature delegate selection (timeliness).
5. Committee selection processes.
6. Slate-making.

Part II—The Guidelines

A-1 Discrimination on the basis of race, color, creed, or national origin

The 1964 Democratic National Convention adopted a resolution which conditioned the seating of delegations at future conventions on the assurance that discrimination in any State Party affairs on the grounds of race, color, creed or national origin did not occur. The 1968 Convention adopted the 1964 Convention resolution for inclusion in the Call to the 1972 Convention. In 1966, the Special Equal Rights Committee, which had been created in 1964, adopted six anti-discrimination standards—designated as the "six basic elements"—for the State Parties to meet. These standards were adopted by the Democratic National Committee in January 1968 as its official policy statement.

These actions demonstrate the intention of the Democratic Party to ensure a full opportunity for all minority group members to participate in the delegate selection process. To supplement the requirements of the 1964 and 1968 Conventions, the Commission requires that:

1. State Parties add the six basic elements of the Special Equal Rights Committee to their Party rules and take appropriate steps to secure their implementation;

2. State Parties overcome the effects of past discrimination by affirmative steps to encourage minority group participation, including representation of minority groups on the national convention delegation in reasonable relationship to the group's presence in the population of the State.⁷

A-2 Discrimination on the basis of age or sex

The Commission believes that discrimination on the grounds of age or sex is inconsistent with full and meaningful opportunity to participate in the delegate selection process. Therefore, the Commission requires State Parties to eliminate all vestiges of discrimination on these grounds. Furthermore, the Commission requires State Parties to overcome the effects of past discrimination by affirmative steps to encourage representation on the national convention delegation of young people—defined as people of not more than thirty nor less than eighteen years of age—and women in reasonable relationship to their presence in the population of the State.⁷ Moreover, the Commission requires State Parties to amend their Party rules to allow and encourage any Democrat of eighteen years or more to participate in all party affairs.

Footnotes at end of speech.

When State law controls, the Commission requires State Parties to make all feasible efforts to repeal, amend, or otherwise modify such laws to accomplish the stated purpose.

A-3 Voter registration

The purpose of registration is to add to the legitimacy of the electoral process, not to discourage participation. Democrats do not enjoy an opportunity to participate fully in the delegate selection process in States where restrictive voter registration laws and practices are in force, preventing their effective participation in primaries, caucuses, conventions and other Party affairs. These restrictive laws and practices include annual registration requirements, lengthy residence requirements, literacy tests, short and untimely registration periods, and infrequent enrollment sessions.

The Commission urges each State Party to assess the burdens imposed on a prospective participant in the Party's delegate selection processes by State registration laws, customs and practices, as outlined in the report of the Grass Roots Subcommittee of the Commission on Party Structure and Delegate Selection, and use its good offices to remove or alleviate such barriers to participation.

A-4 Costs and fees; petition requirements

The Commission believes that costs, fees, or assessments and excessive petition requirements made by State law and Party rule or resolutions impose a financial burden on (1) national convention delegates and alternates; (2) candidates for convention delegates and alternates; and (3) in some cases, participants. Such costs, fees, assessments or excessive petition requirements discouraged full and meaningful opportunity to participate in the delegate selection process.

The Commission urges the State Parties to remove all costs and fees involved in the delegate selection process. The Commission requires State Parties to remove all excessive costs and fees, and to waive all nominal costs and fees when they would impose a financial strain on any Democrat. A cost or fee of more than \$10 for all stages of the delegate selection process is deemed excessive. The Commission requires State Parties to remove all mandatory assessments of delegates and alternates.

The Commission requires State Parties to remove excessive petition requirements for convention delegate candidates of presidential candidates. Any petition requirement, which calls for a number of signatures in excess of 1% of the standard used for measuring Democratic strength, whether such standard be based on the number of Democratic votes cast for a specific office in a previous election or Party enrollment figures, is deemed excessive.

When State law controls any of these matters, the Commission requires State Parties to make all feasible efforts to repeal, amend or otherwise modify such laws to accomplish the stated purpose.

This provision, however, does not change the burden of expenses borne by individuals who campaign for and/or serve as delegates and alternates. Therefore, the Commission urges State Parties to explore ways of easing the financial burden on delegates and alternates and candidates for delegate and alternate.

A-5 Existence of party rules

In order for rank-and-file Democrats to have a full and meaningful opportunity to participate in the delegate selection process, they must have access to the substantive and procedural rules which govern the process. In some States the process is not regulated by law or rule, but by resolution of the State Committee and by tradition. In other States, the rules exist, but generally are inaccessible. In still others, rules and laws regulate only the formal aspects of the selection process (e.g., date and place of the State convention) and leave to Party resolution or tradition the

more substantive matters (e.g., intrastate apportionment of votes; rotation of alternates; nomination of delegates).

The Commission believes that any of these arrangements is inconsistent with the spirit of the Call in that they permit excessive discretion on the part of Party officials, which may be used to deny or limit full and meaningful opportunity to participate. Therefore, the Commission requires State Parties to adopt and make available readily accessible statewide Party rules and statutes which prescribe the State's delegate selection process with sufficient details and clarity. When relevant to the State's delegate selection process, explicit written Party rules and procedural rules should include clear provisions for: (1) the apportionment of delegates and votes within the State; (2) the allocation of fractional votes, if any; (3) the selection and responsibilities of convention committees; (4) the nomination of delegates and alternates (5) the succession of alternates to delegate status and the filling of vacancies; (6) credentials challenges; (7) minority reports.

Furthermore, the Commission requires State Parties to adopt rules which will facilitate maximum participation among interested Democrats in the processes by which National Convention delegates are selected. Among other things, these rules should provide for dates, times, and public places which would be most likely to encourage interested Democrats to attend all meetings involved in the delegate selection process.

The Commission requires State Parties to adopt explicit written Party rules which provide for uniform times and dates of all meetings involved in the delegate selection process. These meetings and events include caucuses, conventions, committee meetings, primaries, filing deadlines, and Party enrollment periods. Rules regarding time and date should be uniform in two senses. First, each stage of the delegate selection process should occur at a uniform time and date throughout the State. Second, the time and date should be uniform from year to year. The Commission recognizes that in many parts of rural America it may be an undue burden to maintain complete uniformity, and therefore exempts rural areas from this provision so long as the time and date are publicized in advance of the meeting and are uniform within the geographic area.

B-1 Proxy voting

When a Democrat cannot, or chooses not to, attend a meeting related to the delegate selection process, many States allow that person to authorize another to act in his name. This practice—called proxy voting—has been a significant source of real or felt abuse of fair procedure in the delegate selection process.

The Commission believes that any situation in which one person is given the authority to act in the name of the absent Democrat, on any issue before the meeting, gives such person an unjustified advantage in affecting the outcome of the meeting. Such a situation is inconsistent with the spirit of equal participation. Therefore, the Commission requires State Parties to add to their explicit written rules provisions which forbid the use of proxy voting in all procedures involved in the delegate selection process.

B-2 Clarity of purpose

An opportunity for full participation in the delegate selection process is not meaningful unless each Party member can clearly express his preference for candidates for delegates to the National Convention, or for those who will select such delegates. In many States, a Party member who wishes to affect the selection of the delegation must do so by voting for delegates or Party officials who will engage in many activities unrelated to the delegate selection process.

Whenever other Party business is mixed,

without differentiation, with the delegate selection process, the Commission requires State Parties to make it clear to voters how they are participating in a process that will nominate their Party's candidate for President. Furthermore, in States which employ a convention or committee system, the Commission requires State Parties to clearly designate the delegate selection procedures as distinct from other Party business.

B-3 Quorum provisions

Most constituted bodies have rules or practices which set percentage or number minimums before they can commence their business. Similarly, Party committees which participate in the selection process may commence business only after it is determined that this quorum exists. In some States, however, the quorum requirement is satisfied when less than 40% of committee members are in attendance.

The Commission believes a full opportunity to participate is satisfied only when a rank-and-file Democrat's representative attends such committee meetings. Recognizing, however, that the setting of high quorum requirements may impede the selection process, the Commission requires State Parties to adopt rules setting quorums at not less than 40% for all party committees involved in the delegate selection process.

B-4 Selection of alternates; filling of delegate and alternate vacancies

The Call to the 1972 Convention requires that alternates be chosen by one of the three methods sanctioned for the selection of delegates—i.e., by primary, convention or committee. In some States, Party rules authorize the delegate himself or the State Chairman to choose his alternate. The Commission requires State Parties to prohibit these practices—and other practices not specifically authorized by the Call—for selecting alternates.

In the matter of vacancies, some States have Party rules which authorize State Chairmen to fill all delegate and alternate vacancies. This practice again involves the selection of delegates or alternates by a process other than primary, convention or committee. The Commission requires States Parties to prohibit such practices and to fill all vacancies by (1) a timely and representative Party committee; or (2) a reconvening of the body which selected the delegate or alternate whose seat is vacant; or (3) the delegation itself, acting as a committee.

When State law controls, the Commission requires State Parties to make all feasible efforts to repeal, amend or otherwise modify such laws to accomplish the stated purposes.

B-5 Unit rule

In 1968, many States used the unit rule at various stages in the processes by which delegates were selected to the National Convention. The 1968 Convention defined unit rule,⁹ did not enforce the unit rule on any delegate in 1968, and added language to the 1972 Call requiring that "the unit rule not be used in any stage of the delegate selection process." In light of the Convention action, the Commission requires State Parties to add to their explicit written rules provisions which forbid the use of the unit rule or the practice of instructing delegates to vote against their stated preferences at any stage of the delegate selection process."⁹

B-6 Adequate representation of minority views on presidential candidates at each stage in the delegate selection process

The Commission believes that a full and meaningful opportunity to participate in the delegate selection process is precluded unless the presidential preference of each Democrat is fairly represented at all levels of the process. Therefore, the Commission urges each State Party to adopt procedures which will

Footnotes at end of speech.

provide fair representation of minority views on presidential candidates and recommends that the 1972 Convention adopt a rule requiring State Parties to provide for the representation of minority views to the highest level of the nominating process.

The Commission believes that there are at least two different methods by which a State Party can provide for such representation. First, in at-large elections it can divide delegate votes among presidential candidates in proportion to their demonstrated strength. Second, it can choose delegates from fairly apportioned districts no larger than congressional districts.

The Commission recognizes that there may be other methods to provide for fair representation of minority views. Therefore, the Commission will make every effort to stimulate public discussion of the issue of representation of minority views on presidential candidates between now and the 1972 Democratic National Convention.

B-7 Apportionment

The Commission believes that the manner in which votes and delegates are apportioned within each State has a direct bearing on the nature of participation. If the apportionment formula is not based on Democratic strength and/or population the opportunity for some voters to participate in the delegate selection process will not be equal to the opportunity of others. Such a situation is inconsistent with a full and meaningful opportunity to participate.

Therefore, the Commission requires State Parties which apportion their delegation to the National Convention to apportion on a basis of representation which fairly reflects the population and Democratic strength within the State. The apportionment is to be based on a formula giving equal weight to total population and to the Democratic vote in the previous presidential election.

The Commission requires State Parties with convention systems to select at least 75% of their delegations to the National Convention at congressional district or smaller unit levels.

In convention or committee systems, the Commission requires State Parties to adopt an apportionment formula for each body actually selecting delegates to State, district and county conventions which is based upon population and/or some measure of Democratic strength. Democratic strength may be measured by the Democratic vote in the preceding presidential, senatorial, congressional or gubernatorial election, and/or by party enrollment figures.

When State law controls, the Commission requires State Parties to make all feasible efforts to repeal, amend or otherwise modify such laws to accomplish the stated purpose.

C-1 Adequate public notice

The Call to the 1968 convention required State Parties to assure voters an opportunity to "participate fully" in party affairs. The Special Equal Rights Committee interpreted this opportunity to include adequate public notice. The Committee listed several elements—including publicizing of the time, places and rules for the conduct of all public meetings of the Democratic Party and holding such meetings in easily accessible places—which comprise adequate public notice. These elements were adopted by the Democratic National Committee in January 1968 as its official policy statement and are binding on the State Parties.

Furthermore, the Commission requires State Parties to circulate a concise and public statement in advance of the election itself of the relationship between the party business being voted upon and the delegate selection process.

In addition to supplying the information indicated above, the Commission believes that adequate public notice includes information on the ballot as to the presidential preference of (1) candidates of slates for

delegate or (2) in the States which select or nominate a portion of the delegates by committees, candidates or slates for such committees.

Accordingly, the Commission requires State Parties to give every candidate for delegate (and candidate for committee, where appropriate) the opportunity to state his presidential preferences on the ballot at each stage of the delegate selection process. The Commission requires the State Parties to add the word "uncommitted" or like term on the ballot next to the name of every candidate for delegate who does not wish to express a presidential preference.

When State law controls, the Commission requires the State Parties to make all feasible efforts to repeal, amend or otherwise modify such laws to accomplish the stated purposes.

C-2 Automatic (ex-officio) delegates (see also C-4)

In some States, certain public or Party officeholders are delegates to county, State and National Conventions by virtue of their official position. The Commission believes that State laws, Party rules and Party resolutions which so provide are inconsistent with the Call to the 1972 Convention for three reasons:

1. The Call requires all delegates to be chosen by primary, convention or committee procedures. Achieving delegate status by virtue of public or Party office is not one of the methods sanctioned by the 1968 Convention.

2. The Call requires all delegates to be chosen by a process which begins within the calendar year of the Convention. Ex-officio delegates usually were elected (or appointed) to their positions before the calendar year of the Convention.

3. The Call requires all delegates to be chosen by a process in which all Democrats have a full and meaningful opportunity to participate. Delegate selection by a process in which certain places on the delegation are not open to competition among Democrats is inconsistent with a full and meaningful opportunity to participate.

Accordingly, the Commission requires State Parties to repeal Party rules or resolutions which provide for ex-officio delegates. When State law controls, the Commission requires State Parties to make all feasible efforts to repeal, amend or otherwise modify such laws to accomplish the stated purpose.

C-3 Open and closed processes

The Commission believes that Party membership, and hence opportunity to participate in the delegate selection process, must be open to all persons who wish to be Democrats and who are not already members of another political party; conversely, a full opportunity for all Democrats to participate is diluted if members of other political parties are allowed to participate in the selection of delegates to the Democratic National Convention.

The Commission urges State Parties to provide for party enrollment that (1) allows non-Democrats to become Party members, and (2) provides easy access and frequent opportunity for unaffiliated voters to become Democrats.

C-4 Premature delegate selection (timeliness)

The 1968 Convention adopted language adding to the Call to the 1972 Convention the requirement that the delegate selection process must begin within the calendar year of the Convention. In many States, Governors, State Chairmen, State, district and county committees who are chosen before the calendar year of the Convention, select—or choose agents to select—the delegates. These practices are inconsistent with the Call.

The Commission believes that the 1968 Convention intended to prohibit any un-

timely procedures which have any direct bearing on the processes by which National Convention delegates are selected. The process by which delegates are nominated is such a procedure. Therefore, the Commission requires State Parties to prohibit any practices by which officials elected or appointed before the calendar year choose nominating committees or propose or endorse a slate of delegates—even when the possibility for a challenge to such slate or committee is provided.

When State law controls, the Commission requires State Parties to make all feasible efforts to repeal, amend, or modify such laws to accomplish the stated purposes.

C-5 Committee selection processes

The 1968 Convention indicated no preference between primary, convention, and committee systems for choosing delegates. The Commission believes, however, that committee systems by virtue of their indirect relationship to the delegate selection process, offer fewer guarantees for a full and meaningful opportunity to participate than other systems.

The Commission is aware that it has no authority to eliminate committee systems in their entirety. However, the Commission can and does require State Parties which elect delegates in this manner to make it clear to voters at the time the Party committee is elected or appointed that one of its functions will be the selection of National Convention delegates.

Believing, however, that such selection system is undesirable even when adequate public notice is given, the Commission requires State Parties to limit the National Convention delegation chosen by committee procedures to not more than 10 percent of the total number of delegates and alternates.

Since even this obligation will not ensure an opportunity for full and meaningful participation, the Commission recommends that State Parties repeal rules or resolutions which require or permit Party committees to select any part of the State's delegation to the National Convention. When State law controls, the Commission recommends that State Parties make all feasible efforts to repeal, amend, or otherwise modify such laws to accomplish the stated purpose.

C-6 Slate-making

In mandating a full and meaningful opportunity to participate in the delegate selection process, the 1968 Convention meant to prohibit any practice in the process of selection which made it difficult for Democrats to participate. Since the process by which individuals are nominated for delegate positions and slates of potential delegates are formed is an integral and crucial part of the process by which delegates are actually selected, the Commission requires State Parties to extend to the nominating process all guarantees of full and meaningful opportunity to participate in the delegate selection process. When State law controls, the Commission requires State Parties to make all feasible efforts to repeal, amend or otherwise modify such laws to accomplish the stated purpose.

Furthermore, whenever slates are presented to caucuses, meetings, conventions, committees, or to voters in a primary, the Commission requires State Parties to adopt procedures which assure that:

1. the bodies making up the slates have been elected, assembled, or appointed for the slate-making task with adequate public notice that they would perform such task;

2. those persons making up each slate have adopted procedures that will facilitate widespread participation in the slate-making process, with the proviso that any slate presented in the name of a presidential candidate in a primary State be assembled with due consultation with the presidential candidate or his representative.

3. adequate procedural safeguards are provided to assure that the right to challenge the presented slate is more than perfunctory

and places no undue burden on the challengers.

When State law controls, the Commission requires State Parties to make all feasible efforts to repeal, amend or otherwise modify such laws to accomplish the stated purpose.

CONCLUSION

The Guidelines that we have adopted are designed to open the door to all Democrats who seek a voice in their Party's most important decision: the choice of its presidential nominee. We are concerned with the opportunity to participate, rather than the actual level of participation, although the number of Democrats who vote in their caucuses, meetings and primaries is an important index of the opportunities available to them. As members of the Commission, we are less concerned with the product of the meetings than the process, although we believe that the product will be improved in the give and take of open and fairly conducted meetings.

We believe that popular participation is more than a proud heritage of our party, more even than a first principle. We believe that popular control of the Democratic Party is necessary for its survival.

We do not believe this is an idle threat. When we view our past history and present policies alongside that of the Republican Party, we are struck by one unavoidable fact: our Party is the only major vehicle for peaceful, progressive change in the United States.

If we are not an open party; if we do not represent the demands of change, then the danger is not that people will go to the Republican Party; it is that there will no longer be a way for people committed to orderly change to fulfill their needs and desires within our traditional political system. It is that they will turn to third and fourth party politics or the anti-politics of the street.

We believe that our Guidelines offer an alternative for these people. We believe that the Democratic Party can meet the demands for participation with their adoption. We trust that all Democrats will give the Guidelines their careful consideration.

We are encouraged by the response of state Parties to date. In 40 states and territories the Democratic Party has appointed reform commissions (or subcommittees of the state committee) to investigate ways of modernizing party procedures. Of these, 17 have already issued reports and recommendations. In a number of states, party rules and state laws have already been revised, newly written or amended to insure the opportunity for participation in Party matters by all Democrats.

Rhode Island and Maryland, for example, were states that in 1968 chose their delegates by a State Committee selected in an untimely manner—that is, by a process that began before the calendar year of the convention. In 1969, the legislative bodies of those States passed presidential primary bills at the urging of Democratic members of those legislatures and Democratic Party officials. This year, the Maryland legislature has improved on the bill enacted in 1969.

Legislatures in the states of Illinois and New Mexico have also passed presidential primary laws, the latter being the first state to adopt a primary providing for proportional representation. In Nevada, a bill supported by the Democrats and calling for a presidential preference primary with proportional representation was approved by the legislature, but was vetoed by Republican Governor Paul Laxalt. A presidential primary bill has passed one house of the Delaware legislature.

In March, the Idaho legislature, at the prodding of its Democratic members, passed a law that will allow for complete modernization of the delegate selection process.

In several states there has been substantial reform of party rules governing delegate selection and party structure. In Minnesota, a new party constitution has been

adopted that provides for proportional representation and modified "one Democrat—one vote." In Michigan, a meeting of 2,000 Democrats convened in January and adopted the broad recommendations of the Haber Reform Commission. In North Carolina, the State Party has adopted comprehensive reforms of its party structure, including one provision for 18-year-old participation in all party affairs and another for reasonable representation on all party committees and delegations of women, minority racial groups and young people. In Colorado, the State Committee has adopted a proposal that will ensure proportional representation for all presidential candidates at the next convention. In Oklahoma, rules have been proposed which will assure that not more than 60 percent of the membership of any committee or convention will be of the same sex, and will eliminate the role of untimely committees in the delegate selection process. In Missouri, statewide public hearings have been held to discuss proposals for party rules.

In other states, the Democratic Party has adopted significant changes in the structure and selection of their state and constituent committees. In January, Alabama reapportioned its State Committee on a one-man, one-vote basis with members now elected from districts rather than at large. The Florida Democratic Advisory Committee has provided for ex-officio representation of minority groups and youth on the State Committee.

In Washington and Virginia, the State Committee has adopted party rules that require 18-year-old participation in all party affairs. In an additional 30 states, at the urging of Democratic leaders, the 18-year-old vote is before the legislature or will be on the ballot in November.

In Mississippi, South Dakota and the Canal Zone the first set of comprehensive party rules has been adopted. The Missouri State Central Committee, upon completing its extensive statewide hearings, will adopt its first party constitution.

All of these efforts lead us to the conclusion that the Democratic Party is bent on meaningful change. A great European statesman once said, "All things are possible, even the fact that an action in accord with honor and honesty ultimately appears to be a prudent political investment." We share this sentiment. We are confident that party reform, dictated by our Party's heritage and principles, will insure a strong, winning and united Party.

APPENDICES

THE ORIGINS AND MANDATE OF THE COMMISSION ON PARTY STRUCTURE AND DELEGATE SELECTION

1. Origins

(a) Excerpts from the Majority Report of the Credentials Committee, adopted by the Convention on August 26, 1968:

The deliberation of this Committee suggests that we can and should encourage appropriate revisions in the delegate selection process to assure the fullest possible participation and to make the Democratic Party completely representative of grass-roots sentiment.

And to this end, this Committee will recommend and does recommend that the Chairman of the Democratic National Committee establish a Special Committee to do these things:

A. Study the delegate selection processes in effect in the various states, in the context of the peculiar circumstances, needs and traditions in which each state's laws and practices find their roots.

B. Recommend to the Democratic National Committee such improvements as can assure even broader citizen participation in the delegate selection process.

C. Aid the State Democratic parties in working toward relevant changes in State law and Party rules.

D. Report its findings and recommendations to the Democratic National Committee and make them available to the 1972 Convention and the Committees thereof.

Be it further resolved, that the Chairman of the Democratic National Committee shall establish a Special Committee to aid the State Democratic parties in fully meeting the responsibilities and assurances required for inclusion in the Call for the 1972 Democratic National Convention, said Committee to report to the Democratic National Committee concerning its efforts and findings and said report to be available to the 1972 Convention and the committees thereof.

(b) Excerpts from the Equal Rights (Richard Hughes) Committee Report, adopted by the Democratic National Committee, August 24, 1968:

To the end that the Democratic Party will demonstrate its highest commitment to principle as well as the utmost of political wisdom, we recommend: . . .

4) That a Commission on Party Structure should be created to study the relationship between the National Democratic Party and its constituent State Democratic Parties, in order that full participation of all Democratic Parties, in order that full participation of all Democrats, regardless of race, color, creed or national origin may be facilitated by uniform standards for structure and operation.

2. Mandate

Minority Report of the Rules Committee, adopted by the Convention on August 27, 1968:

Be it resolved, that the Call to the 1972 Democratic National Convention shall contain the following language:

It is understood that a State Democratic Party, in selecting and certifying delegates to the National Convention, thereby undertakes a process in which all Democratic voters have had full and timely opportunity to participate. In determining whether a State Party has complied with this mandate, the convention shall require that:

(1) The unit rule not be used in any stage of the delegate selection process; and

(2) All feasible efforts have been made to assure that delegates are selected through Party primary, convention, or committee procedures open to public participation within the calendar year of the National Convention.

[This amendment to the 1972 Call is to be implemented by the Commission, as a result of the Convention's adoption of the Credentials Committee recommendation (supra.) that the Commission was to "aid the State Democratic Parties in fully meeting the responsibilities and assurances required for inclusion in the Call for the 1972 Convention".]

STATE REFORM COMMISSION CHAIRMEN¹

Alabama: Honorable Bert Haltom, Florence, Ala.

Arizona: Mr. George Miller, 2934 North Los Altos, Tucson, Ariz.

Arkansas: Mr. Richard S. Arnold, P.O. Box 1938, Texarkana, Ark.

California: Mr. Donald Solem, 1182 Market Street, San Francisco, Calif.

Colorado: Mr. Dale Tooley, 635 Vine Street, Denver, Colo.

Connecticut: Judge Stephen K. Elliot, 50 Center Street, Southington, Conn.

Delaware: Dr. Arlen Mechler, 1108 North Rodney Street, Wilmington, Del.

Florida: Mr. Pat Thomas,² P.O. Box 1758, Tallahassee, Fla.

Georgia: Mr. James H. Gray,² 2501 Bank of Georgia Building, Atlanta, Ga.

Idaho: Mr. James B. Donart, 35 East Main Street, Weiser, Idaho.

Indiana: Mr. Richard B. Stoner, 2770 Franklin Drive, Columbus, Ind.

Iowa: Mr. Dan Boyle, 403 Magowan Avenue, Iowa City, Iowa.

¹ As of March 15, 1970.

Kentucky: Mr. Thomas C. Carroll, 1415 Kentucky Home Life Bldg., Louisville, Ky.

Maine: Mr. George Mitchell, 62 State Street, Augusta, Me.

Maryland: Honorable Thomas Hunter Lowe, House of Delegates, Annapolis, Md.

Michigan: Dr. William Haber, 11498 Portlance, Detroit, Mich.

Minnesota: Mr. Forrest Harris, 6113 Second Avenue, Minneapolis, Minn.

Mississippi: Dr. Matthew Page, Colonel Albert Richardson, 346 Issaquena Avenue, Clarksdale, Miss.

Missouri: Mr. George W. Burruss, 1709 Hayselton, Jefferson City, Mo.

Nebraska: Richard M. Fellman, 845 Omaha National Bank Bldg., Omaha, Neb.

Nevada: Mrs. Pat Potter, 1555 West King Street, Carson City, Nev.

New Hampshire: Mr. Harry Macris, Room 700, Carpenter Hotel, Manchester, N.H.

New Jersey: Honorable Frank Thompson, U.S. House of Representatives, 2246 Rayburn Building, Washington, D.C.

New Mexico: Mr. Thomas G. Morris, P.O. Box 336, Tucumcari, N.M.

New York: Mr. Theodore Sorensen, 180 Central Park South, New York, N.Y.

North Carolina: James B. Hunt, Jr., P.O. Box 249, Wilson, N.C.

North Dakota: Mrs. Liv Bjorlie, 1380 Central Ave., Valley City, N. Dak.

Ohio: Mr. Robert B. McAllister, 17 South High Street, Columbus, Ohio.

Oklahoma: Mr. Jerry Sokolosky, Cravens Building, Oklahoma City, Okla.

Pennsylvania: Mr. Horace J. Culbertson, P.O. Box 129, Lewistown, Pa.

South Dakota: Dr. Byron Harrell, Box 5, Vermillion, S. Dak.

Tennessee: Mr. James Peeler,² Covington, Tenn.

Utah: Mr. John Klas,² 363 East Second South, Salt Lake City, Utah.

Vermont: Mr. Richard J. Young, Shelburne, Vt.

Virginia: Mr. Tom B. Fugat, Ewings, Va.

Washington: Mr. Dino Batali, 1700 Fernside Drive, Tacoma, Wash.

West Virginia: Mr. Rudolph DiTrappano,² 1400 Commerce Square, Charleston, W. Va.

Wisconsin: Mr. David Carley, 315 West Gorham, Madison, Wis.

Canal Zone: Mrs. Leona McFarland, P.O. Box 936, Balboa, Canal Zone.

Guam: Mr. Fred Bordallo, P.O. Box 1328, Agana, Guam.

DELEGATE SELECTION IN 1968: A STATE BY STATE SUMMARY

Alabama: Delegates and alternates to the National Convention were elected from executive committee districts (contiguous with the congressional district boundaries prior to court ordered redistricting in 1965) in a primary held in May 1968. Candidates for delegate and alternate ran individually and their presidential preference was not listed on the ballot. Candidates for delegate and alternate who were unopposed were deemed elected and their names did not appear on the ballot. No presidential preference poll was conducted. The Chairman, Vice Chairman and Secretary of the State Committee were appointed as delegates to the National Convention by the State Committee.

Alaska: Delegates and alternates to the National Convention were selected at large at a state convention held in April, 1968. Delegates and alternates to the state convention were selected at district conventions composed of delegates selected at precinct caucuses held in the early spring of 1968.

Arizona: Delegates and alternates to the National Convention were selected at large by the State Committee in April, 1968. Members of the State Committee were selected by country committees composed of precinct

committeemen elected in a primary held in September, 1966.

Arkansas: Delegates and alternates to the National Convention were selected at large by the State Committee, meeting in July 1968, three-fifths on the basis of the recommendations of the county committees convened in each congressional district. Members of the State Committee were selected by a state convention composed of delegates elected by county conventions. Delegates to the county conventions were elected in a primary held in August, 1966.

California: Delegates to the National Convention were elected at large by slate in a statewide presidential primary held in June 1968. The slate of the presidential candidate who received a plurality of the primary vote was elected. Only the names of the presidential candidates appeared on the ballot. The committee which nominated the winning slate of delegates named the alternates to the National Convention.

Canal Zone: Delegates and alternates to the National Convention were selected at a regional convention held in the spring of 1968. Any member of the Canal Zone Democratic Party was allowed to attend the regional convention.

Colorado: Delegates and alternates to the National Convention were selected at large at a state assembly held in July 1968, three fourths on the basis of the recommendations of congressional district conventions and one fourth on the basis of the recommendations of a nominating committee of the state assembly. Delegates and alternates to the congressional district conventions and state assembly were selected at county conventions composed of delegates selected at precinct caucuses held in May 1968.

Connecticut: Delegates and alternates to the National Convention were selected at large at a state convention held in June 1968. Delegates to the state convention were selected by town committees, town caucuses, or municipal primaries. Town committees were selected between 1966 and 1968. Town caucuses were held in February and early March 1968 and were attended by rank and file Democrats. Delegates chosen by town committees or at town caucuses were subject to a challenge primary, an option exercised in one sixth of the towns. Approximately one-eighth of the delegates to the state convention were selected by virtue of the challenge primary.

Delaware: Delegates and alternates to the National Convention were selected at large at a state convention held in May 1968. One third of the delegates and alternates to the state convention were selected in the spring of 1968 and two thirds were selected by county and district chairmen elected in a primary in 1966.

District of Columbia: Delegates and alternates to the National Convention were elected at large by slate in a presidential primary held in May 1968. The names of candidates for delegate appeared on the ballot, and the voter had the option of casting his ballot for a slate or for individual candidates on different slates. Candidates for delegate could not express their presidential preference on the ballot and no presidential preference poll was conducted.

Florida: Three fifths of the delegates to the National Convention were elected at large and two fifths by congressional district in a primary held in May 1968. The names of candidates for delegate appeared on the ballot grouped by slate pledged to a presidential candidate. No presidential preference poll was conducted. Each elected delegate appointed his own alternate to the National Convention.

Georgia: Delegates and alternates to the National Convention were selected at large by the Chairman of the State Executive Committee with the advice and consent of the Democratic gubernatorial nominee in

May 1968. The State Chairman was selected by the state convention held in October 1966, and the Democratic gubernatorial nominee was selected in a primary held in September 1966.

Guam: Delegates and alternates to the National Convention were selected at large at a local convention held in July 1968. Delegates to the local convention were selected at precinct caucuses also held in July 1968.

Hawaii: Delegates and alternates to the National Convention were selected at large at a state convention held in May 1968. The delegates and alternates to the state convention were composed of party officials and the elected representatives of each precinct club. Precinct clubs elected their representatives in March 1968.

Idaho: Delegates and alternates to the National Convention were selected at large at a state assembly in June 1968. One third of the delegation was apportioned to each of the two congressional districts. Delegates and alternates to the state assembly were the legislative district chairmen and the delegates selected by precinct committeemen elected in a primary held in August 1966.

Illinois: Two fifths of the delegates and alternates to the National Convention were elected by congressional district in a primary held in early June 1968 and three fifths were selected at large at a state convention held in late June 1968. In the primary, candidates for delegate and alternate ran individually and were not allowed to express a presidential preference on the ballot. No presidential preference poll was conducted. The state convention for the selection of at-large delegates and alternates to the National Convention was composed of delegates selected by township committeemen elected in 1966 and by ward and precinct committeemen elected in the June 1968 primary.

Indiana: One half of the delegates and alternates to the National Convention were selected by congressional district caucuses and one half at large at a state convention held in June 1968. Congressional district delegates were bound by the results of the district presidential preference poll held concurrently with the election of delegates and alternates to the state convention in the May primary. At-large delegates were bound by the result of the at-large presidential preference poll.

Iowa: Delegates and alternates to the National Convention were selected at large at a state convention held in May 1968, one half on the basis of the recommendations of congressional district caucuses and one half on the basis of the recommendations of a nominating committee of the state convention. Delegates and alternates to the state convention were selected at county conventions composed of delegates selected by precinct caucuses held in March 1968.

Kansas: One-fourth of the delegates and alternates to the National Convention were selected one fourth at large at a state convention held in March 1968 and three fourths at congressional district conventions held in February 1968. Delegates and alternates to the state and district conventions were selected at county conventions composed of precinct committeemen and committee women elected in a primary held in August 1966.

Kentucky: Delegates and alternates to the National Convention were selected at large at a state convention held in July 1968, one third on the basis of the recommendations of congressional district caucuses and two thirds on the basis of the recommendations of a nominating committee of the state convention. Delegates and alternates to the state convention were selected at county or legislative district conventions, also held in July 1968, composed of all those party members who wished to attend.

Louisiana: Delegates and alternates to the National Convention were selected at large

² Denotes State Chairman.

by a selection committee established by the State Committee. The members of the selection committee were the Governor, the Chairman and Secretary of the State Committee, and the members of the National Committee from Louisiana. The Governor and State Committee officers were elected in a primary held in November 1967. Members of the National Committee were selected in 1964.

Maine: Delegates and alternates to the National Convention were selected at large at a state convention held in May, 1968 on the basis of the recommendations of a nominating committee of the state convention. Delegates and alternates to the state convention were selected by municipal caucuses held in February and March 1968.

Maryland: Delegates and alternates to the National Convention were selected at large at a "convention" of the State Committee held in April 1968. The State Committee was composed of local committee members elected in a primary held in September 1966.

Massachusetts: Two thirds of the delegates and alternates to the National Convention were elected at large and one third by congressional district in a primary held in April 1968. Names of congressional district candidates for delegate and alternate appeared on the ballot; because the State Committee's slate of candidates for delegate and alternate at large was not contested, these candidates were deemed elected without their names having to appear on the ballot. Although candidates for district delegate expressed their presidential preference on the ballot, a presidential preference poll held concurrently with the election of delegates bound the delegates regardless of their individual preferences.

Michigan: Delegates and alternates to the National Convention were selected at a state convention held in June 1968, one half at large and one half by congressional district caucuses of state convention delegates. Delegates and alternates to the state convention were selected by county conventions composed of delegates elected in a primary held in August 1966.

Minnesota: Delegates and alternates to the National Convention were selected at large at a state convention held in June 1968, three fifths on the basis of the recommendations of congressional district conventions and two fifths on the basis of the recommendations of a nominating committee of the state convention. Delegates to the congressional district and state conventions were selected at county conventions composed of delegates selected at precinct caucuses held in the spring of 1968.

Mississippi: Delegates and alternates to the National Convention were selected at large at the state convention held in July 1968, two fifths on the basis of the recommendations of congressional district caucuses and three fifths on the basis of the recommendation of a nominating committee of the state convention. Delegates and alternates to the state convention were selected at county conventions composed of delegates selected at precinct conventions also held in July 1968.

Missouri: Nine tenths of the delegates and alternates to the National Convention were selected at a state convention held in June 1968; one tenth of the delegation was appointed by the State Committee. At the state convention, one half of the delegates and alternates to the National Convention were selected at congressional district caucuses and two fifths at large on the basis of the recommendations of a nominating committee of the state convention. Delegates and alternates to the state convention were selected at county conventions composed of delegates selected at ward or township meetings held in April and May 1968.

Montana: Delegates and alternates to the National Convention were selected at large

at a state convention held in June 1968. Delegates and alternates to the state convention were selected at county convention composed of precinct committeemen and committeewomen elected in a primary in June 1968.

Nebraska: Three fourths of the delegates and alternates to the National Convention were elected at large and one fourth by congressional district in a primary held in May 1968. The names of candidates for delegate appeared on the ballot with their presidential preference or the designation "uncommitted" below their name. A non binding presidential preference poll was conducted concurrently with the primary election of delegates.

Nevada: Delegates and alternates to the National Convention were selected at large at a state convention held in March 1968. Delegates and alternates to the state convention were selected at county conventions composed of delegates and alternates selected in precinct mass meetings held in February and March 1968.

New Hampshire: Delegates and alternates to the National Convention were elected in a primary equally from the two congressional districts in March 1968. Delegates ran individually and their names appeared on the ballots along with their presidential preference. A non binding presidential preference poll was conducted concurrently with the primary election of delegates.

New Jersey: Nine tenths of the delegates and alternates to the National Convention were elected by congressional district and one tenth at large in a primary held in June 1968. Delegates ran individually and their names appeared on the primary ballot along with their presidential preference. No presidential preference poll was conducted.

New Mexico: Delegates and alternates to the National Convention were selected at large at a state convention held in June 1968. Delegates and alternates to the state convention were selected at county conventions composed of delegates selected at ward meetings (or at combined county conventions large at a state convention held in June 1968).

New York: Two thirds of the delegates and alternates to the National Convention were elected by congressional district in a primary held in June 1968 and one third were selected at large by the State Committee later in June 1968. In the primary, candidates for delegate and alternate ran individually and were not permitted to state their presidential preference on the ballot. No presidential preference poll was conducted. The State Committee which selected the at-large delegates and alternates to the National Convention was composed of members elected by assembly district in the June primary. The Chairman, Vice Chairman, Treasurer, Secretary, and Chairman of the law committee were ex-officio delegates to the National Convention.

North Carolina: Delegates and alternates to the National Convention were selected at large at a state convention held in June 1968, three fifths on the basis of the recommendations of congressional district caucuses. Delegates and alternates to the state convention were selected by county conventions composed of delegates selected in precinct caucuses held in May 1968.

North Dakota: Delegates and alternates to the National Convention were selected at large at a state convention held in June 1968. Delegates and alternates to the state convention were selected at meetings of the legislative district committees composed of precinct committeemen elected in a primary held in September 1966.

Ohio: Three fifths of the delegates and alternates to the National Convention were elected at large and two fifths by congressional district in a primary held in May 1968. Delegates ran individually and by slate, and in both cases their names appeared on the

ballot along with their presidential preference. No presidential preference poll was conducted.

Oklahoma: One half of the delegates and alternates to the National Convention were selected by the congressional district committees and one half were selected at large at a state convention held in June 1968. The congressional district committees were composed of county chairmen and co-chairmen selected by precinct chairmen and co-chairmen. The precinct chairmen and co-chairmen were selected by precinct committeemen elected in the primary held in February 1967. The state convention was composed of delegates and alternates selected at county conventions whose delegates were selected at precinct meetings held in June 1968.

Oregon: Three fourths of the delegates to the National Convention were elected at large and one fourth by congressional district in a primary held in May 1968. Delegates ran individually and their names appeared on the ballot. Although candidates for delegate expressed their presidential preference on the ballot a presidential preference poll held concurrently with the primary election of delegates bound the elected delegates regardless of their individual preferences. Each elected delegate appointed his own alternate to the National Convention.

Pennsylvania: Three fourths of the delegates and alternates to the National Convention were selected by congressional district in a primary held in April 1968, and one fourth was selected at large by the State Committee in February 1968. The State Committee was composed of members elected by senatorial district in a primary held in April, 1966. Candidates for delegate in the congressional district primary ran individually and could not express their presidential preference on the ballot. A presidential preference poll was conducted concurrently with the primary election of delegates and was binding on any elected delegate who pledged himself to abide by the results of the poll if he won.

Puerto Rico: Delegates and alternates to the National Convention were selected at a meeting of the Territorial Committee whose members were selected in 1966.

Rhode Island: Delegates and alternates to the National Convention were selected at large by the State Committee on the basis of the recommendations of a nominating committee in May 1968. Members of the State Committee were elected in a primary held in September 1966.

South Carolina: Delegates and alternates to the National Convention were selected at large at a state convention held in March 1968, two thirds on the basis of the recommendations of the congressional district caucuses and one third on the basis of the recommendations of the State Committee. Delegates and alternates to the state convention were selected by county conventions composed of delegates selected by precinct clubs in February 1968.

South Dakota: Delegates and alternates to the National Convention were elected at large in a primary held in June 1968. Candidates for delegate ran by slate but their names appeared on the ballot along with their presidential preference.

Tennessee: Delegates and alternates to the National Convention were selected at large at a state convention held in June 1968, one half on the basis of the recommendations of congressional district caucuses and one half on the basis of the recommendations of a nominating committee of the state convention. In 91 counties, delegates and alternates to the state convention were chosen by mass meetings held in the spring of 1968, and, in the four largest counties, by the executive committees elected in the primary held in August 1966.

Texas: Delegates and alternates to the National Convention were selected at large

at a state convention held in June 1968. Delegates and alternates to the state convention were selected at county (or senatorial district) conventions composed of delegates selected at precinct conventions in May 1968.

Utah: Delegates and alternates to the National Convention were selected at large at a state convention held in July 1968. One sixth of the delegation was chosen by the State Central Committee and five sixths was apportioned among the counties grouped in "districts" for this purpose. Delegates and alternates to the state convention were selected at county conventions composed of delegates selected at voting district mass meetings in May 1968.

Vermont: Delegates and alternates to the National Convention were selected at large at a state convention held in May 1968. Delegates and alternates to the state convention were selected at town caucuses held in April and May 1968.

Virgin Islands: Delegates and alternates to the National Convention were selected at large at a territorial convention on the basis of a slate presented by the Territorial Committee. Delegates to the territorial convention were members of the Territorial Committee, the executive committees of each division organization, and members of the legislature elected at the previous general election.

Virginia: Delegates and alternates to the National Convention were selected at large at a state convention held in July 1968, three fifths on the basis of the recommendations of congressional district caucuses and two fifths on the basis of the recommendations of the State Chairman. Delegates and alternates to the state convention were selected by city and county conventions composed of delegates selected at mass meetings held in April 1968.

Washington: Three tenths of the delegates and alternates to the National Convention were selected by the State Committee in February 1968, six tenths by congressional district conventions held in June 1968, and one tenth at a state convention held in July 1968. The State Committee was composed of members selected by county committees which were composed of the precinct committeemen elected in the November 1966 general election. Delegates and alternates to the congressional district and state conventions were selected by county conventions composed of delegates selected in precinct caucuses in March and April 1968 and precinct committeemen elected in the November 1966 general election.

West Virginia: One half of the delegates to the National Convention were elected at large and one half by congressional district in a primary held in May 1968. Candidates for delegate were not permitted to state their presidential preference on the ballot (although, for example, some delegates had their names listed on the ballot as "John HHH Doe"). No presidential preference poll was conducted. Each elected delegate appointed his own alternate to the National Convention.

Wisconsin: Delegates and alternates to the National Convention were selected by the primary held in March, 1968, either by slate in the primary itself or by the presidential candidate (or his agent, the State Administrative Committee) who won the congressional district and statewide presidential preference poll held concurrently with the primary election of delegates. In the primary, only the names of the presidential candidates appeared on the ballot. After the primary, Senator McCarthy, the winner of the presidential poll in the eight districts in which no slate of delegates was filed, and at large, chose half of the delegates and alternates and accepted half of the recommendations of the State Administrative Committee.

Wyoming: Delegates and alternates to the National Convention were selected at large

at a state convention held in May 1968, one fourth by floor nominations and three fourths on the basis of the recommendations of the nominating committee of the state convention. Delegates and alternates to the state convention were selected by county conventions composed of precinct committeemen elected in a primary held in August 1966.

FOOTNOTES

¹ On August 26, 1968 the Convention adopted the majority report of the Credentials Committee calling for "a meaningful and timely opportunity" for all Democratic voters to participate. The following day, the Convention adopted the minority report of the Rules Committee calling for "a full and timely opportunity" to participate. Because these resolutions are not inconsistent, and because implied repeals are not favored in legislative construction, we have combined the two clauses.

² A list of people who testified in person or who submitted statements at the hearings is on file at the offices of the Commission.

³ In some states, statutes and party rules allow considerable discretion to the state committee to choose which selection system will be used in each presidential election year. This chart reflects the system the state parties used in 1968. In several states, new statutes and party rules have already been adopted which date this chart considerably.

⁴ The Chairman of the State Democratic Executive Committee chose the entire delegation, with the advice and consent of the Governor.

⁵ The underrepresentation of these groups is not characteristic only of the Democratic Party. The situation was equally or more acute at the 1968 Republican National Convention:

(a) **BLACKS:** Of the 2,666 delegates and alternates who assembled in Miami, only 76 (2.4%) were black. Of these, only 26 were actually voting delegates (1.9% of the total delegates), and 50 were alternates.

(b) **YOUNG PEOPLE:** Only 1% of the GOP delegates were under the age of 30, while 83% were 40 years of age or older. In 42 states, there were no voting delegates under 30, and in an additional 8 delegations, there was only one member under 30 years. The average age of the delegations from 22 states was over 50 years, and there was no voting delegate under 40 years of age from one state (Connecticut).

(c) **WOMEN:** Women comprised 17% of the GOP national convention, though there were no women at all in the delegations representing New Hampshire, the Virgin Islands, and West Virginia. Eleven state delegations did not have the four women required to fill the places assigned to them on the four standing committees of the Convention (Illinois, Kentucky, Nebraska, New Hampshire, New Jersey, North Carolina, Oregon, Utah, Vermont, Virgin Islands, and West Virginia).

⁶ Six basic elements, adopted by the Democratic National Committee as official policy statement, January 1968:

1. All public meetings at all levels of the Democratic Party in each State should be open to all members of the Democratic Party regardless of race, color, creed, or national origin.

2. No test for membership in, nor any oaths of loyalty to, the Democratic Party in any State should be required or used which has the effect of requiring prospective or current members of the Democratic Party to acquiesce in, condone or support discrimination on the grounds of race, color, creed, or national origin.

3. The time and place for all public meetings of the Democratic Party on all levels should be publicized fully and in such a manner as to assure timely notice to all in-

terested persons. Such meetings must be held in places accessible to all Party members and large enough to accommodate all interested persons.

4. The Democratic Party, on all levels, should support the broadest possible registration without discrimination on grounds of race, color, creed or national origin.

5. The Democratic Party in each State should publicize fully and in such manner as to assure notice to all interested parties a full description of the legal and practical procedures for selection of Democratic Party Officers and representatives on all levels. Publication of these procedures should be done in such fashion that all prospective and current members of each State Democratic Party will be fully and adequately informed of the pertinent procedures in time to participate in each selection procedure at all levels of the Democratic Party organization.

6. The Democratic Party in each State should publicize fully and in such manner as to assure notice to all interested parties a complete description of the legal and practical qualifications for all officers and representatives of the State Democratic Party. Such publication should be done in timely fashion so that all prospective candidates or applicants for any elected or appointed position within each State Democratic Party will have full and adequate opportunity to compete for office.

⁷ It is the understanding of the Commission that this is not to be accomplished by the mandatory imposition of quotas.

⁸ **UNIT RULE.** "This Convention will not enforce upon any delegate with respect to voting on any question or issue before the Convention any duty or obligation which said delegate would consider to violate his individual conscience. As to any legal, moral or ethical obligation arising from a unit vote or rule imposed either by State law by a State convention or State committee or primary election of any nature, or by a vote of a State delegation, the Convention will look to each individual delegate to determine for himself the extent of such obligation if any."

⁹ It is the understanding of the Commission that the prohibition on instructed delegates applies to favorite-son candidates as well.

MINNEAPOLIS HEALTH HEARINGS

HON. DONALD M. FRASER

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, September 21, 1971

Mr. FRASER. Mr. Speaker, Mr. John Westerman, an associate professor and director at the University of Minnesota hospitals provided the recently held Minneapolis health hearings with a great deal of information resulting from a study he and Mr. Tom Berg, a State representative from the 38th legislative district, undertook in association with Prof. Jeffrey O'Connell at the University of Illinois Law School, Mr. C. Thomas and vice president for health science affairs at the university. A copy of the testimony offered by Mr. Westerman is included.

Mr. Westerman also discussed the evolving concepts that are taking place in the Minneapolis metropolitan area. For example, the hospitals comprising the seven-county area are discussing ways to provide better and more thorough care in anticipation of passage of Federal legislation that would help ra-

tionalize medical services. Hospitals, according to Mr. Westerman, are a base which include consumer controls through the board of trustees. They are becoming a corporate entity that is more and more concerned with rehabilitative, or clinical rather than long-term bed care. This is indeed an important change in the role of hospitals.

The hearing follows:

CONGRESSMAN FRASER'S HEALTH HEARING, FEBRUARY 27, 1971, MINNEAPOLIS, MINN.

Enclosed is testimony from Representative Tom Berg and Mr. John Westerman concerning suggested improvements in the health care system.

Mr. Tom Berg is a DFL representative from District 38-B representing the Kenwood, Bryn Mawr and downtown areas of Minneapolis. This is his first term in the Minnesota House of Representatives. Berg serves on the following committees: The Minnesota House of Representatives: Judiciary, Health and Welfare, Metropolitan and Urban Affairs, Crime Prevention, Higher Education and General Legislation.

Mr. John H. Westerman, Director and Associate Professor of University Hospitals is currently serving as Chairman of the Technical Advisory Committee of the Metropolitan Health Board. The Technical Advisory Committee represents the 38 hospitals in the seven county metropolitan area. Westerman also serves as the Chairman of the Council of Teaching Hospitals in the State of Minnesota and is a consultant to the Department of Health Education and Welfare, Health Services Mental Health Administration.

Both Berg and Westerman are associated with Professor Jeffrey O'Connell, University of Illinois Law School, Mr. C. Thomas Smith, Associate Director, University Hospitals, Mr. David Preston, Assistant Vice President for Health Science Affairs, University of Minnesota, in a study of reform of the health care delivery system in the United States.

I. INTRODUCTION

Never in the history of the United States has there been such widespread agreement about the need to reform the health care system. This agreement between providers and consumers, between liberals and conservatives, between government and the private sector, between experts and non-experts runs to a few simple objectives. The major objective is to improve the health care delivery system. The themes behind this objective revolve around the need for (1) creation of meaningful area-wide health authorities, and (2) production of increased manpower with better utilization and distribution, and (3) control of costs.

There are other important issues. However the first step to improve the system will need to give priority to programs designed to meet these objectives.

These comments identify some perceived needs of the citizens of Minnesota, note the advantages and disadvantages of existing and proposed legislation to meet these needs, include recommendations for legislative actions to improve the system.

II. NEEDS OF THE CITIZENS OF MINNESOTA

In many ways the state of Minnesota is very fortunate. Minnesota ranks twelfth in the United States in the number of entering medical students per 100,000 population by state of residence (as of 1965). The number of active dentists in the state as of 1967 was 58 per 100,000 population, fourteenth in the country. The Citizens Committee for Nursing in Minnesota recently published findings indicating that in 1966 the number of registered nurses per 100,000 population was 313 for the nation compared to 397 for the state of Minnesota.

Minnesota is blessed with two strong major tertiary health care centers: the Mayo Clinic and the University of Minnesota

Health Sciences Center. While there are gaps in care for the sparsely populated rural region and certain urban centers, the magnitude of these gaps is considerably less than the sparsely populated rural areas to the west and the problems to congested urban ghetto areas to the east.

Recent studies called for improvement in the existing situation. In 1966 Hill Family Foundation study of physicians and dentists suggested there will be need for an additional two to three hundred physicians in Minnesota by 1975, and recommended that the University expand its class to 200 medical students. The same study recommended an increase in dental students entering freshman class from 110 to 150, noting that in 1940 there were 77 dentists per 100,000 population in Minnesota and in 1963 there were 68 dentists per 100,000 population. In 1964, 27% of the dentists in the state were 65 years or older and in 1968 the number of dentists over 65 increased to 31% of the total active dentists in the state. The Citizens Committee for Nursing in Minnesota pointed out that by 1985 the United States projection is a need for 450 nurses per 100,000 population and the desirable ratio for Minnesota would be 475 per 100,000 population. To reach this goal it will be necessary for Minnesota to substantially increase the number of nurses being graduated from Minnesota schools.

However much we can learn from manpower ratios, Minnesota is not unlike other states in requiring a more effective health care delivery system. Only with an effective delivery system can we realistically project manpower needs.

For instance, the 1969 interim legislative committee study points out there is a need for additional 280 physicians in the state if the physicians could be better distributed geographically by specialty in relation to the needs of Minnesota residents. The study continues that with no change in geographic and specialty factors, Minnesota suffers a functional shortage of 1,000 physicians. With the establishment of the Mayo and Duluth medical programs the total number of medical school admissions would exceed 300 by 1975, which could be considered an adequate number with a better system of health delivery organization.

What then needs to be done to relate manpower to the needs of the citizens? A few key concepts are necessary. These are: (1) the need for area-wide health authority, (2) the need for cost controls, (3) the need for more effective manpower utilization and distribution.

III. EXISTING AND PROPOSED SOLUTIONS FOR THE CITIZENS OF MINNESOTA

The administration and the Health Security plans are steps to improve the situation. As suggested by an editorial in the *New York Times*, "Some elements of the Nixon proposals will probably receive general approval, including provisions for improving the financial situation of the sorely pressed medical schools, for aiding students from disadvantaged backgrounds to become health professionals, for providing more personnel to rural and slum areas having few or no doctors, for expanding research in cancer and sickle cell anemia."

The administration National Health Insurance Standards Act has much to recommend it. This is a serious proposal to improve the health care of the nation. However, the reliance on private health insurance companies needs further study. The insurance companies must act as more than a mere agent for funds. Insurance companies are probably not staffed at present to meet the challenge of effective administration while displaying responsiveness to the needs of the citizens.

It would seem that the Health Security Act proposal has similar objectives in mind but through tighter national guidelines and an all-encompassing health insurance scheme

of guaranteed minimum benefits through regional administration.

At present, the Kennedy Health Security Act is missing a section on health manpower and the role of the academic health center. We concur with the Kennedy objective of relating the existing manpower programs to the entire health system and not viewing the issue solely as one of pumping more funds into the manpower production units. It is our understanding that the Senate Finance Committee will not conduct hearings on the act for some months to come.

More needs to be done in the way of creating area-wide health authority. A merger of comprehensive health planning programs and regional medical programs would be a step in this direction. A directing of the vast array of federal programs through area-wide health authorities would insure coordination of health programs in the local scene that is not now present.

The problem of cost control is difficult to face without providing the mechanism for meaningful area-wide health authority. The average citizen, as pointed out in the Committee on Finance of the United States Senate, Russell B. Long, Chairman, is confronted with (a) social security tax increases to pay for medicare, (b) increases in private health insurance premiums, (c) increased state and local taxes to pay for medicaid, (d) more of his federal tax dollar to go for the federal share of medicaid and medicare costs, (e) more out-of-pocket cost to cover his co-insurance portion of higher and higher medical charges, and (f) more out-of-pocket costs for rapidly rising charges for largely non-insured health services such as mental care.

Given this situation, it is not difficult to understand why our emphasis has shifted from the provision of facilities and the financing of care, to the concern with organization of delivery of health services.

The Health Maintenance Organization has much to commend it. It provides a meaningful alternative to existing reimbursement services for individual hospital and physician services. Creating an organization which is an organized system of health care which provides an agreed upon set of comprehensive health maintenance and treatment services for an enrolled group of persons through a prepaid aggregate fixed sum or capitation agreement that is worthy of substantial trial. While it has been suggested that the idea that increased use of pre-paid group practice systems can simultaneously lower costs and improve care really requires more proof than is yet available, it seems to us there is enough data to suggest that it may be enough of an improvement over the existing system to warrant wide-spread application. We are concerned that the medicare-medicaid amendments include what we would consider a cumbersome mechanism with regard to the section on innovation and experimentation with delivery systems. It is our understanding that programs under the innovation and experimentation section require the express approval of the House Ways and Means Committee and the Senate Finance Committee. We would suggest that this authority be delegated to the H.E.W. Secretary to S.S.A. officials.

The problems of manpower utilization distribution and production, given a basic federal subsidy to medical schools and other health science units, are largely problems to be solved by area wide health authorities. Reform of the delivery system is also within the capability of these jurisdictions if they have meaningful control over sufficient resources.

Even at present this state has made marked strides in the development of family practice programs. The University is about to embark on a rural physician associate program that combines education and service. The Minnesota legislature has also supported a unique community services program whereby the University of Minnesota Hos-

pitals is associated with over 30 rural hospitals in the only program of its kind in the country. It is also within the state province to do a better job of coordinating educational efforts in the health manpower field. At the present through the Higher Education Coordinating Commission Minnesota does a good job of coordinating professional and graduate health programs. However, a vast majority of health science students are in non-higher education institutions. Much more coordination is needed among the producers of the bulk of health manpower.

A word about allied health. As we have indicated, this country has shifted its concern in the health field from facilities-manpower-financing to organization of health delivery. The premier issue of the day hinges upon the definition of health care and the development of a primary family practitioner. It increasingly appears that the category of the level of care e.g. primary, secondary, tertiary will depend on the intensity of the pathology of the patient.

Most physicians and health care institutions are deeply involved in secondary and tertiary care. People with a reasonable intensity of pathology seem to have reasonable success with the system. The number one concern of the population has to do with access to primary care. The health professionals of this country have not agreed upon a definition of primary care, let alone measuring the cost benefits of such an approach. It does appear that the characteristics of primary care will include health maintenance, health education, preventive medicine and may take place in locations other than traditional health facilities; such as the place of employment, schools or the home. Based on these trends, it would appear that the non-physician will play a major role in primary care. This means that the next priority health issue in the country could be the utilization and distribution of allied health personnel in the delivery of primary care. Elements of this issue concern licensure laws, educational opportunities, definition of primary care, introduction of non-labor intensive methodology and the development of measurements of the effectiveness of primary care.

IV. RECOMMENDATIONS

In terms of timing, it would seem preferable to improve the delivery system as a first priority. We are aware of the phenomena of wordspeak. Constant use of buzz words like H.M.O., Primary Care, and Personal Comprehensive Health Delivery will not further the improvement of our health system. Nor will the invention of new phrases.

Therefore we would recommend an approach based upon the creation of a meaningful health authority, the use of incentives and penalties in cost control and the development of health manpower in view of the needs of the citizens, with particular attention on distribution and utilization of health manpower. Specifically we suggest:

- (1) Renewal of manpower programs be tied to needs of the health system.
- (2) Facilities grants and loans that give a priority to institutions meeting key health objectives e.g. production of manpower, meeting certain delivery needs.
- (3) Encouragement of the HMO concept through adoption of the provisions contained in HR 4170.
- (4) Merging of C.H.P. and R.M.P.
- (5) Easing the innovation and experimentation sections of the SSA amendments.
- (6) Development of a national data base for health.
- (7) Further study of the implications of national health insurance.
- (8) Encourage Federal government to develop an integrated approach to health manpower and educational facilities programs, including operating funding support. This would call for a lessening of the "hardening of categories."

VETS RETURN TO AID VIETNAMESE

HON. JOHN B. ANDERSON

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 22, 1971

Mr. ANDERSON of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, the front page press accounts from Vietnam normally detail the latest sapper attacks, bombing raids and body counts. Death, destruction and devastation are the things headlines are made of. The Sunday Star recently made an exception to this rule by running a front page story about nine American veterans who returned to Vietnam as civilian volunteers to help build a 20-unit housing project for dependents of South Vietnamese navy veterans at Cat Lai, some 15 miles east of Saigon.

I want to call the attention of my colleagues to this story because it does spotlight a different side of the much maligned American GI. I am especially proud of the fact that one of the nine vets involved in this project is a constituent of mine—former Marine Corps pilot Francis L. Abad, Jr., of Savanna, Ill. I want to take this opportunity to salute not only these nine humanitarian veterans, but the thousands of other American servicemen who have participated in similar projects during their tours of duty in Vietnam. Their efforts more often than not go unreported, and for this reason we tend to get a rather distorted picture of what is happening in South Vietnam.

At this point in the RECORD I include the full text of the article from the Sunday Star.

VETERANS GO BACK TO AID VIETNAMESE (By Holger Jensen)

SAIGON.—The nine ex-GIs, including five from suburban Washington, D.C., wanted to prove something to themselves and to their American neighbors—"that all Vietnam veterans aren't potheads, smack freaks and radical peaceniks."

They returned to Vietnam to do manual labor without pay. Some were doves and some were hawks. The only thing they had in common was that they had shared the same war.

"It was a constant source of amazement even to us," says one of the nine, Armistead Maupin Jr., as the group left for home yesterday.

A former Navy lieutenant of 27, Maupin was working as a reporter for the Charleston (S.C.) News and Courier when a friend asked him to do publicity releases for Veterans Against the War. It was the time of the May Day demonstrations and Maupin swiftly became disillusioned: "The whole thing was a carnival that seemed to be aimed at 2½ million Vietnam veterans, negating everything we'd worked for and fought for."

He adds: "In their desire to end the war at any cost, a lot of people appeared to be trying to portray all veterans as scagheads and radicals, apparently hoping to use this as a lever against the administration. It seemed all wrong and I wanted to do something about it."

Maupin wrote to Adm. Elmo R. Zumwalt, the chief of naval operations: "I'll find the veterans to do some good in Vietnam if you can give us a project and get us over there." Zumwalt was intrigued. Maupin exchanged more letters with officials and got his project.

The Navy and State Department agreed to let Maupin and any volunteers he could find assist in building a 20-unit housing

project for dependents of South Vietnamese navy veterans at Cat Lai, 15 miles east of Saigon.

Maupin relied on phone calls to friends and word of mouth to spread his appeal to veterans. The message: "We know the Americans are getting out of Vietnam. Let's do everything we possibly can for the Vietnamese people before we leave. Let's do something as civilians."

Charles P. Collins III, 28, another former naval officer from Dallas, Tex., quit his job as a recruiter for a computer firm to help select other volunteers.

Jack Myerovitz, a former Marine who helped recapture Hue after the 1968 Tet offensive, heard about it at a veterans' convention in Maryland. He got two months off without pay from his job as a government printer in Washington and left his home in Greenbelt, Md.

Carrolton E. Reese Jr., 27, a Hyattsville, Md., construction worker who once guarded an Army ammunition dump at Qui Nhon, learned of the project while fishing with a friend. It took him 30 seconds to volunteer.

Another Hyattsville resident, former Marine John F. Butler, 21, wanted to extend his 14-month tour in Vietnam but had to leave in November 1969 when his unit was pulled back. He decided to volunteer "to finish what I started."

Thomas M. Neilsen, 23, of Clinton, Iowa, gave up painting portraits on a houseboat in the Mississippi River to try to change the Vietnamese image of Americans. A former machine gunner with the Navy riverine force, he wanted to prove "we aren't all a bunch of animals."

Zeph Lane, 26, of Wheaton, Md., was a Navy Hospital corpsman when he was taken out in 1969 with a shrapnel hole in his head. He left a wife and premedical studies at the University of Maryland to come back to Vietnam.

Karel J. Leadbeter, 23, of Lanham, Md., says he was an activist in the Vietnam Veterans for Peace movement until they started throwing paint on the Capitol steps. The former Air Force radarman decided to come because "search and destroy missions in D.C. just don't turn me on."

Francis L. Abad Jr., 25, of Savanna, Ill., was a Marine Corps pilot with 100 combat missions. He left the service early this year after flying Phantom jets on and off in Vietnam since 1965. He returned to "build instead of bomb."

It wasn't easy persuading American and Vietnamese military brass here that nine veterans were willing to do grubby manual labor in the Vietnamese boondocks without pay. The nine men flew to Saigon in an Air Force Cargo plane.

They were bumped in Yokota, Japan, for a cargo of helicopter parts—"any feeling of self-importance we had ended right there," said Maupin—but eventually they arrived July 5.

"The Americans were suspicious of our motives. They thought we had come here to buy cheap drugs. The Vietnamese thought we were civilian contractors out to make a lot of money," he added. "Somehow we managed to convince them that our coming here simply reflected our support for the South Vietnamese people in their struggle."

Neilsen said all nine men had different views about the war—"I personally am against setting a deadline for withdrawal"—but all agreed "this is a nation of people in pain. We had to help."

Only two men had any building experience. They learned fast, laying bricks, sawing wood, installing plumbing and digging drainage ditches. Much of the work was done in monsoon rains.

The men lived in one of the houses they built, at first without windows and doors. Their food was paid for by the Helping Hand Foundation, a charitable organization of U.S. businessmen.

"We were unarmed by mutual agreement," said Maupin. "We didn't want to look like some paramilitary commando bristling with guns. Security was provided by Vietnamese militiamen.

"We were scared every night but we were relatively safe. Only one night we had to be evacuated because they had an intelligence report of Viet Cong in the area.

When the group arrived the housing project at Cat Lai was 30 per cent complete. It was 80 percent complete when they departed yesterday.

"It's a small thing we've done, but it's important to us as individuals. I feel satisfied like never before," said Maupin as he boarded the plane for home.

MINNEAPOLIS HEALTH HEARINGS

HON. DONALD M. FRASER

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 22, 1971

Mr. FRASER. Mr. Speaker, Dr. Victor Gilbertson of the University of Minnesota, and director of the cancer detection unit, testified at the hearings I held in Minneapolis recently. Dr. Gilbertson made a number of extremely valid points, some of which are summarized below.

He stated that first, most health insurance is misnamed. It should be called sick insurance. It is his belief that changes in the health care system will require reorienting our viewpoints toward relying more on preventive care. He cited such outstanding examples of preventive care as the application of smallpox and polio vaccines on a large scale.

Further, Dr. Gilbertson believes that advances and changes in the delivery of health can be accomplished without increasing the number of beds for sick people. Last year, according to publicly announced figures, for example, the hospital bed occupancy rate was 65 percent. Dr. Gilbertson maintains that there are sufficient beds to meet the needs without wholesale increases.

In his main field of interest, the study, early detection, and treatment of cancer, Dr. Gilbertson stated that cancer accounts for approximately 20 percent of all deaths in this country each year and requires an inordinate amount of time in treatment and research on the part of health professionals. Traditionally efforts to eradicate cancer have followed two lines of endeavor. On the one hand, a great number of people are attempting to discover a universal cure for cancer. At the same time, a great deal of money is expended on treating people who are, in Dr. Gilbertson's view, already suffering from a terminal illness. While continuing to help those who are sick, we should improve our efforts at early detection. As has been shown, there are neither enough technicians to give the Pap smear test nor enough trained personnel to read the results. It is essential that we expand our effort in the field of cancer detection, research and treatment.

Concern in the Congress over the prob-

lem of cancer is being expressed in the hearings being held by the Subcommittee on Public Health and Welfare of the House Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee. Chairman Rogers of the subcommittee is to be commended for calling these hearings to deal with the problem of finding a cure for cancer.

THE UNITED NATIONS ORGANIZATION—AN ORGANIZATION OF MEN, NOT OF LAWS

HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 22, 1971

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, the questions of the admission of Red China to the United Nations and expelling the Republic of China are on the agenda of the United Nations Organization's current session. Among interpretative analysts there is wide speculation as to what will happen. A view frequently voiced has created the impression that the General Assembly alone determines whether a country will be admitted or expelled.

Yet according to the U.N. Charter, the General Assembly is authorized to admit or expel states only upon the recommendation of the Security Council—articles 4 and 6.

Decisions of the Security Council on all matters other than those of a procedural nature are to be made by affirmative vote of seven members, including the concurring votes of the permanent members—article 27. The Republic of China is a permanent member of the Security Council—article 23.

Since the Republic of China is a permanent member of the Security Council, since articles 4 and 6, respectively, require the recommendation of the Security Council for the admission of a state to or expulsion of a member state from the United Nations, and since the concurring vote of the Republic of China is required for the admission of Red China or for its own expulsion, it logically follows that the Republic of China can by its veto stop the admission of Red China or its own expulsion—that is, unless the game rules are subject to change at will to accommodate international power politics.

Yet, in all of the discussion appearing in the news media of the possibilities and probabilities of what will happen at the U.N.O. regarding these matters, no mention is made of the right of the Republic of China to use the veto in her own interests.

On November 7, 1960, in Springfield, Mich., the then Vice President Nixon was asked if he would use the veto to prevent the admission of Red China to the United Nations. Mr. Nixon's reply was that he would. I insert at this point excerpts from Mr. Nixon's comments:

EXCERPTS FROM SPEECH OF VICE PRESIDENT NIXON

NATIONAL TELETHON, ABC NETWORK,

Springfield, Mich., November 7, 1960.

This is from Ralph Miller, in Carmi, Ind., and the question is:

Would you use a veto in the United Nations Security Council to prevent the admission of Red China to the U.N.?

Vice President Nixon. Well, to Mr. Ralph Miller, my answer to this question is that I certainly would use the veto in the Security Council under present circumstances.

Let me put it this way: We cannot say at this time that Communist China will never qualify for admission to the United Nations, but at this time it is engaging in acts which disqualify it from admission to this organization. For example, I think many of us forget often that the United Nations Charter has a specific provision indicating that it is an organization of peace-loving peoples.

Of course, some people will say, "Well, now, if that's the case, how did the Soviet Union get in?"

And the answer, of course, is they were charter members.

Now, Communist China simply can't qualify as a member of the United Nations as a peace-loving country. It can't qualify because it at the present time is in defiance of the United Nations in Korea. That is why our American boys are still tied down there.

It is in defiance of the United Nations in the Formosa Straits where it is, in effect, waging military action against a member of the United Nations.

We know the story of Tibet.

Well, taking one example that is very close to home, to people here in the United States, they still, violating all canons of international law, keep prisoners, civilians from the United States, and we've been negotiating with them for years, as a matter of fact, to get them to change their policies.

And so this is my answer: That until the Chinese Communist Government changes its policies, until it in effect cleanses itself of its present deficiencies, we could under no circumstances agree to its admission to the U.N.

And although I would be reluctant to use the veto, because America has never used it, I think that the principle is so important here that we would have to use it to keep a nation out that simply can't qualify as a peace-loving nation.

I call this matter to the attention of our colleagues not only to point out that Red China is still in defiance of the United Nations in Korea and does not qualify for admission to the world body in accordance with its charter as a peace-loving country but also to emphasize that it was the view of the then Vice President Nixon that the United States as a charter member of the United Nations could use the veto to keep out Red China.

This being so, the Republic of China as a charter member is likewise entitled to use the veto to keep out Red China, as well as to block its own expulsion.

A permanent member of the Security Council cannot be removed except by amendment of the charter. To amend the charter requires an affirmative vote of two-thirds of the members of the General Assembly and ratification in accordance with their respective constitutional processes of two-thirds of the members, including all the permanent members of the Security Council—article 108.

The U.N. Charter is also ignored in any discussion of the expulsion of the Republic of China. According to the charter the only grounds for expelling a Member is persistent violation of the principles of the charter. There has been no charge or even suggestion made that the Re-

public of China has violated the principles of the charter. The Republic of China, on the contrary, has adhered faithfully to the principles of the charter.

Still another instance of the charter being ignored when it gets in the way of ruthless men in accomplishing their objective is the U.S. resolution—the action led by our President—which calls for the seating of Peking by a simple majority vote. This is in clear violation of article 18 of the U.N. Charter which stipulates:

Decisions of the General Assembly on important questions shall be made by a two-thirds majority of the members present and voting. These questions shall include: . . . the admission of new Members to the United Nations.

It appears that the United Nations Organization Charter is receiving the same treatment as is the U.S. Constitution—it is ignored whenever it gets in the way of tyrants. And like the United States, the United Nations Organization is becoming a power structure of men rather than of laws.

I insert at this point in the RECORD pertinent news articles:

[From the Washington Evening Star, Sept. 21, 1971.]

U.S. CHINA PROPOSALS READY

UNITED NATIONS, N.Y.—Expressing growing confidence that its proposals for keeping Taiwan in the United Nations are heading for passage, the United States plans to submit today its two-Chinas resolution at the opening of the 26th General Assembly.

The resolution calls for giving Peking assembly membership and China's permanent seat on the Security Council while retaining Nationalist China in the assembly.

A second U.S. resolution on China would make expulsion of a U.N. member an "important question," requiring a two-thirds vote for passage. Under the American plan, the question of a seat for Peking would be settled by a simple majority.

The State Department in Washington expressed increasing confidence yesterday that its China resolutions are heading for success.

"IMPORTANT PROGRESS"

"We made important progress over the weekend not only as to cosponsors but in respect to voting," department spokesman Charles W. Bray said. But he declined to discuss the number of cosponsors or who they are.

The prestige of cosponsors is considered an important element in whether the United States wins passage of its proposal over an Albanian-sponsored plan to seat Peking and oust Taiwan.

Australia and New Zealand announced yesterday they would cosponsor the U.S. resolution. Several other smaller nations, including Haiti, also were mentioned as possible cosponsors.

President Nixon plans to appear before the Assembly, the White House said yesterday.

Secretary of State William P. Rogers and national security affairs adviser Henry A. Kissinger will fly to New York tomorrow for meetings with top ranking delegates.

Although debate on China is not expected before late October, the subject will come up in the 25-member U.N. steering committee, which meets tomorrow and Thursday to organize the 109 items on this year's three-month agenda.

Adam Malik, the Indonesian foreign minister who will be president of the 127-nation General Assembly, is one of the few people here who believe Peking will accept a U.N. invitation even if Taiwan stays in.

"If we give the assembly seat and the Security Council seat to Peking what else can they want" he observed recently. He added that he thought it possible Peking would change its announced position of refusing membership if the Nationalists remain.

Many delegates and Secretary-General U Thant say they take Peking at its word on staying out.

OTHER AGENDA ITEMS

Other major items on this year's agenda will be the selection of a successor to Thant, who has announced he will retire Dec. 31, and the first full-scale debate on the Middle East in several years.

A number of men have indicated their interest in Thant's job, but none has won a great deal of support. The Big Four will agree on a choice in private and some say this cannot be done until the China issue is decided.

The Middle East already is under discussion after the weekend flareup along the Suez Canal and the debate on Jerusalem already under way in the Security Council.

The council began urgent meetings last week and is to continue this week on a complaint by Jordan that Israel is forcing Arabs out of Jerusalem and planning to annex Arab towns and villages to the once-divided city. Seven Arab and African countries joined Jordan in denouncing Israel.

[From the Washington Evening Star, Sept. 21, 1971]

PEKING ADAMANT ON TAIWAN

(By Tad Szulc)

OTTAWA.—Peking reportedly informed a number of foreign governments last week that it rejected any softening in the resolution calling for its seating in the United Nations and the simultaneous expulsion of the Chinese Nationalist government on Taiwan.

This was reported by authoritative diplomats in Ottawa on the eve of the opening in New York of the annual session of the General Assembly, which is expected to rule on Chinese representation in the United Nations.

The diplomats said that Peking had acted in response to proposals from numerous governments that the reference to the expulsion of the Nationalists be eliminated from the resolution sponsored by Albania and 17 other nations to make it easier for more delegations to vote for it.

OUSTER SEEN IMPLIED

Advocates of softening argued that a decision by the General Assembly to seat the Communists in the Security Council and all other United Nations organs would imply the ouster of the Nationalists.

High officials in Peking were reported to have insisted that the Albanian text remain intact even though they had acknowledged their uncertainty whether expulsion could be achieved this year because of U.S. efforts on behalf of the Nationalists.

The Chinese Communists, who have said repeatedly that any "two Chinas" situation was unacceptable, have rejected any compromise, the diplomats said, even though the success of the move by their allies to expel the Nationalists may hang on a handful of votes.

WILLING TO TAKE RISK

A ranking diplomat commented "Peking distrusts the Americans so much and it is so determined to proclaim the principle that Taiwan is politically part of Mainland China that it is prepared to lose votes and even jeopardize its chances of being seated this year rather than make the slightest concession." Without China's concurrence, Albania and her co-sponsors will have no leeway to allow their resolution to be amended, according to the diplomats.

Other diplomatic reports reaching Ottawa said that Peking has indicated its desire that the General Assembly also reaffirm the Big Four's declarations in 1943 and 1945 that Taiwan must be restored to China.

The future of Taiwan is certain to come up when President Nixon meets in Peking with Chairman Mao Tse-tung and Premier Chou En-lai.

The impression in diplomatic quarters in Canada, which has active relations with China, is that Nixon's trip will take place early next year.

The report of Peking's desire to see the assembly reaffirm the wartime declarations on Taiwan suggested to qualified diplomats here that the Communists might go so far as to refuse to enter the United Nations—even if Nationalist China is expelled—in the absence of such reaffirmation.

China's long-term strategy, it was said, may attach greater importance to the status of Taiwan than to a United Nations seat.

On numerous occasions, ranking officials in Peking have expressed their concern that the United States and Japan would strive to turn Taiwan into an "independent" state if the Nationalists were ousted from the United Nations.

It was noted that Peking officials had been privately expressing doubts that expulsion could be achieved this year because of the United States' determination to save the nationalists' assembly seat when the communists were admitted.

TAIWAN STILL BACKED

The official U.S. position on this question of "dual representation," as expressed in the draft resolution to be presented, is that Communist China should "be seated as one of the five permanent members of the Security Council" but that the United Nations should affirm "the continued right of representation of the Republic of China."

The diplomats here noted that any Chinese demand that the assembly take a stand on the status of Taiwan—which Peking considers an internal matter—might throw new support to the U.S. resolution. The diplomats said it could not be excluded that Peking, believing that the American resolution will be voted, has chosen to score political points that will be important in the future.

[From the Washington Daily News, Sept. 17, 1971]

TAIWAN AND THE UNITED NATIONS

The seat of Nationalist China in the United Nations appears to be more threatened day by day.

If the United Nations actually votes to expel Taiwan, as is now likely, it will be a shameful act, quite unworthy of the world organization.

The government of Chiang Kai-shek, a charter member of the United Nations, has played a useful role there for 26 years. It has, for example, given foreign aid and technical help to many less-developed states.

In terms of population, Taiwan is larger than 92 of the 127 U.N. members. It has a stronger moral right to a seat in the international body than many countries that will self-righteously vote against it.

All of this, of course, will not decide the outcome. Many countries will vote to expel Taiwan not because it has transgressed, but because they seek the favor—and trade—of Communist China. Some may call this opportunism. We prefer the late Gen. Charles de Gaulle's line: "Nations are cold monsters."

The United States properly is fighting to keep Taiwan in the United Nations. As a tactical maneuver, Washington has proposed that China's permanent seat—and veto—in the Security Council be given to Peking.

The Nixon Administration was pushed into that step by Australia and New Zealand. They said that without it they would not

cosponsor U.S. resolutions aimed at preserving Taiwan's seat in the General Assembly.

Positions taken by Japan, the Philippines, New Zealand and Australia are too calculating for our taste. They suspect that Nationalist China will lose out anyway, so why antagonize Peking by cosponsoring the U.S. resolution.

These countries are all Pacific allies that would expect the United States to come to their aid in a crisis. Yet they are being fairly callous when the diplomatic fate of yet another ally—Taiwan—is at stake.

If the Nationalists lose their U.N. membership, it will be a defeat but not a disaster. Taiwan is a bustling, prospering island of 14 million industrious people. West Germany has done very well outside the United Nations, and there is no reason Taiwan should not.

A great danger, however, is that Communist China might misinterpret a U.N. victory as a license to carry out its old threat to "liberate" the island by military force.

In fairness and justice, President Nixon should make two points very clear to Peking. One is that we welcome its entry into the United Nations (and pray it plays a constructive role there) if that is the will of a majority of states. The other is that we will not tolerate an armed attack on Taiwan, an old ally with whom we have a solemn defense treaty.

[From The Evening Star, Sept. 22, 1971]

THE CHINA VOTE

Push has come to shove in the American effort to preserve Nationalist China's seat in the United Nations General Assembly while admitting Communist China and transferring the permanent (and veto-wielding) seat on the Security Council from Taipei to Peking.

With Tokyo's announcement that it will join the United States, Australia and seven other nations in co-sponsoring the dual representation resolution and that Japan considers the Albanian resolution to expel the Nationalists "an important question" requiring a two-thirds majority, the odds are that the Nationalist seat in the General Assembly will be saved for at least another year.

Peking has made it clear that it will not join the United Nations until and unless the Nationalists are expelled. That is Peking's privilege. And the skies will not fall if the representative of the People's Republic of China does not take his seat at the United Nations. The international organization has, after all, managed to get along for a quarter of a century without Mao Tse-tung's help and it can do so for a while longer.

It is clear that it is in the interest of world peace to have the People's Republic represented in the General Assembly: The Communist Chinese regime, whether we like it or not, exists and is likely to continue to exist. But the same can and should be said of the Nationalists and there is no valid case for their expulsion. The mutual and conflicting claims of sovereignty need not intrude upon this question.

Security Council membership is a separate issue. Much has changed since the United Nations was established and the international organization, if the unvarnished truth be told, is desperately in need of restructuring.

If the United Nations is to be an effective instrument for peace, its membership must reflect reality. A good case can be made for the principle of universality in the General Assembly. But Security Council membership ought to bear some relationship to military and economic strength.

If this is accepted, then it follows that Communist China is the more logical occupant of China's permanent seat on the Security Council than Nationalist China. It also follows that it would make sense to in-

crease the number of permanent seats, held now by the United States, the Soviet Union, Britain and France (in addition to China) to include at least Japan and West Germany.

The point is that there is nothing sacred about the United Nations Charter. It is an instrumentality—and no more than that—designed to further the cause of peace in the world. If it can better serve this purpose in an amended form, then it should be amended. And the occasion of the China vote for giving serious attention to this question should not be missed.

NIKOLA PETKOV—BULGARIAN NATIONAL HERO

HON. JOHN E. HUNT

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 22, 1971

Mr. HUNT. Mr. Speaker, 24 years ago today—September 23, 1947—Nikola Dimitrov Petkov, Bulgarian national hero and leader of the united democratic opposition in the Bulgarian Parliament, was judicially "murdered" at the instigation of the Russian Communists. In the intervening years, his memory has not diminished and the recognition of this anniversary should be an inspiration to millions of others behind the Iron Curtain who have among them others like Nikola Petkov who are quietly searching for the opportunity to liberate their people from Communist oppression and slavery.

In reflecting upon this occasion, I wish to share with my colleagues a condensed history of Nikola Petkov and the consequences of his intensely anti-Communist activities. His death, untimely as it was, made him a martyr and earned him the everlasting respect of his countrymen as a national hero.

The history follows:

NIKOLA PETKOV: BULGARIAN NATIONAL HERO AND GREATEST MARTYR IN THE STRUGGLE FOR FREEDOM AND INDEPENDENCE

Nikola Dimitrov Petkov was born in Sofia in 1894. He was the son of Dimitr Petkov, a self-educated peasant from Dobrudja, who became Prime Minister of Bulgaria. Dimitr Petkov was assassinated in 1907 for opposing foreign intervention in the internal affairs of Bulgaria, especially on the part of Tsarist Russia.

Petko Petkov, Nikola's brother, was one of the greatest Bulgarian peasant leaders. He fought Alexander Tsankov's fascist dictatorship of 1923 and as a result was shot down on a Sofia street on June 14, 1924—exactly one year after the merciless assassination of Alexander Stamboliski.

Nikola Petkov received a law degree in Paris, where he spent most of his youth. During the Nazi occupation of Bulgaria he was an underground leader and was imprisoned several times.

When the Nazis were driven out of Bulgaria, Nikola Petkov and three other representatives of the Bulgarian National Agrarian Union—the largest political organization in Bulgaria—took part in the first coalition government, together with Communists, Socialists, representatives of the political group "Zveno," and the independent intellectuals. Together with Dr. G. M. Dimitrov, Secretary-General of the Bulgarian National Agrarian Union, Nikola Petkov fought stubbornly against Communist outrages, terror, and violence, and thus incurred the hatred

of both the Communist party and the Soviet occupation authorities. Despite these difficulties, he continued to defend the freedom and independence of his country.

When the Soviet occupation authorities demanded the removal of the "capitalist agent" Dr. G. M. Dimitrov from his post as Secretary-General, Nikola Petkov took his place.

In July, 1945, Nikola Petkov sent a memorandum to the Inter-Allied Control Commission demanding the postponement of the elections which the Communists had scheduled for the end of August 1945. These elections were to involve only one list of candidates, headed by the Communist party. As a result of the memorandum, the Prime Minister declared that Petkov had resigned, although formally he never did so. In protest, Nikola Petkov and other cabinet ministers broke up the Coalition Government, and thenceforth openly opposed the Communist dictatorship. Upon intervention of the Control Commission, the elections were postponed until November 18th, 1945.

During the winter of 1946, Stalin sent Vishinsky to Sofia for the purpose of getting Petkov to come back into the government. At their dramatic meeting, Petkov declared that it was not his custom to obey the orders of any foreigner, but to listen only to the will of the Bulgarian people.

The meeting decided Petkov's fate.

In October, 1946, Petkov headed the opposition in its election campaign against the Communist-Soviet attempts to seize full control of the country. The enthusiastic people from the countryside and towns voted en masse for Petkov's list, but the election results were falsified and violence and bloodshed were commonplace. Nevertheless, 101 people's representatives, headed by Petkov, were acknowledged to have been elected and triumphantly entered the Grand National Assembly. It was there that Petkov's most courageous and heroic struggle culminated. Availing himself of his constitutional immunity, he unmasked in Parliament the treacherous intentions of the Communist and their leader, Georgi Dimitrov, former Secretary-General of the Comintern. He accused them of being Stalinist agents, and said that their hands were stained with the blood of innocent Bulgarians and that they wanted to make Bulgaria a Soviet province!

As a result of his activity, Petkov was charged with conspiracy against the state and the Soviet Union. Like his predecessor, he was called "an agent of Anglo-American capitalism."

After dramatic and stormy debates in Parliament, Petkov was arrested inside the Parliament building in complete defiance of the Constitution and the law. Petkov declared dauntlessly that he would share with pride the fate of his father and his brother.

On August 16th Petkov was sentenced to die on the gallows.

Early in the morning of September 23, only 15 minutes after midnight, he was executed in secret because the Communists feared the people's mass indignation. (At that time all executions took place about 5 o'clock in the morning.)

Prior to the execution a representative of the Bulgarian Communist government appeared in Nikola Petkov's prison cell and offered him a pardon if he signed a petition in which he declared his repentance.

"You are even trying to desecrate my sacred memory!" Petkov replied. "My sentence was passed by your Moscow masters and no one can revoke it. I do not seek any mercy from you! I want to die so that my people may be freed sooner!"

The heroic example set by Nikola Petkov shook the free world and opened its eyes to the treacherous intentions and methods of the Bolshevik international conspiracy and the tragic fate which Soviet imperialism is preparing for all of humanity.

Petkov's career was a brilliant model of

self-sacrifices for his people, principles, ideas, freedom and democracy. Thousands and thousands of Bulgarian patriots followed his great example.

That is the reason why the American Congressmen who, upon the occasion of a visit to Bulgaria, laid a wreath on his freshly-dug grave, called him "one of the greatest democrats of all time."

This is why government officials and statesmen from all over the world sent protest notes to his Sofia and Moscow executioners, and honored and still continue to honor Nikola Petkov as one of the greatest martyrs of human freedom and the right to independence.

With each elapsing year, the memory of Nikola Petkov is becoming a greater danger for the Communist tyranny, shaking its yoke and leading the freedom fighters to their final victory.

The recent Czechoslovakian and Polish events have confirmed Petkov's warning.

DRUG ABUSE IN VIETNAM

HON. CLAUDE PEPPER

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, September 21, 1971

Mr. PEPPER. Mr. Speaker, it is with pleasure that I rise and associate myself with the remarks made by my distinguished colleague from the State of Mississippi.

The Select Committee on Crime has not undertaken an extensive investigation of the grave and serious problem of drug abuse among our servicemen in both Vietnam and in Europe. However, the seriousness of this problem caused some consideration to arise during our hearings on the rehabilitation and treatment of drug-addicted persons that has recently been completed.

Several of the expert witnesses who testified before the Crime Committee discussed various aspects of this subject. Dr. Richard B. Resnick, associate professor in the Department of Psychiatry at the New York Medical College, is an expert in the experimentation and development of cyclozazine, one of the promising antagonistic drugs we strongly believe should be developed by cooperative effort of the Federal Government and the private drug industries of our country. Cyclozazine is a nonaddictive drug that blocks the effects of heroin on a human system. If a person takes daily doses of cyclozazine, he cannot become addicted to heroin. Dr. Resnick testified that he believed our servicemen in Vietnam were in an epidemic zone, and that daily inoculations of cyclozazine would protect them from becoming infected, as it were, with heroin addiction. He testified that this inoculation would be similar to the use of atabrine for the treatment of malaria during World War II. I believe that this suggestion should be closely studied by the Department of Defense.

The Governor of the State of Georgia, the Honorable James Carter, testified before our committee on the serious plight of the States as regards the treatment of our citizens who are addicted to heroin. With the exceptions of Califor-

nia and New York, most States have little experience, no facilities, and no resources to treat heroin addiction. The Governor of Georgia testified that his State contains some of our country's largest military bases; 81,000 servicemen and women are stationed at those 11 military bases.

Governor Carter was extremely anxious to join with the Department of Defense to work out a program for the treatment of addicted servicemen and women who would be returned to his State. He testified that after a discussion with those who are responsible for our armed services program of heroin addiction at the Pentagon, he came away with heavy disappointment. He felt that the Department of Defense's plan to keep servicemen for additional 30 to 60 days treatment terms was not satisfactory.

Governor Carter was somewhat heartened by a hope expressed by the Department of Defense that Veterans' Administration hospitals would become responsive to the needs of drug-addicted persons. However, the limited extent of the Veterans' Administration facilities, not only in Georgia, but throughout the country, dictate that much needed action is not only necessary but an absolute must.

Two tragedies are present in this respect: First of all, our servicemen who are returning from foreign soils addicted to a dreadfully crippling drug and, second, turning loose these same servicemen upon society to become nothing more than an increase in the country's addicted population.

The duty of the Congress becomes clear. We must help our addicted veterans, we must protect society, and we must use all available tools at our disposal—leaving no stone unturned.

As Governor Carter of Georgia has pointed out, Veterans' Administration facilities for such purposes are lacking. The Veterans' Administration, however, has set a target date of October 1, 1971, for the establishment of 32 drug rehabilitation facilities which will be able to care for 6,000 servicemen. The Department of Defense is also taking a number of humane approaches by not merely discharging a serviceman for addiction, but rather attempting to provide help. This, due to congressional urging, is a start. We must not let it end here, but move ahead with all speed.

Mr. Speaker, one such way is a plan which, as you know, I have been a vigorous advocate. That plan is to provide every community in the United States with adequately equipped drug rehabilitation centers; thereby, in addition, to providing an all-important service to our addicted civilian populous, the benefits to our servicemen could be immense.

Dr. John Kramer, until recently an assistant professor of psychology at the University of California at Irvine, and now an assistant director with the President's Special Action Office On Drug Abuse Prevention, in testimony before the Select Committee on Crime, suggested the possibility that Federal laws might be enacted or amended to permit a fee to be paid on behalf of the veteran. Not to the veteran himself, but on behalf of the veteran for treatment in various facilities which would include commu-

nity-based programs, Methadone programs and, in general, the full spectrum of multimodality treatment approaches. These facilities would be approved community-based programs in the nature of the ones that I have previously mentioned. The veterans, therefore, would be insured of treatment even though Veterans' Administration facilities do exist, or will exist in the future, but for one reason or the other, the veteran might not be able to take advantage of them or the treatment offered by these facilities are not the appropriate ones for him.

The Select Committee on Crime, at my urging, is actively participating in this area and is perfecting a blue print, which will set forth many of the ideas I have just discussed. This blue print will be included in a report based on our recent hearings on the rehabilitation and treatment of drug-addicted persons to be submitted to Congress.

Mr. Speaker, in conclusion, I cannot urge strongly enough the importance of the necessity of providing the necessary rehabilitation facilities to those who so desperately need them.

DISCRIMINATION BY "PRIVATE" CLUBS

HON. JOHN E. MOSS

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 22, 1971

Mr. MOSS. Mr. Speaker, the Washington Post on September 12 published in its Potomac section an interesting and thoughtful article by Berl Brechner concerning the many so-called private clubs in and around Washington, D.C., which discriminate on the basis of race, color, religion, and sex. Recently, one country club would not allow the Mayor of the District of Columbia, the Honorable Walter Washington, to speak at a meeting because he is black. Another club objected when a church women's group which was meeting at that club happened to have a Negro guest. One of the most prestigious clubs in Washington, the Cosmos Club, whose members are among the most distinguished scientists and Government officials, not only excludes women from membership, but insists that any woman guest must come through the side door.

Most of these clubs are more than purely private social clubs. They are the gathering places for persons who make basic decisions on economic issues, on Government policies, and on matters of social and legal justice. They help to determine not only the development of community life in the Washington metropolitan area, but also matters of great national import. They are, in truth, fundamental sources of the informal power structures that govern our national life. Their practices of discrimination against blacks, Jews, women, is often supported through preferential tax assessments and the recognition given them by Government agencies and officials. Yet their practices are totally in-

consistent with our national policy against such discrimination. It is high time that these clubs drop these discriminatory practices and come into accord with the mainstream of our American policy of equal treatment and justice for all.

The Washington Post article brings these facts to public attention, and I believe it will be of interest to every Member of Congress. I, therefore, include it at this point in the RECORD:

CLUBS REVISITED—WHAT IS IT GOLFERS AND OTHER GENTLEMEN HAVE AGAINST BLACKS AND/OR JEWS AND/OR WOMEN AND/OR SO MANY HUMAN BEINGS

(By Berl Brechner)

No blacks at Chevy Chase. No Jews at Manor. No Christians at Woodmont. No women at Burning Tree.

Private club discrimination is known, is usually legal, and is usually ignored.

The story has been in the news on and off for 10 years—most often it's the story of some black man turned away at the door of a club. In 1961 a black diplomat caused a sensation by coming to lunch at Washington's Metropolitan Club. In 1968 Washington's black mayor wasn't allowed to speak to a group at Montgomery County's Kenwood Club. And now, a survey taken for this story reveals that there are still pitifully few black club members at the clubs serving the city with the nation's highest black population—and most elite white population.

"Clubs are part of the private thing of America," explained Charles Bartlett, *Chicago Sun-Times* columnist and president of the Federal City Club. His club, which excludes women, was founded after he, Robert Kennedy and several other members of the Metropolitan Club quit in 1961. They "didn't want to fight anachronistic policies," said Bartlett. Federal City, says a flyer on the club, "is completely nonpartisan and observes no racial distinctions." It is a "gathering place for men with an interest in public affairs and government life."

"I yield no social right to women to probe in my club," Bartlett explained. "I don't believe that our (no women) rule is doing any damage to any lady in the pursuit of her living."

An official at Woodmont—all white, all Jewish, and probably the most expensive (\$10,000 initial fee) club in the area—admitted. "It's a Jewish club. . . . We like to live in peace and just be happy, not be bothered, and be by ourselves."

Most clubs and club officials are reluctant to face the discrimination question, and if they do it is seldom when they discuss it openly. When a case of discrimination is exposed to the public it is usually pawned off as a "misunderstanding"—easy to do since discrimination policies usually go unwritten. When questioned about a lack of black members, club officials almost invariably respond with, "Well we've just never gotten an application from one."

The president of a large country club in Bethesda, who didn't want to be named, was quite vocal on the discrimination issue. "I think there are small, special-interest, pink-leaning, pink-directed groups that want to destroy the clubs," he said. He couldn't name the troublemakers. "They come in and go out of existence so quickly."

When I talked to him he asked that I "approach this story from a healthful attitude for the community . . . for economic reasons clubs have a difficulty making a go of it."

Despite attitudes of club officials, there have been increasing moves to lessen discrimination—through legal activity, outside pressure, and inside action. And if some legal attacks now in progress take hold, clubs which want to maintain their exclusivity

might have even a tougher time making it.

The Maryland House is expected to act next session on a Senate-passed bill to prevent segregated clubs from receiving a preferential tax assessment. A Ralph Nader study showed the arrangement gives a \$160,000-a-year tax break to an estimated 18 Montgomery clubs . . . In other words, a state subsidy of about \$25 to \$45 per club member annually.

In Massachusetts, the State Alcoholic Beverages Control Commission decided in late 1970 that it had the power to deny a liquor license to any private club that discriminates on the grounds of race, creed or color. It said it would consider suspending or revoking existing licenses held by such clubs.

The U.S. Supreme Court has agreed to hear an appeal of a Pennsylvania U.S. District Court decision revolving around a Moose Lodge. The District Court said that the grant of a liquor license to a racially discriminatory private club constitutes discriminatory state action in violation of the equal protection clause of the 14th Amendment.

The Treasury Department is facing a suit from a black man refused admission to an Elks Club in Portland, Oregon. The Elks receive an exemption from Federal Income taxes. Internal Revenue Service records show that at least 30—and probably more—of the 50 or so social and country clubs in the Washington area receive similar private club exemptions.

And in addition to these actions, clubs are facing legal attacks from members, as in the Kenwood suit here last year; from the NAACP, which is taking action against segregated clubs which received money from the U.S. Department of Agriculture; and from local government human relations and civil rights agencies.

An owner of a club north of Rockville in Montgomery County, despite legal action and inside pressure, defended his operation, a club with no Negro members. He did not want to be named. "We've got this left-wing radical situation which is hurting this whole effort . . . the right of a private club to select people on any basis it wants is a right and it should continue." Would his club ever admit black members? "I think so. I see no reason why not, but I see no reason why. It ought to be a neutral situation. The stories in the newspapers make it an anti-situation."

He ended his defense adding, "I think a lot of people are trying to work their way to heaven on this issue."

The president of the Cosmos Club, a social club for professionals which excluded women (and only a few years ago admitted its first black) was also defensive. "I would never forgive you," said Fred Hornaday, "for criticizing the club for not taking in women, or enough Negroes or Jews. Our admissions committee makes selection based only on qualifications." How about women? "You get rumblings. . . . It may come several years hence."

Several clubs can claim proud combination of exclusivity. Burning Tree in Bethesda, for example, where President Eisenhower golfed regularly, claims among its members no women, no Negroes, "at least three" Jews.

Yet some of its 400 members on a 1969-70 roster are: Richard Nixon (listed as a member since 1953), Spiro Agnew, Lyndon Johnson, Melvin Laird, Rep. Joseph Karth, former Sen. George Smathers, Sen. Stuart Symington, Rep. Leslie C. Arends, former Supreme Court Justice Tom C. Clark, Justice Department Solicitor General Erwin Griswold, Sen. Barry Goldwater, former Chief Justice Earl Warren, Sen. Warren G. Magnuson, the late Rep. L. Mendel Rivers, Rep. Paul G. Rogers, General of the Army Omar Bradley, former Defense Secretary Clark Clifford, Rep. Glenn R. Davis, George Washington University President Lloyd H. Elliott, Rep. Gerald R. Ford, Sen. J. William Fulbright, Pan Am President Najeeb E. Halaby, Marriott President J. W. Marriott Jr., William Randolph

Hearst Jr., Rep. Robert H. Michel, Secretary of State William Rogers, George Romney, Sen. William Saxbe. . . .

(According to Burning Tree President Robert Clark, "There's a lot of kidding" about changing the club's no-women policy. The club, he explained, "was started in 1923 by a group of Chevy Chase Club members who thought the golf course was cluttered up by women and women's activities." At present at Burning Tree wives of members may, by special arrangement only, purchase gifts for their husbands at the club's pro shop, but otherwise are not allowed to use the club's facilities, even as guests of their husband.)

"There are a lot of so-called liberal politicians and government officials who have gone along with the little games at clubs while publicly espousing equality . . . It's dishonest," says Bertram L. Keys Jr., former executive secretary of the Montgomery Human Relations Commission, now a civil rights official in the Agriculture Department.

"A lot of people wonder if taking on country clubs is really relevant—you're not getting people jobs or housing, and your efforts are directed toward the upper and middle class. But they don't stop to think that here in Washington that means national leaders.

"In effect you have people making decisions on economic issues, matters of social and legal justice. So if these people go untouched—sacrosanct—then they are really missing the point. If they can go off into their segregated sanctuaries and practice that kind of life where the only black people they see are waiters and parking attendants, then I really feel the drive toward a just society is going to fall flat," Keys said.

Lee Elder is a black man who makes his living on the grounds of country clubs—and he is not a waiter, a caddy, a locker room or parking attendant, or a bartender. He is a professional golfer who lives in Washington. He took home a \$13,000 second place from the Memphis Open in May, and is reportedly the top black money-earner on the pro tour. Elder characterizes discrimination at clubs in the Washington area as "worst in the country."

Elder's name often slips off the tongues of club officials trying to explain how wide open their clubs are.

"Sure," says Elder. "But I've got a PGA card. I can play any course in the country. I think they (club officials) will all bring my name up when you question them. But ask them why not let some black amateurs play. . . . That's the reason it takes so long for a black golfer to get established." Blacks, he explained, are not able to play courses like those on the pro tour. They're shunted into public courses, which usually are neither so good nor so challenging.

Elder tried to bring three black friends to an area course last spring. They were turned away. He won't offer details, however, because "since that time I understand that some blacks have applied for membership in the club." He doesn't want to hurt their chances.

Regularly, Elder plays the links at Indian Spring, the first country club here to admit Negroes and the one now with the largest number (11) of them.

In contrast with the Washington area, Elder says he found little discrimination at clubs around Los Angeles, where he lived until 10 years ago. Some clubs there even give honorary memberships to promising black golfers, he said. "In Washington they wouldn't do this. I don't understand it. It would be up to the members of the club, but they just don't think along that line."

Clubs, Elder went on, "are beginning to open up around the country, but there's still room for improvement. They'll welcome me, but they won't welcome black players unless of course, they have a PGA card."

Incidents of discrimination, and attendant publicity, appear to be bringing some change.

Such was the case in early 1969, when it was revealed that Mayor Walter Washington had been prevented from speaking to a women's group at Kenwood in Bethesda.

Kenwood President Donal Chamberlin, said Bert Keys, "is a kind of classic guy. He was going to keep blacks out, no matter what. Then the Walter Washington incident came out, and that was probably more important than anything in making our point. . . . Seeing the black mayor of Washington, D.C., barred from a club is like seeing black people beaten on the head with clubs. It brings an emotional consensus. Everyone realizes it is totally and morally wrong."

(Subsequent to the incident, Chamberlin said there was "confusion" in the Country Club's "front office" (with his aides) over the incident, but that if Mayor Washington had wanted to come to the club, "he would have been welcomed.")

That incident led to resignations from Kenwood of Melvin Laird, William P. Rogers, George Washington University President Lloyd Elliott, and Washington's Episcopal Bishop William F. Creighton. In addition it was one of the bases for a suit against the club filed in U.S. District Court in Baltimore by Senators Frank Church, Robert Griffin and eight other prominent Washingtonians. Since winning the suit and changing the club's restrictive guest policy a year ago, Church and at least two others involved have quit the club. "The Senator had hoped the suit would have some effect on membership,"

a spokesman in Church's office said, "but things didn't change."

Another case in 1969 occurred at Argyle Country Club. The Rev. Richard Halverson, pastor of a Bethesda church, wrote to the Montgomery County Human Relations Commission about a church women's group meeting at Argyle which included a Negro guest:

"Some issue was made of her presence and whoever represented the club was deeply concerned that there would be trouble. He finally allowed the Negro guest to remain, provided the door was closed and no one could see her."

Local government agencies have not been especially instrumental in causing clubs to reevaluate their policies. Only the Montgomery Commission has taken any sort of active role. It successfully negotiated the Argyle case. More recently it tried unsuccessfully to prevent Columbia Country Club from receiving a zoning exception to expand facilities without first declaring itself non-discriminatory. Such action will continue, says the commission executive secretary. "The humanitarian approach is not going to do it."

The local agencies are studies of inaction. The Prince George's Human Relations Commission has done virtually nothing on clubs, but they "hope to benefit from the Montgomery County experience."

At the D.C. Human Relations Commission they've "never gotten a complaint" about club restrictions. One of the lawyers on the commission's staff of 130 said that "if an

individual raised this problem we are duty bound to investigate and see what our role would be, the legal approach we would take."

In Arlington County, the Human Relations Committee died a slow death not too long ago. A county spokesman said the committee "dawdled along for a couple of years without any particular activity . . . it did not have a staff member, did not have minutes, and never submitted a report to the County Board."

Fairfax County has never had an official group to handle a problem such as discrimination by a social club.

There are, however, signs of change in the area. Several members of Manor Country Club in Norbeck, Md., have organized to "try to let people know what the club policy is."

Black men are likely to put up for membership at two of the city's most prestigious all-white clubs, University and Metropolitan.

Women may, by next year, find themselves allowed into a dining facility at the Federal City Club, which now excludes them completely until after 4 p.m. daily.

Dr. Benjamin Jones, a Washington physician and one of the earliest black members at Indian Spring is optimistic. Clubs, he says, "are going to have to break down. The political structure is not going to permit these clubs to exist with prejudicial barriers. They're going to lower the boom and the clubs are going to be in bad shape. All over the country they are in a state of fluctuation."

THE PERCENTAGE GAME AT 50 TOP PRIVATE CLUBS

[The information in the listing below was provided by the clubs themselves—club presidents, managers, secretaries, and in a few cases golf pros.]

Club	Member-ship limitations	Guest limitations	Total members	Number Negroes	Number Jews	Club	Member-ship limitations	Guest limitations	Total members	Number Negroes	Number Jews
Argyle Country Club	None	None	600	0	2 or 3.	George Town Club	None	None	314	3	15 to 20 percent.
Army and Navy Club	Military officers.	do	17,000	25 to 100	100 plus.	Georgian CC Inc.	do	do	450	"A couple"	Yes.
Army-Navy Country Club	do	do	10,000	Yes.	Yes.	Goose Creek CC	"Approved by board."	do	290	0	"Don't know."
Belair Golf and CC Inc.	None	do	2,500	Yes.	Yes.	Greencastle Country Club	None	do	490	0	"Dozen."
Belle Haven CC	Refused to provide policy.	do	525	Refused to provide numbers.		Indian Spring CC	do	do	1,200	11	Most.
Bethesda CC	"Set by Board of Governors."	None	900	0	"Quite a few".	International Club	do	do	2,400	300	"Maybe more than 300."
Bretton Woods Recreation	For World Bank, IMF employees.	do	1,800	Yes.	Yes.	International Town and CC	do	do	900	0	20.
Brooke Manor CC	None	do	550	0	4.	Kenwood Golf and CC	do	do	2,000	0	"Several."
Burning Tree Club	Men only	Men only	400	0	"At least 3".	Lakewood Country Club	"Nothing in bylaws."	"Nothing in bylaws."	750	0	15 to 20 percent.
Cedar Crest CC Inc.	None	None	500	0	"About 10"	Laurel Pines CC	None	None	300	"Don't know."	Yes.
Century Ltd. Inc.	Men only	do	46	46	0.	Manor Country Club	"Christians" only.	do	914	0	0.
Chantilly National Golf & C.C.	No Negroes.	No Negroes.	750	0	"Several".	Metropolitan Club	Men only	do	1,600	0	"Many."
Chevy Chase Club	"Anyone can be a candidate".	None	1,175	0	Yes.	Montgomery Country Club	"No policy."	do	500	0	"Some."
City Tavern Club	Refused to provide any information.					Norbeck Country Club	"None as far as I know."	do	325	0	Most.
Columbia Country Club	None	None	1,600	0	"Several."	Potomac Valley CC	None	do	300	0	25 to 40.
Congressional Club	Wives of Congressmen.	do	700	Yes.	Yes.	Prince George's CC	do	do	400	3	Yes.
Congressional Country Club	"Nothing in by-laws."	do	1,000	0	"Don't categorize."	River Bend Golf and CC	do	do	400	0	Yes.
Cosmos Club	Men only	do	12,296	8 to 10	"Significant no."	Robin Dale Golf and CC	"A private club."	do	325	0	Yes.
Country Club of Fairfax	None	do	650	0	"Several."	Springfield Golf and CC	None	do	750		"I believe so."
Edgemoor Club	do	do	300	2	"Quite a few."	Sulgrave Club	Women only	do	900	0	"Some."
F Street Club	"None as far as I know."	do	150	0	"Some."	Tantallon Country Club	None	do	700	1	Yes.
Federal City Club	Men only	No women certain hours.	1,724	50 to 100	"Many."	Touchdown Club	Men only	do	975	"Small segment."	Yes.
Foreign Service Club	Foreign Service Association members only.	None	3,000	"A few"	Yes.	University Club	do	do	2,500	0	25.
						Washington Golf and CC	"No written policy."	do	900	0	4 to 5.
						Washingtonian Golf Course	None	do	450	4	30 to 40 percent.
						Westwood Country Club	do	do	625	0	25 percent.
						Woodmont Country Club	"None, but Jewish club."	do	1,800	0	All.

1 Combines resident and nonresident membership.

ARRESTING THE SILENT THIEF

HON. J. HERBERT BURKE

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 22, 1971

Mr. BURKE of Florida. Mr. Speaker, last Thursday, President Nixon delivered the first special presidential message to a joint session of Congress since 1965, and there was good reason for such a session—the economy.

I am sure that by now many of you are familiar with the attempt taken by the administration to arrest that silent thief, inflation, and hopefully, bring it under control, and at the same time stimulate the economy sufficiently to also reduce unemployment.

The adjustment from a war economy to a peace economy is not easy, however, it must be made.

The steps the President has taken, and which he has asked the Congress to take are charged by some as too drastic, but then inflation and unemployment are drastic problems.

We need not dwell on economic statistics, since all Americans have been feeling the dollar pinch and we all know people have been laid off and looking for work.

When the President announced the wage and price freeze, he was hopeful that the rapidly spiraling cost of living will be slowed down, and maybe even decreased.

I do not like Federal wage and price controls because I feel they can destroy our free enterprise, competitive market, but something had to be done, thus I feel that a limited wage-price freeze as set by the President is proper in view of the severe problems we face today.

I feel that once the freeze has thawed that perhaps there will be some voluntary wage-price guidelines suggested by a cooperative effort of government, labor, industry, and agriculture to continue fighting the war against inflation.

The President placed a 10-percent surtax on all imports and temporarily lifted the convertibility of the dollar to gold. These steps were intended to put American-made products on a more competitive basis with foreign made goods, which have been flooding the world markets, as well as our markets here at home. It is also hoped that some foreign nations will recognize the need to remove restrictive quotas they have imposed on American products if they truly want a competitive trade situation.

The President also ordered a cutback in foreign aid spending, Federal spending, and a reduction of the massive numbers of Federal employees. All of these steps I and others have urged for years.

But, like in most major undertakings, the President needs the help of Congress; and in last Thursday's speech he asked for immediate consideration of legislation to remove the 7-percent excise tax on automobiles, an investment tax credit, and an earlier increase of the personal income tax exemption.

The removal of the auto excise tax will

stimulate one of the biggest industries in the country since customers would save an average \$200 per car. For every 100,000 additional cars sold, it will mean an additional 25,000 jobs for America's work force.

The investment tax credit would mean a 10-percent credit on new machinery or plant expansions for 1 year and then a 5-percent credit after August 15, 1972. This idea was first proposed under the Kennedy administration and did much to stimulate jobs at that time.

A last proposal confronting Congress is the request for a \$50 increase in income tax exemptions to begin 1 year early. Congress, in revamping the Income Tax Act in the 91st session, scheduled the increase to begin in 1973, but President Nixon has asked that it begin on January 1, 1972.

The President's program has had its critics, however, some of it I feel is the result of partisan politics. Politics, not withstanding, I do feel that he acted in good faith and in the best interests of all the American people.

High prices and unemployment know no party lines. Inflation creeps into the pocketbooks of all Americans, Republicans, Democrats, and Independents alike. All of us are hurt when inflation goes on a rampage.

Something has to be done and now that something is being done, I feel we should all make a bipartisan effort to give the President our full support. The success of the program in the long run will work for the benefit of all.

COLORADO 1971 SECOND DISTRICT
OPINION POLL RESULTS**HON. DONALD G. BROTZMAN**

OF COLORADO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 22, 1971

Mr. BROTZMAN. Mr. Speaker, each year I poll the residents of the Second District of Colorado on a number of the important issues currently confronting the Congress and the Nation. Recently, I mailed the seventh such poll to my constituents, and I am pleased to include the results in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD for the benefit of my colleagues.

This year's survey elicited responses from over 42,000 persons in the six-county area which comprises the Second District. From what I have been able to determine by talking with my colleagues, this represents the largest response among the more than 100 congressional polls of this type, and it is one of the largest responses in the 7-year history of the Second District poll. The fact that so many Coloradans took the trouble to register their opinions and mail the ballot cards speaks well of my constituents.

The poll is important for two reasons. First, I use the results for guidance in formulating many of my own positions. The wide scale participation makes the poll invaluable to me in my efforts to represent the Second District. Moreover,

Mr. Speaker, Colorado voters have traditionally mirrored national opinion. For that reason, I believe the results will prove highly interesting for all Members of the Congress.

In order to encourage maximum participation, I provided each mail box in the second district with a computer card containing separate columns for husbands and wives. Also, because of the action of Congress in lowering the voting age, for the first time, persons aged 18, 19, and 20 were invited to participate.

Mr. Speaker, among the highlights of the poll were the following:

A substantial majority, 68.8 percent, favor increased diplomatic contact with Communist China.

A whopping 81.1 percent favor according the Indian Peaks area northwest of Boulder, Colo., National Wilderness Area status.

Federal income tax revenue sharing favored by 52.7 percent.

A substantial 67.8 percent favor proposals for an all-volunteer military except in times of grave national peril.

A series of questions on the war in Southeast Asia determined that 61.3 percent support the administration's plans to end U.S. involvement; 52.7 percent said Congress should not require all U.S. troops to be brought home by the end of this year; 56.7 percent said Congress should not require a total withdrawal by the end of the year if such an action would result in the probable Communist takeover of South Vietnam; and 75.5 percent said a December date should not be set without guarantees for the timely release of U.S. prisoners held by North Vietnam.

Despite a large number of persons in the "undecided" category, a majority of 48.7 percent said they favor the proposed reorganization of the executive branch.

The complete results of the questionnaire tabulation follow:

TABULATION OF COLORADO'S SECOND CONGRES-
SIONAL DISTRICT 1971 OPINION POLL
QUESTION AND RESULT (IN PERCENT)

1. Do you favor federal income tax revenue-sharing with local and state governments? Yes, 52.7; No, 27.2; Undecided, 14.0; No Response, 6.0.
2. Do you favor reorganization of the Executive Branch of the Federal Government, consolidating 7 Cabinet Departments into 4? Yes, 48.7; No, 24.1; Undecided, 20.2; No Response, 7.1.
3. Should the Indian Peaks area northwest of Boulder, Colorado, be accorded National Wilderness Area status? Yes, 81.1; No, 4.4; Undecided, 8.7; No Response, 5.8.
4. Do you favor proposals for an all-volunteer military, except in times of grave national peril? Yes, 67.8; No, 22.5; Undecided, 4.8; No Response, 4.9.
5. Do you favor increased U.S. diplomatic contact with Communist China? Yes, 68.8; No, 16.9; Undecided, 9.4; No Response, 4.9.
6. Do you support the Administration's plan to end the war in Southeast Asia? Yes, 61.3; No, 23.6; Undecided, 9.3; No Response, 5.9.
7. Should the Administration be required by Congress to bring home all U.S. troops from South Viet Nam before the end of this year? Yes, 34.7; No, 52.7; Undecided, 7.8; No Response, 4.7.
8. Would you favor Congress requiring the withdrawal of all U.S. troops by the end of

1971 if it meant the probable Communist takeover of South Viet Nam? Yes, 30.6; No, 56.7; Undecided, 7.6; No Response, 5.1.

9. Would you favor Congress requiring the withdrawal of all U.S. troops by the end of 1971 without guarantees for the timely release of U.S. prisoners held by North Viet Nam? Yes, 14.5; No, 75.4; Undecided, 5.0; No Response, 5.1.

(Figures shown above may not add to exactly 100% due to rounding.)

PORTUGAL'S MISSION FOR THE WEST IN AFRICA

HON. JOHN G. SCHMITZ

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 22, 1971

Mr. SCHMITZ. Mr. Speaker, Bernardo Teixeira, in "The Fabric of Terror," said: Other values much closer to God are still permanent in our souls, and one of these values is the dignity of the human being. Without it, we shall revert to the law of the jungle, and tomorrow's sunrise may become again the morning of endless night.

The overwhelming impression my recent visit to Portuguese Angola left with me is that here, in Southern Africa, western civilization is alive and well. The people of this Portuguese province, to which the first Portuguese came to settle a decade before Columbus sailed, exhibit a tremendous sense of purpose and dedication.

Angola is prospering. There is a fantastic amount of building—interestingly enough, the tallest building in Portugal is located in the Angolan capitol of Luanda—and industrial production is increasing by leaps and bounds. There is very little racial strain, since the Portuguese attitude toward the blacks is that they too are full-fledged citizens of Portugal. The Portuguese have great faith in their ability to westernize the blacks and expect them eventually to run the country—but it will be a western nation run by black men who hold to the moral and spiritual values of the west.

In Luanda one is hardly aware of the fact that multiracial Portugal has been fighting a war which broke out a year before we began to be seriously involved in Vietnam. The Portuguese counter-insurgency operations have been going on since March 1961, when, for three successive nights, terrorists trained in the Congo by Soviet, Cuban and Red Chinese cadres, brought slaughter to northern Angola. By the time the invasion was halted—significantly, the black "liberators" were stopped at the gates of Luanda by black Portuguese troops—over 1,700 white and more than 20,000 black civilians had been massacred. This gruesome campaign of terror, which included running live victims through rotary saws, has been chillingly chronicled by Bernardo Teixeira in his excellent book, "Fabric of Terror." The UPA—Union of People of Angola—responsible for the 1961 attack, last year received a grant of \$20,000 from the World Council of Churches.

Two other terrorist organizations op-

erating against the people of Angola are UNITA and the MPLA. UNITA, closely allied with Peking, has headquarters in Cairo and boasts a strength of 2,500 men. Actively engaged in guerrilla warfare in Eastern Angola, UNITA last year received a grant of \$10,000 from the World Council of Churches.

The MPLA—Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola—with a strength of 12,000, constitutes the most serious threat. Founded in 1959 by Mario Pinto de Andrade, a Moscow-trained member of the Portuguese and French Communist Parties, the MPLA is now headed by Dr. Agostinho Neto, a Lisbon-educated intellectual. With headquarters in Lusaka, Zambia, the MPLA has taken full advantage of the fact that a Portuguese army of only 60,000 men has to defend an area half again as large as Texas. In a speech at the 24th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, held in Moscow last April, Neto declared that Portugal was one of "the weakest links of the imperialist chain" and predicted that the program adopted by the Soviet Communists would "accelerate still more the progress of our country and its movement toward communism." The MPLA also received a grant of \$20,000 from the World Council of Churches last year.

Flying over the sparsely populated dry eastern area of Angola known as the Terras so pim Mundo—"Land at the end of the earth"—on my way to Mozambique, I marveled at the Portuguese determination to westernize this land. But determined they are, and if our civilization finally fails it will be because we, and not the Portuguese, have lacked the determination to prevent tomorrow's sunrise from becoming the morning of endless night.

MR. JUSTICE BLACK—THE FIRM BELIEVER

HON. JONATHAN B. BINGHAM

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, September 21, 1971

Mr. BINGHAM. Mr. Speaker, the American legal system has been fortunate to attract many dedicated people to public service. Few, however, have served justice and the principles upon which this Nation was founded more notably and for such a long tenure as Mr. Justice Hugo Black. For over 34 years, he graced the Supreme Court, presenting with stunning clarity and force his firm belief and absolute faith in the core principles of the American system of justice—the Bill of Rights. His clear and eloquent voice has been instrumental in bringing to a more complete expression the freedoms embodied in that basic American document.

On his retirement, it is fitting that we take time to express our gratitude for his role in extending the reach of our cherished constitutional liberties.

CHILD DEVELOPMENT PROPOSALS TO GUARANTEE MENTAL HEALTH

HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 22, 1971

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, I recently reported to my people on child development proposals to guarantee mental health. I insert my report in the RECORD at this point:

RARICK REPORTS TO HIS PEOPLE ON CHILD DEVELOPMENT PROPOSALS TO GUARANTEE MENTAL HEALTH

In a previous report I talked about the busing of school children away from their neighborhood to attend another school allegedly for the sole purpose of achieving racial balance. I pointed out that this practice is not lawful under the Constitution, is contrary to laws of Congress which specifically prohibit busing to achieve racial balance, and qualifies as the crime of genocide as denounced by 67 nations of the world community.

In still another report, I discussed how busing was but a training exercise to prepare parents for future things to come and to condition parents to accept more controls over the rearing of their children by the federal government through so-called child day care centers, child advocates, and other child development proposals now before the Congress. At first children will be bused to school and then home; then children will be bused to school only where parents may visit them after hours or on week-ends.

There should be nothing more important and dear to the hearts of parents than the well being of their children. The preservation of our American heritage of freedom hinges on our rearing this generation of children to take their places as free men in a free society to perpetuate our civilization. I fear that with busing and with the growing threat of almost complete federal control of rearing of children making them, in effect, political children, that we are conditioning them for a planned collectivist society—the antithesis, the direct opposite, of life in America as we have known it.

Concluding a consideration of what the new social planners intend to do with our children, I should like to discuss what appears to be a significant part of the plans—the use of their new concept of mental health as the thrust for the blast off into the "new society", a term employed by one U.S. Senator who is a leading proponent of child advocacy.

It is only reasonable that citizens should inquire as to the reason for the sudden flurry of legislative bills—I understand that there are in excess of 50—all seeking to promote federal government control over children. It smacks of an organized effort—as though there were a coordinated, concerted effort to push through such legislation before the people of America know the full implications of the legislation.

The reason being put forth for child development programs is that "millions of American children are suffering unnecessary harm from the present lack of adequate child development services, particularly during their early childhood years," and that "comprehensive child development programs, including a full range of health, education and social services, are essential to the achievement of the full potential of America's children and should be available to all children regardless of economic, social, and family background; . . ."

From a comparison of the similarities of the recommendations given in the "Report to the President of the White House Conference on Children" and a "Digest of the Final Report of the Joint Commission on the Mental Health of Children, Inc." with the provisions of bills proposing child development programs, it becomes quite obvious that these reports played a significant role in influencing the legislation.

In fact, the preface to the Digest points out that in 1965 an amendment to the Social Security Amendments of 1965 was enacted to provide funds and the framework for the Commission's work. It is also significant that Senate Bill 1414 provides for the establishment of a child advocacy program which incorporates the very recommendation of the Joint Commission on the Mental Health of Children to establish a child advocacy system at every level of society to guarantee mental health.

This sudden outcry by a well organized minority for federal control of children is based on the false premise as to the deplorable mental health of our children. For decades the American people have been baraged with misleading propaganda such as one out of every two hospital beds is occupied by mentally ill persons. Now we are told that there are 10,000,000 persons under 25 years of age who are in need of mental health treatment. Yet, no evidence to support such claim has been provided. In fact the term mental health as now used may have no relationship to insanity. The whole premise seems based on the big scare technique to alarm the American people and legislators into a stampede reaction for quick acceptance of improved mental health under child development programs. To the contrary, responsible medical authorities report tremendous progress in treating the mentally and emotionally ill and that the mental health of our people is better now than at any time in our history.

Since improving the mental health of our children is the cover being given for new federal child development programs, we must find a simple and clear definition of what mental health is all about.

Before accepting proposals for federal control over rearing of our nation's children—especially their minds—I deem it helpful, indeed necessary, to take a look at the concept of mental health—its nature, origin, to see how the phrase is being used or misused.

Most accept the term "mental health" as meaning a normal, healthy or sound mind as contrasted with "mental illness" which implies a diseased or deranged state of mind. This concept of mental health probably goes back to the beginning of the history of man. But the "mental health" concept today has been converted into a different meaning.

Promotion of the new concept of "mental health" received a boost with the establishment of the World Health Organization (WHO) of the United Nations in 1948. In the preface to a WHO report of March, 1948, a new United Nations definition of health, including mental health was unveiled. The World Health Organization of the United Nations defines health as follows:

"The Constitution of the World Health Organization . . . embodies in its provisions the broadest principles in public health today. Defining health as 'a state of complete physical, mental and social well-being, and not merely the absence of disease or infirmity,' it includes not only the more conventional fields of activity but also mental health, housing, nutrition, economic or working conditions and administrative and social techniques affecting public health."

According to the United Nations definition, the terms health and mental health are inseparable in that a person cannot have one without the other.

In "A Summary of the Findings and Rec-

ommendations of the Joint Commission on Mental Health of Children" in 1969 we read:

"In viewing the findings on which the recommendations were made, it is apparent that the constitutional, developmental and social forces involved are inseparable. Thus, particularly in the early years of life, it is impossible to separate health from mental health problems, and impossible to separate both of these from family and community problems."

So, we see the U.N. definition of mental health as "a state of complete physical, mental and social well being, and not merely the absence of disease or infirmity" now appearing in a different form in the findings of the Joint Commission on the Mental Health of Children and also reflected in the language of Senate Bill 1414 calling for a child advocacy program which incorporates the Joint Commission on the Mental Health of Children recommendation entitled "A Child Advocacy System to Guarantee Mental Health."

S. 1414 contains the following provisions: ". . . Neighborhood Offices of Child Advocacy shall include, but not be limited to evaluations of nutritional, medical, psychological, social, educational, recreational, vocational, and economic needs of the families served by any such Office.

"The counseling function of Neighborhood Offices of Child Advocacy shall include the provision by any such Office of advice and guidance to any family residing in the neighborhood served by such Office which desires assistance in locating and using appropriate services to meet their needs, including, but not limited to, the following: nutrition; family income supplementation; housing; transportation; sanitation; recreation; adult education; disease prevention; education; medical care; employment; day care and pre-school programs; family planning and birth control services; genetic counseling; prenatal care and home-maker services; budget planning; youth employment services; vocational training; rehabilitation; consumer education; special education; residential care; specialized foster homes; group houses and institutional services; family, marital, and premarital counseling; protective services; legal services; and inpatient and outpatient mental health treatment services."

In promoting the mental health of children, S. 1414 would provide at taxpayers' expense for almost every facet of a child's existence. The cost of providing and supervising these services would be astronomical but the take away in taxes is never mentioned. And this as well as other bills are being pushed under the guise of correcting the alleged deplorable condition of the mental health of children. Building mental health covers every facet of the life and environment of all persons from cradle to grave as is revealed by the following statement from "Crisis in Child Mental Health—Challenge for the 70's," Report of the Joint Commission of Mental Health of Children, upon which the legislative proposals appear to be based:

" . . . A child's mental health is dependent upon the many societies and systems which make up his life. A child's mental health depends on the functioning of his own body, the state of his physical health, the health and well-being of his family, and the kind of home, neighborhood, and community in which he lives. It depends on the medical services he receives, the schools he goes to, the church or temple and other organizations to which he belongs—or doesn't belong. It depends on the food he eats, the air he breathes, the water he drinks, and the loving (or unloving) care that he receives while he is growing up. It depends on his family's income, the kinds of parents, brothers, and sisters he has, and the work they do—or the work they cannot find. It depends on the kind of a society he lives in, on whether that so-

ciety believes and acts as if children and young people are valuable and important—standing in need of tenderness, guidance, investment, and respect—or whether that society neglects, devalues, and distrusts its young.

"Mental health is not an individual trait haphazardly given to some and not to others. It is not 'all in the mind.' It is not a contagious disease. Nor is it a condition that parents can bestow upon their children solely through their own efforts of care and good will, or one which can be provided exclusively by treatment from such specialists as pediatricians, psychiatrists, psychologists, and social workers. A child's mental health is formed throughout his development and is influenced and determined by all that goes into his existence. His mind and body are not separate but function together and in interaction with his outer environment. He is a complex system within a series of systems. His nervous, muscular, digestive, and other inner systems interact with one another and with a host of other interrelated dynamic systems—the family, the neighborhood, the school, the religious, the recreational, the economic, the employment, and the political systems. These living, dynamic systems are unlike man-made systems, such as machines, in that they cannot be adjusted by a knowledgeable manipulation of parts, by a 'turn of the screw.' They cannot always be repaired by finding and treating 'the cause of the problem.'"

A child's mental health has many causes; a child's mental illness or emotional disorder likewise has no single cause. Because the child is a complex, growing, changing system interacting with many other dynamic systems, his mental health can be promoted only by appropriate attention to him, as an individual, and to the systems to which he is related.

"If we are to promote the mental health of our children and youth, to prevent mental disabilities, and to treat and care for those who suffer from these disabilities, we need to concern ourselves with all aspects of the child's care and all aspects of the social system in which he lives."

Like world peace, pollution, race relations and consumerism, the highly emotional and appealing issue of mental health is being politically exploited to bring about federal intervention over America's children.

For many years Americans have been deluged via the press, television, and radio with propaganda indicating the alleged urgent need for additional mental health programs. The propaganda has been designed to appeal to the finer emotions and to the altruistic spirit of American citizens so as to solicit the support of many patriotic individuals and organizations on behalf of so-called mental health projects.

So long as mental health programs are designed to aid and help the minority of unfortunate persons suffering from a diseased or disturbed state of mind they are good and deserving of support. I want to make it perfectly clear that I am not opposed to programs to help the mentally retarded. I refer to programs to treat well children with normal minds. For there is more to this movement for more and more mental health facilities and programs than to merely take care of those suffering from mental illness in the traditional meaning of that term.

I am referring to the concept held by some psychologists and psychiatrists that "if therapy is good for people in trouble, then it is bound to be good or better for people who function well." Or in stronger terms, if mental treatment can make sick minds and bodies well, in the wrong hands of politicians and social planners, it can make well minds conform—it can make well minds sick.

I am referring to experimentation for social

change whether in mental health clinics or in governmental educational laboratories, formerly known as local public schools, using our children as guinea pigs in such practices as sensitivity training, role playing, group dynamics, and the application of drug treatment.

Since the language of several child-development bills indicates that the United Nations concept of mental health is being implemented, it is important to take a closer look at just what the U.N. means by mental health.

Dr. Brock Chisholm, who spearheaded the founding of the World Health Organization and became its first Director-General, has held with other one-world planners that wars could be abolished and all men could live in peace if all prejudices and loyalties resulting from family, nation, race, religion, and economic status could be eradicated.

To show the ideas in this connection of the thinking of Dr. Chisholm, who directed the WHO during its first five years, I present several of his own statements:

"We are now, perforce, citizens of the world, whether we are sufficiently mature adequately to carry that responsibility or not."

"The responsibility for charting the necessary changes in human behavior rests clearly on the sciences working in that field. Psychologists, psychiatrists, sociologists, economists and politicians must face this responsibility. It cannot be avoided. Even a decision not to interfere is still a decision and carries no less responsibility. . . ."

"Certainly the psychiatrists are not in the least backward in staking out their claim to possessing superior intelligence and know-how with which to alter materially and permanently human behavior."

"All psychiatrists know where these symptoms come from. The burden of inferiority, guilt, and fear we have all carried lies at the root of this failure to mature successfully. Psychotherapy is predominantly, by any of a variety of methods, the reduction of the weight of this load. Therefore the question we must ask ourselves is why the human race is so loaded down with these incubi and what can be done about it."

"... The only lowest common denominator of all civilizations and the only psychological force capable of producing these perversions is morality, the concept of right and wrong, the poison long ago described and warned against as 'the fruit of the tree of the knowledge of good and evil.'"

"... We have been very slow to rediscover this truth and to recognize the unnecessary and artificially imposed inferiority, guilt, and fear, commonly known as sin, under which we have almost all labored and which produces so much of the social maladjustment and unhappiness in the world. . . ."

"... We have swallowed all manner of poisonous certainties fed us by our parents, our Sunday and day school teachers, our politicians, our priests, our newspapers and others with a vested interest in controlling us. . . . The re-interpretation and eventually eradication of the concept of right and wrong which has been the basis of child training, the substitution of intelligent and rational thinking for faith in the certainties of the old people, these are the belated objectives of practically all effective psychotherapy. . . ."

"If the race is to be freed from its crippling burden of good and evil it must be psychiatrists who take the original responsibility."

"There is something to be said for gently putting aside the mistaken old ways of our elders. . . . If it cannot be done gently, it may have to be done roughly or even violently."

The above remarks were made by Dr. Chisholm in a lecture entitled "The Psychiatry of Enduring Peace and Social Progress"

and was published in *Psychiatry* of February, 1946. At a later date, Dr. Chisholm is reported to have made the following statement:

"Canada should start a large-scale adoption program of children from other countries instead of having our own. It would have a very good side effect, too, if the children had brown or yellow skins. . . . As far as I am concerned, the sooner we're all inter-bred, the better."

The ideas of the man who organized and set the course the WHO was to follow believed that psychiatrists should be the leaders in brainwashing (washing away what one believes and substituting something else in its stead) and conditioning mankind to accept world government. To accomplish this, the present and future generations must be relieved of all moral concepts of right and wrong and of basic loyalties. Those who could not be persuaded by normal methods of propaganda and who refused to relinquish their racial pride, national patriotism, family loyalty, religious beliefs, or individualism could be declared mentally sick and re-educated or done away with "roughly or even violently."

Another agency of the United Nations which has aided the cause of conditioning people for world government is the United Nations Educational, Social and Cultural Organization (UNESCO). The UNESCO General Report of 1946 provides as follows:

"The Executive Secretary's report gives us the blueprints for the development of what one may call a world brain, a world mind, or a world culture, which alone can be the basis of a world authority or a world government."

Another one-world planner who has contributed to the blueprint for slavery is Bertrand Russell, one of six atheists chosen by UNESCO to rewrite the history of the world. In his book, *The Impact of Science on Society*, he provides us with the following pertinent ideas for the development of the "U.N. Universal Brown Man":

"I think the subject which will be of most importance politically is Mass Psychology. Mass Psychology is, scientifically speaking, not a very advanced study, and so far its professors have not been in universities: they have been advertisers, politicians, and, above all, dictators. This study is immensely useful to practical men, whether they wish to become rich or to acquire the government. . . . Its importance has been enormously increased by the growth of modern methods of propaganda. . . . We now know that limelight and a brass band do more to persuade than can be done by the most elegant train of syllogisms. It may be hoped that in time anybody will be able to persuade anybody of anything if he can catch the patient young and is provided by the State with money and equipment. This subject will make great strides when it is taken up by scientists under a scientific dictatorship. . . . Various results will soon be arrived at. First, that the influence of home is obstructive. Second, that not much can be done unless indoctrination begins before the age of ten. Third, that verses set to music and repeatedly intoned are very effective. Fourth, that the opinion that snow is white must be held to show a morbid taste for eccentricity. . . . It is for future scientists to make these maxims precise and discover exactly how much it costs per head to make children believe that snow is black, and how much less it would cost to make them believe it is dark gray."

"Although this science will be diligently studied, it will be rigidly confined to the governing class. The populace will not be allowed to know how its convictions were generated. When the technique has been perfected, every government that has been in charge of education for a generation will be able to control its subjects securely without the need of armies or policemen. As yet there

is only one country which has succeeded in creating this politician's paradise.

"Fichte laid it down that education should aim at destroying free will, so that, after pupils have left school, they shall be incapable, throughout the rest of their lives, of thinking or acting otherwise than as their schoolmasters would have wished. But in his day this was an unattainable ideal; what he regarded as the best system in existence produced Karl Marx. In future such failures are not likely to occur where there is dictatorship. Diet, injections, and injunctions will combine from a very early age to produce the sort of character and the sort of beliefs that the authorities consider desirable, and any serious criticism of the powers that be will become psychologically impossible. Even if all are miserable, all will believe themselves happy, because the government will tell them that they are so."

"A totalitarian government with a scientific bent might do things to us which would seem horrifying."

The intentions of the world planners of the United Nations to use the mental health issue to foster world government is revealed in a statement entitled "Mental Health and World Citizenship" which emanated from the International Conference on Mental Health held in London in 1948:

"Studies of human development indicate the modifiability of human behaviour throughout life, especially during infancy, childhood and adolescence, by human contacts. Examination of social institutions in many countries shows that these also can be modified. These newly recognized possibilities provide the basis for improving human relations, for releasing constructive human potentialities and for modifying social institutions for the common good."

"The social sciences and psychiatry also offer a better understanding of the great obstacles to rapid progress in human affairs. Man and his society are closely interdependent. Social institutions such as family and school impose their imprint early in the personality development of their members, who in turn tend to perpetuate the traditional pattern to which they have been moulded. It is the men and women in whom these patterns of attitude and behaviour have been incorporated who present the immediate resistance to social, economic and political changes."

"Thus prejudice, hostility or excessive nationalism may become deeply embedded in the developing personality without awareness on the part of the individual concerned, and often at great human cost."

"Perhaps the most important contribution of the social sciences in their joint approach to the urgent problems facing mankind is the recognition of the plasticity of human behaviour and social institutions and of the resistance of each to change. In order to be effective, efforts at changing individuals must be appropriate to the successive stages of the unfolding personality, while in the case of a group or society, change will be strongly resisted unless an attitude of acceptance has first been engendered."

"Principles of mental health cannot be successfully furthered in any society unless there is progressive acceptance of the concept of world citizenship. World citizenship can be widely extended among all peoples through the applications of the principles of mental health."

It is significant to note the similarity of viewpoint of many of the present U.S. promoters of child development programs and that of UNESCO. Both the White Conference on Children and the Joint Commission on the Mental Health of Children have designated racism as the number one mental health problem. This view is in accord with that expressed in UNESCO's own printed material that a distaste for social and even

sexual contact between white and colored races is called "prejudice" and "bigotry," and these are looked upon by mental health psychiatrists as signs of mental abnormality.

If child development programs as proposed were enacted, it is not clear what would happen to those parents who would refuse to have their children participate in one world propaganda and inter-racial experiments in the "specially designed health, social, and educational programs (including afterschool, summer, weekend, vacation, and overnight programs)." Would their children be removed from their custody as happened to the New York parents who refused to allow their children to participate in immoral sex education instruction? Would they be whisked away to a mental institution as was General Erwin Walker? This is something to think about, especially when one considers the movement to remove individual safeguards in the commitment procedures for involuntary hospitalization and to substitute in legislation the word "insane" with the term "mentally ill." Insanity is widely accepted to suggest a person, who by his specific words and/or actions, demonstrates that he is dangerous or otherwise incapable of carrying on the required activities of normal daily living. The definition of a mentally ill person as "an individual having a psychiatric or other disease which substantially impairs his health" is so broad and open to interpretation as to include persons who are not insane.

Mental illness is not a precise term. A citizen who honestly believes in segregation of the races or the superiority of one race over another according to the Joint Commission on Mental Health of Children and to the White House Conference on Children would be considered mentally ill; while to the WHO and UNESCO of the United Nations, a person opposed to world government would also be a fit candidate for a mental institution.

I regard the child development bills as constituting one of the most serious threats to our people. No provision of the Constitution authorizes the federal government to undertake the functions of providing child advocates, establishing child development facilities and carrying on many other related functions. If the people at the State or local levels decide they want the government to act as parent and the taxpayers want to pay the bill, then let it be done in accordance with the wishes of the people as provided in their State and local constitutions and laws.

The child development bills involve a fantastic cost, which is completely unnecessary and which this country is in no financial condition to bear.

Thirdly, the bills would weaken individual liberty, pride, and responsibility and deny that precious feeling of accomplishment and something on one's own against odds and which is the basis of true mental health. The result could only be more regimentation of our lives by bureaucratic planners.

And finally the danger the legislation poses to individual freedom: If these child development proposals should become law, the stage would be further set for a one-world totalitarian dictatorship under a new world ruling class.

In a shocking report on the threat to American Constitutional freedoms posed by the widespread mental-health practices, Dr. Thomas S. Szasz, prominent psychiatrist and psychoanalyst, warns us in his book, *Law, Liberty and Psychiatry* (pages 221-2) of the unjudiciousness of allowing the government to become both parent and therapist and advises us as to which course America should follow:

"Individualistic societies will differ from collectivistic ones only so long as they eschew governmental paternalism. The spirit of the welfare state, inflamed by the therapeutic ambitions of the mental health professions, is inimical to individual liberties and the

institutions of a free society that make such liberties possible.

Today, people everywhere look to the government, not to much for freedom, as they used to in the past, but for aid in attaining their personal goals. This is as true in China and Russia in the East, as it is in England and the United States in the West. When personal goals include the maintenance of health and the cure of sickness, people expect the state to be their therapist. If, however, the state assumes the roles of parent and therapist, the citizens will be forced to assume the complementary roles of child and patient. This is bound to lead to the parentification of the government, and the infantilization of the governed. Thus, by offering to care for the health of its citizens, the state may succeed in depriving them of certain opportunities to become self-reliant individuals. The resulting political system might resemble the unhappy family: a submissive but greedy people, the spoiled children, faced by an indulgent but irresponsible and despotic government, the spoiling parent.

"Legislative prescriptions, no matter how enlightened, will not create a good society. Our best chance for success still lies in a political system that is consistently non-coercive, limiting its powers to the prevention and punishment of crime, and deploying its resources to providing relatively equal opportunities for various kinds of personal self-development."

Mr. and Mrs. Parent, do you feel that the federal government is more qualified to rear your children than you? Remember, Adolph Hitler said that the Nazi party was more qualified to rear German youth than were the German parents!

ECONOMIC PROGRESS IN THE BLACK COMMUNITY

HON. CHARLES C. DIGGS, JR.

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 22, 1971

Mr. DIGGS. Mr. Speaker, over the years, blacks have suffered economic strangulation by strictures imposed in the predominately white society of America. We are faced with a revolutionary period, today, which recognizes the need for economic strength as the basis for total black equality. Significant economic gains have already begun in certain areas, and there are indications that the drive for economic parity is gaining momentum.

The Honorable Andrew F. Brimmer, a distinguished board member of the Federal Reserve System, has made many contributions in his field as an economist. On September 15, 1971, he gave a speech at Bishop College in Dallas, Tex., in which he addressed himself to the subject: "Regional Growth, Migration, and Economic Progress in the Black Community."

I would like to share the substance of his speech with my colleagues and submit the full text of the RECORD:

REGIONAL GROWTH, MIGRATION, AND ECONOMIC PROGRESS IN THE BLACK COMMUNITY

(By Andrew F. Brimmer*)

When I was invited to speak at this institution, I was told that I could select any

*Member, Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System.

topic. With such a wide choice, I could have focused readily (and easily) on the host of problems in the area of national and international economic policy. Because of my own responsibilities, I do share in the official efforts to resolve the tenacious problems of inflation, unemployment, and the persistent deficit in our country's balance of payments.

However, I decided against that route. Instead, because Bishop College is predominantly a black institution, I thought it might be useful to present the results of some work I have been doing recently on trends in economic conditions in the black community. Because this college is located in Dallas—one of the leading cities in the Southwest (but which also inherited a historic legacy from the Old South)—it might be interesting to focus particularly on the recent economic experience of blacks in the South.

Almost daily, the Nation's attention is drawn to some new aspect of the social and political revolution that is reshaping the lives of Negroes and whites in the South. The further withering of racial segregation (especially in the public schools) and the widening participation of Negroes in voting and other aspects of the political process naturally receive most of the attention. Simultaneously, however, another side of the racial revolution in the South is also of considerable importance. This is the quickening tempo of economic progress among blacks in this section of the country. From time to time, notice is taken of the wider sharing of blacks in the area's economic activity, but the breadth of the changing situation is not always fully appreciated.

On the other hand, Negroes are still leaving the South at a heavy rate. The pace of out-migration has been so strong that today just over half of the black population lives in the South—compared to three-fifths as recently as a decade ago. This large net outflow of blacks is in sharp contrast to the sizable net inflow of whites to the South. It is true that blacks increasingly are finding the South a better place in which to live (and a few prominent Negroes have attracted national attention by returning home to the South). Yet, on balance, the disincentives inducing blacks to leave the region still seem to outweigh the advantages inducing them to remain or to return. And when blacks leave the South—to a greater extent than is true of whites—they are likely to move into the heavily populated urban areas of the North and West—areas with a galaxy of problems that need not be catalogued here. Thus, the pattern of migration—black and white—in relation to economic development is interesting (and important) both regionally and nationally.

Some of the results of the studies I have had underway are presented in the rest of these remarks. It might be helpful to summarize the highlights here:

During the decade of the 1960's, the South recorded the highest rate of economic growth

I am indebted to a number of persons for assistance in the preparation of these remarks. At the Board, Mr. David Wyss and Mrs. Diane Sower undertook the econometric analysis of net migration based on Census Bureau statistics. Mr. Wyss also did the analysis of gross migration patterns based on Social Security data. Miss Harriett Harper made the informal survey of welfare trends in leading cities, and Mr. Albert Teplin undertook the analysis of regional growth and income trends. In the Department of Commerce, Messrs. Robert Graham and David A. Hirschberg provided statistics on State and regional economic activity; Mr. Hirschberg also did the computer work required to obtain data from the Social Security One Per Cent Sample Survey. I am also indebted to the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission for sharing with me their 1970 data on patterns of employment in American industry by occupation, race and State.

among the major regions of the country. As a result, its share of the nation's income rose significantly.

Blacks participated substantially in the South's economic progress. However, the extent of sharing was quite uneven from one State to another. There continues to be a noticeable short-fall in the proportion of nonfarm jobs held by blacks, especially in the Deep South States. Nevertheless, Negroes' share of total money income did expand during the 1960's.

Yet, net migration of blacks from the South remains exceptionally large. Between 1960 and 1970, the net outflow from Border States moderated, but it continued heavy from Deep South States—the same States in which the short-fall in jobs for blacks remains the largest. On the other hand, a closer look at the movement of blacks out of the South—based on gross migration rather than on net migration figures—suggests that the tendency for blacks to leave the South is roughly the same as it is for whites. The observed differences in the rate of net migration are due mainly to the failure of the South to attract blacks from other regions.

In trying to explain the heavy net outflow of Negroes from the South, most students of the question have identified better jobs and higher incomes as the main incentives. However, some observers have suggested that the movement may be partly in response to higher welfare benefits in the North and West. Still others have suggested that differences in educational opportunities may partly account for the higher rate among blacks. The results of my own work (some of it supported by computer-based econometric analysis) indicate that brighter job and income prospects are the main factors influencing the movement of blacks from the South—the same incentives which induce most whites to move. State differences in educational expenditures seem to have a small but noticeable effect on the migration of blacks—but not on the migration of whites. State differences in welfare payments also appear to be positively related to net migration rates for blacks, but not for whites. Yet, for blacks, the impact is extremely small. Moreover, the States with high welfare payments are also the States with high incomes and high outlays for education. So, one cannot readily unravel the joint effects of these factors on migration.

This conclusion is reinforced by the results of an informal survey of welfare trends in 25 of the leading cities with the largest Negro population. All of them have experienced large increases in recent years in the number of persons receiving public assistance. However, the number of Negroes as a proportion of all persons on welfare appears to be unrelated to the pattern of net migration experienced by the cities during the 1960's. Moreover, there seems to be no appreciable difference in the situation in Southern cities compared to those in the North and West.

This analysis has led me to conclude that, as economic growth in the South continues blacks will have a chance to share even more fully in the benefits of economic development. However, to realize this potential, there must be an accelerated effort—on the part of whites as well as on the part of blacks—to bring about genuine equality of opportunity. In response to such an improved environment, more Negroes (especially young people) would probably remain in the South. While some observers would encourage them to stay in order to lessen further pressures in the urban areas of the North and West, I would do so for another reason: since the South is making the investment in its youth—both black and white (and although it remains inadequate compared with the national average)—the South itself should get a larger share of the benefits from the development of its human resources.

We can now turn to a fuller discussion of these main points.

REGIONAL ECONOMIC GROWTH

During the last decade, the South expanded faster than any other major region in all principal types of economic activity. The contours of this performance can be traced in the growth and distribution of civilian income from current production. On the basis of data in Table 1 (attached), it appears that income in the South expanded at an annual average rate of 8.1 per cent, between 1960 and 1970, compared with 6.6 per cent for all other regions and 6.8 per cent for the country as a whole. As a result, the South's share of income from current production rose from 15.4 per cent to 17.3 per cent of the total.

In the South, as in the rest of the Nation, the highest annual rate of growth was registered in the government sector (10.1 per cent vs. 9.6 per cent), followed by services (9.7 per cent and 8.7 per cent, respectively). But, relative to the performance of other geographic areas, the South's widest lead in the rate of growth was in the manufacturing sector. Here the annual rate of expansion in the South was 9.0 per cent, compared with 6.0 per cent for other regions and 6.4 per cent for the country. In 1960, income originating in manufacturing accounted for 24.1 per cent of the total in the South; the corresponding figures were 30.6 per cent in other regions and 29.9 per cent in the country at large. By 1970, the South had made up a substantial part of the lag. In that year, the proportions of income earned in the factory sector were: South, 26.3 per cent; other regions, 29.0 per cent; and the United States, 28.5 per cent. Paralleling the expansion in manufacturing, the South's traditionally heavier reliance on farming lessened much faster than was the case in the rest of the country. In 1960, about 7.5 per cent of the South's income from current production arose in agriculture, compared with 4.2 per cent in other regions and 4.7 per cent for the Nation. Last year, the farm share had shrunk to 4.7 per cent in the South, to 2.8 per cent in other regions, and to 3.1 per cent in the country as a whole.

NEGROES SHARE IN REGIONAL EXPANSION

As indicated above, Negroes did share extensively in the expansion of economic activity in the South in the last decade. But this was also true of Negroes in the North and West. Consequently, it is necessary to ask whether blacks in the South did relatively better—or worse—than their brothers in the rest of the country. To obtain an answer, one must examine the evidence relating both to jobs and income in each State.

The ideal information for this purpose will be provided by the 1970 Census of Population. Since this will not be available for some time, I have relied on the data collected by the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC)—based on annual reports submitted by private employers with 100 or more workers. These figures were used to calculate Negro employment as a percentage of total nonfarm employment and in principal occupations in the 28 States and the District of Columbia with a substantial proportion of Negroes in their population. The calculations were made for 1966 and 1970, so one can study employment trends during the last half of the 1960s. For comparison purposes, the percentage of Negroes in the total population in each State in 1970 was also calculated. The results are shown in Table 2.

Several important aspects of blacks' employment situation stand out in these data. The first thing to note is the rise in the share of total jobs held by blacks in the country as a whole—a rise from 8.2 per cent in 1966 to 10.3 per cent in 1970. Since Negroes constituted 11.2 per cent of the total population, the gap between their shares of population and jobs narrowed appreciably—to about 1 percentage point. This relatively small spread should be kept in mind, because it will serve as a useful benchmark in the discussion below. At the national level, the position of blacks in the principal occupations differed

considerably. They were generally under-represented in the white collar fields—and heavily overrepresented in the blue collar and service occupations.

In most regions, the population-jobs gap among blacks narrowed substantially between 1966 and 1970. Leaving aside Washington, D.C., Negroes' share of population and their share of total employment reported in the EEOC statistics in 1970 differed by only one or two percentage points in all States—except in those located in the heart of the South. In these States, the population-jobs deficit was exceptionally large, with blacks' share of population exceeding their share of jobs by the following percentage points: Tennessee, 3.3; North Carolina, 5.9; South Carolina, 9.6; Georgia, 5.3; Alabama, 7.4; Mississippi, 12.9; Louisiana, 8.9; Arkansas, 5.2. In contrast, the situation was far different in the Border States and in those making up the outer rim of the South: Virginia, 0.1; West Virginia, 1.1; Florida, 1.5; Oklahoma, 0.8; Texas, 0.9; and Kentucky, no gap at all.

In these figures, one can see a large part of the explanation of why there is a continuing heavy migration of blacks from the South. Those Southern States—and especially those in the Deep South—in which the deep jobs deficits prevail are also the States showing the larger net outflows of black population.

TRENDS IN THE LEVEL OF INCOME

The improvement in black employment has also been reflected in both their absolute and relative income positions. For example, in 1969, Negroes in the United States had a median family income of \$5,988, according to figures published by the Bureau of the Census. The median was \$9,793 for whites and \$9,433 for all families in the country. Thus in 1969, the black-white median income ratio was 61.0 per cent, and the black-total ratio was 63.5 per cent. In 1959, the median income of Negro families was \$3,721 (expressed in 1969 prices); the median was \$7,360 for whites and \$7,058 for all families. In 1959, the median income of blacks was 50.5 per cent of the median for whites and 52.5 per cent of that for all families. So, over the decade, Negroes registered significant improvement in their relative income position in the Nation at large. However, the absolute gap between black and white incomes widened further. In 1959, the median for black families was \$3,639 below that for white families and \$2,337 below the median for all families in the country. By 1969, the margin of white over black income had risen to \$3,795, and the margin for all families had climbed to \$3,435.

Over the last decade, income trends for blacks differed significantly among the principal regions of the country. In the North and West, blacks' relative position improved somewhat—but to a lesser extent than it did in the South. In 1959, in the North and West, the black-white median income ratio was 71.0 per cent, and the black-total ratio was 72.1 per cent. By 1969, the black vs. white ratio had risen moderately to 72.7 per cent and the black vs. total to 74.1 per cent. In the South, the proportions were: black-white, 45.5 per cent in 1959 and 56.8 per cent in 1969; black-total, 51.1 per cent in 1959 and 61.5 per cent in 1969.

Historically, the widest absolute gaps between the incomes of blacks and whites have been found in the South, and the differences were strengthened further during the last decade. For instance, in 1959, the typical white family in the South had \$3,414 more in money income than the typical black family. In the North and West, the edge favoring whites was \$2,245. By 1969, the margin had climbed to \$3,776 for whites in the South and to \$2,790 for whites in the North and West. Within each region, the trend in the income gap between blacks and whites varied somewhat, depending on the place of residence. Among families living in central cities

of metropolitan areas in the South, the spread declined over the decade—from \$3,422 in 1959 to \$3,317 in 1969. For similarly situated families in the North and West, the spread rose during the same period—from \$2,555 to \$2,664. In both regions, the difference in income between black and white families living in the suburban rings of metropolitan areas became even greater: in the South the spread increased from \$4,226 in 1959 to \$4,338 in 1969; in the North and West, the increase was from \$2,771 to \$2,987. Again, in both regions the trends in relative incomes of blacks and whites reflected the accelerated movement of whites from central cities to the suburbs.

Today—as for many years—the families with the lowest incomes are still found in the South, among both blacks and whites. For both races in the South (as in the rest of the Nation) the poor were found outside of metropolitan areas. In 1969, median family income for blacks in small Southern towns and rural areas was \$3,699, and for whites it was \$7,487. The highest incomes among blacks in the South (\$6,256) were received by those in suburban rings of metropolitan areas—which was also true of whites (\$10,594). So, within the black community, the ratio of the lowest to the highest incomes was 59 per cent; among whites it was 71 per cent.

TRENDS IN REGIONAL INCOME DISTRIBUTION

During the last decade, the South made noticeable gains in its share of the Nation's total money income. This was an outcome one would expect—given the faster pace of economic growth in the region compared with the rest of the country. Simultaneously, an outcome that was not equally expected is the degree to which Negroes in the South shared in the overall redistribution of income. The extent of the regional shift in income shares and the division between blacks and whites can be traced in Tables 3, 4, and 5. Respectively, these tables show total money income in 1959 and 1969, total population in 1960 and 1970, and the percentage distribution of income and population—all by region, race, and metropolitan or nonmetropolitan residence. In broad terms, of the \$605 billion of total money income in 1969, residents of the South received \$161 billion, and \$444 billion were received by residents of the North and West. In the Nation as a whole, Negroes got \$38.7 billion, whites received \$561 billion, and the remainder accrued to other races. Other details describing trends in the distribution of income are shown in the tables.

However, the essence of the story is told by comparisons of population and income distributions among regions and between blacks and whites. The results are shown in Table 5. These data indicate clearly the sizable shift in the distribution of income that occurred over the last decade. For example, the South had about the same proportion of the Nation's total population (30.5 per cent) in both 1960 and 1970. Yet, its share of total money income rose from 24.4 per cent in 1959 to 26.6 per cent in 1969; a gain of 2.2 percentage points. The North and West with the residual population (69.5 per cent) experienced a shrinkage in its income share from 75.6 per cent to 73.4 per cent, a loss of 2.2 percentage points. While these may appear to be relatively small statistical changes, they represent a shift of over \$13 billion of total money income to the South. This shift was equal to about 8 per cent of the region's total income in 1969.

The other noticeable shift in income distribution was the rise in the share of total money income received by Negroes. They received 5.1 per cent of the total in 1959 and 6.4 per cent in 1969, a gain of 1.3 percentage points. This percentage change was equivalent to \$5 billion—equal to 13 per cent of Negroes' total money income in 1969.

Within the black community, however, the bulk of the relative gain (three-fifths) ac-

crued to Negroes in the North and West, and only two-fifths accrued to blacks in the South. At the beginning of the decade, three-fifths of the black population were in the South, and two-fifths were in the North and West. However, the division of income between blacks in the North and West and those in the South was 57 per cent and 43 per cent, respectively, in 1959. The same proportionate division in income prevailed in 1969. On the other hand, high net migration rates had changed drastically the distribution of the black population between the two regions—reducing the fraction in the South from 61 per cent in 1960 to 53 per cent in 1970. Thus, a sizable improvement occurred in per capita as well as in total income of blacks in the South. For them, the change meant that their share of the Nation's total money income rose from 2.21 per cent in 1959 to 2.74 per cent in 1969. This represented a shift of about \$3.2 billion in their favor over the course of the decade.

In summary, these figures indicate that, during the 1960's, the Nation saw a significant redistribution of income with respect to both regions and racial groups. The North and West lost to the South 2.2 percentage points in relative income shares. Within the South, that gain was split roughly 25-75 per cent between blacks and whites. At the same time, however, blacks in the North and West also improved their relative position—raising their share of the Nation's total money income from 2.87 per cent in 1959 to 3.66 per cent in 1969. Thus, there seems to have been a redistribution of relative shares from whites located in the North and West to Negroes of that region and to both whites and blacks living in the South.

Having noted these improvements, however, we should also note that blacks as a group are still lagging considerably behind whites in the Nation at large in terms of their overall share of income. In 1969, Negroes constituted 11.3 per cent of the total population, but they received only 6.4 per cent of total money income. In 1959, the population and income proportions were 10.3 per cent and 5.1 per cent, respectively. So, while a moderate narrowing of the gap occurred over the decade, the absolute shortfall suffered by blacks remains large—and poses one of the strongest challenges still facing the United States.

NET MIGRATION FROM THE SOUTH

As I indicated at the outset, the continued heavy net migration of Negroes from the South is one of the most striking characteristics of the contemporary economic scene in the United States. Between 1960 and 1970, the net outflow of blacks from the region amounted to about 1,380,000. (See Table 6.) Over the same period, net migration added 1,807,000 to the area's white population.

The large out-migration of blacks during the decade as shown in the 1970 Census of Population came as a surprise. In fact, the Census Bureau had been projecting a sharply reduced annual rate of outflow during the decade. The Bureau's estimate had put the annual rate at approximately 80,000, or substantially below the annual net outflow of 147,000 in the 1950-60 period and 160,000 in the 1940-50 years. As it developed, the annual rate of net migration of blacks from the South was about 138,000 between 1960 and 1970—not appreciably different from the rate recorded in the previous two decades.

Actually, the reported figures on net migration of blacks from the South as a whole fail to show the great diversity of experience among different States. The situation in individual States is described by the statistics in Table 6, showing net migration in each of the last three decades. The general picture which emerges is easily understood: in a number of Southern States, the expected slowdown in the rate of net migration of Negroes did occur in the 1960's. In fact, the moderating trend was already evident in the 1950's. Nearly all of these were Border States.

In contrast, there was virtually no slackening in the rate of outflow of blacks from the Deep South. Seven of these States (North Carolina, South Carolina, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, Arkansas and, West Virginia) lost more than 15 per cent of their 1960 population through net migration during the decade of the 1960's. In five of these, the loss was nearly equal to one-quarter of their 1960 Negro population. The rate of loss was much smaller in Tennessee, Virginia, Florida, Oklahoma, and Texas. Kentucky had a small net gain through migration of blacks, and Texas almost broke even.

While the Southern States continued to lose a sizable share of their black population in the last decade, about a half dozen Northern and Western States (New York, New Jersey, Maryland, Michigan, Illinois, and California) were adding substantially to their Negro population through the net inflow of migrants. All of these (except Maryland) gained more than 100,000 new citizens on this basis. These inflows represented expansions in their respective 1960 black population of nearly one-third in California, about one-quarter in New York and New Jersey, and one-sixth in Maryland and Michigan.

In contrast, while blacks were moving into these six States in great numbers, whites were leaving them (except for Maryland and California) in even larger numbers. In percentage terms, the net out-migration of whites was fairly small, but the pattern was comprehensive and unmistakable.

PUBLIC WELFARE AND MIGRATION

The reasons why blacks leave the South in such large numbers seems fairly obvious to most students who have studied the question: they move in search of better employment opportunities and higher incomes. These are the same factors that induce whites to migrate—and which induce blacks to move from one area to another within the North and West.

However, some observers have suggested that many blacks move from the South into large cities of the North and West in order to obtain more generous welfare benefits. In view of the lack of evidence supporting this notion, one might have thought that it would have ceased to be current. In fact, several studies (including a comprehensive one recently published by the Urban Institute) have produced findings which cast doubt on the validity of the argument. Yet, the idea continues to flourish. The matter is of more than passing academic interest. It has been urged by a number of influential spokesmen that public welfare policies be refashioned to reduce the incentive that may be provided low income groups (meaning mainly blacks) to move into large urban areas.

As I was preparing these remarks, I thought another effort should be made to determine whether a connection can be established between the pattern of black migration and the availability of welfare benefits. The task was undertaken in two parts. The first involved an informal telephone survey of the 30 leading cities with the largest Negro population. The second involved a computer-based econometric analysis of the principal factors influencing net migration rates.

In the informal telephone inquiry (in which officials in 26 cities were finally reached¹) information was requested on the total number of persons receiving public assistance and the approximate percentage which Negroes represented of the total in mid-1971. The same information was requested for five years earlier. In all 26 cities, figures were provided for the total number of persons on the welfare roles in mid-1971,

¹ For a variety of reasons (such as vacations and misplaced messages) successful contact was not made in four cities: Philadelphia, Pa.; Richmond, Va.; Jacksonville, Fla.; and Milwaukee, Wisc.

and in 17 cities a rough estimate for the proportion of blacks was also obtained. The reports for earlier years (mainly 1965-1966) were less complete, and very few figures were available showing blacks as a percentage of the total.

The statistical information obtained is shown in Table 7. For comparison purposes, the table also shows for each of the 26 cities the Negro population in 1970, the change during 1960-70, and the ratio of Negro to total population in 1970. Net migration during 1960-70 in each of the cities for Negroes and other races is also indicated.²

Several conclusions are suggested by these results: in each of the 17 cities reporting information, blacks do make up a substantial proportion of the total number of persons receiving welfare assistance. The smallest proportion (about one-fifth) was reported by Boston. In New York City and Buffalo, blacks represented about two-fifths. They were around one-half in Columbus, Ohio, Los Angeles, California, and in Houston and Dallas, Texas. In the remaining cities (except Washington, D.C.) the ratio was in the 70-90 per cent range. In the Nation's Capitol blacks made up virtually all of the welfare rolls.

Another striking feature of these data is the substantial variation by region and net migration experience. The cities in the South showed as much diversity as cities in the North and West. Cities which lost population by the net out-migration of blacks had proportionately as many blacks on the welfare rolls as did cities which gained population. These data suggest that, if there is a relationship between welfare benefits and black migration, it is far from obvious.

The same conclusion is suggested by the results produced by the computer-based econometric analysis of net migration mentioned above. The objective of the analysis was to identify and to measure quantitatively the main factors which affect interstate net migration rates of blacks and white people. It was assumed that the most important incentive for both races was provided by income differentials among States—that is, migrants would move to the location of the more favorable economic climate. In addition, an attempt was made to account for migration patterns which may be in response to factors that are not purely economic—such as racial discrimination (for blacks) or retirement conditions (for whites).

The statistical methods used are described in the appendix (attached) and need not be discussed here.³ The key statistical tests performed related net migration rates to state differences in per capita personal income, welfare benefits, and expenditures on elementary and secondary education. An effort also was made to capture the effects of an observed tendency for Negroes to leave the South at above-average rates and for whites to move at above-average rates into a few states (Florida, Arizona, and Nevada) offering strong retirement and recreational incentives. The analysis was carried out with the assistance of several members of the Board's staff.

In general, I wanted to know the answer to the following question: By how much should one expect net migration rates to vary in response to differences in per capita personal income among states. The answer can be

² Figures were not available for Negroes separately. In the country as a whole, Negroes constitute 92 per cent of this group. However, in particular cities (especially on the West Coast where many Orientals live) the Negro percentage would be smaller.

³ For those with a technical interest in the subject, the estimating technique used in this study was multiple regression analysis. Tests of the models were performed using data for the continental United States and the District of Columbia for the Census decades 1950-1960 and 1960-1970. These data appear in Appendix Table 1. The regression statistics are shown in Appendix Table 2.

stated in terms of changes in the ratio of per capita income in a given state to average per capita income in the nation as a whole. The tests based on 1950-60 migration data suggested that a 1.0 percentage point change in the income ratio might induce a parallel change of 0.76 per cent in the net migration rate for blacks and of 0.31 per cent in the rate for whites. The tests based on 1969-70 data yielded roughly the same estimate (0.70 per cent) for blacks, but the second estimate for whites was much smaller (0.08 per cent).⁴ In other words, a relative improvement in a state's income position would induce both blacks and whites to migrate into its territory—but the response of blacks would be much stronger than that of whites.

To estimate the effects of welfare payments on the direction of migration, payment per recipient under the Aid to Families with Dependent Children program was added to the basic test. The results suggest that black migrants, in fact, may respond positively to state differences in welfare programs, whereas whites may not. A 1.0 percentage point change in welfare payments per recipient may be associated with a 0.17 per cent change in the net migration rate for blacks and with a -0.11 per cent change in the rate for whites.

In interpreting these results, extra caution is required. Welfare benefits may be positively related to per capita income, since States with high incomes also typically have high welfare benefits. Moreover, it will be noted even for blacks the estimated influence of income substantially outweighs the influence of welfare (about 0.70 per cent vs. 0.17 per cent). So, given the necessary limitations of data and the statistical estimating techniques, I assign much more importance to income as a factor affecting net migration rates among blacks than I assign to welfare payments.

A second variation in the basic test was made to estimate the effects of State differences in educational opportunities on net migration rates. For this purpose, educational expenditures per pupil in elementary and secondary schools were used instead of welfare payments. Again, it appears that black migrants might respond positively to State differences in educational outlays, but whites may not. A 1.0 percentage point change in educational outlays per pupil may be associated with a 0.19 per cent change in the net migration rate for blacks and with a -0.15 per cent change in the rate for whites. However, in this case also, I must repeat the cautionary comment made above. High education expenditures and high incomes are generally found in the same States, and the statistical tests may be attributing effects to education which are actually due to differences in income.

In summary, these several statistical tests indicate that most people (both black and white) seem to move more in response to economic conditions than to differences in either welfare benefits or educational advantages. In fact, the statistical measures suggest that there is steady pressure for people to move out of any given state unless it is counter-balanced by a strong growth in income.

GROSS MIGRATION AND INCOME GAINS

As I indicated at the outset, it is necessary to look beyond the net migration figures if one is to get a clear understanding of the direction and cause of movements. The Census' Bureau's statistics on net migration are the most readily available, so they are the ones relied on by most analysts.

Fortunately, however, there is another set of statistics which a few other investigators have used to examine migration patterns. These figures are contained in the one per

cent sample of Social Security records, and I have been able to draw on them for the present study. In the first quarter of 1970, the sample contained records on approximately 800,000 individual workers, of whom more than 80,000 were Negroes. The Social Security records yielded a rich harvest of information, including data on race, sex, age, income, and region of employment. I was also able to obtain data from the sample for the first quarter of 1965. Since workers keep the same Social Security numbers throughout their lives, information from the sample can be used to answer a variety of questions relating to migration.

I have summarized in Tables 8, 9, and 10 gross and net migration rates for men by region, age, and race for the period 1965-1970. Several aspects of black-white migration patterns, which were hidden by the Census Bureau figures on net migration, stand out most dramatically. In the first place, it is clear from Table 8 that the tendency for blacks to leave the South is not greatly different from the propensity of whites to migrate. For example, among men age 25-44, the gross out-migration rate was 15.9 per cent for blacks and 12.8 per cent for whites. On the other hand, the gross in-migration rate for blacks was far below that for whites (6.1 per cent vs. 14.1 per cent). The result was a net outflow of black men (-9.8 per cent), compared with a small net gain (1.3 per cent) for white men. On the other hand, the pattern of migration did vary considerably with age. In both races, men 45 and over had much lower migration rates (gross and net) than was the case in the younger age group.

Thus, it is the South's failure to attract black people from other regions—rather than an exceptional tendency for its black citizens to leave—that accounts for the high net outflow reported in the Census statistics. As one would expect, when blacks do leave the South, they are likely to move to the same Northern and Western states that already have large Negro populations. This expectation is strongly supported by the data in Table 9, showing origin and destination of men who migrated in the 1965-70 period. For present purposes, however, the most valuable information from the Social Security sample relates to migration and income, presented in Table 10. In all eight regions, the incomes of black migrants were below those of black workers who did not move. The same was true of white migrants in four of the regions, but not including the Southeast where migrants' incomes were one per cent above the incomes of those who remained at home.

In all race and age categories, wages of migrants from the South increased more over the five-year period than did incomes of non-migrants. This was especially noticeable in the 25-44 age bracket, where black male migrants averaged wages 18.5 per cent below non-migrants in 1965 and 14.5 per cent above in 1970. This represented an improvement relative to non-migrants of 33 percentage points—the largest gain recorded for any group. White male migrants from the South increased their relative income from one per cent above the incomes of non-migrants to 14 per cent above—a relative increase of 13 percentage points.

In summary, the foregoing analysis strongly suggests that Negroes are not leaving the South in abnormally high numbers. About as great a proportion of whites as of blacks leave the region. The difference in net migration is caused by the fact that blacks do not migrate into the South at the same pace.

CONCLUDING OBSERVATIONS

In conclusion, the analysis presented here has convinced me that, as economic growth in the South continues, blacks will have a chance to share more fully in the benefits

⁴ In technical terms, the 1960-70 estimate for whites is not statistically significant, and may be underestimated.

of economic development. However, to realize this potential, there must be an accelerated effort—on the part of whites as well as on the part of blacks—to bring about genuine equality of opportunity.

In response to such an improved environ-

ment, more Negroes (especially young people) would probably remain in the South. While some observers would encourage them to stay in order to lessen further pressures in urban areas of the North and West, I would do so for another reason: Since the

South is making the investment in its youth—both black and white (and although it remains inadequate compared with the national average)—the South itself should get a larger share of the benefits from the development of its human resources.

TABLE 1.—CIVILIAN INCOME FROM PARTICIPATION IN CURRENT PRODUCTION, BY INDUSTRY, AND REGION, 1960 AND 1970
[In billions of dollars]

Industry	United States				Southeast				All other regions			
	1960	1970	Change		1960	1970	Change		1960	1970	Change	
			Amount	Annual average growth rate			Amount	Annual average growth rate			Amount	Annual average growth rate
Total	319.3	617.4	298.1	6.8	49.3	106.8	57.5	8.1	270.0	510.6	240.6	6.6
Farms	14.9	19.1	4.2	2.5	3.7	5.0	1.3	3.1	11.2	14.1	2.9	2.3
Mining	4.3	6.6	2.3	4.4	1.1	1.9	.8	5.6	3.2	4.7	1.5	3.9
Contract construction	21.0	38.6	17.6	6.3	3.4	7.2	3.8	7.8	17.6	31.4	13.8	5.9
Manufacturing	94.6	176.1	81.5	6.4	11.9	28.1	16.2	9.0	52.7	148.0	65.3	6.0
Wholesale and retail trade	62.4	105.5	43.1	5.4	9.7	18.3	8.6	6.6	52.7	87.2	34.5	5.1
Finance, insurance, and real estate	16.2	33.2	17.0	7.4	2.4	5.2	2.8	8.1	13.8	28.0	14.2	7.3
Transportation, communication, and public utilities	24.8	44.9	20.1	6.1	3.8	7.8	4.0	7.4	21.0	37.1	16.1	5.9
Services	41.7	96.3	54.6	8.7	6.1	15.3	9.2	9.7	35.6	81.0	45.4	8.6
Government	38.2	95.2	57.0	9.6	6.8	17.8	11.0	10.1	31.4	77.4	46.0	9.4
Other	1.0	1.9	.9	6.6	.2	.4	.2	7.2	.8	1.5	.7	6.5

Source: Survey of Current Business, vol. 41, No. 8, August 1961, table 70, p. 19, and vol. No. 51, No. 8, August 1971, table 70, p. 37.

TABLE 2.—NEGRO EMPLOYMENT AS A PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL EMPLOYMENT IN PRINCIPAL OCCUPATIONS IN SELECTED STATES, 1966 AND 1970

State	Negro as percent of total population		Total employment		White collar		Officials and managers		Professional		Technical		Sales workers		Office and clerical		Blue collar		Craftsmen		Operatives		Laborers		Service workers	
	1970	1966	1970	1966	1970	1966	1970	1966	1970	1966	1970	1966	1970	1966	1970	1966	1970	1966	1970	1966	1970	1966	1970	1966	1970	
	United States	11.2	8.2	10.3	2.5	4.8	.9	1.9	1.3	2.5	4.1	6.2	2.4	4.4	3.5	7.4	10.7	13.2	3.6	5.6	10.8	14.2	21.1	21.9	23.0	26.6
New England:																										
Massachusetts	3.1	2.9	3.7	1.3	2.3	.4	1.0	.7	1.4	2.0	3.1	.7	1.8	1.8	3.6	3.5	4.3	1.7	2.3	3.7	4.7	6.1	6.2	3.6	10.0	
Connecticut	6.0	5.3	7.3	1.8	3.4	.6	1.1	.7	1.4	2.6	4.1	1.7	2.5	2.8	5.7	7.2	10.0	2.7	4.5	8.1	12.5	13.4	13.7	13.9	18.8	
Mideast:																										
New York	11.9	7.6	10.7	4.4	8.2	1.3	2.7	2.0	3.9	5.9	8.4	2.8	5.0	6.6	13.3	9.2	11.7	3.9	6.0	9.5	12.4	17.4	19.2	21.7	26.6	
New Jersey	10.9	9.8	11.3	3.1	5.1	1.3	2.2	2.1	2.7	5.2	7.3	2.7	4.1	4.0	7.7	14.3	16.1	5.4	7.2	15.3	17.9	23.7	22.9	23.6	27.5	
Pennsylvania	8.7	6.2	7.5	2.5	4.4	.8	1.6	1.2	2.1	4.1	6.6	2.7	4.0	3.2	6.7	7.1	8.0	3.6	4.6	7.0	7.9	13.0	13.7	20.1	23.8	
Delaware	14.2	11.0	12.9	1.7	3.5	.7	1.7	.5	1.6	2.6	4.0	3.1	4.6	2.2	5.4	18.6	21.9	4.5	5.7	17.0	19.3	43.0	45.0	27.1	31.9	
Maryland	17.9	16.0	18.6	3.7	7.3	1.6	3.7	1.6	3.2	6.0	9.9	4.6	8.1	4.6	10.2	22.0	26.5	6.4	11.5	21.6	26.5	47.2	49.3	43.8	46.7	
District of Columbia	71.0	24.4	33.1	10.3	20.6	4.2	9.0	6.2	10.3	17.5	26.8	9.3	25.1	13.7	28.8	33.6	43.5	10.9	17.6	42.7	55.1	68.1	73.9	65.1	72.6	
North Central:																										
Michigan	11.2	10.6	13.7	3.1	6.6	1.0	2.7	1.3	3.5	3.9	7.2	3.7	5.9	4.5	10.8	14.2	17.2	3.3	5.0	17.9	21.1	16.5	21.9	22.7	28.5	
Ohio	9.1	7.1	9.0	2.2	4.2	.8	1.7	1.0	2.2	4.6	6.3	2.4	4.0	2.7	6.1	8.4	10.4	3.0	4.5	9.4	11.7	13.7	15.9	25.1	28.2	
Indiana	6.9	6.1	7.9	1.6	3.3	.5	1.5	1.0	1.5	3.2	6.3	1.8	3.4	1.9	4.3	7.6	9.3	3.1	4.2	8.2	10.4	11.1	12.6	17.7	23.2	
Illinois	12.8	11.0	13.0	3.9	6.8	1.2	2.5	1.7	2.8	4.1	7.6	2.9	6.4	6.2	10.6	15.1	17.3	5.4	7.8	15.8	18.8	24.9	25.7	25.7	26.5	
Wisconsin	2.9	3.2	3.8	.8	1.5	.3	.7	.3	1.2	1.0	1.9	.9	1.4	1.0	2.2	4.3	5.0	1.5	2.0	5.2	6.2	5.4	5.6	7.0	8.0	
Missouri	10.3	8.2	11.0	2.5	5.7	.8	1.8	1.6	6.0	6.6	9.4	2.6	5.0	2.8	6.9	9.3	12.2	3.1	5.5	9.6	12.4	18.8	22.2	31.4	37.3	
Southeast:																										
Virginia	18.6	16.0	18.5	2.9	5.6	1.6	2.8	1.2	3.7	6.0	8.6	3.5	6.3	3.0	7.0	20.8	24.8	7.2	11.4	16.4	23.3	48.7	46.2	43.2	47.7	
West Virginia	4.3	3.1	3.2	.8	1.5	.2	.4	1.4	1.0	0.8	2.2	1.2	1.8	.9	2.2	3.1	3.2	1.4	2.0	3.4	3.5	5.1	4.5	15.7	14.0	
Kentucky	7.5	6.9	7.5	1.6	3.2	.7	1.2	.9	2.3	4.2	5.5	1.7	3.4	1.7	4.1	7.5	8.2	2.8	3.3	5.8	8.7	16.1	12.7	25.5	26.2	
Tennessee	16.1	10.5	12.8	2.0	4.2	.8	1.8	1.7	1.8	5.9	8.2	2.0	4.1	1.9	5.4	12.0	15.5	3.8	6.2	10.4	15.1	26.1	28.8	37.1	39.8	
North Carolina	22.4	12.6	16.5	2.3	5.0	.8	1.8	1.8	4.1	6.7	6.9	2.6	6.2	2.2	6.4	14.5	19.7	4.7	8.5	10.5	18.2	42.0	41.1	45.8	50.1	
South Carolina	30.4	14.4	20.8	1.8	4.1	0.6	1.4	1.4	1.7	4.3	7.9	2.9	7.3	1.7	4.6	17.2	25.3	5.9	10.7	13.3	24.6	47.0	59.2	38.7	54.5	
Georgia	25.9	15.9	20.6	2.9	6.6	1.0	2.4	2.8	4.8	2.3	9.0	4.5	7.3	3.1	8.8	20.5	26.7	5.8	10.0	16.8	25.8	46.1	50.4	43.8	54.0	
Florida	15.5	13.3	14.0	1.7	3.9	1.1	2.0	0.7	1.7	4.1	4.8	1.8	4.3	1.6	5.3	22.9	23.2	4.6	6.6	19.5	23.3	49.3	44.0	24.3	31.9	
Alabama	26.4	16.5	19.0	3.0	5.2	2.1	2.1	1.7	3.4	8.7	12.9	4.1	6.3	2.0	5.6	20.0	23.6	6.1	9.8	17.1	22.3	49.2	48.5	49.5	52.5	
Mississippi	36.8	17.9	23.9	1.6	4.9	1.0	2.6	1.8	6.6	2.6	7.2	2.2	5.6	1.5	4.7	22.3	30.1	6.3	12.5	18.5	28.6	52.8	54.8	47.4	57.9	
Louisiana	30.1	18.2	21.2	2.4	6.1	1.0	2.6	1.1	3.3	4.9	6.8	3.2	9.2	2.7	7.6	26.2	28.4	7.0	10.3	24.8	32.3	59.6	55.7	50.1	60.2	
Arkansas	18.6	10.9	13.4	1.1	3.1	0.4	1.0	0.4	1.8	5.0	6.8	1.6	4.3	0.9	3.4	13.2	15.8	4.0	5.7	11.8	16.8	21.8	22.5	30.9	35.9	
Southwest:																										
Oklahoma	7.0	3.6	6.2	0.9	2.4	0.3	0.7	0.5	1.1	2.2	5.1	1.0	1.6	0.9	3.4	4.3	6.9	1.4	2.7	4.2	7.3	10.9	14.6	19.5	26.4	
Texas	12.7	9.3	11.8	1.7	3.9	0.7	1.4	1.2	1.7	4.5	6.6	1.4	4.5	1.7	5.3	13.1	16.6	2.9	6.7	13.0	18.5	30.7	30.1	30.4	37.2	
Far West: California	7.0	5.5	6.8	2.4	4.1	0.7	1.6	1.1	1.9	3.7	5.5	2.3	3.9	3.5	6.2	7.5	8.7	3.2	4.7	8.7	10.3	12.8	12.3	16.3	17.9	

Source: U.S. Equal Employment Opportunity Commission.

TABLE 3.—TOTAL MONEY INCOME IN 1969 AND 1959, BY REGION, RACE, AND METROPOLITAN-NONMETROPOLITAN RESIDENCE—1970 AND 1960
[In millions of 1969 dollars]

Region and race	1969 metropolitan				Nonmetro- politan	1959 metropolitan				Nonmetro- politan
	Total	Total	Inside central cities	Outside central cities		Total	Total	Inside central cities	Outside central cities	
United States:										
Negroes	38,680	31,420	24,950	6,469	7,265	20,740	16,670	13,860	2,810	4,070
Whites	560,800	394,800	155,600	239,100	166,000	386,900	275,100	133,000	142,050	111,800
All races	604,900	430,800	183,100	247,700	174,100	410,500	293,900	148,400	145,500	116,350
South:										
Negroes	16,570	10,645	7,760	2,881	5,936	9,080	5,439	4,326	1,116	3,543
Whites	143,700	85,800	36,700	49,000	57,900	90,700	53,900	29,470	24,380	36,880
All races	160,800	96,700	44,600	52,100	64,100	99,932	59,400	33,800	25,900	40,500
North and West:										
Negroes	22,110	20,780	17,090							

TABLE 4.—DISTRIBUTION OF THE U.S. POPULATION, BY REGION, RACE, AND METROPOLITAN-NONMETROPOLITAN RESIDENCE, 1970 AND 1960

[in thousands]

Region and race population	1970 metropolitan					1960 metropolitan				
	Total	Total	Inside central cities	Outside central cities	Nonmetropolitan	Total	Total	Inside central cities	Outside central cities	Nonmetropolitan
United States:										
Negroes	22,807	16,122	12,587	3,536	6,685	18,391	11,910	9,480	2,430	6,481
Whites	177,429	113,638	45,088	68,550	63,802	158,698	99,431	47,638	51,793	59,267
All races	202,534	131,519	58,635	72,883	71,015	178,677	112,367	57,785	54,582	66,310
South:										
Negroes	12,243	6,301	4,505	1,797	5,942	11,135	5,072	3,738	1,334	6,063
Whites	49,385	25,438	10,780	14,658	23,947	43,202	21,029	11,155	9,874	22,173
All races	61,884	31,855	15,328	16,527	30,300	54,541	26,173	14,915	11,258	28,368
North and West:										
Negroes	10,564	9,821	8,032	1,739	743	7,256	6,838	5,732	1,096	418
Whites	128,044	88,190	34,308	53,881	39,855	115,496	78,402	36,483	41,919	37,094
All races	140,650	99,664	43,307	56,356	40,985	124,136	86,194	42,870	43,324	37,942

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, "Social and Economic Characteristics of the Population in Metropolitan and Nonmetropolitan Areas: 1970 and 1960", Current Population Reports, series P-23, No. 37, June 24, 1971, table 2, p. 19.

TABLE 5.—PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF POPULATION, 1970 AND 1960, AND TOTAL MONEY INCOME, 1969 AND 1959, BY REGION, RACE, AND METROPOLITAN-NONMETROPOLITAN RESIDENCE

Region and race	1970 metropolitan					1960 metropolitan				
	Total	Total	Inside central cities	Outside central cities	Nonmetropolitan	Total	Total	Inside central cities	Outside central cities	Nonmetropolitan
United States:										
Negroes:										
Population	11.26	12.26	21.47	4.85	9.41	10.29	10.60	16.41	4.45	9.77
Money income	6.39	7.29	13.63	2.61	4.17	5.05	5.67	9.34	1.93	3.50
Whites:										
Population	87.60	86.40	76.90	94.04	89.84	88.82	88.49	82.44	94.89	89.38
Money income	92.70	91.64	84.98	96.53	95.34	94.25	93.60	89.62	97.63	96.09
All races:										
Population	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00
Money income	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00
South:										
Negroes:										
Population	6.04	4.79	7.68	2.47	8.37	6.23	4.51	6.47	2.44	9.14
Money income	2.74	2.48	4.24	1.16	3.41	2.21	1.85	2.91	.77	3.04
Whites:										
Population	24.38	19.34	18.38	20.11	33.72	24.18	18.71	19.30	18.09	33.44
Money income	23.76	19.92	20.04	19.78	33.26	22.10	18.34	19.86	16.76	31.69
All races:										
Population	30.56	24.22	26.14	22.68	42.29	30.52	23.29	25.81	20.63	42.78
Money income	26.58	22.46	24.36	21.03	36.82	24.34	20.21	22.77	17.80	4.80
North and West:										
Negroes:										
Population	5.22	7.47	13.78	2.39	1.05	4.06	6.09	9.94	2.01	.63
Money income	3.66	4.82	9.34	1.45	.78	2.87	3.82	6.43	1.16	.46
Whites:										
Population	63.22	67.06	58.51	73.93	56.12	64.64	69.77	63.14	76.80	55.94
Money income	68.96	71.73	64.94	76.79	62.09	72.16	75.26	69.75	80.89	64.38
All races:										
Population	69.44	75.78	73.86	77.32	57.71	69.48	76.71	74.19	79.37	57.22
Money income	73.42	77.55	75.59	78.97	63.18	75.64	79.79	77.22	82.41	65.24

Source: Tables 3 and 4.

TABLE 6.—ESTIMATED NET MIGRATION OF THE NEGRO AND WHITE POPULATION OF MAJOR REGIONS AND SELECTED STATES, 1960 TO 1970, 1950 TO 1960, AND 1940 TO 1950

[Numbers in thousands]

Region and State	1960 to 1970		Negro population, 1950 to 1960		1940 to 1950		1960 to 1980		White population, 1950 to 1960		1940 to 1950	
	Number	Percent ¹	Number	Percent ¹	Number	Percent ¹	Number	Percent ¹	Number	Percent ¹	Number	Percent
United States	-85	-0.5	-131	-0.9	-180	-1.4	2,284	1.4	2,668	2.0	1,522	1.3
Northeast ²	612	20.2	496	24.6	463	33.8	-520	-1.3	-211	-.6	-173	-.5
New England	72	29.5	60	42.1	29	28.7	205	2.0	-52	-.6	68	.8
Middle Atlantic	540	19.4	436	23.2	434	34.2	-724	-2.3	-159	-.6	-242	-.9
North Central ²	382	11.1	541	24.3	618	43.5	-1,272	-2.6	-690	-1.6	-948	-2.5
East North Central	356	12.3	504	27.9	573	53.6	-617	-1.9	173	.6	75	.3
West North Central	26	4.6	37	8.8	45	12.7	-655	-4.4	-863	-6.4	-1,023	-7.8
South	-1,380	-12.2	-1,473	-14.4	-1,599	-16.1	1,806	4.2	57	.2	-538	-1.7
South Atlantic	-538	-9.2	-556	-10.9	-545	-11.6	1,807	9.0	1,189	7.4	604	4.6
East South Central	-560	-20.8	-622	-23.0	-596	-21.4	-153	-1.6	-346	-9.6	-694	-8.7
West South Central	-282	-10.2	-296	-12.2	-459	-18.9	152	1.1	-286	-2.4	-448	-4.2
West ²	301	27.7	305	53.5	339	198.3	2,269	8.8	3,512	18.7	3,181	23.8
Mountain	16	12.6	27	40.6	21	58.5	295	4.5	547	11.3	155	3.9
Pacific	286	29.7	278	55.2	317	236.2	1,974	10.2	2,965	21.3	3,026	32.3
New England:												
Massachusetts	33	29.5	20	26.9	12	22.4	23	.5	-122	-2.6	8	.2
Connecticut	38	35.4	37	69.2	15	45.8	166	6.8	195	10.0	98	5.8

TABLE 6.—ESTIMATED NET MIGRATION OF THE NEGRO AND WHITE POPULATION OF MAJOR REGIONS AND SELECTED STATES, 1960 TO 1970, 1950 TO 1960, AND 1940 TO 1950—Continued

[Numbers in thousands]

Region and State	1960 to 1970		Negro population, 1950 to 1960		1940 to 1950		1960 to 1980		White population, 1950 to 1960		1940 to 1950	
	Number	Percent ¹	Number	Percent ¹	Number	Percent ¹	Number	Percent ¹	Number	Percent ¹	Number	Percent ¹
Mideast:												
New York	396	27.9	255	27.7	266	46.6	-638	-4.2	-72	-5	-6	(²)
New Jersey	120	23.3	107	33.5	61	26.8	-336	6.1	466	10.3	231	5.9
Pennsylvania	25	2.9	75	11.7	107	22.8	-423	-4.0	-552	-5.6	-467	-4.9
Delaware	4	6.6	6	13.4	4	10.9	32	8.4	57	20.8	17	7.2
Maryland	79	15.2	31	8.1	37	12.4	290	11.3	284	14.6	231	15.2
District of Columbia	36	8.7	51	18.3	61	32.8	-137	-39.7	-213	-41.2	-14	-3.0
North Central:												
Michigan	124	17.3	122	27.5	186	89.4	-124	-1.7	28	.5	146	2.9
Ohio	45	5.8	129	25.2	131	38.7	-191	-2.1	274	3.7	110	1.7
Indiana	32	12.0	42	24.3	39	32.1	-58	-1.3	17	.4	57	1.7
Illinois	127	12.2	182	28.2	203	52.3	-215	-2.4	-64	-8	-142	-1.9
Wisconsin	27	36.1	29	101.5	14	112.6	-29	-8	-82	-2.4	-96	-3.1
Missouri	14	3.7	24	8.2	31	12.7	-25	-6	-161	-4.4	-222	-6.3
Southeast:												
Virginia	-79	-9.7	-74	-10.0	-29	-4.4	206	6.5	85	3.3	194	9.6
West Virginia	-20	-22.2	-41	-35.4	-17	-14.0	-247	-14.0	-406	-21.5	-219	-12.3
Kentucky	1	0.5	-16	-8.0	-18	-8.3	-158	-5.6	-375	-13.7	349	-13.3
Tennessee	-51	-8.7	-59	-11.0	-48	-9.4	1	(³)	-217	-7.9	-97	-4.0
North Carolina	-175	-15.7	-204	-19.4	-164	-16.7	81	2.4	-121	-4.0	-95	-3.7
South Carolina	-197	-23.8	-218	-26.5	-208	-25.5	44	2.8	-4	-3	-24	-2.2
Georgia	-154	-13.7	-205	-19.3	-243	-22.4	198	7.0	-8	-3	-49	-2.4
Florida	-32	-3.6	96	16.0	12	2.4	1,340	33.0	1,516	70.0	564	40.8
Alabama	-231	-23.6	-224	-22.9	-204	-20.8	-5	-2	-2	-7.0	-140	-7.6
Mississippi	-279	-30.4	-323	-32.7	-326	-30.3	10	.8	-110	-9.3	-108	-9.7
Louisiana	-163	-15.7	-93	-10.5	-147	-17.3	26	1.2	43	2.4	-2	-2
Arkansas	-112	-28.7	-150	-35.1	-158	-32.6	38	2.7	-283	-19.1	-259	-17.6
Southwest:												
Oklahoma	-3	-2.1	-21	-14.2	-47	-27.8	-4	-2	-193	-9.5	-361	-17.1
Texas	-4	-3	33	-3.3	-107	-11.6	92	1.1	147	2.2	173	3.2
Far West: California	272	30.7	255	55.2	289	232.4	1,528	10.6	2,788	28.1	2,373	36.0

¹ Base is population at beginning of period.² Regions and divisions as defined by U.S. Bureau of the Census.³ Less than 0.05 percent or 500.

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, "Preliminary Intercensal Estimates of States and Components of Population Change, 1960 to 1970," current population reports, series P-25, No. 460, June 7, 1971, table 7, p. 17.

TABLE 7.—NEGRO POPULATION TRENDS, NET MIGRATION, AND TRENDS IN WELFARE ASSISTANCE¹ IN SELECTED CITIES²

[Numbers in thousands]

Area and city	Population trends				Mid-1971				Trends in welfare assistance ¹ mid-1960's				Change: Mid-1960's to 1971								
	Negro population 1970		Change 1960-70		Net migration, 1960-70		Negro and other races		Negro and other races		Total persons		Negro and other races								
	Number	Percent of total	Number	Percent change	Number	Percent ³	Percent of State total	Number (estimate)	Percent of total	Year	Total persons	Number (estimate)	Percent of total	Total number	Average annual rate (estimate)	Number	Percent of total change	Average annual rate			
New England:																					
Boston, Mass.	105	16	42	66.7	5.3	26	39	76,963	28.5	17,009	422	1965	25,465		51,498	20.0					
Mideast:																					
New York, N.Y.	1,667	21	579	53.2	4.4	436	38	840,395	65.7	358,008	43	1960	193,689		646,706	14.3					
Buffalo, N.Y.	94	20	23	32.4	2.8	9	12	53,122	4.2	20,558	39	1965	13,181		21,941	9.3					
Newark, N.J.	207	54	69	50.0	4.1	32	23	95,000	21.4			1965	41,694		53,406	14.7					
Pittsburgh, Pa.	105	20	4	4.0	0.4	-6	-6	84,586	13.9			1965	51,396		33,190	8.7					
Baltimore, Md.	420	46	94	28.8	2.6	32	10	31,000	18.1			1965	21,225		54,646	12.3					
Washington, D.C.	538	71	126	30.6	2.7	38	9	75,871	100.0	73,974	98	1960									
Great Lakes:																					
Chicago, Ill.	1,103	33	290	35.7	3.1	113	14	440,877	79.3	348,293	79	1960	106,668	83,948	10	79	334,209	13.8	264,345	79	13.8
Detroit, Mich.	660	44	178	36.9	3.2	98	20	172,549	42.6	122,337	11	1965	68,387		104,162	16.7					
Cleveland, Ohio	288	38	37	14.7	1.4	-3	-1	120,483	32.3	97,591	81	1966	50,819		69,664	18.9					
Cincinnati, Ohio	125	28	16	14.7	1.4	-3	-2	42,008	11.3	28,145	67	1965	23,592		18,416	10.1					
Columbus, Ohio	100	19	23	24.9	2.7	9	12	45,752	12.3	25,164	55	1966	22,218		23,534	15.6					
Indianapolis:																					
Ind.	134	18	36	36.7	3.2	15	15	28,035	22.1			1965	7,768		20,267	24.0					
Gary, Ind.	93	53	24	34.8	3.1	10	14	33,147	26.1			1965	11,528		21,619	19.3					
Plains:																					
St. Louis, Mo.	254	41	40	18.7	1.7	-1		71,440	38.2	62,867	88	1965	36,446	29,521	81	34,994	11.9	33,346	95	13.4	
Kansas City, Mo.	112	22	29	34.9	3.0	13	16	31,798	17.0	25,749	81	1965	13,167	9,875	75	17,822	15.8	15,874	85	17.3	
Southeast:																					
New Orleans, La.	267	45	33	14.1	1.3	-11	-5	92,107	39.4	68,804	75	1965	43,764	29,760	68	48,343	13.2	39,044	81	15.0	
Atlanta, Ga.	255	51	69	37.1	3.2	33	18	56,441	20.4	41,377	73	1965	11,026	6,726	61	45,415	31.0	34,651	76	35.0	
Memphis, Tenn.	243	39	59	32.1	2.8	23	12	59,058	33.4	51,971	88	1965	16,415		42,643	24.0					
Birmingham, Ala.	126	42	-9	-6.7	-0.7	-23	-17	24,718	14.1												
Nashville-Davidson, Tenn.	88	20	12	15.8	1.5	2	3	15,710	8.9			1965	4,414		11,296	24.0					
Southwest:																					
Houston, Tex.	317	26	102	47.4	3.9	56	26	62,560	17.1	32,719	50	1965	7,114		55,446	44.0					
Dallas, Tex.	210	25	81	62.8	5.0	47	36	53,604	14.7	28,035	50	1965	8,210		45,394	37.0					
Far West:																					
Los Angeles, Calif.	504	18	169	50.5	4.2	120	29	652,619	39.8	311,299	22	1965	188,084		464,535	23.0					
Oakland, Calif.	125	35	41	48.8	4.1	29	30	88,545	5.4			1965	33,943		54,602	17.3					
San Francisco, Calif.	96	13	22	29.7	2.7	37	28	64,742	4.0			1965	26,837		37,905	15.8					

¹ Aid to families with dependent children.² The 30 cities with the largest Negro population in 1970, according to the Bureau of the Census, except for Philadelphia, Pa., Richmond, Va., Jacksonville, Fla., and Milwaukee, Wis., where welfare officials could not be contacted.³ Base is population at beginning of period.⁴ From sample taken September 1969. Ratio may have declined to 20 percent nonwhites to 80 percent whites, as whites are getting on welfare in increasing numbers.⁵ Based on actual distribution of welfare rolls as of June 1969. Puerto Ricans included in whites; whites 57.4 percent. In 1968, family aid case load was 13 percent white, 40 percent Puerto Rican and 47 percent nonwhite.⁶ Openings of cases. Distribution 61.3 percent white to 38.7 percent nonwhite. Thought to reflect current situation. Usually in past ratio was 50:50. New applications running 64 percent white to 36 percent nonwhite. Closings, 61.8 percent white to 38.2 percent nonwhites.⁷ Allegheny County; two-third population within the city.⁸ As of January 1970. Probably higher now.⁹ 1970 cases. Estimate is that whites are getting on faster now than nonwhites and ratio may be 78:22 or 77:23, nonwhites to whites.¹⁰ 1964 data. Families with fathers at home.¹¹ For all welfare programs. Distribution was 70.9 percent Negroes, 24 percent white, 0.1 percent American Indian, 0.4 percent Mexican-American, and 4.6 percent not classified.

¹³ Cuyahoga County.
¹⁴ Hamilton County.
¹⁵ Franklin County.
¹⁶ Marion County.
¹⁷ Lake County.
¹⁸ Jackson County.
¹⁹ Shelby County.
²⁰ Harris County.

²⁰ Statewide survey as of July 1, 1971: Race of Payee (by family). Distribution was Anglo

14.7 percent, Negro 52.3 percent, Latin 32.9 percent, American Indian 0.05 percent, other and unknown 0.05 percent. Increases in new recipients have slowed markedly in last few months of 1971. Officer in Austin could not give an explanation.

²¹ Dallas County.
²² December 1967, family groups and unemployed fathers programs. Distribution 30.44 percent white; 47.68 percent Negro; 20.37 percent Mexican-American; 0.52 percent American Indian; and 0.60 percent other.
²³ Los Angeles County.
²⁴ Alameda County.

Sources: Population and migration. "The Social and Economic Status of Negroes in the United States, 1970," special studies, BLS report No. 394, current population reports, series P-23, No. 38, U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, tables 11 and 12, pp. 17 and 18.
 Welfare estimates: Telephone survey of responsible welfare offices.

TABLE 8.—GROSS AND NET MIGRATION RATES FOR MEN, BY REGION, AGE AND RACE, 1965-70

[In percent]

Region	Age 25 to 44						Age 45 and over					
	Negro			White			Negro			White		
	Outmigration	Inmigration	Net migration	Outmigration	Inmigration	Net migration	Outmigration	Inmigration	Net migration	Outmigration	Inmigration	Net migration
New England.....	21.5	28.2	6.7	13.0	12.3	-0.7	8.9	12.6	3.7	6.9	7.5	0.6
Mideast.....	9.0	12.3	3.3	10.6	10.0	-0.6	4.2	5.3	1.1	5.8	5.7	-0.1
Great Lakes.....	8.2	19.1	10.9	11.5	11.4	-0.1	3.9	5.8	1.9	7.2	5.8	-1.4
Plains.....	21.3	22.0	-0.7	17.7	14.5	-3.2	7.4	11.1	3.7	10.0	8.4	-1.6
Southeast.....	15.9	6.1	-9.8	12.8	14.1	1.3	5.7	3.1	-2.6	7.6	10.4	2.8
Southwest.....	13.1	13.1	0	15.9	19.1	3.2	7.3	6.9	-0.4	9.5	11.8	2.3
Rocky Mountain.....	38.2	52.9	14.7	23.9	21.3	-2.6	12.5	28.1	15.6	14.6	10.5	-4.1
Far West.....	13.2	22.9	9.7	14.4	14.8	0.4	7.1	9.2	2.1	8.8	8.1	-0.7
Average.....	12.7			13.1			5.3			7.6		

Source: Social Security Administration, 1-percent sample survey.

TABLE 9.—ORIGIN AND DESTINATION OF MALE MIGRANTS, TO AND FROM THE SOUTHEAST, BY REGION, AGE AND RACE, 1965-70

[Percentage distribution]

Region	Age 25 to 44				Age 45 and over			
	Origin		Destination		Origin		Destination	
	Negro	White	Negro	White	Negro	White	Negro	White
New England.....	7.2	5.3	5.0	5.1	3.1	5.6	6.8	5.6
Mideast.....	48.5	28.0	38.6	28.3	45.4	29.3	37.1	33.4
Great Lakes.....	20.2	30.1	34.4	31.8	20.8	26.9	24.1	27.6
Plains.....	3.3	6.0	4.0	7.0	2.3	5.9	8.9	6.3
Southwest.....	12.1	11.2	8.7	16.2	16.9	10.5	15.2	15.5
Rocky Mountain.....	7	1.5	1.0	1.4	8	1.3	1.3	1.2
Far West.....	8.1	17.8	8.3	10.2	10.8	20.4	6.8	10.4
Total ¹	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

¹ Total may not add to 100 due to rounding.

Source: Social Security Administration, 1-percent sample survey.

TABLE 10.—INCOME GAINS FROM MIGRATION, 1965-70

[In percent]

A. Income differentials before and after migration, by region and race—migrant versus non-migrant males, 25 to 44:

Region	Before migration		After migration		Gain from migration	
	Negro	White	Negro	White	Negro	White
New England.....	-16.2	0.8	-8.2	10.8	8.0	10.0
Mideast.....	-13.9	1.3	-13.8	5.8	1	4.5
Great Lakes.....	-22.7	-4.5	-20.5	-1.5	2.2	3.0
Plains.....	-6.2	1.0	-6.3	10.8	-1	9.8
Southeast.....	-18.5	1.0	14.5	14.0	33.0	13.0
Southwest.....	-10.9	-3.3	1.2	6.1	9.7	9.9
Rocky Mountain.....	-15.2	-9.2	-13.1	9.0	2.1	18.2
Far West.....	-20.4	-1.5	-15.7	-0.9	4.7	0.6

Source: Social Security Administration, 1-percent sample survey.

B. Income of migrants from Southeast relative to nonmigrants:

	Relative income in—				Increase relative to nonmigrants	
	1965		1970			
	Negro	White	Negro	White	Negro	White
Males 25 to 44.....	81	101	114	114	33	13
Males 45 plus.....	95	117	100	122	5	5
Females 25 to 44.....	84	92	108	99	24	7

APPENDIX: STATISTICAL ANALYSIS OF NET MIGRATION RATES

This statistical analysis represents an attempt to identify and to quantify the factors which affect domestic interstate net migration rates of black and white people. It was assumed that the most important incentive for both races was provided by income differentials among States—that is, migrants would move to the location of the more favorable economic climate. In addition, an attempt was made to account for migration patterns which may be in response to non-economic factors—such as racial discrimination (for blacks) or retirement conditions (for whites).

The estimating technique used in this study was multiple regression analysis. Tests of the models were performed using data for

the continental United States and the District of Columbia for the Census decades 1950-1960 and 1960-1970. These data appear in the Appendix Table 1.

The basic model relates per capita income differentials and a dummy variable designed to approximate both economic forces not specified in the equation and noneconomic factors which have contributed to migration patterns. For black migrants, the disincentives to remain in the Southeastern region were specified as the dummy variable with values of 1.0 for the Southeastern States (excluding Florida) and 0.0 elsewhere. White migration rates were related to a dummy variable which assumed values of 1.0 for the retirement and recreational areas of Florida, Arizona, and Nevada and 0.0 elsewhere. In all cases, the regressions were weighted by

the black, white, and total populations for the respective net migration rate equations. The results appear in Appendix Table 2.

What the basic model (Equation (1)) shows for the two time periods is that migrants of both races respond to income differentials as measured by the per capita income ratio, and to other forces approximated by the dummy variables. Relatively high income States appear to attract migrants as well as maintain their own population. However, it should be noted that Equation (3) for white migrants in the 1960-70 decade shows an income coefficient which is not statistically significant at the 5.0 per cent level of confidence. This is probably the result of statistical biases and the coefficient's magnitude may be underestimated. Aside from the attraction of income, black

migrants were motivated to move out of the Southern region at above average rates. This effect is shown by the negative and statistically significant coefficient on the Southern disincentive variable. White migrants responded to retirement and recreational incentives and moved in that direction at above average rates.

To test the effects of welfare payment on the direction of migration, payments per recipient under the Aid to Families with Dependent Children Program was added to the basic model. Equation (2) shows that black

migrants responded positively to State differences in welfare programs whereas whites did not. However, welfare may be positively related to the income variable, and it may also be coincident with the trend of black movement out of the South, a low payment area, to other parts of the nation.

A second variation was tested by replacing the welfare variable with educational expenditures per pupil (as shown in Equation (3)). Again, black migrants appeared to respond positively to expenditures and whites did not. However, per pupil costs are

generally lower in the South relative to the rest of the Nation.

Replacement of the welfare variable with educational expenditures appears to show no significant difference in the regression results.

The constant terms in most of these equations are large and negative. These indicate that there is steady pressure for people to move out of most States, which—unless counterbalanced by a strong income response—will result in net out-migration among both races.

APPENDIX

TABLE 1.—NET MIGRATION, 1960 TO 1970, AND PERSONAL INCOME, WELFARE PAYMENTS, AND EXPENDITURES ON EDUCATION BY REGION AND STATE

Region and State	Net migration rate (percent)		Ratio of per capita personal income in State to per capita personal income for United States 1969 (percent)	Aid to families with dependent children—Payments per recipient (December 1970)	Annual current expenditure per pupil (elementary and secondary schools, 1970)	Region and State	Net migration rate (percent)		Ratio of per capita personal income in State to per capita personal income for United States 1969 (percent)	Aid to families with dependent children—Payments per recipient (December 1970)	Annual current expenditure per pupil (elementary and secondary schools, 1970)
	Negro	White					Negro	White			
U.S. average.....			100.0	49.50	812	Southeast.....			81.0	27.03	628
New England.....			109.0	68.58	853	Virginia.....	-9.7	6.5	92.0	47.45	753
Maine.....	0	-7.2	83.0	40.40	723	West Virginia.....	-22.2	-14.0	77.0	27.15	598
New Hampshire.....	0	11.2	92.0	61.35	687	Kentucky.....	.5	-5.6	78.0	30.80	580
Vermont.....	0	3.5	88.0	61.35	1008	Tennessee.....	-8.7	0	79.0	29.65	571
Massachusetts.....	29.5	.5	111.0	71.50	841	North Carolina.....	-15.7	2.4	82.0	30.90	607
Rhode Island.....	12.2	.5	100.0	61.85	915	South Carolina.....	-23.8	2.8	75.0	19.70	615
Connecticut.....	35.4	6.8	124.0	65.30	916	Georgia.....	-13.7	7.0	85.0	28.45	615
Midwest.....			114.0	67.08	1067	Florida.....	-3.6	33.0	93.0	23.85	728
New York.....	27.9	-4.2	122.0	77.90	1247	Alabama.....	-23.6	-2	73.0	15.20	463
New Jersey.....	23.3	6.1	117.0	62.60	1054	Mississippi.....	-30.4	.8	66.0	12.10	495
Pennsylvania.....	2.9	-4.0	100.0	63.10	892	Louisiana.....	-15.7	1.2	78.0	20.10	747
Delaware.....	6.6	8.4	110.0	36.25	891	Arkansas.....	-28.7	2.7	71.0	25.00	589
Maryland.....	15.2	11.3	109.0	43.65	888	Southwest.....			89.0	30.78	637
District of Columbia.....	8.7	-39.7	137.0	55.25	971	Oklahoma.....	-2.1	-2	84.0	37.25	659
Great Lakes.....			104.0	51.32	825	Texas.....	-3	1.1	90.0	28.95	599
Michigan.....	17.3	-1.7	104.0	53.80	890	New Mexico.....	-24.7	-13.8	80.0	32.50	751
Ohio.....	5.8	-2.1	101.0	43.85	729	Arizona.....	-10.2	21.2	92.0	32.00	768
Indiana.....	12.0	-1.3	96.0	35.95	731	Rocky Mountain.....			90.0	48.43	707
Illinois.....	12.2	-2.4	115.0	58.55	872	Montana.....	0	-8.7	86.0	45.85	819
Wisconsin.....	36.1	-8	94.0	64.20	930	Idaho.....	0	-6.6	83.0	50.60	595
Plains.....			94.0	50.55	804	Wyoming.....	0	-2.2	91.0	42.25	884
Minnesota.....	33.3	-1.2	98.0	72.05	971	Colorado.....	40.9	11.0	97.0	52.15	735
Iowa.....	6.0	-6.9	94.0	52.30	902	Utah.....	0	-1.9	82.0	42.85	611
Missouri.....	3.7	-6	94.0	30.50	710	Far West.....			110.0	53.77	859
North Dakota.....	0	-15.2	76.0	61.50	665	Washington.....	20.0	8.0	102.0	60.25	826
South Dakota.....	0	-14.0	81.0	53.40	680	Oregon.....	20.9	8.4	94.0	46.85	875
Nebraska.....	7.3	-5.6	96.0	41.60	653	Nevada.....	48.0	51.5	116.0	30.85	756
Kansas.....	-9	-6.7	98.0	55.75	731	California.....	30.7	10.6	113.0	53.95	866

APPENDIX TABLE 2.—REGRESSION ANALYSIS OF NET MIGRATION, 1950-60 AND 1960-70

[See description of models below]

Race	Personal income ¹	Southern disincentives ²	Retirement incentives ³	Welfare benefits ⁴	Educational benefits ⁵	Constant	R ²	Standard error
1950-60 ⁶								
Negro:								
Equation (1).....	75.59	-12.97	(⁷)	(⁷)	(⁷)	-59.38	0.82	11.2
t statistics.....	5.80	-2.16	(⁷)	(⁷)	(⁷)	-4.17		
White:								
Equation (1).....	30.90	(⁷)	67.09	(⁷)	(⁷)	-29.80	.67	9.3
t statistics.....	4.25	(⁷)	9.18	(⁷)	(⁷)	-3.98		
Both:								
Equation (1).....	39.79	(⁷)	57.71	(⁷)	(⁷)	-38.44	.69	8.7
t statistics.....	6.11	(⁷)	8.71	(⁷)	(⁷)	-5.78		
1960-70 ⁶								
Negro:								
Equation (1).....	69.87	-11.48	(⁷)	(⁷)	(⁷)	60.99	.82	8.1
t statistics.....	6.55	-2.95	(⁷)	(⁷)	(⁷)	-5.29		
Equation (2).....	33.29	-12.66	(⁷)	.35	(⁷)	-40.10	.85	7.5
t statistics.....	2.12	-3.49	(⁷)	2.98	(⁷)	-3.15		
Equation (3).....	23.49	-12.96	(⁷)	(⁷)	.024	-52.15	.84	7.8
t statistics.....	2.53	-3.41	(⁷)	(⁷)	2.20	-4.43		
White:								
Equation (1).....	7.79	(⁷)	31.43	(⁷)	(⁷)	-7.12	.54	6.1
t statistics.....	1.25	(⁷)	7.35	(⁷)	(⁷)	-1.13		
Equation (2).....	29.39	(⁷)	27.18	-23	(⁷)	-17.18	.61	5.7
t statistics.....	3.03	(⁷)	6.35	-2.77	(⁷)	-2.48		
Equation (3).....	16.42	(⁷)	31.09	(⁷)	-.020	-12.20	.60	5.8
t statistics.....	2.79	(⁷)	7.65	(⁷)	-2.47	-1.93		
Both:								
Equation (1).....	22.40	(⁷)	26.53	(⁷)	(⁷)	-21.31	.55	5.7
t statistics.....	3.97	(⁷)	6.67	(⁷)	(⁷)	-3.72		
Equation (2).....	40.09	(⁷)	23.15	-188	(⁷)	-29.70	.60	5.5
t statistics.....	4.31	(⁷)	5.70	-2.33	(⁷)	-4.54		
Equation (3).....	23.81	(⁷)	26.21	(⁷)	-.018	-25.90	.66	5.4
t statistics.....	4.36	(⁷)	6.94	(⁷)	-2.46	-4.51		

¹ Ratio of each State's per capita personal income to per capita personal income for the United States, 1969.

² Proxy for the complex of factors beyond differences in personal income which induce a high rate of net out-migration of Negroes from the South, excluding Florida.

³ Proxy for the complex of factors beyond differences in personal income which induce a high rate of net in-migration of white persons into 3 States: Florida, Arizona, and Nevada. These States are generally retirement and recreational areas.

⁴ Payments per recipient under program of aid to families with dependent children in each State, December 1970.

⁵ Annual current expenditure per pupil—average daily membership, elementary and secondary schools, 1970-71.

⁶ Net migration rates for each State during the decade.

⁷ Not used in equation.

⁸ Insignificant at 5-percent level of confidence.

NOTES

Model I: Effects of income; equation (1).

Model II: Effects of welfare; equation (2).

Model III: Effects of education; equation (3).

NEW BRITAIN, CONN.

HON. ELLA T. GRASSO

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 22, 1971

Mrs. GRASSO. Mr. Speaker, the most endearing quality of the city of New Britain is the rich diversity of her people. It is strength and inspiration as this community begins a new century of progress.

The talents and skills of the enterprising blacksmiths who developed "the hardware city of the world," and the thousands of immigrants who found new hope and achievement in a new world added to a proud industrial heritage. The community was enriched by the culture and customs of people from throughout the world who wove their special life style into the rich tapestry. Those industrious and resourceful workers and their families who came to this city to begin a new life—drawn as by a magnet from every European nation—applied their skills and hearts to building a uniquely versatile and cosmopolitan community which now proudly celebrates its 100th anniversary.

In this city of some 84,000, citizens' participation in all phases of community life mark a fierce loyalty to New Britain and a determination to prepare a prosperous future for younger residents. Together, the people of New Britain have worked hard to give their children an education they themselves often did not have an opportunity to enjoy. The city school system now includes 15 elementary schools, four junior high schools, two high schools, six parochial schools, a Catholic high school, six Catholic junior highs, and a school of commerce. The first trade school in Connecticut was opened in New Britain in 1910—the E. C. Goodwin Technical School, and the fine Central Connecticut State College has for years offered an excellent higher education to students in surrounding communities. Libraries, a symphony orchestra, and the widely recognized New Britain Museum of American Art add immeasurably to the educational and cultural life of the city, and attract visitors to share in these riches.

In addition to providing all the necessary municipal services a growing community needs, New Britain residents embarked on major development programs during the 1960's to refurbish the downtown area and attract new business and commerce in the East Main Street and South Central areas. These plans for the future will insure a strong vibrant New Britain at a time when the future of many American cities is bleak, indeed.

The manufacture of hardware items such as buckles and clasps and a thriving business in high-grade hosiery and shirtmaking led to further industrial expansion and preeminence in machine tools and ball bearings. They are a tribute to industrial leadership and skills of New Britain workers.

The industrial and commercial talents of New Britain's people are matched only by their patriotic zeal and love of country. New Britain's sons and daughters have served our Nation courageously during all the difficult days of war. And memorials to her fallen soldiers are silent tribute to the hopes and dreams of all freedom-loving Americans.

It is a pleasure for me to join the people of this great city in celebrating this most important anniversary. The next century presents grave challenges to America. It is my privilege to represent in the Congress the people of New Britain who do not shrink from the future, but welcome it.

THE AIRPORT SYSTEM**HON. JAMES G. FULTON**

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 22, 1971

Mr. FULTON of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following:

THE AIRPORT SYSTEM

A SPEECH PRESENTED TO THE 5TH INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON URBAN TRANSPORTATION, SEPTEMBER 9, 1971, BY THOMAS M. SULLIVAN, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR, DALLAS/FORT WORTH REGIONAL AIRPORT

All of you gentlemen, and ladies, are seasoned air travelers I know, and as such you are all well aware of what is happening in air transportation in the United States today.

In a word, there is an explosion in air transportation. Just look at some of the facts and figures relating to the growth of air transportation over the past decade. For example, in 1959, U.S. scheduled air carriers transported a total of 58 million passengers; by 1969, the number of passengers carried had nearly tripled, to 160 million! During the same period, the growth of air cargo was just as dramatic; increasing by 17 to 25 percent yearly. Since 1969, we have witnessed a slowdown in air passenger and cargo growth as part of the general economic decline. However, the sage prognosticators in our business believe that this slowdown is only temporary, and project that the former growth rates will be retained, and perhaps even surpassed in the years to come.

The reasons for this growth are apparent. Improved aircraft technology has enabled our aircraft manufacturers to build larger and more efficient airplanes, which in turn have made air travel more desirable and less costly. As a result, the large airplanes have, and will continue to generate a sizable new demand for air transportation. Also, the United States population is growing larger, and more highly educated, and people have more time and money to spend on leisure activities. A desire to travel is common to most Americans, and therefore extra time and money often results in air travel.

So far, this story of growth is a happy one; unfortunately, the increased demand for air travel has also resulted in a deterioration in the air travel experience. An unexpected delay waiting for clearance to land, or in line on a taxiway waiting to take off, or trying to claim a bag in a jammed bag claim area is not a happy experience.

These conditions all result from over-utilization of our air transportation system. And

one weak link in the air transport system is the airports. We presently have 1971 air traffic operating out of 1951 and 1961 facilities!

The deficiencies in U.S. airports are not only frustrating, they are expensive. It is estimated that delays in holding patterns cost U.S. businesses in excess of 70 million dollars in employee time lost. Thus a critical situation has developed; it is clear that airports in the United States are a bottleneck to pleasant and fast air travel, and that they are constraining both the growth of our air transport system and our national economy. This, then, is the challenge facing airport planners; to plan and expand the capability of the nation's airports as rapidly as possible.

Let's consider for a moment some of the factors that airport planners must cope with in doing this. The airplanes of today are many in number and colossal in size. The Boeing 747 is a mammoth airplane capable of carrying 500 people; yet at this very moment, the manufacturers are busy designing 1000 passenger airplanes. The requirements that the large aircraft create on the ground are many; wider runways and taxiways, more apron space, and great increases in terminal space and facilities. The passenger peaks that result from the large aircraft create a ground congestion problem of enormous proportions.

Every passenger wants the airport to be nearby when he decides to fly, but at the same time, not in his own back yard. There are no large tracts of available land near major city centers for new airports, and the older airports are unable to grow, constrained on all sides by commercial and residential development.

Finally, the facilities required at an airport have increased tremendously over the years. A modern airport must include freeway routes from major urban areas, vast vehicle parking areas, food services, medical services, passenger processing facilities, freight and cargo handling facilities, aircraft maintenance and overhaul facilities, sophisticated weather and air traffic control units, and safety and fire protection equipment. A modern airport is physically equivalent to a medium sized city, and has similar administrative, maintenance, and operations problems.

Thus the problems of the airport planner are myriad; he must create a facility that is close by in time to all users, is economical to build and economical for the airlines to use, that offers all of the desired services and accommodations for passengers, that is integrated with all surface modes of transportation, and finally, one that has sufficient capacity to accommodate both present traffic, and future growth.

Of all the factors that must concern the airport planner, the problem of airport access and ground circulation is of special importance. Although its significance is often overlooked or discounted, inadequate airport access can limit the capacity of an airport as effectively as too few runways or terminals. For example, a study of Los Angeles International Airport a few years ago predicted that the lack of good highway access would ultimately limit that airport's capacity—before its terminals or airfield facilities. This prediction has since come true and is a danger that the airport planner must guard against. It is mandatory that he work directly with the urban, highway, and rapid transit planners, to assure that inadequate ground access inside and outside the airport does not limit its capacity and thereby restrict the growth of the entire urban area.

This task of cooperative airport access planning can be very difficult. In the absence of strong metropolitan area planning, the airport planner must take an active role, and stimulate the planning of new highway and rapid transit systems. Where strong plan-

ning exists, the airport planner's role must necessarily be a more reserved one of motivating cooperation with those persons and agencies responsible for planning airport access facilities.

All of these problems of airport planning have confronted us in planning the new Dallas/Fort Worth Airport, which is to be one of the largest in the world. In order to achieve the best facility possible, we have used the concept of "restraint-free service" in all our planning. This approach is one which will guarantee that both passengers and aircraft can use the Airport with maximum convenience, and minimum delay.

Our method for achieving a "restraint-free" facility was to first ascertain that the major limiting factor that we as planners could not control was the saturation of the airspace over the Dallas/Fort Worth area. With the assistance of the FAA, the condition of airspace saturation was investigated, and we discovered to our great satisfaction that the airspace capacity over our proposed Airport was extremely high. With this assurance, we were then able to plan our runways, taxiways, and aprons so as to minimize the operational delays for the large, awkward, and very expensive airplanes of today and tomorrow.

We then turned our attention to our terminal, roadway circulation, and access systems; all of which were planned with equal, or greater capacity than that of the airspace. By this method, we have satisfied ourselves that our "on the ground" facilities will equal the airspace capacity, and therefore fulfill the promise of the future.

Let me now describe the Dallas/Fort Worth Airport and explain how we have solved some of the problems I outlined earlier; in particular those of ground access and circulation.

In typical Texas style, the Dallas/Fort Worth Airport is immense; its boundaries encompass approximately 18,000 acres, stretching 9 miles from north to south and 8 miles from east to west across the widest extremities. The airfield system at D/FW is shown as white lines on the yellow portions of this slide, and is composed of four north/south runways and two crosswind runways, symmetrically arranged on both sides of the passenger terminal complex.

The passenger terminal area is composed of 13 semi-circular passenger terminal units, which lie on both sides of a central "spine" highway. These passenger terminal buildings are designed to fit the "drive to the gate" concept of airport terminal planning.

In the Dallas/Fort Worth design, each terminal building forms the perimeter of a semi-circle; the aircraft parking positions are along the exterior perimeter, while the passenger access roads and parking facilities occupy the interior area. This design completely eliminates the "long walk" experienced at many airports today. Each of the 13 terminal half-loops at D/FW will be capable of simultaneously processing 18 747 aircraft, or as many as 24 of a mix of aircraft.

Of course not all of the facilities that I have described will be completed when the Airport opens in mid-1973. Many of these features are reserved to accommodate projected future growth. Initially three of the primary runways will be constructed, together with four terminal half loops, located in the center portion of the terminal complex. These four terminal buildings will house the nine airlines presently serving Dallas Love Field. Other first-stage facilities will include the access roadway system, aircraft maintenance hangers, a hotel, fire and rescue stations, automobile parking facilities, and AIRTRANS, our automated Airport Transportation System.

In the D/FW plan, good ground access and circulation have been assured by a balanced design, involving siting, highway development plans, and a new transportation tech-

nology. First, the Airport's location midway between Dallas and Fort Worth guarantees good accessibility from either city. Second, a Regional Highway Plan was conceived, and is being implemented by the Texas Highway Department to serve the Airport and its surrounding area. Since Texans are fond of their cars, and we think they will continue to be, these access highways have been sized to handle a very large volume of Airport traffic.

Once inside the Airport, passenger and service vehicular traffic will be separated, and handled on completely independent road systems. This division improves both passenger and service access, and maximizes passenger safety.

Finally, intra-Airport circulation will be provided by an innovative, new, transportation technology, which we call AIRTRANS. AIRTRANS is a completely automated transportation system, which will transport passengers, employees, baggage, airmail, trash, and supplies within the Airport.

The need for such an automated transportation system was recognized early in the planning of the Airport. The terminal buildings at the Airport are widely separated, to accommodate the large airplanes of today and the monstrous airplanes that are expected tomorrow. For these separated terminal buildings to function effectively together, it was necessary that they be linked by a fast, efficient form of transportation, which would supplement the highway access system, and support the various terminal operations. Since no such system existed at that time, the Regional Airport Board elected to pioneer its development.

The program to develop AIRTRANS began in mid-1967, when the Regional Airport Board first requested proposals from the transportation industry. Since that time, they have sponsored exhaustive analytical investigations and hardware testing programs designed to insure the early development, testing, and installation of the Dallas/Fort Worth AIRTRANS. The realization of the AIRTRANS program objectives came in July of this year, when the Airport Board awarded a contract for the design and construction of AIRTRANS to the Vought Aeronautics Company.

The AIRTRANS system is revolutionary in concept, and yet practical in design. Vought's designs employ existing, proven hardware components for economy and reliability. The AIRTRANS passenger vehicle will be rubber-tired and electrically propelled, and thus silent, smooth, and non-polluting. The vehicles will operate in a rugged and yet beautiful concrete guideway. Inside, the AIRTRANS vehicles will provide the utmost in passenger comfort. Seats will be provided for 16 people, and as many as 24 additional passengers can stand comfortably. Air conditioning, tinted glass, interior lighting, sound insulation, and a pneumatic suspension system will assure a desirable ride. Carpeted flooring and upholstered seats will provide the sophistication expected by today's airlines passengers.

A passenger will arrive by air at the terminal building, and proceed across the terminal concourse to an escalator leading to one of the air-conditioned AIRTRANS passenger stations. The passenger's fare will be automatically collected as he enters the station. Upon entering the station, the passenger will encounter an explanatory graphic display, depicting the AIRTRANS routes and services available. The passenger will then wait for the proper vehicle to arrive, board it, and enjoy a fast, safe, pleasant ride to his destination. In addition to carrying passengers, AIRTRANS will also carry Airport employees to and from work in the terminal facilities.

A unique feature of AIRTRANS is its capability to automatically move cargo simultaneously with passengers and employees. The cargo to be carried by AIRTRANS includes baggage, mail, trash and supplies. The

movement of cargo by AIRTRANS will be completely automated. Containerized cargo will be transported by AIRTRANS utility vehicles, constructed especially for cargo service. Each airline terminal will have several cargo stations where AIRTRANS utility vehicles will automatically pick up and discharge cargo containers.

The first-stage AIRTRANS system will operate entirely within the boundaries of the Airport. However, this does not mean to imply that we have ignored the future expansion of the AIRTRANS system.

D/FW is conceived as a fully automated airport. Because of this, as the Airport grows, AIRTRANS will be extended and expanded to connect all the facilities at the Airport. Provisions for this enlargement of the AIRTRANS system have been incorporated into the design of all Airport facilities. AIRTRANS itself can be expanded by running vehicles in trains, by adding new trains to the system, and by adding additional guideway wherever it is needed.

Earlier, I emphasized that airport planners must employ different surface transportation modes to maximize airport access capacity and service. At Dallas/Fort Worth, future rapid transit access to the Airport will be provided by an AIRTRANS connection with an intercity rapid transit system linking the cities of Dallas and Fort Worth. The Airport is strategically located to facilitate such a system. Right-of-way has been preserved on the Airport to permit AIRTRANS vehicles to travel between the terminal area and a junction terminal, where passengers will transfer between the inter-city rapid transit system and AIRTRANS. From this point, passengers will ride AIRTRANS directly to their desired aircraft gate.

That is the story of the planning for the Dallas/Fort Worth Airport, and AIRTRANS. The story is a cooperative one, of determination and foresight on the part of the Regional Airport Board, with assistance and strong support provided by local, state, and Federal agencies, such as the Texas Highway Department, the FAA, and UMTA.

I must say I am very proud of our accomplishments at the Dallas/Fort Worth Airport. Without doubt, our basic situation was more favorable than most airports enjoy; a new airport facility, completely free from preconceived administrative and jurisdictional constraints. We have thus been able to plan freely, and we have done our very best to assure that the Regional Airport will be the finest in the world in every way.

On behalf of the Dallas/Fort Worth Regional Airport Board, I would like to extend a cordial invitation to each of you to visit Dallas/Fort Worth in 1973, to personally view the new Airport, and to see and ride AIRTRANS. Thank you for your time and interest.

LUTTY NAMED LABOR MAN OF THE YEAR IN PITTSBURGH

HON. WILLIAM S. MOORHEAD

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 22, 1971

Mr. MOORHEAD. Mr. Speaker, my good friend Anthony J. Luty of the Amalgamated Employees Union, Local 590, has recently been named labor man of the year, by the Pittsburgh Chapter Knights of Columbus.

I applaud the Knights of Columbus for their excellent choice of Bud Luty. He has worked long and hard on behalf of his union, the food store employees, the

and workmen throughout the city of Pittsburgh.

I would like to insert in the RECORD a news story which tells more of Bud's award and I want to add my name to the list of his friends who know how deserving he is of this acclaim:

LABOR MAN OF THE YEAR

The Pittsburgh Chapter of the Knights of Columbus, through its President, Joseph Meehan, has announced that Local 590's First Vice President Anthony J. Luty has been selected as the Labor Man of the Year for 1971.

Brother Luty was advised that he would be honored at a dinner along with awardees representing Industry, Sports, Science and Arts, Education and Community Affairs, at the "Columbus Day Celebration" to be held in the Ballroom of the William Penn Hotel, Oct. 10, 1971.

The award and honor comes as no surprise to the officers and members of Local 590, who have long recognized the outstanding qualifications of our Vice President, Luty, who had been honored by Pope Paul VI when he was awarded the Pro Ecclesio et Pontifice Medal by Cardinal John J. Wright, was perhaps one of the few people who did not expect this tribute.

In addition to his many duties in the labor movement, Vice President Luty finds time to be active in community affairs, presently serving as a member of the Red Cross Board of Directors, also as a member of the Catholic School Board, Diocese of Pittsburgh, and a member of the Board of Regents of St. Fidelis College. He also directs the organizing activity of the Local and serves as the Legislative Chairman of the Union. In addition "Bud" also holds the office of Executive Secretary of the Allegheny County Labor Council and is a Vice President of the Ohio State Branch of Butcher Workmen.

Congratulations, "Bud", from all your friends in Local 590, no better choice could have been made.

BUSING OPPOSED OVERWHELMINGLY BY TEXANS

HON. BILL ARCHER

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 22, 1971

Mr. ARCHER. Mr. Speaker, recent events demonstrate that most Americans are shocked and disappointed by recent Supreme Court decisions on school busing. Our efforts, in my opinion, should be directed toward upgrading the educational facilities for children in the areas where they live, striving for quality education rather than the expenditures of funds for transportation to bus children out of their neighborhoods.

The following article from the Houston Post indicates the opinions of the citizens of Texas concerning this critical issue. The poll was taken in August, just prior to the opening of the current school term.

The article follows:

TEXANS OPPOSE BUSING

(By Joe Beiden)

The great majority of Texans, nearly eight out of ten, remain opposed to the busing of public school children to achieve racial integration, a statewide survey by The Texas Poll shows.

In more than three decades of public opin-

ion measurements, seldom has the Poll found an issue more soundly rejected. About nine out of ten of the white majority in the state replied negatively in the interviewing completed last week. The black community is widely split, although half of the Negroes interviewed declared they do approve of sending children to racially mixed schools by bus—the only group of many analyzed containing anywhere near a majority in favor.

Judging from court action now facing many school districts over the state, the federal judiciary and other officials appear determined to accelerate school integration by September, through forced mixing if necessary. The controversial issue has engendered heated debate.

A representative cross section of 1,013 persons 18 and older—including correct proportions of whites, blacks and Mexican Americans—was interviewed. This was the question asked, followed by the results:

"In order to bring about racial balance in the public schools, the federal government wants children to be taken by bus to other schools in the community if the schools in their neighborhoods are not racially mixed. Do you approve or disapprove of this way of bringing about school integration?"

	Percent
Approve	17
Disapprove	78
Undecided	6

The same question was asked in a parallel Texas Poll in March, 1970, which showed 12 per cent approval, 84 per cent disapproval and 4 per cent undecided. A movement of opinion toward acceptance of busing could be assumed, Negroes contributing heavily to the change, the survey results indicate.

Aside from the marked differences in attitudes found among racial groups, there are other patterns evident from the replies: approval of busing is greater among the younger than the older, among the lesser educated than the better educated and in larger than in smaller communities. But in all of these cases the weight of opinion is against busing, as these breakdowns indicate:

(In percent)

	For	Opposed	Undecided
By race:			
White	6	89	5
Black	50	36	14
Latin	37	55	8
By age:			
18-34	21	74	5
35-49	13	80	7
50 up	13	80	7
By education:			
College	12	82	6
High school	16	79	5
Grammar	26	65	9
By population:			
Rural	13	82	5
2,500-9,999	16	80	4
10,000-99,999	15	76	9
100,000 up	19	75	6
By sex:			
Men	16	79	5
Women	16	76	8

MAN'S INHUMANITY TO MAN—HOW LONG?

HON. WILLIAM J. SCHERLE

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 22, 1971

Mr. SCHERLE. Mr. Speaker, a child asks: "Where is daddy?" A mother asks: "How is my son?" A wife asks: "Is my husband alive or dead?"

Communist North Vietnam is sadisti-

cally practicing spiritual and mental genocide on over 1,600 American prisoners of war and their families.

How long?

AMNESTY FOR WHOM?

HON. LOUIS STOKES

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 22, 1971

Mr. STOKES. Mr. Speaker, a massacre occurred at Attica. In an incident as repulsive and inexcusable as that which occurred at Mylai, 28 inmates and 9 hostages were slaughtered. Every one of those people died from bullet wounds inflicted by the police who stormed the walls, ostensibly to liberate the hostages. The attack came because responsible authorities lacked any real concern for the lives of both the inmates, most of whom were blacks and Puerto Ricans, and the hostages, most of whom were prison guards. It came because those authorities were more concerned about law and order than about human life. It came because Gov. Nelson Rockefeller, whatever his reasons, chose to ignore the pleas of the members of the negotiating committee that he make an appearance. It came because police officers and national guardsmen were ordered to fire from four different directions. I agree with Governor Rockefeller that it is amazing that 28 hostages survived this crossfire. The use of live ammunition in this situation was as senseless as it was at Kent State. The inmates had no guns. Where was the sophisticated riot control equipment which must have been available? Where were the stun guns? Finally, what was the emergency which required immediate, massive, violent action? Governor Rockefeller and the other authorities charged with the awful responsibility for what happened at Attica should now be pleading for amnesty which they refused to consider for the inmates.

I include for the attention of my colleagues a column which appeared in the New York Times on September 16, 1971, by Tom Wicker, one of the negotiators, which eloquently describes the attitudes which permitted the Attica massacre to happen.

The column follows:

THE ANIMALS AT ATTICA

(By Tom Wicker)

WASHINGTON.—After the massacre at Attica, Governor Rockefeller issued a statement that began with this sentence:

"Our hearts go out to the families of the hostages who died at Attica."

Much of what went wrong at Attica—and of what is wrong at most other American prisons and "correction facilities"—can be found in the simple fact that neither in that sentence nor in any other did the Governor or any official extend a word of sympathy to the families of the dead prisoners.

True, at that time, it was thought that the deaths of the hostages had been caused by the prisoners, rather than—as is now known—by the bullets and buckshot of those ordered by the state authorities to go over the walls shooting.

But even had the prisoners, instead of the

police, been the killers of the hostages, they still would have been human beings; certainly their mothers and wives and children still would have been human beings. But the official heart of the State of New York and its officials did not go out to any of them.

That is the root of the matter; prisoners, particularly black prisoners, in all too many cases are neither considered nor treated as human beings. And since they are not, neither are their families. Yesterday, the families of sixteen Attica inmates, gathered outside the medical examiner's office in Rochester, could not find out whether their husbands and sons were dead or alive; since last Thursday night they had not even been able to find out whether the men were involved in the prison rebellion, because the state would not trouble to tell them.

Dead hostages, for another example, were sent to the morgue tagged with their names; dead prisoners went tagged "P-1," "P-2," and so on. That is an almost unbearable fact to those who heard an eloquent prisoner shouting in the yard of D-Block last Friday night: "We no longer wish to be treated as statistics, as numbers. We want to be treated as human beings, we will be treated as human beings!" But even in death, they were still just numbers.

Time and again, members of the special observers' group that tried to negotiate a settlement at Attica heard the prisoners plead that they, too, were human beings and wanted above all to be treated as such. Once, in a negotiating session through a steel-barred gate that divided prisoner-held and state-held territory, Assistant Correction Commissioner Walter Dunbar told the prisoner leader, Richard Clark, "In thirty years, I've never lied to an inmate."

"But how about to a man?" Clark said quietly.

The physical aspect of a place like Attica—the grim walls, the bare yards, the clanging steel—bespeaks the attitude that prisoners are wild animals to be caged. Entering a tier in Cellblock C, where prisoners were under control, the observers were struck by the pathetic sight of shaving mirrors popping instantly from the window of each steel door; the windows are too small for the cells' occupants to see anywhere but straight ahead, and only the mirrors can show the prisoners what is happening in their "home."

Attica—like most prisons—is not a "correctional facility" at all; the phrase is a gruesome euphemism. No "correctional officer" there has any real training in correcting or teaching or counseling men; rather, they are armed guards set to herd animals. Senselessly, every guard at Attica is white, save one reported Puerto Rican no observer ever saw; but the prisoners are 75 per cent, or maybe 85 per cent—no one seems to know for sure—black and Puerto Rican. There is no Spanish-speaking doctor. All work for 30 cents a day, and one of their grievances claimed that they often were bilked of that.

The emphasis on guns and clubs during the crisis was incredible; it had to be seen to be believed. Once, standing alone and unarmed at the steel gate, Richard Clark refused to negotiate any further because the room beyond was packed with so many men bearing clubs, rifles, pistols, shot guns and tear-gas launchers. Three or four blacks from the prison, tourists were stopped at roadblocks by as many as four uniformed men, each carrying a club, a pistol, a rifle. So much weaponry was bound to be used sooner or later, and indiscriminately. And it was.

These guns, moreover, were in the hands of men who left no doubt they wanted to use them. Correction Commissioner Oswald's long delay of the assault and his efforts to negotiate were met with impatience and anger by the prison staff, the observers who were trying to prevent bloodshed saw hostility at every turn. A guard bringing them a box of food said as he put it down, "If I'd

known it was for you people, I wouldn't have brought it."

The observers, after all, were standing between the men with the guns and the prisoners, who had none. Even the strong belief that an assault on the stronghold in Block D would cause the prisoners to kill their 38 hostages seemed to make little difference to those who had the guns; they wanted to go in.

The observers knew that. They said so to Commissioner Oswald and Governor Rockefeller, forcefully and in every way they could. They predicted a massacre. They said that waiting, while it might not ultimately prevent the slaughter, could hardly cause it; while attacking could result in nothing else.

But time is for men, not for prisoners and animals. Now the dead lie tagged in the morgue, and the men with the guns are counting their kill. They may even be looking forward to the same highly practical form of amnesty American society has already granted to the killers at Kent State and Orangeburg and Jackson State.

INDIANA WELFARE TERMED "LOUSY"

HON. WILLIAM G. BRAY

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 22, 1971

Mr. BRAY. Mr. Speaker, because of major errors in the printing of my insertion yesterday, I am resubmitting today the article written by Carolyn Pickering, staff reporter for the Indianapolis Star, from the September 19, 1971, edition:

INDIANA "LOUSY," WELFARE COUPLE LEAVING
IN \$10,000 LAND CRUISER

(By Carolyn Pickering)

SPENCER, IND.—Melvin, 39, and Lorraine Stewart, 49, fed up with Indiana because it's a "lousy" state for welfare benefits, are packing up their \$10,000 air-conditioned, mobile land cruiser to return to California where "they really take care of folks on welfare."

The Stewart couple, both unemployed, now live with her two children in a four-room house at New Hope, a tiny rural community 12 miles south of Spencer.

The Stewarts call Indiana a "disaster state" and their village "No Hope."

They'll rent a trailer and hook that and their 1966 Pontiac Bonneville onto the rear of the land cruiser for the trip west.

Into the land cruiser, purchased in California, and on which they make \$118.91-a-month payments, will go the two children, aged 12 and 9, and the family's handsomely clipped poodle, Sassy, whose tonsorial treatment costs \$10 a snip.

Although the Stewarts say they're in too poor health to work, among the personal belongings they'll load into the trailer are four television sets, an upright deep freeze, a king-size, six-position vibrating recliner and a pair of elegant parlor chairs reupholstered in red velvet at a cost of \$248.

All, of these, except the vibrating chair, were bought in Indiana since January at taxpayer's expense.

They hope to take a copper-tone refrigerator-stove combination, complete with hood and circulating fan, but they may have to leave them behind. They have not finished paying for them.

Mrs. Stewart, who says she's been living off welfare, Social Security and trustee aid since 1959, is more than a little miffed at the Owen County Welfare Department.

She says:

"Mr. Chambers (Barry Chambers, eligibility

case worker) told us when we came here last January we'd get \$70 a month from them. We didn't.

"A month or so ago he told me how to change my budget around so we'd get a \$28-a-month increase in our benefits. I did what he told me, but the board turned us down.

"He also told us he'd try and get welfare money to pay for the stove, but he didn't."

The plump mother also charged that Chambers promised he'd obtain welfare funds to pay for exterminators to rid the Stewart home of termites if the Stewarts could obtain a loan from a bank.

Mrs. Stewart said they were unable to obtain the loan, which was to have been paid off with the extra welfare money.

Chambers, a 24-year-old conscientious objector from New Castle, who said he has a degree in anthropology from Ball State University, said he couldn't discuss individual cases.

However, Mrs. Ann Rein, Owen County welfare director, said:

"There is a certain element of truth in what Mrs. Stewart told you. Their case is unique."

Mrs. Rein said regulations prohibit discussing details but she confirmed that Chambers "did talk with Mrs. Stewart about the condition of her home."

"The Stewarts," according to Mrs. Rein, "couldn't obtain a loan for termite extermination so it was a moot issue."

She conceded, however, that had the loan been secured "we would have made a division of the payments."

Mrs. Rein said she wasn't going to be "put on the spot" by discussing other matters allegedly discussed by Chambers with the Stewarts.

Mrs. Rein said she feels the situation in Owen County is "typical of all counties in the state."

As a welfare recipient, Mrs. Stewart has served on the county's Citizens Advisory Council to the welfare department, but she resigned last week, saying the group is useless.

"People have complaints but they're afraid to talk for fear of getting kicked off the rolls," she said.

"Why, if a welfare person has to go to the doctor they're (welfare department) supposed to send a cab and pay the fare, but they won't. We're entitled to it, but they don't treat you right down here," she lamented.

In California, where she lived previously, Mrs. Stewart said she was on the "aid for the totally disabled" rolls—a category that doesn't exist in Indiana.

"I got \$146 a month for that, plus \$50 a month for a lady to clean the house and unlimited medical expenses," she said.

Mrs. Stewart said her principal health problems were caused by being overweight, high blood pressure and an enlarged heart.

Welfare benefits, \$141 a month in Social Security for a daughter by a previous husband, Stewart's Social Security of \$136 a month, surplus commodities and ADC of \$232 gave them income of well over \$500 in California, she said.

"We bought the mobile cruiser out there—brand new—two years ago, and had a ball," she said.

"We joined a camper club and traveled all over California—it was really fun" she reported.

But, in Indiana, the Stewarts say, combined ADC, Social Security for Stewart and the daughter, plus surplus commodities which "we don't like" gives them an income of only about \$325 a month.

Yet they've kept up the \$181 mobile cruiser payments and, two weeks ago, took a little vacation to Mammoth Cave in Kentucky.

And they don't intend to give up the

cruiser "because we have too much invested."

Stewart who claims a back injury prevents him from working, looks over the acre of ground around their New Hope home and says he hasn't put in a vegetable garden because "the weeds would get ahead of us."

He and his family say the surplus commodity program which gives them foodstuffs, including four pounds of butter a month, is inadequate.

Mrs. Stewart says she needs to be on a high-protein diet.

"I keep telling them I need things like lean beef, chicken, eggs and cottage cheese, but they don't pay any attention," Mrs. Stewart charges.

"Instead," she laments, "we're green-beaned to death and my kids don't like oatmeal for breakfast."

Chambers, speaking cautiously, blames the alarming rise in aid to dependent children welfare cases in Owen County on "part of a national trend."

Two years ago only 13 families with a total of 46 children were receiving such benefits and the cost to the taxpayer was \$3,256 for 1969.

Currently, there are 77 families involving 195 children receiving a total of \$9,984 in Owen County—a dilemma that has forced the welfare department to obtain an additional \$37,000 appropriation, bringing their total 1971 budget to \$284,895 for all types of assistance.

Chambers says there are a great many more folks in Owen County who probably qualify for benefits, but "they just don't know about it."

With 3 per cent of the 9,000 Owen County population now on welfare rolls, Chambers says this figure is low compared to the national average of 7 per cent of the population.

One of the more vocal citizens on the subject is Owen Circuit Court Judge William T. Sharp, who says the entire welfare concept is "destroying any incentive for self-sufficiency."

"People are being told they're suckers to be self-sufficient—that it's easier to get a free ride. We're on the wrong track, subsidizing laziness and dependency by making it easy," he declares.

Judge Sharp, utilizing the authority of his office, already has clamped down in cases where he has legal jurisdiction.

Last week, on a petition filed by the welfare department, the four children of Mrs. Margaret Corns of Spencer were made wards of the court and placed in foster homes. Mrs. Corns has left Spencer.

Judge Sharp said Mrs. Corns has been receiving \$205 a month for the children, who were "neglected and getting poor training."

The father of the last child, Judge Sharp said is an 18-year-old serving a term in the Indiana State Youth Center on his conviction for assault and battery with intent to kill on Mrs. Corns' father.

In another case, \$50-a-week support payments being made by the father of five of the 13 children mothered by Mrs. Phyllis Owens of rural Poland were ordered placed in the general fund rather than being given to Mrs. Owens.

The woman, with nine of the children living with her in a trash-littered farmhouse, receives \$355 a month in welfare benefits. She has received at least \$8,000 from the Owen County department since she moved from Marion County several years ago, according to the judge.

Judge Sharp said evidence in court indicated Mrs. Owens was living rent-free in the house although she had told welfare workers she paid \$50 a month rent to the father of the five children, who owned the house.

Spencer druggist Jack Money said welfare recipients "are being counseled by someone to load up on prescriptions if they're about to go off the welfare rolls."

He said a surge of recipients, in recent

months, also had become irate when he wouldn't permit them to put things such as toothpaste and shaving cream on their Medicaid cards.

"Medicaid pays for only medicinal items, but someone has been telling them the government would pay for most any drug store item," he said.

Money said that after Mrs. Rein was informed, the situation was corrected.

New Owen County Welfare Board member Frank Stewart (no relation to the recipient Stewarts) calls the entire welfare program a "form of blackmail by the Federal government."

He adds:

"I think there are responsible citizens at both the state and local level, but Federal regulations make it impossible for us to use our own judgment and I, personally, resent being rubber-stamped. It's sheer frustration."

SOROPTIMISTS CELEBRATE 50TH ANNIVERSARY

HON. JEROME R. WALDIE

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 22, 1971

Mr. WALDIE. Mr. Speaker, on October 3, the Soroptimist Federation of the America's, a service club for women, will celebrate its 50th anniversary in Oakland, Calif., where the first club was formed on October 3, 1921.

The Soroptimists spread from Oakland to San Francisco and Los Angeles and eventually throughout the entire world.

This outstanding organization has served youth, community, and Nation in many ways. Today those efforts include a most successful scholarship and fellowship program as well as environmental programs.

Members of the Soroptimists also contribute to international understanding and good will by an exchange program and work with such organizations as the United Nations and the American Field Service.

The Soroptimists have always been active in community and public affairs. I am sure, Mr. Speaker, that many of my colleagues in the Congress can cite the many instances where these dedicated women have called on them to vote for vital legislation and worthy programs.

At this 50th anniversary, the Soroptimists will be joined by members of their fellow groups, the Venture Clubs, for young professional women, and the "S" Club and Sigma Society which are high school and college organizations sponsored by the Soroptimists.

The October 3, 1971, celebration in Oakland will be sponsored by the Southwestern Regional Soroptimists, but members and officers from all over the Nation and the world will join in meeting at the birthplace of the organization.

Official hostess for the day will be Charlotte Chichester, governor of southwestern region, from Delano. She will be assisted by the 50th Anniversary Committee, chaired by Julia "Bess" Combs, of Antioch; Dorothy Cox, Modesto; Mary Gianotti, El Cerrito; Mary Ellen George, San Jose; Mayonne Glen, Sacramento;

Ortha Wulfin, Oakland; Dottie Locke, Chico; Isabelle Portali, Stockton; and Aimee Luginbuehl of Reno, Nev.

Some of the Soroptimist officials attending: Ethel Lord, president, Soroptimist International Association, Morristown, N.J.; Katherine Stinsen, president, American Federation of the Americas Inc., Arlington, Va.; Eileene Bidwell, SFA president-elect, El Centro, Calif.; Gladys Neale, vice president, SFA, Toronto, Canada; Muriel Morse, past SFA president, Los Angeles; Dora S. Lewis, past SIA president, La Jolla; Mary Ann Foushe, president, Venture Council of the Americas, Ventura, Calif.; Violet Richardson Ward, president of the first Soroptimist Club in the world, Kensington, Calif.; and Loise B. Cushing, founder member, Oakland, Calif.

Mr. Speaker, during the first 50 years of giving service, the Soroptimists have found that "there is no me and thee—it's just we working together."

I believe that to be an outstanding philosophy and I am pleased to congratulate this fine service group on this special occasion.

THE CAMPBELL MEMORIAL HIGH SCHOOL CLASS OF 1931 REUNION

HON. CHARLES J. CARNEY

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 22, 1971

Mr. CARNEY. Mr. Speaker, the Campbell Memorial High School class of 1931, of Campbell, Ohio, recently celebrated its 40-year class reunion. The Campbell Memorial class of 1931 had 71 members; 12 members are deceased, and 36 members came from all over the United States to attend the reunion. They traveled from as far away as San Francisco, Calif.

The class of 1931 is a very diverse group of first-generation Americans who were raised in a steel mill town during the depression. Despite the hardships of the depression, 32 members of the group, all from working-class families, managed to graduate from college.

Among the members of the class are: one medical doctor, one podiatrist, one high school principal, one grammar school principal, nine teachers, three druggists, one statistician, one college professor, two nurses, one hospital administrator, two engineers—one of whom is bridge engineer for the State of California—two bankers, one Congressman, one machine shop owner, five prominent small businessmen, one tax accountant, three former prizefighters, one retired fire chief, and, most important of all, many housewives raising fine families of future outstanding Americans.

The Campbell Memorial High School class of 1931 is composed of both Negro and white, including 18 different ethnic groups. They are self-respecting Americans who proved that the American dream is possible for people who have the intelligence, the spirit, and the will to make the dream a reality.

A list of members follow:

MEMBERS OF THE CLASS OF 1931

John Banks (Deceased), Nurmi Caggiano, Charles J. Carney, Louis Cegledy (Deceased),

Stanley Cerech, Michael Cosentino (Deceased), Michael Cvengros (Deceased).

Anthony Depiero, William Dulkiweicz (Deceased), Michael Ewanski, Samuel Faccioben, Anna Garasky Andraso, Frank Gennaro, Florence Gioppo Sgambati, John Godosck.

George A. Graban, George D. Graban, Edward Graham, Ann Groza (Deceased), Tillie Guidos Kupec, Joseph Lilko, Aloysius Hamrock, Jack Beck.

John Komarc, Anna Korecki Gardner, Mary Kovachik Busek, Thomas Kraynak, Dorothy Larocco Petrella, Julia Larocco Huff, Kathryn Larocco Wasko, Catherine Lisko Galko.

Mary Lysowski Caggiano (Deceased), Louis Rich, Ralph Rich, Joseph Rudjak, John Schwartz, George Sevac, Raymond Spagnola, Frank Speck (Deceased).

George Marhao, Helen Marinelli Barillaire, Gabriel Wargo (Deceased), Anna Maro Slanino, Nicholas Mastroides, Patrick Nolfi, Dr. Alexander Phillips, John Putko (Deceased).

Antoinette Rich King, Carl T. Burille, Ben Tucci, Nicholas Valery, Estelle Vano Poschner, Joseph Vansuck, Joseph Vargo, Anna Vojnovich.

Helen Spirkoff Sirak, Peter Spitt, Stephen Stefko, Albert Stonework, Agnes Tarida, Cornelius Thomas, Nicholas Trikillis.

Michael Voytilla, Matthew Wansack, Anna Youravich Ortsey, Dr. Peter Zalanowski, Stephen Zboray, Joseph Bozich, Kathryn Kulscar Matas, Anna Pavlica Cabisino (Deceased), Andrew Sabol (Deceased).

I am pleased to insert a poem written by Patrick W. Nolfi, a member of the class of 1931 and an English teacher at Campbell Memorial. The poem expresses some of the sentiments of the class on the occasion of its 40-year reunion.

The poem follows:

THIS IS NOT A CLASS OR FAREWELL POEM

(By Patrick W. Nolfi)

Well, here we are together again
It's good to see you once more
As we gather round to celebrate
Our reunion of two score!
Where we will be five years from now
Should be no cause to worry
We'll try to get together again
By car, bus, plane or surrey!
Let's face it, "darlings",
We are growing old
And it's certainly obvious that
There's lots of silver threads among the gold!
The years have flown by quickly,
But our memories will never die
As we recall the days we spent
At dear old Memorial High!
Remember the days of our reckless youth?
When we did what we once did.
The kids today would never do
What we used to do as a kid!
We didn't shoot dope
Or smoke up pot,
We didn't wear minis
Or wear pants "hot"
Beads were for the girls
And not for us he-men.
Remember the bald heads
Way back when?
We went to church on every Sunday
We prayed to Almighty God
We didn't mess around with thoughts
That were aesthetically mod!
Mom and Dad, God bless them both
Played the role of being boss
And the family was a family
And not a total loss!
We minded our "P's" and "Q's" in school
And teachers were respected
We studied, Oh! how we studied!
Because it was expected.
How times have changed!
To you I need not tell
And you will all agree
That the world is going to—well
Let's face it we've grown old
And youth must have its fling

And let's all hope the kids today
Like us will do their goldarn thing!
So let us hope and pray
That we'll all survive
And be around for our forty and five!
May God bless you all
And let's all have fun
You wonderful, wonderful
Class of Nineteen Thirty-one!

TAX ON "EXCESS" PROFITS WILL MEAN DISASTER

HON. BILL ARCHER

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 22, 1971

Mr. ARCHER. Mr. Speaker, some Members of Congress have recently advocated the imposition of an "excess" profits tax as an additional means of curbing inflation. I can think of few measures that would be more detrimental to the strength of our national economy. Not only is the suggestion bad economics, it simply does not correspond with the rate of increases in wages, salaries, and profits.

I strongly urge my colleagues to take note of the following article from the Wall Street Journal of September 13. The facts included in the article are startling, indeed, and should have a sobering effect upon those individuals who have attacked the President's new economic policies as a "bonanza" for business.

The article follows:

[From the Wall Street Journal, Sept. 13, 1971]

THE OUTLOOK

APPRAISAL OF CURRENT TRENDS IN BUSINESS AND FINANCE

(By John O'Reilly)

While we wait for what's to come after "the 90 days," it may be well to ponder the most widely ignored fundamental fact about the so-called "wage-price spiral" that prompted the freeze. It is the heavily lopsided nature of the spiral. For every point of gain on the price side, there has been a two-point rise on the wage side. The popular idea that it has been more or less an even trade-off between the two sides of the spiral is just not based in fact.

It is human nature, of course, for every man (and his wife) to see only the "run-away" prices and forget any increments in income. It is human nature for journalists to emphasize the prices. And it is political nature for politicians—especially those out of office—to do the same. But any close look at the record since 1965, when the inflationary bulge began, suggests that the emphasis is clearly misplaced.

The table below traces the widely followed consumer prices (cost of living) index and this country's median family income from 1965 through 1970. The family income figure for 1971, of course, is not available. The price index uses the new 1967 base as 100.

Year	Cost of living	Medium family income
1965	94.5	\$6,957
1966	97.2	7,500
1967	100.0	7,974
1968	104.2	8,632
1969	109.8	9,433
1970	116.3	9,867

What these figures add up to, over the five-year span of inflation, is—

Cost of Living: up 23%.
Family Income: up 42%.

There is a story here on the question of who has the power to push prices up. It is common to lump "big business" and "big labor" together as a team having this power. The reasoning is that labor, through organization, forces wage costs up more or less at will, and then business, somehow because of its "bigness," simply passes these costs right along to the public in higher prices.

But it doesn't work out that way. Business cannot hold up its end of the log. The country's huge corporations, and especially those in industries where output is concentrated in a few firms, do have economic power, of course. But the idea that they can pass on all cost increases in an increasingly competitive world just doesn't stand up.

Vastly expanded productive capacity, both in this country and abroad in Europe and Japan, make this passing-along process steadily more difficult year after year.

This can be put sharply in focus by comparing the rise in producer prices on consumer goods (1967 equals 100) with the rise in weekly wages. The wages cover all private non-farm payrolls of production workers or nonsupervisory employes. The 1971 figures are for June.

Year	Consumer goods prices	Average weekly earnings
1965	\$96.1	\$95.06
1966	99.4	98.82
1967	100.0	101.84
1968	102.7	107.73
1969	106.6	114.61
1970	109.9	120.16
1971	113.1	127.57

Both of these columns, too, show big gains. But a little quick pencil work comparing the gains of each, reveals—

Consumer Goods Prices: up 17.7%.
Average Weekly Earnings: up 34.1%.

Footnote to the above: Prices on these manufactured products are up less than the cost of living index because the latter index contains the really big gainers—such things as services and taxes. A big factor in putting family income up more than weekly wages is the ever increasing number of double paychecks (working wives) enjoyed by American families.

On the prices-vs-wage costs question, it can be assumed that producers do not abstain from passing on all wage costs out of charitable feelings for the consumer. Any business will pass on its costs—if it can. And it must be concluded that the failure to do so is due to lack of power to do so—in the face of competition.

Wouldn't this sort of lopsided "spiral" have a fundamental impact on the structure of the country's economy? Indeed it would. It has. While GNP and consumer income have climbed steeply over the past half-decade, corporate profits have just about been stopped in their tracks. Here is the record for (1) gross national product, (2) wage-and-salary income of individuals, and (3) after-tax corporate profits. All figures represent billions. The 1971 figures are second quarter annual rates.

Year	GNP	Wages, salaries	Corporation profits
1965	\$750	\$359	\$46.5
1966	750	394	49.9
1967	794	423	46.6
1968	864	465	47.8
1969	929	509	44.5
1970	974	541	41.2
1971	1,041	572	44.6

The percentage figuring on these columns over the period since 1965, comes out—
Gross National Product; up 52%.
Wages and Salaries: up 60%.
Corporate Profits: down 4%.

This record, of course, as has been pointed out by people in and out of government, puts any talk of curbing "excess profits" in the ludicrous area. Profits in excess of what? Today's severely deflated level?

It is unfortunate that the word "profit" is so widely misunderstood. Millions undoubtedly think of profits and dividends as being the same thing. Actually, of course, profit is divided into two parts, (1) that retained within the business and (2) that paid to stockholders in dividends. When profits are good, the retained part is usually the larger.

Retained profit is used to modernize a business or expand it. Modernization directly benefits employes by making their employer's products more competitive—with imports, for example. And business expansion (new plants) creates jobs, of course.

The last half-decade's wage-price spiral, with all the action on one side of the "spiral", is clearly not an ideal generator of new jobs.

THE TRAGEDY AT ATTICA

HON. RALPH METCALFE

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 15, 1971

Mr. METCALFE. Mr. Speaker, the recent tragedy at Attica State Prison and the circumstances surrounding the deaths of 40 men once again draws our attention to an area in need of reform.

In the past few years we have had an increase in the amount of money allocated for the apprehension of suspected criminals and the improvement of the investigative ability of our police forces. We now have a monumental problem in the courts as the number of cases to be tried increases. But the real tragedy is the prison system.

The prison system for many individuals in society is viewed as the terminal point, the objective of the arrest-trial procedure.

We must emphasize the point, I think, that prisons should be viewed as the beginning of the rehabilitative process. Men who commit crimes against society should be punished. But the punishment must not be vindictive. For all too long the prevalent philosophy has been that of "lock them up and forget them."

The recidivism rate in Federal and State prisons indicate that there is something drastically wrong within our prison system.

Attica indicates what a hopeless quagmire exists behind the walls which enclose what we euphemistically call correctional facilities.

Only men who are in a state of absolute frustration will resort to such desperate acts. How else can we characterize these acts other than those of men who found one prison system so unresponsive to their needs that in frustration and rage they took such a drastic step.

What happened in Attica cannot be condoned. Any act which involves the

loss of life must be condemned. What must be done, however, is to make certain that this does not occur again. The circumstances which lead men to such frustration must be corrected.

Two factors contribute to the sad state of American prisons: the low priority prisons are given when budgets are formulated and also the 19th century philosophy which is the guiding light of many penal institutions. Individuals who are imprisoned for minor offenses come out as hardened criminals because, instead of being rehabilitated, the criminals have been educated to a life of crime. We must update our methods. Our approach to the prison system must reflect the best thinking of the 20th century. We must utilize all the modern techniques which are available to us.

The Federal Government should confront this situation squarely and make allocations on a matching basis to make our State correctional facilities more humane and more responsive to the needs of the inmates. The following areas are among some suggested ways of making the system more humane: correctional officers will have to be retrained to reflect this more humane approach; programs will have to be established or strengthened to train the convicted man so that he will acquire a skill which will be marketable after his release; educational facilities will have to be established to remedy educational deficiencies; men who want to take college courses for credit should be encouraged to do so; and more psychologists and psychiatrists should be available to the prison population.

We have long known that prisons can and in fact do dehumanize. Because the problems and the prisoners are out of sight we did nothing. However, the problem is there. We must respond to the problem in a constructive manner. If, as statistics show, 95 percent of those in prison will eventually be released then the only constructive response to the problem will be to pursue a course of action such as I have indicated above that strongly accentuates the rehabilitative process and prepares these men to lead normal, productive lives after they are released.

A visit to any urban courtroom will indicate a disproportionate number of blacks, Spanish Americans and other minority defendants—a number which is out of proportion to the general population. We are going to have to direct our attention to the cause of this disparity. America will have to address itself to the root causes of crime; the inadequate education, housing, and job opportunities. Avenues that are closed to minority members will have to be opened to them if we are going to attempt to do away with the causes of crime.

I certainly do not want to sound like a prophet of doom. However, if the conditions which exist are not corrected then we may face a repetition of what occurred at Attica. We are facing a challenge. We have a responsibility. Not to act now is to opt for a continuation of the conditions which exist. So, let us act and respond constructively to the problems which confront us.

ALASKA AIRLINES PAYS TRIBUTE TO ITS DEAD

HON. NICK BEGICH

OF ALASKA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 22, 1971

Mr. BEGICH. Mr. Speaker, on Saturday, September 4, 1971, a Boeing 727 jet crashed against a mountainside near Juneau, Alaska, and took the lives of 111 people.

The tragedy that happened on that Labor Day weekend is almost beyond human understanding. The loss of a life is always catastrophic but when 111 people die suddenly and tragically, words become difficult.

However, Mr. Speaker, on September 12, a very moving article was published in the Seattle Times. The author, Stan Patty, says the many things we all feel, and I believe it appropriate that I share this article with my colleagues in the House of Representatives.

The article follows:

ALASKA AIRLINES PAYS TRIBUTE TO ITS DEAD
(By Stanton H. Patty)

Skies were a gloomy gray last Wednesday afternoon above the funeral home hard by Seattle-Tacoma International Airport.

Hundreds of grieving persons, knit together by their work and now by tragedy, filed silently into the chapel. They were pilots, mechanics, secretaries, salesmen, executives and others.

This was the Alaska Airlines "family" come to pay tribute to their dead comrades at a sorrowful memorial service.

The seven-member crew of Flight 1866—along with 104 passengers in their care—died Saturday, September 4, when Aircraft No. N2969G, a Boeing 727 trijet, smashed against a mountainside near Juneau, Alaska.

So many employes turned out for the service that many had to stand outside the chapel doors. The flight-deck crews wore their airline uniforms.

A clergyman called the roll of the dead... Capt. Richard C. Adams, the pilot; First Officer Leonard D. (Red) Beach and his wife, Cathy, one of the stewardesses; James J. Carson, flight engineer; Patti Kessner, Patricia Hilla and Deborah Berg, the other stewardesses.

"What does a person say on an occasion like this?" asked the Rev. Richard P. Lesnick.

Father Lesnick answered his question this way: At least Dick Adams and his crew did something with their lives by developing their talents to serve others.

"This is love," he said.

Then Charles F. Willis, Jr., looking haggard and close to tears, walked to the chapel and leaned toward the public-address-system microphone.

"We are here to say goodbye to some of our family," Willis said hoarsely.

"This is a family that always pulled together in adversity, and played together in good times."

Willis' voice broke as he recalled close association with Adams and the others.

"We've lost some fine friends," he continued, with difficulty. "Let's show them we're the best in the business—doing a job in Alaska that has to be done."

The roar of jets taking off from the airport nearby drowned out the prayers at times. But, somehow, the sounds did not seem out of place.

Perhaps better than anything else the nondenominational service illustrated what keeps Alaska Airlines glued together.

Small by airline standards, but spunky and personal, Alaska Airlines lost one fifth of its regular jet fleet in the crash of Flight 1866. Dazed, but fueled with courage, the airline pressed on even as weary workers toiled on the mountainside to recover the bodies of the 111 victims.

On top of everything else, the little airline which had stretched its wings with history-making tourist flights to Russia the past two summer seasons, was preparing to welcome a high-level delegation of Soviet government officials to Alaska and Seattle.

The Russians were scheduled to cross the North Pole and land in Anchorage within hours after the crash of Flight 1866.

There still was time to cancel the visit, and this was considered. But only briefly.

The decision was made to continue with the original schedule for the Russian visitors. "It was in the best interests of the company and the country," Willis said.

The week just past was the longest of Charlie Willis' life.

It began for Willis on the tragic Saturday morning when he stepped off an airplane at Gustavus, 50 miles or so northwest of Juneau, for a meeting with tour wholesalers in the idyllic scenery of Glacier Bay.

There was an urgent telephone message from Juneau. Flight 1866 was overdue by 20 minutes and not answering radio calls!

Taking the Alaska Airlines Twin Otter bush plane, Willis combed the area near the jet's last reported position, found nothing and flew to Juneau.

Quickly, three helicopters began searching from Juneau. A half hour later the pilot of one "chopper" radioed that he thought he had sighted the wreckage.

Willis and his right-hand assistant, Bob Giersdorf, and an Alaska state trooper, boarded another helicopter and flew to the site.

They landed near the beach and literally crawled up a hillside of loose shale and scrub trees to the shattered 727. One look and Willis knew there was no hope that anyone would be found alive.

The jet had hurtled into the face of a sharp ridge rising at a 60-degree angle from the valley in the Chilkat Mountains 21 miles west of the Juneau Municipal Airport.

"There were just bits and pieces of what had been an airplane," Willis recalled. "I knew there was no hope. The largest pieces of the aircraft we found were almost unidentifiable."

Willis was bitter as he surveyed the wreckage.

"Not only had we lost one of our finest crews and all those passengers, but this was our first fatality in more than 15 years," he said. "For the past three years in a row we had received the National Safety Award, the industry's highest award."

"All I could feel was bitterness and grief."

But Willis, a longtime pilot himself, also sensed that "something out of the ordinary was wrong."

"I still feel that way," he said.

"Dick Adams was a great pilot. He had made that approach (to Juneau) hundreds of times. It was like walking in his own front door."

"Now the job is to find out what happened. Nobody knows."

Willis was angry, too, because repeated requests by Alaska and other airlines for installation of distance-measuring equipment known to airmen as 'D.M.E.', had gone unheeded.

"We had asked for it four or five years ago," he said. "In fact, we became quite a pest about it."

"D.M.E. is one check that would have prevented whatever went amiss. It is precise within a fraction of a mile."

Soon after the crash Willis met with Alaska Gov. William A. Egan. The governor told him he would ask the Federal Aviation Admin-

istration "immediately" to install D.M.E. and surveillance radar at the Juneau airport.

The F.A.A. announced Friday that it may put in distance-measuring equipment on a test basis at Juneau next year.

"It's sort of strange to think that the capital of a state doesn't have these two elementary pieces of equipment for its airport already" Willis said. "But I don't mean to be critical of the F.A.A."

Willis also disclosed that there is a question as to whether Juneau radio-beams system known as "V.O.R." was operating correctly at the moment of the crash.

"The V.O.R. may have been off," he said. "The pilot of a Canadian plane the same day reported that it was way off and landed to complain and have his radio checked. But we don't know."

"The bald fact is that a radio can be off one minute and on the next."

Willis' temper also came to a boil Wednesday after Robert D. Rudich, a National Transportation Safety Board audio specialist, told the press that the crew of Flight 1866 might have been confused on its position. Rudich made the statement after preliminary analysis of the voice-recorder tape found in the wreckage.

"I think it is inexcusable for anybody, including a government employe, to comment on an official investigation before all the facts are in and an official report is made," Willis declared.

"It is a terrible thing for the surviving kin to be subjected to such conjecture by someone who just wanted to spout off."

"Consider the effect his statement had on the families and the rest of the company people—and on the day of the memorial services for the crew."

"To say at this point that it might have been pilot error is absolutely inexcusable. It could be many months before the official report is made."

"To say that about a crew that is dead and can't answer for themselves is unfair."

Willis admired 41-year-old Adams as a man and as a pilot. So did Adams' fellow pilots.

"Dick Adams was a cool-even-tempered, optimistic man, one of the finest men you could find," Willis said. "The pilot group said he was the best—and they should know."

"Our pilots are probably better than anyone flying, because of their North Country experience. Flying up there has to be more exact because of the tough conditions and you have to be able to anticipate problems."

"Dick Adams' file has nothing in it but commendations."

The disaster of Flight 1866 plunged the entire airline into deep sorrow. More so, perhaps, than if it had happened to another company.

"I'm not too good with words," Willis said. "But I don't think of this group of people as an airline. I call them a family."

"The job Alaska Airlines personnel do is different, I think, I know, than with any other aviation organization. We are a vital part of every community we serve in Alaska. We have to be."

"Transportation is really a side aspect of what I'm trying to say. "These people, especially in the bleak Arctic, depend on us. It's hard to understand unless you have lived there."

"In a sense, we are a public utility. The towns and villages can't function without us. Our people become part of these communities."

"Perhaps I'm not as good a businessman as I should be, but I've always felt a personal responsibility that when I hired someone he should do a good job for his community, as well as for the company. They must make the communities part of their lives."

"These are the kind of people we have. They are Alaska-oriented—all the way. It is

routine for them to do things out of the ordinary for others."

"Dick Adams and his crew were this kind of people."

Alaska Airlines was a near-defunct outfit when Willis, now 53, took over as president in 1956.

It still is in financial distress, but carries more passengers to and from Alaska, and within Alaska, than any other carrier. Something like 500,000 persons a year, almost twice the state's population, ride Alaska.

Willis recalled how his management has survived three proxy fights in recent years. More than 100 employes, including pilots, volunteered to fan out over the nation each time to talk to individual stockholders.

"I asked them to go out and tell the stockholders in their own words what we are doing and why," Willis said. "They got about a 96 per cent return for us from the proxies."

"Dick Adams was one of these volunteers. He was always walking into my office and saying, 'Charlie, what else can I do?'"

Financially, Willis reported, the past year has been "the toughest ever" for the airline. Factors included the general economic recession and the slump in North Slope oil activity in Alaska.

In May the airline almost ran out of cash and asked the employes to forgo one week's wages. They did, with grace. Some even offered to take pay cuts. Now they are being reimbursed at \$25 a payday.

"But we went into the black in June and I think we are coming along fine now," Willis said.

The loss of Flight 1866 will not ruin the airline financially. Willis said the tragedy is covered by insurance "in every respect."

The Seattle-based airline has about 1,000 employes.

There have been suggestions, and nibbles, from time to time that Alaska be merged with a stronger carrier. Willis told how the presidents of several major airlines had sat across the desk from him to inquire about it.

"No, I don't see a merger down the road," he said "I frankly don't think any other airline would want to take on the responsibilities we have for the communities we serve. "There is a need in Alaska for our kind of organization."

Willis said he feels "a monkey on my back" for the responsibility he has in preserving jobs for Alaska's employes and their families.

"The easiest thing for me to do would be to just throw in the sponge," he said. "But I'm not going to do that. I know in my heart that this company is necessary."

The employes, at all levels, greet Willis as "Charlie."

"That is what I want them to call me," he said.

"Our people are just great," Willis added. "Alaska is a cruel country that requires people who are willing to step out front and do the extraordinary. That's the way our people are."

"The spirit here is each person helping the other."

Willis put it this way in a teletype message to all stations on the Alaska system last week:

"In a small family like ours the tragic event of last weekend was more keenly experienced by all of us . . . Fate has taken from us good friends and fellow employes and has thwarted our plans and their dreams."

"Alaska requires people who are willing to step out front and do the extraordinary. That's the way our people are."

"Despite our deep loss we will pull ourselves together and carry on . . ."

Death is not a stranger to Willis. During World War II he commanded Navy patrol and night-fighter squadrons in the Pacific that suffered 50 per cent casualties. He spent all of his leave time visiting the families of the dead aviators.

"That kind of an experience makes you realize your responsibilities all too closely," he said.

Willis said the airline mourns for the passengers of Flight 1866, as well as the crew. He would like to find a way to express this to the passengers' families. Somehow, a personal letter from Willis does not seem enough.

"I'm just not sure what we'll do," he said.

Meanwhile, Alaska Airlines has taken on the grim job of notifying the next of kin and arranging to ship the victims' remains from Juneau after identifications are made.

Alaska's Hercules transport planes, more at home on the North Slope oilfields, have been used to fly the necessary caskets to Juneau. The cooperation of sister airlines has been what Willis's staff calls "excellent" and Alaska Airlines is grateful.

If anything can buoy Willis's spirits at this point, it is the response of customers.

"We didn't get a single cancellation after the accident, not one," Willis said. "If that isn't typical Alaskan, what is?"

But the past week still was the longest of Charlie Willis' life.

PROPOSALS FOR PHASE II

HON. RICHARD T. HANNA

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 22, 1971

Mr. HANNA. Mr. Speaker, a few days ago I suggested to my colleagues in the House that the wage-price freeze ought to be terminated short of the original 90-day period. I indicated at that time that I would present to the House my recommendations for a workable price stabilization program that could be of long-term value. I am presenting those recommendations at this time for review and comment by my colleagues. I am sure that many will agree with me that the post-freeze policy should be substantially influenced by the Congress.

Over the course of our Nation's post-World War II history, we have had four different bouts with inflation. The Federal Government in each case took some kind of action to blunt inflationary pressures. Our range of policies has varied over the years from doing almost nothing to strict Federal management and control of wages and prices.

Looking back over the experiences we have had with the different types of policies, I note a few abundantly clear facts. The first is that wage-price controls—voluntary or otherwise—really boil down to wage controls. There are three reasons why this is so:

First. Wage controls are more easily enforced.

Second. Exceptions are more frequently made for prices than for wages.

Third. Wage-price decisions in most cases are controlled by the same entity—the businessman/employer. Voluntary guidelines are of limited applicability because an employer can choose to hold back wage increases but not price increases.

The second clear lesson we can draw from past experience is that our economy is too large and diverse and fragmented for us to expect mandatory con-

trols to be enforced throughout the economy by the Government.

The third lesson that we must acknowledge is that, as the largest consumer of products in the economy, the Federal Government has a means of influencing the pricing decisions in the economy. Twice in the last decade announced price increases in steel have been rescinded following the President's announcement that Government purchases would be shifted away from those products using the higher priced steel.

The fourth lesson is that wage-price guidelines have been effective only during periods of economic recovery. Once full employment is achieved, the pressures for wage and price increases are too great for the guideline policy to be effective. Our recent history would suggest, therefore, that with over 6 percent unemployment nationally we are again in a position for guidelines to work.

With these lessons in mind I am recommending that the following steps be taken for a period of 12 months, beginning on November 14, 1971:

First. Establishment of an Incomes Policy Review Board comprised of the Secretary of the Treasury, the Chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers, the Secretary of Labor, the Secretary of Commerce, and the Chairman of the Federal Reserve Board. The Incomes Policy Review Board—IPRB—will have the power to enforce the wage-price controls on selected industries and will have subpoena power on every industry.

Also, an advisory panel will be established, with representatives appointed by the President from industry, labor, and the public. The IPRB must have their advice before any decision is announced.

Second. Wage-price guidelines will apply in mandatory form to the auto industry and to the metals, extractive, and transportation industries, due to the fact that these industries are not in free market competition.

In connection with this point, the President has allowed to leak out the news that his Phase II guidelines will apply only to "major industries." As the preceding plan suggests, I am in general agreement with such a policy.

I suggest that wage-price guidelines be voluntary in other industries.

The guidelines on wages:

No increase will be allowed that is above the annual increase in overall productivity as estimated by the Council of Economic Advisers.

The guidelines on prices:

Increased costs should be transferred to higher productivity and not higher prices; however, price increases will be allowed when productivity in the industry falls below the overall average. These exceptions will be granted by the IPRB only on merit.

Third. Rent increases will be allowed only at a rate to be established by the IPRB.

Fourth. The IPRB is authorized to set maximums on interest rates and dividend payments.

Fifth. The inducement for compliance will be based on Government procurement practices. When a member of an industry is not acting in the public in-

terest, it should lose its approval status as a Government contractor. The IPRB shall be empowered to make such a determination and order.

The President, on the other hand, has hinted that he will seek to enforce announced wage-price guidelines through injunction and civil suit brought by the Justice Department in the Federal district courts. Such a plan would very likely add a tremendous volume of cases to our already overcrowded Federal courts. I wonder, Mr. Speaker, if the President intends to ask the Congress for an expansion of the Federal district court system in order to facilitate this additional case load. I commend the desire to avoid a massive bureaucracy, but neither is it advisable to make administrative agencies out of the courts.

It may very well be that the President assumes that the court cases will be few, due to voluntary compliance with his wage-price edict. I would say, Mr. Speaker, that this is the very height of naivete. As I implied earlier, it is probable that there will be wage compliance but price cheating.

Sixth. Tax incentives in the form of investment tax credits should be opposed as too big a boon and too one sided. Tax credits to the consumer for the purchase of durable goods should be supported as a stimulant to jobs in a way that aids the people who need help the most.

Seventh. Priority should be given to the groups that were disadvantaged by the freeze. All wage and price contracts that were to have gone into effect at some point during the freeze would become effective on November 14, 1971.

Mr. Speaker, I present the above program as my response to what I fear is a wait-and-see form of economic planning on the part of this administration. I believe that we have seen enough. If the American people are to have imposed upon them a system of wage-price controls, they have the right to expect that the controls and the enforcement of those controls will be equitable. The plan that the President has leaked shows signs of a dangerous bias against wages. I hope that many of my colleague will join me in urging the President to insure an equal burden of controls on prices, rents, and other income forms besides wages.

I deeply regret, Mr. Speaker, the decision of the House leadership to discourage legislative action on phase II. The last 45 days should have taught us that the President's abuse of the discretions we have given him has placed the burden of economic sacrifice on the shoulders of the workingman and consumer. I have serious doubts that, in the absence of more specific directives from the Congress, the President's programs will apply as forcefully to rents, interest, prices, and dividends as it does to wages and salaries. The Economic Stabilization Act will have to be renewed by the 92d Congress. I feel very strongly that it should be amended to give more direction to the President and state more clearly the intent of the Congress.

In the meantime, I offer the above suggestions for comment and consideration by my colleagues in the House and by my constituents.

THE STRIP MINING OF COAL: A
CLEAR AND PRESENT DANGER

HON. KEN HECHLER

OF WEST VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 22, 1971

Mr. HECHLER of West Virginia. Mr. Speaker, there follows the text of a statement which I delivered before the Subcommittee on Mines and Mining, House Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, September 20, 1971, in support of H.R. 4556. Accompanying me were Arnold Ray Miller, an underground coal miner with 25 years' experience, and past president of local union No. 2903, United Mine Workers of America; Prof. William H. Miernyk, professor of economics and director of the Regional Research Institute, West Virginia University; and Prof. Robert L. Smith, professor of wildlife biology, Division of Forestry, West Virginia University and a noted ecologist:

STATEMENT OF REPRESENTATIVE KEN HECHLER
(D-W. Va.)

The strip mining of coal constitutes a clear and present danger to the balance of life on spaceship earth.

According to the U.S. Geological Survey, in 1965 an area of land the size of the entire state of Delaware had been disturbed by the strip-mining of coal.

The same sources indicate that today, an area of land nearly the size of the states of Delaware plus Rhode Island has been disturbed by the strip-mining of coal.

The Geological Survey projects that to strip mine the remaining recoverable resources of coal "could result in disturbed land covering 71,000 square miles—an area longer than the combined areas of Pennsylvania and West Virginia.

Unreclaimed strip-mined land, according to the Soil Conservation Service, would constitute a band of land one mile wide stretching from New York to San Francisco.

As pyrite is exposed to oxygen and moisture, sulfuric acid runoff results from strip-mining, killing fish and aquatic life and eventually killing the streams themselves.

It is estimated that 1,500 tons of mineral acid are produced every day due to strip mining.

The habitat for wildlife has been seriously disturbed or destroyed as a result of strip-mining. The Bureau of Sport Fisheries estimates that "two-thirds of the fish and wildlife habitat disturbed could be classified as being severely or moderately affected."

1,024,000 acres of coal strip-mined lands were unreclaimed as of one year ago, according to the Department of the Interior, and this acreage is rapidly escalating instead of being reduced.

145,146 acres of lakes and ponds have been adversely affected by silt and acid from strip-mining as of one year ago, according to the Department of the Interior, and this acreage is rapidly escalating instead of being reduced.

Surface-mined land "destroys outdoor recreation resources valued at \$35 million annually, including \$22.5 million worth of annual fish and wildlife benefits," according to the Department of the Interior.

A U.S. Geological Survey study estimates that 30,000 tons of silt per square mile were discharged from a strip-mined area in eastern Kentucky, while only 27.9 tons per square mile annually were discharged from a timbered valley.

Over 13,000 miles of streams have been polluted by acid from strip mines.

According to the Department of the Interior, strip-mining has resulted in "signifi-

cant socio-economic losses such as retarded employment, investment opportunities, depressing social environments, abnormal physical and mental hazards, and esthetically unattractive landscapes."

20,000 miles of "highwalls"—the signature of the strip miner engaging in contour mining—can never be restored.

"Big Muskie", a giant earth-mover in southeastern Ohio, can pick up 220 cubic yards in one scoop, remove 4 million yards of overburden a month, and is typical of the huge machinery which makes "reclamation" extremely difficult, if not prohibitively expensive.

Strip-mining disturbs or destroys one square mile for every 1.9 million tons of coal produced.

It would cost \$28,165,500 to control the sedimentation problem caused by strip-mining of the Coal River Watershed in West Virginia, according to a 1969 study of the U.S. Soil Conservation Service.

Silt is filling up the mouth of the Coal River as a result of strip-mining, threatening the water supply of the city of St. Albans, W. Va.

Spoil banks created by strip-mining are highly unstable and cause massive landslides.

Dynamite blasting seriously affects the water table and water supply of many homes in strip-mined areas.

Many people have had their homes damaged, water supply polluted, and property values depleted as a result of the strip mining of coal.

The increase of coal prospecting permits on Federal lands has catapulted up to 733,576 acres, a 50 percent increase in the fiscal year ending July 1970, according to the Bureau of Land Management.

The Bureau of Indian Affairs reports an increase from 0 to 500,000 acres in the same period for exploration rights which may turn into coal land leases.

The "coal rush" boom is on in Arizona, Colorado, Montana, New Mexico, North Dakota and Wyoming, where nearly one million acres of public and Indian lands have been leased, not to mention the huge acreage owned by the land-grant railroads and other private owners.

Heavy strip-mining areas of West Virginia had some of the greatest losses of population in the state. Of the ten counties leading in the production of strip-mined coal, nine of these had population losses ranging from 6.2% to 29% or an average of 17.6%. This is a loss of nearly three times the state average of 6.2%, contrasting the census of 1970 with 1960.

Contour mining has caused landslides on 1,700 miles of slopes.

The Bureau of Sport Fisheries and Wildlife reports that of the streams receiving direct run-off from strip-mined spoil banks, 31% were noticeably laden with precipitates, and 37% had discolored water. The precipitates are ferric hydroxide sludge (commonly "yellow boy", by name).

ALARM BELL IN THE NIGHT

The alarm bell is ringing, but America sleeps.

The most startling single statistic about strip-mining is the fact that for the year 1970, 43.8 percent of all coal production was strip-mined. In 1968, the percentage was 36.9%, and it moved up to 38.1% in 1969.

This percentage is not just inching upward; there is a strip-mine explosion which is ripping off the land from the tribal lands of the Navajo and Hopi Indians in the southwest to the forests of Alabama, to the Great Plains and the trapping of huge strippable reserves in the west, in addition to Appalachia.

Half a century ago, a modest 5,057,000 tons of coal was strip-mined, and this was only 1.2% of the total. By 1941, strip-mining had risen to 10.7% of total coal production, rising

to 22.7% in 1951, and 32.3% in 1961. Observers have little doubt that next year for the first time in history more coal will be mined by strip and auger methods than underground methods, and the percentage will continue to rise unless Congress acts to stop this devastation of the land, soil, streams and forests.

HARRY CAUDILL'S VISION

Ten years ago, the American public was relatively complacent about the adverse effects of strip-mining. During the '60s, only a few voices were crying in the wilderness. One of these was Harry Caudill, whose classic book, "Night Comes to the Cumberlands", depicted conditions which caused amazed readers to shake their heads in disbelief. As Caudill tells it,

"A mountaineer claimed that a company had plowed up his mountainsides, covered his bottomland with rubble, caused his well to go dry and, in his own words, had 'plumb broke' him. After he had heard all the evidence and arguments of counsel, the trial judge dismissed the case. In doing so he told the mountaineer, 'I deeply sympathize with you and sincerely wish I could rule for you. My hands are tied by the rulings of the Court of Appeals and under the law I must follow its decisions. The truth is that about the only rights you have on your land is to breathe on it and pay the taxes. For all practical purposes the company that owns the minerals in your land owns all the other rights pertaining to it.'"

Caudill also writes: "In the flat country of western Kentucky, where thousands of acres had already been devastated by strip-mining, the coal seams lie only thirty to sixty feet beneath the surface. The overburden is scraped off and the coal is scooped out. Inevitably such topsoil as the land affords is buried under towering heaps of subsoil. When the strippers move on, once level meadows and cornfields have been converted to jumbled heaps of hardpan, barren clay from deep in the earth. This hellish landscape is slow to support vegetation and years elapse before the yellow waste turns green again. In the meantime, immense quantities of dirt have crept into the sluggish streams, and have choked them. . . ."

"In 1954 Kentucky's Governor Lawrence Wetherby advocated a mild bill designed to restrain the operators from the worst of their abuses. Immediately, the holding companies and the industry reacted as if they had been stung by a huge bee. Lobbyists dragged out all the timeworn arguments again and the lawmakers were solemnly assured that strip and auger mining are good for the region's economy, creating jobs and bringing prosperity to Main Street. A diluted version of an initially weak bill was passed but successive governors have failed to enforce even its mild strictures. . . . Little effort is made to reclaim or stabilize the land, and indeed, reclamation is rarely possible once the surface has been so violently disturbed. Under the law strippers are required to replant their wrecked and ravaged acres. . . . Few operators seriously attempt to comply with the reclamation regulations; most are permitted virtually to ignore them."

TREMENDOUS NATIONWIDE INTEREST

The bill which is co-sponsored by 90 Members of Congress, H.R. 4556 and related bills, includes provisions which apply to both surface and underground coal mining. My office has been flooded with letters, telegrams and telephone calls from every state in the union, and several foreign countries, ever since this bill was introduced on February 18, 1971. I commend this Committee for holding these hearings, and for the Committee's efforts in the protection of our natural resources, our great national parks and recreation areas, wild rivers and scenic trails, and the Committee's dedicated interest in environmental protection. I know that Members of this Committee can be proud of the tremendous

outpouring of public and national interest in these hearings, which have necessitated extending the hearings into October. As soon as the word went forth that hearings would be held on this vital issue, my office was besieged with a barrage of inquiries from those individuals and organizations affected by strip mining and eager to present testimony.

There follows at this point a table outlining some of the basic differences between H.R. 4556 and the Administration Bill (H.R. 4704):

1. Does the bill apply to all underground and surface coal mines? Under H.R. 4556, Yes. Under H.R. 4704/Administration Bill, No.

2. Are regulations required for all such mines? Under H.R. 4556, Yes. Under H.R. 4704/Administration Bill, No. The administration's bill does not require it for Federal lands or Indian lands, but merely authorizes it on these lands at the discretion of Federal agencies.

3. Does it apply to Indian lands? Under H.R. 4556, Yes. Under H.R. 4704/Administration Bill, No.

4. Does it apply to all minerals? Under H.R. 4556, No—just coal. Under H.R. 4704/Administration Bill, Yes.

5. Who administers the bill? Under H.R. 4556, EPA. Under H.R. 4704/Administration Bill, Interior Department.

6. Would the bill prohibit all surface coal mining within 6 months? Under H.R. 4556, Yes. Under H.R. 4704/Administration Bill, No.

7. Would the bill prohibit underground and surface coal mining in wilderness areas? Under H.R. 4556, Yes. Under H.R. 4704/Administration Bill, No.

8. Would it limit underground coal mining in national forests? Under H.R. 4556, Yes. Under H.R. 4704/Administration Bill, No.

9. Will EPA issue national standards of environmental control for active and planned underground coal mines? Under H.R. 4556, Yes—they must be published within 90 days after enactment and effective 90 days later. Under H.R. 4704/Administration Bill, No.

10. Must 50 States submit plans or regulations for reclamation at active and planned underground coal mines? Under H.R. 4556, Yes—within 1 year after enactment. Under H.R. 4704/Administration Bill, Yes—within 2 years after enactment and covers surface mines also.

11. Does the bill provide civil and criminal penalties and injunctions? Under H.R. 4556, Yes, civil penalties—\$10,000 for each violation; criminal penalties of \$25,000 or imprisonment for first violation, and \$50,000 for second. Under H.R. 4704/Administration Bill, Yes, civil penalties—\$1,000 per day after first 15 days; criminal—\$10,000 for violations or 1-year imprisonment.

12. Does the bill provide for class action suits similar to the Clean Air Act? Under H.R. 4556, Yes. Under H.R. 4704/Administration Bill, No.

13. Does the bill provide grants for reclaiming abandoned and inactive coal mines? Under H.R. 4556, Yes—up to 90-percent grants. Under H.R. 4704/Administration Bill, No.

In addition, I should like to point out several other features of H.R. 4556, and indicate why they differ from the administration bill:

First, H.R. 4556 applies to surface and underground coal mines located or planned anywhere in the United States, including those in Federal lands and Indian lands.

The administration bill transmitted to the Congress on February 10, 1971, does not apply to Indian lands. Further, the administration's bill does not require any regulation of these operations in the case of coal mining on "federally owned lands or land held in trust by the United States for Indians." It merely authorizes—see title III—Federal agencies "which have jurisdiction over land on which mining operations are permitted"—

but apparently not those where minerals are reserved—to promulgate, at their discretion, "environmental regulations to govern such mining operations."

In my judgment this is a significantly weak feature of the administration bill. The coal industry—indeed the oil industry—is turning more and more to the public lands of the United States to develop the coal resources therein. Why should the administration, in one breath, tell the States that they must regulate their coal mining operations to protect our environment, but, in another, say that, as to Federal lands and Indian lands located within the States, the Federal Government does not require regulation?

The administration bill covers all minerals. H.R. 4556 applies only to coal mining operations. The most serious adverse environmental effects stem from coal mining. I do not wish to confuse this issue by trying to regulate these other industries at the same time, although I would not object to efforts to control all minerals where necessary.

Second, H.R. 4556 provides that it be administered by the Environmental Protection Agency.

The administration bill proposes that the Interior Department administer the program.

The Interior Department is a management agency; it manages lands and resources. It is also interested in increased mineral production. Its record in trying to regulate the coal industry for health and safety has been dismal.

H.R. 4556 and also the administration bill both provide a management function. Both bills are standard-setting and regulatory bills. EPA now has a similar function in the case of air and water pollution control and the control of pesticides. Many of the environmental problems associated with coal mining relate to air and water pollution. It is, therefore, logical and reasonable for EPA to have this function. Furthermore, inasmuch as forest lands of the Department of Agriculture's Forest Service are involved, it is logical to place control in the Environmental Protection Agency rather than the Interior Department.

Third, H.R. 4556 declares that "the public has a right to enjoy a safe and healthy human environment" and to expect that Federal, State, and local governments "will protect this right."

The administration bill has no similar declaration.

Fourth, H.R. 4556 prohibits the opening of any new, abandoned, or inactive surface coal mine. It also requires, in the case of existing surface coal mines, that EPA shall promulgate regulations within 30 days after enactment governing the content of reclamation plans for such mines; the regulations shall require that all surface coal mining operations shall cease within 6 months after enactment, except those necessary to reclaim the lands; the operators of such mines shall submit for EPA's approval reclamation plans within 60 days after enactment; and the failure of an operator to submit a plan for approval or to comply with it shall not relieve him of his responsibility to do so.

The administration bill does not prohibit all surface coal mining. In fact, for at least 2 years such mining would go unregulated under the administration bill.

COAL MINING PROHIBITED IN WILDERNESS AREAS

Fifth, H.R. 4556 would prohibit any underground and surface coal mining in areas of the national wilderness system.

The administration bill has no similar provision.

Sixth, H.R. 4556 would require that no surface coal mining be conducted in national forests, and that underground coal mining in the national forests be conducted so as not to damage or destroy any area of the forests or the natural resources thereof.

The administration bill has no similar provision.

CONTROL OF UNDERGROUND MINING

Seventh, H.R. 4556 would control underground coal mining so as to reduce or eliminate adverse environmental effects. It would require that EPA publish, within 90 days after enactment, regulations prescribing national environmental control standards for active and planned underground coal mines and that those regulations, after public comment, shall be finally promulgated 90 days later. Then, each of the 50 States must adopt after public hearings, and submit to EPA, within 6 months after such promulgation, a plan for the effective implementation, maintenance, and enforcement of these promulgated EPA regulations. EPA will approve those plans which provide for permits or licenses for underground coal mines and for renewal thereof at least every 3 years; for performance bonds; for reports on the actions taken or planned to protect the environment and the effectiveness of such actions; for prohibiting the opening of new underground coal mines where such mining would result in a violation of applicable air or water quality standards or would be detrimental to health or welfare; for timetables to insure compliance with the plan; and for periodic revision of the plans.

If EPA finds that a State has failed to submit a plan, or that it has been disapproved, or that a State fails to make revisions in it after notice from the EPA, the Administrator of the Environmental Protection Agency must issue regulations covering such operations in the State which shall then apply to such operations.

The administration bill would give the States up to 2 years to submit approvable regulations governing surface and underground coal mines.

The administration bill also provides, in section 201(a)(2) that the mining operations must not "result in a violation of applicable water or air quality standards." But section 201(b) of the administration's bill directs that the State regulations "shall be further elaborated" by the Secretary of the Interior through "guidelines" which he must issue 30 days after enactment. These are issued without any opportunity for public comment on them. We have seen the disastrous effects of not providing for public review of regulations and guidelines before they are finalized in the case of coal mine health and safety regulations.

This section of the administration bill also directs that the guidelines "shall attempt to assure that State regulations provide the operator of a mining operation sufficient flexibility to choose the most economically efficient means of meeting the requirements of section 201(a)(2)" which relate to air and water quality standards.

I cannot understand the meaning of this provision or the need for it. Neither the Clean Air Act, nor the Federal Water Pollution Control Act, prevents anyone subject to air or water quality standards from choosing whatever means necessary to achieve the requirements of the standards. Thus, this provision is not necessary.

The Clean Air Act Amendments of 1970 specifically provide that air quality standards and requirements are mandatory and that only technological considerations, not economic considerations will be applied. This provision of the administration bill appears to change this requirement of the 1970 law.

The administration bill provides that if a State fails to submit environmental regulations within 2 years after enactment, the Secretary of the Interior must "promptly" issue them, but no time frame is established for doing so.

PENALTIES AND CLASS ACTION SUITS

Eighth, H.R. 4556 provides for civil and criminal penalties and for injunctions and other actions to enforce its provisions, regulations, and plans.

The administration bill has similar provi-

sions, but its civil penalties are only applied after 15 days of continuing violations.

Ninth, H.R. 4556 provides for citizen class action suits as do the Clean Air Act Amendments of 1970.

The administration bill contains no similar provision.

Tenth, H.R. 4556 protects employees who notify EPA of violations or testify regarding enforcement of the act from being discharged or discriminated against. This provision is also in the Federal Coal Mine Health and Safety Act of 1969.

The administration bill does not.

Eleventh, H.R. 4556 provides up to 90 percent grants for "reclaiming" abandoned or inactive coal mines under plans to be submitted to EPA for approval and where the Administrator finds such "reclaiming" is feasible. The requirements for such plans are set forth in the bill.

The administration bill has no similar provision.

JURISDICTION IN ENVIRONMENTAL PROTECTION AGENCY

There are a number of additional reasons why I believe it is important to vest the administration of this act in the Environmental Protection Agency, rather than the Bureau of Mines.

The entire philosophy which dominates the operation of the Bureau of Mines, and the Administration Bill itself, is that mining technology, economics and production are the highest goals to be served—so therefore all concerns which relate to the environment must be subordinate to these goals. I would like to make a plea to this Committee that equal and exact justice be restored by giving at least equal weight to those factors which adversely affect the environment. I do not believe that we can any longer weaken environmental safeguards in order to insure that operators can profitably mine the coal.

When Gifford Pinchot was in his prime, I doubt if he ever experienced the evils of strip mining, yet he knew something about fundamental values when he penned these words: "The American Colossus was fiercely intent on appropriating and exploiting the riches of the richest of all continents—grasping with both hands, reaping where he had not sown, wasting what he thought would last forever. New railroads were opening new territory. The exploiters were pushing farther and farther into the wilderness. The man who could get his hands on the biggest slice of natural resources was the best citizen. Wealth and virtue were supposed to trot in double harness."

Let us look for a moment at the regulations of the Department of the Interior entitled "Surface Exploration, Mining and Reclamation of Lands" which state: "It is the policy of this Department to encourage the development of the mineral resources under its jurisdiction where mining is authorized. However, the public interest requires that . . . adequate measures be taken to avoid, minimize, or correct damage to the environment . . ." (emphasis supplied.)

Even where "previous experience" has shown the Department that mining operations "cannot feasibly be conducted by any known methods or measures to avoid" severe environmental damage, these regulations merely authorize, not direct, the authorizing official to "prohibit or otherwise restrict" such operations.

The Environmental Protection Agency, on the other hand, was established to provide a central source of expertise on environmental controls. It is not production-oriented. It has no mission to manage mineral resources for development purposes, as does the Department of the Interior. It provides a fresh and modern approach to a problem which demands fresh and modern solutions if we hope to protect human life and its sustenance on spaceship earth.

PRODUCTION-ORIENTED PHILOSOPHY

H.R. 4704, the administration bill, contains a provision which once again reveals the bias of the Department of the Interior in drafting a bill which shows the production-oriented philosophy of the Department charged with administering the bill. Section 201 (b) on page 8 of H.R. 4704 establishes that the Department's guidelines "shall attempt to assure that State regulations provide the operator of a mining operation sufficient flexibility to choose the most economically efficient means of meeting" environmental requirements, including "applicable water or air quality standards." The section also states that they "shall be based on consideration of" several factors, including "a comparison of the costs and benefits of achieving alternative levels" of the environmental requirements.

It is obvious that this section is included because of the strong feeling and pressure by industry that without such a provision some zealous public servants might require perhaps too much reclamation or controls to protect the environment.

H.R. 4556 (Sec. II) contains broad provisions for making all information except trade secrets, and it is in this area that I would like to point out a rather typical example of the production-oriented approach of the Bureau of Mines. Just last week, the Bureau of Mines released its 1970 figures on total coal tonnage produced, with the amount of strip, auger and underground coal mined during 1970. Despite the fact that we are already in the ninth month of 1971, it is incredible that the Bureau of Mines has no accurate information on how much coal is being strip-mined during any month of 1971. After several inquiries, the Bureau of Mines came up with estimates of the total amount of coal produced during each of the first six months of 1971, but still could not provide any data whatsoever on how much of this was strip-mined. When I ask Bureau officials whether they were at all interested in where the coal came from, they said they would not have such figures until September, 1972 to cover the entire year 1971. However, the Bureau of Mines does publish an extremely detailed 30-page pamphlet which reveals in minute detail where the coal production goes, how much to electric utilities, how much to all other sources, whether it is shipped by rail and other methods, and the geographic distribution of where coal production winds up in its final destination. Although all this material covers the first quarter of 1971, the Bureau of Mines still cannot supply an authoritative figure on how much of the coal produced in any month of 1971 is strip-mined.

NO STATISTICS FOR 1971 STRIP MINING

What is the excuse of the Bureau of Mines for this statistical backwardness? They say (1) they have never bothered to keep any such figures; (2) their production and distribution figures are collected from coal companies who haven't bothered to tell how they mine their coal, except that they will deign to tell at the end of the year, and then after a nine-month further wait we will finally know the secret by September, 1972, what happened in 1971.

On Thursday, I registered a complaint with Dr. Osborn's office, indicating that to me it was incredible with the Committee hearings starting September 20 that nobody had any interest in knowing how much of 1971's coal was being strip-mined. It was at this point that I was given an "unofficial guess", penned on a small yellow sheet of paper, that perhaps strip-mining constituted now 47.5% of total production. It was emphasized that this was a conservative guess and nothing more, and that the coal companies themselves had all the information.

I have taken the Committee through this statistical chamber of horrors merely to em-

phasize the point that this underlines the need for a vigorous, independent government agency like the Environmental Protection Agency to enforce strip-mine control and reclamation. It would be a grave mistake to allow the production-oriented Bureau of Mines to make the basic regulatory decisions in a field where they are beholden to the coal industry for such a simple statistic as the amount of coal which is strip-mined.

WHY IS IT NECESSARY TO BAN STRIP MINING OF COAL? WHY CAN'T STATE LAWS PROTECT AGAINST THE ADVERSE EFFECTS ON THE ENVIRONMENT?

Most of the states where there is strip-mining of coal have some form of regulatory statute. In most, the regulations are either too weak, or they are not effectively enforced.

But the most important factor is that all regulations start with the premise that the strip-mining of coal is inevitable and necessary, it cannot be curbed, and therefore the task of legislation and administrative regulations is to ease the more serious damages in such a way that the public outcry will be blunted. Most state statutes are studded with phrases such as "where practicable", or are worded so as to prevent "unreasonable" adverse effects such as siltation and pollution. The regulations for the most part are based not on environmental objectives, but on economic considerations.

According to the records of the West Virginia State Department of Natural Resources, approximately 300,000 acres of land have been disturbed in West Virginia, and 78,000 "re-planted." West Virginia was supposed to have a pretty "tough" strip-mining law in 1967, according to its advocates, but it just doesn't seem to have cut the mustard. As the reclamation laws have become increasingly strict, the amount of land reclaimed per year has declined and bond forfeitures for non-compliance have dramatically increased, according to the Department of Natural Resources.

In one case, in Kentucky, after eight violations without an order of suspension by the Kentucky Reclamation Division, the strip-ping company was notified that "future violations would not be tolerated."

One Kentucky coal operator was fined \$300 for stripping without a permit, but he did very well financially because he actually processed 788 tons of coal at \$10.00 a ton after he was caught.

The interesting thing about reclamation laws is that they generally specify certain procedures which ought to be followed, such as grading and planting, but then there are no rigorous attempts to be sure the strip-mine operator is held accountable for the condition of the land after it has been stripped. There is also a basic dilemma in state reclamation laws and regulations: the law is so worded that the public gets the impression the environment is being protected; talk of stiff law and stiff enforcement is equally deceptive, as it would give the coal operator the impression that the land could be fully restored and still make it profitable to strip-mine coal.

As a matter of fact, with the advent of huge earth-moving equipment like Big Muskie and the Gem of Egypt, reclamation costs are far higher than in the good old days when pick-and-shovel strip mining was carried out on a small scale.

ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL PRESSURE

There is great economic and political pressure on both state legislatures and state agencies administering the law to make the state law or regulations weak or flexible enough so that the jobs and industry created by strip mining will not leave and go to some other state. In West Virginia, I am frequently confronted with the argument that we badly need jobs and tax receipts in a state which has traditionally suffered both from high unemployment and a heavy exodus

of young people who cannot find jobs. This creates additional economic and political pressure to further weaken the law, and so bend the administration of the law so that the surface mining industry will remain in West Virginia. It is extremely difficult for state legislators, and those who administer the law, to withstand this kind of heavy pressure—which is immediate, insistent, belligerent, unbending, emotional, determined, and coupled with political threats which are also linked with hints of heavy campaign contributions to political opponents. The state and its elected public officials almost always seem to bend under this type of pressure frequently expressing the fear that the strip mining industry will simply move on with its jobs to some other state.

Although you can't move the source of coal seams to other states, there are indeed many states—particularly in the western region—where huge strippable resources and weak state laws do exist. When a state and its elected officials are put at a competitive disadvantage by these kinds of threats, there is a great tendency to weaken the strip mining law or its enforcement to satisfy the insistent demands of the strip mining industry. This is another strong argument for Federal rather than state legislation.

RECLAMATION?

"The technology exists to achieve effective reclamation," stated National Coal Association President Carl E. Bagge in a special statement on surface mining released September 16, 1971. Pennsylvania is reputed to have the "toughest" reclamation law in the nation, and West Virginia and Kentucky are supposed to have tough and effective laws. The Tennessee Valley Authority, including reclamation regulations in its strip-mined coal purchase contracts, states they "toughened" these regulations in December, 1970, and are in the process of toughening them even more. Federal and state legislators are being enthusiastically taken in tow by strip mining companies, to show them examples of where successful reclamation of strip-mined land has been achieved.

Much progress has been made in reclaiming strip-mined lands; there is no questioning this fact. There is also a vast and rising amount of money going into the first two letters of the words "PROGRESS". If all the money being spent by strip-mine companies on color photos, brochures, helicopter trips for legislators, bus trips for schoolchildren and service clubs, radio, television, newspaper ads, and public relations representatives were being spent on reclamation itself, perhaps there would be even more genuine progress instead of just "P-R."

As I indicated earlier, the Department of the Interior estimated a year ago that 1,024,000 acres were unreclaimed. Now if this total were gradually being reduced every year, we would have more cause for optimism, and more reason to listen with respect to the "P-R" from the strip miners. They reply that most of this damage was done by irresponsible, fly-by-night operators who moved in to skim off the cream, and today's breed of strip-mine operators are responsible businessmen who want to improve their image by really reclaiming the land. But there are still many more total acres of land damaged, property values depleted, homes and water supply threatened, streams polluted and filled with silt and sediment, and all the other adverse effects.

THE P-R MEN AND "RECLAMATION"

It is commonly assumed that although the adverse effects of stripmining may be serious, reclamation restores the land to its original productivity. The more enthusiastic P-R men consistently tell you that strip mining usually improves the land, by creating fishing lakes, recreation areas, parks, air-

ports, sanitary land-fills, golf courses. In fact, as the P-R men wax more expansive and radiant, they even claim that the very process of strip mining improves the land so much that all communities should be eager to invite more strip mining just in order to make the land better.

A study entitled "The Ecological Effects of Strip Mining: A Comparative Study of Natural and Reclaimed Watershed" was completed at Case Western Reserve University, Cleveland, Ohio, and published on August 20, 1971. This study compared two watersheds in Belmont County in southeastern Ohio, one of which was undisturbed by strip mining, and the other had been disturbed by strip mining which concluded in 1966.

The significant element of this study is that it scientifically measures the effects of reclamation, which was completed in the strip-mined watershed in 1968. The reclamation was accomplished by a highly-respected coal company whose name is a legend in both the industry and politics of Ohio and the nation—the Hanna Coal Company, which is a subdivision of the giant Consolidation Coal Co., headed by a man with whom this committee and I am sure everyone is familiar, John Corcoran. John Corcoran is a man of unquestioned integrity, a man I consider a personal friend.

The report states: "The water draining from the mined and reclaimed watershed is highly acidic, having an average pH of 3.5. In contrast, the water draining from the natural system is neutral or slightly basic, having an average pH of 7.9. . . . In the affected system Fe (iron) was found in concentrations greater than 400 times that found in the natural system, SO₄ (sulfate) averaged 56 times that of the natural system, K (potassium) 2.8 times, Ca (calcium) 9 times, Mg (magnesium) 30 times, Mn (manganese) over 1,320 times and Al (aluminum) was found to be over 3,000 times that of the natural system. These large amounts of ions produced high concentrations of dissolved solids. Average dissolved solids of the affected systems were 90 times that of the natural system."

TOXIC EFFECTS OF ACIDIC SOIL

Also, experiments were conducted to demonstrate the toxic effect on tomato plants of various concentrations of these elements in the soil. They grew some real healthy tomato plants with low concentrations of manganese in the soil, and also tested how long tomato plants could survive in various concentrations. The study showed that in the reclaimed strip-mined watershed, the concentration of manganese in the soil was "about 2,800 times what the healthy tomato plant lived in." The study concludes: "This small experiment indicates that plants do need certain amounts of nutrients such as manganese but they cannot survive the toxic quantities which are released in the strip-mined area."

Without going into detail on all the other scientific investigations and comparisons in this study of reclaimed strip-mined land, I would like to quote the conclusions. (1) Three years after reclamation, one finds that the affected area cannot support plant and animal life.

(2) Geologic formations high in sandstone must be reclaimed by better methods or should not be strip-mined at all.

(3) The acid condition produced by strip mining releases amounts of minerals and nutrients which are toxic to plant life.

(4) The high dissolved chemical load entering Piedmont Lake from the affected area is rapidly increasing the eutrophication processes in the lake; and thus, it is altering and destroying lake habitats.

"Crown vetch" is a blooming favorite, which grows quickly and produces a colorful photograph, and is therefore the kind of grassy plant growth which strip miners pre-

fer. Many contented cows have been photographed in color as they graze in crown vetch replanted over strip-mined coal lands, although one source confided that the contentment of the cows was enhanced considerably by the liberal distribution of ears of corn among the crown vetch a short time before the convincing photographs were snapped. The root structure of crown vetch tends to be rather shallow, and it does little to restore the soil to its original productivity. Strip-mine operators who conclude that the opponents of strip mining are mainly "nature nuts" interested in gazing at scenery, of course, derive considerable satisfaction from the obvious fact that aesthetically crown vetch scores very high. The P-R men count on the preference of casual observers for the tinsel and the wrapping paper, rather than what is actually inside the package.

DAMAGE TO FORESTS AND WOODLANDS

Many foresters are deeply concerned with the severe damage which strip mining deals to the woodlands. "Reclamation" frequently means the planting of inferior black locusts to replace the more valuable timber felled to make way for the strip-miners. In their defense, the surface mining companies point to greater damage done by the early and indiscriminate loggers and the more recent practice of "clear-cutting", but the fact remains that "reclamation" has failed to restore the forests to their original pre-stripped value. Professional foresters have estimated that it would take upwards of 400 years to grow the trees which could fully reclaim and replace what strip-miners have destroyed in West Virginia (this estimate, for example, was made, among others, by Robert Daoust, forester with the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers; estimates by Dr. Robert L. Smith of West Virginia University run somewhat higher in number of years it would take).

"RECLAMATION" ON FLAT LANDS

Many observers contend that since reclamation is easy to accomplish on relatively flat lands, strip mining should be allowed to continue with milder reclamation requirements where area stripping is carried out. Western Kentucky and eastern Montana are frequently cited as examples of areas where less damage is done by stripping, and therefore reclamation is easier. Area stripping produces the familiar "washboard" scene, with alternate trenches and hills of spoil. Water frequently collects in stagnant pools between these hills of spoil. In Hopkins County in western Kentucky, a public health emergency resulted from the mosquitoes using these stagnant pools as breeding grounds.

Some very revealing comments were made by the reclamation officer for a coal operator, the Knife River Coal Company. Speaking at the Montana Coal Symposium held at Billings, Montana on November 6-7, 1969, Thomas A. Gwynn stated: "Knife River recognizes the unusual problems in reclamation of mined lands in Montana, having had several years' experience in the Savage, Montana area. Tens of thousands of trees have been planted and various legumes seeded, often with total failure but occasionally with surprising success. . . . To think that we can level the lands and eventually have fields of grass belly deep to a tall steer is unrealistic of course, but grazing lands or wildlife habitats are entirely within the realm of reason." These are the confessions of an expert coal operator official.

Now listen to a Montana rancher, Wallace D. McRae, of the Rocker Six Cattle Company of Forsyth, Montana, speaking at the same conference: "The coal that is being mined at both the Western Energy Company mine, and the Peabody Coal Company mine is on surface that was formerly part of the ranch on which I was raised. I have seen the 'before and after' of strip mining and its relationship to the livestock and farming industries. From my experience, strip mining and any

agricultural endeavor are completely incompatible. Strip mining as practiced in the past has completely destroyed the productivity of the land for agricultural crop and livestock purposes, it has also destroyed the land's productivity for wild-life and game, and has perhaps even more significantly destroyed the natural beauty of the land."

IS SOME LAND TOO POOR TO RECLAIM?

Another theory concerning reclamation is that in many areas of the nation, desert-type land is virtually worthless for anything except sagebrush, cactus and coyotes, so why should persistent conservationists demand that green-grassed oases be guaranteed on strip-mined land? These comments are frequently applied to the Black Mesa area in northern Arizona, where Peabody Coal Company has a giant strip-mining operation under way, providing 23,000 tons a day. There will be many later witnesses who testify on the Black Mesa strip mining and its implications, and I will confine my remarks only to the implications for reclamation. There are heavy salt concentrations in the subsoil, which the stripping of the top-soil bring to the surface in the Black Mesa area. According to Elwood A. Seaman, Chief Ecologist for the Bureau of Reclamation, who has frequently visited the Black Mesa area, it is extremely doubtful that any plants native to this region could be revegetated on the spoils left from strip mining in the Black Mesa.

Many statements about the difficulty, expense or impossibility of reclamation are immediately denounced by coal companies as emanating from "ecological extremists." This is why I have chosen a quotation from that great mouthpiece of the wide-open canyons of downtown New York City, the Wall Street Journal, which has this to report in its April 13, 1971 edition concerning the problems of pumping the Black Mesa coal to the Mohave power plant and other human effects of strip mining coal in that area:

DAMAGE TO INDIAN BLACK MESA LANDS

"The old Navajo believes that Black Mesa is the body of the Earth and that the power shovels are damaging it cruelly; the traditional Hopi, who have shrines on the mesa and consider themselves stewards of all the land here, say the mining is a desecration. They also believe the pumping of well water from below the mesa, for the slurry pipeline that carries crushed coal to Mohave, threatens their farms; these are on the washes on the south side of the mesa near the villages where they live.

"The most ancient of these is Old Oraibi, which has been continually settled since at least 1150 and possibly long before. Its chief is a diminutive but spirited old woman named Mini Lansa, who has no use for Peabody royalties paid her tribe. 'What is money? It comes quickly and is quickly spent and gone,' she says. 'But the land is there forever. What good is money compared with land? If it is torn up, and if the water is taken, our people will starve.'"

DOES THE TVA HAVE ANY BACKBONE?

Last year, the Tennessee Valley Authority bought 32 million tons of coal, which is about 10 percent of the coal burned by the entire electrical industry. Approximately half the TVA coal was strip-mined. In December, 1970, TVA announced that it was revising and "toughening" regulations for reclamation of strip-mined coal areas that it was writing into its contracts. I took one glance at these so-called "toughening" regulations, and almost immediately my untrained eye picked up nice fat loopholes like these: "To the maximum extent practicable, the foregoing work shall be performed at the same time the mining operation is taking place;" and "Contractor shall, as closely as practicable following the mining operation, cover coal faces and bury all toxic materials

including coal wastes and strongly acid shales." (emphasis supplied.) I understand that these reclamation requirements are now being redrawn to take out these loopholes which the TVA evidently felt were necessary to devastate the land of eastern Kentucky and Tennessee in order to get the coal needed.

Although the TVA was established, among other things, to help preserve the soil and streams of the Tennessee Valley area, and set a yardstick for electric power, the TVA conveniently overlooked a provision in the National Environmental Policy Act passed by Congress, which required TVA among other Federal agencies to file an environmental impact statement which would document such items as what effect strip-mining coal contracts had on the environment. When TVA was sued for violating the law, TVA on March 23, 1971, finally filed an environmental impact statement which was so weak and apologetic that it immediately inspired efforts to massage TVA's backbone.

TVA AND KENTUCKY STRIP MINING

It is an interesting commentary on TVA's attitude toward strip-mining reclamation that the state of Kentucky should be among those who came to the fore to try and stimulate the TVA to stand up and fight to protect the very environment it is supposed by law to be protecting. This is kind of a reverse switch that a state agency should have to shake its fist at the Federal Government and say, in effect, "Stop being such a Casper Milquetoast and get in there and use some of your Federal power to help protect us before the strip miners ruin us all." I have come by a copy of a letter dated April 19, 1971, from James S. Shropshire, Commissioner of Reclamation of the Commonwealth of Kentucky, addressed to M. I. Foster, Division of Navigational Development and Regional Studies, TVA, Nashville, Tennessee.

"This will acknowledge receipt of your letter of March 23, 1971, TVA's Environmental Statement, and its accompanying appendices. Since Kentucky supplies most of the coal purchased by the Tennessee Valley Authority, we feel that comments on the environmental statement are needed. . . . One wonders if TVA is an exception to the National Environmental Policy Act as the last paragraph on page 6 of the environmental statement reads. Kentucky did not comment on TVA's 1968 Coal Contract Reclamation Provisions as they did not approach the 1966 state standards. The 1970 reclamation clause attached to Appendix 3 is to some degree an improvement over the 1968 statement, but it does not offer any detailed guidelines or requirements.

"The use of a 1961 appraisal of surface mining is not justified in designing an environmental policy for 1971. There have been drastic improvements in surface mining methods and reclamation techniques since 1961. Surface mining has tripled and public awareness of the environment has also increased.

"The Division of Reclamation daily wrestles with the problems of surface mining and reclamation improvements. There are environmental hazards involving siltation, erosion, landslides, acid production and inability to quickly revegetate certain areas, for which there are no solutions. It would seem that a Federal conservation agency that purchases coal in seven states should be a leader in attempting to find solutions to these problems."

That is a remarkable and courageous letter.

TVA AND STRIP MINING IN TENNESSEE

To document some of the devastation in those areas where the TVA has purchased strip-mined coal, I refer to a remarkable series of articles which just started last week in the Nashville Tennessean, and brilliantly researched and written by the Science News

Editor of the Tennessean, Mr. William Greenburg. I pause to raise the question at this point: why isn't the Government of the United States, which is supposed to be representative of the public interest, taking the lead in doing the job it is by law established to do? Why doesn't the United States Government turn loose a few—just a few—of those on its multi-billion dollar payroll to amass the facts necessary to protect the people and the earth on which we live, instead of leaving the job to a few reporters such as William Greenburg, such as Ward Sinclair of the Louisville Courier Journal, Tom Bethell and Phil Primack of the Mountain Eagle in Whitesburg, Ky., Ben Franklin of the New York Times, Ernest Furgurson of the Washington News, Bill Steif of Scripps-Howard, and JoAnn Levine of the Christian Science Monitor?

Over a period of 12 weeks, the Nashville Tennessean's reporter-photographer team toured five counties in upper East Tennessee, where TVA has purchased millions of tons of strip-mined coal. These articles reveal in stark terms the dismal and abysmal record of so-called reclamation as "enforced" by a Federal agency. In the third article, appearing September 15, 1971, the Tennessean reports:

"The Tennessee Valley Authority, the state's biggest coal buyer, will not permit strip mining under its contracts on slopes that are greater than 28 degrees. Even this slope limit, however, appears to be too great to hold the strip mine spoil banks in place. On TVA's special contract, the Long Pit Mining Company operation in Campbell County, there are already at least four landslides. This contract is called 'cost plus' and calls for spending as much as needed for the ultimate reclamation and then adding a fixed profit for the strip mining company.

"I don't see how you can stockpile all that overburden even on a gentle slope and not have it wash off when the heavy rains come," said Wayne McCoy, Engineer with the Tennessee Water Quality Board. "They are stripping up in East Tennessee on slopes so straight they are just up and down. You can't stop the runoff. Those mountains will come down' . . . On TVA's Big Ollis Creek job by the Spradlin Coal Company, just above the LaFollette reservoir in Campbell County, getting grass to grow has not been very successful. Arthur Wardner, TVA forecaster, explained that the Jellico coal seam which is very acid is very difficult to support growth. 'We have planted down here three times and nothing has taken hold. Wardner said. 'We have limed the heck out of this area and we can't get anything to grow.' Wardner said the acid condition of the area was known before the stripping began."

Mr. Greenburg has also made available to me copies of stories which either have been printed after September 15, or will be printed. They contain these excerpts:

"The low price the Tennessee Valley Authority pays for coal has encouraged cheap mining methods which do not include reclamation of the land. TVA, as the state's largest single purchaser of coal, exerts the greatest influence on the market. Last year it bought more than half the coal produced in Tennessee. . . . Evidence suggests that TVA is aware that the mountains of the Tennessee coal fields could not in fact be reclaimed. . . . It is obvious that the reclamation provisions in the contracts, however strict, cannot be enforced. . . . Most coal operators who have TVA contracts also sell coal from the same strip mine to other purchasers. TVA officials have admitted that it is difficult to enforce reclamation provisions on just part of a strip mine. . . . One of the state's biggest strip-miners, who does business with TVA, said: 'Just bid one penny higher than the next guy

and see where you stand with a TVA contract."

STRIPPING WITHOUT A PERMIT

Mr. Greenburg also relates a fascinating story about a concern with the frank title of Strippers, Inc., and how this coal company under contract with the TVA to supply coal managed to keep operating without a state permit for ten months. After reviewing the action which had been attempted against Strippers, Inc., Chase Delony, Chief of Strip Mine Reclamation for the state of Tennessee Department of Conservation, stated: "It looks like a fellow can go ahead until he gets caught. Even if he does get caught he can just continue to operate." According to Fred Wyatt, East Tennessee supervisor for the Reclamation Division, "There is really no excuse for a man to operate 10 months without a permit. I just can't give you an answer why he got away with it that long. We have kept him under constant surveillance. We have begged and pleaded and tried to help him in every way. The law says we are supposed to assist the strip miners," Mr. Wyatt stated.

What does the TVA itself say about this firm of Strippers, Inc., which is supplying strip-mined coal for TVA? "We are at the end of our patience with him," said Charles L. Gouffon, Chief of Forest and Upland Wildlife Resources for TVA. Gouffon added: "It's a little hard to explain." Gouffon said that Strippers was supplying 78,000 tons of coal at 3,000 tons a week to TVA. According to Greenburg, "Gouffon listed five instances where Strippers had been dumping into a creek, stripping too close to a road, and depositing improperly. Each time, Gouffon said, TVA had Strippers stopped, but the company moved to another location. . . . Gouffon said that TVA does not require that an operator have a valid state permit. I'm not necessarily in sympathy with that," Gouffon said."

JOB AND THE BAN ON STRIP MINING

In his statement of September 16, 1971, National Coal Association President Carl E. Bagge estimates that 24,000 men are employed in surface coal mines. Perhaps 4,000 of these are employed in West Virginia. Yet 19,000 West Virginians work in tourist and recreation industries, and they are entitled to their jobs too. As strip mining increases, the attractiveness of West Virginia as a place to live and work, and also the tourist industry itself, will certainly decline.

Those now concerned about jobs gave little attention to the 300,000 miners displaced when the underground coal mines were mechanized in the 1950's. Many of the jobs in strip mining are highly skilled occupations, easily transferable to road construction or housing. But strip mining is like taking seven or eight stiff drinks; you are riding high as long as the coal lasts, but the hangover comes when the coal is gone, the land is gone and the jobs are gone and the bitter truth of the morning after leaves barren landscape and a mouth full of ashes. The tourist and recreation potential of a stripped area is nil; in fact, far more jobs are provided for the future through protection of the environment. Rep. John Seiberling (D, Ohio), a strong supporter of my bill, has added several amendments to give priority in job placement, as well as 52-week cash payments and relocation allowances to those workers displaced by the abolition of strip mining.

CONCLUSION

We are faced with a crucial decision in considering legislation related to strip mining. Are we prisoners of an onrushing technology which demands that we must devastate our planet in order to feed the "energy crisis"? Or do we have the will to control our future destiny and put a stop to further rape of the land?

I urge this committee to recommend the enactment of H.R. 4556, with the amendments proposed by my colleague from Ohio (Mr. SEIBERLING.)

METRO—RAPID TRANSIT FOR A NATION'S CAPITAL

HON. JAMES G. FULTON

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 22, 1971

Mr. FULTON of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following:

METRO—RAPID TRANSIT FOR A NATION'S CAPITAL

(Address of Carlton R. Sickles, chairman of the Board, Washington Metropolitan Area Transit Authority, delivered September 8, 1971, before the fifth International Conference on Urban Transportation, Pittsburgh, Pa.)

In a minute, you may wonder what these remarks and pictures have to do with rapid rail transit. The answer is: they set the stage for Metro. As you know, any rapid rail transit system becomes part of the city it was built to serve. Metro, too, will become part of the metropolitan Washington area.

More than that—Metro will become part of the United States by virtue of its location in the Nation's capital. Metro, therefore, has to be a showcase for our national artistic and technical capacity. Metro must state the challenge for other American cities to meet.

The mantle of our task in designing Metro is weighing heavily. Our task is one of achieving philosophic unity, technical emphasis and artistic coherence. We must weave acceptable threads of steel into the existing warp and woof of the Nation's capital. A prime requisite, of course, is that Metro also must be a functional transportation system for residents and visitors.

To make sure Metro blends in, we must know what Washington, in fact, really is. And here's where the imagery starts. Washington is monumental. It is:

The United States Capitol, anticipating a new day of debate.

The Supreme Court, anticipating justice under the law.

The White House, anticipating the Democratic Convention.

The Lincoln Memorial, anticipating racial equality.

The Jefferson Memorial, anticipating the joy of another spring.

The Pentagon, anticipating wars and rumors of wars.

As Washington is monumental, so too is the area historic. It is:

The Dunbarton Oaks music room, birthplace of the United Nations.

The Custis-Lee mansion, left by Robert E. Lee to command Virginia's military forces, never to return.

Gadsby's Tavern in Alexandria, headquarters to George Washington at least three times during the French and Indian War.

The Stabler-Leadbeater Apothecary Shop in Alexandria where Lee was ordered to Harpers Ferry to quell John Brown's rebellion.

Pohick Church, near Alexandria, where the families of George Washington and George Mason worshipped.

Blair House, where in 1950 an attempt was made on the life of President Truman as he napped.

The earthworks of Fort Totten, whose parapets defended the Union capital during the Civil War.

The C&O Canal that tied seaboard colonies to settlements west of the Alleghenies. And of course.

Mount Vernon, Washington's estate, surviving as one of the finest examples of an 18th century plantation.

But just as Washington is monumental and historic, so also is the area contemporary. It is:

Dulles International Airport, a gateway to the world.

The John F. Kennedy Center for the Performing Arts which opens tomorrow as a memorial to a martyred patron.

The Kenilworth Aquatic Gardens, a blooming catalog of water lilies, where 1,000 year-old-lotus seeds found in Manchuria were coaxed to life.

The Islamic Center with its minaret facing Mecca—not eastward, but northeastward over a great-circle route. Contemporary Washington also is:

A magnet for embassies, legations and diplomats from countries around the world.

A stage for protest against social and political imperfections.

A showcase for sculptors who seek recognition.

A womb for the rebirth of sleek new buildings from decaying shells.

A laboratory for showing that one bus lane can easily carry more people at rush hours than two lanes of cars.

Into this setting comes Metro—a modern, high-speed rapid rail transportation system. The program is subscribed to by the federal government, and a federal territory . . . two states . . . Maryland and Virginia . . . and four counties, two in Maryland and two in Virginia and three independent cities in Virginia. Official agreement to develop a regional rapid rail transit system came in the form of an interstate compact. It had to be approved by the Maryland and Virginia general assemblies and the United States Congress.

The compact created the Washington Metropolitan Area Transit Authority of which I am chairman this year. Each transit district seats two directors and two alternate directors on the Board, and it is not possible for a motion before the Board to carry without at least one affirmative vote from each district.

Despite this remarkable political alliance, provincial interests have been suppressed to the overall good of the national capital region. We have agreed upon a 98-mile system of which:

38 miles of Metro routes will serve the District of Columbia. The center-city route is designed to stimulate redevelopment of a ghetto area.

30 miles of routes will serve Maryland, and 30 miles of routes will service Virginia with parking for 30,000 automobiles.

Metro's high-performance lightweight cars will reach speeds of 75 miles an hour. Trains will run under automatic control of a computer at our operations control center building. Other automatic train control equipment will be positioned along the routes. Each train will carry an operator who can take over if necessary. Trains will vary in length from eight cars at rush hours to two cars in slack periods. Headways along main routes will be about 90 seconds in rush hours.

Cars will be made of aluminum or stainless steel with a broad swath of bronze color sweeping their length at window level. Glass tinted artistically will functionally reduce glare.

Although no formal decisions have yet been made, car interiors probably will include such appointments as carpets, fluorescent lighting and wide sculptured seats. A hand-rail along the ceiling will likely be added to the initial design shown here.

Smooth, comfortable rides have been engineered through wide, sweeping no-jerk curves. Air conditioning will control heat and

humidity in a city famous for both. Stations will be announced over a public address system. The operator may selectively monitor each car via a listening system. Over the same system, passengers also may communicate with the operator as necessary.

We will use steel wheels on continuous welded standard gauge steel rails. Air springs in trucks will, in addition to their car-leveling functions, minimize transmission of noise and vibration to passengers. Other sound-muffling techniques will be used.

Tracks, for instance, will be acoustically insulated from the invert by vibration absorbing elastomers.

Noise and vibration pose special problems near hospitals and apartments. In these critical areas, slabs of concrete floating on cushions of fiberglass or rubber materials will sharply reduce transmission of noise and vibration. A third rail to one side will carry 650-volt direct current that we will rectify from alternating current supplied by local power companies.

Where possible, surface tracks will be in rights of way already established for railroads and highways. Alignments will be dressed up by a landscape architect to win neighborhood acceptance.

The foregoing is becoming routine specification for a modern rapid transit system serving a sophisticated populace. But Metro offers, in addition, some innovations, and I would like to list them now.

We anticipate two usual nuisances when Metro goes into operation—graffiti and crime. Both will be minimized by our approach to underground station design.

Metro's underground mezzanines and train platforms will float free of walls—a truly innovative breakthrough in underground rapid transit station design. Because of this separation, it will be difficult for persons bent on mischief to scribble on walls. This should minimize maintenance costs.

Light will wash up through the breach to bathe the walls in a soft glow to illuminate stations indirectly. And cool, clean air will circulate freely in the same manner.

To minimize the possibilities for crime, underground stations are also designed with long lines of sight from the attended kiosks on mezzanines. Nooks and crannies have been eliminated. Virtually everyone throughout the station will be visible to everyone else. Direct communications will make apprehension swift, particularly at stations having only one entrance. Our penchant for visibility extends even to the balustrades of platform escalators, which will be glass. Passageways and areas beneath mezzanines will be monitored constantly with closed-circuit television.

Another Metro innovation is the air conditioning of all underground stations. This will be accomplished by blowing treated air through ducts above platform or mezzanine levels. This is a spot-cooling technique. We are not attempting to cool the entire station vault, but just the inhabited parts.

Escalators will link all levels. Once this was a luxury for the average rider. Today it is a necessity for many whose physical imperfections make stair climbing hazardous or laborious.

An innovation for the handicapped is gestating. It is an inclined elevator for use beside escalators. The device in concept would permit persons in wheelchairs—or housewives with armloads of packages—or mothers pushing perambulators—to ride in complete safety to trains or to surface. The engineering of the hardware can begin when the Department of Transportation approves our pending application for a grant.

We have chosen brick-red hexagonal tile pavers for outside platforms and hexagonal terrazzo pavers for indoor platforms. Platforms will be trimmed in a white granite that visually calls attention to the potential danger of the edge. The innovation comes in

lights mounted flush in the granite that will begin blinking 30 seconds before the arrival of a train, as a further warning.

I have already mentioned that eight jurisdictions joined to create a truly regional organization to design and build Metro. The success of this unlikely political amalgamation was made even more surprising when the members agreed upon a method for assessing each participant his fair share of the cost.

The assessment was based upon a formula that took into consideration the construction in each district, weighted 40%, the amount of service Metro will render each district in terms of miles of routes and stations, weighted 30%, and the projected 1990 ridership and population for each district, weighted 15% each.

In that manner the three districts allocated \$720 million to be contributed by the local districts. For each local dollar, the federal government contributes two, and with \$882 million being raised through the planned issuance of revenue bonds, the entire \$2.98 billion cost of the system is covered.

Like any other program, ours has problems, but I am not going to depress you with a recitation. Our three districts to date have contributed a total of \$176 million, matched by \$352 million by the federal government. In addition, the Congress has appropriated more than half of its \$1.1 billion authorized—through 1973—as matching money, awaiting local payments, which have been made regularly. Our financial problem relates to capital contribution due from the District of Columbia for Fiscal 1971 and 1972. These funds are now being withheld by the House Appropriations subcommittee on the District of Columbia. Involved in the picture is local opposition to certain freeways prescribed by Congress. We believe differences were resolved this summer. Unfortunately the resolution came too late for funds to be appropriated before adjournment. We hope the money will be forthcoming this fall. Despite the delay, we now have nearly \$454 million obligated to engineering, construction and right-of-way acquisition.

Our program has been particularly visible as a means of raising the status of minority groups. This has been seen both internally and externally. Internally we have insisted from the start that all opportunities be developed here for black workers to find jobs and minority firms to win contracts. Our commitment to those objectives is intensified by a great number of local minority workers and firms in the area. To date, over \$1 million has gone to minority firms in construction contracts. This is a small percentage of the whole, and we are constantly seeking, and finding, meaningful ways to involve small businesses and minority owned enterprises.

In a region that is 25% non-white, over half of our construction workers now on the job—specifically 55%—are members of minority races. In providing opportunities for minorities, we have gone a step further than required by the Washington Plan. We have encouraged two training programs for men handicapped by lack of occupational development. In the last 18 months, we have successfully pushed a union-blessed training program for semi-skilled labor, and another for unskilled labor. We require prime contractors to constitute and maintain part of their work force with graduates of these programs. Through these programs a growing number of persons, who might otherwise be considered unemployable, are finding the training and job experience they need to become productive and self-reliant members of society.

To help minority owned firms, we propose a special federal program. It would offer administrative, technical and financial assistance to minority management. It would help with all kinds of construction contracts in

addition to Metro's. Initial reaction to the proposal within the Department of Transportation seems favorable.

So Metro has visibly moved along many fronts. The most evident—especially downtown—is on the construction front.

We have started a 4,000-foot-long rock tunnel southward in Rock Creek Park toward our future Dupont Circle station. The tunnel is wide enough for both tracks and is now about 1,200 feet long, kept on alignment by a laser beam which is safe for men and machines.

We have started a 150-ton tunneling shield to bore a 21-foot tunnel 45 feet deep under Lafayette Park in front of the White House. When it finishes this tunnel, we'll turn it around and send it back to bore a parallel tube for the other track.

We have a mile or more of cut-and-cover construction underway, with over 1,200 feet of twin-box concrete structures now finished in which trains some day will run.

We have prepared for construction of our first surface station. We have graded and seeded six acres for the Rhode Island Avenue station with its associated kiss-n-ride and bus-n-ride facilities.

All told, we have over six miles of construction under way, including eight stations. We plan to open 4.6 miles of route in the heart of Washington, D.C., in 1974, and complete all 98 miles throughout the region by 1980.

I conclude this thumblinal construction tour at the site of most progress—Judiciary Square, where ground was broken in December 1969. The station here will be 600 feet long, as with all stations. Nearby court buildings have been underpinned, and 450 feet are now being excavated while the first 150 feet of cast concrete are curing.

When we finish, Judiciary Square will typify the downtown underground station design approved by Washington's Fine Arts Commission—a design that blends with the monumental character of Washington's great federal buildings.

On the historical front, we have provided for the wishes of suburban jurisdictions, particularly Virginia, to relate station design to such local historic landmarks as pre-Civil War courthouses.

And we have blended Metro with contemporary Washington through clean train lines, surface station designs, public accesses and landscaping.

Aside from the charge that Metro's design must be monumental, historic and contemporary—all at once—we have a free hand.

I have avoided mentioning the odd shapes that have appeared on the screen from time to time. Each new slide was a further hint. I am sure by now you have mentally connected all the parts. If so, you know it's not air handling equipment. Or a sewer pipe. It's a modern sculpture. The artist, Edward Zelenak, calls it "Traffic". He gave his reasons, and I think the title is good. It's perfectly obvious the sculpture depicts two inchworms doing their stuff at rush hour. In 1974 they can take Metro and move faster.

Ladies and gentlemen, thank you very much.

PITTSBURGH HAS TOP AFEES

HON. WILLIAM S. MOORHEAD

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 22, 1971

Mr. MOORHEAD. Mr. Speaker, Pittsburgh is fortunate to have one of the finest Army examination and entrance staffs in the country serving its citizens.

Headed by Col. Donald Neff, this unit was named as the outstanding Armed

Forces examining and entrance station in the first recruiting district during the final quarter of fiscal year 1971.

What this means in human terms is that Colonel Neff and his dedicated staff are making the difficult chore of preparation for possible Army induction a bit easier because of their thoroughness, concern, and conscientiousness.

I salute them for a job well done.

DR. HERBERT SELIAN TALBOT

HON. MARGARET M. HECKLER

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 22, 1971

Mrs. HECKLER of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, recently it was my pleasure to visit with Administrator Donald E. John of the Veterans' Administration, and in our discussion, I made particular reference to the leadership being provided by a gentleman and physician well known and admired in my home State of Massachusetts, Dr. Herbert Selian Talbot. Dr. Talbot was only recently accorded the honor of a testimonial dinner by the New England chapter of the Paralyzed Veterans of America at the King Philip Ballroom in my 10th Congressional District in Wrentham, a tribute which was richly deserved. Commitment, compassion, and dedication have been the hallmarks of his personal and professional life.

Dr. Talbot is chief of the spinal cord injury and urology service at the West Roxbury, Mass., Veterans' Administration hospital. He is also an assistant clinical professor at Harvard University, lecturer, and associate at the Peter Bent Brigham Hospital in Boston. As a recognized leader in his field, Dr. Talbot was elected in 1969 and serves as president of the American Urological Association International Medical Society of Paraplegia. Dr. Talbot is a specialist in paraplegic urology. He is an example, and a typical example, of VA medicine.

In my capacity as a member of the House Veterans' Affairs Committee, I have been made increasingly aware of the extent to which many of our VA personnel are recognized leaders in their specialties. I would like to call the attention of my colleagues to some often overlooked achievements of the Veterans' Administration, the numerous awards and prizes earned by the members of the Department of Medicine and Surgery for their research work.

The tradition of medical research by VA personnel is a long and distinguished one. The VA Department of Medicine and Surgery has had a proud role in the advance of medical knowledge and techniques.

I would remind my colleagues of some of the highlights of VA research over the past years.

Treatment of TB has improved to the point that veterans hospitalized for the disease decreased from 17,000 in 1954 to less than 3,000 at the present time.

The first successful pacemaker implant operation was performed at the Buffalo, N.Y., VA hospital.

Pioneering work in lower body temperature in connection with open heart surgery was done at the Coral Gables, Fla., VA hospital.

The Denver, Colo., VA hospital was the site of the world's first and only successful liver transplant.

VA research led to development of the gamma globulin "horse serum" to control the body's rejection reaction in organ transplants.

Some of the earliest work in laser surgery has been in progress since 1963 in the VA hospitals at West Roxbury, Mass.; Pittsburgh, Pa.; and Washington, D.C.

And, VA research into cell typing was one of the breakthroughs which made heart transplants a reality rather than a medical dream.

The work of VA researchers continues to expand our medical frontiers. It is often easy to forget that this research will benefit not only the veterans under the care of the VA, but millions of other Americans who may, incidentally, be veterans or the dependents of veterans. From each advance in VA medicine, we all profit.

VA supported research must be counted as an important asset in our national health care delivery system; an asset which must not be overlooked as we attempt to improve the quality of health care for our entire population.

During the past 2 fiscal years, VA investigators have received more than a score of awards and prizes for their accomplishments in medical research.

Mr. Speaker, I include in the RECORD at this point a list of the honors conferred upon Veterans' Administration medical researchers during fiscal years 1970 and 1971:

BRONX, N.Y., VETERANS' ADMINISTRATION HOSPITAL

Solomon A. Berson, M.D., Senior Medical Investigator, "Murray M. Rosenberg" Professor and Chairman, of the Department of Medicine, Mt. Sinai Hospital.

Rosalyn S. Yalow, Ph.D., Chief, Nuclear Medicine Service, Chief, Veterans' Administration Radioimmunoassay Reference Laboratory, Research Professor of Medicine, Mt. Sinai School of Medicine.

Dickson prize of \$10,000 to be presented by the awards committee of the University of Pittsburgh School of Medicine in the fall of 1971.

Annual award for distinguished contributions in medical sciences presented by the American College of Physicians at the 52nd Annual Meeting, Denver, Colorado, March 29, 1971.

Howard Taylor Ricketts award presented by the University of Chicago for outstanding contributions to medicine, May 10, 1971.

Academy medal presented to Dr. Berson by the New York Academy of Medicine, April 21, 1971.

XVI Nobel Symposium, Stockholm, three separate papers on their pioneering studies of gastrin were presented by Drs. Berson and Yalow.

Drs. Berson and Yalow have received international acclaim for their work on the development of new techniques for measuring minute quantities of hormones in the blood. Together they originated and developed a method for radioimmunoassay of hormones in the blood that previously could not be measured. This method, to date, has been used to measure more than 20 peptide hormones in the blood. As the tests have been developed, they have been used to institute

fundamental studies of the physiology of the hormone actions. These include insulin, parathormone, ACTH, gastrin, thyrocalcitonin, and glucagon. The principle has afforded new insight into the nature of diabetes and other diseases caused by disorders of the glands of internal secretion.

An important accomplishment in the current year was the development of an assay for Australia antigen by Drs. Berson, Yalow and Dr. John Walsh, also at the Bronx VA Hospital. This antigen is currently felt to be associated with the development of transfusion hepatitis. If the technique can be developed as a screening procedure for use in blood banks, an important contribution will have been made toward preventing the occurrence of transfusion hepatitis.

BROOKLYN, N.Y., VETERANS' ADMINISTRATION HOSPITAL

Harry H. LeVeon, M.D., Chief, Surgical Service.

The Silver Hektoen Award presented by American Medical Association at the annual meeting, July, 1970.

The award for excellence in scientific research was presented at the Chicago AMA annual meeting for an exhibit from the Brooklyn VA hospital: "The Hepatic Filter: A Surgical Tool." It illustrates details of scientific research and experimental surgery.

The project was based on the observation of the liver's ability to degrade (to metabolize or otherwise destroy) hormones, with the resulting change in course of certain hormonal diseases—as diabetes, hypertension, and others. For example, adrenalin administered in massive doses to dogs, was neutralized by the liver to the extent that it did not result in hypertension. But when adrenalin was administered to the peritoneal cavity it successfully stopped the bleeding of ulcers. The exhibit shows experimental surgery in which a shunt permitted part of the blood to bypass the liver, preserving the physiological action of a wanted hormone that otherwise would be degraded in the liver.

Leo Vroman, M.D., Chief, Interface Research Laboratory.

Individual Science Lecture Award, \$1,000 honorarium presented by the 18th Annual Symposium on Blood, Wayne State University, as the Outstanding Contributor in the field of Hematology, FY 1970.

BIRMINGHAM, ALA., VETERANS' ADMINISTRATION HOSPITAL

Raymond H. Lindsay, M.D., Assistant Chief, Nuclear Medicine Service.

American Thyroid Association Travel Award, FY 1970.

CHICAGO, ILL., VETERANS' ADMINISTRATION RESEARCH HOSPITAL

James Miree, Jr., M.D., Physicians Recognition Award in Continuing Medical Education presented by the American Medical Association, FY 1970.

CLEVELAND, OHIO, VETERANS' ADMINISTRATION HOSPITAL

Leonard T. Skeggs, M.D., Supervisory Research Chemist, Hypertension Laboratory. Pfizer Traveling Fellow, FY 1970.

DALLAS, TEX., VETERANS' ADMINISTRATION HOSPITAL

Roger H. Unger, M.D., Associate Chief of Staff.

William S. Middleton Award presented by the VA as the highest award for its medical researchers.

Dr. Unger is internationally known for his work in diabetes mellitus, physiologic importance of glucagon, and carbohydrate metabolism. This annual award was established in 1960 by colleagues of Dr. William S. Middleton, a famous clinician, educator, and VA Chief Medical Director from 1955-1963. In recent years, the presentation has been made at VA Regional Research and Education Conferences.

DALLAS, TEX., VETERANS' ADMINISTRATION HOSPITAL

Walter B. Dempsey, Ph. D., Research Chemist.

VA Commendation, presented for accomplishments in Vitamin B₆ research, FY 1970.

DENVER, COLO., VETERANS' ADMINISTRATION HOSPITAL

Thomas E. Starzl, M.D., Chief of Surgery. Eppinger Award. The first \$5,000 award presented at the Freiburg International Symposium on Alcohol and Liver, Freiburg, Germany, October 2, 1970.

The new award is to be given every 3 years for research in liver disease, to encourage scientists under 45 years of age. The urological complications in 216 human recipients of renal transplants are described by Dr. Starzl and the Denver VA Hospital surgical team in the July issue of *Annals of Surgery*.

The patients, aged 3 to 57 years, in some cases received more than one kidney, so that a total of 234 homografts were used. Three identical twins were among the 172 family members who were donors. The remaining 62 homografts were from non-related or cadaveric donors. One hundred fifty-five patients (71.6%) survived the transplantations at least one year. Between one and six years post-transplantation, 23 of the 155 survivors died, leaving 132 (61%) who are being studied after one to 7½ years. The longest follow-up is on 33 living patients 5½ to 7½ years postoperatively.

Urinary drainage of the majority (178) of the 234 transplanted kidneys was established by ureteroneocystostomy, providing a new entrance to the bladder near the patient's own ureteral orifice. In 55 cases drainage was established by ureteroureterostomy in which the donor ureter is joined to the patient's ureter. Dr. Starzl recommends ureteroneocystostomy to be used initially in most cases. Although it does not have a materially lower complication rate, it does not unnecessarily sacrifice either the host or the homograft ureter, thus keeping open all avenues for secondary repair should that become necessary. The bladder counterincisions through which the ureteroneocystostomies were performed were not the cause of either acute or chronic complications in any of the 178 operations in which it was the choice for establishing urinary drainage. Post-operative difficulties are cited and discussed in the report.

DOWNEY, ILL., VETERANS' ADMINISTRATION HOSPITAL

Valerija B. Raulinaitis, M.D., Chief of Staff. Outstanding Federal Woman Employee Award presented by the President of the United States—FY, 1970.

Dr. Raulinaitis was recently appointed Director of the Veterans Administration Hospital, Leech Farm Road, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania. She is the first woman to be named Hospital Director in the VA system.

DURHAM, N.C., VETERANS' ADMINISTRATION HOSPITAL

Saul Boyarsky, M.D. Staff Physician, Urology Service.

William P. Burbeau Award for Service to Urology presented by the New Jersey Academy of Medicine, Urology Section, FY 1970.

IOWA CITY, IOWA, VETERANS' ADMINISTRATION HOSPITAL

Richard L. Lawton, M.D., Director, Renal Dialysis Center, Assistant Chief, Surgical Service.

Physicians Recognition Award in Continuing Medical Education presented by the American Medical Association, FY 1970.

LONG BEACH, CALIF., VETERANS' ADMINISTRATION HOSPITAL

Estin Comarr, M.D., Chief, Spinal Cord Injury Section.

Physicians Recognition Award in Continuing Medical Education presented by the American Medical Association, FY 1970.

MADISON, WIS., VETERANS' ADMINISTRATION HOSPITAL

William S. Middleton, M.D., Consultant in Research and Education, Professor Emeritus, Department of Medicine and Surgery, Dean Emeritus, Medical School, University of Wisconsin.

Distinguished Physician Appointment. The position was designed to bring to the VA physicians "who have made very significant contributions to medical science and who have attained exceptional professional stature over long and distinguished careers."

Dr. Middleton served the field of medicine and distinguished himself as a physician-teacher to Federal medical services over a period of 53 years.

As Chief Medical Director the Veterans' Administration (1955-63) Dr. Middleton was largely responsible for the outstanding success of the Veterans' Administration's cooperative efforts with medical schools throughout the country. During his term of office, 73 medical schools conducted training in VA hospitals.

VA's Distinguished Physicians are available on a VA-wide basis as consultants, lecturers, or in other teaching capacities, thus providing scientific and educational leadership and motivation in a number of medical teaching programs.

As a scholar, Dr. Middleton has been honored with doctorates in science, laws, and humane letters which in part reflect his unusual contributions to American scholarship as one of America's outstanding medical historians. Students of American medical history rely heavily on the records set forth with careful documentation and precision by Dr. Middleton in his researches in this vitally important field. In this capacity he lends his talents to the Nation also as a Regent of the National Library of Medicine.

As physician-teacher-researcher, he stimulated research in a wide variety of fields, from motion sickness to the nutritional deficiencies of prisoners of war. After joining the VA, he appointed the first Advisory Committee on Research to review the work and keep it both productive and economical, and the first Advisory Committee on Problems of Aging to deal with this field of growing national concern. He prepared the VA's first reports to Congress on VA research, and the Congress began for the first time to earmark funds for research in the VA.

Dr. Middleton has published more than 163 scientific papers, most of them dealing with clinical medicine, clinical research, and history of medicine. He is a member of 40 professional and scientific societies.

LOS ANGELES, CALIF., VETERANS' ADMINISTRATION CENTER

Edward Passaro, Jr., M.D., Section Chief, Surgical Service.

Thomas J. Hull Award, Gold medal and \$250 presented by the American Medical Association for the Scientific Exhibit depicting medical research or instruction on a medical subject which has not been shown or discussed at a previous medical meeting, FY 1970.

Patrick C. Walsh, M.D., Resident in Urology, Surgical Service.

Upjohn Endocrine Award, FY, 1970.

NEW ORLEANS, LA., VETERANS' ADMINISTRATION HOSPITAL

Andrew V. Schally, Ph. D. Chief, Endocrine and Polypeptide Laboratory, Professor of Medicine, Tulane University School of Medicine.

William S. Middleton Award. In recognition of his many services, the VA created, in 1960, the William S. Middleton Award as the highest honor that the VA can bestow on its investigators for outstanding research. To date, eleven such awards have been given to individuals or teams of two who shared the honor.

Ayerst-Squibb Citation presented by the U.S. Endocrine Society, FY 1970.

Van Meter Prize (shared) presented by the American Thyroid Association, FY 1970.

Dr. Schally was honored for his many contributions in the field of neuroendocrinology. Dr. Schally, who has been on the staff of the VA Hospital, New Orleans since 1962, is a pioneer and one of the foremost investigators of the physiology and biochemistry of hypothalamic neurohormones. Recently, he identified and synthesized the first of the releasing hormones—Thyroid Releasing Factor.

As an outstanding biochemist and endocrinologist, Dr. Schally has gained a national and international reputation for his contributions to basic and clinical advances in neural control of pituitary hormones. He is currently engaged in studies of Growth Hormone Releasing Factor, and Corticotrophin Releasing Factor for the purposes of identifying their chemical structure and determining their syntheses and physiology.

PHILADELPHIA, PA., VETERANS' ADMINISTRATION HOSPITAL

Stanley Dudrick, M.D., Chief, Surgical Service.

Joseph Goldberger Award in Clinical Nutrition presented by the American Medical Association, FY 1970.

QUEZON CITY, PHILIPPINES VETERAN'S MEMORIAL HOSPITAL

Norma T. Gaffud, M.D., Flora M. Pascasio, M.D., Lucrecia Regala-Castillo, M.D., Maeluina L. Ofiana.

PMA-Abbott Research Contest for 1969-70; 3rd Prize presented for malnutrition studies in children. They found that baseline plasma corticotropin levels were elevated in malnourished children, and that the level of elevation was proportional to the degree of malnutrition. Replacement of deficient nutrients reverted the levels back to normal. They also demonstrated a circadian rhythm of plasma ACTH in normal children. In the malnourished children, this rhythm was slowed down and its amplitude was elevated. Refeeding the same children brought levels back to normal at 6:00 A.M., but the level did not remain normal throughout the day.

WASHINGTON, D.C., VETERANS' ADMINISTRATION HOSPITAL

James D. Finkelstein, M.D., Chief, Biochemistry Research and Hepatology Section, VA Medical Investigator.

Arthur S. Flemming Award presented annually by the Washington, D.C. Chamber of Commerce and 4 public service firms to 10 outstanding Federal Civil Service Employees under 40 years of age.

Recommending Dr. Finkelstein for the position of VA Medical Investigator, in July 1969, Lillian Recant, M.D., Chief, Diabetes Research Laboratory, VAH and Professor of Medicine, Georgetown University, wrote:

"As a scientist he has proven himself in a difficult and intriguing area, namely, sulfur amino acid metabolism. His program is productive and the approach logically and technically feasible..."

Dr. Finkelstein has published 22 scientific papers, mostly concerning metabolism and malabsorption. His previous honors have included the Francis Parker Gay Research Award at Columbia University.

WASHINGTON, D.C., VETERANS' ADMINISTRATION HOSPITAL

Edward D. Freis, M.D., Chief, Antihypertension Research, Director, Cardiovascular Physiology Training Program.

Distinguished Achievement Award presented by Modern Medicine, FY 1970.

Jay N. Cohn, M.D., Chief, Hypertension and Clinical Hemodynamics Research.

Arthur S. Flemming Award presented annually by the Washington, D.C. Chamber of Commerce and 4 public service firms to 10 outstanding Federal Civil Service Employees over 40 years of age.

GEORGIA BOARD OF EDUCATION
OPPOSES BUSING

HON. DAWSON MATHIS

OF GEORGIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 22, 1971

Mr. MATHIS of Georgia. Mr. Speaker, the Georgia State Board of Education has stated in a resolution that it totally and unequivocally rejects the concept or idea of transporting or busing school-children away from their homes to attend school.

A vast majority of my fellow Georgians will applaud the action of their State board of education and concur in the commonsense point of view expressed in the following language from the resolution:

The only justification for the existence of a public school system is to provide an academic climate conducive to scholastic achievement which in turn allows young people to function as responsible adults in a free society.

The board feels, and rightly so, that funds for the operation of public school systems are limited and that these funds must be used to provide quality education for every person of school age in the State without consideration as to race, creed, or national origin. The expenditure of funds for busing to achieve racial balance does not fall into this category.

The Georgia Board of Education is to be commended for its expression of opposition to busing, a practice which can only lead to the eventual destruction of our public schools.

I include for the RECORD a copy of the resolution adopted by the Georgia State Board of Education on September 16. I hope that all of my colleagues will take time to read this appeal for a commonsense approach to public education:

RESOLUTION OF THE GEORGIA STATE BOARD OF EDUCATION

Whereas, the Georgia State Board of Education has the responsibility for providing leadership and direction to public education in this State, and

Whereas, this Board is committed to the honorable discharge of our duties as we understand them to be, and

Whereas, we believe:

1. That the only justification for the existence of a public school system is to provide an academic climate conducive to scholastic achievement which in turn allows young people to function as responsible adults in a free society.

2. That, while the ability to achieve scholastically varies with the talents of each individual, nevertheless the ultimate development of these talents is drastically affected by any program that interferes with the learning process.

3. That quality education is available to most Georgians only through a strong and viable system of public education and that anything that tends to weaken this system should and must be opposed by this Board.

4. That one of the most desirable characteristics of a community school is that it engenders community and personal pride.

5. That community schools give individuals lasting roots so necessary for survival and happiness in this complex age.

6. That school children should never unnecessarily be exposed to physical danger and

that such exposure is unavoidable while riding on streets and highways.

7. That no person can dispute the fact that funds for the operation of public school systems are limited and that these funds, therefore, must without fail be used to provide quality education for every person of school age in this State without consideration as to race, creed or national origin and that any expenditure of these funds which does not accomplish this aim is and must be opposed by this Board.

8. That the only sensible place for any child to attend school in this State is at the school nearest his residence offering the curriculum meeting that child's needs and that any argument to the contrary must yield to good judgment and common sense as applied by local boards of education.

Therefore, be it resolved:

1. That this Board totally and unequivocally rejects the concept or idea of transporting or busing school children away from their homes to attend school, and

2. That the Executive Secretary of this Board is directed to provide a copy of this resolution to the President of the United States, the Secretary of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, the United States Senators and the members of the United States House of Representatives representing this State, the Governor of the State of Georgia and the members of the General Assembly of the State of Georgia.

Passed and adopted by the Georgia State Board of Education in regular session in Atlanta, Georgia, this the 16th day of September 1971.

RESOLUTION OF THE GEORGIA STATE BOARD OF EDUCATION

HON. JACK BRINKLEY

OF GEORGIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 22, 1971

Mr. BRINKLEY. Mr. Speaker, the following resolution of the Georgia State Board of Education expresses so aptly a correct educational perspective that I wanted to share it with my colleagues.

Whereas, the Georgia State Board of Education has the responsibility for providing leadership and direction to public education in this State, and

Whereas, this Board is committed to the honorable discharge of our duties as we understand them to be, and

Whereas, we believe:

1. That the only justification for the existence of a public school system is to provide an academic climate conducive to scholastic achievement which in turn allows young people to function as responsible adults in a free society.

2. That, while the ability to achieve scholastically varies with the talents of each individual, nevertheless the ultimate development of these talents is drastically affected by any program that interferes with the learning process.

3. That quality education is available to most Georgians only through a strong and viable system of public education and that anything that tends to weaken this system should and must be opposed by this Board.

4. That one of the most desirable characteristics of a community school is that it engenders community and personal pride.

5. That community schools give individuals lasting roots so necessary for survival and happiness in this complex age.

6. That school children should never unnecessarily be exposed to physical danger

and that such exposure is unavoidable while riding on streets and highways.

7. That no person can dispute the fact that funds for the operation of public school systems are limited and that these funds, therefore, must without fail be used to provide quality education for every person of school age in this State without consideration as to race, creed or national origin and that any expenditure of these funds which does not accomplish this aim is and must be opposed by this Board.

8. That the only sensible place for any child to attend school in this State is at the school nearest his residence offering the curriculum meeting that child's needs and that any argument to the contrary must yield to good judgment and common sense as applied by local boards of education.

Therefore, be it Resolved:

1. That this Board totally and unequivocally rejects the concept or idea of transporting or busing school children away from their homes to attend school, and

2. That the Executive Secretary of this Board is directed to provide a copy of this resolution to the President of the United States, the Secretary of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, the United States Senators and the members of the United States House of Representatives representing this State, the Governor of the State of Georgia and the members of the General Assembly of the State of Georgia.

Passed and adopted by the Georgia State Board of Education in regular session in Atlanta, Georgia, this the 16th day of September, 1971.

NATIONAL ENERGY POLICY—
PART IX

HON. R. LAWRENCE COUGHLIN

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 22, 1971

Mr. COUGHLIN. Mr. Speaker, once again, in the interest of promoting the establishment of a national energy policy, I insert in the RECORD a list of additional publications on national energy policy matters which has just come to my attention.

Of particular interest is the 7-volume document entitled "Proceedings of the United Nations Conference on New Sources of Energy," the result of a 3-day conference in Rome in 1961. I understand these volumes are a mine of worthwhile information on new energy sources.

Hopefully, those authorized to establish such a policy might find these and all the other documents useful in their deliberations.

The list follows:

A NATIONAL ENERGY POLICY

A. GENERAL

"The Human Use of the Earth", by Phillip Wagner (Macmillan, Riverside, New Jersey, 1960).

B. ENERGY AND THE ENVIRONMENT

"Man's Impact on the Global Environment", (MIT Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1970).

"Environment, Power and Society", by Howard T. Odum (John Wiley & Sons, New York, 1971).

C. ENERGY AND THE ECONOMY

"Ecology and Resource Management", by Kenneth E. F. Watt (McGraw-Hill, New York, 1968).

D. POSSIBLE NEW SOURCES OF ENERGY

"Proceedings of the United Nations Conference on New Sources of Energy", Rome, 21-23 August 1961. Seven Volumes (United Nations publication).

"Direct Use of the Sun's Energy", by Farington Daniels (Yale University Press, New Haven, 1964).

E. POSSIBLE NEW USES OF ENERGY

"Windmills and Watermills", by John Reynolds (Praeger, New York, 1970).

"Butane Propane Power Manual, Principles of LP Gas Carburation", by Carl Abell and William Clark, ed., (Chilton, Philadelphia, 1962).

"How to make a Solar Steam Cooker", by A. Whittier (Brace Research Institute, MacDonald College, McGill University, January 1965).

"How to Build a Solar Water Heater", by D. A. Sinson and T. Hoad (Brace Research Institute, MacDonald College, McGill University, February 1965).

"How to Construct a Cheap Wind Machine for Pumping Water", by A. Bodek (Brace Research Institute, MacDonald College, McGill University, February 1965).

"Instructions for Constructing a Simple 8 Sq. Ft. Solar Still for Domestic Use and Gas Stations", by T. A. Lawand and R. Alward (Brace Research Institute, MacDonald College, McGill University, September 1967).

ONE WRITER'S ASSESSMENT OF CONGRESSIONAL PERFORMANCE

HON. JOHN W. WYDLER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 22, 1971

Mr. WYDLER. Mr. Speaker, just this week I noticed an article in one of Nassau County's outstanding weekly newspapers, the Long Island Graphic and Roosevelt Press, by Columnist Alan Jay.

Mr. Jay offers his telling comments on the fine congressional performance of my colleague in the House, Congressman NORMAN LENT. I think Mr. Jay's column presents a good appraisal of NORM LENT's efforts in Washington on behalf of his Fifth Congressional District constituents, and I enter it here:

GIVE ME LIBERTY

(By Alan Jay)

I think sufficient time has elapsed for a preliminary comparison between the performance of our "new" freshman U.S. Congressman Norman Lent, and our former freshman Congressman, Allard Lowenstein. Both are obviously dynamic, tireless politicians and legislators. Lent, like his predecessor before him, keeps close liaison with his constituents, via local offices, correspondence and personal contacts. If Lowenstein has mastered the eloquence of public speaking more dramatically than Lent, Lent displays a superior capacity for creative legal writing that must be the envy of even older statesmen on Capitol Hill. Where then is the great difference between the two men?

You can readily find it in their respective philosophies and approaches to solving problems. On the overriding issue of Vietnam, Lent wanted and wants this Democrat's disaster to end every bit as much as Lowenstein. However, unlike Lowenstein, Lent refuses to lend the dignity of his office to public demonstrations decorated with Viet

Cong flags and, in my opinion, at least partially organized by International Communists and their puppets, to humiliate the U.S. It is a known fact that such demonstrations and the moronic mouthings of Sen. Fulbright and Co., encouraged the North Vietnamese to withhold reasonable concessions at the Paris Talks that would have produced an early end to the war. Why shouldn't the N. Vietnamese maintain their aggression? Wouldn't their American sympathizers undermine the determination of the American People to resist even the most outrageous demands? History will record that the McGoverns, Fulbrights, Muskies and Lowensteins were worth at least twenty crack divisions to the Red Vietnamese during this struggle, in my opinion.

So, Congressman Lent works within the orderly processes of representative government to assist our President, State and Defense Depts. to gradually withdraw American troops from the conflict, while the S. Vietnamese can organize a reasonable local deterrent to a Red slaughter. At least this way our initial goal of preserving a free S-E Asia has hope for success, and those who gave their lives would not have died completely in vain. Contrast this common sense program, supported by the vast majority of the American public, with the demagogic campaigning waged by Lowenstein for an ARRUP disengagement that would have consigned millions of So. Vietnamese to certain butchery at the merciless hands of the Asian Communists. The resulting massacre would have made the recent Pakistani Genocide look like a PTA card party, and the future enslavement of the rest of S-E Asia a certainty. This disaster may well happen anyway, we having failed to defeat the aggressor; but in the name of all we hold sacred, it is the least we can do, having done so much under an unwise strategy already.

On domestic issues, Congressman Lent displays the same zeal and independent leadership for major problem-solving as when he served his constituents in Albany. The modern challenges of pollution, health, education, employment, commerce, crime, etc., all receive careful attention and remedial legislation when necessary and possible. There is no uneasiness and uncertainty about what Norman Lent is doing in Washington. Nor is there any doubt about whom he really works for. The "gerry-manded" voters of L.I.'s 5th Congressional District can be very proud of their handiwork in electing this progressive Conservative.

When the Liberals cry foul because their "Five Town" stronghold was re-districted, they fail to mention that solid Conservative Valley Stream went with the Five Town package also. At this stage of the game, in my opinion, most of the Lowenstein supporters would switch to Lent just on the record of performance to date, thus rendering the old argument moot and muted.

ATTICA RIOT

HON. JACK F. KEMP

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 22, 1971

Mr. KEMP. Mr. Speaker, an article, written at the time of the Attica negotiations by Irv Weinstein, the very talented and objective news director of WKBW in my Buffalo district, is deserving of the attention of our colleagues. I believe it very accurately reflects the

opinions of many people on the conditions of those negotiations.

America cannot tolerate criminal acts in penal institutions anymore than it can tolerate criminal acts in society at large. Blackmail for unilateral concessions is unacceptable behind prison walls and outside them, even as it is between nations.

We are confronted with the outrageous concept, held by a vocal minority, that persons convicted of crimes by the fairest system of justice in the world are not criminals but political prisoners.

It is unthinkable that Black Panther Leader Bobby Seale and William Kunstler were admitted to the Attica institution to bargain in behalf of rebelling inmates who held the lives of 38 prison employees in their hands. The horror of the Attica tragedy is even more distressing in view of prison reforms which State Corrections Commissioner Russell Oswald offered on the eve of the riot.

Additional concessions made to the blackmailing rioters simply proved the obvious fact that concessions made under such circumstances only lead to further blackmail and, ultimately, to tragic consequences.

We cannot shut our eyes to prison abuses and apparent shortcomings in the rehabilitation process. But I hope that the causes and events which led to this tragedy will be fully investigated so positive steps can be taken to protect prison personnel and others from such tragedies in the future and bring the reforms that we all know can and must be made.

Also at this time I would like to commend Gov. Nelson Rockefeller for handling this incident under tremendous pressure and unwarranted criticism without succumbing to the emotionalism of all those who had the easy answers. No one could possibly accuse Governor Rockefeller of not being concerned or involved in the welfare of the citizens of New York, be they of any race, religion, or social strata. Let us put a halt to the second guessing and get busy answering the issues that bring about such tragic events.

Mr. Weinstein's article follows:

ATTICA RIOTS

(By Irv Weinstein)

These are truly baffling times. Convicts at Attica State Prison are negotiating for better living and working conditions. There "ace in the hole" is the lives of 32 guards they hold hostage. No one can argue against the institution of humane conditions for prisoners at our penal institutions. On the other hand, when "cons" can take over a prison, beat and terrorize guards and then demand to be transported to a non-imperialist country as part of their "demands", I have to ask whether the security at Attica is strong enough now. These inmates were not sent to Attica as part of some sort of sociological experiment. They're there because they have murdered, raped and robbed people. Right now, the prime concern is the safety of the hostages. The grievances of prison convicts should be considered and, if found to be valid, should be corrected. But if we start allowing prison inmates to dictate the terms of their confinement, we will simply be taking another step down the "road" to anarchy in this country.

PRESIDENT DOUDNA'S CHARGE TO CLASS

HON. WILLIAM L. SPRINGER

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 22, 1971

Mr. SPRINGER. Mr. Speaker, after 15 years of a successful administration at Eastern Illinois University, Quincy Doudna retired with the commencement of the summer class. What President Doudna said to those young people who are just starting on the road of life can be well applied to everyone. He cites his beliefs in integrity, hard work, rationality, and brotherhood and, in looking around today, how many of us will not agree that certainly these qualities are lacking in our society and are badly needed. President Doudna's speech follows:

CHARGE TO CLASS—SUMMER COMMENCEMENT, AUGUST 12, 1971

Since this is my last formal function as President of Eastern Illinois University, I was tempted to review the fifteen years of my administration and cite what seemed important. I did not yield to that temptation and did not consider the possibility long. History is the proper agent to assess a period in the life of an institution. I am quite aware that an assessment will be made.

I am not so presumptuous as to cite what I hope will be preserved of the 1971 Eastern Illinois University and what I hope will be changed. This is the challenge of the new leadership.

Instead of discussing those possible topics I have chosen to set forth certain ideals in which I believe and which I commend to you. In so doing, I take note of such great ideals as those represented by the terms Justice, Peace, Freedom and Truth which I now mention only in passing to indicate that those with which I shall be dealing are only some of the great ideals with which you of this graduating class and those who are our guests should concern yourselves.

I shall speak of integrity.

I shall speak of hard work.

I shall speak of rationality.

I shall speak of brotherhood.

I believe in integrity and I commend it to you.

I believe in hard work and I commend it to you.

I believe in rationality and I commend it to you.

I believe in brotherhood and I commend it to you.

I speak now of integrity.

The teachings of great religious leaders are replete with references to integrity. While often stated in the negative ("Thou shalt not steal," "Thou shalt not bear false witness.") integrity was clearly recognized by such leaders as a positive force in the affairs of men. It does not matter, for my purpose now, whether admonitions relative to integrity were based on great truths revealed by God or were dicta set forth by very wise and very pragmatic men. Those who articulated them saw that their acceptance and application would make a society work. They saw that in any age their acceptance and application are essential to orderly relationships among men. One need only read a newspaper on any given day to find evidence that when there is a lack of integrity in public life or in private life, relationships are quite unsatisfactory and society is damaged. One cannot, unfortunately, find much to help him know what society might be like if complete integrity were the ruling force in the

affairs of men. He must conjure up an image of a society that does not exist; but it is pleasant to ponder and should be assiduously sought.

I believe in integrity and I commend it to you.

I speak now of hard work.

One finds it difficult to accept the notion that hard work is an end in itself. More probably, the early American leaders who espoused hard work as a kind of religious virtue simply saw that hard work was necessary in colonial America if the colonies and, indeed, the *colonists* were to survive. But to idealists, working hard to get goods or even to stay alive might have had a touch of materialism about it. On the other hand, working hard so the "Old Deluder Satan" would not tempt otherwise idle hands, seemed a more lofty, and hence acceptable, justification to religious people.

Whatever the case, no one now seriously advocates hard work as a means of salvation or even to keep one out of mischief. On the contrary, leisure time and its proper use are ends to be sought. At the extreme, perhaps the most successful searchers have been the hoboes of my youth and the hippies of yours. But both hoboes and hippies have found their leisure at the expense of those who constitute the rest of society and who, in the main, believe that leisure must be paid for by somebody's hard work. Most of us believe it should be paid for by the hard work of those who want to enjoy it. No one, any more, wants a chosen few to enjoy leisure at the price of the labor of slaves as was the case in the early history of a part of our country and in the history of many ancient civilizations. But neither do most people want a parasitic portion of our population in any part of the spectrum to have leisure or other benefits without work. There is growing resentment against those who hitchhike, whether on the highways or on society. (Unfortunately this resentment sometimes spills over, I add parenthetically, against those who need help because they can't work or can't find work; I am not joining in that resentment.)

But aside from the feelings of those who have modified the ethic of hard work to conform to new views regarding leisure, there is a serious and very practical problem. Our whole economy in this country and some others is suffering because we have idealized leisure to the extent that the productivity of our people is sometimes gaining only slowly, is sometimes only holding its own, and sometimes falling off. We are stretching our vacations, stretching our weekends and stretching our coffee breaks. But, worse yet, we are diluting our working time itself by being slow, careless or indifferent. Thus we find the steel industry suffering because workers and management elsewhere work harder and more efficiently and turn out steel for less money. Some 16% of our raw steel is now imported. Similarly, because Germans and Swedes and Japanese are working harder and managing better, some 16% of our automobiles are now imported and the percentage is rising. And here was an area in which American workers and managers were supposed to be invincible! And while all this is going on our factories in general are operating at only 73% of capacity and some six percent of our people are unemployed. Clearly we ought to do better than that.

The relevance of all this tonight lies in the fact that not enough of us care. Actually, some scoff at the hard work, the careful work, the conscientious work required to hold our society together. Some challenge the objective as materialistic and unworthy but I assert that they too will, in time, want a home and an air conditioner, a bed and an electric blanket, a family and means to educate their children. And I assert that our society will be the better when these desires

take shape and when those who have them begin to pay the price in honest toil.

I believe in hard work and I commend it to you.

I now speak of rationality.

A basic tenet in a society of free men is that disagreements are settled rationally. About 35 years ago, I met a Russian professor at Cornell University. By then he had lived in England 20 years since being forced out of his native land by the communist revolution. He told me he had observed that the British had a genius for settling disputes rationally. He said, "Each assumes that there is a kernel of truth in the other fellow's position and he seeks to find it, at the same time setting forth his own position in such a way that the other fellow has a good chance to find, in turn, the truth in it. Out of these efforts the opponents come to a compromise that is generally acceptable," he concluded.

In America we have generally done reasonably well at resolving our differences rationally. At times, I must note sadly, we have come to rely on a test of strength rather than the rationality of our position. Big labor unions and big management have done it when reason failed. Civil rights organizations and an entrenched social system have done it when reason failed. Mobs of college students and college administrators have done it when reason failed or occasionally before it was adequately tried. In some cases violence resulted, with, in the colleges, consequences ranging from discipline to death.

One can deplore a test of strength as a way to reach decisions and can be distressed and dismayed when the test takes violent forms, no matter in what context. But he must be completely disillusioned when the rule of reason breaks down in the university community. If reason and rationality cannot survive in the college and the university, I ask you, where can they survive? The academic community is the last refuge of rationality. We who live and work in that community must respect rationality and preserve it at all costs.

I believe in rationality and I commend it to you.

I shall now speak of brotherhood, but I shall not speak with my own words. Rather I shall use the words of a black student at the University of Wisconsin about 25 years ago. Miss Agnes Bonner imagined the world was an old man who dreamed of his past and had visions of his future as he slept under a tree on a warm summer day—

Listen now to Miss Bonner:

THE BIG DREAM

(By Agnes Bonner)

One night last week,
The world, feeling tired,
Lay down to sleep and had a big dream;
A dream almost as wide as the world is wide,
And certainly as old.

It seemed that the earth was almost barren
of people;
Only a few here and a few there,
Like clumps of grass in a marsh.
And each tilled his own land and ground
his own plow;
Cared for his own beasts,
And harvested his own crop.
Each for each and none for another.

For the world was dreaming of his own youth,
As any old man,
Lying under a tree on a warm summer day
Might dream of a time gone by.
And before he could stir or turn over,
The clumps became more crowded.
And here was a man who ground the plows
For all his fellows,
And here was a man who milled the corn,
And here was one who tended to sick beasts.
And in each clump;
Man spoke to man in a tongue that he could understand;

And he spoke back, as a neighbor should.
But no clump had anything to do with any
other clump.
For no two spoke the same.
Each knew only each
And none knew another.

And the world remembered that after a while
The clumps each became bigger,
Sometimes after swallowing a smaller clump,
Until the land was apportioned between
them;

And they were no longer clumps,
But great fringes that brushed against each
other

At their edges.

And for the space that was left,
Weird battles were fought.

Arrows flew in some
And stones were catapulted in others.
Ship was driven against ship,
And like a huge black cloud
The smoke of gun powder rolled over the sky.

And the fringes shivered in every breeze that
blew,

And bowed down before the strong winds.
Some were swept under in the great floods,
And fires and earthquakes destroyed still
others.

Yet each strove against each and none strove
for each other.

Each helped each and none helped another.
And the world moaned in his sleep,
And moved restlessly.

For he had had a violent youth
And thoughts of it sometimes disturbed his
naps.

Then the dream changed, as dreams do, when
we had had enough of night mares,
And spread out before him was the green
earth,

And all the little streams, the peaceful hills
and valleys,

There were no clumps or fringes,
Or any clusters at all.

Only a man who gave his hand to another
man

That he might breast a hill;
Or a man who cared for his neighbor's
children across the valley

When all were ill.

And each spoke to each in no language;
But heart spoke to heart in an old tongue.
And suddenly each man became a group of
men

And the streams, rivers and the hills, moun-
tains;

And still hands reached out across the rivers
and mountains,

And heart spoke to heart across the deep val-
leys.

And the rivers became seas
And were full of ships.

And the seas became oceans
And the group of men, nations.

And still hand reached out to hand
Across the ocean and through the air.
Desolation no longer darkened the sky.

Each gave to each what he lacked
And he, in turn, gave back to another.

For the world was dreaming, as he had for a
long time,

A big dream.

Too big for any clump in a marsh.

Or for any fringe on a river,

Too big for any man to dream by himself.

But not too big, surely, for the world.

That each should know each and another;

That each should help each and another;

That each should speak to each and another;

That each should love each and another;

That each should build for each and another.

A big dream—

But not too big for a world,

A little over a hundred thousand years old,

To make come true.

I believe in Brotherhood and I commend it
to you.

It is these thoughts I would leave with you
as my last formal statement as President of
Eastern Illinois University.

CASE FOR AUTO EXCISE TAX REPEAL

HON. CHARLES E. CHAMBERLAIN

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 22, 1971

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. Mr. Speaker, the distinguished columnist, David Lawrence, has taken note of the strong case made last week to the Ways and Means Committee in behalf of the immediate repeal of the 7 percent Federal excise tax on passenger automobiles. Mr. Lawrence's article, appearing in the Washington Evening Star on September 17, draws attention to many of the compelling reasons which argue in favor of the President's request and singles out particularly the very persuasive observations made to the Committee by the Honorable Arthur E. Summerfield, the former Postmaster General and for many years an automobile dealer in Flint, Mich. As the House prepares to act on the President's economic proposals, I commend this column to the attention of my colleagues:

CASE FOR AUTO EXCISE TAX REPEAL

(By David Lawrence)

The motor vehicle industry is urging Congress to repeal the 7 percent excise tax on automobiles and thereby give the economy its biggest stimulus. Leaders in the industry say that a drop in vehicle sales generally is the first indication of economic decline while renewed sales volume usually is a sign that a recovery period is beginning.

Arthur E. Summerfield, who was postmaster general in the Eisenhower administration and who has been an automobile and truck dealer in Flint, Mich., for 42 years, testified this week before the House Ways and Means Committee on the importance of removing the excise tax. His son, who is a motor vehicle dealer in Gary, Ind., joined in his testimony. The statement read in part as follows:

"More than 13 million persons—holding one of every six jobs in the nation—are employed in highway transport industries. Over 800,000 businesses are directly dependent on motor vehicle use for their continued existence. . . .

"On July 7 unsold new 1971 automobiles in dealers' hands reached a record high of more than 1,800,000 cars in a declining market. Many dealers, already stretched financially, certainly were in no position to order and arrange payment for additional new cars. . . .

"The impact and problems of our present situation are beyond the control of the business community alone. During the past year, sales of cars from abroad rose to 14 percent of total U.S. sales and are now running about 16 percent. On the basis of a 10-million car year, this means 1,600,000 vehicles.

"This percentage shows definite signs of increasing at an even faster rate, and without help from you the aggressive distribution plans of foreign car manufacturers could well cause them to actually dominate the American car market. Import sales are running 40

percent on the West Coast, and 20 percent on the East Coast—and both German and Japanese companies are now greatly expanding their distribution in the greatest car market in the country—the great Middle West.

"As dealers of domestic cars and trucks, we must compete against vehicles built in Japan where labor wage scales are about one-quarter of ours. We must also compete with vehicles built in West Germany where wages approximate half of ours. This, of course, results in unequal competition and is reflected in the automotive employment trend in each of the three countries."

Summerfield pointed out that direct employment in this country in the manufacture of motor vehicles declined by 91,000 jobs last year. But in West Germany, jobs in the motor vehicle industry climbed from 560,000 in 1969 to 731,000 this year. Similarly, Japanese employment in transportation manufacturing rose from 514,000 in 1960 to 754,000 in 1969.

Summerfield's statement declared that repeal of the automobile excise tax would mean that an average of \$200 would be rebated "to the car buyer, not to the dealer, and not to the manufacturer, and it would not be inflationary." In summing up, Summerfield said:

"We strongly feel that repeal of these automotive excise taxes in total would have the greatest all-around benefits of any single action to stimulate our economy."

Franklin M. Kreml, president of the Automobile Manufacturers Association, in testifying before the committee, stated that auto price reductions would range from about \$125 for small cars to over \$300 for the largest cars. Many of the major manufacturers have written to members of Congress committing their companies to pass the tax saving on to the buyer.

Officials of the automobile industry told the House Ways and Means Committee that even the cost of used cars would be reduced by the repeal of the 7 percent tax, inasmuch as older-car prices are competitive with those of new cars.

Attention was drawn at the committee hearings to the fact that in 1965 President Johnson had ordered a study after the tax on automobiles was cut from 10 percent to 7 percent, and it showed that the reduction was passed on to the purchaser. The Bureau of Labor Statistics at the time revealed a similar drop in used-car prices.

In the view of industry spokesmen, the net result of removal of the tax would be to help create and maintain new jobs through increased production of motor vehicles and also would make additional noninflationary funds available for consumer use.

EULOGY TO THE HONORABLE ROBERT TINDAL

HON. JOHN CONYERS, JR.

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 22, 1971

Mr. CONYERS. Mr. Speaker, on August 2, last rites were held for the Honorable Robert Tindal, the third black man ever elected to the Detroit Common Council. He was respected throughout the city as a dedicated public servant, as attested to by the countless number of citizens who paid their final respects as his body lay in state at the city-county building.

He was a product of the civil rights

movement, giving leadership in the South as well as in Michigan, where he served in the capacity of executive director of the Detroit Chapter of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. But most of all he was a dear friend and associate of mine. My feelings were eloquently expressed at the funeral by Mr. Robert Millender in the following way:

EULOGY TO ROBERT TINDAL BY ROBERT
MILLENDER

It is often said that you shall know a man by his deeds. While this may be true, it is not an absolute measure of the worth of a man, for sometimes the deeds are obscured by myth and in too many cases the motives for performance spring from acts of self-interest.

To truly evaluate the deeds, therefore, one must truly know the doer, his hopes and aspirations that prompted the acts we see.

I do not wish here to enumerate the various deeds of Bob Tindal, for they are as well known to you as to me. Rather, I wish to talk about the man, his hopes, his aspirations.

I knew Bob only a short period of time in terms of years, but I knew him since time immemorial for I was privileged in that he shared with me his belief in his purpose in life.

Bob visioned and knew there could exist a world wherein men are born free, a world where his son, Shawn, and all the other Shawns of that world would have the opportunity to develop their God-given talents without restrictions of any manner.

But he was a realist, for he knew that to many people that world was a myth, to some an obtainable goal and to others a mirage to be dangled before the eyes of the dispossessed to lure them into a sense of contented hopefulness.

He also knew that this world lay behind a man-made mountain of mental and emotional stones of apathy, complacency, prejudice, discrimination, racist bigotry, poverty, and disease.

His dedication and commitment led him to join with those who sought to climb to the top of the mountain, perceived this better world and proclaim its existence to the disbelievers. Further, their ultimate purpose was the elimination of the mountain.

Bob realized that this journey was a tedious, dangerous, sometimes lonely, frustrating venture but he did not despair and continued upward. Often he was seen lending a helping hand to fellow travelers along the way. He took time to clearly mark the pitfalls that he encountered for he knew that others were following and he desired that their journey be made easier.

He carefully mapped the path of his journey for he visualized the path becoming a road, the road a street, the street a broad, six lane highway virtually destroying the mountain.

Shed no tear nor mourn for the man, Bob Tindal. If you must shed a tear or mourn . . . let it be for that cause he lived and worked for. A cause that has lost a valiant warrior. For Bob was well aware, recognized, and accepted that the effort he expended in his journey could well lead him to this place at this time. He believed "that a man must do what he must do" and that if the end results are the supreme sacrifice, then so be it.

To you, Bob Tindal in behalf of those who continue the journey . . . farewell—we shall surely miss your companionship, your helping hand, your commitment, dedication and most of all your abiding faith that some of us will reach the top of the mountain.

For me personally I can say . . . farewell . . . friend . . .

SICKLE CELL ANEMIA

HON. THOMAS P. O'NEILL, JR.

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 22, 1971

Mr. O'NEILL. Mr. Speaker, sickle cell anemia is a disease which is devastating the black children of this Nation. Fortunately, we live in an era which has seen many diseases brought under control, and even some, like smallpox, erased completely. America has set her medical sights on conquering cancer. In conjunction with these developments, I believe that the conquest of sickle cell anemia warrants an all-out effort on behalf of the black children of America. I have introduced legislation, as others in this Congress have, which would provide for a Sickle Cell Anemia Institute, for the purpose of vanquishing this dread disease. I ask my colleagues to read the following report prepared by a member of my staff. I am confident that all will be persuaded that this menace should be eradicated as soon as humanly possible:

THE FEDERAL ROLE IN THE FIGHT AGAINST
SICKLE CELL ANEMIA

Sickle cell anemia is one of the greatest killers among young Black children in the nation today. Annually an estimated 1,155 new cases are discovered, and for each of these new cases a very painful and usually fatal disease has begun. This figure for the estimated number of new cases is considerably higher than the estimates for the other major hereditary childhood diseases: cystic fibrosis—1,206, muscular dystrophy—813, and PKU—350 (1967 figures). It is estimated that 50,000 American Negroes have the sickle cell disease, one child in every 500 born; two million plus are carriers of the disease, and at least 5,000 require hospitalization each year. Most of those children afflicted with the disease die before the age of thirty.

Sickle cell anemia is a genetically transmitted blood disease that afflicts blacks almost exclusively. The disease, through a change in the molecular structure in hemoglobin, stretches the red blood cell into the characteristic sickle shape. The sickled blood cells carry less oxygen throughout the body, are more brittle and destroyed by natural body processes more rapidly than the normal blood cells.

Lack of a proper, iron-rich diet, overly strenuous physical labor or exercise and severe colds can bring on what is known as a sickle cell "crisis". A crisis occurs when many of the red blood cells start stretching and twisting into sickled shape all at once. These sickled cells get blocked in the very small capillaries of the body, an event similar to a "log-jam". The liver, kidney, or intestine does not then receive the fresh blood and oxygen it requires and may swell up with fluid and become quite painful. This condition usually lasts for some four to six days during which time some hospitalization is usually necessary.

At this time there is no known cure for sickle cell anemia. Earlier this year Dr. Robert M. Nalbandian of Grand Rapids, Michigan, pioneered a treatment of the disease using I.V. infusions of a drug known as urea. There has been much discussion in several medical journals concerning this treatment and its ability to perhaps prevent crises. Most doctors, like Dr. Paul McCurdy, associate professor of medicine at Georgetown University's School of Medicine, are "cautiously optimistic" about urea as a cure for sickle cell anemia. All agree that further

research into Urea and other similar drugs is needed.

The Federal government has been involved in sickle cell anemia research for some time. The appropriations for research in FY 1970 amounted to \$1.7 million. The National Institute of Health—the government's chief medical research body—reports grants worth \$1,033,000 have been funded during the past fiscal year for direct research on the disease as well as 36 other grants of \$1,223,000 in related studies.

President Nixon in his health message to Congress of February 18, 1971, called for a five-fold increase, to \$6 million, in the budget for research and treatment of sickle cell anemia. This increase is one of the biggest percentage increases anywhere in the entire budget. This increase was sustained in the HEW appropriations bill (H.R. 10061) which passed the House. The appropriation for sickle cell anemia research is not clearly spelled out within the bill, but is rather included in the funds for the National Heart and Lung Institute's appropriation (Title II, under NIH).

The attack against sickle cell anemia is being carried on in a four prong effort, as outlined by Dr. Robert Ringler of NHLI, Deputy Director of NHLI, and co-ordinator of the project:

(1) to expand research into the disease and its complications

(2) try to discover better ways to treat those persons with the disease. This includes a clinical evaluation of Urea and other drugs being experimented with as preventive oral medications for the long term management of the disease. Approximately \$1.5 million of the budget will be allocated for contracts to medical centers participating in this study.

(3) to develop screening and counseling at the community level, perhaps through the newly established Health Services Community Centers.

Develop improved public awareness of the disease: how it is contracted, limits on persons afflicted, etc.

These objectives will be carried out by awarding the overwhelming majority of the money in study grants to non-Governmental institutions throughout the country for research and testing. Two institutions currently researching sickle cell anemia extensively are Howard University in Washington, D.C. and Meharry Medical College in Nashville, Tennessee. NIH also has in existence a Task Force on Sickle Cell Anemia to plan, develop, and coordinate this currently somewhat overlapping effort.

The Federal government is definitely working on the disease, and with the recent budget increase the Federal funds in research compare favorably with research into the other major childhood hereditary diseases: cystic fibrosis, \$2,701,000; muscular dystrophy, \$5,337,000; PKU, \$790,000. One problem in funding is that there is no large private organization to supplement government research funds as there is in cancer, cystic fibrosis, and many others. The revenues of these volunteer groups in 1968 were as follows: muscular dystrophy, \$7,203,000; cystic fibrosis, \$1,998,716.

One area of the disease which needs to be further developed is the screening process to determine who has the disease, and who are carriers of the disease. It is estimated that between 8-13% of the black population carry the sickle cell trait. By using an autoanalyzer, a Sickledex test can be easily administered, at only pennies per test. As stated by Dr. David G. Nathan, chief of the division of hematology at Children's Hospital in Boston, "It is extremely important to know whether every black person entering the hospital has the trait. These patients can get into serious trouble during such routine situations as pneumonia, drug therapy, or pregnancy." Also, tests should be run in

schools in black areas to help both parents and children to understand the truth, not exaggerations or lies, about the disease and how they can best keep healthy.

Currently the draft status of blacks with the sickle cell trait is not effected and according to Captain Francis J. Linehan, MC, director of professional services in the office of the Assistant Secretary of Defense for Health and Environment, the Defense Department has no plans at all to change their draft status. Since crises are brought on in carriers by strenuous exercise, perhaps the wisdom of putting blacks with the trait through a rigorous program of basic training should be reexamined.

Until extended research develops a cure for sickle cell anemia or at least a way to forestall the "crisis", and extensive experiments are being carried on in this area by Dr. Nalbandian of Blodgett Memorial Hospital in Grand Rapids, Michigan, screening and genetic counseling appear to be the most effective way of bringing sickle cell anemia under some control. The Federal government is trying to get a cure for sickle cell anemia, and the work is progressing.

THE NATIONAL SERVICE ACT

HON. JONATHAN B. BINGHAM

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 22, 1971

Mr. BINGHAM. Mr. Speaker, the vote by the Senate yesterday to extend the draft was a final example of the consistent failure of the Congress to create an effective system whereby the youth of America can serve their nation without the inequities present in our existing Selective Service System. I believe that the Congress will have to recognize eventually, that the draft should be drastically overhauled and a National Service System, along the lines I have proposed in H.R. 1000, established.

It is clear that despite the Congress, the desire for a fair, national service system remains an important and current topic of discussion. For example, in the August 31, 1971, Washington Post, Mr. Henry Owen, in discussing the changes now taking place in the U.S. Navy, referred to my proposal as one which reduces the inequities of the current system "Without giving up the notion that we all owe the country something more than taxes.

Mr. Owen's article follows:

Z-GRAMS HELP—YOUNGER OFFICERS RESHAPING NAVY (By Henry Owen)

I think it was Voltaire who said that if you want to get to know a country you should examine its armed forces and its courts. Which is one of many reasons for taking a good look at current changes in the nature of the U.S. armed forces. A good place to start is with a few simple facts:

Fact One: The character of a military service is largely determined by its officer corps.

Fact Two: Most members of an officer corps are relatively young. That's because it's pyramidal: lots of lieutenants, fewer colonels, and still fewer generals.

Fact Three: Young officers aren't that all different from young college-educated civilians. This is graphically revealed in an article by Commander James Barber in the May 1970 "Naval War College Review," reporting the results of a broad sampling of naval officer

opinion: The younger officers—in contrast to their seniors—turn out to have much the same opinion on race, foreign affairs, poverty, urban problems, etc., as their civilian counterparts. These data might move you to expect a bitter confrontation between younger officers and the establishment. But it's the other way around—at least in the Navy, and presumably in the other services as well: It's not the establishment which is staring down younger officers but the younger officers who, within certain limits, are reshaping the Navy.

The reason is simple: The Navy can't get along without them. It needs their numbers; and it needs their energy and enthusiasm. Its leaders know this, and have acted accordingly. To a civilian, some of the Z-Grams which the Chief of Naval Operations, Admiral Zumwalt, has showered on a startled Navy seem to deal with mundane matters: haircuts, beards, time spent waiting in line, suggestion procedures, and the like. But younger officers, enlisted men, and their wives recognize these directives for what they are: a signal that the management is on their side. As far as they're concerned, Zumwalt is the best thing that's happened to the Navy since John Paul Jones.

The mood and presence of these younger men seem to make a difference. Anyone who served as a junior officer in World War II can sense that difference visiting a naval base: Relations between seniors and juniors, and between officers and enlisted men (not to mention between blacks and whites) seem somewhat easier and more relaxed. The younger officers are a lively and attractive group—handlebar mustaches and all. They're interested not only in their work but also in the wider society about them—and in establishing useful contacts between that society and the Navy.

Only an expert can say whether all this adds up to a more effective Navy than before. But it doesn't take an expert to see that it's better than no Navy at all—which is what you'd have if the generation gap couldn't be bridged. You can't run a Navy without ensigns and lieutenants—at least, no one has succeeded so far. The retention rate of junior officers—the number who decide to stay on in the service—is not overwhelming, there are still plenty of problems and gripes; but the rate seems to be rising slightly, whereas a while back it appeared headed in the other direction.

The result may not be a naval officer corps as single-minded as the one which existed before Pearl Harbor, and which has been described as living in "a dim religious world in which Neptune was God, Mahan his prophet, and the United States Navy the only true church." but it may be one which is well adapted to a Navy whose main job in the years ahead seems more likely to be keeping the peace and showing the flag than waging general war. And it may help to produce a Navy which is a good deal less isolated from civilian life than in the past. The danger against which George Ball has recently warned, of a growing schism between civilian society and the military—such as confronted France after Algeria, will be reduced. We have enough divisions in the U.S. already; we don't need this one, too.

But this depends on the Navy—and other services as well—continuing to be able to draw in officers with varied backgrounds from a broad cross-section of civilian life. Although a fair number of these young men would come in even if there were no draft—because they like getting away from a desk, enjoy working with people instead of filling out forms, want to fly or go to sea, etc.—the point which Colonel Robert Gard makes in the current issue of "Foreign Affairs" still seems valid: "If the draft is discontinued . . . the uniformed services will become more self-contained and their separation from society will be more likely."

There's a good deal to be said for an all-

volunteer force, so that each person can fix his own way of life, and so as to avoid the inequities and inducements to cheating which are inherent in a draft as little used as our own. But some of the latter problems can be met—for example by the proposal for national civilian and military service being advanced by Congressman Bingham and some of his colleagues—without giving up the notion that we all owe the country something more than taxes. If that notion is abandoned, one of the prices that we may have to pay is some slowing down of the winds of change now blowing through the armed services. And if you believe that Voltaire was right in thinking that the character of a society and of its armed forces are closely related, you'll want to think twice before running this risk.

DADE COUNTY'S SUMMER PROGRAM OF ACTION TO RENEW THE ENVIRONMENT

HON. DANTE B. FASCELL

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 22, 1971

Mr. FASCELL. Mr. Speaker, I would like to bring to the attention of our colleagues the success of a summer employment program for disadvantaged high school students in Dade County. This program is SPARE, Summer Program of Action To Renew the Environment, and is sponsored by the Environmental Protection Agency.

Dade County's SPARE is the second largest in the Nation and proved to be so successful that it will serve as the model for other areas in the Nation next summer. It gained special recognition because it was a countywide program that involved almost every municipality in Dade.

The purposes of the project were to: First, provide immediate summer employment for disadvantaged youth.

Second, educate the public to deal successfully with immediate, urban environmental problems.

Third, promote incentive and illustrate career possibilities in ecology.

The youths in the program were on the job 4 days a week and spent 1 day in classroom seminars discussing the ecological problems they encountered on the job.

Mr. Speaker, I would like to direct the attention of our colleagues to an article on SPARE which appeared in the Miami News:

[From the Miami News, July 14, 1971]

DADE JOB PROGRAM'S SUCCESS MAKES IT A MODEL FOR NATION (By Sue Krawetz)

A federally created summer job program in Dade County has proved so successful it will be used as a model for other areas in the nation.

It also may be expanded to a year-round program here.

It's called SPARE—Summer Program of Action to Renew the Environment—and it involves 600 disadvantaged high school students and 60 trained college supervisors.

Jay Hale, Dade County Youth Coordinator, said officials from Washington visited Dade this week "to see if the program was really as great as our reports indicated. And they were very impressed."

The purposes of the project, which began June 11, are to:

Provide immediate summer employment for disadvantaged youth.

Educate the public to deal successfully with immediate, urban environmental problems.

Promote incentive and illustrate career possibilities in ecology.

The Dade County program is the second largest in the nation and gained special recognition, Hale said, because it is a county-wide program that involves almost every municipality in Dade.

Hale said squads of teenagers are actively working with various pollution control agencies and ecological programs in the county. Students are involved in Housing and Urban Development, water and waste treatment plants, noise and air pollution with the Port Authority, the Sanitation Department, Dade County Pollution Control "and just about everything concerned with ecology."

Hale said the program was successful because of the enthusiasm, support and cooperation of the various agencies involved.

He said the point of SPARE is to actively help conquer environmental problems the everyday citizen experiences in the city.

Some squads each composed of 10 teenagers and one supervisor, are spending the summer making door-to-door stops in the inner city. They teach residents how to cope with daily problems such as mosquito control and preventive methods against rat infestation.

The youths in the program are on the job four days a week and spend one day in classroom seminars discussing the ecological problems they encounter on the job.

The program is being sponsored in 100 major cities by the Environmental Protection Agency. The program in Dade is costing the federal government about \$250,000.

The youths, ages 16 to 20, were recruited for the program through the Neighborhood Youth Corps and earn the minimum wage, \$1.60 per hour.

MORE COAST GUARD ACTIVITY IN ALASKA

HON. NICK BEGICH

OF ALASKA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 22, 1971

Mr. BEGICH. Mr. Speaker, on my recent trip to Alaska I had the pleasure of visiting with my many friends in Ketchikan. While my trip to southeast Alaska was most enjoyable, I did come to Ketchikan with the intention of conducting serious business. The Public Works Committee held hearings in Ketchikan and at that time testimony was offered in support of the need for more Coast Guard activity in Alaska.

At that time, I pointed out that the need for increased Coast Guard activity was so essential to the growth and stability of Alaska, and especially southeast Alaska, appropriate action must be taken immediately. I, therefore, requested that the U.S. Coast Guard forward to me a résumé of facilities and funds now available to it; and what more would be needed to properly and efficiently perform the tasks asked of this division. At this time, I include in the RECORD the résumé and

information forwarded to me by the U.S. Coast Guard:

REPORT OF CONGRESSIONAL PUBLIC WORKS COMMITTEE MEETING

1. On 26 August 1971 I attended a hearing of the House of Representatives Public Works Committee held in Ketchikan. The chairman was Representative Nick Begich of Alaska. In attendance were Representatives K. G. McKay of Utah and J. Terry of New York.

2. Representatives of the Communities of Petersburg, Wrangell, Ketchikan, Klawok and Hydaburg presented testimony as to their needs for navigation improvements as well as economic development administration projects in their respective areas.

3. As the hearing was drawing to a close, State Senator Frank Petrovich of Klawok stated for the record, his deep appreciation of the "Outstanding service the U.S. Coast Guard has rendered to Alaska and in particular Southeast Alaska." Chairman Begich endorsed the Senator's remarks and added that he was well aware of the tremendous task the Coast Guard faced in patrolling Alaskan waters and in particular the Bering Sea. At that time he requested the Coast Guard submit, for insertion into the record, their budget for Alaskan operations, and their estimated costs of additional equipment for optimum response to Coast Guard responsibilities. It is felt this should be handled at the District level.

R. H. HAGADORN.

RÉSUMÉ OF KETCHIKAN PUBLIC WORKS HEARING

1. A public works hearing on the subject of improvements to aids to navigation, waterways and waterfront facilities was held in the City of Ketchikan on 26 August 1971. Representatives from several panhandle communities were present and voiced their communities needs and desires to the congressional committee.

2. A request which directly concerned the air station was presented by State Senator Frank Peratrovich of Klawok in which he stated that the fishing industry of that area suffered from the close proximity of foreign fishing vessels to the Alaskan coast. He requested consideration of a move to extend the 12 mile limit to keep these vessels further out allowing U.S. fishermen an increased availability of marine resources. He also expressed sincere thanks to the Coast Guard for its multitude of services, often under severe and hazardous conditions, to the communities of Southeast Alaska.

3. Congressman Nick Begich expressed his desires for increased Coast Guard personnel and facilities for the state to further protect Alaskan fishing rights and promised to do as much as possible to secure increased appropriations for the service. To aid him in this task, he asked the Coast Guard to submit a resume of facilities and funds now available to it; and what more would be needed to properly and efficiently perform the tasks asked of it.

P. H. BREED.

FACILITIES AND FUNDS

1. Current annual costs for this district amount to \$20,330,202.00 (FY-71). This figure includes all costs (personnel, vessel and air operations, shore stations, aids to navigation, etc.).

2. The operating units now supported by this district are:

- a. Vessels:
 - 1 WMEC (CGC Confidence).
 - 1 WAGB (CGC Storis).
 - 8 WLB.
 - 1 WLM (White Holly).

- 1 WLI (CGC Elderberry).
- 3 WPB.
- 1 MLB (44 Footer).
- 2 UTB (40 Footer).
- b. Air Stations and Aircraft:
 - (1) Air Station Kodiak:
 - 3 HC130H.
 - 2 HH52A.
 - (2) Air Station Annette:
 - 2 HU16E.
 - 3 HH52A.
- c. CG Bases:
 - (1) Ketchikan.
- d. Group Offices:
 - (1) Juneau.
- e. Radio Stations:
 - (1) Ketchikan.
 - (2) Kodiak.
 - (3) Adak.
- f. Boating Safety Detachments:
 - (1) Anchorage.
 - (2) Petersburg.

The following operational elements/facilities would enhance this district's capability to perform operational functions.

1. Establish Auke Bay Rescue Station (Helo/Surface):

Background: There are at present inadequate moorings and living spaces at the Auke Bay Moorings (44 footer). In addition, the nearest air unit to the Juneau area is at Annette Island some 250 miles distant. Transit time to the Juneau area is excessive for proper SAR response.

The Coast Guard now owns land (25 acres) at Auke Bay. Envisioned in our plans is the establishment of a combined helo/surface rescue station on that site. Assigned to this station would be the 44 footer and one helicopter deployed from Air Station Annette. Scheduled maintenance would be performed at Annette. Aviation personnel would consist of two aircraft crews and minimal support personnel.

Estimated cost: \$1,135,000.00 (includes eight family living quarters).

2. Establish Air Detachment at Cordova:

Background: The greatest population center of Alaska, the greater Anchorage area, uses Prince William Sound as its recreational boating area. This boating activity is rapidly growing. In addition, the commercial fishing activity in that area is rapidly increasing. Assuming the Alaska Pipeline is eventually constructed, supertankers will be transiting Prince William Sound and require air surveillance for pollution detection and control. It is therefore deemed necessary to establish a helicopter detachment at Cordova. The aircraft would be deployed from Air Station Kodiak similar to the concept stated above for the Auke Bay Rescue Station. To accomplish this deployment one additional helicopter (H-3) would be required at Kodiak.

Estimated cost:

Hangar & Support \$1,160,000.00
One HH3F (At Kodiak) \$2,290,000.00 (including personnel).

Total, \$3,450,000.00.

3. Assignment of a fourth (one additional) HC130H at Kodiak:

Background: A serious fixed wing flight hour shortage exists at Kodiak. This shortage becomes acute when an aircraft is undergoing overhaul, modification, etc.

Estimated cost: \$4,972,000.00 (including crew).

4. Domestic Icebreaking:

Background: Year around shipping in Cook Inlet is inhibited by ice. The WLB is incapable of providing effective icebreaking in this area. A "wind class" WAGB is of too great a draft and possesses insufficient maneuverability to successfully break ice in Cook Inlet. A multi-purpose vessel, of icebreaker design, is therefore required for the Cook Inlet

area. A vessel of 200 to 230 feet is envisioned and would serve as an ALPAT. (Alaskan Patrol) fisheries law enforcement vessel during the "off" season.

Estimated cost:

Vessel, \$15,000,000.00.

Crew (73)*, \$360,000.00.

5. Assignment of WHEC to Alaska:

Background: ALPAT requirements (in ship days) are greater than district resources can provide. COMWESTAREA reduces this deficit, to some degree, by vessel augmentation. These vessels consume unproductive steaming time to and from Alaska and are not familiar with the peculiarities of the Alaskan fisheries treaties, agreements, etc. A WHEC assigned to this district would result in improved efficiency and effectiveness.

Estimated cost: \$1,300,000.00 (including crew)**.

6. Replace HH52A with HH3F:

Comment: All aircraft presently assigned to Air Station Annette and the HH52As now assigned to Air Station Kodiak are to be replaced by HH3Fs during CY 1973. The funding of this item is already an approved or proposed element of the FY '72 and FY '73 budgets.

STATEMENT CONCERNING BULGARIAN NATIONAL HERO NIKOLA PETKOV

HON. PHILIP M. CRANE

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 22, 1971

Mr. CRANE, Mr. Speaker, on September 23, we mark the 24th anniversary of the judicial murder of the Bulgarian national hero Nikola Petkov.

At a time when many in our own country and elsewhere in the West are expressing the view that communism is no longer a threat to freedom, it is helpful to review the fate of the Bulgarian people.

After the Communist-inspired Fatherland Front seized the government and the Red army occupied Bulgaria in 1944, the Communists methodically undertook to consolidate their rule. Initially holding only the governmental agencies for Interior, including the police, and Justice, they conducted widespread purges and trials in order to eliminate the opposition. As their control became more nearly absolute, an attack was launched on the old Tirnovo constitution, and "popular requests" were trumped up for a new one. In September 1946 the results of a plebiscite eliminated the monarchy and declared Bulgaria to be a republic. The following month, elections were held for a Grand National Assembly—Sobranje—which would enact a new constitution. After the new legislature convened in November, Georgi Dimitrov formed his government.

As far back as July 1945 Nikola Petkov sent a memorandum to the Inter-Allied Control Commission demanding postponement of the elections which the Communists had scheduled for the end of August 1945. These elections were to

involve only one list of candidates, headed by the Communist Party. As a result of the memorandum, the Prime Minister declared that Petkov had resigned, although he never formally did so. In protest, Nikola Petkov and other cabinet ministers broke up the Coalition Government, and thenceforth openly opposed the Communist dictatorship. Upon intervention of the Control Commission, the elections were postponed until November 18, 1945.

In October 1946, Petkov headed the opposition in its election campaign against Communist-Soviet attempts to seize full control of the country. Petkov, after his election, unmasked in Parliament the intentions of the Communists and their leader, Georgi Dimitrov, former Secretary-General of the Comintern. He accused them of being Stalinist agents, and said that their hands were stained with the blood of innocent Bulgarians and that they wanted to make Bulgaria a Soviet province.

For his efforts to keep Bulgaria free and independent, Petkov was charged with conspiracy against the state. He was sentenced to die on the gallows, and was later secretly executed.

Prior to his execution, a Communist representative promised him a pardon if he signed a petition declaring his repentance. Petkov made this reply:

You are even trying to desecrate my sacred memory. My sentence was passed by your Moscow masters and no one can revoke it. I do not seek mercy from you. I want to die so that my people may be freed sooner.

The Communist leaders of Bulgaria are frank to admit that theirs is a totalitarian state. Vulko Chervenkov, prime minister until 1956, stated that—

No institution, organization, or person can be above the Politburo and the Central Committee. All important issues of the government of the country must be decided by the Politburo and Central Committee. Those guilty of deviation from this Bolshevik rule must be held responsible and punished.

The government which Nikola Petkov sought to keep free and independent, has become nothing more than an instrument of Soviet colonialism and tyranny. The Government of Bulgaria has become in a practical sense merely a transmission belt behind which a dictatorship of the Bulgarian Communist Party operates the controls.

Men like Nikola Petkov have for many years been attempting to tell those of us in the West what communism is really like. Communism, unfortunately, has not changed. It was only in 1968 that Russian troops marched into Czechoslovakia. The Berlin Wall still stands as a monument to the tyranny which exists beyond it. Soviet efforts at subversion continue in the Middle East, in Latin America, in Africa, and in our own country.

Those who argue that communism is not really a danger should review the careers of men such as Nikola Petkov, men who, in their own time, argued against the concept of a "popular" or "united" front with the advocates of tyranny. Such policies did not work then. Bulgaria's enslavement is adequate proof of that fact. Such policies will not work now.

Hopefully, the inspiring example of this brave man will have its impact upon men today who face the same threat and challenge of Communist tyranny. If it does, then Nikola Petkov's life will have been well and honorably spent.

DISTINGUISHED VETERAN NEWSPAPERWOMAN—DOROTHY ROLLINS

HON. LOUIS C. WYMAN

OF NEW HAMPSHIRE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 22, 1971

Mr. WYMAN, Mr. Speaker, in the lovely town of Alton, N.H., in my congressional district, lives a distinguished veteran newspaperwoman, Mrs. Dorothy Rollins, 81 years proud. Mrs. Rollins is still active, vital and aware of the seriousness and importance of the issues and problems that confront State and Nation. She is constantly at work in a continuing valiant effort to invite public attention to constructive solutions—to the pressing need for public awareness and concern as distinct from apathy and indifference.

Recently capable reporter Betty Trask, writing in the Laconia, N.H. Evening Citizen, expressed in some detail a few of the highlights of Mrs. Rollins' distinguished career. I include these in the RECORD as an inspiration to other fine women who may be similarly motivated. They will do well to emulate the activities and accomplishments of Dorothy Rollins.

The article follows:

VETERAN NEWSPAPERWOMAN RECALLS YEARS OF HAPPINESS IN ALTON

(By Betty Trask)

ALTON.—An effervescent personality full of pep and vim is 81 year old Mrs. Dorothy Rollins, noted newspaperwoman, poet, and political party chairman, who has served as Alton correspondent for the Evening Citizen for the past 30 years.

We visited Dorothy one afternoon recently at her yellow house on Rollins Hill and chatted over a bountiful lunch, tribute to her wizardry in the kitchen.

Born in Lawrence, Mass., the daughter of Valentine Thornton Sellers who 50 years ago was considered one of the most brilliant editors in that state, Dorothy comes by her profession naturally. Her father came to this country in 1855 from his native England, and edited a political journal "The Sunday Leader", in the Bay state for 52 years. His six brothers were all writers—one a well known sports writer and another a prominent commentator on international affairs.

Her mother was the former Cora Mann. Dorothy was named after her godmother, Lady Stanley, wife of Sir Henry M. Stanley, the famous African explorer and partner of Dr. Livingston. Her grandfather wrote the first bill to better labor conditions in mills in Lawrence, Mass. Her father, a crusader, was the first milk inspector in the United States. He also instituted the first bill for better roads in New Hampshire 1902 and gave the same plan to the British government for which he was given a title.

Dorothy started coming to New Hampshire at the age of eight when she spent summers with an aunt and uncle who had a camp at the Alton Bay campgrounds. By the age of 15, she was contributing to her father's news-

*Offsetting personnel resources provided by decommissioning one WLB.

**No new construction. Reassignment of existing WHEC. Figure represents operating costs only!

paper. After her marriage in 1911 to Harry M. Rollins, whom she met here, she moved to the house on the hill where she has lived ever since. The early years were spent caring for the couple's three children, Robert Thornton Rollins, Steven Weston Rollins, and Gertrude L. Rollins, now Mrs. Harry Griffin. It wasn't until 1930 that she found time for writing regularly and again began sending articles and poems to her father's paper. The next year the Evening Citizen started searching for an Alton correspondent and contacted Judge Frank Ayer, asking if he knew someone who could write. He immediately referred them to Mrs. Rollins. On learning who her father was, Miss Ebba Janson, at that time Citizen city editor, remarked, "There's no need to ask if you now how to write!"

Thus began an active career which has continued through the years and covered several newspapers throughout the state and in Massachusetts, including the Concord Monitor, Rochester Courier, Manchester Union, Boston Post, Boston Herald, Boston Globe, New Hampshire Sunday News, as well as the United Press and Associated Press.

None of her columns have ever missed a deadline, despite illness when it has occasionally made it necessary for them to be written from a sickbed. Practically every family has been touched by her articles, and she often remarks that her aim, "has always been to create for the outside world, a picture of a fine community, and a village of enterprise and advancement."

One of Dorothy's hobbies, writing letters to editors, soon developed into a rewarding and fascinating pastime. It all began in the 30's when the Laconia Chamber of Commerce invited Bill Cunningham of the old Boston Post, to speak at one of their meetings. At the suggestion that women be invited to hear the noted sports writer, members vetoed the idea on the premise that women knew nothing about either sports or Bill! Dorothy saw red, and being, she recalls, "fiery in the old days", sat down and wrote the whole story of Bill's life and sent it to the Evening Citizen, remarking that some women did know about him. It was published, and when he arrived to speak that night, someone gave him a copy.

About two weeks later she was notified there was a package for her at the newspaper office. It was soon discovered to contain a photograph of Bill Cunningham.

She later met him in Rochester and the two became good friends. He often visited the Lakes Region and after moving on to the Herald, frequently mentioned her in his column.

When he died of cancer of the throat, Dorothy found his death very sad. "I remember," she revealed, "what he said while speaking here on one occasion: 'I am not afraid of anything, I am not afraid of death, because I have done nothing in this life to be ashamed of.'"

For more than 20 years she maintained a correspondence with former president Herbert Hoover who expressed pleasure at her defense of his administration and sent her an autographed picture and several books. For years now, her services have been required by every GOP congressman, senator and governor in the state. She has scrapbooks and boxes full of mementoes, letters and pictures from them. Perhaps the most cherished is a large beautifully framed photograph of the moonshot from Postmaster Winston Blount with the following inscription: "The enclosed memento from President Nixon and me is a token of our appreciation for your service to the nation."

Installing officer and pianist for the American Legion Auxiliary of which she is a past president, Dorothy has also been active for many years in the Advent Christian Church and their campgrounds here.

She is now the proud grandmother of two.

Although the years could have been lonely ones for her, Dorothy has kept active. In addition to her newspaper work, she also gives lectures on various topics and is still available for those interested in contacting her.

One of her fondest memories is a birthday party in her honor 11 years ago celebrating 20 years as a correspondent, and 50 years as an Alton resident. Over 125 attended including numerous dignitaries.

During her full lifetime she has had a hand in just about everything, except book-keeping which she hates. But her first love is and always will be writing, which she intends to do as long as she can hold a pen, and her faithful fans hope this will be forever!

Among the many short stories and poems Dorothy has written, is the following, "Alton, My Village," which expresses her love for this small New England town to which she came 50 years ago.

"I live in a little village, that nestles around a bay.

With a main street that rambles through it,
You can cover it all in a day
Just a tiny little hamlet, like thousands of others more,

That you'll find dotted over the country
If you travel it o'er and o'er.

They say it's a pretty village, we're passing through today,

And sometimes they stop and view it,
Then hasten on their way.

But to me it's a wonderful village,
The finest in all the land,

'Cause it's home, the place where the heart is.

And that makes my village grand!"

THE ELDERLY POOR

HON. WILLIAM S. BROOMFIELD

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 22, 1971

Mr. BROOMFIELD. Mr. Speaker, there are 5 million Americans aged 65 or over who are living in poverty, who are subsisting on an income less than that which the Government has ascertained to be the minimum income required for those necessities such as food, shelter, and clothing that we all need. This figure represents 25 percent, one out of every four, of all the senior citizens in the country. While by definition there is no such thing as an adequate poverty statistic, I propose that this ratio is inordinately high for one particular class or group of our citizenry and as such is worthy of our immediate action.

For to neglect this serious problem, to ignore the plight of these silent and patient Americans, would be an indirect acceptance of their condition, a silent assent to an obvious inequity. This situation exists, I might add, despite a concerted national program to wipe out poverty. We are all aware of the unique problems that the war on poverty has encountered as it seeks the best means and programs to eliminate poverty in the Nation. Nonetheless, in the past 10 years, we have succeeded in reducing the total number of poor by 39 percent.

Yet, during the same time span, while this overall progress was achieved,

the percentage of elderly poor actually increased. Those over 65 now constitute 20 percent of all those adjudged to be poor as reflected against 15 percent 10 years earlier. This same lack of attention and rising percentages are also found in the over 55 age group.

These figures represent, Mr. Speaker, a general neglect of those difficulties that are peculiar to the older American. It is apparent that in all too many instances the elderly are among the last considered and least rewarded. As an illustration of this, I would point out that last year only 4 percent of all Regional Manpower Administration funds were allocated for the benefit of workers over 55.

In response to this situation then, I am today introducing legislation designed to confront head on the employment crisis faced by a growing number of older Americans. The Older Americans Community Service Employment Act will act positively on two levels to more than justify the appropriation required to initiate this legislation.

First, it would provide employment to elderly citizens who have most urgent need of additional income. At the same time, meaningful employment would generate a sense of dignity and satisfaction that service to the community would provide. Second, the community itself would stand to benefit from the talents and time that older Americans would contribute to these service projects. Hospitals, schools, libraries and day care centers are but a few examples of possible projects.

Mr. Speaker, experience has proven that the concept of community service projects for the elderly is not simply well intentioned rhetoric but rather a concrete program for action. The success of pilot projects such as volunteer aides in hospitals, the foster grandparent program and others have stemmed from the enthusiasm of the elderly given the opportunity to work as well as the viability of the programs offered.

As for the dynamics of this bill, let me explain, that it authorizes the Secretary of Labor to establish a senior community service program which would be developed in close conjunction with those State and National organizations concerned with the problems of the aged. Additionally, he would be instructed to coordinate these new projects in such a manner as to complement programs now operated by the Administration on Aging, and the OEO. The intent of all this is to achieve the greatest efficiency of time and effort with the least duplication of effort.

The Department of Labor would be appropriated \$35 million in the first year and \$60 million the second year to carry out the provisions of this legislation. Recognizing that localized responses to local problems are most often fruitful the Secretary may pay as much as 90 percent of the cost of State or local programs and 100 percent of emergency or disaster projects.

In conclusion, I respectfully urge immediate consideration of this proposal; the problem is that great and the need for action that strong.

THE DILEMMA OF THE UNIVERSITY—A CONSTRUCTIVE ALTERNATIVE

HON. ABNER J. MIKVA

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 22, 1971

Mr. MIKVA. Mr. Speaker, today's universities face a difficult set of problems requiring decisions as to what should be the scope of their responsibilities. The conflict between the goals of the liberal arts education and the necessity for professional training has never been as sharp as it is today.

Should the undergraduate university be devoted to a liberal education which gives students the freedom to think and explore, or should it emphasize professional training with which a student can come to grips with contemporary problems?

Edward H. Levi, formerly a professor of law and currently the president of the University of Chicago, a distinguished and respected scholar, has written a thought-provoking essay which covers these problems. President Levi emphasizes the need for a much more flexible system of higher education.

With an open mindedness that has always characterized his work, President Levi says that—

We need a period of experimentation. We ought to try to have a period where there will be a suspension of the cartelized rules of associations and accreditation, so that we can see the benefits which might come from a variety of different forms.

President Levi specifically points out how the rigidities in today's system of legal education have handicapped its effectiveness and have blocked changes necessary for it to adjust to today's environment.

Mr. Speaker, in a time when the educational structures and boundaries of today's universities are increasingly under challenge and criticism, it is refreshing to hear a constructive and inventive voice for reasonable change.

I would like to insert in the RECORD the complete text of President Levi's essay on future alternatives for America's universities:

The essay follows:

THE PLACE OF PROFESSIONAL EDUCATION IN THE LIFE OF THE UNIVERSITY

(By Edward H. Levi*)

The subject we are called upon to discuss is one frequently set for ceremonial occasions. We tend to romanticize the ideal of an undergraduate and graduate education—kept non-professional. A conflict is seen as arising when professional education moves into this haven. So far as our law schools are concerned, the history evoked is the overtaking of apprenticeship training by the schools, and then the movement of the schools into the universities. We think of the same thing as having happened in a much bigger way with medicine. We note also the emergencies of newer professions which already have created schools within the universities, or are about to do so. The history, looked at from this narrow point of view, suggests that there is a question as to whether any particular profession should receive its formal professional training

within a university. It reminds us, in any event, that successful training can take place outside the general academic halls. At the present time, the older professional schools see themselves as important, though separate, parts of the university. They naturally wish to maintain their own strength, and to a considerable extent their separateness. Since the topic is ceremonial, the conflict is seen as resolved by a proper appreciation of what each part of the university contributes to a whole, and an expectation of further, usually broadening, relationships. Frequently, not much is said about that part of the profession which continues outside the university; not much is said either about the kind of minimum commitment which is necessary before any part of a university, including a professional school, can contribute to the whole.

But the topic is a serious one, and particularly when new responsibilities are placed upon universities and upon the professions, and when the results of our present structure and arrangements are sufficiently disconcerting to suggest major alterations.

It is not just a matter of historical peculiarity to note that, if one traces the modern university to the medieval university, then professional education is central. The notion that professional education has somehow forced its way into university education is a kind of Americanism. But as a matter of history, if we trace the modern university to the medieval university, then the point should be made that professional education was the reason for that university. In the medieval university, work was directed toward the professions of theology, law, and medicine. Among the oldest universities there are those which began as law schools and then built around the study of law to become more general academies. The university itself was a kind of guild collectivity, sharing some of the same characteristics of other more clearly vocational guilds. If one thinks of the liberal arts emphasis of the medieval university as the recapturing of an older tradition, this, too, has a professional emphasis in its desire to inculcate the skills required for a citizen. This suggests the importance to higher education of a primary concern for the kind of doing and understanding believed to be helpful to the individual who is going to handle important problems for individuals and for the society. It is an intellectual tradition, but it involves skills and training for doing. If there is relevance in this history, and I believe there is, it is no compelling argument against the inclusion of subject matter within a university to say that the approach is professional. There are aspects of a truly professional approach which have been, and continue to be, basic to proper university work. There is a sense in which the best university education, and the only real university education, is professional. One has to remember that the liberal arts themselves were training for the profession of a public citizen.

Whatever the history, the modern university faces a difficult set of problems which require decisions as to what should be included within its responsibilities. The land grant impetus helped create a new kind of institution with enormous service obligations. At the same time, the land grant moneys enhanced liberal arts training. The land grant help furthered the idea of the applied wonders of the enlightenment. The modern state university is in this tradition. It is a marvelous facility. All kinds of duties have been placed upon it because it is such a useful agency. But it is hard to know what its proper boundaries ought to be. Moreover, the liberal arts concept itself, never fully controlling for a university in any event, has become a weakened guide. Changes in the structure of life, in training for vocations, and the rejection of class distinctions never accepted as ideal in the United States (distinctions which no doubt

helped to support the idea of what the liberal arts might be, or what was properly professional and not vocational) have made it more difficult to determine which skills ought to be taught at the university level. Decisions of this kind become more important and immediate once it is decided a general education at the college level ought to be available to every citizen. There is a strong temptation to believe it makes no difference. Tastes and needs differ; there is to be education for all anyway; perhaps the institution should offer something for everyone. That kind of happy evasion of responsibility cannot hold for long. There are important overall problems of the allocation of educational resources within the society, and among the levels of education. Within individual institutions there are questions which relate to their own integrity. The questions are: What can an institution do well, and what is the effect of the doing on the quality of other activities of the enterprise? Universities do not perform well in some areas. Their performance may be no better, and indeed be worse, than that of other possible institutions. This is true in many of the applied or practical areas. There are striking differences among diverse fields, as indeed among universities. For example, many areas are not served by a profession. There is no one profession—some would say there isn't any at all—despite the lawyers, the political scientists, the sociologists, the psychologists, the economists—which represents the social sciences. Many items which become the focus for pressures of the moment, such as remedies for pollution of the environment, find no ready profession to test and carry out solutions in the practical sphere. Where there is no profession, it is particularly difficult for the university to carry out a program involving all kinds of facets of life, even though the need to do so may seem great. And where there is a profession, one has the opportunity and the necessity to determine the best division of responsibility between the university and the profession. Universities do run medical clinics, but it does not seem likely they should run the court system, and it is at least questionable how much of the delivery of health care should be centered in educational institutions, if the desire is to have the best health care, or the best educational institutions.

Universities have to be concerned about the effect of one function upon another. Unless the university is merely a geographical place—and perhaps even if that is all it is—it must be realized that the inclusion of skills and subjects has an effect on other skills and subjects. It is both a shallow and incorrect answer to say this variety is justified because it mirrors life. New skills and subject matter result not only in different approaches which may be seriously incompatible, but also in the inclusion of faculty who will influence not only their own area but have an influence throughout the institution. We like to believe this is good, but in fact it is good only under some circumstances. The question need not be what is important or not, nor a judgment as to what areas can have quality of their own, but rather what is sufficiently related to the ways of thought and to the particular and appropriate standards of excellence for the entire institution, so that inclusion is mutually helpful. Admittedly there are ways around this view of the total institution. An institution can be so divided that it is really one institution in name only. It may find then that its salvation is in separation. But even if this, in a given case, is the best possible, the implications on accountability, institutional integrity, and the university ideal are disturbing.

As one thinks of professional education, therefore, one must see a relationship in one direction to a profession, and in the other direction to the life of the university. Professional education which has no particular need for the disciplined process of criticism

*President, University of Chicago.

and discussion, closely related to a shared body of knowledge, gains less and contributes less to the university. This is a matter of degree and emphasis—the impact of inclusion to increase either the centrifugal or centripetal forces within the institution, and thus to reduce or increase shared values. The sporadic attempts to sustain the theater and the arts generally, by placing them under the university mantle, raise the kind of problem in an appealing way. There are no automatic answers. But, if the interrelationship is to have qualitative advantages both to the institution as a whole and to the separate discipline, there are concerns which can be stated. For example, there is the right to insist, from a university point of view, that professional education seriously examine the problems with which the professions deal, in part, but only in part, because a never-ending attempt to determine what is crucial is implicit in university education. Thus, the training cannot be regarded as set solely by the way the professions now operate. It is a criticism of social service schools if they have not been concerned with the theory of the approach to poverty and social welfare, but instead have been totally involved in the training of practitioners. It is a criticism of law schools if matters of public policy are totally submerged in the analysis of appellate opinions, or are skewed by absorption into the concerns of constitutionalism without recognition of the broader domain of how law operates. A statement such as this last one is often taken as an emphasis on law in action, as in a way it is, but also as a plea for the relevance to law training of the kind of social science research which goes on outside law schools. But that kind of research, while it always may be important for law, to the extent that the research itself is opinion-making and thus value-forming for the society, is not necessarily germane to direct the insights and judgments which should illuminate the professional study of law.

In any event, law schools might have done better in recent years in the United States if they had given greater attention to legal history and jurisprudence as a way of looking at problems which are around us, and which tend to evoke the coercive power of law. I mention these subjects, perhaps as symbols, to stress the importance to a discipline of the conscious attempt to draw upon and reformulate concepts and distinctions—which the study of law in the United States certainly does—and also to emphasize the importance of the continuing endeavor to make these concepts and distinctions basic, transcending the compartmentalization within the subject, while at the same time relating the approaches of the moment to recorded experience. The point, then, is that not only must the problems with which the profession deals be seen free from the confining structures of prevailing practice, but also there must be, to justify university professional training, the reality of an intellectual discipline which can draw upon itself, has the ability to build upon and modify ideas, and is capable of providing learning and insight. Not everything which calls itself a profession has an intellectual discipline to draw upon, and even if it does have this history and structure, ways of preparing for a profession may be adopted which belittle and fail to draw upon that intellectual discipline. And if this happens within a university, the disservice has consequences not only for that segment, but for the institution as a whole.

When the professions through professional education come to the university, the terms upon which they come should include a commitment to the intellectual process and the pursuit of truth. There are special reasons for this. The intellectual process is the central means of communication within the university. It is the chief means for the university's contribution to the society. It is,

indeed, the university's way of exploring the role of the non-rational experience, the place and meaning of the fundamental presuppositions which ultimately provide the basis for institutions and values, and for attempting to understand the relationships between the known and the unknown. One does not have to argue that the non-rational is an important part of life. There is nothing strange or unexpected in the continuation or reappearance of various movements which find exaltation or fulfillment in ways other than intellectual discourse or inquiry. Moreover, no one need content the intellect exists by itself—a conception which is only a mockery. Nevertheless, the essence of a university is in the belief in the importance of ideas, the necessity to rethink them, to create them through understanding and invention, a willingness to respond to criticism and to the results of experiments—in short, a truth-finding process of a particular kind.

There is an analogy here to the ideal of the objective rule of law and to constitutional protections, which are protections mainly because they require a sober second thought. The question is not the emphasis to be given to the mysteries or certainties for the good of individuals and societies, but only the role of the universities. The odd thing about these days, as Sir Isaiah Berlin has written, is that general movements of irrationality, always to be expected, have been joined by the popularized and distorted slogans taken out of science. The combined emphasis is upon the irrational, the unconscious, and the automaticity of scientific laws which control all things, including words and thoughts, and control the process of reasoning. While all this can be a useful caution and, as it has been, part of the intellectual process itself, the effect has been to downgrade the possibility and ideal of reason, and to disparage the ideal of objective truth. A strange aspect of this joining of movements is that, in part, it reflects an interest in but also an attack upon the social sciences by the natural sciences. The movements are also marked by hostility to those areas of the social sciences which have more structures and, therefore, more independence of their own, including economics and law. It is as though the problems of the natural sciences were to be regarded as suitable subjects for inquiry, to be investigated through the rational process, but in the social sciences, the problems and thoughts about them—the subjects of inquiry and the process of inquiry—were to be viewed as predetermined, where reason makes no independent contribution. In this context, ideas are less important than the personality and style of those who originate them; ideas are viewed only as good as popular acceptance makes them, either now or by someone's judgment of what wins in the future. The influence of the popular is more marked because of the impact of television and immediate communication, tending to make a one-dimensional society. These movements highlight the vulnerability of the universities. The denigration of the truth-finding process, which is probably never intended in its full sweep, gives to the universities little reason for existence other than as power mechanisms. But viewed as power mechanisms, they have, in fact, little power to defend themselves from pressures from without, and little basis for standards of achievements within. This kind of power not only corrupts the universities; it removes the basis for the only kind of power which ultimately supports their influence.

This setting has relevance to the study of law as a professional subject in the universities. The training of a lawyer is necessarily concerned with the mastery of the means which produce acquiescence or agreement. Then law as a responsive instrument within the society continually borrows and in-

corporates doctrines, popular as of the moment, taken from many disciplines, reflecting over-simplification and distortion. There are many examples of this in the academic legal literature and in the opinions of judges. The ability to borrow doctrines and to use them is an important part of the lawyer's training; again the emphasis can be more on persuasion than on correctness. In times of heightened social conflict, the temptation is strong not to view law as an intellectual discipline which can be drawn upon and is capable of providing insight and learning, but solely as a reflection of other forces as to which law and law study have little to add, and to view the training of a lawyer as basically the training of agents in participation. Doctrines and legal institutions are not regarded as providing illumination of proposed remedies, but solely as devices for leaping to solutions or impediments to be viewed with impatience. This impatience is reflected at various levels within the profession and also in the schools. Such a view of law does not remove the necessity for and perhaps the importance of a profession which represents others, advances causes, and accomplishes accepted solutions. But it does raise questions as to the place and subject matter of law study, not unlike those which might be asked about schools of speech, within a university. It has been recently written in description of many law students: "They do not want to understand themselves or others if that means being less emotionally involved with their clients and their causes. They cultivate the sense of a deeply felt commitment; it is something to be lived and not analyzed. Thus in a sense they resent what has been the guiding principle of legal education; learning to take either side of the argument." Yet in some form or another, learning to take both sides of the argument, whether it arises out of the adversary nature of law or not, is essential to understanding and knowing. It is not paradoxical, but it may seem so, that the adversary nature of law, frequently foolishly criticized as hostile to truth and commitment, has made available to law study the imprint of the truth-finding process which most scholars would understand to be essential if scientific doctrines were not to be accepted or rejected simply as articles of faith.

The important and desirable characteristic of the study of law as a university discipline is the necessity to go beyond stated rules to a consideration of basic values, and to use these values and their relationships in a continuing critique of the impact of those social institutions which have the backing or coercive power of the state upon the lives of individuals. Traditions among legal systems vary—and within these traditions there are cycles of stability and change—but the drive to see more basic principles, or the law beyond the law (present both within the hierarchy of a legal system and outside of it), reflects a moral purpose and endows the study of law with a seriousness and centrality which makes it a liberal arts subject and helps to make law a profession. A driving force within professional law study is the effort to come to terms with the relationship between commitment, disciplined inquiry, and craftsmanship. If the moral purpose is seriously held, and the nature of the subject understood, craftsmanship will be highly valued. Max Weber characterized the desire of the lawyer to be seen as dealing with more than set rules as arising, in part, from an attempt to increase his sense of power. "The more the impression grows that legal orders as such are no more than 'technical tools,' the more violently will

¹ Stone, *Review of Psychiatry for Lawyers*, 83 HARV. L. REV. 1737, 1742 (1970).

such degradation be rejected by the lawyers." This may be true. If so, it is fortunate. The subject matter, whether in the hands of lawyers, political scientists, or sociologists, requires more than a rule book. Even in those terms, one has to know how to work the rules with a purpose if one is to understand them. For what is at issue is the basis of government, the idea of a covenant which joins people, the concepts of legitimacy, authority and control of participation, the essential attributes of fairness, problems of intention and act, the characteristics by which human actions are to be judged; such as, motive, intent, expectations, and the role of ambiguity, since it is "a hard thing in great affairs to satisfy all sides"—in short, the ingredients of a jurisprudence. The central concern of law for the distribution and control of powers within the society, the impact of these powers upon movements and persons, the status of law itself as a responsive instrument, and the curious isolation and interrelationship which law has to other disciplines, give to the study of law special opportunities and heavy responsibilities within the university.

But it is difficult to say, despite the obvious virtues of legal education in the United States, that this responsibility is now being carried adequately. The most important fact about the study of law in the United States is that the study of law is almost totally absent from the undergraduate curriculum. The absence is, in large part, due to the growth of professional education, and the placing of professional education outside the standard four-year program. The development has been helped by the belief that the longest education is the best, and that those who are serious about a subject will gain mastery of it in the later graduate or professional years. This pre-emption of mastery over basic subjects related to human action and choice by the graduate and professional schools has helped to create, in the midst of more efforts at education than the world has ever known, an uneducated society which does not know where it stands on the basic issues of our time, and does not know how to approach or think about these issues. One needs to remind oneself of the initial thrust and importance of professional education within a university, with the ingredients of moral purpose and the seriousness of learning as mastery for doing. The graduate departments and professional schools include the major areas of knowledge. The pre-emption of the subject matter is, of course, not always complete. Law happens to be a startling example where a combination of circumstances has resulted in an almost complete withdrawal of the subject matter from the undergraduate. The result is that liberal or general education, always viewed as important for citizenship, avoids the hard questions and the learning of civilizations concerning the relationships between the individual and the state. The importance of a liberal education for every citizen is greatly diminished when the basic subjects relating to man in society are either not taught at all or are taught only as a preliminary exploration, free from the challenge (which the attempt to gain mastery sets) that the student may have to act upon what he has learned. In many areas, and particularly in the humanities and in the social sciences, the mastery of a discipline at the undergraduate level has vanished.

Admittedly, this set of problems has great complexity. The undergraduate four-year college believes it is protected from the encroachment of the graduate and professional schools by the undergraduate college's insistence that there be a large block of time in which the student has the freedom to think and explore, free from the pressures of mastery or the ability to do. But the results have been somewhat different from that which was intended. There is a sense in which education can and should be endless. It suffers if it is

aimless. Undergraduate education, having no particular structure, other than the contours of large subject matters within which there can be, in effect, distribution requirements, is particularly vulnerable to divisions of subject matter, reflecting the compartmentalization of departments and courses at the graduate level and following from the organization of faculties into guilds. Whatever may be said about this organization, it loses much of its persuasiveness when the student is not confronted with the problems to be solved, the craft to be achieved, the purposes to be served.

The undergraduate program is caught in the dilemma of unfocused general courses, or small units which, even when sequential, do not have the insistence of problem-solving or wholeness, unless viewed in terms of work which will come years later. The original professional thrust of undergraduate study helped to organize the work around problems and mastery. It had the advantage of the purpose of the professions which helped to organize the disciplines. It is that kind of organization of work around problems and responsibility which is needed to give the undergraduate program its own integrity and freedom. This does not require the undergraduate program to pretend to a mastery which it cannot give. Stages of specialization are properly reserved for graduate work. But we should not be so easily convinced that a considerable amount of mastery is not possible at the undergraduate level. Law is a good example. Not only should some law be taught seriously to every undergraduate, but the fact is that there is no reason at all why the minimum university training of a lawyer cannot be accomplished through two years of professional training in the undergraduate years. I note in passing that placing some of the professional training of the lawyer into the undergraduate years will have an advantage if it enables the law student to continue the taking of non-law undergraduate courses in related fields. Perhaps the greatest argument against this drastic shortening of years may be the lack of attention which this may suggest will be given to cultural history. Yet the present system does not seem to have effectively provided this dimension.

I have used law as an example of the distortions which now exist in higher education—a subject which should be taught in some form to every undergraduate is hardly taught at all at the undergraduate level, professional training which could be accomplished in four years now takes seven. There are other examples. The training of a physician now occupies so many years as to constitute a national scandal if the delivery of health care is important. There is no reason, other than status, that schools of business or engineering must seek to be completely graduate. Nor is the frequent separation between teaching at the undergraduate level and research at the graduate true to the requirements of good teaching or effective learning. Beyond all this, we should not accept the professions as given. The professions themselves suffer not only because they have become vertically fragmented, but there has been a failure to acknowledge stages of mastery which could be extremely important, for example, in medicine and law. On these matters, there has been a defeating interaction between the universities and the professions. The universities have accepted the professions as they are, and the professions have encouraged the universities to continually lengthen the period of academic training required for all.

The length of time is a serious matter. If there is to be higher education for all who can qualify, then the costs of higher education will not only continue to increase but will be magnified. There is a problem of the allocation of educational resources among the various levels of education. And

there is also a cost to the student, not only in monetary terms. More than that, it is a serious matter for a society to remove from the doing of the community, and to shield from the choices which independent citizens must make, a large segment of the population for a longer period than is necessary.

In our present inflexible system, there is much room for greater flexibility. We need a period of experimentation. Many of the pressures of the past now appear to have been mistaken as, for example, the pressures against the night law school. We ought to try to have a period where there will be a suspension of the cartelized rules of association and accreditation, so that we can see the benefits which might come from a variety of different forms. The two-year law school at the professional level, as an alternative, is surely a possibility. The three-year school, joined to three years of college, is hardly adventuresome. The award of a junior degree in law or a new kind of degree for training in public service, including law and economics and other subjects, might help to reorganize undergraduate education, and if accomplished at the undergraduate level, might carry the opportunity for preparing the student, even in the face of the likelihood that specialized training would be later required.

Those who are interested in professional education within the universities cannot be comforted with the thought that undergraduate education comes first and can take care of itself. Much of the organization of knowledge and the sense of purpose required for professional education should come at the undergraduate level. The failure to see professional education in this setting has harmed the organization of knowledge, contributed to the delaying years, and reduced the level of public discussion and understanding. They should not be comforted either because the organization of the professions has been such as to force the universities and the professional schools to undertake more and more activities, without thought as to what the new functions may be doing to the university, whether the society is better served thereby, whether the activities could not be better handled by the professions themselves. The rigidities within the professions, the failure of new forms to emerge, to some extent are a criticism of the universities and of the professional schools. Those who are interested in professional education cannot help but be concerned by the lengthening of the years required, including the years at the graduate level. There is some reason to suggest that lawyers who should be interested in educational forces within the society and the shape of the society should be most concerned about this trend. Of course, those who are involved in professional education can take pride in what has been developed; that pride must be matched with concern and inventiveness for the changes which should come.

HE DRIVES ROLLS—GETS TASTE OF
JOBLESS PLIGHT

HON. G. ELLIOTT HAGAN

OF GEORGIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 22, 1971

Mr. HAGAN. Mr. Speaker, I want to call to the attention of my colleagues a newspaper article which appeared recently in the Palm Beach Times and which well pinpoints inefficiencies in our unemployment insurance program. I am afraid that the abuses outlined must be multiplied many times over. It points up

an urgent need for tightening down on our unemployment insurance system. I agree fully with Ambassador Oehlert's view that those receiving unemployment insurance must be treated courteously, but at the same time motivated and required to take available, suitable employment.

The article follows:

EX-ENVOY TESTS SYSTEM—HE DRIVES ROLLS—GETS TASTE OF JOBLESS FLIGHT

(By Benjamin H. Oehlert, Jr.)

One day shortly after my retirement, at the age of 60, from a life-long business career capped by two years as United States ambassador to Pakistan, I chanced to drive by the state employment office in West Palm Beach while out exercising my Rolls.

It struck me that here I was unemployed, that unemployment insurance premiums had been paid on my behalf for many years, and that it would be extremely interesting to learn just how this unemployment insurance bit works.

So I reined in the Rolls, tethered her and went in. In explaining my situation, or the lack of it, to a gentleman behind a counter. I was careful to point out my probable ineligibility because I had resigned my last two jobs voluntarily and had no present intention of accepting another.

He replied that while he had never before had a case of an unemployed ambassador, and would need to consult state headquarters, neither of those circumstances should be a bar.

He gave me some forms to fill out and told me to return the next day. When I did so I was directed to another individual armed with more forms which he generously shared.

Upon completing the second batch of forms I was told that from then on I should report to a particular desk at 9 a.m. each Monday.

In a spirit of testing I commented that that happened to be a most inconvenient hour for me because my secretary came at that hour and I requested, most courteously, that I be assigned some other hour.

Then the mailed fist of bureaucracy fell, and it was not encased in any velvet glove. My "counselor" said, in a sharply honed voice, that 9 a.m. Monday was the assigned time and I'd jolly well better be here.

I was—each Monday for two months.

Except for one incident, the next two months passed reasonably well, but I learned a great deal.

The incident occurred when I was directed to join a large group of fellow-applicants for a slide film briefing on unemployment insurance.

At one point in the film it was stated categorically that any person who had voluntarily left his or her last job was not eligible. When I pointed out to my mentor how this applied to my case, he allowed as how the film really didn't mean what it had said.

After two months I was told that I had been ruled eligible, retroactively, for the maximum compensation. When I received my check for the first \$240 I endorsed it back to the state and withdrew my application. Although I was legally entitled to the money I didn't want it. I had learned what I had come to learn and the state controller was so grateful.

And what had I learned?

First, that applicants for unemployment compensation are treated with short shrift and very little grace or courtesy, even though they are not beggars or charity cases. They shouldn't be treated rudely even if they were, but the facts are that the program is supposed to be actually based and premiums have been paid into the fund on behalf of each employed person (with certain limited exceptions).

Yet the applicants are required to stand in long queues week after week and are rarely accommodated as to what hour or day would be convenient for them to report each week.

I heard many a person plead for a changed time assignment. Some because of taking children to or from school. Some because of illness in the family. Some for other valid reasons. But every plea I heard was rejected out of hand.

Second, some unemployment insurance has become a chosen way of life for many people. Listening to the unguarded conversations of people with whom I stood in line, it became evident that quite a few of them were not at all badly off financially. They told of buying new cars and color TVs, of redecorating a house or apartment, or buying new furniture or wall-to-wall carpeting. The way these people were dressed and the kinds of cars they drove proved that the conversations were not "put on to make the impression."

It was equally evident that many of these people made it a practice to work for the minimum period. They were obviously skilled in well paying occupations, had no trouble getting good jobs when they wanted to, but were determined to work only half the time and be "compensated unemployed" the other half.

And finally, I learned that although the unemployment officials were inconsiderate of the applicants, they were even more inconsiderate of the taxpayers.

They made no real effort either to find employment for the applicants, or to insist that the applicants make reasonable efforts to find work for themselves.

Each applicant, when he or she reached the head of the weekly line, was asked three questions:

"Did you earn any money last week?"

"Were you ready, able and willing to work last week?"

"Did you refuse any appropriate work which was offered you last week?"

By answering those three questions appropriately the applicant was entitled to his or her weekly stipend.

In my own experience, no applicant was asked what efforts he or she had made to find employment, nor was any applicant referred to a job opportunity, although the newspapers were laden with "help wanted" ads.

During the two months of my experiment my wife was in almost daily touch with the same office in an attempt to hire a cook and a maid, but never with any success.

Among the people with whom I stood in line were a number of experienced, professional cooks and maids but not one of them was ever referred to us, or for that matter, to anyone else in my presence.

So here we had a perfect example of imperfect, entrenched bureaucracy at work.

On the one hand the applicants were not treated with consideration or even politeness.

But on the other hand they were not required to seek employment, nor was any effort made to find it for them even though hundreds, if not thousands, of good jobs for which they were qualified were going begging.

It should have been the opposite. The applicants were entitled to courteous treatment, but they should have been referred to available jobs, they should have been required to prove a conscientious effort to find jobs, and they should have been removed from the rolls if they either refused an appropriate position or made no effort to find one.

Were the proper policies followed, there would be fewer unemployed people, fewer unfilled jobs, and lower unemployment insurance rates.

I hope that you will help me encourage the powers-that-be to take a much-needed, fresh look at our unemployment insurance policies. And don't let them tell you that those abuses don't happen. They do. They happened to me.

THE LAW OF THE UNITED NATIONS CHARTER SPEAKS FOR ITSELF

HON. JOHN M. ASHBROOK

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 22, 1971

Mr. ASHBROOK. Mr. Speaker, a number of compelling arguments have been advanced against the admission of Red China to the United Nations, but far too little has been said in the press and governmental circles about the legal aspects of the admission proposal. Briefly, some of the cases against admission are:

The United Nations was intended to be a union of peace-loving nations who would pool their resources against international lawlessness from whatever source. Since Communist China was condemned by the United Nations as the aggressor nation in the Korean war then it obviously does not qualify as a "peace-loving" nation.

Communist China stands convicted by the International Commission of Jurists in Geneva of committing genocide—the deliberate extermination of a national group—in their invasion of Tibet.

Communist China has been openly and actively spreading revolution throughout the world—all over Africa, in the Middle East where they are supporting the Palestinian guerrilla war, in the Philippines and throughout Asia.

To permit Communist China to sit in the United Nations is to open the doors to them for a new headquarters for espionage and subversion—the United States.

To admit Mao's regime would ignore the 700 million Chinese people and deny them the representation in the United Nations to which they are entitled under a government of their own choosing and representing their own interest, not a self-appointed, self-perpetuating tyranny that represents no one but itself.

Perhaps the most telling argument against admission and recognition of the Red Chinese to the United Nations was the report, "The Human Cost of Communism in China" released a few weeks ago by the Senate Subcommittee on Internal Security. In it, the author, Prof. Richard L. Walker, one of this country's foremost China scholars and presently director of the Institute of International Studies at the University of South Carolina, documents the murder of a minimum of 34 million Chinese people by the Communist Chinese since the first civil war—1927-36. It is interesting to note that Soviet Union officials have charged the Red Chinese with killing more than 25 million people in the past 10 years and they say that "During 1960 alone, Mao Tse-tung's government exterminated more Chinese than were killed in the entire war against Japan."

Professor Walker sums up his report saying:

The Communist movement in China, despite its proclaimed high ideals, must be judged on performance and, as regards the human equation, there is little to commend it. Those who wish to rationalize public assassinations, purges of classes and groups of slave labor as a necessary expedient for China's progress are resorting to the same

logic which justified a Hitler and his methods for dealing with economic depression in the Third Reich.

It is important that we in America remember some of the basic facts of human values lest we be beguiled into forgetting that those who succeeded in inducing an artificial American euphoria in the wake of ping-pong diplomacy from Peking in the Spring of 1971, are the same leaders who have extracted such a great human cost from their own people, in the name of a doctrine long discredited in the world, both in terms of performance and intellectual respectability.

These are some of the arguments which justify opposition to bringing the Red Chinese regime into the world body. As stated above, the legal or procedural case has not been given the attention it merits, and if the final judge of foreign policy—the American people—are to understand the many ramifications of this issue, the legal question must be given fuller treatment by journalists and Government officials.

We should keep in mind that under the Constitution of the United States, the United Nations Charter—a treaty into which the United States entered along with many other nations—is a part of the supreme law of our land by which all citizens and the courts are bound. The meaning of that supreme law of the land is subject to the interpretation of our courts but the obligations of that supreme law are binding upon every citizen, from the President of the United States on down.

It is vital that the people and their legal representatives know what the law is—now—before the United Nations takes up the issue and before any deals are made. For there is increasing speculation that that is exactly how the dilemma will be handled—no matter what is right, no matter what our obligations are, no matter what the charter says.

Ray McHugh, chief of the Washington Bureau, Copley News Service reported on this possibility August 8:

The Gordian "Two-China" dilemma will probably be solved in the diplomatic back rooms of half a dozen world capitals, not on the floor of the General Assembly or in the vaulted Security Council Chamber.

McHugh reported that one top Security Council official said:

It's a legal morass that probably can be untangled only with months of persuasion, negotiation and finally accommodation.

Guarded agreement to this opinion comes even from the U.S. mission where one American expert on U.N. procedure said privately, "Someplace along the way there is going to have to be a deal."

The response from Taipei according to the Copley story was that "Our rightful position in the United Nations and the Security Council is stipulated in the charter and cannot be questioned. The Taipei government is the same government that helped write that charter."

The Security Council expert agreed. "They are right. But this is an entirely new situation. This is a question of credentials of such magnitude that the legal department can make no comment." In other words as the man at the American mission puts it: "Some place along the way there is going to have to be a deal."

The following considerations will

make it apparent how serious are the problems faced by those who would have the Red Chinese in the U.N.:

First, the Republic of China is the name of a Government, not a territory, and that Government is specifically singled out in the United Nations Charter (article 23) as a permanent member of the Security Council.

Corroboration of this point is borne out by the fact that during the founding of the United Nations in San Francisco in 1945, there were six or more governments in control of portions of the mainland, including both the Nationalists and the Communists.

The question of membership of the Republic of China then is not really a question at all—it is a fact. The Republic of China was a founding member of the U.N. The important reference point is not who was in control of what territory but who was chosen by the U.N. Conference. That conference meeting in San Francisco, chose on June 26, 1945, to exclude all the illegal regimes and to award the Security Council permanent seat to the Republic of China, then based in West China with its temporary capital at Chungking.

Second, the U.N. Charter, the law of this international organization, says that no Nation can be expelled without a two-thirds vote of the members. Article 18 of the charter says:

Decisions of the General Assembly on important questions should be made by a two-thirds majority of the members present and voting. These questions shall include... the suspension of the rights and privileges of membership, the expulsion of members...

The law does not say, as Secretary Rogers would have us believe, that the membership has to agree that the Chinese seat in the United Nations is an important question. The law says that no nation can be expelled without a two-thirds majority of the members present and voting.

Third, according to the United Nations Charter a member cannot be expelled from the United Nations unless it has violated the charter thus providing legal grounds for its expulsion from the U.N. chapter II, article 6 reads:

A member of the United Nations which has persistently violated the principles contained in the present charter may be expelled from the organization by the general assembly upon the recommendation of the Security Council.

Such expulsion is actually the whole purpose of the recent movements in the United Nations on the part of Albania and the other supporters of Red China. Their resolutions have stipulated in detail the necessity of expelling the Republic of China from the United Nations. But chapter II article 6 of the charter reads:

A member of the United Nations which has persistently violated the principles contained in the present Charter may be expelled from the Organization by the General Assembly upon the recommendation of the Security Council.

Has the Republic of China persistently violated the principles in the present charter? The question really does not need an answer.

Fourth, obviously the Republic of China has not "qualified" for expulsion.

Then does the so-called "People's Republic of China" qualify for admission to the United Nations?

Contrary to much misinformed current discussion the United Nations was never conceived as a "universal" body. This point was painstakingly discussed in San Francisco in 1945 when the charter was drafted and article 4 says:

Membership in the United Nations is open to all other peace-loving states which accept the obligations contained in the present Charter and, in the judgment of the organization, are able and willing to carry out these obligations.

The Red Chinese obviously do not qualify for admission even if the Republic of China was expelled. Not only have they been labeled as an aggressor nation by the United States on two occasions but they have been convicted of committing genocide. In addition chapter I, article 2, paragraph 6 of the U.N. Charter says:

The Organization shall ensure that states which are not members of the United Nations, act in accordance with these principles as far as as may be necessary for the maintenance of international peace and security.

If this means anything at all, it means that Red China does not escape the sanctions of the U.N. Charter just because it is not a member of the United Nations.

As for Peking's intentions we all know that they clearly intend to destroy both the United Nations and the international law upon which the U.N. is based. This is not, and I stress not, a matter of dispute. Chou En-lai has stated over and over and over again that before Peking will enter the U.N. must rectify its mistake and undergo a thorough reorganization and reform; it must admit and correct all its past mistakes; it should cancel its resolution condemning China and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea as aggressors and adopt a resolution condemning the United States as the aggressor. That is for openers. Are we willing to pay such a price to have Red China in the United Nations?

What we see here is simple proof that it has not been a blind, stubborn, rigid United States that has blocked Red China's admission to the United Nations; it has been Red China's stubborn refusal to change its lawless international conduct so as to become eligible for membership.

As Dr. Walter Judd said recently:

Surely it does not make sense to vote for downgrading the standards of the UN Charter to the level of a brazen international outlaw. What is needed is patient insistence that the outlaw upgrade its behavior to the level of the standards established in the UN Charter, if it wishes the benefits of membership in the community of nations.

Fifth, finally article 23 under chapter V of the Charter says:

The Security Council shall consist of fifteen members of the United Nations. The Republic of China, France, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and the United States of America shall be permanent members of the Security Council.

The law of the United Nations does not say China is a permanent member or that the People's Republic is a permanent member or that the Chinese Government is a permanent member; it says:

the Republic of China is a permanent member.

And in order to change the proviso by which the Republic of China occupies a permanent seat in the Security Council of the United Nations the Charter, the law of the United Nations must be amended. As specified in article 108, chapter XVIII:

Amendments to the present Charter shall come into force for all Members of the United Nations when they have been adopted by a vote of two-thirds of the members of the General Assembly and ratified in accordance with their respective constitutional processes by two-thirds of the Members of the United Nations, including all the permanent members of the Security Council.

In other words not only does the law say that the Republic of China has a veto but that even if a deal is made illegally to circumvent the law of the United Nations—something pro-Peking apologists call a "double veto" procedure on procedural questions—such action must be approved by the legislative bodies of two-thirds of the entire membership. Thus, the U.S. Senate would be asked to ratify an illegal action of the United Nations. At that point the question Senator JACOB JAVRS recently raised would be meaningful—will the American people willingly continue to support the U.N. if it illegally expels the Nationalists in favor of the Communists?

What does all this mean aside from the fact that the expulsion of the Republic of China and the admission of Communist China has no validity whatsoever under the law of the United Nations?

Prof. David Rowe, a Yale University sinologist—and incidentally the chairman of professors for Nixon in 1968—puts it this way:

It will no doubt be asserted that this is merely a resort to "legalism" and a case of having recourse to a legal device in regard to a question that is primarily political. Actually, however, it is vital for the whole future of the United Nations that any action in respect to the status therein of Charter members be taken only in full respect of the provisions of the Charter itself, the fundamental law of the organization. This is absolutely vital to the whole question of the future of the U.N., constructed as it was and is upon the fundamental aim of eventually developing a genuine and all-encompassing world community based upon law. This is what we are working for under the United Nations. In the first instance, at the very minimum, the U.N. must comport itself in full respect for its basic Charter. It can do otherwise only at the grave risk of its basic integrity, probably leading to its ultimate death.

One of America's foremost authorities on China, former Congressman Dr. Walter Judd, has posed a number of vital questions on the legal issue which should be answered by President Nixon to clarify our position on this matter. As chairman of the Committee of One Million Against the Admission of Communist China to the United Nations, Dr. Judd stated in a press release of September 15, 1971:

The American people must ask our government some very important questions on Red China and the U.N. that no one in the Administration to my knowledge has yet publicly answered. The American people want and have a right to have frank answers to these important questions.

The questions asked by Dr. Judd and which should be asked by all Americans interested in the security of our Nation, the continued existence of the United Nations, and the issue of eventual world peace are these:

First. Is not the Republic of China specifically named in the U.N. Charter as a permanent member of the Security Council?

Second. How can it be removed except by amendment of the Charter?

Third. Does not the U.N. Charter provide that a Member can be expelled from the United Nations only by a two-thirds vote of the General Assembly upon the recommendation of the Security Council?

Fourth. Does the Charter authorize expulsion of a Member for any other reason than persistent violation of the Principles of the Charter?

Fifth. Has the Republic of China violated the Principles of the Charter?

Sixth. How can the so-called People's Republic of China qualify for admission when it stands condemned by the U.N. itself as an aggressor in the Korean war?

Seventh. Is not a nation required to accept the obligations of the charter before being admitted to membership?

Eighth. Has not the Government of Communist China repeatedly declared that it will not accept the obligations of the charter and that in fact the charter itself must be changed?

I insert at this point the above-mentioned press release issued by the Committee of One Million on September 15, 1971:

THE COMMITTEE OF ONE MILLION
AGAINST THE ADMISSION OF COMMUNIST CHINA TO THE UNITED NATIONS,
Washington, D.C., September 15, 1971.

RED CHINA DOESN'T QUALIFY—ADMINISTRATION QUESTIONED ON LAW OF THE UNITED NATIONS

"Our nation must not be party to a tragic international action which would weaken the United Nations and could cause its destruction as an effective instrument for world peace and security", Dr. Walter Judd, former U.S. Congressman and Chairman of the Committee of One Million Against the Admission of Communist China to the U.N. warned today.

"This would undoubtedly occur," Dr. Judd said, "if the United States Government should give to the American people and the entire world the appearance of making no effort to keep out of the U.N. an enemy of free nations and only a half-hearted effort to keep in the U.N. a friend. If Communist China is admitted with the assistance of the United States, we will inescapably be strengthening that common enemy of all the world's freedom-loving peoples.

"The American people must ask our government some very important questions on Red China and the U.N. that no one in the Administration to my knowledge has yet publicly answered. The American people want and have a right to have frank answers to these important questions:

1. Is not the Republic of China specifically named in the U.N. Charter as a PERMANENT member of the Security Council?

2. How can it be removed except by amendment of the Charter?

3. Does not the U.N. Charter provide that a Member can be expelled from the United Nations only by a two-thirds vote of the General Assembly upon the recommendation of the Security Council?

4. Does the Charter authorize expulsion of

a Member for any other reason than persistent violation of the Principles of the Charter?

5. Has the Republic of China violated the Principles of the Charter?

6. How can the so-called People's Republic of China qualify for admission when it stands condemned by the U.N. itself as an aggressor in the Korean War?

7. Is not a nation required to accept the obligations of the Charter before being admitted to membership?

8. Has not the government of Communist China repeatedly declared that it will not accept the obligations of the Charter and that in fact the Charter itself must be changed?"

Dr. Judd noted that in recent press conferences of administration officials these questions have not been asked by the press. This is why the Committee of One Million must ask them on behalf of the American people. Further more, if the Administration won't give the answers, the Committee will:

1. The Republic of China is a member of the United Nations, and its permanent membership on the Security Council is specifically stated in the U.N. Charter.

2. A permanent member of the Security Council, therefore, cannot be removed except by amendment of the Charter. Article 23 Chapter V reads—"The Republic of China, France, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and the United States of America shall be permanent members of the Security Council". To amend the Charter requires an affirmative vote of two-thirds of the members of the General Assembly and ratification in accordance with their respective constitutional processes of two-thirds of the Members, including all the permanent members of the Security Council. (Article 108)

3. The U.N. Charter, the organic law of this international organization, states (Article 6) that a nation can be expelled only by a two-thirds vote of the members of the General Assembly upon the recommendation of the Security Council. One member of the Security Council can block such a recommendation.

Article 18 reads: "Decisions of the General Assembly on important questions shall be made by a two-thirds majority of the members present and voting. These questions shall include . . . the suspension of the rights and privileges of membership, the expulsion of members . . ."

4. According to the Charter the only ground for expulsion of a Member is persistent violation of the principles of the Charter. Chapter 11, Article 6 reads: "A member of the United Nations which has persistently violated the Principles contained in the present Charter may be expelled from the organization by the General Assembly upon the recommendation of the Security Council".

5. No charge has been made that the Republic of China has violated the Principles of the Charter. On the contrary, it has been a faithful and constructive supporter thereof.

6. In Chapter 1, Article 2, Section 4, the Charter states: "All members shall refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any state, or in any other manner inconsistent with the Purposes of the United Nations." Does the sending of troops into Korea in support of naked aggression, invasion of India, exporting "revolution" throughout the world, constitute refraining from the use of force against any state? Does genocide in Tibet indicate a desire or willingness on the part of Communist China's rulers to live by the Principles of the United Nations Charter?

7. Article 4 of the Charter reads: "Membership in the United Nations is open to all other peace-loving states which accept the obligations contained in the present Charter

and, in the judgment of the organization, are able and willing to carry out these obligations." Thus the United Nations was never conceived of as a "universal" organization. This concept was painstakingly discussed and rejected in San Francisco in 1945 when the Charter was drafted.

8. Communist China, because of its openly proclaimed refusal to accept the obligations of the Charter, could not qualify for admission even if the Republic of China were not already a Member or could be expelled.

"Another question might also be asked," Dr. Judd said, "Would the American people continue to support the United Nations if it were illegally to expel one of its founding and law-abiding members in order to seat a regime whose words and actions prove it an international outlaw, a regime which cannot possibly be claimed to represent the Chinese people or their interests? To admit Peking's rulers into the U.N. and thereby strengthen their stranglehold on the Chinese people could only prevent the constructive participation of those 750,000,000 Chinese in the world community and its search for peace.

"Surely it does not make sense to vote to downgrade the standards of the U.N. Charter to the level of a brazen international outlaw. What is needed is patient insistence that the outlaw upgrade its behavior to the level of the standards established in the U.N. Charter, if it wishes the benefits of membership in the community of nations."

AUTISTIC CHILDREN

HON. MICHAEL HARRINGTON

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 22, 1971

Mr. HARRINGTON. Mr. Speaker, one of the least understood and least talked about forms of mental illness is childhood autism. The suffering of the parents of autistic children and the suffering of the children themselves is something that we rarely, if ever, think about.

Autism is a disease. Its cause is unknown and the question remains whether it is of physical or purely mental origin. Most autistic children cannot communicate with anyone because they do not understand language. Consequently they withdraw. Only with a tremendous amount of understanding and training will an autistic child begin to talk, and even then it is difficult for the child to conceptualize his problem. Autism is generally a lifetime illness. Some autistic children are eventually able to work in sheltered work areas; others, however, must remain in the home or in institutions for their lifetime.

I do not pretend to be an expert in autism. I do not know what causes the disease. But, I am inserting in the RECORD today a booklet entitled, "Children Apart," published by the British Medical Association, which I think describes the illness better than anything I have ever read. I urge all of my colleagues to read this booklet so that when we legislate we do not forget the needs of children such as these.

The booklet follows:

CHILDREN APART FOREWORD

Autistic children are "children apart"—cut off from normal life because of their handicaps. At birth their handicaps are rarely obvious. It is only gradually, when the baby fails to make normal progress and behaves

in an odd way, that it is realized that something is wrong. Of course, the development of normal children is often uneven and may, for a time, involve apparently strange behaviour, which must not be confused with autism.

There are about 4,000 autistic children in Great Britain at any one time and in the past ten years there has been a great increase in public interest about them. Clearly such children and their families face great problems both in themselves and in the attitude of the world towards them. But what is the reality of these problems? What is autism really about? And what help can be given? It is to answer such questions that we have asked a leading authority on the subject to write this book.

TREVOR WESTON, M.D.,
Editor, Family Doctor Publications.

AUTISTIC CHILDREN AND THEIR FAMILIES

Ten years ago very few people who were not doctors, psychologists or teachers had heard of autistic children. Recently, however, the problems of these children have been discussed in newspapers and magazines, and most people know that autistic children exist, even if they have only a very vague idea what the children are like.

This new interest may have given the impression that childhood autism is a new problem. In fact, it is possible to find descriptions of children who were clearly autistic in books and papers written long ago. One of the most interesting is an account called *The Wild Boy of Aveyron* by a French physician, J. M. G. Itard, first published in 1799. Itard was given charge of a twelve-year-old boy who had been found wandering in the woods of Aveyron. His description of Victor's behaviour, and of the special teaching methods he devised, make a most interesting and moving story. Itard's ideas on education are still used in teaching handicapped children to this day.

Children suffering from autism, however, were not until recently identified as a separate group. In fact, it was only in 1943 that an American children's psychiatrist, Professor Leo Kanner, first described the syndrome of *Early Infantile Autism*. The word autism comes from the Greek word *autos*, which means *self*. Kanner used this name because the children go through a stage when they are very withdrawn into themselves and do not show much interest in other people. However, many of them are like this only when they are very young (under five or six years old) so the name is not really a very good one. A new and more accurate name is badly needed, but no one has yet suggested one that is both short enough and precise enough for general use.

Even after Kanner described and named the children, it was almost twenty years before the general public in Britain began to hear of them. Nowadays, there is much more widespread interest, partly because attitudes to all kinds of handicaps have changed and people are willing to talk about these problems and do what they can to help, and partly because a group of parents and professional workers started a society to help autistic children.

I hope that this booklet will be of some interest to readers who are not working or living with an autistic child, as well as to those who are directly involved as parents or teachers. It is true that childhood autism is a rare condition compared with, for example, mongolism, but it is still common enough for most people to know at least one autistic child, perhaps as a neighbour, perhaps as a distant relation, or a child of a friend. I shall describe how the children behave, and how this behaviour affects their families, give an account of the recent ideas about why they are so different from normal children, and make some suggestion as to how friends, neighbours and relations can help.

How many children are involved?

A study made in Middlesex and another in a county in Denmark showed that about four to five children in every 10,000 will have early childhood autism. This means that in England or Wales there will be about 3,000 autistic children of school age.

Boys are affected three or four times more often than girls. No one knows why this is, but all conditions in which language problems are important seem to be commoner in boys.

The condition begins from birth, or else in the first two to two-and-a-half years of life. Children can develop other kinds of abnormal behavior after this age, but it is most unusual for the typical autistic symptoms to begin after two-and-a-half.

Roughly one third to one half of the children who have autistic behavior also have some other severe condition, such as spasticity, hydrocephaly or epilepsy. The rest appear physically healthy apart from their strange behaviour, although special examination often shows that they have difficulties which may be due to some abnormality in the brain.

There seem to be autistic children in all parts of the world, although it is not yet possible to say what differences there are in the numbers in various countries.

The study in Middlesex showed that these children are likely to have parents with a higher educational and occupational level than average.

Learning problems

Autistic children seem very strange and puzzling to people who know nothing about them, but they are easier to understand if they are looked at as a group of children with severe learning difficulties.

Special learning problems are very common, even in children whose intelligence is otherwise quite normal. Some children have great trouble in learning to read, because they find it difficult to distinguish right from left, tend to write words backwards, and cannot tell the difference between letters such as b and d, p and q, w and m. Some are very slow with arithmetic, and others may have problems with hand-eye co-ordination, so that their handwriting is poor and they cannot do handwork or play games well. However, if a child has one learning problem only, and if it is not too severe, he can usually overcome it well enough to make progress at school, especially with the help of a good teacher.

Autistic children are unfortunate in that they have several severe learning problems at once, including some which hinder the development of one of the most important human skills—that is, the ability to understand and to use language. When they are young, it seems that they cannot make sense of the things they see and the things they hear. Their eyes and ears are usually quite normal, and so are the nerves which take the messages from the eyes and ears to the brain. The problem seems to arise at some stage during the process of interpreting these messages. It seems that information from the outside world is not made into a clear and understandable picture, but remains a confusing and frightening muddle. Autistic children must feel like a normal person would if he was left alone in a foreign country without knowing the language or customs, or being able to read the alphabet or even understand the gesture which people made.

A normal person could set about learning the language, but the autistic child does not seem able to do this. It is hard to imagine that someone could hear words and see gestures clearly but not understand them. It makes it a little clearer if you think of people who are tone-deaf to music. They can hear all the sounds, but the most beautiful symphony has no more "meaning"

to them than water running down a drain. You could say that autistic children are, in a way, "tone deaf" to any kind of language.

No one knows exactly at which stage of "information processing" the difficulties occur. Some people working with these children feel that the information from the senses is distorted in some way, thus making it difficult for the child to understand. Others feel that the information is received normally but that the problem lies in the child's difficulty in understanding the meaning of symbols. For example, an autistic child may (unlike some other retarded children) be able to copy a picture of a triangle at the normal age, and match triangle shapes and so on, but he takes a very long time to learn that the word "triangle" is a symbol for the shape. Even after he has learnt to name many different things, he will still have difficulty in linking words together into sentences. He has even more trouble understanding the connections between things, and therefore in working out answers to questions like "Why did so-and-so happen?", "What is such-and-such for?" "How is this done?" "What is the reason for that?" The abstract ideas and complicated meanings of words in poetry and literature are completely beyond these children even if they eventually learn to read fluently.

Research workers are investigating these problems, and trying to devise tests to define exactly where and when the children's difficulties in understanding begin. Many problems are still unsolved, but it is possible to describe how an autistic child behaves, and how he can be helped.

FIRST SIGNS AND SYMPTOMS

If a child is autistic from birth, it may be quite difficult for an outsider to guess that there is anything wrong for the first few months. Sometimes a mother has an uneasy feeling that her baby is unusual in some way, but finds it difficult to put her finger on what is wrong. Perhaps the reason is that an autistic baby does not show all the little signs of awareness of his mother's presence which the normal baby does from quite an early age.

Some autistic children are "model" babies, hardly ever crying even when they are hungry. Others behave in exactly the opposite way. They scream continually and cannot be comforted except perhaps by continual rocking or by riding in a car. In this case even short stops for traffic lights will cause the screaming to begin again. Both kinds of babies are difficult and unrewarding for the parents, the quiet ones because of their lack of responsiveness, and the over-active ones because of demands which can never be satisfied. Neither the quiet nor the over-active babies lift up their arms or make themselves ready to be picked up when their mothers come to them. This is quite unlike normal babies who, when they are strong enough, show just how eager they are to be picked up and cuddled.

Feeding problems are fairly common, beginning with poor sucking after birth, and sometimes going on to a refusal to chew any lumpy food when the child has been weaned.

Many of the children smile and sit up, crawl and walk at the usual ages, but they may smile only when rocked, bounced or tickled, and they often do not bother to sit up and look at the world around them even when they are able to do so. They do not point things out to their parents or show any of the normal baby's delighted interest in the world. They may not even reach out for their food when it is placed in front of them.

Sometimes these children spend hours scratching on the covers of their prams. (This behaviour also occurs in babies who are blind). When they reach the age at which a normal baby can handle toys, they seem to be interested only in the feel of the surface

of the toy, and the way it looks when it is twisted and turned, instead of trying out all its possible uses as a plaything. They may be fascinated by lights, and will often stare fixedly at a lighted lamp, perhaps smiling and chuckling and wriggling with excitement.

The toddler stage

Even if the parents have not worried about their child in his baby stage, when he reaches his second year the problems become obvious. This is partly because he does not begin to talk at the expected time, and partly because it is much easier to notice unusual behaviour in a child who is mobile than in one who is lying in a pram. Furthermore, at this stage the child himself begins to be frustrated by his handicaps and reacts to this in various ways depending on his temperament.

Unusual response to sounds

An autistic child in the toddler stage seems to respond to sounds in quite unpredictable ways. He may completely ignore some very loud noises, but at other times cower away from a sound, covering his ears as if in distress. Yet again, the same child may be fascinated by a special noise, such as that made by a friction drive toy. What is really worrying, however, is that he often shows no interest when people talk to him, not even when they call his name.

Lack of understanding of speech

The children are disinterested in speech because they do not understand its meaning. At first it seems to the bewildered parents that their child is quite deliberately "shutting his ears" and refusing to listen. However, when the children grow older, they do begin to try to understand, and it is then possible to see how much real difficulty they have. Those who make progress go through a stage in which they can understand and willingly obey very simple instructions, but are still muddled by anything complicated. One little boy learnt the meaning of "give me the cup" but he could not understand when his mother said "Put the cup on the table". At this stage it is clear that the trouble is not due to lack of co-operation. The children may have the same reaction as an Englishman who knows just a little French, when he is with French-speaking people. He will understand the simple familiar sentences, but when the conversation gets at all complicated, he will stop listening. Like the autistic child, his attention is not on the conversation, but, also like the autistic child, he has a genuine "handicap" which makes it very frustrating for him when he tries to listen. Most of us lose interest when we are asked to do something well-nigh impossible.

SOME OF THE PROBLEMS

Late talking and speech difficulties

Autistic children are always late in learning to talk and some never talk at all. In the early years the only means of communication they have is to scream until someone finds out what it is that they want. At a slightly more advanced level, they will grab an adult by the hand and lead him to the desired object. The majority eventually learn to use at least some words, but their speech is clearly abnormal.

When they first begin to talk they usually repeat the words that other people say. Sometimes the first word a child uses is the one which ends a nursery rhyme his mother has sung to him many times. As well as repeating a word just spoken, autistic children tend to echo words, phrases or sentences they have heard other people use in the past, perhaps weeks or months earlier. They may copy the exact accent of the speaker, even that of a foreigner. A little girl in a family who had a series of au pair girls could produce phrases using a Dutch, Norwegian, or French accent. These echoed sentences may give the impression that the child is talking with understanding, especially if they are used at an appropriate moment (as with the

child who always said "pick it up" if someone dropped something) but anyone who really knows the child will realise that the words are meaningless copies.

The next stage comes when the child begins to use these copied phrases to obtain something he wants. For instance, he may hear his mother say "do you want a biscuit?" before giving him a biscuit. When the child wants a biscuit he uses the same words as his mother. This means he refers to himself as "you" or by his name, instead of "I". (This is called "reversal of pronouns" and is very characteristic of autistic children).

The next step forward is when the child produces some sentences which he has made up for himself. Whereas the copied phrases seemed to be said quite easily, an autistic child usually has to make a long painful effort before putting a few words together, and the sounds seem to be forced out with considerable difficulty. Sometimes the first real sentence comes out under the stress of great emotion, as for instance when a small boy did not want to be left with a baby sitter, and said, (to the astonishment of everyone) "Mummy-not-going-out". Very often the child has trouble in arranging the words in the right order, and may say "table sit-up" (instead of "sit up at the table") or "take park to doggie". He is not able to comprehend the difference.

The little words in sentences cause endless trouble (just as for a normal person learning a foreign language). At first the autistic child does not use them at all, and says "dinner now", "go shop" and so on. Later he will try to use them, but make many mistakes, saying "put it from chair" instead of "on chair" or making one word do for "under", "beside", "on top", "through", and all the other words indicating position.

Words that often come in pairs are easily muddled. Brush may be used instead of comb, sock instead of shoe, and on instead of off. The words "you" and "I" still cause problems even when the child has stopped repeating and echoing. It is in fact very difficult to explain that when I say "I", I mean myself, but when I say "you" I mean yourself, but when you speak it is the other way round. Perhaps the surprising thing is that normal children learn this so quickly, not that autistic children find it so difficult.

Usually each word has one meaning, and one meaning only for an autistic child. A ten-year-old autistic girl who had at last learnt the meaning of the word "up" was very puzzled when asked to "walk up the shop" when trying on shoes in a shoe shop. She looked round in desperation, then saw a step ladder and walked up that.

Even if they do learn to speak quite well, autistic children are still handicapped because they find abstract ideas so difficult to grasp. They do not seem to see the connection between one event and the next unless it can be shown in a very concrete and practical way. If you want to show an autistic child that the hot water from a tap is heated by a boiler in the cellar, you cannot expect him to understand if you just tell him in words—you must take him to the cellar, show him the fire in the boiler, show him where the water tank is, and trace the pipes all the way up to the bathroom.

Problems of pronunciation

Although when they copy other people, autistic children may speak very clearly, they usually have poor pronunciation when they produce their own phrases. They have poor control over the volume of the sound they make, and they may speak much too loudly or almost in a whisper. The pitch of the voice is often wrong, the words being all on one note, or else rising and falling in the wrong places with the emphasis on the wrong words. Sometimes the children seem to "play" with sounds, and speak in a voice quite different from their normal one. They may do this when they are unsure of the right thing to

say, and also when they are imitating other people.

Problems connected with the use of vision

A young autistic child often seems to respond to the things he sees as oddly as he does to the things he hears. He may ignore things which would be of great interest to a normal child, but be fascinated by something quite trivial. Parents of these children are quite used to the situation where their child comes into a room full of people and runs straight through them as if they do not exist, because he has caught sight of a tiny piece of shiny paper on the floor in the corner. The same child may gaze entranced at a street lamp, but shrink and cover his eyes from a fairly strong light used for photography.

It is usual for these children to react to moving objects much more than to things which stand still. An autistic toddler used to like throwing pebbles in the pond in his garden. He would scream for more pebbles even though he was surrounded by them. If however, they were rolled along the ground for him, he would see them at once, as long as they were moving, and would stop screaming and pick them up to throw.

The children tend to look through or past other people, or else look at the reflection of the light in another person's eyes. This is very disconcerting, and adds to one's feeling that the children are strange and remote. However, the reason for this behaviour is that the autistic child really has problems in comprehending the things he sees, and when he is very young he is not able to grasp the idea of a whole human being, or to know that it is customary to look at people's faces. One mother described how her autistic son recognised her by her outline and not by the details. He therefore tended to follow other people who were wearing the same kinds of clothes, assuming that he was following his mother.

It is not surprising that many autistic children are not at all interested in pictures in their early years. The mother of one child found that her little girl only began to realise what pictures were all about when she was shown the real object together with the picture.

Problems with visual language

A deaf child or a child who can't speak will make up for his language problem by using gestures and miming to communicate. Autistic children cannot do this because they have as much trouble in comprehending unspoken language as with the spoken word. They often do not learn even a simple gesture such as pointing until they are over five years old. However, this kind of language usually develops more quickly than understanding of speech, so the older autistic child tends to watch for visual cues from other people to make up for his difficulty with speech. However, few of them learn to mime, and they do not, for example, pretend to drink from a cup to show that they are thirsty. Because they are unable to understand any kind of language, young autistic children are quite as handicapped as children who are born both deaf and blind.

Ways of exploring the world

Like deaf/blind children, autistic children try to make up for their handicaps by exploring the world through their senses of touch, taste and smell. They make contact with people through touch, and they seem to find endless pleasure in the feel of surfaces like smooth shiny wood, soft fur, or plastic. This may lead to problems, as in one seven-year-old child who loved fur coats and tended to run up to anyone he met in the street who was wearing one, so that he could stroke the fur and rub his face against it.

Although the children seem to understand things they feel better than things they see

and hear, even here there are some abnormalities in the early years. Some of the children appear not to notice pain, and may ignore knocks and bumps. They may run out without any clothes as if they do not feel the cold. This does not usually last after four or five years old, and later on the children may be very sensitive to discomfort.

Like deaf/blind children, autistic children have many odd movements. They like to jump up and down, spin round and round, walk on tip toe, flap their arms and legs like an excited baby in a high chair, and twist and turn their hands very quickly near their eyes. It may be that both the deaf/blind and the autistic children are trying to find some form of stimulation which they can enjoy. Another possible explanation is that children with visual difficulties are very immature in their patterns of movement and carry on for years with activities which would be normal in babies and toddlers.

Difficulties with skilled movements

Many (though not all) autistic children appear to be very graceful and agile in movement. However, when attempts are made to teach them skilled movements, such as skipping, dancing, swimming, or throwing a ball, it soon becomes obvious that they have great problems. A teacher in a special school described how her children fell over their own feet and ended in a heap on the floor when she first began to teach them a country dance. The interesting thing is that the difficulty seems to occur when the children try to copy the movements made by other people. If their own limbs are moved in the correct way by the teacher so that they feel the movements, then eventually they learn to perform very well.

Careful analysis and observation has shown that the children tend to become confused when they are asked to distinguish between left and right, up and down, back and front. In addition to muddling up the letters b and d, p and q, m and w, which some of them do, they often put their clothes on back to front, copy someone pointing upwards by pointing down, and lay the table with the knives and forks the wrong way round.

BEHAVIOR PROBLEMS

Social withdrawal

It is not surprising that children with these handicaps have many behavior problems. The saddest thing for the parents is that their child appears to be indifferent to them in his early years. Indeed he seems to be unaware of the existence of anyone else at all. This is why some writers have used phrases like "Children in a dream world" or "The child in a glass ball" to describe these children. However, this behavior follows as a secondary consequence of the difficulties in communication. As they very slowly learn to speak and to understand language they become much more friendly and sociable—in fact some autistic children eventually become quite cheerful extroverted personalities, although their handicaps prevent the development of a really adult and mature relationship with another person. This is why the term "autism" is not really appropriate.

Resistance to change

As they live in such a confusing world, it is not surprising that autistic children try to cling to the few things which they do understand. They like to keep to the same routines, and a slight change may produce screams and tantrums. They also become very attached to objects, which may be ordinary toys or such apparently uninteresting things as empty bottles, packets, leaves, or pieces of paper. Some of the children go through a phase where they carry round huge burdens consisting of their favourite things, and become quite desperate if any are lost.

This dependence on routines and clinging to objects may make life very difficult for the whole family, since the child may insist on everyone else fitting in his demands. One mother described how she had to lay the fire in precisely the same way and light precisely the same corner of the paper each day to prevent her child screaming for hours on end if he saw any variation whatever.

Emotional responses to situations

Another consequence of the autistic child's handicaps is that he is liable to be frightened of quite harmless things, perhaps because of one small unfortunate incident. One child put his hand into a bath that was a little too hot and refused to bath again for years. Another would not wear shoes after a new pair had rubbed his heels.

On the other hand, their lack of understanding allows the children to ignore real dangers. They may run across the road in front of traffic, or balance dangerously on narrow ledges without any fear. At times they smile and laugh at the things which give them pleasure, such as a flickering light, or the smooth feeling of something they are holding. At other times they may weep tears of deep distress—then it seems that the world is too much for them, and they feel lost, bewildered and frightened. They can only be comforted by close physical contact with their mother or someone else they know and trust.

Lack of ability to play

Normal children learn through their play. They gain experience in working with things, and interacting with other people. In order to play, a child needs imagination, and imagination grows with the growth of language. Children who are not autistic but who cannot talk for other reasons are able to play if they have any kind of non-verbal language. Autistic children are lacking in all language skills and they are unable to develop the usual play activities. Their only occupation, when they are young, is to hold and feel and twist and turn objects in their hands. Later on they may learn to do puzzles and build with constructional toys, or to paint and draw, but even here they tend to copy and follow rules rather than to create new things.

Socially difficult behaviour

Autistic children, even if they were "model" babies, are usually extremely difficult in behaviour when they are between two and five years of age. They have no understanding of social requirements, they tend to scream in the street, grab things in shops, tear up papers, tear the wallpaper, kick and bite other people (and bite themselves), and in general act in an extremely immature way. It takes years of careful teaching before they learn to behave well in public and at home.

Special skills

Most parents of these children have the feeling that their child is potentially normal and intelligent, if only they could find the key to the mystery of his strange behavior. This is probably because most of the children look normal (in fact, many are physically very attractive), and also because they often do have some skills which stand out in contrast to their other difficulties. These skills are usually of the kind which do not involve language. For example most of the children love music, and some can sing very well. They tend to be good at jig-saw puzzles and constructional toys which depend on an awareness of shapes. Some are very clever with mechanical or electrical things. This is not true for all of the children—some are handicapped in almost all ways, but most are much better with activities for which words are unnecessary.

There are some rather rare autistic children who are outstandingly gifted in some

way. They may be able to calculate long and intricate sums in their heads with great speed and accuracy. Some can play musical instruments or even compose tunes. A few people who were autistic as children are earning their living as piano tuners because they have an unusually accurate sense of pitch. Unfortunately even these specially-gifted children are often unable to manage the ordinary affairs of life, and need someone in the background to organize their lives for them.

These are the children who stand out in people's memories, and are almost legendary among teachers and children's psychiatrists. Most autistic children are not like this, and most of them have learning problems that make them generally retarded.

Later development

Some autistic children make no progress at all, and remain mute and withdrawn all their lives. The majority, however, tend to show at least a little improvement as they grow older, especially after five or six years of age. Their basic handicaps begin to improve and the world gradually becomes more understandable to them. A number of autistic children were followed up by a research worker. A few (fifteen per cent) made very good progress by the time they were adolescent. Another twenty-five per cent did well enough to suggest that they could work in sheltered employment. The rest did not do well and most of these were placed in institutions. However, these figures were based on children who had not received any special help. It is to be hoped that the development of methods of education and training adapted to the needs of autistic children will enable many more to make good progress in the future.

NORMAL CHILDREN HAVE PROBLEMS TOO Early childhood

All of the behaviour I have described can be seen in young normal children as they go through various "phases". There is nothing unusual about a toddler who, for example, likes routine, who clings to his teddy bear, has temper tantrums, and sometimes ignores people who talk to him. The difference is that an autistic child does all or almost all of the things I have described, all the time, for years on end, and does very little else at all.

Other kinds of childhood difficulty

There are other patterns of strange behaviour in children which are called "psychoses". In some cases (but not in autism) the affected children may be able to talk well, and with perfect grammar, but the things they talk about are obviously abnormal. These children are quite different from autistic children. Autism is one special form of childhood psychosis, in which poor language development is the most important feature.

Deafness

Deaf children can be very withdrawn and difficult when young, and may be backward in development. Many autistic children are thought to be deaf at first, but their parents usually notice that they can tell the meaning of some soft sounds which are significant for them, such as the rustle of a sweet paper. Very careful testing of hearing is obviously most important before making a diagnosis.

Speech problems

Children with aphasia (difficulty with talking) also have problems in understanding spoken words, and in talking. When they are young they may go through a phase of being socially withdrawn. However, they do not have such marked difficulties with comprehending what they see as do autistic children and they can make themselves understood in non-verbal ways through gesture and timing. Again, careful observation of the child and detailed questioning of the parents is needed to make the diagnosis.

Mental subnormality

This is a very difficult problem, because of the way people use the words "subnormality" and "autism". If a child is called mentally abnormal, this means and his development is a long way behind that of normal children of his age, and also that he does very badly on the tests of intelligence that psychologists use.

It is important to remember that there are hundreds of different causes of mental subnormality. Just a few of these include monolism, phenylketonuria (a condition when the body cannot deal properly with ordinary food and so the brain becomes poisoned), various illnesses in early life which damage the brain, and so on. Each cause leads to different symptoms and a different mixture of handicaps.

Children are diagnosed as autistic because of the way they behave—whatever the cause, and however they perform on intelligence tests. Some of them have high scores if they are given tests which do not need a knowledge of words and language, although they will probably show up as backward on verbal tests. Others have low scores on all kinds of tests. A child can therefore be both autistic and mentally subnormal, or autistic but not subnormal in all respects, or subnormal but not autistic. A detailed description of each child, including his skills, his handicaps and the way he behaves is much more use than a single label. For example, a child could be described as follows: "He behaves like an autistic child, he scores very badly on vocabulary and word meaning tests, but he is only a little way behind normal on arithmetic". This is better than saying "he is autistic" or "he is subnormal" because these terms give only a small part of the picture. It is not surprising that parents feel annoyed if they have an autistic child and someone says "he is just subnormal and you won't admit it". On the other hand, just because a child has autistic behaviour this does not mean that his intelligence must be normal, as some parents mistakenly believe.

WHAT ARE THE CAUSES?

Although research workers are beginning to piece together the details of the handicaps from which autistic children suffer, very little is yet known about the basic causes.

It has been suggested by some psychiatrists that the problems are all emotional in origin; due to abnormalities in the characters of the parents, and the way they handle the child from the time he is born. This kind of theory is not very convincing. Firstly, systematic studies of parents have not shown anything unusual in their personalities apart from the problems common to parents of handicapped children in general, and they do not have severe mental illnesses any more often than other people. Secondly, most of these parents have other children who are quite normal. It is possible to have two autistic children in one family, but it is rare. Thirdly, none of the excellent studies of old-fashioned institutions, where babies really were deprived of all maternal care, has shown that they caused early childhood autism. The interesting and curious fact that the parents of autistic children tend to be above average in intelligence does not mean that they are less satisfactory as parents—probably the reverse is true. Autism may be commoner in the children of brighter people for genetic reasons, rather than because of a special environment.

The relationship between a young autistic child and his mother is different from that between a normal child and his mother. The bond between a mother and her child depends upon the way the baby behaves as well as upon the affection and attention of the mother. The more the baby smiles and chuckles and wriggles with pleasure when he sees and hears his mother, the more she enjoys

talking to him and cuddling him. This close contact in turn gives the baby the interest and stimulation he needs to help his physical and psychological growth. A baby who is autistic may be so quiet and unresponsive that his mother has to make a conscious effort to play with him. On the other hand, he may be irritable, difficult and demanding, but may not seem to find any comfort in contact with his parents, and they lose heart and feel that they are useless. Either way, the normal relationship of mutual enjoyment and understanding cannot develop properly. If the mother is given the right advice she can set about the task of helping her child to become interested in herself (and other people), and thereby create a more normal relationship between them.

Parents' problems

Having a handicapped child, whether his problems are physical or psychological, is a heavy burden to bear. The parents may feel guilty, even though they love their child and have done their best for him. They worry about what will happen when they are no longer alive to care for him. They also have to think about the effect on his normal brothers and sisters. The situation is a major crisis for any family, and inevitably produces emotional problems.

Parents of autistic children have the same problems as parents of other kinds of handicapped children, but in addition they have some special difficulties to face. Most autistic children look quite normal, and are assumed to be normal at birth. The parents live through perhaps one or two years during which it slowly becomes obvious that their child is handicapped. All this time the parents are half aware of the problem and half resisting awareness—sometimes feeling a sharp stab of anxiety when they compare their baby with a normal child, at other times reassuring themselves because he crawls and walks at the usual age and looks so bright and intelligent. This long process of doubt and indecision does nothing to ease the pain when the truth is known for sure.

Autism is not very common, and most people know nothing about it, so the parents feel quite alone and in the dark about the cause of the condition and what they ought to do about it. Because the children look normal other people often do not understand why an autistic screams or behaves badly in public and parents receive critical frowns instead of sympathy and help. A child with very disturbed and unpredictable behaviour is a much greater strain than one who is handicapped but behaves well. Sleepless nights may add to an almost intolerable burden in the early years.

The children need constant care, and it requires considerable patience and skill on the part of the parents to make sure that the normal brothers and sisters receive their fair share of attention.

You may wonder why parents struggle on with these difficult children. Most of them love their handicapped children deeply and try hard to keep them at home. Bringing up a child, however difficult, makes loving feelings grow inside most people, and parents feel that the child is part of themselves and the family and they do not want him to go away. As well as this, autistic children can be most endearing and their very helplessness and confusion brings out deep emotions in others. Then, when they start to make progress, the happiness each little step forward brings seems many times greater than that given by the rapid progress of a normal child. However, it often happens that, for many reasons such as illness or sheer exhaustion, parents have in the end to find residential care for their child.

WHAT CAN BE DONE?

There is as yet no medical treatment for early childhood autism. Sleeplessness and overactivity can be helped by the right

drugs. But there is no medicine which can help the underlying handicaps.

Psychotherapy and even psycho-analysis have been tried but most workers agree that these methods cannot help young children who have such severe language problems and difficulty in understanding the world. Where psychotherapy can help is in the case of an older adolescent autistic child who has improved enough to understand that he is different and also begins to understand some of the problems of living. He may become very depressed and anxious if he has that kind of temperament (like one boy whose mother died, and another who suddenly realised the meaning of death) and a therapist could help him through this stage.

Education

The lack of any medical treatment does not mean that nothing can be done. Although the children have severe learning problems they can be taught by skilled teachers using special methods. In this way they can learn, at the very least, socially acceptable behaviour, and the basic skills of living such as washing, dressing, using a knife and fork and so on. Some show themselves capable of far more than this, and learn to read, write, do arithmetic, algebra and geometry, woodwork, metalwork, needlework and music. As is to be expected, even the brightest autistic child always has difficulty with subjects needing an understanding of words, such as English composition, literature and poetry. Many learn to read, some fairly fluently, but very few will read with much understanding or choose to read for pleasure. It seems that the children learn the mechanical side of reading and letter and word recognition, pronunciation and spelling, but this may be independent of the understanding of the meaning of the words.

Education of these children does not cure them of their handicaps and it does not make them normal. One aim of teaching is to help them to find some way round their difficulties, just as a blind child is taught to read with Braille, and someone with paralysed legs is taught to strengthen his shoulder and arm muscles. Another aim is to help the children to become acceptable members of society so that they can live with their own families. A third is to teach them the skills necessary for earning a living, in open employment if possible, or in a sheltered environment. Perhaps most important of all, the teacher tries to help the world, so that it is a less puzzling and frightening place, and so that he can find some pleasure and enjoyment in life.

Methods of education

Teachers and parents are faced with the problem of teaching without using words. If you think of the part that written and spoken words play in the education of normal children you will realise how difficult it is to do without them.

The very first step is to help the children to behave more normally. It is impossible to teach a restless, destructive, screaming child. He must be able to sit still quietly at least for a short time in order to learn anything at all. The only way to accomplish this is through a firm and consistent approach. The teacher must show the child that she wants him to sit down by placing him in his chair and keeping him there for a short time, and praising him while he is there. The time can gradually be lengthened until he is quite used to sitting still. He will not understand the word, but the tone of voice helps to convey the simple meaning. It is important that he should learn that screaming, kicking, biting or destructiveness do not produce a reward, but that good behaviour has enjoyable consequences. This stage can be very wearing for the teacher and parent

and may seem to go on for ever, but patience, firmness and consistency produce results in the end.

The next step is to teach simple skills like doing up buttons, or eating with a knife and fork. This is done by putting the child's limbs and fingers through the movements. At first his fingers feel quite limp, but eventually he will catch on and begin to move his hands in the right way. He may need to have his teacher touching his own hand for a long while after he is quite able to do these things, but in the end he will manage by himself. Many things can be taught this way, including throwing and catching a ball, riding a tricycle and even simple country dances.

Language training plays a big part in teaching autistic children. At first they have to learn the names of things by linking the name with the actual object. When learning the word "table" they must see and feel a real table, and lots of different tables, otherwise they may think that "table" refers to the light brown square object in the dining room, and not to any table of another size, shape or colour. Verbs like "sitting", "walking", "running" can be acted to show the child what these words mean. Training of this kind has to go on the whole time. Very slowly new words, new phrases and new ideas can be taught, but the teacher must always be sure that the child can understand what he has learnt, before she goes on to something new.

The biggest problem about teaching autistic children is their difficulty in generalising from the things they learn. A child can be taught to fasten the buttons on his coat, but still not realise that the same actions are needed for the buttons on his pyjamas. He may eat an orange that has been peeled, but not know how to deal with one that is cut in half. He may be able to read words written in large red letters but be puzzled by words printed smaller and in black. The world has to be built up for him, brick by brick. None of the steps can be missed out and sometimes it seems that a lifetime is not long enough for this task. However, the patient effort required does eventually produce results, even though there are often long periods when there seems to be no progress at all.

If parents are told what to do, they can begin to teach their child before he goes to school. It is very important that he should go to a special school when he is ready, because trained teachers have much more specialised knowledge than the ordinary parent. When their child goes to school the parents can help by making sure that he has a happy home life with plenty of outings, and chances to meet other normal children.

What is "operant conditioning"?

There has been a lot of discussion about "operant conditioning" recently. The idea behind it is really very simple and has been known for a very long time. It is that children (and adults too) will prefer to do things for which they are rewarded, and avoid doing things which lead to unpleasant consequences. If a child is given a sweet whenever he screams it is easy to see how the effect is the reverse of what is intended. If, instead, he were shown that he would be given a sweet only when he was quiet and well behaved, he would scream less and behave a little better.

Some psychologists have used this idea to plan a whole system of teaching. It is certainly a very useful way of helping a child to improve his behaviour so that he is ready for school. Children need to be praised and rewarded for good work, and also have to understand that they cannot get away with bad behaviour. This applies to handicapped children quite as much as to normal children. Teachers have always known this, and in this sense they all use "operant conditioning". However, experts in this field have developed

certain special skills. The first is the use of really good timing. With a child who cannot talk much, it is most important to show him he has done well, or has misbehaved, at once. It is no good saying "you can have an apple later on because you have been good" or "you cannot have ice-cream for tea because you were naughty". The child with little or no language forgets too quickly. The teacher or parent must react on the spot and get her feelings across to the child in perhaps an exaggerated way until he reaches the stage where he can look into the future and link it with the past.

The second special skill is the method of breaking down each task into stages which are small enough for even a very handicapped child to master. Thirdly, the operant-conditioning psychologists know how to use helpful cues and prompting, and then gradually to remove these until the child can do the task without help. Finally, considerable experience is necessary to choose a reward which really means something to the child, and which will make his efforts to learn worthwhile.

YOU CAN HELP

If you know a family with an autistic child you may wonder what you can do to help. If you show understanding and acceptance you will be helping the parents a great deal. If you are a neighbour you may be disturbed by the child screaming in the night. The parents will know that this causes problems for everyone and this will add to their worries. Your tact and sympathy during this phase may make all the difference.

If you have a relative who has an autistic child, your support will be very welcome, especially if some other members of the family take the attitude that the child "ought to be put away in an institution". The parents should be allowed to make the right decision about the child's future, without interference from people who are intolerant and unsympathetic.

It is difficult for the parents of an autistic child to go out together especially when he is young, because they feel they cannot ask anyone to look after him. Friends, neighbours or relations can help by offering to baby sit. It is easier if you and the child get to know each other first before you have him on your own. You should find out what he understands, and how he lets his mother know when he is hungry, thirsty, or wants to use his pot or go to the lavatory. It is useful to know of the things he likes to take to bed with him, whether he has any special fears, and whether he has any favourite songs so that you can sing to him to make him feel safe and comfortable with you. All this sounds like a lot of trouble, but getting to know a handicapped child is rewarding and interesting in itself.

If you live near the family, and especially if you have normal children of your own, you could help a lot by allowing the child to come to your house. His mother will have to come with him at first, so that he can get used to the strange surroundings. Mothers of these children often feel they cannot visit other mothers because their child is so difficult. This is bad for the child, too, because he never has the chance to see another house or other children.

Later on as the child progresses, he may reach the stage when he loves being asked to parties or to go on outings. The trouble is that he does not know what to say or do when he is with other people, and he may just sit doing nothing at a lively party. Next time he is not invited because it looked as if he was not enjoying himself. This is very hurtful for an autistic child, especially if his brothers and sisters go to parties when he is not asked. He really does enjoy these things, even if he cannot join in actively. If you know a child like this, you can make

sure that he is asked to come to the same things as the rest of his family. You can give some explanation to the other people who are there so that they will understand. The child will be very happy if you remember to talk to him every now and again, even if he cannot say much, and if you keep an eye open to make sure that he is not being completely left out.

If you give Christmas and birthday presents to the other children in the family, it is often very difficult to know what to give to the autistic child. *Don't* buy things just because they are suitable for children of his age—they may mean nothing to him at all. It is always best to ask the parents first. There are a number of toys available now that almost seem as if they were made for children with language problems. The Mattell "See and Say" toys are good for the younger ones. These link up the name of musical instruments with their sounds, or the names of animals with the noises they make, and so on. Some autistic children love Meccano and various other constructional toys, and simple jig-saw puzzles. The golden rule is to avoid toys and games where the child has to use complicated language and imagination to enjoy them. *Don't* buy books unless you know that the pictures will interest the child, or that the words are simple enough for him to understand. Pictures should be simple and without fussy detail.

Everyone feels sorry for handicapped children. This is very natural, but it can mean that they are protected too much, and that everyone gives in to them and spoils them. Most parents find out in the end that this makes their autistic child more difficult than ever. If you know that the parents of an autistic child have laid down certain rules (for example, that he has one sweet after dinner and *not* if he screams) then it is very important that you should follow the same rules. When the child is in your house you should never give him something he wants if his mother has said "no". These children are much happier when life is orderly and certain for them, and it makes them worried and upset if grown-ups contradict each other.

Most parents of a handicapped child love him just as much as they do their other normal children. They want other people to see his good points and to accept him for himself. Perhaps the best help you can give to parents in this situation is to show that you really like their handicapped child, that you are interested in his progress, and that you feel that he has the same value as any other human being. So often parents feel that their child is treated as a "second-class citizen." He may be refused a place in school. The parents may have come in contact with people in official positions who cannot be bothered to take any interest in a backward child. They may have been made miserable by unthinking comments from people in the street. It is on these occasions that they need the comfort of a good friend who likes their child for his own sake. You can help by giving them an opportunity to talk about their child, and listening to the stories they tell about him, and laughing with them at the funny incidents that happen. Humour is a great outlet for emotions for many people, and nothing is more irritating to a parent than talking to someone who takes a hushed and solemn attitude to the handicapped child the whole time. The ability to see the funny side sometimes can go hand in hand with a basically serious approach to problems and this combination is a positive and healthy one.

Finally, it is always a good idea to ask parents of an autistic child if they have thought of joining the National Society for Autistic Children. This is a group of parents and professional workers who are trying to improve services for the children. There are

branches in different parts of the country which hold members' meetings. Parents can get advice about schools and units which take autistic children from the Head Office (see page 31 for address).

Services for autistic children

Autistic children need skilled teaching, but unhappily, there are far more children than there are school places. The National Society for Autistic Children has opened two schools, and hopes to open more in the future. Some local authorities have small schools or special classes for these children, but many more are needed. Certain private schools, especially those run by the Steiner organization, will accept these children. At the present time some children who are thought to be severely subnormal as well as autistic are considered to be unsuitable for education in school, and they attend Junior Training Centres run by the Local Authorities. Some of these have special units for autistic and psychotic children but, in many areas, there are not enough places in Junior Training Centres to go round and children with difficult behaviour may be excluded and have nowhere to go at all.

Sometimes for various reasons, autistic children cannot live at home. Special boarding schools may solve the problem, but there are very few places available for autistic children. Many of the children have to go into hospitals for people who are mentally subnormal. These are often very large, and are unhappily often short of staff and facilities. Autistic children do badly in such hospitals because they do not have the special attention and teaching that they need. Nowadays people working with handicapped children feel that small homes run on family lines, with special schools attached to them, are much better than large institutions.

When autistic children become adolescent, they are still very young in their ways, and they still need teaching. They also need training so that they can do some kind of work when they grow up. At the moment it is almost impossible to find places where education and training are given for these young people. The National Society for Autistic Children has just opened an adolescent unit, attached to one of its schools, and methods of teaching adolescents will be tried out there.

Autism causes handicaps all through life. Adults who have been autistic as children may sometimes be able to earn their living but many will need sheltered work. Again, there are very few places available at the moment, although sheltered workshops would be helpful for all kinds of handicapped people.

Hostels are needed for autistic adults who no longer have a family home where they can live, and also sheltered communities which will provide both home and work for adults who have been autistic as children and who are too handicapped to live independently.

A lot has been accomplished in the last few years, but even more needs to be done. The way in which handicapped people are provided for is one index of the degree of civilization of a community. Ours still has some way to go.

Addresses

National Society for Autistic Children, 1a, Golders Green Road, London, N.W.11. 01-458-4375.

National Society for Mentally Handicapped Children, 86, Newman Street, London, W.1. 01-636-2861.

National Association for Mental Health, 39, Queen Anne Street, London, W.1. 01-935-1272.

Further reading

The National Society for Autistic Children publish a list of books and articles on the subject to autistic children, which the Secretary will be pleased to send on request.

CONFERENCE ON URBAN TRANSPORTATION

HON. JAMES G. FULTON

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 22, 1971

Mr. FULTON of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following:

SPEECH BY WALTER J. BURKE, SECRETARY-TREASURER, UNITED STEELWORKERS OF AMERICA, FIFTH INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON URBAN TRANSPORTATION, PITTSBURGH, PA., SEPTEMBER 9, 1971

I first want to express the appreciation of the United Steelworkers of America for being asked to participate in this Conference on Urban Transportation. We welcome the opportunity to present the viewpoints of organized labor on one of the most serious challenges confronting our society today.

I couldn't help notice that the theme of this Fifth International Conference on Urban Transportation is, "Mobility—The Fifth Freedom?" I then could not resist a prayerful hope that we have more success with the Fifth Freedom than we have had with the first four.

President I. W. Abel of the Steelworkers had the privilege of speaking for Labor at the First International Conference on Urban Transportation back in 1966. Our Union, and organized labor in general, have made effective mass transportation one of Labor's major legislative objectives. The Steelworkers Union was one of a number of civic and labor organizations which sponsored the recent conference on public transportation in Washington, D.C. Out of that conference came a decision to form a National Citizen's Committee on Public Transportation—dedicated to widening public involvement in transportation issues.

We are here, therefore, in the role of a proven activist in the area of public transportation—as an active lobbyist for adequate funding and planning of mass transportation and as an active participant in promoting public interest and public support for the transit systems we so desperately need.

We are here for other reasons. We are here because labor traditionally has a genuine interest in helping to solve serious problems affecting people. We are concerned also because the bulk of our members lives and works in urban areas, and because the members of our Union are plagued by transportation problems. But basically, it is a people problem and Labor is concerned about the problems of people.

In 1964, when President Johnson was about to sign the Urban Mass Transportation Act—which at that time gave us some hope that salvation for the commuter was soon to come—the President commented . . . and I quote him: "When I consider the problems this bill is trying to cope with, I am thankful that I work at home." (unquote)

Not many people are in that enviable position of being able to walk to work without even going outside. So, we are confronted every day in the urban areas of this Nation with the great challenge of getting people to work and home, and of making it possible for the older and less affluent citizens to get around as they must or as they desire.

Other representatives of organized labor who have addressed the earlier Conferences on Urban Transportation have spelled out certain basic positions of labor concerning the development of mass transportation systems. For the benefit of those who may not be familiar with these positions, I will state them at this time because they are very important to the workers involved—and to

the planners and developers of transit systems, I might add, since the support and cooperation of organized labor is vital to the success of their efforts.

For example, we maintain that adequate transit systems should not be subsidized by inadequate wages for transit workers. We believe that people should be able to live where they want to with the assurance that they will enjoy adequate public transportation and that such transportation will be economical. Workers should be able to get to work and back home quickly and economically, on public transportation which is clean and comfortable for all seasons.

We maintain that transit workers must have a voice in determining the conditions under which they work. This voice is made possible through collective bargaining, through the worker's union which represents him at the bargaining table. Where the workers have these rights under private collective bargaining agreements, they should be continued and preserved if the private transit system is turned over to public authorities. So should pension rights and other benefits be continued where such transitions occur.

We do not believe that improvements in public transportation should mean higher and higher fares with fewer and fewer riders. There is a growing belief that there should be no fares at all—that public transportation is a needed public service—that it must be available to all—and that its cost should be borne, on a per capita basis, by all the citizens of the area it serves. Such a tax or surcharge would amount to only a few dollars a month and would actually be a savings, since it is estimated that a citizen who drives to work costs the community about 10 times what it costs if he uses public transportation to get to work. The per capita payments, coupled with adequate subsidies from the Government, would provide the kind of transportation systems the people need and have a right to expect.

We follow much the same reasoning in regard to the public school system, and do not think anything of it. All the citizens of a community pay school taxes whether or not they use the schools or have any children in school. They do it because education is considered a sound and necessary investment in the future of children, the community and the Nation. We say, so would such an investment be in transportation systems.

There is additionally the important matter of re-employment rights in the changing transportation scene. I think it is worth a moment to repeat the words uttered on this question at the Transportation Conference of 1969 by President John M. Elliott of the Amalgamated Transit Union, AFL-CIO. This is what he said, after he cited several instances where workers were denied such rights . . .

"I can assure you that the Amalgamated will never again sit by and permit the establishment of any new transit operation without written assurances that all affected transit systems will be acquired and merged into the new system, or that all transit employees on these properties will be assured first opportunity of employment by the new system, with their full seniority pensions and other rights as provided by their union contracts." (unquote) President Elliott cited the situation in Atlanta, Georgia, where the entire labor movement of that city opposed a rapid transit bond issue—which it otherwise favored—because the public authorities failed to provide such guarantees to the union employees of the Atlanta Transit System. We believe in developing fast, clean and economical mass transit systems, but not at the expense of the rights of workers.

The next question, which rightfully concerns all of us at this Conference, is how do we get from here to there—or where should we get from here? In my role here as the only

spokesman for organized labor, I will give you the thinking of the labor movement on how we should get to where we want to go.

Frankly, we are struggling under a very severe handicap because public mass transportation has reached the point where it has almost gone down the drain. We have gone overboard in our neglect of public mass transportation, and what is needed now is a mass rescue operation.

For 40 years, the country has been undergoing sweeping social changes, with rapidly increasing needs for every kind of public investment from sewer systems to health care and urban mass transit. We have tried to meet these needs but we have not tried hard enough. Large backlogs of unmet needs have remained—and some—such as mass transit—have grown to giant size.

Like the legendary Peter—we have been trying to hold back this flood of unmet needs by holding our fingers in the dike. But putting our fingers in the dike can no longer prevent the flood. The labor movement has been fully alert to the danger of such a flood, and the Executive Council of the AFL-CIO warned of the danger as far back as February, 1966, when it said:

"Just as the Government should be prepared for the contingency of a rise in military expenditures, it should also be prepared to offset a weakening of business investment and a leveling-off or decline of military spending.

"We do not—the Council said . . . want an economy based on spending for destruction. Military expenditures are a necessity for the defense of freedom; they must never be the bedrock of our national economy.

"Therefore . . . the Council concluded . . . the Government must plan at once for a rapid rise in its investment in the public services that should be instituted, expanded and improved—not only for the public good but also to provide necessary employment and consumer buying power."

So here we are, just across the threshold of the 1970's, and the backlog of unmet needs is more staggering today than it was back in 1966—when the labor movement called for immediate action to improve public services.

What America needs in the 1970's, more desperately than in 1966, is a long-range, truly national effort to expand and improve public investments in facilities and services. The needed emphasis on public mass transportation must be part of that general emphasis on public investment. This was the gist of a report on "Public Investment to Meet America's Needs," issued earlier this year by the AFL-CIO's Economic Policy Committee which is chaired by President Abel of the United Steelworkers of America.

Such increased emphasis on public investment . . . including mass transit . . . could be a major basis for economic and job growth during the next 30 years. With the current and anticipated further cuts in defense spending, it could provide the useful application of the talents and specialties of the scientists, engineers, technicians and craftsmen from defense plants now unemployed.

Each period of economic expansion in America has been accompanied by growing investments and employment in new industries. In the 19th Century it was the building of the railroads, the steel and oil industries. In the early years of the 20th Century it was the public utilities. The auto and radio industries came in the 1920's. After World War II came television, aircraft, electronics and advanced technology in industrial and other areas. Now, in the 1970's, America's new frontiers are in a major emphasis on public investment to revitalize American society and provide for a new period of national economic expansion.

These urgently needed new programs in the public sector—health care, housing, pol-

lution control, mass transit, and so forth—would bring the Golden Age for our society and would provide jobs for all as the growth industries of the future. This already has started to happen to some extent in pollution and recycling. Out of the concern and demand for clean air, clean water and a clean environment has come a new industry. The U. S. Department of Labor estimates that as of 1970, there were 655,900 new jobs created in environmental control. The Department also estimates that by 1980, this figure will increase to 1,181,000.

The planning and implementation of these kinds of programs—building schools, hospitals, low and moderate-cost housing, a truly balanced transportation system—is the type of positive action needed to help restore and build the economic health of this Nation.

The labor movement believes that the lead in this kind of action must and can only be undertaken by the Federal government. Only the Federal government can really establish national priorities, goals and nationwide performance standards. Also, the Federal tax structure is much more productive and equitable than state and local tax structures—even though we feel the Federal structure is still loaded with loopholes for special interests.

The states cannot solve the unmet needs; neither can local government. Nor, can private enterprise, even with the promise of tax subsidies. These needs . . . our transportation needs . . . require national policies and nationwide measures, with adequate Federal funds and standards, and the support and cooperation of the states and local governments.

Many states and most cities face an immediate or potential financial crisis, while public facilities and services fail to meet the increasing needs of their citizens. As a result of the neglect of public needs and our urban centers, America's cities are becoming ugly and undesirable places to live. Many see mass transit as the key to survival of the cities. Many see mass transit as one of the keys for the survival of man himself, by reducing pollution. An environmentalist said recently that we could reduce pollution 30% by adding another half person to each automobile. My immediate reaction was to think how much more we could reduce pollution by adding people to a mass transportation system.

So now, the question comes down to this: Since the need for mass transit is obvious and since a balanced transportation system would strengthen the economy—then why can't we get on with the job? Why can't we get the Federal government, our national leaders to give mass transit priority attention and action?

One uncontested answer is that public pressure for public needs does not match economic pressures for private needs. Wouldn't it be a pleasant development, for example, if the oil industry lobbied for mass transit with the same tiger tenacity it uses to preserve the oil depletion allowance . . . if the national Chamber of Commerce matched its efforts against improvements in unemployment compensation with similar efforts for mass transit . . . if industrial lobbyists supported mass transit as vigorously as they strive to create what they term a "good tax climate for industry"?

I have no doubt that some enthusiasm on the part of such lobbies would be shown for mass transit if organized labor really pressed in its collective bargaining for payment for the time it took a worker to get to work and return home. I know that when we started to negotiate pensions, it created great interest on the part of management in improving the Social Security system.

What we must do is build the kind of pressure which will cause Congress to be as concerned over mass transit as it was over protecting investments handled by broker-

age firms on Wall Street . . . as concerned over mass transit as over the survival of Lockheed. We must cause a President to be as concerned over mass transit as over the SST or appointments to the Supreme Court.

No doubt such pressure would build easily if members of Congress, the state legislatures, city councils, the establishment and the chauffeured crowd would have to use public transportation during normal rush hours to keep their appointed rounds . . . would have to wait in driving rains or biting zero winds . . . would have to ride in simmering heat in ancient Toonerville Trolley type clinkers alien to air conditioning. But it isn't going to happen that way.

What has to be done is to make the public as concerned over mass transit as it has become over the environment, and to demand Congressional action and Presidential leadership to give mass transit the needed priority. When the Government spends twice as much on one moon landing as it spent all last year on mass transit, there can be no question about a needed change in priorities.

I believe we also need a genuine commitment from corporate America on behalf of mass transit . . . not just for the economic benefits, but a commitment in the interest of meeting a serious public need.

If conferences such as this one can help produce public awareness and demand for mass transit, they will have served their purpose. But if they don't, then they become primarily pleasant exercises in rhetoric. More public participation, not only in the planning of public transportation systems, but public participation in conferences such as this, would also contribute to the kind of public awareness that is necessary.

The labor movement has a slogan it uses when it talks about adding new members to its rolls. The slogan is: Organize the unorganized. This is what we need to do in relation to mass transit—organize, coordinate our efforts and involve the public. If we can do this, then we can create the public demand which Congress and our national leadership cannot ignore and which will help us realize our end objective: fast, economical and clean public transportation. We have the resources. We have the know-how. What we lack is the will and the public demand. If we persevere together, these two will follow.

I can assure you that the United Steelworkers of America will continue its part in labor's campaign for mass transit systems worthy of the American people, and that we will continue to be happy to participate in any meeting or conference which may be convened—until our efforts are successful.

I want to again express the appreciation of the Steelworkers for the invitation to appear here today as labor's spokesman and to participate in this Fifth International Conference on Urban Transportation. Thank you very much.

HUMANE TREATMENT OF POW/ MIA'S SHOULD NOT HINGE ON POLITICAL SETTLEMENT OF THE WAR

HON. JERRY L. PETTIS

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 22, 1971

Mr. PETTIS. Mr. Speaker, while we continue to negotiate an honorable and peaceful settlement to the war in Vietnam, the fate of some 1,600 U.S. servicemen listed as captured or missing in Southeast Asia is still, for the most part, unknown.

The anguished outcry of millions of American citizens and Government officials has been heard by the North Vietnamese and the Vietcong and it now appears that the Communists are taking a softer line in their approach to the POW/MIA question.

But this is not nearly enough.

Under the requirements of the 1949 Geneva Convention on prisoners of war which North Vietnam ratified in 1957, information regarding our captured servicemen and their health and well being should be completely separate from any political settlement reached regarding the end of the war.

Toward this goal, I introduced House Concurrent Resolution 140, protesting the treatment of our prisoners; calling on North Vietnam and the NLF to comply with the Geneva Convention; and endorsing efforts by our Government, the United Nations, International Red Cross, and other leaders and peoples of the world to obtain humane treatment and release of our prisoners. An identical bill, House Concurrent Resolution 374 was reported to the House on August 2 and is awaiting action.

While there can be no end to the Southeast Asian conflict without full accountability for and repatriation of our POW's and MIA's, in reality it does not appear that this can be accomplished before a final political settlement is reached.

I, therefore, call on all my colleagues to take the intermediate step of bringing House Concurrent Resolution 374 to the floor for unanimous passage, as a further voicing of concern for our captured servicemen and a strong and, hopefully, successful bid to provide them with international supervision and care until they are finally set free.

NRTA-AARP PHARMACY OPENS IN HARTFORD

HON. WILLIAM R. COTTER

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 22, 1971

Mr. COTTER. Mr. Speaker, in a ceremony earlier today in Hartford, Conn., the 3-million-member National Retired Teachers Association and American Association of Retired Persons officially opened a new NRTA-AARP pharmacy. I know that my elderly constituents in Hartford—particularly those who are members of NRTA and AARP—join with me in welcoming this pharmaceutical service to our community and wishing success to its personnel.

This opening represents yet another example of the goal of these associations—"to serve, not to be served." As our colleagues may know, the NRTA and AARP are the Nation's largest organizations dedicated to helping older Americans achieve independence, dignity, and purpose. Besides helping their members to help themselves, these organizations have provided valuable information and realistic proposals in the field of aging to the Congress.

The new NRTA-AARP pharmacy in Hartford is the fifth in the United States—the others are located in Washington, D.C.; St. Petersburg, Fla.; Long Beach, Calif.; and Kansas City, Mo. This attempt to help NRTA and AARP members stretch their retirement dollars began modestly in 1959 in a one-room store in the Nation's Capital. Since then, the NRTA-AARP pharmacy has grown steadily—growth which shows the continuing need of many thousands of the association's members for this prompt, convenient service.

This is but one of many services available to NRTA-AARP members. Others include an award-winning publications program, a worldwide travel service, a continuing education program, a temporary employment service, preretirement counseling programs, and recommended health, life, and automobile insurance.

Mr. Speaker, I wish to pay tribute to the many persons whose dedication and imagination have contributed to the success of the NRTA-AARP pharmacy and the other services provided by these organizations; specifically to Mrs. Ruth Lana, NRTA-AARP director of services, and Robert Solsky, manager of the NRTA-AARP Hartford Pharmacy.

MSGR. ANDREW J. PAULEY CELEBRATES 75TH BIRTHDAY IN PITTSBURGH

HON. WILLIAM S. MOORHEAD

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 22, 1971

Mr. MOORHEAD. Mr. Speaker, I want to bring to the attention of this body the 75th birthday Tuesday of one of the truly fine individuals in my city of Pittsburgh, Rev. Msgr. Andrew J. Pauley.

I would like to add my sentiments to those well-wishers who hosted a birthday party yesterday for the monsignor, a priest for some 50 years, and rector of St. Paul's Cathedral in my district for the last quarter century.

Deeds say much more about a man than words, and Monsignor Pauley has indeed been a man of action.

Once again happy birthday Monsignor Pauley.

The following article by Mary O'Hara of the Pittsburgh Press, tells a little of Monsignor Pauley's distinguished career:

MSGR. ANDREW J. PAULEY

Andrew Joseph Pauley was born to Joseph and Emma Becker Pauley Sept. 21, 1896. His was a church-oriented life from the beginning, polarized between St. Martin's Church, West End, where his father was organist and choirmaster, and his home wherein a big family grew up in a thoroughly Catholic atmosphere.

It was an era when religious vocations were encouraged far more assiduously, both by parents and teachers, than they are today. He studied Latin and Greek in grade school and was ready for third year high school in these subjects when he entered St. Jerome's, a preparatory school and junior seminary in Ontario, Canada.

From St. Jerome's, he advanced to St. Fidelis College in Herman, Pa., and then on to the seminary at St. Vincent's. He was ordained June 24, 1922, by Bishop Hugh C.

Boyle, the prelate for whom he was later to serve as secretary 15 years, from 1931 to 1946.

After ten years as a curate, first at St. Veronica's Church in Ambridge, then at Sts. Peter and Paul in East Liberty and finally at Epiphany Church, Father Pauley left pastoral work to become chaplain to the Sisters of Mercy and instructor in religion and theology at Mt. Mercy Academy and Carlow College. Simultaneously, he was secretary to the bishop.

Long before love was "discovered" by young people in the sixties, Father Pauley was teaching and preaching love to college students. With infinite patience and a bright mind, plus a storehouse of scientific fact, he led his students to an intellectual commitment to Christ. Thus committed, they sought Christ frequently, many daily, in Communion, a privilege which their mentor-in-stole proffered at their convenience, not his.

No student left his tutelage without knowing by heart every word Christ spoke on earth and St. Paul's great epistle on love.

From 1940 until 1946, he was assistant chancellor of the diocese. For the past 25 years, he has been rector of St. Paul's Cathedral. In 1946, he was named domestic prelate with the title Right Reverend Monsignor and for the past 11 years, has served as diocesan consultor.

In addition to various chaplaincies, to the Knights of Columbus, the International Federation of Catholic Alumnae and the Catholic Business and Professional Women's Association, he has served as member of the board of managers of St. Paul's Orphanage and a board member of Carlow College. He has also been chairman of the Diocesan Liturgical Commission and a member of the Mayor's Commission on Human Rights for the City of Pittsburgh.

Father to his flock in every sense of the word, Msgr. Pauley has earned the reputation of never giving an uninteresting sermon or homily. His briefest word is illuminated with lightning intelligence and wit and pulsates with passionate love of Christ.

In hundreds of devotions, he has been Mary's supreme "jong leur," tossing his jeweled words in her praise; her knight, protecting her image from secularist detraction; her son, bringing home to her legions of the troubled, the sorrowing, the abandoned.

"When I was a young priest," Father Pauley would say when he was still a young priest, and people would laugh. When they no longer laughed at his quip, he knew that he was no longer a young priest. By the order of Melchisedech, he is a priest forever, to our eternal joy. For such a one, there are no divisions of time. All is suspended in divine grace.

THE LATE HONORABLE GEORGE
HUDDLESTON, JR., OF ALABAMA

HON. JOHN J. ROONEY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, September 14, 1971

Mr. ROONEY of New York. Mr. Speaker, I was saddened to learn of the untimely passing of the Honorable George Huddleston, Jr., who for the 10 years I served with him ably represented the people of Birmingham, Ala., and its environs. I had the good fortune to know and like George. He compiled an enviable record as member of the House Committee on Armed Services. He was proud of his country and fought with determination to keep her strong. He was

a gentle man with an engaging personality and his friends here were legion. His father was one of his predecessors here in the House of Representatives representing the same district in Alabama. We shall all miss George Huddleston. To his lovely wife, his children, and his mother, I extend my deepest sympathy upon their loss.

AMERICAN INDIAN DAY

HON. VICTOR V. VEYSEY

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 22, 1971

Mr. VEYSEY. Mr. Speaker, American Indian Day is celebrated by at least 10 States, including my own State of California. A number of resolutions are now before the Congress to designate the fourth Friday in September of every year as American Indian Day, and I wish to join this growing movement by introducing my own measure on the eve of what we hope will eventually be the day designated to pause and contemplate the enrichment to our national heritage by the American Indian.

The contributions of the Indian to our country and culture are so numerous and so basic that we must stop to realize that were it not for the Indian we would not have popcorn, chewing gum, quinine, tobacco, canoeing, tobogganing, potatoes, corn, beans, tomatoes, peanuts, pumpkins, squash, cocoa, snowshoes, the names of 26 States, and countless cities, rivers, bays, and mountains. People smoke pipes every day without realizing that the pipe is an Indian invention that has scarcely been altered to this day.

Perhaps as important, however, is to remember the sacrifices made by the Indian on behalf of the rest of us. During World War I more than 8,000 Indians served in the army, 10,000 joined the Red Cross, they bought \$15 million worth of Liberty bonds, and donated over 100,000 items of clothing to the war effort.

During World War II more than 24,000 Indians served in our Armed Forces. A Creek, Lt. Ernest Childers, won the Congressional Medal of Honor for extraordinary heroism in combat.

The contributions of Indians during peace time are even more numerous in the arts, the sciences, and the Government. Vice President Charles Curtis, who served under President Herbert Hoover was a Kaw Indian. The world famous stage and screen personality Will Rogers was of Cherokee ancestry and is memorialized in Congress by a statue donated by his native Oklahoma.

Everyone has heard of the outstanding achievements of Jim Thorpe, one of the great athletes of all time, who distinguished himself on the football team of the Carlisle Indian School and later unofficially became the first winner of the Olympic pentathlon and decathlon events. Others may remember Allie Reynolds, a Creek Indian who played baseball for the New York Yankees.

American Indian Day, therefore, is a

just and fair tribute to honor the original inhabitants of this continent and their contributions to the establishment and maintenance of this great Nation. It is a special day when the Indians, with their traditions, may think of their place in American society, of their privileges as well as their rights; it is a day of fellowship and a day of friendship, a day of resolution and patriotism. It is a day to remind ourselves that much remains yet to be done in order to assure that all people in this great Nation, regardless of race, creed or sex, may attain their just share of the bounty and the freedom which is America.

ANY FUTURE FOR PRIVATE
COLLEGES?

HON. JOHN B. ANDERSON

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 22, 1971

Mr. ANDERSON of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, my 16th District in Illinois is fortunate to have Dr. John A. Howard as president of Rockford College. Dr. Howard is a distinguished educator and president of the American Association of Presidents of Independent Colleges and Universities. Dr. Howard was recently interviewed by U.S. News & World Report on the future of private colleges in the United States. In this interview Dr. Howard articulates his philosophy of education and the unique contribution being made by private colleges. I found his remarks a most eloquent plea for the preservation of these independent institutions of higher learning, and a minimal amount of Federal interference if they are to retain their integrity and unique nature.

At first blush it may seem difficult to save our many financially troubled small private schools without massive Federal aid and the attendant strings, but Rockford College is one of several thriving contradictions to that assumption. In addition, Dr. Howard has proposed an alternative source of revenues for colleges and universities in the form of a direct tax credit of up to \$100 for individual contributions and \$5,000 for corporate contributions. This proposal is embodied in H.R. 4905, "the Higher Education Gift Incentive Act" which I introduced earlier in this session with over 40 cosponsors. Dr. Howard makes reference to this bill in his interview which I include in full at this point in the RECORD:

ANY FUTURE FOR PRIVATE COLLEGES? INTERVIEW WITH JOHN A. HOWARD, HEAD OF ASSOCIATION OF PRESIDENTS OF INDEPENDENT COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES

Money troubles, other ills plague the private colleges. Remedies are detailed by the president of Rockford College, who came to the conference room of "U. S. News & World Report" for this exclusive interview.

Q. Dr. Howard, are many private colleges about to fold up, financially?

A. I have the impression that a great many of them are in deep financial difficulty. It varies from imminent collapse to worry about whether they will survive, long range.

Q. Are they running out of money, or—

A. I think the financial situation of the private colleges is not the basic difficulty. In my opinion, that is just the consequence of a much deeper difficulty, which is that, in many cases, both public and private colleges have lost sight of the basic mission in education. And to the extent that this is true—or perceived to be true by the general public—the public is reluctant to give the colleges additional funds through gifts or aid from State legislatures and Congress.

Q. Isn't everybody in favor of higher education?

A. We have had an uncritical faith in the educational process in this country. We have had the idea that everything would be fine if we could shove all the young people through an educational machine that is characterized by high salaries and small classes, a proper racial mix, plenty of books in the library and plenty of equipment in the laboratory. This is naive. These mechanics of education are important; as we improve the mechanics, we can improve the efficiency of the educational vehicle. But if we haven't identified the destination, it makes no difference how fast the vehicle is traveling.

If you will examine the history of education, I think you will discover that all nations which have evolved a system of education have recognized that it must do two things: It must transmit knowledge and skills to the young, and it must provide an experience out of which will come people who can live affirmatively and creatively within the society which provided the education.

Q. Is the public's "uncritical faith in education," as you put it, starting to weaken?

A. Yes, it is changing rapidly, because we are seeing the consequences of failure, principally on the part of higher education, to concern itself with the development of responsible citizenry—the second half of the traditional formula.

Q. In what way has higher education failed?

A. In the first place, I think there has been a devastating failure of leadership.

We have had a transition over the last few decades from leaders who were chosen because they were educational philosophers to leaders who are principally professional managers. The managers see their role as keeping the institution moving—no matter what the direction.

In times gone by, the presidents of colleges and universities were, in fact, leaders of their institutions who held aloft the purposes of the institutions. On important issues, they would use persuasion and, if necessary, their veto power.

Q. Can you give us a specific example?

A. Yes. As one illustration: It seems to me that when it became perfectly clear that the SDS [Students for a Democratic Society] was willing to use violent tactics to achieve its objectives—when it was confirmed that they had a workshop to train members in the manufacture and use of Molotov cocktails—at that point the educational leadership should have said to the SDS: "There is no place for you on the campus. Violence and intellectual processes are mutually exclusive."

Q. If private colleges lack both leadership and public support, why shouldn't they be allowed to die off?

A. Well, the prestige factor of private colleges has diminished as the public institutions have grown more numerous and enlisted their full share of distinguished scholars. If the private college is not doing something different from the public institution, or not doing things better than the public institution, then it really loses its justification and, naturally, its support. It seems to me that the private colleges really have—in many cases—perhaps forfeited their birthright.

Q. How important are private institutions of higher learning in terms of students enrolled?

A. The private colleges now enroll about 25 per cent of all students in this country, according to a 1970 survey.

Q. So if a substantial number of these private schools go out of business it will have quite an impact on education—

A. Yes, and I think the impact will reach far beyond the numbers of students who would have to go elsewhere for college, or miss out entirely.

Q. What kind of impact?

A. In earlier times, when colleges and universities generally were masters of their own fate and delivered an education which had a particular character that varied from campus to campus, the graduates of those institutions would come together on the staff of "U.S. News & World Report," or in Congress, or as directors of IBM, for example. They would have different prejudices, different values, different concerns, different bits of knowledge, and there would be a big interaction—a nice, yeasty sort of thing. This interaction may have been one of the most important factors in the creativeness of American society in the last century or two.

Contrast this with France, where, it is my understanding, if you take a beginning economics course in any of the universities, you will answer exactly the same exam questions at the same hour of the same day as every other beginning economics student in the nation. Now, if you take the graduates of those universities and put them together, it will be a very different situation from what you get in a society where the college-trained people come out of slightly different or vastly different educational experiences.

Thus the demise of private colleges would diminish the variety and the yeastiness of our society.

Q. For private colleges in the U.S. now, is it a question of survival of the fittest?

A. I think this is true, yes. And I think those colleges which are perceived to be providing an education of great merit are not only surviving, but prospering.

Q. Without federal aid?

A. Yes.

Q. What is the secret of their success?

A. It is twofold: On the one hand, it is responsible management—not trying to be all things to all people, and determining upon a range of services they know they can provide. In the second place—and this is probably the more important of the two factors—it is the provision of educational services that are forward-looking, sound, and affirmatively related to the society.

I would cite among the small private colleges that fit that description: Principia in Illinois, Hillsdale in Michigan, Hanover in Indiana, Grove City in Pennsylvania, and my own college, Rockford, in Rockford, Ill. I don't mean that's the total group, but I think these are representative of colleges which have used no federal funds, which are all operating in the black. But, much more than that, they have built new buildings, sustained or increased their enrollment, have been attractive to faculty as well as students, and certainly have attracted the funds necessary to carry on.

Q. What is the general quality of the education they offer?

A. Of course, one has to ask what is good education and what isn't.

I think this group of colleges holds its own pretty well in faculty salaries. I suppose the average College Board scores of students attending these colleges is a cut or two below that of students going to, say, Grinnell or Carleton, but certainly their students are not intellectual cripples by any means.

I suggest there are some erroneous assumptions about what adds up to a good education. One is that whatever a professor chooses to do is worthy because it is a pro-

fessor who chooses to do it. Another is that whatever the individual departments of a college choose to do in their curricula will somehow add up to a cohesive and worthy educational program. A third is that whatever courses a student chooses and whatever he decides to do out of class will somehow add up to a worthy educational experience. I think all three of those, logically and by recent experience, turn out to be inappropriate assumptions.

Q. In that body of assumptions, do you include the one that scholarly research in itself benefits students because it gives professors a broader knowledge, even if it means that students get less time with the professor?

A. Yes. Although the research function is clearly necessary as a very important part of the totality of higher education, still it has been dominant in some institutions, and their undergraduates have suffered as a result. It seems to me that the liberal-arts college needs to place the educational service to its students above all other considerations. There is a place for research, but certainly it should not be coequal with the concern for the range of experiences provided to the student.

Q. You spoke a short time ago about affirmative education. What do you mean by that?

A. It seems to me that in order to provide worthy education to young people in a complex society, a college must make some value judgments—set some specific objectives for students. And higher education has been reluctant to do this.

There has been the assumption that because the college student is old enough to have babies and get killed in Vietnam he is, therefore, old enough to make all the judgments about his conduct in his out-of-class experience for himself. I don't think this is correct. It isn't a question of how old the student is. It is that people with experience and training and a more comprehensive view of mankind need to make some judgments—for the benefit of the student.

Q. Can you be a little more specific?

A. Let me offer some illustrations: First, it seems to me that an alert educational institution would examine such phenomena as the fact that much of contemporary culture—the novels, the poetry, the plays, films, the essays—is devoted to man in despair, man in difficulty, man degraded. This was not always so. In times gone by, a very large part of the works which one read in elementary and secondary school and in college dramatized man surmounting difficulty, man slaying dragons. And the people coming out of this kind of educational experience, I think, had a much stronger belief that man can conquer his difficulties than the typical student of today.

It seems to me that alert educators would recognize this aspect of today's society, and try to take measures to counteract it.

Another illustration:

The present orthodoxy among educators is that one proper aspect of academic freedom is that the institution of higher education should maintain a neutral position on public issues. Now, of course, there has been an argument about the politicization of education. And some would have colleges take a position on public issues. But, basically, academic freedom has been perceived to require that the college take no position.

I would suggest that good education would require controlled neutrality, so that if only one side of a major issue is being presented on campus, the institution would then see to it that responsible and well-informed spokesmen for the other point of view were brought into the deliberations to offer some balance.

Q. Do you believe that private colleges—your school, for instance—can offer a better education than public colleges?

A. For some people.

Q. What kinds of people?

A. It's those students who agree with our basic assumptions, one of which is this: By accepting restraints and obligations, you will be able to lead a more purposeful and rewarding life.

I think a large proportion of the college-bound youth have somehow come to believe that man fulfills himself by being freed from all obligations and limitations. I happen to believe that this is exactly upside down, that man fulfills himself as he recognizes that limitations are necessary for humans to live together.

At our college, for instance, we have taken the position that it is impossible for there to be an ordered society without accepted limits. Carrying this into the operation of the institution, we have a basic policy that we will abide by public law. And when a student applies to the college, he receives a personal letter from me, saying:

"We think you've applied to a good college which offers a very challenging education. But you should understand that there are a number of things which set us apart from many institutions. We do abide by public law. That means we do not tolerate the use of illegal drugs on campus. We also have a set policy that we will treat our guests as guests, that there will be no picketing or effort of any kind to embarrass, harass, silence our speakers, or give a hard time to job recruiters."

And then we say: "If you will find this too restrictive a collegiate situation, then we believe you will serve yourself and us better by choosing to go somewhere else."

"A VERY CONGENIAL ATMOSPHERE"

Q. Do students ever decide not to come?

A. Oh, yes. And some, I'm sure, decide to come because they perceive this as a beautiful, square college which they will enjoy shaking up. This poses a challenge to them and to us.

Now, the parents and the student may see this as a kind of education that will suit them. I can assure you that a number of faculty members perceive this to be a very congenial atmosphere in which to carry on their scholarly and teaching endeavors.

Q. Does your college feel any responsibility for the conduct of its students off campus?

A. To the extent that it's a question of trying to police their conduct off campus, no.

Q. Do you see private colleges structured mainly for an elite group of students?

A. Elite in what sense? Certainly not in terms of their economic background. Fifty per cent of our students have financial aid, and we're proud of that.

The private sector of higher education still offers the opportunity for many different kinds of judgments about what a good college education will be, and for delivering on those different judgments. We have a number of recently created institutions that have, from the beginning, set forth as their objective the provision of the freest possible circumstances for the student, in contrast to what we have at Rockford. I think it is wholesome for different colleges to serve different ends.

It seems to me that, to the extent a private college sets forth its purposes with great clarity, and justifies those purposes, and delivers on them, that college has a strong chance not only of survival but of strength.

Q. On survival: Are you able to charge your students enough to defray operating costs?

A. The tuition and fees which the students pay at Rockford cover just about 60 per cent of the total operating costs of the college.

Q. Would you say that is a fair percentage of costs to be borne by the student?

A. I don't know what a "fair" percentage is. I think the private college must charge all the tuition the traffic can bear, and the best figure is the highest figure which will permit the institution to deliver on its objectives.

Q. Do you think private colleges have mismanaged their financial affairs?

A. You would have to examine each college. To the extent that they are in significant financial difficulty, one supposes they have made some misjudgments somewhere. But whether that's in budgeting, or in anticipating revenues, or in public relations, or in an educational program which may be out of date—or ahead of its times—I think this will vary enormously from institution to institution.

Q. What kinds of men are needed to run colleges nowadays?

A. If an educational institution is indeed that—if its purpose is to educate students—then it seems to me that the chief officer must be an educational philosopher first and foremost.

FEDERAL INFLUENCE: "A TRAGEDY"

Q. Who handles the financial books then?

A. The chief financial officer should handle the books.

In my judgment, the potential to hold to ideal educational leadership has been greatly diminished by the development of vast programs of federal grants. I would suppose that most major universities, in choosing their presidents, would have to conduct their presidential search among those people well acquainted with Washington, and that it may now be unthinkable to choose a president from outside the group of people who have all the right contacts in Washington. From where I sit, if that's true, it's a tragedy.

Q. Why?

A. Because it diminishes both the training of potential presidents in educational philosophy and experience, and tends to focus the selection process upon people who are involved in grant solicitation and grant policy-making.

Q. Has your college received any federal aid?

A. We have processed National Defense Education Act loans, since they are essentially directed to the students rather than to the college. We also, in the same vein, have processed Illinois State scholarships for our students.

Beyond that, we have neither received nor sought any government monies for the college, either in our educational program or in our construction program. And we are almost at the end of building a whole new campus. We have relocated the college. We have now completed 26 buildings without using any federal loans or grants. In the 11 years in which we've been developing our new campus, we have raised about 26 million dollars.

Q. Who has put up that money?

A. People in our own city have been exceedingly generous to us. Beyond that, we have enlisted generous help from individuals, foundations and corporations outside our city.

Q. Do you favor any kind of federal aid to colleges?

A. I think there is available a very effective means of transmitting funds from Government to higher education. It is one which a number of college presidents, including myself, have recommended for many years, and which is now before Congress. Under this legislation, the individual taxpayer would receive a tax credit of \$100 for a gift of that amount to a college of his choice. A corporation would receive a tax credit up to \$5,000 for gifts. Colleges could spend this revenue for whatever their needs are at the moment.

It seems to me this is far preferable to the technique which Congress has chosen: using direct grants for specific purposes.

We do not propose that the whole complex of grants be suddenly dismantled. Grants are so woven into the fabric of higher education that you would have a terrible collapse. We do suggest that tax credits be established at the federal level. This technique already has been established in In-

diana and Michigan, applying to State income taxes. If it proves workable at the federal level, in time perhaps many of the programs of federal grants could be phased out in favor of comparable amounts of money realized through federal tax credits.

DOUBTING AN EDUCATION'S VALUE

Q. Dr. Howard, do you find many parents and students beginning to ask if a college education is worth what it costs in time and money?

A. I have seen this reported by surveys and in the press. I don't have extensive first-hand experience, because in most cases the people I find myself in contact with know something about Rockford College and are talking to me precisely because they know what we stand for.

Certainly, I've talked with many parents who have been deeply concerned about the alienation or the cynicism or the hostility of their young people that seem to develop or be augmented while they're in college—and be in evidence when they graduate from college.

Somehow, in the minds of many young people dissent, protest and confrontation have come to be looked upon as glory words, and good things in themselves. This, of course, is nonsense. Fuzzy thinking like this and hostility toward the society on the part of new college graduates are among the reasons why many people are wondering about the validity of college education.

Q. Do you think a lot of young people are going to college just because other young people are?

A. Undoubtedly a number are. There is no question but that a large number of people have gone to college in order to avoid becoming eligible for the draft. That generally has been unwholesome for education.

Actually, a college can only truly prosper as it serves students who are there with serious educational purpose and as it is able to deliver lively and responsible and worthy educational service to those serious students.

AMCHITKA ISLAND

HON. NICK BEGICH

OF ALASKA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 22, 1971

Mr. BEGICH. Mr. Speaker, as we move into early fall, the nuclear test on Amchitka Island is still progressing on schedule. The President seems to be impervious to the wishes of Alaskans and the Nation.

Last May concerned citizens in Alaska testified before the Atomic Energy Commission hearings in Anchorage and Juneau. At that time the people of my State registered their unalterable opposition to the Cannikin test. At that time I, too, registered my opposition to the test and expressed my concern for the people who live near the test site.

Yesterday I received a telegram from J. L. Burton, council president of the city council of Unalaska. I believe this communication represents the sentiments of the people of the Unalaska community and the entire State. At this time I would like to include that telegram into the RECORD:

UNALASKA, ALASKA.

Representative NICK BEGICH,
Washington, D.C.

The City Council of Unalaska, Alaska wish to join the multitude in dissent of further nuclear testing on Amchitka Island. We represent the largest municipality with-

in close proximity of the test site; consequently we have the most to lose. Our entire livelihood is dependent upon the sea. Any program conceived with the remotest possibility of disruption of the sea and, or the life beneath it; not to mention generating earthquakes, tidal waves, or volcanic eruptions of which our area of the world is most prevalent, should be considered criminal at its conception. Are we really that expendable?

J. L. BURTON, Council President.

THE TRUTH ABOUT THE "POPULATION EXPLOSION"

HON. JOHN G. SCHMITZ

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 22, 1971

Mr. SCHMITZ. Mr. Speaker, at long last, the truth about the "population explosion" in the United States is out: There is not any.

Furthermore, there never was one—not, at least in the popularly understood sense of too many people to be adequately provided for by our land area and available resources. There is some severe congestion in our metropolitan areas, prime recreational areas, and heavily traveled highways. But anyone desiring to escape such congestion is under no obligation to remain where it is—and increasingly, people are going elsewhere. There are signs of a healthy reversal of the decades-long flow of the American people from the country to the city.

But as to the mythical overall "population explosion," figures from the 1970 census, just analyzed by the Washington Center for Metropolitan Studies, ought to lay this ghost once and for all to rest. Financed by the Ford Foundation, and given front page coverage by the Washington Post and the Los Angeles Times among other major newspapers, this study points out that the greatest decline in the number of children under the age of 5 in the 120 years for which these statistics have been kept in the United States—a drop of 15.5 percent from 1960 to 1970—coincides with "one of the largest recorded 10-year increases among young adults in the principal childbearing-age range."

The drop is almost exactly twice as great as during the depression decade of the 1930's.

The study went on to say that, while the overall size of our population is still rising—though much more slowly than past projections had indicated—the present trend, if continued, would "bring stability or decline of the total population." So for the first time, to my knowledge, in a source clearly not hostile to population limitation, we have the prediction of a population decline in the United States—which history shows to be one of the most characteristic elements in national decay and collapse. A nation which makes a crusade out of reducing its birth rate is working overtime to eliminate itself from the face of the earth.

What about "quality of life?" In 1969, the population density in North America was the lowest of any continent in the

world—except Australia: 26.6 persons per square mile. By comparison, the population density in Africa was 29.4 persons per square mile, in Asia 191.2, and in Europe 239.3. Thus the two continents whose people have the highest living standards—Europe and North America—had the highest and the lowest population densities, while the two with the lowest living standards—Africa and Asia—had the second highest and the second lowest. The Netherlands, which has a very high standard of living, is much more densely populated than India, which has a very low standard of living.

From these facts it should be obvious that there is no essential connection between density of population and "quality of life," as is so often thoughtlessly assumed. Underdeveloped areas such as Africa and Latin America—which has a population density of only 36.1 persons per square mile—actually need more people to help make up for their lack of capital.

The idea that the world cannot feed its people in the present or the foreseeable future has been demolished by highly competent scientists. For instance, Colin Clark, a recognized British expert in agricultural economics, points out in his recently published book "Starvation Or Plenty?" that the world's present arable land, managed according to agricultural and forestry techniques now in use, would support 35 billion people at the highest present consumption level—more than 10 times the present world population. This takes no account of the fact that for decades agricultural productivity in all the advanced nations has been rising at a fairly steady rate of about 5 percent per year.

So the facts show that there is no real population crisis in the world, and clearly none in the United States. It is indeed an ironic twist of history to find the Ford Foundation, which has done so much to finance and popularize the antilife campaign in America today, along with pushing for big government in general, finally—as if by accident—stumbling over the truth that the "baby boom" has turned into a "baby bust." Now that the truth is out, it will be fascinating to see what new excuse the planners come up with here in Washington to justify their legislation bringing Government into the home and the bedroom.

CARROLL CREEK CLEANUP

HON. GOODLOE E. BYRON

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 22, 1971

Mr. BYRON. Mr. Speaker, for the past two springs and summers, members of the Potomac Fly Fishermen's Club have dramatized what can be accomplished when citizens take effective and unselfish action to improve their local environment.

In this case, a group of local fishermen have sought to clean up portions of Carroll Creek. And thanks to their continuing efforts pollution has been stopped at

the source and the stream is beginning to take back some of the fish and wildlife it forced out with silt and grime in the late 1960's. To make the river run faster and deeper the club built stone dams and then landscaped the banks with trees and grass. Club members have also sought out polluters and have received their voluntary compliance to end pollution of the river.

In a recent newspaper interview Paul Crum, Jr., chairman of the Potomac Fly Fishermen's Club Cleanup Committee, was asked when the project would be completed. His prophetic answer should serve as a positive impetus to all citizens, government officials, community businesses and area industries:

I'm not sure we'll ever really be done. It depends on the thoughtfulness of man. If he continues to be irresponsible, we'll always have work to do.

I commend the civic pride of the Potomac Fly Fishermen's Club and extend our thanks for their splendid example of how great things can be accomplished when people pull together for a better environment.

ECONOMIC GAME PLAN

HON. CHARLES E. CHAMBERLAIN

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 22, 1971

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. Mr. Speaker, the first 30 days of the 90-day wage-price rent freeze have now passed and, despite the complexity of such an undertaking, it is apparent that the President's action continues to have the support of the great majority of the American people. While our economic problems are not over, the President's decisive action has clearly set a course that has the Nation moving in the right direction. The Jackson Citizen Patriot, of Jackson, Mich., in its editorial of September 14, discusses the administration's new economic game plan in terms which puts the President's program in thoughtful perspective, and I commend it to the attention of my colleagues.

The editorial follows:

NIXON PLANS WELL IN ECONOMIC GAME

Perhaps the most startling feature of President Nixon's message to Congress setting out his goals for Phase Two of his economic program was his announcement that the current wage-price freeze would not be extended.

In the great game of politics and government this amounts to giving up bargaining power, or leverage, which might be used to impose the President's will on Congress, on labor and on management.

Instead, Mr. Nixon described the controversial 90-day freeze as a means of holding the line while the next phase of stabilization is discussed.

While the initial announcement of the price-wage freeze came as a complete surprise to all but his closest associates, the President is bringing all elements of the economy and government into the planning for the second step. He insists that price and wage stabilization, in whatever form it may take, must be only a way-station on the road to free markets and free collective bargaining in a new prosperity without war.

It will be a great act if he can bring it off. His strategy seems designed to get the maximum cooperation from all those involved. He has confused his critics, as he so often does.

The most significant aspect of Phase One of the new economic plan is the support it gained from the public, as reflected in public opinion polls. Even the bitter denunciation of the freeze by labor leaders failed to persuade the worried masses the freeze was all bad.

The people apparently were waiting for someone to "do something" and "somebody," in the form of the President, did.

The President, however, obviously knew that his plan could not work unless he did have the cooperation of business and labor leaders and of the Congress which is controlled by the Democrats.

He also realized, as old hand in government, that rigid controls cannot work over the long haul. Confusion creeps in as rulings are made on one phase or another of a highly complex system. The difficulty in determining how the freeze affects teachers' salaries is a case in point.

The difficulties in enforcing the freeze thus would result in the rapid eroding away of the support the general public has been giving the President.

The freeze had the proper shock effect and certainly focused public attention on the need for controlling inflation. It exposed public support for some practical program to halt weakening of the purchasing power of the dollar.

Thus the President really isn't giving much away by announcing that the freeze will not be extended. He has made his point. He has opened the door wide for cooperation by business and labor interests. He has shown Congress how the voters feel about economic stability.

He has a lot going for him as he opens the round of conferences which are intended to produce an economic stabilization plan which is both effective and acceptable to all elements involved.

At this point in time the President's economic game plan seems to be working well even though the final score is yet to come.

U.S.A.—THE HOPE OF FREE MEN

HON. JOHN E. HUNT

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 22, 1971

Mr. HUNT. Mr. Speaker, few are the expressed thoughts of man that retain their vitality for very long in this day and age. Nonetheless, Gen. W. C. Westmoreland, Chief of Staff, U.S. Army, began his Law Day address at Little Rock, Ark., on May 1, 1971, with some very pertinent observations that should be remembered in these very troubling and challenging times:

The two most powerful nations in the world mark today, May 1, as a day of national importance. In theory, both these nations are quite similar:

Both are a union of separate states;
Both have written constitutions that serve as foundations for their governments;
Both have elected legislative bodies;
Both have a system of courts, and
Both have elected chief executives.

Yet,
In one, the government exists for the people; in the other, the people exist for the government.

In one, the state is subordinate to the in-

dividual; in the other the individual is subservient to the state.

In one, this date is a dignified rededication to the fundamentals on which our Nation was founded and has continued to prevail; in the other, this date is an occasion for the display of the instruments of power.

Mr. Speaker, these striking differences ought to be repeated again and again as a guide by which we might judge our choices on the major issues facing our Nation.

THE OLD: DOES ANYBODY CARE?

HON. WILLIAM L. SPRINGER

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 22, 1971

Mr. SPRINGER. Mr. Speaker, the following is the fifth of a series of eight articles on the problems of elderly people by Carol Ann Smith in the Champaign, Ill., News-Gazette. This article was published on September 2, 1971:

AT 70 SHE MUST DECIDE—EAT OR REMOVE GARBAGE?

(By Carol Ann Smith)

It happened that one month a resident of Champaign, a woman in her late seventies, had to make a decision. She had to decide whether she would eat or have her garbage collected every month.

There was no question in her mind that she would have to choose—she was living on about \$50 per month.

It was clear that she could stand the garbage no longer and she made her choice. She paid to have the garbage hauled away.

One day without food, two days without food. On the fourth day, she gave up.

She went to a local supermarket, shoplifted about \$6 worth of food, was caught and arrested. She had been processed and was literally on her way to jail before anyone knew why she had gone to the supermarket in the first place.

At that point she was put in contact with social workers, and they went looking for aid for her.

Aside from Social Security, which requires the status of insured worker or widow or dependent of an insured worker, the only other place to go for aid on a continuing basis is the Illinois Department of Public Aid and its Old Age Assistance (OAA) program.

Old Age Assistance is what is known as a "categorical assistance" program. It is financed by both state and federal monies and unlike Social Security requires that the applicant demonstrate need.

Need is computed in terms of income deficiency—the applicant's income is matched against what the Illinois Department of Public Aid has determined is necessary to live on.

OAA has two definite drawbacks, drawbacks which act as positive deterrents to applying for aid. Vernon Fitch, director of the Champaign County public aid office, will concede that either factor is a deterrent.

First, there is a general stigma attached to receiving "welfare," and Old Age Assistance simply because it is administered out of the public aid office becomes "welfare."

"I really have some trouble with that," Fitch told the News-Gazette, "despite the fact that it is the majority ethic. Sure, Social Security enjoys a generally respected attitude."

"But when these people were paying the Social Security tax, weren't they paying other taxes?" Fitch asked. "Look, at one point when I started working for public aid and the state, I sat down and figured out all my taxes. I figured that I was about one-fourth self-employed."

Fitch sees Social Security as a system of transfer payments from the employed younger worker to the aged retired worker. And he sees Old Age Assistance as transfer payments from the younger taxpayer to the older taxpayer.

"As I see it there is only a slight qualitative difference in fact between OAA and Social Security," he commented.

The other deterrent is the fact that Illinois law gives the state a first lien on the estate of the OAA recipient. Only a mortgage has priority over the lien the state holds.

"I'm in favor of that lien at this point because we as a population, a community have lost too much of a sense of caring for our own; we have dropped the legal responsibility of children for their adult parents," Fitch said. It is, he says, a "royal cop-out."

"There are just too many cases of kids who could afford to help their aged parent and wouldn't do it," he continued. At this point, he went into a lengthy recital of cases he had handled in which the children, informed of the need of their parents, made outright refusals to assist and repeated the refusals longly and loudly, to the extent they were ultimately cited for contempt of court.

"And the kids know they are going to inherit the property. If the state is going to help support the parent, then the state should be a beneficiary of the estate," Fitch said.

"The inequity is not the lien itself but that it does not apply to Aid to Dependent Children recipients, only to the aged, the blind and the disabled," he concluded.

The lien deters potential recipients either because they don't understand it or because they do understand it and want their estate to go intact to their children.

"I'll never understand why they want to leave anything to some of those kids, but they do," Fitch remarked.

If a person over 65 years of age decides to seek assistance, he receives a request form.

Champaign County is a pilot county in the use of the affidavit application. The request form is the only resource judged in determining the need of the applicant.

The News-Gazette went through the "needs test" with Fitch, using the average monthly Social Security Check amount of \$125.08 as the only source of income for a single person owning his own home.

For a single person the needs are computed along these lines:

\$45.85 for food, clothing, household supplies and personal essentials.

\$3.00 for water.

\$5.35 for electricity.

\$2.55 per month for cooking fuel.

\$12 per month for heating fuel (eight heating months).

\$4 per month for garbage collection.

\$6 for a minimum telephone bill.

\$13.34 for a therapeutic diet required in a majority of cases for diabetes.

Up to \$4.33 for shopping expenses a month.

An average of \$1.50 per month for "odd jobs" such as mowing, raking and snow removal.

Taxes on the home, averaging about \$250 per year are either pro-rated or a special allowance is made when the taxes come due.

Based on the needs test it was unlikely that the single person receiving the average Social Security amount would qualify for Old Age Assistance, and if qualification were made, the amount of eligibility would be small. The individual would, however, qualify for medical assistance which is extremely comprehensive.

During the month of July, 219 persons in Champaign County received Old Age Assistance payments. The checks ranged from \$1.23 to \$210.94.

The average age of the OAA recipient is believed by Fitch to be about 78 or 79 years of age.

The number of recipients is gradually falling both in this county and the state. The

decrease here is a combination of the high economic standards of the community and the increase in Social Security payments. There is in Champaign County an unusual economic skewing toward professionals.

"It just comes down to the fact that too many people have too much income to qualify for OAA," Fitch said.

The economics of the aged point to one inevitable conclusion—subsistence, a life that implies existence and very little more, serious economic disadvantage.

The situation might be ameliorated to some degree if in other spheres the aged could count on meaningful widespread social services.

The fact of the situation is that they cannot.

JUSTICE BLACK RETIRES

HON. MICHAEL HARRINGTON

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 22, 1971

Mr. HARRINGTON. Mr. Speaker, at 85 years old, Justice Hugo Lafayette Black is leaving the Supreme Court. Although he is 7 months short of setting the record for length of service on the Court, his contributions to the country during the 34 years he served are uncountable and monumental.

During his tenure on the Supreme Court, Justice Black earned the honor of seeing his dissenting opinions become law. As an example, Black dissented in the case of *Betts against Brady* in 1942, a case where the accused requested counsel but his request was denied. When the case reached the Supreme Court, the Maryland Court of Appeals was upheld. The Court ruled that due process of law under the 14th amendment does not necessarily apply to the States. Justice Black dissented. He wrote:

This case can be determined by resolution of a narrower question: whether in view of the nature of the offense and the circumstances of his trial and conviction, this petitioner was denied the procedural protection which is his right under the federal constitution. I think he was.

In arguing that the State courts should be equally as fair in providing counsel as the Federal courts, Black wrote:

A practice cannot be reconciled with "common and fundamental ideas of fairness and right" which subjects innocent men to increased dangers of conviction merely because of their poverty.

It was a personal victory for Justice Black and a victory for us all when he announced the Court's decision in *Gideon against Wainwright*, a decision which overturned *Betts against Brady*. Applying the 14th amendment to Florida courts, Black wrote in this case:

Reason and reflection require us to recognize that in our adversary system of criminal justice, any person haled into court, who is too poor to hire a lawyer, cannot be assured a fair and free trial unless counsel is provided for him.

And later in that decision, he adds:

The right of one charged with a crime to counsel may not be deemed fundamental and essential in some countries, but it is in ours.

The first amendment had its best defender in Justice Black. Freedom of expression, of press, of association and of religion were protected by dissenting and, later, concurring opinions by the Associate Justice from Alabama.

The *Washington Post*, in an editorial last Sunday, called him a titan on the Court. An excellent Justice who is stepping down should be replaced by one who will maintain that tradition of excellence. At this point, I wish to insert the editorial from the *Post* into the *RECORD*:

HUGO BLACK LEAVES THE COURT

Mr. Justice Black's retirement takes a Titan from the Court. The sharpness and vigor of his intellect together with the passionate force of his convictions gave him an influence greater, perhaps, than that of any other single associate justice during the 34 years of his tenure on the bench. The imprint of his ideas will surely prove indelible. But the robust, healthy warmth of his faith in freedom will just as surely be missed in the years that lie immediately ahead as exigent national needs afford a pretext for incursions on individual liberty.

Justice Black took his concept of liberty from the English Levellers of the 17th century. He has believed, this is to say—as the Founders of the American Republic believed—that the government of a free people may exercise only such powers as the people grant to it. "I strongly believe," he said once in a specific reference to the Levellers, "that this history shows that the basic purpose and plan of the Constitution is that the federal government should have no powers except those that are expressly or impliedly granted, and that no department of government—executive, legislative, or judicial—has authority to add to or take from the powers granted to it or the powers denied it by the Constitution." He became, therefore, in any meaningful sense of the term, a rigidly strict constructionist.

Justice Black has argued with particular fervor that the words of the First Amendment were meant to be taken altogether literally and that they forbade Congress to place limitations of any sort whatever upon the expression of ideas. His conviction on this score has been bolstered by an abiding faith in the utility of freedom. The risks to national security inherent in repression have always seemed to him far graver than the risks admittedly inherent in letting men speak and write foolishly or disloyally. He thinks of the First Amendment not at all as an indulgence or a luxury to be enjoyed in times devoid of stress or tension but as an essential means for self-government; its freedoms he said "are indispensable safeguards to our country's safety and prosperity."

The Justice's strict constructionism has manifested itself also in his interpretation of the procedural safeguards of the Bill of Rights. He interpreted these more literally and less liberally than many of his associates and contended throughout his career on the bench that the Fourteenth Amendment made these provisions binding upon the states. The Court never accepted this view. Case by case, amendment by amendment, however, the Court has incorporated almost every stipulation of the Bill of Rights as applicable to state action.

Like his views about freedom of expression, Justice Black's views about the procedural restraints on governmental action reflect a profound belief in the idea of limited government—in the idea of a government limited in the powers it may exercise by a fundamental written charter. That was an idea which the English Levellers sought to realize in the England of their day. It was an idea which they brought to the new world when

they came here in search of religious liberty and which their descendants brought into being when they founded this nation and created a government bounded by the terms of the Constitution. Determined to maintain religious liberty in the new world, the authors of the Constitution provided in the very first article of the Bill of Rights that the new government they were creating should remain wholly aloof from religion. Justice Black was a stalwart champion of that restraint. "By the time of the adoption of the Constitution," he wrote in one of his opinions, "our history shows that there was a widespread awareness among many Americans of the dangers of a union of church and state. These people knew, some of them from bitter personal experience, that one of the greatest dangers to the freedom of the individual to worship in his own way lay in the government's placing its official stamp of approval upon one particular kind of prayer or one particular form of religious service . . ."

The duty and obligation of a Supreme Court as Justice Black has seen it, is to keep governmental power within the boundaries prescribed for it by the Constitution. For his own part, he has discharged that duty and obligation with unswerving fidelity.

Justice Black has given failing health as the reason for his retirement. Almost the whole of his long career has been given to public service. It would be hard to think of anyone who has more thoroughly earned a time of ease and relaxation. Let us hope ardently that release from the exacting work of the Supreme Court will restore Justice Black to good health. He leaves the bench with the gratitude and affection of his colleagues and of the American people.

THE 125TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE SISTERS OF THE VISITATION

HON. GOODLOE E. BYRON

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 22, 1971

Mr. BYRON. Mr. Speaker, this year the Sisters of the Visitation in Frederick, Md., are observing the 125th anniversary of their founding. I thought we might take a few minutes today to share the history of the Visitation and the contributions it has made to the moral and spiritual fiber of our Nation.

Since 1846, the Frederick Academy of the Visitation, a resident and day school for girls, has provided a program of scholastic excellence under the direction of the Sisters of the Visitation. The traditional home-like character of the Visitation Academy provides a most desirable environment for the achievement of cultural, moral, and scholastic values. For 125 years the Visitation Sisters have served in a spirit of patriotism and ecumenism. Today their service to the Nation is distinguished by a spirit of racial and cultural equality.

During the Civil War, the Visitation Academy served the military as a Union hospital. The academy is located in the historic area of Frederick, Md. During the period from 1950 to 1970, the buildings were restored to their original beauty of architectural masterpieces. The buildings symbolize the courage, vision, and permanence of early America.

On the occasion of the 125th anniversary of the founding of the academy, the ideals and achievements it best represents have been summarized by President Nixon:

THE PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE

As the Sisters of the Visitation observe the one hundred twenty-fifth anniversary of their founding in Frederick, Maryland, I want to express my warmest congratulations and best wishes on an anniversary to which your achievements have brought national significance.

The guidance you have given to the young ladies whom you have schooled has become through their lives a source of strength for the nation and has immeasurably contributed to the excellence of secondary education in our country.

The rich traditions and spiritual values which you have imparted have enabled your students to lead fuller and more significant lives and to enhance the lives of others. There could be no greater service than this to God or to the future of our country.

As we go forward to meet the new challenges of peace and to build a generation of peace, your prayers and your good works will

be more needed than ever. It is on behalf of countless fellow citizens that I express my personal admiration for the achievements that span your history and wish you and your endeavors every future success.

RICHARD NIXON.

HON. WILLIAM J. PORTER, NEWLY APPOINTED AMBASSADOR

HON. MARGARET M. HECKLER

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 22, 1971

Mrs. HECKLER of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, the recent designation by the President of the Honorable William J. Porter to serve as Ambassador and chief delegate of the United States at the Paris peace talks is a well-deserved act of recognition of the talent, dedication, and excellence which have characterized the impressive career of public service of Ambassador Porter, who, I am pleased

to remark, is a resident of my 10th Congressional District.

A recipient of the President's Award for Distinguished Federal Civilian Service, throughout a varied and highly creditable career, Ambassador Porter has demonstrated a degree of competence and skill in diplomacy which may well be a source of encouragement and hope. Ambassador Porter's career in diplomacy began in a most crucial year, 1936, in which he served as the private secretary to the U.S. Ambassador in Budapest. The sensitiveness of the diplomatic assignments entrusted to him is well-evidenced in his appointment as Deputy U.S. Ambassador in Vietnam from 1965 until 1967, and his subsequent appointment as Ambassador to the Republic of South Korea.

It is indeed a pleasure to note the high caliber of public servants with the competence and sense of public duty of Ambassador Porter, and his fine and invaluable contributions exemplify the best our Nation's Foreign Service has to offer.

SENATE—Thursday, September 23, 1971

The Senate met at 10 a.m. and was called to order by the President pro tempore (Mr. ELLENDER).

PRAYER

The Chaplain, the Reverend Edward L. R. Elson, D.D., offered the following prayer:

God of the Ages, Eternal Father, before whom nations rise and fall, and pass through times of trouble, be with us in this land in our time of trouble to judge us, guide us, and save us. If we have turned from Thy way, reverse our way, and help us to repent and find new direction and clearer light. Enable us to break out of old ways which have served their time and exhausted their usefulness and to find new and wiser ways for the future. Spare us from compounding the problems by our own willfulness. Release Thy grace in us that our cleansed and revitalized spirits may be part of the solution. Lead us to the new life promised in Thy word to those who seek to know and to do Thy will.

In His name which is above every name. Amen.

THE JOURNAL

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the reading of the Journal of the proceedings of Wednesday, September 22, 1971, be dispensed with.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

COMMITTEE MEETINGS DURING SENATE SESSION

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that all committees may be authorized to meet during the session of the Senate today.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

ORDER OF BUSINESS

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I will withhold further recognition and business until after the distinguished Senator from Vermont (Mr. AIKEN) is recognized and eulogies to our late departed colleague, WINSTON L. PROUTY, have been completed.

Mr. SCOTT. Mr. President, I yield back my time.

SENATOR WINSTON L. PROUTY—IN MEMORIAM

Mr. AIKEN. Mr. President, Newport, Vt., a small city of 5,000 persons, located near the Canadian border on the southern shores of Lake Memphremagog is a trading center for the hundreds of farmers in one of the most productive dairy counties of the Nation; it is a mecca for fishermen the country over who try their luck for the salmon and rainbows which run the waters of the Clyde, the Black, the Willoughby, and the Barton Rivers in the spring and the pickerel and perch which are waiting to be taken through the ice in South Bay during the winter.

Newport is the largest town in an area which is noted for the finest of wood products of birch and maple and softwoods for building purposes—and above all else a community where neighbor knows neighbor—where French and English commingle as the spoken languages—and the border between Vermont and Quebec is sometimes almost indistinguishable.

This is the community which produced WIN PROUTY, where he grew to manhood, and which he so well typified during his long and distinguished career as businessman, public servant, and good neighbor.

WIN PROUTY was more than a colleague to me; he was a coworker and a friend.

A review of the Senate records will show that we worked together in this

body for the same objectives most of the time.

Senator PROUTY'S record in both the House and the Senate consistently shows his concern for the poor and the aged and his strong belief in equal educational opportunities for all.

In addition to his work on his own committees, WIN PROUTY consistently supported all important agricultural legislation, especially measures affecting the rural electrification and rural development programs.

While a Member of the House, he supported the St. Lawrence Seaway when powerful business interests were trying to block the necessary authorizing legislation.

At the time of his death, Senator PROUTY was the ranking Republican member of the Rules Committee and the Special Committee on Aging, and he was the senior Republican on six subcommittees.

He served with distinction as a member of the Commerce Committee, the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, and the District of Columbia Committee, a post he relinquished last year for a place on the Rules Committee.

During his tenure on the District of Columbia Committee, a detailed survey by the General Accounting Office was made of the three inner city areas of the District at his request.

This work provided valuable source material about urban poverty which has helped in drafting corrective legislation.

As the ranking Republican on the Education Subcommittee he played a major role in the enactment of broad new laws providing advance funding for elementary, secondary, and higher education programs; insured Federal funds for liberal arts as well as the sciences; and financial support for special courses needed by handicapped children.

It was a Prouty amendment in 1966 that expanded the social security pro-