

## DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA GOVERNMENT

Tedson J. Meyers, of the District of Columbia, to be a member of the District of Columbia Council for the remainder of the term expiring February 1, 1974, to which office he was appointed during the last recess of the Senate.

## ACTION

Kevin O'Donnell, of Maryland, to be an Associate Director of Action, to which office he was appointed during the last recess of the Senate.

## OFFICE OF THE SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE FOR TRADE NEGOTIATIONS

William Rinehart Pearce, of Minnesota, to be a Deputy Special Representative for Trade Negotiations, with the rank of Ambassador, to which office he was appointed during the last recess of the Senate.

## FEDERAL RESERVE SYSTEM

John Eugene Sheehan, of Kentucky, to be

a member of the Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System for the unexpired term of 14 years from February 1, 1968, to which office he was appointed during the last recess of the Senate.

## FEDERAL COMMUNICATIONS COMMISSION

Richard E. Wiley, of Illinois, to be a member of the Federal Communications Commission for the unexpired term of 7 years from July 1, 1970, to which office he was appointed during the last recess of the Senate.

## CIVIL AERONAUTICS BOARD

Whitney Gilliland, of Iowa, to be a member of the Civil Aeronautics Board for the term of 6 years expiring December 31, 1977; (reappointment).

## DIPLOMATIC AND FOREIGN SERVICE

Matthew J. Loeran, Jr., of the District of Columbia, a Foreign Service officer of class 1,

to be Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the United States of America to the Somali Democratic Republic.

Robert Anderson, of the District of Columbia, a Foreign Service officer of class 1, to be Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the United States of America to the Republic of Dahomey.

Anthony D. Marshall, of New York, to be Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the United States of America to Trinidad and Tobago.

Robert Strauuzz-Rupé, of Pennsylvania, to be Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the United States of America to Belgium.

## DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

Harold Hill Titus, Jr., of Washington, D.C., to be U.S. attorney for the District of Columbia for the term of four years vice Thomas A. Flannery, resigned.

## EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

## A RESOLUTION COMMENDING FRANCIS E. KELLY

## HON. JAMES A. BURKE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 24, 1972

Mr. BURKE of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, I take this opportunity to bring to the attention of the Members of Congress recent action taken by the Massachusetts House of Representatives and the Massachusetts State Senate on the adoption of resolutions commending Francis E. Kelly for his promotion of the Massachusetts State Lottery. Also included is a release from the law offices of Francis E. Kelly, 11 Beacon Street, Boston, Mass. The revenue derived from this source is sorely needed and I expect it will be put to good use by the Commonwealth of Massachusetts.

The material follows:

## RESOLUTIONS COMMENDING FRANCIS E. KELLY FOR HIS PROMOTION OF THE MASSACHUSETTS STATE LOTTERY

Whereas, Francis E. Kelly proposed the first Massachusetts State Sweepstakes Bill in 1942 as well as a National Sweepstakes Bill in Washington; and

Whereas, Attorney Kelly has persistently filed Sweepstakes legislation through the years and through his efforts the Lottery question was placed on the 1958 State Ballot where it was approved overwhelmingly so that he can be truly called "the Champion of the Lottery"; and

Whereas, Mr. Kelly, a former member of the Boston City Council, was the youngest man elected to the office of Lieutenant Governor in 1936 and later was Attorney General of the Commonwealth from 1949 to 1952; and

Whereas, He also was an early sponsor of legislation to lower the voting age to 18 and to provide a bonus for World War II Veterans; therefore be it

Resolved, That the Massachusetts House of Representatives hereby extends its sincere commendations to the Honorable Francis E. Kelly for his untiring efforts in promoting a Massachusetts State Lottery; and be it further

Resolved, That a copy of these resolutions be forwarded by the Secretary of the Commonwealth to the Honorable Francis E. Kelly.

## RESOLUTIONS COMMENDING THE HONORABLE FRANCIS E. KELLY FOR ORIGINATING AND ENCOURAGING THE LEGALIZATION OF A MASSACHUSETTS STATE LOTTERY

Whereas, Francis E. Kelly proposed the first Massachusetts state sweepstakes lottery bill and a United States sweepstakes bill in Washington, D.C., in nineteen hundred and forty-two; and

Whereas, Attorney Kelly has persistently filed sweepstakes lottery legislation for many years and by his efforts and perseverance the lottery question was placed on the Massachusetts state ballot in nineteen hundred and fifty-eight, whereupon it was overwhelmingly approved; and

Whereas, Attorney Kelly has served as Massachusetts' youngest lieutenant governor, youngest Boston city councilor, attorney general of the commonwealth, and has served efficiently as the state-appointed Fall River finance commissioner to conduct the affairs of that city when it was in financial difficulty; and

Whereas, said Francis E. Kelly has had a career of interest in public questions and pioneered legislation to assist the needy, the elderly, and as Attorney General used that office to modernize child welfare laws and adoption procedures; and

Whereas, Francis E. Kelly originated the first state bonus of three hundred dollars for Massachusetts veterans of World War II; public open meetings of the governor and council, eighteen-year-old voting, and successfully abolished the June pre-primary conventions for seventeen years; now therefore be it

Resolved, That the Massachusetts Senate hereby extends its sincere commendations to the Honorable Francis E. Kelly for his long, untiring efforts of twenty-nine years, advocating a Massachusetts state lottery as a voluntary means of raising millions of dollars of necessary revenue for the cities and towns of the commonwealth; and be it further

Resolved, That copies of these resolutions be transmitted forthwith by the clerk of the Senate to the Honorable Francis E. Kelly.

## TWO SELF-EXPLANATORY RESOLUTIONS PASSED WITHOUT DISSENT BY THE MASSACHUSETTS HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES AND THE MASSACHUSETTS SENATE

On receipt of the two Resolutions from the State House, Kelly said today, "I am deeply grateful to the members of the House of Representatives and the Massachusetts Senate for their two resolutions of praise by

both of these Honorable Bodies of 280 members.

"One regret I have is that the present Mass. Lottery Law does not contain the fool-proof provision that our Committee has always contained in its Lottery Bill, namely: 'A compulsory jail sentence to anyone who interferes with the legal or honest conduct of our corruption-proof bill for a Mass. Lottery'."

Kelly added, "For 29 years our responsible, civic-minded and non-partisan Committee has offered a reward of \$10,000.00 to ANY-ONE who could show the public any existing Mass. law which contains more safeguards and protection from corruption than the provisions contained in our corruption-proof Mass. Sweepstakes Committee Lottery Bill'. To date—no takers of the \$10,000.00".

## PRESIDENT NIXON'S OPPORTUNITIES

## HON. STROM THURMOND

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, January 24, 1972

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, the esteemed columnist, David Lawrence, has published in the Augusta Chronicle of January 13, 1972, an article entitled "Nixon's Opportunities."

Mr. Lawrence points out that the President has an unprecedented opportunity to shape world peace. President Nixon did not inherit this chance; rather, he worked long and hard to bring such a moment to fruition.

Mr. Lawrence also points out that the President is faced with great challenges and risks as well as opportunities during this crucial period.

Mr. President, I hope the Nation will respond to the President's trip as Mr. Lawrence has done. President Nixon certainly needs and deserves the full support of the Nation during these important visits to Red China and the Soviet Union. I ask unanimous consent that the article be printed in the Extensions of Remarks.

There being no objection, the article

was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

#### NIXON'S OPPORTUNITIES

(By David Lawrence)

What presidential candidate in history has had available to him the opportunity to shape the destiny of the world that President Nixon will have in 1972 as he meets with the heads of the governments in Peking and Moscow?

These are not ceremonial visits but part of a genuine effort to advance the cause of world peace.

President Nixon not only has a chance to "normalize relations" with the government of mainland China, from which the United States has been isolated for many years, but he can, with the cooperation of Premier Chou En-Lai and chairman Mao Tse-Tung, develop an attitude toward peacemaking in Asia that could breathe a new spirit of friendship on the continent.

The President is not going to Peking or Moscow to recommend intrusion in any of the internal disputes that have arisen in Asia. He is making his trip solely to express the wishes of the United States to be of help both in making peace and in promoting humanitarian projects so necessary to relieve the suffering of a growing population in many lands.

Mr. Nixon will be able to talk frankly to the top men in the Peking government about the need for a removal of the threat of war from the continent of Asia. This means, first of all, ending the Vietnam War, which has been assisted financially and with arms by the People's Republic of China. Mr. Nixon is seeking peace in Vietnam on simple terms—the right of the people of South Vietnam to determine their own form of government and to be free from invasion from the North. He asks that American prisoners of war be returned. The Peking regime can help to bring about peace not only in Indo-China but throughout Asia.

President Nixon on his visit to Moscow will have many subjects on his agenda. He wants to further the cause of arms limitation and particularly to halt the expansion of nuclear power. So far as the United States is concerned, it would like to help rid the world of the menace of nuclear war by an agreement between all nations to abolish nuclear weapons. But the time for such a reform is not yet here, though it is being discussed. Certainly President Nixon can express himself on the matter during his visits to Peking and Moscow.

It is most important for the United States and the Soviet Union to come to an agreement on the need to end the war in Vietnam promptly. The Communists can be of great assistance in achieving that objective. It is well known that the Soviets have sent supplies and arms to the North Vietnamese for several years and exercise a major influence in Hanoi.

So President Nixon really has before him trips of the utmost significance that could vitally affect American foreign policy and developments at home.

What is lacking is a thorough understanding by the people of the big Communist countries that the American people have no desire to wage war against them and are deeply interested in world peace. Many ways can be found to improve communication between peoples, and this is one of the things Mr. Nixon has been urged to take up. For once the peoples of major nations become acquainted with each other, there will be less opportunity for misleading propaganda to spread within a country's borders.

Certainly the United States has no hostile intent toward Russia and wants to preserve the peace of Europe. Our government and other NATO governments are ready to agree to a reduction of forces in Western Europe

provided there is a similar diminution of forces in the Warsaw Pact countries.

All of these questions are open to negotiation. The United States government is anxious that talks begin which will finally establish confidence in Europe as well as Asia that America is prepared to help the small nations if they are attacked but that it sincerely hopes a means will be found to prevent such hostile outbreaks.

#### DR. VON BRAUN TRIBUTE TO THE HONORABLE JAMES G. FULTON AND THOUGHTS ON THE FUTURE OF AIR AND SPACE TRAVEL

#### HON. LAWRENCE COUGHLIN

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 24, 1972

Mr. COUGHLIN. Mr. Speaker, as secretary of the Pennsylvania congressional delegation and as a member of the House Committee on Science and Astronautics, I have been asked by the office of my late colleague, James G. Fulton, to insert the following remarks by Dr. Wernher von Braun into the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD. I believe they may be of interest to my colleagues.

Speech of Dr. Wernher von Braun before the ENO Foundation, Hotel Pierre, New York City, October 19, 1971:

#### REMARKS OF DR. WERNHER VON BRAUN

The man who brought me here tonight is no longer with us. We were all saddened by Jim Fulton's unexpected death. He was a man of wise counsel and forward-looking concepts which were of great value in developing the national space program. He will be sorely missed by his many friends, and his place on the House Science and Astronautics committee will be hard to fill.

I believe his exceptional grasp and appreciation of science and technology can be traced back to the two years he spent at Carnegie Tech night school. Not many lawyers and members of Congress have had training in a field so fundamental to our national life and welfare. He was one of those Americans we badly need today: a man with a positive vision of America's future, and one who did much to make this country great.

Jim Fulton's special interests, which were many and varied, included the whole area of transportation, not just space. Only last month he had inserted into the Congressional Record papers and speeches given at the International Conference on Urban Transportation held September 8th in Pittsburgh. Probably some of you were there and may recall a statement that is particularly apropos to our mutual interests. It was made by London Transport's managing director (railways), Mr. R. Michael Robbins.

"We need transportation," he said, "to free us from the tyranny of distance."

Now this strikes a very responsive chord in me because I'm in a kind of transportation business myself: lunar transportation, to be specific. But I would add another factor which I think is distance's twin in tyranny, and that is time.

Everyone who rides a train, or an airline, or even drives from home to the office and back, figures the trip in time more than in distance. A major function of all transportation is the reduction of time in travel between cities and across the continent or to overseas destinations. In the Apollo missions to the Moon, we measure time very precisely in terms of the life support and permissible

activities required by the astronauts and mission objectives.

In space, time is even a bigger factor in the design and operation of vehicles than it is in surface transportation here on Earth.

The need to reduce time in travel has imposed a requirement for increasing technological advances. These advances have brought new materials, new structural designs, new and refined means of propulsion, greater knowledge of the principles of nature, expansion of industry, and more job opportunities, to name but a few of the results of the relentless pursuit of ways to reduce time.

Has it been worth it? Should we go on trying to reduce travel time?

Well, the first Union Pacific train to cross the western wilderness to the Pacific Coast opened a continent and permitted the growth of the nation. The railroads bound our country together to make of it one might political entity instead of several separate weaker states that could have fallen prey to foreign powers.

The airplane has brought the farthest spot on the globe to within 12 or 15 hours of any other spot. It has made possible fast and frequent fellowship between great numbers of people who without the airplane would never have known each other. Business and commerce have followed the airplane as they have followed ships. It is possible the airplane will help bind the world together as railroads have tied nations.

And now space satellites are making their contributions to bringing Earth's populations into closer communion with one another, using the speed of light in radio, television and teletype communications.

All of these developments have brought not only benefits, but also problems and, more significantly, changes in political and social structures and in economic conditions.

The growth of technology has brought a new, more intense commercial competition between countries, which in turn is forcing up the cost of acquiring new technology for nations to become commercially competitive.

The pressures exerted by these conditions are felt by all governments and their peoples. As a result, more than one observer has noted that not only we, but the whole world, are in a period of great transition. The competition is greatest between the technologically advanced countries. Not one of them can afford to drop behind, because then it would be out of the race with damaging consequences to its economy and perhaps its independence. The situation is forcing cooperative programs in advanced technology among European nations. For example, in order to compete in the world market of air transportation, England and France have combined efforts to produce the supersonic transport, Concorde. Other cooperative European efforts are being made in military aircraft. The reason in each case is the same: the high cost of developing competitive advanced aircraft in a market long dominated by the United States.

But this is not all. The growing trend toward a unified European economic community results from the pressure on Western Europe to compete with the overall technologic might of the two superstates, America and Russia. Separately the small European countries cannot hope to contest technologically with either the U.S. or Russia. So the trend toward economic union is bound to grow, and this probably will blur national boundaries between them.

Leaving aside the Soviet Union, the growth of this European cooperative aviation effort has raised the ante in the international aerospace poker game. If the United States wants to stay in, both the American people and their representatives in government will have to grasp just what is at stake. Whichever way the decision goes, whether to stay



in the game or get out, there will be a direct impact on our aerospace industry, the largest private employer in the U.S. At stake also is the nation's capability to produce advanced technology and, specifically, advanced air transportation in the decades ahead.

Now, I don't wish to make a speech on economics or international relations, for I have no special competence in these areas. But I think some appreciation of this background is necessary in order to look ahead at what might be expected in advanced technology in transportation, specifically aeronautical technology.

There is the promise of space—yes, but that first "A" in NASA is for "Aeronautics." The big and valuable domestic U.S. market is the natural target for every nation whose technology and ambition permit making an attempt to break into it. Under ordinary competitive circumstances in which private industry is pitted against private industry, we could welcome this kind of competition. But what is really taking place is American aircraft firms are competing against foreign government-backed aircraft consortiums, such as the British-French Concorde supersonic transport.

Because of the importance of aviation products to our employment and balance of trade, it may be necessary for an examination of the general role of the government in supporting aeronautical research and development. For example, the working capital risk requirements of American companies are illustrated by the DC-10 case. The peak negative cash flow value of about \$1.25 billion—the extent to which the developer had to dip into his resources and go into the red—is about three times the net worth of the McDonnell-Douglas Corporation. On the airline side, the problem is illustrated when the value of the U.S. carriers' annual projected buying of new aircraft—more than \$3 billion—is compared with the current net worth of all U.S. carriers—also \$3 billion. Thus, the severe immediate cash needs of the industry discourages an adequate level of investment in R&D programs.

This risk capital situation impedes starts of new, more productive aircraft. Previously, the development of new airplanes for the Defense Department, particularly for military air cargo planes, provided the required initial step, but this support has greatly diminished. Ordinarily, a delay in introducing more productive aircraft might be viewed as acceptable, and a natural result of market forces. It could be argued that the benefits resulting from the more productive transport planes are merely deferred and therefore an opportunity cost is the only cost involved.

However, a more significant consideration may be the potential damage done to the U.S. aircraft manufacturing industry, and the nation's international trade position if, during the interim period of uncertainty in committing to an advanced U.S. airplane, foreign competition moves into the gap and captures a market. Foreign competition does have the technological capability—and more significantly, their governments are willing to intervene in free market interplay by the use of subsidies and special financial considerations which are justified on broader political grounds. It is here that U.S. manufacturers are at a disadvantage.

Free market guidelines for such a situation might dictate that the U.S. should buy aircraft abroad, thus reaping the benefits of lower product prices implicit in foreign subsidies, and reallocate our aircraft resources to other products. But this would ignore the vital role the U.S. aircraft industry plays both economically and nationally. The national importance of our industry—prestige abroad, international trade, defense preparedness, as well as its economic value to domestic employment—requires a more positive response to foreign competition. Such a

response would have to be based on broader considerations than those of simple free market economics.

Now, assuming some favorable disposition is made of these political/economic questions which now restrain development of advanced air transport technology in this country, we can try to look ahead to what the future holds. Traffic forecasts provide a guideline for this purpose.

The projected traffic for 1985 is about 1,170 billion revenue passenger miles for total free world civil air transport. This is about four times the current level, and would result from an annual rate of traffic increase of about 10 per cent. Any changes in international relations, however, such as a thaw in U.S.-Chinese mainland relations, could have a significant impact on the aircraft market. It should be noted that the forecast does not include that possibility.

Next, after total demand, the distribution of traffic over flight stage lengths is an important characteristic of air traffic. Together, these two characteristics determine the numbers and sizes of aircraft most suited to accommodate the demand. In contrast to the projected four-fold increase in passenger traffic, a 15-fold increase in air cargo is forecast between now and 1985. Total annual cargo movement in 1985 is expected to be 50 billion revenue ton miles. However, since the new large transports have extensive cargo capacity in addition to normal passenger loads, it isn't clear what future cargo aircraft will be required.

The important stage lengths distribution for free world air traffic as of 1969 is divided into four categories: 0 to 500 miles, 500 to 1500, 1500 to 3500, and over 3500 miles. These different stage lengths probably will hold for the future as well. Therefore, the types of aircraft required by 1985 will vary from the short takeoff and landing and low traffic density aircraft, to the long-range large transports of the 747 and trijet airbus types; and from low subsonic to advanced supersonic transports.

The total dollar expenditures projected through 1985, exclusive of aircraft currently in the fleets, is about \$92 billion. Included will be the Boeing 747 subsonic aircraft and the Concorde SST, each costing about \$23 million and \$24 million, respectively.

Yet to appear between now and 1985 are a number of other transport types. These are the trijet and twinjet airbuses, STOL and low traffic density aircraft, an advanced subsonic transport and an advanced SST.

It isn't clear as yet—except for already committed programs—whether these aircraft will be of U.S. or of foreign manufacture. It is assumed that the 747 and trijet airbus will continue to be of U.S. origin, and that the Concorde continues to be British-French. It is also assumed that the European A300B will be the first large twinjet airbus available.

Now, if the U.S. captures only one-half of the expected STOL market, and concentrates on the relatively distant advanced subsonic transport market, the balance of trade between 1975 and '80 will become negative, and the net cumulative balance will be unfavorable at almost \$7 billion in 1985. But, if in addition, we were to compete actively for the twinjet airbus market and capture one-half of that market, the cumulative balance would be a positive \$5.6 billion by 1985. However, that would amount to an average of only \$400 million a year which is far below recent levels of up to \$1.7 billion that the U.S. aircraft industry has achieved.

We can see from this that in order to achieve a future balance of trade even approaching that of the past several years, the U.S. must compete successfully in all of the major aircraft markets. For the relatively near-term, competition for the twinjet airbus market is essential. But to retain

U.S. leadership in the free world aircraft markets from the mid-Eighties and beyond, we must work on advanced subsonic and supersonic transport developments.

There are many more plans and possibilities in this area that I wish I had time to discuss. But, the "promise of space" is more than a rhetorical phrase, so I feel I should spend the remainder of my allotted time talking about the space part of our NASA program. And, since we are celebrating the Golden Anniversary of the Enno Foundation, let me begin with the basic transportation problems in space.

During the next decade or so, we will be continuing to build a flexible, versatile—and here's the key word, economical—space transportation system. Its aim is to greatly reduce the cost per pound of sending men and materials into earth orbit or on journeys deeper into the universe. To carry out future space programs at a reasonable cost to the nation, we must dramatically bring down the cost of going into space. Our current method of discarding rocket stages, once the fuel is spent, and dropping them in the ocean or space, is like throwing away the airliner everytime you make a trip.

What we plan is a space transportation system that will permit us to conduct, at a substantially lower cost than we have been used to so far, an exploration and research program in orbit. The new system would consist of two vehicle stages in "pickaback" configuration. The lower, or booster stage, would carry the orbiter stage up to orbiting altitude, then drop off and land on a land base runway like an airplane. The orbiter would use its rocket engines to get into the desired orbit to carry out its desired mission. When the mission was completed, the orbiter would re-enter the atmosphere and return to its base, also landing horizontally like an airliner.

The Shuttle will be designed for 100 or more flights. It will have a shirt-sleeve environment suitable for passengers in the cabin area and crew station, and perhaps some airline amenities such as "coffee-tea-or milk" might be observed. The flight crew would, of course, be trained astronauts, but the passengers would be technicians, engineers, or scientists, according to the mission.

Design requirements call for a capability to place a payload of 65,000 pounds in due-east orbit. Acceleration at launch will be no more than three times earth gravity, so that passengers in ordinary good health can be accommodated.

Two primary missions are visualized for the shuttle at this time. One is the sortie mission. Sortie missions would be conducted for earth-related space applications, special scientific observations, or biological experiments. The other would use the shuttle as a carrier of unmanned spacecraft to and from orbit.

For the sortie missions, the shuttle could be flown with a house-trailer-sized, pressurized module, or replaceable pallet, instrumented and equipped for the appropriate mission, inside its fuselage. In earth observations, for example, the shuttle would fly in low altitude polar orbit for periods up to seven days. It would gather a great deal of data on land use, forest and geological surveys, natural gas, fossil fuels, and geothermal sources, and for the assessment of crop conditions in specific areas to product yields. Other uses would include meteorological research, research in chemistry under space environment conditions, astronomy, life sciences and physics.

In experimenting with new survey objectives, or in trying out new equipment and instruments, an observer or operator in orbit will often enable us to check out their effectiveness and to propose whole new areas of space applications that we just cannot do

without the human presence. Then, when instrumental and operational techniques are worked out, the routine, respective operations of space applications satellites are more efficiently accomplished by unmanned spacecraft.

This is particularly true of our technically complicated Earth Resources satellite program. The Skylab astronauts, using direct observations and human judgment, will be able to advance instrument technology and techniques in ways that are impossible with instruments alone.

Using the space shuttle as a carrier system to place unmanned spacecraft into operational orbits will result in further significant economic benefits to space flight, and perhaps the most significant will occur in the design and construction of the unmanned spacecraft to be used for scientific and applications purposes.

In view of the more austere space programs to be expected in the next decade, we find that the payloads are even more costly than the rocket boosters. They are designed and tested to survive the high-acceleration and high-vibration launch environment. They are miniaturized to fit within the weight-carrying capacity and the room at the top of the launch vehicle. There is no possibility of maintenance and repair of equipment after the satellite is in orbit, or of recall of the payload if it malfunctions. Therefore, payloads are designed and tested for high reliability and as long a life in space as is practical.

To achieve this high reliability and long life, extremely costly checkout procedures are followed, and a backup unit is generally built as insurance against the hazard of launch failure, or "infant mortality" of the payload. The expense of designing, building and testing spacecraft and instruments to meet these stringent requirements is one of the major areas of cost in our space research programs—both manned and unmanned. At present, the cost of our satellites runs around \$20,000 a pound, and some are much higher.

But, with a vehicle that provides less severe launch conditions, adequate space and weight-carrying capacity, and particularly the ability to return spacecraft to Earth for maintenance, repair or refurbishment for reuse, these costs ought to be brought down substantially. We have every reason to believe the Space Shuttle will do just that.

The substantial reductions in the costs to earth orbit can be expected to benefit every space activity we undertake. The shuttle will reduce costs of privately owned communications satellites, of the weather satellites funded by the Commerce Department, and of the U.S. international cooperative space activities. Also, the expectations of sharply lowered costs will greatly encourage the introduction of new space applications that other agencies or commercial interests might sponsor.

In the field of communications satellite technology, we have the Intelsat (International Telecommunications Satellite) system. In five years this has grown from one small satellite and four ground terminals to five rather large satellites plus two spares that can be activated, and 50 ground stations around the world. Coming up is improved domestic service—including Canada—that will feature medical networks and communications between computers. We are also developing spot broadcasting techniques which will revolutionize educational television. Spot broadcasting will permit beaming TV programs to selected sites, such as isolated communities where reception by ordinary TV facilities is difficult or impossible because of remoteness or mountainous terrain. We have an Applications Technology Satellite equipped for the purpose to be launched in the spring of 1973. One of its experiments will begin with transmissions of health and

educational programs to a number of ground receivers in the Rockies and Alaska.

A more extensive demonstration of this technique will be made in India. The Indian government plans to broadcast educational programs to 5,000 villages where people have never even seen a telephone. NASA will supply the ATS facilities for the purpose.

Our meteorological program meanwhile is steadily progressing toward the goal of accurate, long-range forecasting of up to two weeks in advance. Right now we can only provide general forecasts for different regions. While the accuracy has improved generally, weather reports on certain localities within a region, due to local temperature and other conditions that change sporadically, leave much to be desired. Quantitative measurement data are necessary for use in the numerical atmospheric models which are needed for future improvement in long-range weather forecasting. Our Nimbus satellites showed that these measurements can be made. For example, vertical profile measurements of temperature, water vapor content, and other atmospheric constituents, as well as horizontal distributions and cloud cover data, are needed as inputs to the mathematical models of our atmosphere.

The aim is to set up a global observing system consisting of a mix of two polar-orbiting satellites and four geostationary satellites plus conventional weather observational systems. The satellites in stationary orbit high above the Earth are in a unique position to collect observations by radio from remote instrument platforms over broad regions of the Earth, and relaying the data to a central receiving station. Processed information and warnings can be sent from this station to the satellite and rebroadcast widely for reception by any users within range of the satellite.

The ability to collect data from thousands of automatic observing stations on the surface will be a major function of the operational geostationary satellite system. Seismometers and tide gauges for tsunami warnings, rain and river gauges for flood weather stations in remote areas are among the platforms planned for use with the satellite system. One of the major problems to be faced is the requirement for significant advances in data processing technology and computers.

These communications and weather satellite systems could be carried into the appropriate earth orbital altitudes and locations by the space shuttle, thereby reducing both launch and payload costs as well as insuring their operational integrity. External sortie cans can also be mounted on the shuttle with power and air-conditioning equipment which could be used for different experiments placed in space by the shuttle. Eventually, when a permanent space station is placed in earth orbit, the shuttle will be used as the logistics link between the ground base and the station.

The first big step aimed at a better understanding of the problems associated with a space station called Skylab, which is scheduled to fly during 1973. It will employ astronauts in space for up to two months at a time to learn more about effective operations in long duration space flight. The Skylab mission will be flown after the last Apollo lunar mission and before the shuttle begins to operate in the second half of this decade. Once the shuttle flights become routine, we will be able to start putting together our second generation space station, consisting of modules brought up by the shuttle.

Meanwhile, our Mariner 9 spacecraft is orbiting Mars where it is programmed to function for at least 90 days. It is scheduled to map about 70 per cent of the Martian surface with two high resolution cameras. Other experiments are recording atmospheric and surface data. The great dust storm that was in

progress when the Mariner arrived provided an extra scientific bonus in the study of Mars' atmospheric dynamics that may throw light on our own terrestrial atmosphere.

Information obtained will also be useful in choosing the most favorable sites for an unmanned landing mission by automated Viking spacecraft, scheduled for launch in 1975. The Viking spacecraft will consist of a combination orbiter and probe-lander. The orbiters will circle Mars at an altitude of about 750 miles. The landers will descend for a soft landing, which will be accomplished by using parachutes for aerodynamic deceleration initially. The final landing sequence would use a rocket subsystem like that of the Surveyor lunar landers. The landers will measure the physical properties and chemical composition of the surface material and also of the atmosphere. The landers will also return pictures of Mars surface features, just as the Surveyor spacecraft did of the lunar surface.

The biggest planet of our solar system, Jupiter is distinguished by a mysterious Great Red Spot which is about 30,000 miles long and 7,000 miles wide. It has puzzled scientists ever since it was discovered in 1665. Apparently permanent, the Spot gradually drifts like an island floating in a sea, and at times changes color.

With a diameter more than ten times that of Earth's Jupiter has 12 known moons, only four of which are of any size. Ganymede and Callisto are somewhere between Mercury and Mars in diameter, and therefore considerably larger than earth's moon, while Io is just a bit larger, and Europa a bit smaller than our satellite.

The atmosphere of Jupiter is immensely thick, hiding whatever lies below. It contains large molecules and possibly micro-organisms. Among the questions to be answered is why Jupiter radiates strong radio waves, and how does it generate its apparent internal energy?

We are planning some missions to explore Jupiter and beyond. Our Pioneers F and G, for example, are going to attempt something never tried before with any spacecraft: to investigate beyond the Great Asteroid Belt that lies between Mars and Jupiter, and visit this great planet a half-billion miles away.

One of the Pioneers' goals is to assess the hazards of deep space flight, and to develop the technology and operational experience for later "Grand Tour" missions to the outer planets planned for the late 1970s.

These missions will take advantage of a very rare planetary alignment of Jupiter, Uranus, Neptune, Saturn and Pluto that occurs once every 177 years. The last time they were in similar positions was in the administration of President Thomas Jefferson who was dickering for the Louisiana Purchase about that time. So scientists are anxious not to miss the next opportunity to "hit five birds with two stones," so to speak, by sending out two Grand Tour spacecraft missions. By launching two spacecraft in 1977 and two more in 1979, all five of these planets can be visited plus their 26 moons. Later on, the same planets will be scattered around the solar system again, and to send spacecraft to each would not only be expensive, but would take years more time. For example, a launch to Pluto alone, would take a spacecraft about 40 years, whereas by using the Grand Tour technique we can do it in nine.

This is how it works. One pair of spacecraft will be put on a trajectory that will bring it within a certain distance of the big planet Jupiter. Jupiter's powerful gravitational field will accelerate the approaching spacecraft as the planet orbits around the Sun, dragging the spacecraft along a little bit, and sending them flying off toward Uranus, and from there on to Neptune.

The second pair of Grand Tour vehicles



will approach Jupiter on a slightly different trajectory, so that they are pulled around in the direction of Saturn, and at Saturn they will be reflected somewhat out of the ecliptic and head for Pluto, the outermost known planet.

As you can see from all this, NASA is not going to be content to rest on its laurels in the years ahead. We must pursue our program diligently.

I am sure that everyone here is fully aware of the growing technological challenge from abroad. It is going to require a commensurate effort, especially in research and development, to meet it. The greatness of contemporary America lies in its advanced science and its advanced technology. But let us face it, while many social critics in America would like us to abandon our work for further advancements in technology, advocating a return to the simpler life of past generations, our competitors in Europe, Japan and particularly the Soviet Union don't seem to share that romantic urge for a return to the pastoral life. In fact, they would give their eye teeth for the technological advances brought by our Apollo program.

This is no time for anyone to be complacent about our present technological leadership. It is slipping. A great deal needs to be done to preserve our leadership, but in doing it we shall help not only in protecting the American standard of living but also improve—and here I think we all concur—our quality of life.

#### TRIBUTE TO DR. RALPH BUNCHE

#### HON. JOHN V. TUNNEY

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, January 24, 1972

Mr. TUNNEY. Mr. President, I was out of this city when Dr. Ralph Bunche died and so was unable to make a statement at that time. I feel compelled to pay tribute to this wonderful humanitarian of our time.

Mr. President, there are two buildings on opposite sides of the continent. One is in Los Angeles; the other in New York. One is a center of learning, and the other a citadel of peace. These two buildings are landmarks in the career of a distinguished Californian who was born in poverty, but whose life brought added riches in trust for mankind. Mr. President, I speak of Dr. Ralph Bunche, the former Under Secretary General of the United Nations, who died last month.

The building in New York is, of course, the headquarters of the United Nations, for which Dr. Bunche worked with ceaseless dedication for more than 26 years. The building in Los Angeles is Ralph Bunche Hall, the center of social science at UCLA, where Dr. Bunche was a student in the 1920's.

The academic and diplomatic achievements of Dr. Bunche are easily of the first magnitude. But set against the stark reality of his struggle against poverty and racism, they are all the more brilliant.

Born in 1904, the grandson of a slave and the son of a barber, he grew to age 10 in Detroit, where he worked to help support his family. In 1916, both of his parents died within 3 months of each other, and Dr. Bunche and his sister moved to his grandmother's home in Los Angeles.

While attending high school, he supported himself with a full-time job. He has been self-sufficient ever since. He played football and basketball while at UCLA and was sports editor of the yearbook in 1927. Throughout his student career, although he worked at many jobs, he managed to graduate summa cum laude.

At the dedication of the newly constructed Bunche Hall at UCLA in May, 1969, he described his undergraduate experience:

... UCLA where it all began for me. In a certain sense, it was where I began, because college for me was the genesis and the catalyst. I came from the then burgeoning ghetto of East Side (or South Central as it is now called) Los Angeles. I was aimless, for there was no strong incentive for a black youth of that day to make the long and supposedly formidable sacrifices necessary to acquire a higher education.

Very quickly, I gained from my professors at UCLA—and in those days professors were also often close personal friends and confidants—a sense of purpose and direction, a feeling of belonging, of confidence, self-respect, and personal dignity. Nothing could have been more indispensable to me at that critical stage of my life. UCLA also gave me, of course, the essential solid foundation for a good education.

Dr. Bunche went on to take a master's degree at Harvard in 1928, and then began to teach at Howard University in Washington, D.C., setting up the school's first political science department. He completed his Ph. D. at Harvard in 1934 and won the Tappan prize for the best essay in the social sciences. He did postgraduate work at Northwestern University, 1936, the London School of Economics, 1937, and the University of Cape Town, South Africa, 1937.

In the years 1938–1940, he worked for the Carnegie Corp. as chief aide to social scientist Gunnar Myrdal in preparation of "An American Dilemma," which remains the classic study of our Nation's racial problems. While researching the book, his life was several times threatened with violence.

In 1944, Dr. Bunche was asked to join the State Department and became the first black man to hold a "desk" job over the objections of many high-ranking officials. At the request of the U.N. Secretary General Trygve Lie, Dr. Bunche resigned from the State Department and joined the U.N. staff.

He set up the U.N. trusteeship division in 1946 and later directed negotiations toward an armistice of the Arab-Israeli war of 1948 for which he received the Nobel Peace Prize in 1950.

He became a foremost adviser on various problems of the Middle East, including the Suez crisis of 1956 in which he directed the U.N. emergency force.

He also organized the U.N. programs on the peaceful uses of atomic energy including two conferences in Geneva in 1955 and 1958. In addition, he directed the establishment of the International Atomic Energy Agency and the Scientific Committee on the Effects of Atomic Radiation.

When the Congo erupted in 1960, Dr. Bunche organized and directed U.N. operations which involved 20,000 troops and hundreds of civilian staff. He also super-

vised the U.N. operation in Cyprus and the observer group in India and Pakistan. His contributions toward world peace stand unparalleled in the short history of the U.N.

Dr. Bunche was going to retire in 1967 because of ill health. But because he was sorely needed, he stayed on. In 1968, he was named Under Secretary General of the United Nations.

Mr. President, it is clear that much of the hope of a world without war rests upon the cornerstone of a strong and stable United States. And so we should heed the words of this great American. Dr. Bunche stated that, if racism persists in this society, "the catastrophic result can be a chronic state of violent racial conflict in a permanently polarized dualistic society."

Dr. Bunche said:

That would be tantamount to civil war.

Mr. President, the United States and the community of nations have lost a leading citizen, a grandson of a slave whose life's work was to nurture the seeds of peace. Upon the occasion of his death, we who are his beneficiaries should take special notice of his wise counsel and renew our efforts to protect and proliferate the scarce fruit of his arduous labor.

#### B'NAI B'RITH: ANOTHER EXAMPLE OF TAX EXEMPT ABUSE?

#### HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 24, 1972

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, the use of tax-favored status gained by organizations posing as humanitarian, yet who have become openly in conflict with the American way of life and, in some instances, actually aiding and abetting the activities of foreign nations whose aims may or may not be in the best interests of the United States, is a loophole in the tax structure that must be corrected immediately.

This Nation cannot allow any dual-nationality organization to enjoy a favored tax status while actually assuming the role of an agent of a foreign nation. To do so would be a Federal subsidy of a foreign sovereign.

Mr. Saul Jofte, former general director general of one such organization, B'nai B'rith, has actually charged that:

B'nai B'rith should not be allowed to enjoy its present tax-exempt status as a charitable, religious, and fraternal organization but should be required to register as an active agent of Israel under the Foreign Agents Registration Act.

Mr. Jofte has stated that despite nobility of original intent, B'nai B'rith now—

Engages in international politics and more often than not does the bidding of the government of Israel. . . . Its leaders make frequent trips to Israel for indoctrination and instructions. I had tried to prevent this change. That is why Rabbi Kaufman tried to fire me.

So that our colleagues may be enlightened as to what did happen in this

organization that enjoys tax-exempt status, and what could happen in others, I insert a related news article in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD concerning Mr. Saul E. Jofte's lawsuit involving B'nai B'rith, an organization which he served for 22 years until it became evident to him that it was alien to and in conflict with the American way of life.

I ask also that copies of my bills H.R. 425 and H.R. 8298 that would deprive such tax-exempt organizations of their favored status for certain prohibited acts, including influencing legislation or voluntarily engaging in litigation for the benefit of third parties, follow this material.

Passage of such legislation is needed to effectively correct the possibility of other tax-exempt organizations following the same course as the B'nai B'rith.

The news article follows:

[From the Washington Post, Feb. 7, 1971]

#### A CHALLENGE TO THE "ZIONISM" OF B'NAI B'RITH

(By Paul W. Valentine)

A series of obscure lawsuits here involving what appears to be a humdrum employee-employer dispute over back pay has rekindled long-smoldering questions about the relationship of American Jewish organizations to Israel.

Beneath the mass of dry and technical documents in U.S. District Court lies an accusation that B'nai B'rith, the nation's largest Jewish service organization, has been quietly converted into a tool of political Zionism and a pawn of the Israeli government.

The accusation—normally heard only from the extreme political right wing and vigorously denied by B'nai B'rith—is made by a former high-ranking B'nai B'rith employee, Saul E. Jofte, 56, a quiet widower who lives in Falls Church, worked in the B'nai B'rith International Council for 22 years and was director general of its office of international affairs when he was fired Jan. 5, 1968.

He maintains that B'nai B'rith should not be allowed to enjoy its present tax-exempt status as a charitable, religious and fraternal organization but should be required to register as an active agent of Israel under the Foreign Agents Registration Act.

#### AN ISRAELI POLICY

At the root of the issue is the traditional Zionist concept of *aliyah*, a Hebrew term meaning the "in-gathering" or return of Diaspora (dispersed) Jews to the Palestine homeland. Since the creation of the state of Israel in 1948, *aliyah* has become a basic imperative of Israeli government policy.

Jofte and his attorney, former California Rep. Byron N. Scott, contend through court papers that B'nai B'rith is now organizationally committed to *aliyah* and is undertaking activities and financial obligations which are either directly or indirectly guided by the Israeli government through a labyrinthine apparatus of Zionist organizations and interlocking Zionist and non-Zionist coalitions.

The accusations—now as in the past—raise a semantical windstorm, blurring definitions, obscuring basic concepts and stirring emotions in both Jewish and gentile thinking. When does organizational support, for example, become political activism on behalf of another country?

What is the practical meaning of *aliyah* in the first place? Is it permanent physical migration to Palestine, or simply a life-sharing visit of a few months? Is it a political or religious concept? Jews in Washington argue it both ways.

What is Zionism? Jews define it variously as anything from permanent migration to

financial and spiritual support of Israel from afar.

Israeli leaders, such as former Prime Minister David Ben-Gurion, have said that Zionism without a "return to Zion" is phony. Yet few American Jews migrate permanently to Israel. Philip M. Klutznick, a former president of B'nai B'rith, explains it this way in his 1961 book "No Easy Answer":

"American Jewry, now deeply and happily rooted, (has) imperceptibly converted its Zionism from a political doctrine to a romantic ideal. The guiding principle of migration to Zion, the heartbeat of the doctrine, was stilled by the hospitality of an American society that gave Jews the freedom to adapt, to be themselves."

Some say that all Jews, by definition, are Zionists. Others say that a Jew is not a Zionist unless he is a dues-paying member of an actively Zionist organization. Definitions have been battered and shifted especially since May, 1948, when the theory of a Jewish homeland suddenly became a concrete reality with the creation of the state of Israel.

"These days, I don't know whether I'm a Zionist or not," says Klutznick in his book. "The dilemma is semantics, not ideology."

"My convictions in the matter have been reasonably consistent since the day, about 30 years ago, when I surrendered my membership card in the American Zionist movement. But that was long before 1948 . . . There is now an abundance of rotating theories on the nature of poststatehood Zionism, what it is, where it leads to. As an exercise in semantics, it generally leads into a philosophical cul-de-sac."

#### A REGISTERED "LINK"

It is into this sea of imprecision and argumentation that Saul Jofte has launched his four lawsuits against B'nai B'rith over the last three years. As he sees it, the key organization linking American and Israel interests is the Jewish Agency/American Section, Inc., which is registered with the Justice Department as the official agent of what is called the Executive of the Jewish Agency for Israel, Jerusalem.

The Jewish Agency/American Section is ultimately connected to and receives its instructions from the Israeli government through a network of organizations established under the Status Law of Israel in 1952, Jofte contends. The Status Law designates the World Zionist Organization (WZO) as Israel's "authorized agency" for development of the country and absorption of immigrants. The law also specifies that the WZO and the Jewish Agency for Palestine (predecessor name for the Jewish Agency for Israel) are one and the same organization.

The Jewish Agency/American Section, in turn, is the U.S.-based operation of the Jewish Agency for Israel in Jerusalem. It is through these channels and an intertwined group of ancillary funding organizations that money, propaganda and political policies are transmitted back and forth between America and Israel, Jofte says.

A portion of annual donations by American citizens to the United Jewish Appeal (UJA), for example, is channeled to Israel through the Jewish Agency/American Section. Some of the money, according to court papers, also has passed through other intermediate "linkages," such as the United Israel Appeal (UIA), the Synagogue Council of America and an entity called the Jewish Agency for Israel, Inc. (a New York corporation not to be confused with the Jewish Agency for Israel in Jerusalem; the New York organization is now merged with UIA).

#### THE "TIE-INS"

Millions of tax-exempt American dollars go to Israel each year. Some directly subsidize the Israeli treasury for noncharitable purposes, Jofte says, and some are returned to the United States to be spent on Zionist

propaganda efforts here. B'nai B'rith is politically and financially tied to this complex apparatus, Jofte contends, in a number of specific ways:

Its hierarchy is honeycombed with executives who serve or have served as officers of the Jewish Agency/American Section, the Jewish Agency for Israel, Inc., the Zionist Organization of America and the Synagogue Council of America. (The last-named was cited as a conduit for funds from the Jewish Agency for Israel by the Senate Foreign Relations Committee in May, 1963.)

B'nai B'rith is a constituent member of the Conference of Jewish Organizations American Section and the World Jewish Congress, both of which are funded mainly through the Keren Hayesod (Hebrew nomenclature for the United Israel Appeal), a funding arm of the Jewish Agency. COJO is described as a "consultative" body by B'nai B'rith officials.

B'nai B'rith is a constituent member of the Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations, another umbrella grouping which is supported in part by Jewish Agency/American Section funds.

The B'nai B'rith board of governors has endorsed the basic concept of *aliyah*, according to summary minutes of a report by B'nai B'rith president William A. Wexler at the ninth plenary sessions of the B'nai B'rith International Council (BBIC) here in January, 1969.

Fifteen months earlier, at its annual meeting in Caracas, the BBIC also called on its constituent members throughout the world to promote *aliyah*.

Court papers filed by Jofte note that there is no reference to Zionism or *aliyah* in the statement of purpose of the B'nai B'rith constitution. It says in general terms that the organization's purpose is to unite "persons of the Jewish faith in the work of promoting their highest interest and those of humanity . . . of inculcating the purest principles of philanthropy, honor and patriotism . . . alleviating the wants of the poor and needy . . . coming to the rescue of victims of persecution . . . (and) protecting and assisting the aged, the widow and orphan on the broadest principles of humanity."

#### "MISCONDUCT" CHARGED

Jofte says he was fired because he criticized and resisted what he considered to be a shift from these purposes into Zionist activism. B'nai B'rith officials say he was fired for "gross personal misconduct."

A mass of letters, memorandums and depositions filed in U.S. District Court here show that B'nai B'rith officials were dissatisfied with Jofte's work in the international council for several years. Rabbi Jay Kaufman, B'nai B'rith executive vice president, said in one deposition that B'nai B'rith's overseas lodges "did not always stay alive or thrive because of the manner in which he organized them."

During 1967, in the course of two letters and one memorandum, Rabbi Kaufman charged Jofte with "incompetence," "incapacity" and "malfeasance, misfeasance and nonfeasance." He urged Jofte to resign to avoid dismissal.

Jofte refused. He also sued Kaufman for libel (because of the "incompetence" letters) and thus commenced the first of four tangled legal actions to bring Rabbi Kaufman and B'nai B'rith into court.

In January, 1968, B'nai B'rith president Wexler wrote Jofte formally firing him for "gross personal misconduct" and citing the libel suit against Rabbi Kaufman as the specific reason. Jofte then asked for some \$24,400 in severance pay. Before any action was taken, Wexler issued a second letter to Jofte reiterating the dismissal but this time specifying "malfeasance, misfeasance and non-feasance" as the reasons.

The language was significant, because



under a written agreement with B'nai B'rith headquarters here, employees are entitled to severance pay when fired for "gross personal misconduct" but not when fired on the more serious charge of "malfeasance and nonfeasance."

Joftes then sued B'nai B'rith for the severance pay. He also sued Wexler and the organization for libel (the "malfeasance" letter) and Rabbi Kaufman for malicious interference with his contract rights.

U.S. District Court Judge Oliver Gasch upheld the severance pay claim, ruling that only the first letter of dismissal was valid. B'nai B'rith appealed the ruling. It lost in the U.S. Court of Appeals, and the Supreme Court refused to review the case last Dec. 21, thus leaving Gasch's original ruling intact.

On Jan. 15, another District Court judge, Gerhard Gesell, ruled against Joftes in the two libel cases, holding that the two letters criticizing Joftes had circulated among only a few entitled persons at B'nai B'rith and were therefore not actionable in court. Joftes is considering an appeal of both cases. There has been no ruling yet in the malicious interference case.

#### "INTERNATIONAL POLITICS"

Joftes asserts that as a Jew he is unopposed to and in fact lauds Zionist activity aimed at relieving bona fide problems of Jews, but he says he feels that B'nai B'rith has overstepped the law and its own constitution in its current pursuits.

As director general of the B'nai B'rith International Council's office of international affairs, he says he helped fashion its resurrected post-World War II overseas lodges into units to improve Jewish welfare and encourage Jews to remain in each foreign community—just the opposite of the Zionist precept of migration. Slowly over the years, however, the B'nai B'rith leadership became dominated by pro-Zionists, he says, and began trying to limit his work.

B'nai B'rith now "engages in international politics and more often than not does the bidding of the government of Israel," he says in a court affidavit. "Its leaders make frequent trips to Israel for indoctrination and instructions. I had tried to prevent this change. That is why Rabbi Kaufman tried to fire me."

B'nai B'rith officials will not discuss details of the Joftes litigation because it is still tied up in the courts. In terms of general B'nai B'rith policy, however, Bernard Simon, B'nai B'rith press officer, says, "Sure, we've made statements encouraging aliyah, but does that imply that the whole Jewish community should get up and move to Israel? It's ridiculous."

Says David A. Brody, an attorney and director of B'nai B'rith Anti-Defamation League (ADL) office in Washington: "Any aliyah action by B'nai B'rith is not at the request or through the control of the government of Israel. Therefore, it doesn't come within the reach of the Foreign Agents Registration Act."

Simon said the Justice Department has never questioned B'nai B'rith about its relationship to the registration act. The Justice Department acknowledged that it has never asked the organization to register but would not say whether it ever made a preliminary inquiry into the issue.

#### CONCENTRATED DOMESTICALLY

Simon says that the B'nai B'rith budget is "overwhelmingly, crushingly domestic," with funds going to such constituent activities as ADL, B'nai B'rith Youth Organization, Hillel Foundations, B'nai B'rith Vocational Service, Adult Jewish Education Program and Community and Veterans Affairs Program. B'nai B'rith claims about 500,000 dues-paying members.

"Today," says Simon, "we're a mirror of the

Jewish community. We take in the mass moderate middle class."

Many members, "have an affinity for Israel," he says, "but take me; I could never call myself a Zionist. I don't belong to any Zionist organizations, and I don't plan to emigrate."

He noted that Jewish emigration to Israel from the United States since 1948 has been small (about 25,000). "B'nai B'rith is just not physically geared up for aliyah," he says.

Simon acknowledged that several B'nai B'rith officials belong to Zionist organizations or coalitions embracing Zionist members, "but that doesn't necessarily mean they're in league with the Israeli government. . . . Many of them often disagree with what the Israeli government is doing, in fact."

The 1965 edition of *Who's Who in World Jewry* says that B'nai B'rith executive vice president Kaufman is a member of the Labor Zionist Organization of America. He is also a former member of the executive board of the Synagogue Council of America.

The *Who's Who* says that former B'nai B'rith presidents Label A. Katz and Philip Klutznick are members of the Jewish Agency for Israel. Klutznick is also a former president of the Southwest region of the Zionist Organization of America, and Katz is a member of the UJA national cabinet.

Current B'nai B'rith president Wexler is a life member of the Zionist Organization of America, a cochairman of COJO and chairman of the Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations.

#### POLICYMAKING CITED

Joftes contends that through these various connections, B'nai B'rith, along with other organizations, is intimately involved in the shaping of Israeli policy here. He cites these examples as evidence in court papers:

Rabbi Kaufman said in a memo to Joftes in late 1966: "BB (B'nai B'rith) is now playing a greater role in the fate and future of Diaspora Jewry, assuming tasks which the State of Israel cannot legitimately undertake because it is a sovereign state and cannot intrude on the affairs of other nations."

In a Dec. 3, 1967, report to the B'nai B'rith board of governors, Rabbi Kaufman wrote: "I am personally convinced after the long session that Dr. Wexler and I had with Mr. (Levi) Eshol (former Israeli prime minister) in Jerusalem this summer and with what I have seen and learned subsequently that *there must be aliyah!*" (emphasis original).

"... If we are to be serious about aliyah, we will have to enter into a working relationship with the agencies who are undertaking the presently highly intensified effort at winning aliyah. This relationship as I envisage it would have to stimulate the thinking of the vast B'nai B'rith membership toward consideration of regular and extended visits or total life in Israel."

A Feb. 8, 1968, letter from B'nai B'rith International Council director Herman Edelsberg to Sidney Muller, president of the Australian B'nai B'rith lodge, included an \$850 check with instructions to transmit it to the India-Israel Friendship League in Bombay. The league, administered largely by the women's auxiliary of the B'nai B'rith lodge of India, was formed in 1967 to push Israeli causes, combat pro-Arab feelings and seek diplomatic relations between India and Israel.

The \$850, it is argued in court papers, is thus a B'nai B'rith subsidy of promotional and propaganda efforts in a foreign country on behalf of a third country, in violation of the Foreign Agents Registration Act. Rabbi Kaufman countered in a related court deposition that the money was for "powdered milk, among other matters."

B'nai B'rith, according to several memorandums circulated among B'nai B'rith of-

ficials, has implemented a "summertime professional leadership training course" in Israel for selected staff members with seminar lectures on Israeli political and social thought by Jewish Agency, Israeli government and Israeli university speakers. In 1967, "all costs were subsidized by the Merkaz," according to a Jan. 23, 1968, memo by Rabbi Kaufman. The Merkaz is an entity set up to administer the program and funded by the Jewish Agency.

In the April 11, 1969, issue of the Reconstructionist, a magazine of contemporary Judaic thought, Rabbi Oscar Groner, associate director of B'nai B'rith's Hillel Foundations, disclosed that Hillel has been subsidizing a series of lectures on American campuses by Israeli government representatives since 1960.

#### CONSUL GENERAL INVOLVED

One B'nai B'rith memorandum not included in the court record relates to a meeting in December, 1960, between a number of B'nai B'rith executives and Benjamin Eliav, then Israeli consul general in New York. Eliav, it says, outlined Israeli demands to broaden Jewish rights in the Soviet Union and was "particularly anxious that literature on the subject be disseminated to the grass roots of B'nai B'rith."

"It was resolved," says the memo, "that this could be done" by the issuance of B'nai B'rith press releases, distribution of information to Hillel directors, a newsletter to B'nai B'rith "leadership lists" and a program for B'nai B'rith's adult Jewish education department.

Joftes' lawsuits repeatedly return to this theme of B'nai B'rith's relationship with Israel and possible legal implications under the Foreign Agents Registration Act, which requires the registration and public disclosure of records of any agent "engaging in propaganda activities and other activities for or on behalf of foreign governments, foreign political parties and other foreign principals."

The 1938 act defines an agent of a foreign principal as a person or organization who acts at "the order, request or under the direction or control of a foreign principal" or who is "directly or indirectly" supervised, controlled or financed "in whole or in major part" by a foreign principal. Activities coming under its restrictions include public relations counseling, political consulting and fund collecting.

Do any B'nai B'rith activities come within these definitions? How and where are the lines drawn between domestic and international involvement? Questions of this sort are certain to befog and slow any neat resolution of Joftes' already three-year-old court joust with B'nai B'rith.

#### H.R. 425

A bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 to provide that tax-exempt organizations which voluntarily engage in litigation for the benefit of third parties, or commit other prohibited acts, shall lose their exemption from tax.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That subsection (a) (1) (A) of section 503 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 (relating to loss of exemption from taxation) is amended by adding at the end thereof the following: "or if it has engaged in barratry, maintenance, or champerty, voluntarily provided legal assistance to, or participated or sought to participate by intervention, as amicus curiae, or otherwise, for the benefit of any person or class other than itself, in any judicial proceeding after the date of enactment of this Act."

A bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 to provide that tax-exempt organizations which engage in activities of carrying on propaganda, or otherwise attempting to influence legislation, shall lose their exemption from tax

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That subsection (c) (3) of section 501 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 (relating to tax-exempt organizations) is amended by striking out the word "substantial."

#### HANDLING OF DRUG OFFENDERS

### HON. STROM THURMOND

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, January 24, 1972

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, a thoughtful, yet succinct editorial on the handling of drug offenders was published in the Augusta, Ga., Chronicle of January 12, 1972.

The editorial, entitled "Get the Big Ones," makes the point that in handling drug offenders authorities should be as tough as possible on dealers and as compassionate as possible on youthful users.

The newspaper endorses this approach which was put forward in a speech before the Aiken, S.C., Rotary Club by Jay Elliott, of the Aiken County Sheriff's Department.

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

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

#### GET THE BIG ONES

A useful guide to action in drug abuse cases is that mentioned in a talk to Aiken Rotarians by Jay Elliott of the Aiken County sheriff's department drug section: "Be as tough as possible on dealers and as compassionate as possible on youthful users."

Public reaction will no doubt be to endorse this policy strongly, barring exceptions in the cases of the rare youthful user who obviously protects the dealer.

It is particularly the chieftains of the drug racket that deserve the full attention of law enforcement agencies and courts. For this reason, one of the more hopeful news stories last week was that eight persons who likely were "very big" in the international drug traffic had been arrested, in connection with the seizure of \$47 million worth of heroin in Miami.

Still, the way to discovery of the big ones often must be through the arrest and questioning of the small fry in the drug traffic. This is why other statements by Elliott are worth serious study. "Pushers," he said, "are hard to get"; yet, "any 16-year-old can get into a car and go to Atlanta or Columbia, can make a connection and bring back drugs."

If contacts and purchases are so easy, many disturbed citizens will wonder why well-planned and thorough work by undercover agents cannot put the pushers on the run and make their evil activities so dangerous that a major dent will be put in the dope peddlers' supply line.

And, with enough small fry given stiff enough penalties, they could be brought to share the burden of their offense with the boss racketeers under whom they work.

## EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

### THE SOVIET NAVAL BUILDUP

### HON. WILLIAM M. COLMER

OF MISSISSIPPI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 24, 1972

Mr. COLMER. Mr. Speaker, on January 15 last, Vice Adm. Means Johnston, Jr., addressed the VFW Southern Area Convention at Biloxi, Miss. Several hundred delegates from 14 Southern States to the convention heard, with I am sure unanimous approval, Admiral Johnston's analysis of the Soviet naval buildup and his comparison with our own laggard progress in building up and modernizing our own Navy.

I had the privilege of hearing this well-thought-out presentation by my fellow Mississippian, who is presently serving in the capacity of inspector general of the Navy. Not only are we in Mississippi proud of Admiral Johnston and his contribution to the defense of this country, but, judging by the reception he received on this occasion and the advancement and recognition that he has in the Navy itself, I am confident that all good Americans who believe in the necessity of keeping America strong enough to defend itself likewise are proud of him.

Mr. Speaker, in order that these timely remarks of the esteemed admiral may receive wider circulation, I am submitting his address in full, as follows:

#### THE SOVIET NAVAL BUILDUP

(By Vice Adm. Means Johnston, Jr.)

I was very pleased to accept the invitation to be with you this evening. Not only do I enjoy an opportunity to get away from the Washington scene, I always enjoy any chance to return to my native state. I was born and raised in Greenwood, and my ties to Mississippi remain very close. Then too, I particularly appreciate this opportunity to be with the VFW, a group bound together by a mutual dedication to the ideals of patriotism, duty, and service. You are my kind of people.

This is a time when many of our old-fashioned values are being challenged and rejected. It is a time when a new isolationism and strong anti-military mood is abroad in the country. It is a very critical time in our national history. Forces on the move beyond our shores during the past decade have been slowly but relentlessly tipping the scales of international security balance away from the United States and the free world.

Foremost among these forces challenging our position is the significant increase in Soviet military power. Since the time of the Cuban crisis in 1962 the Soviet Union has been embarked on an across-the-board buildup in military strength with a momentum behind it that cannot be ignored. Their most spectacular gains have been in strategic nuclear arms and in naval power. Although we are truly an island nation, many Americans do not fully comprehend the implications to our national security of the declining balance of Naval strength of the United States relative to that of the Soviet Union. It is to this subject that I would address my remarks tonight.

I will have to confess that I have been accused of having the same level of objectivity toward our Navy that a distinguished professor of history at one of our southern universities had for his special area of interest—the War Between the States. In discussing objective historical research in his special area of interest, he remarked that there had been plenty of good objective historical stud-

ies of the Civil War, but what was needed, he said, was "a good objective historical study of the Civil War from the southern point of view."

I will admit to a long personal involvement with the Navy. But I assure you that my interpretation of the facts and implications of the changing naval balance of power is not exclusively my own. In a recent major address to the Senate on the "Russian Naval Armada and Domination of the Straits," Senator Goldwater, also a major general in the Air Force Reserve, made this statement: "Any way it is figured, the Soviet Union's naval buildup confronts the United States with the most serious challenge it has faced in this century." And from Mr. Hébert of Louisiana, chairman of the House Armed Services Committee, "We must be prepared to meet the Soviet threat to our own naval power or retreat from the world." There have been many warnings from others, but these two will illustrate my point. Of course, you heard first-hand from Congressman Bill Colmer this afternoon. So you already know of his concern.

The rapid buildup of Soviet naval and maritime power has already added a new dimension to world affairs, with the possibility of other unfavorable changes yet to come. Let us look for a moment at some of the developments since 1945 that bear on our viewpoint of world affairs.

The Soviet Union emerged from World War II as the greatest of the European land powers. Shortly after the war, when the Soviets tried to use their superior land power to acquire European and middle eastern territory, we and our allies executed a series of mutual defense agreements to halt them. NATO was the foremost of these defense agreements, followed by a number of bilateral and multi-lateral pacts which now include over 40 nations, in what has come to be known as the free world alliance system. These agreements were backed by American economic strength, our strategic nuclear superiority, and our Navy. They were effective in countering Soviet thrusts and are responsible in large part for western strength and prosperity today.

These are maritime alliances—all of them. They depend upon the ability of the United States to freely use the seas to support its allies and to prevent them from being encircled by the sea. Their maritime nature can be demonstrated by considering the relative positions of our friends and potential enemies. All of our potential enemies and almost all of our allies are overseas.

President Nixon noted our dependence on maritime power in 1970 when he said: "One other point I would make briefly is this: What the Soviets need in terms of military preparedness is different from what we need. They are a land power primarily with a great potential enemy in the east. We are primarily, of course, a sea power and our needs, therefore, are different."

This is a very pertinent point. Soviet vital interests require a large army and air force to protect the Eurasian heartland. Our vital interests require a capability to control and use the seas which bind together our maritime alliances.

Why then are the Soviets committing resources to building a Navy? Because since World War II, the balance of world power has hinged to a great extent upon the large and powerful United States Navy which came out of that war and was the connecting link in our countervailing western alliances.

As in the past two centuries, when Russian objectives of expansion were forestalled by the British and Japanese fleets, the Soviets today see the U.S. Navy as the key obstacle standing in the way of their goal. Since World War II, the U.S. Navy, together with its allied free world Navies, has been the guarantor to all that our seaborne commerce and strategic materials would continue to



flow and that our alliance system was underwritten by credible naval power.

The Soviets well appreciate this fact, and so they are carefully shaping their forces to be most effective against the U.S. Navy.

Our Navy has four principal functions and capabilities which it must provide:

*First*, it must contribute to the deterrence of Nuclear War.

*Second*, it must be able to control the areas of the sea that we wish to use—keep our sea lanes of communications open.

*Third*, when so directed in support of our national policy, it must be able to project U.S. power ashore on foreign soil against opposition, and to support our own or allied land forces.

*Fourth*, in peacetime, it must "show the flag", manifest an overseas presence, demonstrating to our allies and possible adversaries that a challenge to our overseas interests and those of our allies may result in a confrontation with U.S. Armed Forces.

After the strategic nuclear role, the most essential of these capabilities is that of sea control, for if we are unable to use the seas against opposition, all other missions are neutralized. The Soviets also perceive this role as vulnerable, and they have chosen their weapons well. In building their Navy the Soviets initially gave priority to weapon systems designed specifically to deny us the use of the sea lanes and to drive us from positions from which we support our alliances. The large Soviet attack submarine fleets and surface missile fleets are designed for just this task.

In recent years priorities have also been expanded to include submarine-launched ballistic missile ships. The Soviets now have in operation about 25 of Yankee class submarines—which are similar to the U.S. Polaris—and they are building them at such a rate that they could surpass our fleet of 41 SSBN's by 1973.

With that background setting, let us look at four realities of today's environment which influence our need for, and govern the Navy's ability to perform its historic vital functions.

The *first* of these realities is nuclear parity. Today we no longer possess superiority in nuclear arms. Soviet nuclear arms are on a par with ours. Given this nuclear stand off, the United States must look to conventional forces to provide means of protecting our interests. Without adequate conventional forces we may have only two options should our interests be threatened; engage in nuclear war, or back down. You will recall these were the only options available to Khrushchev in the 1962 Cuban missile crisis.

The *second* reality is the Nixon Doctrine. It stresses continued honoring of our treaty commitments but stresses increased self-reliance on the part of our allies and calls for reductions in our own overseas bases and forces. This leads to important naval implications.

*First*. In the face of reduced overseas forces and bases, both our allies and possible adversaries may question the worth of our commitments unless we retain the capability to return in force if needed—even if opposed.

*Second*. Our commitments demand adequate sea lift. Even with our newest cargo aircraft, over 90 percent of overseas military cargoes must travel on the surface of the oceans. There is no valid JCS plan calling for sustained operations by U.S. armed forces overseas that is not based on control of the sea lanes of communication.

*Finally*, we must maintain an independent U.S. capability to prevent an effective challenge to our free use of the oceans and international air spaces. There may be times when we must go it alone. Cuba was one such instance.

The *third* reality of today's world affecting our Navy, and I have already alluded to this, is Soviet Naval and Maritime expansion.

Since we no longer possess nuclear superiority, Soviet naval expansion may, for the first time, give the Soviets the potential to challenge our capability to support our alliances and to protect our commerce.

As we might expect, Soviet Naval growth can be traced directly to the Cuban missile crisis of 1962, when the relative weakness of the Soviet Navy and U.S. strategic nuclear superiority forced the USSR to back down in the face of a resolute U.S. stand.

Since then, the Kremlin has allocated vast resources to her strategic nuclear and naval buildup programs—resources made available in part by drastic cut backs in the Soviet manned space effort. To illustrate their renewed naval emphasis, between 1966 and 1971, when the U. S. produced 88 combatant and amphibious ships, Soviet shipyards produced more than 200. The Soviet fleet now approaches our own in total number of combat ships and their ships are relatively new. Over half of their major surface warships are under 10 years old and about 40 percent of ours are over 20. On a ship-for-ship basis, many of the Soviet combatants are today faster, more modern, and more heavily armed than U. S. counterparts.

Two of the products of their development and shipbuilding are capable of directly challenging the ability of the United States to use the seas: their expanding surface fleet equipped with anti-ship missiles and their nuclear submarine forces. These weapon systems exist and are at sea today. They are technologically very good and they are increasing in number at a rapid rate.

Anti-ship missile launching platforms have increased four fold since 1960. The Soviet submarine force now numbers over 300 attack and cruise missile submarines compared to the 57 which the Germans had at the beginning of World War II, and as a 26-year old Lieutenant Commander in command of a destroyer escort during World War II, I know well how close the German submarines came to wresting control of the seas from the allies. Not counting ballistic missile types, the Soviets overtook and passed us in total numbers of nuclear submarines way back in 1963, and they are still building them at a faster rate than we are.

Commenting on the Soviet Naval buildup in the new edition of Jane's Fighting Ships, Mr. Raymond V. B. Blackman, the editor of that prestigious Naval Journal wrote, "The situation for the U. S. Navy is serious. By any standards, the Soviet Fleet now represents the super Navy of a super power."

The *fourth* and final reality is our own reduction in the number and strength of our Naval Forces.

Since 1965, Navy strength has been reduced by 25 percent of its ships, 20 percent of its combat aircraft, and 7 percent of its total personnel.

Thus, we have been steadily going down hill while the Soviets have been making a determined effort to catch up and get ahead. Two factors have prompted our decline.

*First*, we have been forced to cut back new construction to help pay for the daily operating costs of the War in Vietnam. In order to replace even our present level of Naval forces on an orderly basis every 25 years, we should invest \$3 billion every year in new construction, at 1972 prices. Only in the last three years have we approached that level. We did not come close during the decade of the sixties. The higher budgets of the Vietnam years were committed to replacement of losses or expenditure of weapons. In other words we ran down the railroad.

*Secondly*, although the dollar level of Navy funding today is higher than in the years before Vietnam, our purchasing power has been cut substantially by inflation. We have lost a whole decade of shipbuilding, in a period during which the Soviet building effort has gained tremendous relative momentum.

If we were to allow the trend to continue, the United States Navy would one day, in the not too distant future, be inferior to the Soviet Navy.

The growing Soviet Naval challenge has already influenced our viewpoint of world affairs. The same can be said for other nations. Our allies, our adversaries, and uncommitted nations alike all understand the elements and the role of national power. They know that the ability to move commerce and to project power beyond national boundaries are foremost among the essential determinants of a country's international importance. They know that for the United States this means movement over the world's oceans. They are watching Soviet Naval deployment and frequent Naval exercises in all the major oceans of the world.

As Senator Goldwater pointed out in the address from which I quoted earlier, Soviet Naval concentrations and political initiatives can be related to the strategic straits around the world, the "choke points" through which ships must pass in going from one ocean area to another. Thus, while sleek new Soviet Navy ships show the flag in ports around the world, they show special interest in such restricted areas as the North Sea; the Mediterranean, including the Straits of Gibraltar and the Suez; the Indian Ocean and the Straits of Malacca, and even the passages into the Gulf of Mexico and the Caribbean. Additionally, the world has seen how the continuing presence of Soviet ships in the ports of Alexandria, Egypt, and Haiphong, North Vietnam, has served as a shield from threat of attack.

Today, our allies and the uncommitted nations of Eurasia and Africa see increasingly visible and frequent Soviet Naval exercises in the Atlantic and Pacific, and the continuous Soviet Naval presence in the Mediterranean Sea and the Indian Ocean.

In a recent address in New York City, Admiral Zumwalt, the Chief of Naval Operations, constructed a hypothetical scenario for the future which fits the facts as they are, and which is consistent with the lessons of history. Admiral Zumwalt laid no claim to an ability to foresee the future, and he emphasized that his scenario could become real only if we allow it to.

His scenario rested on certain reasonable assumptions drawn from the facts as they are known today.

*First assumption*: Nuclear war is not likely between the U.S. and the USSR as long as approximate parity in nuclear delivery and defense systems exists between them.

*Second assumption*: A war between NATO and the Warsaw Pact alliance is improbable due to the near certainty that such a war would trigger a nuclear exchange. It is reasonable to assume that both parties will try to avoid circumstances which could lead to a NATO war.

And so we come to Admiral Zumwalt's *third assumption*, that the Kremlin may therefore be expected to try to achieve its objective short of nuclear war, or any action likely to trigger a nuclear war. And for the first time in modern history, the door is ajar for Russia to break free of the entanglements of encircling land alliances and to spread power and influence toward historical objectives in the Middle East, Asia, and even Europe.

Under such circumstances, the Kremlin could follow this course:

They could continue to avoid nuclear war and situations they feel could readily result in nuclear war.

In the event of no agreement at the Salt Talks they might continue their buildup of nuclear weapons for psychological effect.

They could take advantage of the momentum of their naval expansion and increase "showing the flag" or "gun boat diplomacy" actions in Eurasia and Africa.

They could continue to foster communism worldwide through aid and subversion, ex-

ported along with trade and economic programs to key areas of vulnerability.

Finally, possibly late in the 1970's, if they feel they are ready, they could be free to confront the United States with superior force in a non-NATO area of the world, and we might be forced to back down, as they were forced to do over Cuba. Under Admiral Zumwalt's hypothesis, if and when this time comes, the Soviets would be very rational and cautious, as we have been when the preponderance of power lay with us—they would be certain to leave us a chance to back away—and they would carefully calculate the outcome so that our allies and friends will clearly see that we have backed away.

And, if we allow this scenario to become a reality or even to become a realistic calculable outcome, our allies may decide that our weakness reflects a lack of will to continue as a great power, and they may choose to believe that the game is over for us all.

If they did so, there would first be an accommodation by some toward Soviet power, then growing neutralism, and finally, the United States could become an island, economically and militarily isolated—and we Americans might have no choice but to stand helplessly watching the final moments of our hour of greatness run out.

But the tragedy to America's hopes and aspirations I have described need not come to pass—there is time for you and your fellow Americans to influence the outcome.

The dilemma America faces is very real—the needs of our cities; of the environment; of our more deprived citizens, must all be provided for. Our resources, although much greater than those of any other nation, are not limitless. There are those who honestly believe that if we put down the heavy burden of national defense and let the rest of the world go its own way, all our domestic problems can be quickly solved.

But if defense spending falls below the minimum needed for security, the problem of domestic programs may become moot. Or, as President Nixon puts it, "Let us not, then, pose a false choice between meeting our responsibilities abroad and meeting the needs of our people at home. We shall meet both or we shall meet neither." And the Honorable Melvin Laird, Secretary of Defense, has emphasized that it is this administration's objective to ensure that we never fall into second place. Certainly that objective is in keeping with your own VFW national security goals.

Americans know that the paths of history are littered with the remnants of great nations whose strength at crucial times was proven second best. I cannot believe that we will allow such a tragedy to overtake us or those who have stood with us.

#### GENERAL CHAPMAN—DISTINGUISHED COMMANDANT

### HON. JACK BROOKS

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 24, 1972

Mr. BROOKS. Mr. Speaker, leadership and devotion to duty are two of the cornerstones which have produced the proud traditions of the U.S. Marine Corps. These are traits exemplified by Gen. Leonard F. Chapman, Jr., U.S. Marine Corps., who retired on December 31 after dedicated and outstanding service as the 24th Commandant of the Marine Corps.

General Chapman's long and distinguished career has always been char-

acterized by his constant efforts to insure that the terms "marine" and "professional" were and are synonymous. Throughout his assignments, General Chapman embodied those high principles which guided the corps during the turbulent decades of the 1950's, 1960's, and into the 1970's. He always knew the primary reason for the existence of the corps was to serve as the Nation's "force-in-readiness." He devoted his full energies to insisting that constant combat readiness be the continuing trademark of the corps. General Chapman truly felt that the corps could have no greater mission for itself—and no greater responsibility to the American people.

While Commandant of the Marine Corps, marines, including General Chapman's own two sons, fought through the peak of the Vietnam conflict. He guided the return of the Marine Corps to a peacetime posture and quickly charted the course on a course toward a lean, ready force of "a few good men." During a period in the history of our country when permissiveness became the rule rather than the exception, General Chapman saw to it that the Marine Corps standards of leadership, training, and discipline remained realities. As General Chapman departed the post of commandant he left a Corps of Marines superbly trained, highly motivated, and ready to assume any mission assigned.

We send best wishes to General Chapman in his retirement, and we shall not soon forget his tremendous contribution to the security of our country and its people.

#### RESTORATION OF THE ELECTION PROCESS

### HON. RICHARDSON PREYER

OF NORTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 24, 1972

Mr. PREYER of North Carolina. Mr. Speaker, one of the finest hours in the history of the House of Representatives occurred last Wednesday, January 19, when this body passed the Federal Elections Campaign Act of 1971. The high cost of running for public office has become a national disgrace and a serious threat to our democratic system. The new campaign spending bill should go far toward restoring the present election process to a more healthy state.

As with any legislation, some compromises were necessary before passage of the bill could be secured. One feature of the bill which is a product of compromise is the provision which prevents a candidate from spending more than 60 percent of his allowable expenditures on the broadcast media. While this section of the bill has been criticized as being discriminatory against radio and television, it does seem absolutely necessary to the success of the bill. Furthermore, it would appear that future efforts to remove this provision may result in an unraveling of the entire compromise agreement.

There are, however, two other pro-

visions of the campaign spending measure which deserve further scrutiny. First, I would hope we can abolish the lowest unit rate provision which, in effect, shifts a portion of the expense of campaigning to the broadcast industry. Whether this provision will significantly increase the exposure of candidates to the public is arguable. More important, however, is the fundamental and patent unfairness involved in forcing any single group or industry to subsidize political campaigns.

Second, I also have serious doubts about the act's "reasonable access" requirements. None of us doubt the importance of our democratic election process, but to enact a provision which, in effect, would give campaign coverage priority over all other forms of public interest broadcasts seems to be a questionable precedent. By giving a governmental agency further power over the programming schedule of local broadcasters, we are creating a potential for the erosion of first amendment freedoms. Fair political programming has always been one of the measurements of whether a particular station warrants a broadcast license. It may be that we have gone too far in imposing additional "equal access" standards.

My criticisms of the final bill should not be construed as an effort to discredit a worthy and major piece of legislation. My reservations are stated only to point out how I believe a very good measure could be altered to make it even more effective.

#### UKRAINIAN INDEPENDENCE DAY

### HON. PETER A. PEYSER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 24, 1972

Mr. PEYSER. Mr. Speaker, I am proud to join with the many thousands of Americans throughout this Nation in commemorating the 54th anniversary of the proclamation of the Ukrainian National Republic. January 22, 1918, was a day which marked the culmination of century-old dreams of national independence from Russia. On that momentous occasion, in the city of Kiev, the Ukrainian National Republic was born.

The Ukrainian people proved themselves to be dedicated and heroic patriots who were able to realize their cherished goals of individual freedom and national liberation from the callous autocracy of czarist Russia. Today the 47 million ethnic Ukrainians form the largest of the captive nations subject to the control of an unrelenting Communist regime in Moscow. They still hold within their hearts the memories of a glorious history of continual struggle for self-determination.

We Americans must be reminded of our struggles for those same rights which are inalienable to people all over the free world. We share this dream with the people of Ukraine. Let us pledge to work faithfully for the ideals of the men and women who fought and won a free Ukraine.



## THOSE SOVIET TRAWLERS

## HON. LOUIS C. WYMAN

OF NEW HAMPSHIRE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 24, 1972

Mr. WYMAN. Mr. Speaker, from the current photographs of the huge Soviet fishing vessels currently at dock in Adak, Aleutian Islands, to the huge trawlers taking our fish from this hemisphere from Greenland to the Caribbean, there is developing more than mere suspicion that while fishing is undoubtedly their principal mission, paramilitary reconnaissance and intelligence is also high on their captain's orders.

An interesting and challenging assessment of the potential role of these Soviet fishing fleets in relation to the nuclear arms race has been prepared by Dr. R. D. Paegle, chairman of the Seamen's Education Federation. Dr. Paegle's article, prepared as it has been from the vantage point of his position and his standing as a member of the Academy of Political Science, is deserving of careful consideration and I am including it in the RECORD at this point because of its undeniable significance.

[Updated version, Dec. 10, 1971]

PARAMILITARY USES AND THE POTENTIAL ROLE OF SOVIET FISHING FLEETS IN THE NUCLEAR ARMS RACE

(By Dr. R. D. Paegle)

## ABSTRACT

Conditioning the United States public and politicians to the proximity of many large Soviet fishing ships and their aggressive fishing methods seems to be a major policy goal of the Soviet planners. This is done by exploiting the fishing grounds near the U.S. shores. As their presence is increasingly tolerated, they may decide that it is to their advantage to utilize a sizeable fraction of their 4500 ocean going trawlers, not only for fishing and intelligence gathering activities, but also as launching platforms for short-range rockets or even IRBM's. The stern trawlers are large enough for such a purpose since they are equal to or larger than our Polaris missile submarines.

The extreme nearness to U.S. shores (3-12 miles) would permit a "no warning" strike against all coastal military targets, including the commander-in-chief, as well as population centers. The attack could not only come in under the ABM defenses but would circumvent the Distant Early Warning (DEW) radar networks thrown across North America for the purpose of giving time to the U.S. to launch a counterstrike before Soviet ICBM's could reach the Minutemen sites.

If the growing number of the large Soviet SS-9 missiles raises considerable concern about a possibility that the Soviets might cripple U.S. second strike capability by a surprise attack even though our DEW system and satellites provide some warning, the inclusion of appropriate safeguards against the possibility of a supplementary ship-launched attack is a legitimate concern of the U.S. during SALT (Strategic Arms Limitation Talks). The removal or withdrawal of the Soviet fleets would be an even more reassuring development.

It is significant that of the nations with the biggest fishing fleets, it is the Soviet Union which keeps the largest number of ships along the US shores. In recent years, according to UN statistics, both the Japanese and Peruvian fishermen caught more fish

than the USSR.<sup>1</sup> However, they do not seem to find the US offshore fishing grounds nearly as attractive. During the two surveillance flights off New England which I was permitted to accompany, the National Marine Fisheries officials aboard the planes counted 25 Soviet, 17 Polish, 1 Rumanian, 1 Greek and several Spanish or Portuguese ships during the flight in June and 72 Soviet, 27 Polish, 7 East German, 6 Bulgarian, 5 Japanese and 1 West German ship during the flight in late November.

Other Soviet vessels operate regularly near the Caribbean and Pacific coasts of the US. On the average day, the USSR keeps 200 to 500 fishing ships near the US shores. For example, 216 Soviet fishing, support and research vessels operated off US coasts during September, 1971 (Report on foreign fishing off US Coasts, compiled monthly by the National Marine Fisheries Service, US Department of Commerce.) In contrast to the other major fishing powers, the USSR is best known for its status as a military superpower, hence the potential utilization of its commercial vessels for military purposes has to be considered. The anti-submarine tracking capacity of such a large, widely dispersed, sonar equipped force is too obvious to require much comment.

## "NO ADVANCE WARNING" ASPECT OF SEABORNE ATTACK

The Soviet interest in avoiding the American early warning systems was revealed by the information brought by Mr. Lyalin, whose defection to the British resulted in the mass expulsion of more than 100 Soviet spies. American early warning systems for detection of approaching ballistic missiles were targets for projected sabotage (A. Lewis, New York Times, October 1, 1971.)

A Russian submarine or surface ship (including an adapted trawler) could fire a missile at Washington on a flat trajectory which would even allow it to come in under the land-based radar. Even if detected, our anti-missiles could not knock it down in time. Besides, exploding the nuclear warheads of the antimissile rockets so close to the city would just add to the ground damage. A high speed missile, comparable to the US Sprint, could cover the 120 miles to Washington in less time than is needed to pick up a radio receiver and transmit a warning. The President of the US could be caught off guard (either asleep or at a public meeting) and denied the chance to give any commands, including one to launch a counter attack. The Soviets may calculate that during the ensuing confusion, the well disciplined second string commanders in charge of the ICBM sites would hesitate to assume the responsibility for launching the US counterstrike. They would waste precious minutes trying to communicate with their no longer existing commander-in-chief and other superiors. While the second string commanders vacillated, the Soviets could exercise one of their numerous options. If the best mix, as determined by computer supported war games, indicated an all out attack, various other US targets would be subject to the same type of attack.

## RELATIVE U.S. VULNERABILITY TO SEABORNE ATTACK

US industry, population and military targets are heavily concentrated along the Atlantic, Gulf and Pacific coasts: electronics in New England, steel and chemicals further south, and aerospace industries in California and Washington states. Cape Kennedy and West Coast test ranges are also near the shore. All of them are vulnerable to the above mentioned seaborne type of attack.

A special trawler force could even be equipped with IRBM missiles and MIRV warheads and assembled near the Oregon and Washington coast. Many of the Soviet ships are large enough (Appendix A). The tasks

Footnotes at end of article.

of this force would include neutralizing the ABM system protecting the US missiles and knocking out as many of the Minutemen in Montana and North Dakota as possible. In addition to better accuracy, due to the shorter distance, the ship launched IRBMs would arrive much sooner than the transpolar ICBMs. This might enable them to catch many of the retaliatory US missiles in a "soft" stance, i.e. with the covers removed from their hardened silos.

## PROXIMITY OF U.S. OVERSEAS BASES TO INTERNATIONAL WATERS WHICH ARE ACCESSIBLE TO THE SOVIET TRAWLERS

U.S. global power is heavily dependent on numerous overseas bases. Many of these, such as Rota in Spain and Holy Loch in Scotland, are very near to international waters. Since the Soviet fishing vessels roam the entire world, one or two could be dispatched to each base without causing undue alarm. With the advent of nuclear weapons, it is no longer necessary to mass a whole fleet to attack a single base, as at Pearl Harbor. A single ship with a small rocket can cause far more thorough destruction. In addition, a ship could loiter near its target until the propitious moment for a coordinated, world wide attack had arrived.

## MISSILE EQUIPPED TRAWLERS COULD RAPIDLY APPEAR ON STATION

It is very unlikely that the Soviets would risk a major confrontation now by carrying hidden missiles aboard the trawlers at this time. Despite tight security, the chances for discovery are still too great. Some sailors defect to Western nations. Others may unwittingly blab to Western spies operating within the USSR. Or a ship may sink in a storm and later be inspected by American personnel.

However, the missiles could be introduced rapidly. The pattern for ship rotation has been established. A new rotation of ships, with different crews under extreme security measures, and with missiles on board could replace in 4 weeks time all of the 200-500 ships near the US shores. Or to better preserve secrecy, the Soviet military commanders could introduce only relatively few, adequately distinguished special ships among the regular fishing trawlers.

## ADVANTAGES OF TRAWLERS TO SUBS IN PSYCHING THE AMERICANS

Since WW II, the Soviets have learned that the US, if aroused, is quite capable of huge defense outlays, which in the long run can outpace the maximum efforts of the Soviet economy. The key is not to alarm the Americans unduly. When the Soviets built a huge fleet of conventional submarines, the Americans listened to men who advised the rapid build up of nuclear submarines with Polaris type missiles. Undoubtedly, the Soviets could now produce similar submarines much faster than they are doing, but if they did that, the Americans would see the military threat too clearly and be on guard.

In the present US political climate when the anti-military sentiment is so high, any US military spending is scrutinized very carefully. However, if an explosive growth of Soviet nuclear strike forces, including missile submarines, became too obvious<sup>2</sup> even the militant peace groups within the US would have a hard time explaining away such Soviet behavior and could not prevent commensurate increase of the US defense budget. However, a versatile trawler force avoids such a risk.

In addition, if the Soviets ever tried to concentrate most of their subs along the US shores, the chance of premature discovery would be too great and would give the US an opportunity to go on a full alert. By comparison, a commercial surface fleet is free to come and go. Russian planners know the American respect for commercial endeavors as well as the freedom of the sea. Therefore, the Soviets may expect that the US not only will tolerate the presence of foreign

fishing ships in the rich fishing grounds near their shores, but will also avoid stopping and inspecting the cargo holds of these ships. Since the Soviets know that Americans are also very sensitive to the charge of hypocrisy, they may deem it unlikely that the US would ever claim jurisdiction over the ocean for 200 nautical miles along their shores while protesting against such claims by Ecuador, Peru, Chile, Argentina, Uruguay and Brazil.<sup>3</sup>

#### ALL OUT WAR JUST WILL NOT HAPPEN

The Soviet leaders and military planners are aware of the tremendous effect of public opinion on the Western governments. They know that in the US it is very hard to even consider the possibility, much less discuss the probability of a "nuclear Pearl Harbor". The concept that nuclear war would be suicidal or at least unprofitable for either of the superpowers has been so firmly established as to be accepted without qualification by most ordinary Westerners as well as by some think-tank members.<sup>4</sup> In the past, US authorities have given assurances that even if the Soviets attempted a preemptive strike, enough second strike capability would survive to demolish the aggressor. In response to novels and films such as Dr. Strangelove, the emphasis was placed on decreasing the possibility of a few fanatics getting out of control and precipitating a holocaust. Our military leaders have instituted elaborate precautionary measures, which require time consuming double and triple checks before any missiles can be launched or the public alerted to an impending attack.<sup>5</sup> The above opinions became entrenched while the US held an undisputed lead in nuclear arms. Since the USSR has now drawn abreast of the US (Appendix B), a reevaluation of long held beliefs may be in order.

#### GROWTH OF NUCLEAR STOCKPILES AND DISPERSAL OF SOVIET BASES

Despite the genuine yearning of the civilians for peace, the "nuclear stalemate" may not be as stable as was hoped. The protracted course of SALT is an indirect confirmation of the fragility of this balance. As the stockpiles grow and the weapons systems become more sophisticated, the balance appears to be shifting in favor of the Soviets.<sup>6</sup> The rapidly growing Soviet navy is also acquiring new bases throughout the world. It has even launched an effort to establish nuclear capability in Cuba by building a naval base and dispatching a missile submarine tender to the Caribbean.<sup>7</sup>

Since the Soviets (a) presumably have enough nuclear strength (Appendix B) to maintain a creditable retaliation in case of an attack, (b) profess to be interested in peace and disarmament and (c) cannot have forgotten the outraged American response during the first Cuban missile crisis, it is interesting to speculate on the reasons why they are expanding a proportionately larger fraction of their gross national product in order to catch up with the US in the military rather than the civilian sector.

#### NEAR BALANCE IN THE MAJOR STANDARD CATEGORIES OF NUCLEAR ARMS-DELIVERY SYSTEMS COULD BE UPSET BY THE INTRODUCTION OF AN UNEXPECTED NEW MIX OR AN OVERWHELMING BUILD-UP OF A SINGLE CATEGORY

Although a Soviet spurt in the buildup of either the ICBM, submarine based missiles or strategic bomber forces may radically alter the balance, it seems more likely that in the foreseeable future each side can prevent the other from gaining an overwhelming advantage in any of the three classical weapons systems (Appendix C). Hence Soviet Russia may search for a decisive advantage in new directions, including (a) radically different mixes of weapons and delivery systems and (b) placement of weapons in hidden sites which are immune to inspection. Larger, per-

manently orbiting space labs with attendant technicians (who could help evade inspection attempts) would be one such system. Weapons hidden in surface ships, which conventionally are used for other purposes, could be another site. Since the surface fleets are already on site, they deserve preferential attention.

#### "SLEEPER" IN SOVIET DISARMAMENT PROPOSALS

During the negotiations on limitation of strategic armaments, the USSR proposed a 5-year ban on the deployment of antiballistic missile systems.<sup>8</sup> The Soviets asked that each side be allowed to deploy only 100 interceptor missiles around their capitals. This implied the removal of the fledgling force being built around the US ICBM bases in Montana. Superficially, this appeared like a limited but fair proposal, since each side would have equal warning and protection against long range ICBMs. However, due to geography, the Soviets would gain a big advantage. Washington is less than 120 miles from the ocean while Moscow is far inland, hence more difficult to hit accurately with submarine or ship launched missiles. A US submarine in the North Atlantic or Barents Sea would be at least 1000 miles from Moscow. Therefore any of the missiles it fired would have a high trajectory and would (1) be picked up by radar and give Soviet leaders a few minutes time to decide to launch a counter attack, (2) give the leaders a chance to hide in a fallout shelter and (3) be susceptible to interceptor missiles.

#### WHY U.S.S.R. MIGHT BE TEMPTED TO RISK A NUCLEAR SURPRISE ATTACK

The Soviets could act out of greed for wealth and power or out of fear. The Soviet rulers undoubtedly realize that if they decisively defeated the US and retained sufficient nuclear reserves to smother France, Red China and others (if they were foolish enough to resist), they would be in the driver's seat from then on and could extract economic benefits from all the world (Appendix D).

The Soviet rulers may also conclude that time is against them. If they wish to unite the entire world under their own rule, they may have to do it within the next five to fifteen years while the US is the only barrier to Soviet world supremacy (Appendix E). Within that time, the emergent power of Red China (Appendix F), United Europe, Japan and the spread of nationalism and the unpredictable youth initiated unrest and idealism may become too strong to counter. Soviet Russia has felt compelled to increase its permanent garrison stationed on the territory of its satellites in Eastern Europe to 31 divisions after it promulgated the "Brezhnev Doctrine" and to deploy 41 divisions along the border with Red China.<sup>9</sup>

#### POSSIBLE U.S. RESPONSES

The detailed analysis of the pros and cons of various responses to the potential trawler threat is beyond the scope of this study, but the following could be considered:

**Short range:** (a) inclusion of regulation of Soviet trawler forces on the SALT agenda (b) extension of territorial waters to 200 miles (c) banning Soviet fishing ships selectively from approaching closer than 200 miles (precedent has been set by selectively restricting the travel of Soviet diplomats in the US) (d) stringent and comprehensive inspection of the trawlers on the high seas (this would require a far higher US Coast Guard budget) (e) consistent monitoring of the positions of all Soviet ships around the world and marked buildup of the US Navy and (f) support for commercial ventures near the Soviet shores. For example, US oil men could start drilling for oil outside Soviet territorial waters and erect suspicious huts on the decks of their rigs. Since these could conceal US weapons, the right to inspect them could be bartered for the right to in-

spect the Soviet trawlers near the US below as well as above the decks. The US could also support and underwrite commercial ventures in deep sea mining, preferentially near the Soviet shores. The supply ships for these ventures could not only pose a comparable threat to the Soviets as their trawlers do to us but would also provide jobs for American fishermen and seamen thrown out of work by foreign competition and also help defray the high costs of developing and sustaining the fleets. In addition, getting to the deep sea mineral resources could help decrease our dependence on foreign raw materials and mitigate the problems created by expropriation of American mining companies by foreign governments.

**Long range:** (a) diffusion of world power. The emergence of more superpowers would reduce the temptation to the USSR to go for broke by a surprise attack. (b) encourage tourism to the USSR by the militantly peace loving US and European youth. With luck, they may arouse and inspire their counterparts in the USSR, who, in turn, might be able to "vote out of power", or at least deter the hawks in the Soviet oligarchy. Youth initiated pressure may even inspire an aggressive Soviet Premier to resign or at least not to run for reelection, as happened to a US President not too long ago.

#### APPENDIX

##### A. Size and construction of Soviet deep sea fishing fleets—

The deep sea fishing fleets consist of over 4500 vessels. Many of these are stern trawlers which range in size from 2000 to 5000 tons. By comparison, a missile submarine is about 2000-3000 tons. A few of the short range cruise type missiles could be hidden on even the smaller size trawlers, since they are small enough to be carried on trucks and have a range of 150-200 miles (M. Labelle, The Guide, Wed. March 2, 1966). The newer, supersonic and nuclear tipped missiles, such as the "Lance" are even smaller—only 20 feet long and 2 feet in diameter (Beecher, NY Times, Aug. 9, 1971).

The construction of the stern trawlers is well suited to prevent premature aerial discovery. The normally well concealed rockets (perhaps even immune to casual inspection by international observers) could be brought above deck, serviced and readied for firing underneath the superstructure built around and over the conveyor belts, winches and other machinery used for hauling the large nets over the stern. The rockets could be moved to the open area at the rear of the trawler at the last moment prior to firing.

##### B. Rough balance of current US and Soviet nuclear arsenals—

In March of 1971, Defense Secretary Melvin R. Laird gave Congress an assessment of the arms balance projected for midyear then warned seven months later that the Soviet missile buildup was exceeding his earlier estimates:<sup>10</sup>

	United States	U.S.S.R.
Land launched ICBM's.....	1,054	1,500
Submarine launched missiles.....	656	400
Long-range bombers.....	569	" 175-195
Total number of warheads and bombs.....	13,400	12,000
Rough estimate of the power of strategic nuclear arms (in megatons) .....	7,111	10,874
Landmass in square miles.....	3,554,609	8,570,600

##### C. Soviet prospects for diminishing or neutralizing the US capability in the three major nuclear weapons systems—

(a) The Soviets have a considerable edge in numbers and size of land based ICBMs. It has been estimated that 420 out of the huge SS-9 missiles, each with a triple warhead, could paralyze the entire US Minutemen force in a single blow.<sup>11</sup> The Soviet force could reach this stage by mid seventies.

Footnotes at end of article.



While the Russian MIRV (Multiple, Independently Targeted Reentry Vehicle) warheads are thought to be large enough to knock out even the hardened American missile silos, they are considered rather inaccurate.<sup>16</sup> The US MIRVs are felt to be more accurate, yet there is a question as to whether they are powerful enough to destroy such targets. As each side corrects its deficiencies, the size and numbers of the Soviet forces will give it considerable advantages, which may or may not be fully neutralized by limited US antimissile networks around the Minutemen silos.

(b) Back in 1969 a panel of experts, chaired by Admiral Arleigh Burke, indicated that while the Soviets were not yet able to track US Polaris submarines effectively, they were working hard to overcome this disability.<sup>17</sup> The recently described ability of adequately equipped space labs to detect easily the thermal wake left by a nuclear submarine<sup>18</sup> must be disquieting to the US planners. The successful Soviet efforts to orbit large space stations have been described by the news media. These or even newer satellite systems could overcome the time lag between the actual observation of the thermal wake and the time when the satellite transmits its data to the control centers on earth. Once the nuclear submarines are located, the large numbers of Soviet ASW vessels might be able to neutralize the 41 US missile submarines. The Soviets now have 85 nuclear powered submarines, many of them hunter-killer types.<sup>19</sup> In addition, two years ago they already had 1,022 destroyers, frigates, ocean going escorts, patrol boats, submarines chasers and coastal escorts as to 757 comparable vessels in the US Navy. Once the relatively few missile submarines are located, each of them could be surrounded by a small fleet of ASW surface vessels and several hunter-killer subs. Since the latter could match our subs in speed and endurance, it might be especially difficult to shake them. Since the US probably could do the same to the Soviet submarines, a relative stand-off would result as far as this particular class of weapons are concerned.

(c) The large US advantage in bomber capability may already have been diminished considerably by deployment of the MIG 23 (FOXBAT). These planes can fly at Mach 2.3, operate at 70,000 feet and are equipped with downward looking radar and air to air missiles. The latter two features bode ill for the subsonic B52s whose pilots were supposed to evade the Soviet radar by flying at very low altitudes. The large US bombs may become an undeliverable pile of fissionable material.

If the Soviets produce and adapt a large number of their SST planes for carrying nuclear bombs, the balance of power may shift in favor of the Soviets even in this class of armaments. The fleet of 250 B-1 supersonic bombers proposed by the US Air Force at an estimated cost of 11.1 billion dollars (or 70 billion according to other estimates), may restore American preponderance.<sup>20</sup> Yet the Soviets may also improve their MIGs and rocket defenses sufficiently by the time these bombers become operational in late 70s or early 1980s.

D. Soviet economic supremacy after nuclear victory—Since they would expect to be victorious in a global conflict which they started, the Soviets could plan to blame the defeated Americans for starting the war which cost millions of Russian dead. They could pretend to have a genuine grievance against other UN members because the UN was not "stern" enough with the US to prevent such a holocaust. A Soviet demand for UN aid to rebuild the damage within the USSR might then be made to appear as a quest for reasonable compensation. The existing UN machinery could be adapted to impose levies and reparations on all countries of the world. In such circumstances, it would be a rare leader who could effectively resist a Soviet demand

for economic help to rebuild the damage inflicted on them by US counterstrikes. The shock and fear would be too great to enable the rest of the countries to argue against The Superpower which not only possessed overwhelming force but also had demonstrated its readiness to use it successfully. Eventually all United Nations members could become republics of the "Soviet World Union".

The Soviet rulers would mollify the surviving majority of their civilian population by liberal distribution of economic largesse extracted from the rest of the world. If the Soviets planned the surprise attack carefully, much of US productive capacity would remain intact and could also be taken over completely by the victors.

E. During the next decade the US is the only barrier to Soviet world supremacy—The Soviet rulers know that at this time and during the coming decade, the US is the only power standing between them and complete domination of the world. Red China is pushing the development of her nuclear arsenal but is not expected to have a substantial one until the mid 70s. Until then she is diverting a considerable amount of her scarce resources into building air raid and fall out shelters for her population.<sup>21</sup> The "force-de-frappe" of France and the few nuclear missile carrying submarines (purchased from the US) and ageing bombers of Great Britain are no match for even intermediate range nuclear strike forces of the USSR. The nuclear weapons reportedly produced by Israel are designed for Phantom aircraft delivery.<sup>22</sup> They barely reach the Soviet borders. Hence, they can be used only to impress the Arab rulers. No other country has been reported to have nuclear arms.

If the USSR could develop a mix of nuclear weapons, delivery and defense systems which appear to guarantee destruction of the US forces and minimal or even "repairable" damage to the USSR, the Soviet rulers might be tempted to order an all out attack. They may envision the arrival of a propitious moment within 5-10 years, when they have neutralized the US advantages, as described earlier.

The more than 100 billion dollars the US diverted to the ground war in Vietnam could have provided considerable nuclear protection. This diversion was a major factor which enabled the Soviets to close the gap. The belated realization by Red China of what a clear cut Soviet nuclear dominance during the next decade might mean, may be responsible for the Chinese initiative in the ping-pong diplomacy. The Chinese reportedly were shocked to learn through the Australian Communist party and others that the Russians were considering a nuclear strike if China continued its stubborn stand along the disputed central Asian boundary.<sup>23</sup> The border crisis passed but the Chinese have not forgotten how exposed they were.

#### F. Soviet fear of China and Japan—

While the Soviet fear of China is great, fear of a US-Chinese coalition is extreme. Apparently, the State Department is well aware of this. Within a few days of the announcement of the department of the US table tennis team for Peking, the State Department reassured the USSR that this was not intended as an anti-Soviet gesture. Superficially, such a reassurance was absurd as well as unprecedented—when a major government immediately associated a trip by a team of a minor sport with major foreign policy issues.

Another indication of Soviet concern with Red China was of a more personal nature. During the past years, I have been involved in several incidents concerning people from the Soviet fishing fleet who were potential or actual seekers of political asylum. During these incidents, I encountered more than a dozen Soviet diplomats from the USSR mission to the United Nations. This provided an

opportunity to observe the Soviet brand of pushiness as well as its effects on middle echelon US officials. One of these diplomats said that the Soviet Union saw only three major areas of concern i.e. those between the three major powers and that his particular field of interest was the relationship between the US and Red China. With one fell swoop of unexpected frankness, this Soviet diplomat, despite his assignment to the World Organization, relegated the myriad activities of the UN to a secondary role.

#### FOOTNOTES

<sup>1</sup> The Center for Strategic and International Studies, *Soviet Sea Power*, Special Report Series: No. 10, Washington, D.C., The Center for Strategic and International Studies, 1969, p. 95.

<sup>2</sup> Projections apparently do not reach this threshold: (A) The editors of *Jane's Fighting Ships*, Samson Low, Marston & Co., Ltd., London, 1971, have estimated that by mid 70s the USSR will have enough ships armed with nuclear weapons to destroy by a surprise attack all US rocket bases and strategic bomber airfields, (B) Congressman Sikes of Florida has recently warned "We are about to have a second class navy and this we cannot afford", Congressional Record, vol. 117, pt. 27, p. 34954.

<sup>3</sup> Novitski, J. "Latin Lands Turning to Europe for Arms", *New York Times* (May 4, 1971), 1.

<sup>4</sup> H. Kahn and G. R. Urban, "Most of the Traditional Causes of War Have Disappeared," *New York Times Magazine*, (June 24, 1971), 12-24.

<sup>5</sup> *New York Times*, April 8, 1971.

<sup>6</sup> Murphy, C. J. V., "Our Strategic-Arms Advantage is Fading Fast," *Reader's Digest*, (February, 1971), 94-98.

<sup>7</sup> Gilmore, K. O. "Soviet Submarines: New Challenge from Cuba," *Reader's Digest*, (May, 1971), 63-67.

<sup>8</sup> *New York Times*, May 21, 1971.

<sup>9</sup> *U.S. News and World Report*, July 26, 1971.

<sup>10</sup> Beecher, W. "Experts See Soviet and US Nuclear Armaments in Rough Balance," *New York Times*, May 21, 1971 and "Laird Warns of Soviet Missile Buildup Far Exceeding His Earlier Estimates", October 14, 1971.

<sup>11</sup> Includes 50 tankers which could also carry nuclear weapons but does not include any of the 1,200 Soviet intermediate-range bombers, some of which have been assumed to be able to make one-way bombing runs to the US, then land in Cuba according to Hunt, G.P. "Our Four-Star Military Mess", *Life*, June 16, 1971, 50-68.

<sup>12</sup> Two or more weapons carried by the B-52 make up a large share of this numerical advantage. This number does not include small tactical weapons carried by short range fighter planes.

<sup>13</sup> This number may deliberately have been calculated low, in order to assure US public. The actual number must be far higher since the submarine and land based missiles already number 1900. MIRV warheads and multiple bombs in Soviet planes do not seem to be included in Laird's statistics.

<sup>14</sup> The limited statistics obtained from published materials for making this estimate include: a) the Minuteman has a single 1M warhead b) the Poseidon missile has 10-14 warheads of 40K each c) the USSR has 300 large SS-9 missiles with a single 25M warhead or up to 5 warheads of 2M size d) the other Soviet ICBMs, the SS-11 and SS-13 have 1M warheads. It is assumed that each missile carried by a submarine has a punch equivalent to the Poseidon and that each long range bomber can carry about 10M. (1 Megaton (M)=1000 kilotons (K)=1,000,000 tons of TNT; the Hiroshima bomb was about 20 kilotons).

<sup>15</sup> Murphy, *Op. Cit.*, p. 95.

<sup>16</sup> Beecher, *Op. Cit.*, p. 2.

<sup>17</sup> The Center for Strategic and International Studies, *Op. Cit.*, p. 41.

- <sup>18</sup> Time, May 3, 1971, p. 68.  
<sup>19</sup> Hunt, Op. Cit., p. 66.  
<sup>20</sup> Mitgang, H. "New Wings for 1984", *New York Times*, (June 7, 1971), 23.  
<sup>21</sup> Topping, Seymour, "China, With Eye on Soviet and U.S., Pushes Raid-Shelter Program", *New York Times*, (June 5, 1971), 2.  
<sup>22</sup> Nes, D. G. "Israel—the 51st State?", *New York Times*, (June 5, 1971), 24.  
<sup>23</sup> Topping, Op. Cit., p. 2.

## THE SENATOR AND THE RADICALS: HUBERT JOINS BUG-OUT BRIGADE

HON. WILLIAM J. SCHERLE

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 24, 1972

Mr. SCHERLE. Mr. Speaker, in a recent issue, the Republican National Committee's hard-slugging publication, Monday, reminded its readers that while HUBERT HUMPHREY is now critical of President Nixon's efforts to protect American lives in Vietnam, he was in fact a strong supporter of similar attempts back in 1967 and 1968 when his party and his President were in the White House. To refresh both the Senator's memory and that of others who may have forgotten, I include the article in the RECORD.

I also include a column about the GOP weekly which was written by Ralph de Toledano and appeared in the San Diego Union newspaper:

### THE SENATOR AND THE RADICALS: HUBERT JOINS BUG-OUT BRIGADE

Vice President Hubert Humphrey about Vietnam, quoted in the Department of State Bulletin, May 16, 1966: "It won't be easy. It will be frustrating and at times heartbreaking. But if we are not to deny the principles in which we believe, we must stay and see it through. And the free nations of the world need to know that we have the vision and endurance to do so."

In signing a pledge affirming his support for the removal of all U.S. support from the South Vietnamese government, Sen. Hubert Humphrey has ceased being a responsible spokesman for his party and has instead cast his lot with the extreme left whose goal has always been not merely a U.S. withdrawal from Vietnam but rather a U.S. defeat and a Communist take-over of that country.

As reported by the *New York Times*, Humphrey spoke recently to the American Association for the Advancement of Science and after his talk two leaders of "a national organization of radical scientists and engineers" persuaded HHH to sign a pledge affirming his support for: (1) the setting of a date for total withdrawal of all U.S. forces, including air power, from Indochina and the stopping of all bombing; (2) removal of U.S. support for the Thieu government in Saigon.

### HUMPHREY FIRST TO SIGN UP

As quoted in the *Times*, one of the radical leaders, John Froines, a defendant in the Chicago 7 trial and a leader of last Spring's Mayday disruptions whose goal was to shut down the Federal Government, was happy and somewhat surprised at Humphrey's defection. HHH's signature on the document was "the first time that one of the Democratic front-runners not only called for setting a date for total withdrawal but for removal of support for the Thieu regime," Froines declared.

Humphrey's new found desire to pull the rug out from under South Vietnam without regard to the consequences either to the

people of that country or our fighting men and POW's there is, as *Newsweek* columnist Stewart Alsop has put it, "an act of gross immorality." To cut South Vietnam off at the knees, Alsop has written, "to force those who have fought on our side to surrender would be a terrible betrayal, an act of gross immorality."

Even the ultra-liberal *Washington Post* has editorially labeled irresponsible those antiwar critics who want to get our troops out of Vietnam without regard to the prisoners-of-war and those who favor no U.S. aid to Saigon after American participation in combat ends. The pledge signed by Hubert Humphrey addresses itself to neither of these obligations.

### HHH BACKS VIETCONG

Commenting on Humphrey's signing of the radical, cut-and-run pledge, the *Washington Daily News* editorialized: "It is disappointing that Sen. Hubert H. Humphrey, with his long acquaintance with foreign affairs, has embraced the Viet Cong's key plank for 'settling' the Vietnam war. Sen. Humphrey now has completed a long voyage from apologist for President Johnson's conduct of the war to backer of the radical antiwar position . . . it is shocking that a responsible politician would buy the Communist line that the way to peace is by 'removal of support' for Saigon. This is a cover phrase for withholding military and economic aid from the Thieu regime, while China and Russia continue to lavish weapons on the North Vietnamese."

"It is also a euphemism for betraying the anti-Communist South Vietnamese who fought on the American side."

"In the long run, the Communists will prevail in Vietnam, but we see no reason why the United States or Sen. Humphrey should make it easier for them."

### HUBERT HUMPHREY ON THE BOMBING— THEN AND NOW

Sen. Humphrey's criticism of President Nixon's efforts to take all steps necessary in Vietnam to protect American lives, including selective bombing of North Vietnam, is strange. Strange because it was Vice President Hubert Humphrey who was a strong defender of this very concept when his party and his President were bombing. For example: In a *Washington Post* story dated Aug. 20, 1968, HHH was reported as taking a "hard line" on Vietnam, particularly the bombing of North Vietnam, saying that the war would not be solved by "weakness and withdrawal." HHH declared that "no President has the right to sacrifice the men of this country to make himself look good," according to the *Post*.

In 1967 before the Grocery Manufacturers of America, Humphrey raised the question of bombing and noted that the subject always came up in the U.S. but almost never in Vietnam. If you're a doubter about the efficacy of the bombing, Hubert declared, "you ask any of the American boys dug in under artillery fire along the DMZ. I suggest you ask our troops in the Central Highlands in the Delta who face mortars and guns carried in from the North."

Admittedly the fact that Hubert Humphrey is currently at odds with his former self on yet another issue is hardly news. But for the record, somebody ought to mention it.

[From the San Diego Union, Jan. 5, 1972]

### BATTLE OF WORDS BEGINS TO FIND BETTER BALANCE

(By Ralph de Toledano)

Back in the days when a Democrat sat in the White House, Republican senators would moan and groan at some of the presidential appointments sent up for confirmation. But the minority leader, the late Everett M. Dirksen, had a standing admonition: A president has the right to appoint whom he will, bar-

ring charges of high crimes or moral turpitude.

That right must have been reserved to Democrats, if the experience of the past year proves anything. Democratic senators have made it an open season on President Nixon's appointees, attacking or rejecting them for reason's ranging from "lack of sensitivity" to the ideas they hold in their heads.

For the most part, the Republicans have taken this with a patience bordering on masochism.

It's a good sign, however, that the Republicans have begun to strike back—good for them and good for the nation's political health. Lyn Nofziger, deputy chairman of the Republican National Committee and a former newsman, circulated a memorandum on Sen. Edward Kennedy which caused anguish in certain circles but which said forthrightly what should have long been said in this country—and is now being written in the British press.

And John Lofton Jr. has been editing a sprightly but tough-minded monthly, *First Monday*, and a weekly newsletter which have been striking the opposition where it counts.

There are those who like to see the battle of words more evenly balanced.

Nofziger, Lofton, and the Republican National Committee are, it should be noted, taking some risks. There are those in the GOP who persist in the belief that elections are won by cottoning up to the enemy and endorsing his ideas. These apostles of pussyfooting have already complained, but so far their counsel has been ignored.

In the current issue of *First Monday*, Lofton puts the Democratic Party's presidential hopefuls on the spot. Where do these politicians, who sadly deplored President Nixon's stand against busing and his order that the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare hold the practice down to the minimum required by law, themselves stand?

Well, Sen. Edmund Muskie calls it a "legitimate tool" but adds that he doesn't like it. Sen. Henry Jackson says he's not against it if it serves "a useful purpose"—"whatever that means," Lofton interposes.

Seven years ago, Sen. Edward Kennedy saw it as a "sound and historic principle" that children should not be bused—but now he's for it "if it's necessary." Sen. Hubert Humphrey is for it "under certain circumstances"—which he does not explain. Sen. George McGovern goes along because "it's the law of the land."

But *First Monday* really puts icing on the cake by turning to Mike Wallace of CBS, whose program "60 Minutes" went to the nitty-gritty of the question. He announced where Washington's liberals—particularly those who criticized Mr. Nixon—send their children to school.

### Reports First Monday:

"Among liberals sending their children to private school in the D.C. area: Sens. Muskie, Kennedy, Hart, Bayh and Mondale; Rep. Walter Fauntroy, a Negro who represents the District of Columbia in Congress; Rep. Donald Fraser, Democrat of Minnesota; N.Y. Times columnist Tom Wicker; Washington Post editor Benjamin Bradlee, Post editorial page editor Philip Geyelin, Post radical columnist Nicholas von Hoffman; and top McGovern aide Frank Mankiewicz."

"Senator McGovern who has moved into the District from Maryland still sends his daughter to a Maryland high school approximately 3 per cent black, Wallace reported, even though this means a tuition charge of \$1,450."

In other words, while they support busing for my children and yours, they keep their own in private schools where desegregation is, at best, nominal.

Do as I say, not as I do—is that their slogan?

Perhaps they feel as Mrs. George Meany, wife of the AFL-CIO president, when she



said: "Anybody who don't like us can lump us." (George Meany really doesn't care about what people say; he has three sons-in-law on the AFL-CIO payroll, and at one time two daughters—but he doesn't have to worry about elections the way senators and congressmen must.)

Keep on punching, Lyn and John.

### LEGAL OPINION OF POW QUESTION

**HON. RICHARD T. HANNA**

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 24, 1972

Mr. HANNA. Mr. Speaker, last fall the House voted on a motion by the gentleman from Massachusetts to cut off funds for U.S. military activity in Indochina. I voted against that motion, Mr. Speaker, not because I am any the less desirous of an end to this war but because I had a strong fear that such a move by the Congress at a critical time in our withdrawal program would have a seriously damaging effect on efforts to secure the release of our POW's.

After the vote I wrote to the State Department asking for a legal opinion on the effect of the amendment on the POW question. During the recess I received a reply to my questions and I want to share this information with the Members of the House. The reply from the Department of State follows:

DECEMBER 28, 1971.

HON. RICHARD T. HANNA,  
House of Representatives,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. HANNA: This is in response to your letter of December 13, 1971 to Mr. Starr of the Legal Adviser's Office concerning the legal consequences of the proposal put forward by Representative Boland to cut off funds for United States military activities in Indochina after June 1, 1972.

As you may recall, the floor debate in the House reflected considerable doubt as to the legal effect of the proposal, and in particular whether it would result in an automatic cutoff of funds after June 1, 1972.

The Administration opposed the proposal because its adoption would have undermined the objectives we are pursuing with respect to the Indochina conflict.

By setting a fixed date for ending United States combat and support operations and by cutting off funds after that date, the Boland proposal ran counter to the dual track approach of Vietnamization and negotiations. Its passage would have seriously impeded the Vietnamization program of carefully staged transfers of responsibility to our South Vietnamese ally, and would have removed a major remaining incentive for Hanoi to negotiate seriously. They would be encouraged simply to wait out the deadline rather than pursue talks genuinely designed to protect the interests of all parties to the Indochina conflict.

In regard to prisoners of war, the United States position has been to deal with this as a humanitarian issue rather than cynically exploiting it as a political one. We still have on the table at Paris a broad and reasonable negotiating offer which includes the immediate and unconditional release of all prisoners of war throughout Indochina. We would strongly prefer such immediate release; failing that, however, we are most anxious to secure a release as part of an overall settlement. For the reasons noted above, the

Boland proposal would have undercut our efforts on the prisoner of war issue.

If I can be of any further assistance, please do not hesitate to let me know.

Sincerely yours,

DAVID M. ABSHIRE,

Assistant Secretary for Congressional Relations.

### BUFFALO AREA GROUP HEARS U.S. REHABILITATION CHIEF

**HON. THADDEUS J. DULSKI**

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 24, 1972

Mr. DULSKI. Mr. Speaker, we in the Niagara Frontier area of upstate New York are extremely proud of the progress which has been made on vocational rehabilitation.

This is a most vital area of activity and one which cries for support and understanding. It is an important factor in our frustrating overall welfare problem.

In the closing days of the first session of the 92d Congress, the Rehabilitation Association of Western New York, Inc., assembled some 200 members to hear an address by Commissioner Edward Newman of the Rehabilitation Services Administration of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare.

Because the House was in session, I was not able to attend the affair as I had planned. However, I was represented by an aide.

In the Niagara Frontier area, the local center has evaluated, trained, and placed over 100 individuals in competitive employment. This represents a total annual payroll of over \$500,000 per year.

Included in this group are 46 individuals who formerly were receiving public assistance. Placing them in productive employment has cut welfare costs by some \$200,000 per year.

Commissioner Newman made an excellent presentation of the overall rehabilitation problem and I am including his text with my remarks:

SPEECH BY COMMISSIONER EDWARD NEWMAN, REHABILITATION SERVICES ADMINISTRATION

When social service professionals get together these days, most of the discussion is about the welfare crisis, and what can be done about it.

For welfare is indeed in a state of crisis, growing more urgent and threatening every day not only to those who must administer the programs, but to those elected officials who are responsible for the health and vitality of the State and the local community.

While this problem is uppermost in the minds of every thoughtful citizen and every responsible public official, we must not lose sight of the fact that, during these past four decades of the decline and perhaps imminent fall of public welfare, there has been another human resource program under public auspices whose record of achievement has been on the ascendant.

It has served people whose incomes were at or near the poverty-level, and whose problems were complicated by physical or mental disability. It has consistently grown in numbers of people served as well as numbers restored to productive work, and furthermore, its cost benefits are easily accountable and visible.

### VOCATIONAL REHABILITATION

I speak, of course, of the public program of vocational rehabilitation, and I submit to you that this program has a great deal to offer as a model and guide to those who are framing the new welfare structure.

Basic to the success of the rehabilitation program are the rehabilitation facilities and workshops which were operating in this country long before the Public Welfare Program. The rehabilitation facility movement began when one of the first rehabilitation centers was established in Cleveland in 1889.

Your own Niagara Frontier Vocational Rehabilitation Center in Buffalo (directed by the very able president-elect of the Rehabilitation Association) is a direct descendant of this program.

One of the highest priorities of the rehabilitation program is to continue making use of the private and public resources to help people leave the welfare rolls, by preparing them for work and helping them get jobs.

Today, the national mood demands that the greatest emphasis in public programs be placed on dependency reduction, and the de-institutionalization of people. In striving to meet both of these goals, rehabilitation facilities and workshops will play a crucial role, since they form the very basis of our approach to the new rehabilitation service system.

### RELIES ON LOCAL RESOURCES

This system is unique among public programs, because it relies essentially on the resources in the local community—medical, educational, vocational, and the private, voluntary rehabilitation facilities.

By design, not chance, the rehabilitation program over the years has carefully cultivated these community resources through the establishment of facilities, through leadership, and through program development.

Last year, for example, one-third of all the basic program funds appropriated for rehabilitation were spent in establishing or purchasing services from rehabilitation facilities.

The key to this delivery system is "interdependence"—the joint planning and the programs provided by the public and private, voluntary sectors.

Our mutual goals—the reduction of dependency, and de-institutionalization—can be accomplished only through the enhancement of this public-private partnership.

### CONCERNED WITH ALL FACTORS

As advocates for the disabled, we are concerned about comprehensive services to handicapped people, and the removal of obstacles—whether they be legal, bureaucratic, attitudinal or whatever.

As many of you know from your work with the State program, at various times to various people, vocational rehabilitation has been classified as a health problem, an educational problem, a social services problem or a manpower problem.

The confusion arises because vocational rehabilitation is all of these: a system addressed to the total needs of the handicapped person. The labels are not important, as long as the integrity of the delivery system remains.

The fragmented needs of individuals—educational, medical, psychological, social services, job placement and follow-up, are put together again as components of the total VR system.

For example, we need only to look at the Niagara Frontier Vocational Center. Comprehensive services are provided, beginning with a careful evaluation and assessment, leading to a sequence of services, and finally to independent living or vocational employment.

The array of services includes: counseling, evaluation, adjustment, training in occupational skills, job try-out, placement, physical therapy and remedial education.

## INTEGRATION OF SERVICES VITAL

Service integration takes place through coordination with the Employment Service, the Buffalo Board of Education, the New York Office of Vocational Rehabilitation, Goodwill Industries, the Community Rehabilitation Center, the Workshop for the Mentally Retarded, the Welfare Office, and the Commission for the Visually Handicapped.

The State VR agency purchases services from this fine facility, and has provided special funds to train handicapped persons in job skills, as well as technical assistance to exchange ideas and to improve service.

Johnny Evanko, the area coordinator, has the reputation of working very effectively with the private sector. A relationship with the University is established through Dr. Jacques, the Director of the rehabilitation counseling program at the State University here in Buffalo.

But you know all this. I did not come from Washington to tell you what is already widely recognized—that the Niagara Center is an outstanding example of a rehabilitation facility which serves as a keystone of an integrated service delivery system.

I cite it as an example of what we are moving toward as we develop a national model for integrated service delivery for every State.

## AN EXEMPLARY PROGRAM

I cite it also as a success story of the vocational rehabilitation program at a time when program planners for public programs are looking for success stories in a generally disheartening scenario.

Many people are growing more impatient with needy and dependent people who do not appear to want to help themselves. Many more are impatient with the programs we have developed so far to help dependent people to restore their independence and dignity.

In 1954, when the U.S. Congress passed legislation which substantially broadened the scope of the rehabilitation program, authorizing a series of sweeping changes and reforms, President Eisenhower said:

"This law is especially noteworthy in two respects. In the first place, it emphasizes to all the world the great value which we in America place upon the dignity and worth of each individual human being. Second, it is a humanitarian investment of great importance, yet it saves substantial sums of money for both Federal and State governments."

## REHABILITATION IN DOLLAR TERMS

That statement, true in 1954, remains equally true today. Last year, approximately three-quarters of a billion dollars was added to the Nation's economy as a result of the rehabilitation program, which restored a record 291,272 disabled people to productive activity.

Our studies showed that these people earned an estimated \$770 million more than the year before they entered the process.

Projected as lifetime earnings, these figures exceed 9 billion dollars in increased earnings—just for those rehabilitated in 1971, and of course taxpayers will share substantially in these earnings, as increased taxes paid by the rehabilitants—and the reduction in tax-supported payments for their maintenance.

I am sure my friend Frank Zweig will agree that statistics are only one view of the program's benefits to society. We do not support this program because it pays us back for every dollar put into it.

We support it because it is right—right in the context of American society, right in the context of human concern for our fellow citizens, and right in the context of contributing to our nation's strength and well-being.

## PUBLIC CONCERN ESSENTIAL

One measure of an enlightened, democratic society is the degree of public concern displayed for the well-being of its citizens.

In the Seventies, we look forward to increasing the number of rehabilitations annually. This year, we expect to reach 300,000. But even at this pace, we are not keeping abreast of the rising numbers of newly-handicapped.

Like other actual statistics, it is a factor of our growing population, the hazards of our own way of life—especially the highways—and the toll taken by birth defects and disease.

We anticipate growing demands on a program which has always been dynamic rather than static, and which has always "reached out" rather than "sat tight."

While we seek to remain responsive to the financial, manpower, and technological demands of a growing client population, we also must see to it that every measure is taken to intensify the effectiveness of our program—to make it deeper as well as broader.

1. We must press vigorously for more accessible public buildings, business establishments, and places of employment through the removal of architectural barriers—including public transportation which often is the last obstacle between the disabled person and a job.

## INCREASE EMPLOYER AWARENESS

2. We must continue our campaign to make employers aware that instead of hiring the disabled as a duty, they will be employing trained people with special skills.

3. We must encourage the establishment of rehabilitation facilities which meet the needs of disabled people and of their employers.

4. We must require better standards of performance and accreditation of programs to insure quality services.

5. We must do far more than we have done to take the program to those who can benefit from it, but who—for whatever reason—are not receiving essential services.

6. We must continue our own internal program analysis and self-study to develop a better system of delivery of services to disabled people, in the interests of efficiency and productivity.

7. And we must become far more active as advocates for the handicapped—knocking at the doors of legislators and congressmen, local government officials, and the general public, to win their support and to tell them the rehabilitation story.

For in the final analysis, the growth and effectiveness of the rehabilitation program in the community and in the neighborhood—as it reaches out to your neighbor, your friend, or perhaps someone in your own family—is directly related to the support given to the program by community people.

## STATES SET OWN BENCHMARKS

In establishing a matching program for funding the State-federal partnership, Congress saw to it that the States could set their own benchmarks, by virtue of their own willingness to participate financially.

The character and vigor, the concern and the scope of each State's program is determined, ultimately, in the community, and in the State Capitol by a Legislature and a Governor who set the State's contribution, and by elected officials in Washington who establish the limits of the Federal share.

I am well aware of the administrative and financial difficulties which impede optimum growth of the New York State program, as indeed they do in many States in the nation whose rehabilitation closures and rates lag far behind their proportionate populations and affluence.

There are some bright spots in the New York picture, especially here in Western New York where Buffalo is the center for many progressive approaches to unmet needs.

Buffalo's rehabilitation rate has been significantly ahead of the State average, and the area has moved decisively into the area

of providing services to minority groups, the disadvantaged, and the rural disabled.

## BE SURE NO ONE MISSED

Outreach efforts in model cities programs in the area, and for rural populations, find counselors in such settings as social service agencies and county hospitals—even using an answering service to make sure no calls for help or information are missed.

The Niagara Center, with one of the few training services grants in the nation and the only one in the State outside of Metropolitan New York, has been one of the major reasons for such commendable activity in the State.

Last year, on the occasion of the 50th anniversary of the State-federal program of vocational rehabilitation, President Nixon paid tribute to the rehabilitated citizens who have made this program a success. He said, "I salute the courageous handicapped people who are the true heroes in these victories over tremendous adversity."

In a few years, we will mark the 200th anniversary of American independence, and of our founding as a new nation and a new society.

In 1976, I earnestly hope that we can point to the rehabilitation program as evidence that America has kept faith with its principles, and that after two centuries we are still committed to seeking for every American his fullest opportunity for rewarding work, for dignity, and for independence.

## TRIBUTE TO ELIOT B. FELDMAN

## HON. THOMAS M. REES

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 24, 1972

Mr. REES. Mr. Speaker, the Samuel Fryer Yavneh Hebrew Academy, of Los Angeles, has designated Eliot B. Feldman, a prominent Los Angeles attorney, as the honoree of its annual dinner at the Century Plaza Hotel, Los Angeles Room, on Sunday evening, February 6, 1972. The academy is a parochial school, affording quality religious and secular education to more than 400 pupils in the elementary grades.

Eliot Feldman is an ordained rabbi and a member of the California and New York bars. I have had the pleasure of working with him for a number of years and have been impressed with his character, learning, and ability and the rare qualities of leadership which he has demonstrated in his multifarious activities on behalf of the religious, civic, and political life of Los Angeles.

The honorary cochairmen of the event are Nathan Shapell, a prominent Southern California real estate developer and member of California's "Little Hoover Commission"; California Attorney General Evelle J. Younger; and Los Angeles District Attorney Joseph Busch. Mr. Feldman has long been active with these gentlemen in civic and community activities. Eugene L. Wyman is chairman, and California Assembly Speaker Bob Moretti is the featured speaker. I am a member of the honorary committee.

I know the Members of this House will want to join these gentlemen in this well-deserved tribute to Eliot Feldman and a salute to this fine educational institution for its splendid contribution to the education of our youngsters and its success in transmitting to them the best traditions of the American and Hebrew cultures.



# THE COST OF HEPATITIS AND COMMERCIAL BLOOD

HON. VICTOR V. VEYSEY

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 24, 1972

Mr. VEYSEY. Mr. Speaker, one of the Nation's leading experts on blood donating and hepatitis is Dr. J. Garrott Allen, a professor of surgery at the Stanford Medical Center. Dr. Allen has been studying blood transfusion problems since 1945. His findings have been widely published. One such study briefly documents the severe social and economic costs which hepatitis inflicts on its victims. Hepatitis is an extremely painful and persistent disease. Its cost to patients and hospitals across the Nation is immense.

I recently introduced a bill, H.R. 11828, which would remove the need to rely so heavily on the proven primary source of serum hepatitis: The commercial blood donor. I invite my colleagues to join me on this important bill.

The material follows:

## THE COST OF HEPATITIS AND COMMERCIAL BLOOD

(By J. Garrott Allen, M.D.)

Serum hepatitis can be a serious complication of the transfusion of blood or blood products, but there are also important socio-economic consequences of this disease. The economics of commercialism in blood have been well considered and discussed in the recent monograph by Titmuss,<sup>1</sup> and except for a few economists<sup>2</sup> and a few blood bankers,<sup>3</sup> his body of information has been well accepted. Those with differing views acknowledge the great hazard from commercial and prison blood, and that this hazard exceeds 10 to 1, compared to blood from volunteer donors, but they appear to overlook the cost of hospitalization and the unemployment that may extend from a few weeks to several years. Isolation techniques are required, which increase the costs. In the Bay area, this amounts to approximately ninety dollars a day.

The Center for Disease Control in Atlanta reported 52,583 cases of serum hepatitis for the year ending June 30, 1970. They believe this number represents a minimal figure because reporting of cases and the maintenance of records are generally inadequate. The CDC estimates that the actual incidence may be two to ten times greater than the reported fifty-two thousand.

How many of these patients are hospitalized each year for serum hepatitis is not known. Of those who are, the duration of hospitalization ranges from a few days to a few months. It would seem reasonable to compute, for an employed adult, the economic losses on the basis of a mean hospital stay of ten days and a mean loss of work of 60 days, and to estimate that about half of the reported cases are hospitalized. Relevant computations for these assumptions are shown in Table I.

In Table II-A are shown the incidence rates for positive Australia antigen results in populations that have been screened and classified as to their origin, commercial and prison donors, and the much smaller rate of encounter among volunteer donors. The ratios shown appear to be about the same by whatever method used for screening for the Au antigen. Unfortunately, however, these tests will detect only about 25% to 30% of donors who are capable of transmitting serum hepa-

titis. It is therefore necessary to examine the actual attack rates for serum hepatitis among recipients of blood, recognizing the blood or its source according to socio-economic status.

In Table II-B are several clinical studies which show that, for Au positive blood, the detection rates range between one in 1,500 and one in 1,800 volunteer donors. Although the ratios of frequency in occurrence of Au positive commercial bloods is in excess of ten times that reported for blood from volunteer donors, and essentially the same as for clinically recognized hepatitis, it is apparent from Table II-B that these tests fail to pick up about 75% of carriers in both groups. Therefore, the numbers of cases of clinically icteric serum hepatitis per 1,000 transfusions given is considerably greater than might be anticipated from the Au antigen tests. These calculations ignore the possibilities of the much larger numbers of anicteric cases that may occur.

## COMMENTS

Serum hepatitis is ten times more frequently encountered from transfusion than it need be, due primarily to the use of commercial blood. As little as 40% of commercial blood will increase the attack rate ten times or more. Serum hepatitis is therefore the cause of death ten times more often than it need be. It is also ten times more expensive than it need be in our present transfusion system.

With an all-volunteer blood program, the frequency of this disease, the numbers who die from it, its cost in hospital days and in days lost to productive work would be reduced by 90% of its present levels. At that point we would be dealing with a 10% residuum of the numbers of cases and cost that now exist. These conclusions are shown to be warranted from reported clinical experience as well as from the results of Au antigen tests.

Because the mean number of transfusions the average patient receives is about 3, it appears doubtful that the routine screening by the Au antigen test, with present techniques, will materially reduce the number of cases of hepatitis that develop. This speculation needs to be tested against large populations of transfused patients, in which the numbers and sources of transfusions per patient are accurately recorded, and the results of the Au antigen test for each unit is known. It is also important to know which test was used and whether under pilot or routine conditions. Such a study should be undertaken, in which no patient is given an Au antigen positive blood and in which the post-transfusion course of all transfused patients is known. The reliability of such a study will depend almost completely upon the excellence of epidemiology for each patient transfused.

Lander et al.<sup>4</sup> have found that measurement of the Au antibody, by their technique, is much more sensitive than measurement of the Au antigen. They reported that approximately 20% of the population carried Au antibodies and that, after a series of transfusion, 82% of patients receiving multiple transfusions developed a positive Au antibody response. Their results exceed considerably that of clinical experience. Stated otherwise, they find a positive Au antibody response in excess of twenty times that observed clinically. Transfusions would probably have to be abandoned altogether if a positive Au antibody response in the patient was to be interpreted as a case of serum hepatitis. On the other hand, if this is considered to be an amnesic response from a previous infection, it becomes an interesting observation without necessarily implying that the patient had more than an immune response to hepatitis. It may be that a patient with a higher titer of antibody to the Au antigen is less likely to develop the disease, or at least that his disease may be moderated by the presence of antibody. The possibility may exist that at some titer level,

the Au antibody concentration may indicate that the patient is immune to serum hepatitis, and conversely, at a very low titer, he may be more susceptible to serum hepatitis than the average patient. These speculative possibilities need further study.

TABLE I.—ESTIMATED ANNUAL COSTS OF SERUM HEPATITIS—HOSPITAL AND DISABILITY COSTS FOR 25,000 REPORTED CASES OF SERUM HEPATITIS

	1 day	10 days	60 days
Hospital costs:			
a. Single room	\$88	\$880	
b. Medications and laboratory charges	10	100	
c. Physicians' fees	10	100	
Total	108	1,080	
Total for estimated 25,000 hospitalized patients	2,700,000	27,000,000	
Loss of earnings—			
At \$2 per hour	16		960
At \$4 per hour	32		1,920
At \$5 per hour	40		2,400
At \$6 per hour	48		2,880
At \$10 per hour	80		4,800

<sup>1</sup> Loss at \$5 per hour with 10-day hospitalization and 50-day convalescence period for 25,000 patients:  
Hospital costs for 10 days.....\$27,000,000  
Loss of Income for 60 days.....60,000,000

Total.....87,000,000

## RATIO OF SERUM HEPATITIS FROM VOLUNTEER BLOOD AND FROM COMMERCIAL BLOOD

A. Results from Au positive blood tests:  
Philadelphia (Blumberg; 1969)<sup>5</sup> 20 to 1 from commercial donors.

Washington, D.C. (Holland, 1969)<sup>6</sup> 16 to 1 from commercial donors.

New York City (Prince et al. 1971)<sup>7</sup> 12 to 1 from commercial donors.

Boston (Kliman, 1971)<sup>8</sup> 15 to 1 from prison donors: Volunteer—51,259=34 Au pos. tests. Prison—1,170=18 Au pos. tests.

Northern California (unpublished, 1971)<sup>9</sup> 11 to 1 from Commercial donors: Volunteer—14,032=8 Au pos. tests. Commercial—13,252=80 Au pos. tests.

B. Results from Clinical Experience:  
Chicago (Allen et al. 1959)<sup>10</sup> 11 to 1 cases of clinical icteric hepatitis from commercial donors.

New Jersey (Cohen & Dougherty, 1968)<sup>11</sup> 70 to 1 from 100% addict and commercial donors.

Seattle (Boeve et al., 1969)<sup>12</sup> greater than 11 to 1 with commercial fibrinogen added to volunteer blood.

Washington, D.C. (Walsh et al., 1970)<sup>13</sup> greater than 11 to 1 from commercial donors.

## FOOTNOTES

<sup>1</sup> Titmuss, R. M. The Gift Relationship: From Human Blood to Social Policy, New York 1971.

<sup>2</sup> Culyer, A. J. Lancet 1971, i, 602.

<sup>3</sup> Wildmann, F. K. JAMA, 1971, 216, 1649.

<sup>4</sup> Lander, J. J., Alter, H. J., Purcell, R. H., J. Immunology, 1971, 106:1166.

<sup>5</sup> Blumberg, B. S.; Holland, P. V. Nat. Research Council, Symposium on Laboratory Screening Tests for Hepatitis Carriers, Oct. 31/Nov. 1, 1969, Washington, D.C.

<sup>6</sup> Cherubin, C. E., Prince, A. M. Transfusion 1971, 11, 25.

<sup>7</sup> Kliman, A. New Engl. J. O. Med. 1971, 284, 109.

<sup>8</sup> Blood Bank, Northern California: Personal Communication 1971.

<sup>9</sup> Allen, J. G., Dawson, D., Sayman, W. A., Humphreys, E. M., Benham, R. S., Havens, I. Ann. Surg. 1959, 150, 455.

<sup>10</sup> Cohen, S. N., Dougherty, W. J. JAMA 1968, 203, 139.

<sup>11</sup> Boeve, N. R., Winterscheid, L. C., Merendino, K. A. Ann. Surg. 1969, 170, 833.

<sup>12</sup> Walsh, J. H., Purcell, R. H., Morrow, A. G., Chanock, R. M., Schmidt, P. J. JAMA 1970, 211, 261

## WHY THE SPACE SHUTTLE MAKES SENSE

## HON. DEL CLAWSON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 24, 1972

Mr. DEL CLAWSON. Mr. Speaker, Mr. Lawrence Lessing writing in the January 1972, issue of *Fortune* magazine effectively replies to some of the questions that have been raised regarding the space shuttle program. He touches on the economy achieved by concurrent development which, unfortunately, also leads to deceptively high national cost figures.

He describes the tie-in of the space program with U.S. defense and outlines the far-reaching goals of this program relating the goals to our national aspirations.

The budget-cutting measures applied in the past development of the shuttle are discussed as well as the misinterpretation of the 1970 Rand study cited by opponents of the space shuttle.

In the light of the President's announced support for the shuttle, it is especially important that this information be brought to the attention of my colleagues in the House.

Under leave to extend my remarks in the *Record*, I insert at this point the article entitled, "Why the Space Shuttle Makes Sense," by Lawrence Lessing:

WHY THE SPACE SHUTTLE MAKES SENSE  
(By Lawrence Lessing)

It is time to develop a space program that is economically sustainable. With reusable vehicles, launch costs could be drastically cut, and the U.S. could afford to preserve its hard-won lead in exploring the cosmos.

The U.S. space program is entering an entirely new stage of development. The first stage featured high adventure—reaching the moon and proving that men can walk upon it. The new stage, less glamorous and doubtless less gripping to the man in the street, will feature the more prosaic task of making space flight economical, of putting it on a basis in which our knowledge may be cultivated and extended over a long period of time.

Some two years ago a presidential task force, set up to review the space program, recommended that the next big goal in space be the building of a space shuttle system. This would involve a new class of reusable rocket boosters, and spacecraft able to fly routinely in and out of space, much like conventional aircraft. Instead of being thrown away on each flight as Saturn-Apollo equipment is—at a cost of some \$280 million per mission—the new vehicles would return intact to earth to be launched and flown again. The goal would be vehicles good for at least a hundred missions. The system could reduce the cost of putting men and payloads in orbit from about \$1,000 per pound to around \$100. Eventually these vehicles would provide the first transportation link to an orbiting space station, a permanent base on the moon, exploration of the planets, and much more. All together, they would lay the basis for a multipurpose space transportation system, viable for perhaps a quarter of a century, that would insure the nation's hard-won lead in space.

Needless to say, given the present economic climate and apathy about space, the project has met some sharp opposition, on the score of both high initial costs and lack of immediate "relevance." And, indeed, a shuttle system would be a large, long, and expensive

undertaking. Its costs could run anywhere from \$9 billion to \$14 billion, spread over the next decade. But the shuttle's basic economic appeal helped to get its small initial budgets safely through two sessions of Congress. Last summer the National Aeronautics and Space Administration selected the first hardware contractor, the Rocketdyne Division of North American Rockwell, to build the big liquid-hydrogen engines needed—the item requiring the longest lead time. That contract, expected to run for a decade, will by itself amount to some \$1 billion. In 1972, NASA will be moving toward a critical decision on the shuttle vehicles themselves. The decision to build them will represent a final commitment to the program, and will certainly be preceded by more heated debate.

## TIME FOR DEBATE

It is well for democratic processes that the debate is occurring now, rather than long after the letting of firm hardware contracts. In the Apollo program, launched in an atmosphere of urgency about catching up with the Russians in space, appropriations were rushed through and all contracts let within the span of a single year, with hardly a dissenting vote. Only in 1963, with costs mounting (as projected earlier), and with a presidential election looming, did congressional attacks on the space program begin. No such precipitate haste has marked the initiation of the shuttle project. For two years three big aerospace combines—North American Rockwell teamed with General Dynamics, Grumman Aerospace with Boeing, and McDonnell Douglas with a range of specialized contractors—have been working under small study contracts to develop a wide range of optional system proposals. In turn, NASA has been analyzing and refining the proposals, mindful of budget stringencies, in an effort to find the most economical way to a long-term program of maximum usefulness. No space program thus far has been so critically or extensively examined.

The Air Force is mainly interested in the shuttle as a means of maintaining its extensive system of reconnaissance, communication, early-warning, and other defensive satellites. Until recently, recon satellites had to be launched every two or three weeks. In the relatively low orbits at which they must operate to get useful photographs, they had a very short life. A big, more advanced recon satellite, with a huge high-resolution camera and a higher orbital life of two to three months, is now coming into use. But this is still a short time span for expensive equipment; the span could be extended at great savings by a shuttle system. Even greater benefits would accrue to the growing galaxies of civilian satellites used in communications, earth-resources and weather surveying, and navigation traffic control.

With the shuttle thus taking top priority, it became apparent that a large space station could be deferred until late in the decade to keep budgets down. Moreover, the shuttle program itself might be extended further over time so as to hold down annual budgets. NASA is well aware of the fact that the Apollo program ran into political trouble because all its system elements were contracted for and developed concurrently, causing NASA's budget to rise sharply to a peak of \$5.9 billion in 1966. Concurrent development is the most economic, effective way to develop complex systems, as was demonstrated in World War II. By selecting a firm target date and developing all systems in parallel to meet it, a program's time span, overhead, and waste motion are reduced and it is made less vulnerable to inflation. But the short-run budgetary implications of concurrent development are now politically unpalatable. NASA is facing the political reality and planning to keep somewhere within its present \$3.3 billion a year.

There is a similar concern about the political realities in the hard-pressed aerospace

industry these days. "Each engineer working on the program," a McDonnell Douglas spokesman assured a conference last spring, "has had his head reshaped to design for low costs." As an example, Grumman, builder of Apollo's famous Lunar Excursion Module (LEM), came up last spring with what proved to be a winning idea for shuttle-orbiter design. It consisted simply of employing external, disposable tanks to carry the bulky volume of hydrogen fuel. This would allow a smaller, lighter orbiter to be built, without sacrificing payload capacity, at the same time that it would materially reduce the size and complexity of the booster. The cost of the fuel tanks jettisoned on each flight would run close to \$2 million, but these would be largely offset by capital savings of \$1,500,000 per vehicle—and the capital costs would come earlier and pose a greater political threat to the program. NASA promptly directed all contractors to study the incorporation of expendable fuel tanks in their own designs.

## TUSSELLING WITH THE OPTIONS

Other budget-cutting measures included a proposal to use existing, non-reusable boosters, such as the Titan 3 or Saturn 1C, to launch the first shuttle-orbiter flights in 1978, phasing in a reusable booster later. Still another recent proposal, which originated at Boeing, would have the Saturn system redesigned into a reusable booster, while the shuttlecraft was scaled down to use smaller "off-the-shelf" hydrogen engines than those now contracted for; the proposal would make it possible to build a reusable booster and orbiter concurrently with less budget strain. These are the options, along with others, with which NASA will be tussling through this spring.

The danger is that under pressures for short-term savings the long-term benefits and *raison d'être* of the program may be lost. The use of one-shot expendable boosters, while holding down development costs, would itself be costly in operation, and would defer the system's full projected launch savings. A reusable Saturn system, though lowest in cost, would tend to freeze development on old technology, built for an entirely different special purpose, and, in addition to lowering payload capacity, would imply a performance goal far below the minimum of a hundred flights per vehicle. But such measures may now be the only ones that are politically feasible.

The shuttle's origins go back to the early days in space, when the Air Force began an experimental "lifting body" project called Dynasoar. This was conceived by Boeing, the system contractor, as a big rocket-propelled spacecraft with stubby delta wings, which, instead of plummeting back ballistically through the atmosphere, would have enough wing lift to glide back aerodynamically to an airport landing on earth. Dynasoar was to be a purely experimental vehicle. The ultimate objective was to use it to ferry men and equipment to a large manned orbiting laboratory, or space station, which the Air Force proposed to develop as a control center for its growing reconnaissance satellite system. Dynasoar never was built, however, and the whole project was canceled in 1963. Its costs were too high, especially when they were added to those of the Apollo program, and it was ahead of its time. Much basic space technology was still to be proved. But Dynasoar left behind a solid residue of experimental work on lifting-body designs for use at the enormous speeds of re-entry into the earth's atmosphere.

By 1969, with the Apollo program tapering off, aerospace engineers were ready to tackle a shuttle and space station. Initially, these were considered interlocking elements of a single system. Most of the basic technology needed for the system was already in hand—we could dock in space for example, and had developed reliable, restartable hy-



drogen engines. NASA initiated a broad study of the proposed system, and meanwhile set about converting the third stage of a surplus Saturn rocket into an experimental space station, dubbed Skylab, for launching in 1973, in order to test its possible uses and gain experience in long-extended weightlessness. (In the absence of a shuttle vehicle, Skylab will be serviced by modified Apollo spacecraft.) At the same time the Air Force remounted its own program for a shuttle system and manned orbiting laboratory. But this duplication of effort, in an increasingly tight budget, could not be tolerated. The orbiting laboratory was canceled to await the outcome of Skylab, and since then the Air Force has agreed to work cooperatively with NASA on development of a single shuttle system.

The basic shuttle design that emerged from the combined studies projected an imposing vehicle. It would have two major components: a stubby-winged launch rocket, or booster, looking something like a 747 jumbo jet, upended on its tail; and a winged shuttlecraft, or orbiter, about the length of a 707 jetliner, but wider. On launching, the orbiter would ride piggyback on the booster, which would carry it up to an altitude of about forty-five miles, at which point the booster would drop away and be brought back to its base by two pilots. Meanwhile, the orbiter, carrying a payload of as much as 65,000 pounds, plus twelve passengers and a crew of four, would ignite its own engines and go into higher orbit for missions lasting up to seven days or more. To lift these loads, the booster would have twelve big liquid-hydrogen engines developing a total of 6,600,000 pounds of thrust—the first use of hydrogen in ground launching—while the orbiter would have three similar engines with over a million and a half pounds of thrust. Together, they would represent the most powerful space vehicles ever built.

#### REPAIRMEN IN SPACE

As studies progressed, it became clear that the shuttle was the key element and highest-priority item in the complex. With or without a space station, it would stand on its own. The economies implicit in its large load-carrying capacity could make it the basic launch system for all kinds of space satellites, commercial or scientific, and planetary probes. The orbiter's sixty-foot-long payload compartment, with an ejection hatch, could carry into orbit the largest satellites contemplated, singly or in groups. Moreover, since the orbiter would also carry men, it could routinely service, repair, or retrieve the increasingly expensive objects in orbit. A \$75-million orbiting astronomical observatory, for instance, whose batteries went dead in orbit some time ago, might thus have been saved. Such a service would ultimately allow manufacturers to build less expensively engineered satellites, at one-half to two-thirds of present costs, since they would not have to be built for long life unattended.

On the basis of launch savings alone, the Air Force announced last spring that with a shuttle available it would be able to phase out all its present big launch rockets, including its Titan 3's. The economies were most compelling. Against present costs of \$20 million to \$35 million for each major unmanned launch, a shuttle launch would run about \$5 million. Savings over Saturn-Apollo missions are even greater, since this manned system requires long countdowns and the assistance at splashdown of the Navy, Air Force, and a cast of thousands; the shuttle would count down in two to three hours, and return on its own to land.

However costs are shaved, the shuttle remains a big, long-term investment, and it is this hard fact that draws the heaviest attack. In last year's congressional go-around on the shuttle's token \$100-million budget, opponents led by Senator Walter Mondale seized upon a 1970 Rand Corp. study, financed by

the Air Force, as proof that the program could not be economically justified. The study, basing its calculations on a conservative projection of U.S. space activity in the next two decades, concluded that savings effected by the shuttle over comparable expendable systems would at best amount to only a "marginal" \$2.8 billion by 1990. The Air Force retorted that the Rand report was an interim study, based on outdated 1969 figures, and did not reflect changes and refinements in the new joint program, on which a more comprehensive cost-benefit analysis was being completed. Opponents could muster less than thirty Senate votes in their attempt to halt the program.

Later in the year, a NASA-sponsored study, made by Mathematica, Inc., an independent firm headed by economist Oskar Morgenstern, came in with more substantial figures. Taking as one of its base lines an average of fifty-six launches per year (assuming that total space activity ran along close to the current level), the Mathematica study found that savings using the full-scale shuttle would come to some \$14 billion by 1990—enough to pay off original development costs in something more than a decade of operation. It made clear that these savings would not be registered on launch-vehicle capital costs, in which the shuttle ran more than \$4 billion higher than expendable equipment, but on payload costs and operations, where the shuttle would have an \$18-billion cost-saving advantage. These savings would begin to accrue even in a phased program using expendable boosters, and irrespective of whether the comparison was made with unmanned launchings. Savings, of course, would be less if a more limited shuttle system were to be adopted.

Actually, useful as cost-benefit analysis is in evaluating projects in which all the elements are reasonably well known, it can be only a limited guide in weighing a program that encompasses a great mixture of exploration, advanced industrial application, military development, scientific experimentation, and large elements of the unknown. It is almost as if, in the wilderness of late-eighteenth-century America, analysts had attempted to project all the costs and benefits of building a transcontinental railroad. Or perhaps more nearly as if, early in this century, they had tried to weigh all the economic benefits of developing the Wright brothers' flying machine, at a time when not a few learned as well as practical men held the opinion that the machines would never safely carry passengers.

Aerospace men believe that so far cost-benefit analyses, which conservatively assume that the launch pattern of the last decade will continue, take too little account of one of the cardinal principles of transportation. This is that as transport becomes more frequent, faster, routinized, and lower in carrying costs it invariably attracts more traffic, leading to further cost savings and other benefits. The last decade was the infancy of space flight. With space satellites on the verge of a decade of major expansion, a shuttle would greatly expedite their growth. With a shuttle in being, space stations may be economically assembled and maintained, not only to coordinate satellite operations but to establish near-earth platforms for direct scientific and industrial experimentation. This includes such projects as the creation of new metals, materials, or methods of fabrication in vacuums unobtainable on earth, the possible generation and transmission of pollution-free electric power from space, and still other more exotic prospects. \* \* \*

Meanwhile, on a much smaller scale, four other countries are now members of the space club, having launched and orbited experimental objects or satellites with rockets of their own design. They are Britain and France, heading a European consortium, and, more recently, Japan and China. All have run

into difficulties in designing large rocket boosters; the European group, which wants to develop a regional communication satellite of its own to serve Western Europe, has had special difficulties. NASA has had extensive talks with the Europeans in an effort to persuade them to become financial partners in the shuttle project, in return for some transfer of technology and shared use. Recently, as a further inducement, NASA offered to launch the European communication satellite at nominal cost. Given the tensions created by the recent international monetary situation, the European governments have been wary of joining in the U.S. space program. Meanwhile, NASA is committed to launch in 1973 an educational TV broadcasting satellite for India, the first of its kind, and a domestic satellite communication system for Canada. Quite aside from national or military rivalries, therefore, the U.S. has in space an exportable high technology of large potential, just beginning to open up.

Perhaps the most startling recent development of all has been a series of talks between Soviet and U.S. space authorities, who are now close to an agreement to design compatible docking mechanisms for the Soyuz-Salyut and Apollo-Skylab space stations and to conduct joint operations between them. Both nations want to develop the capability, in future shuttle flights to rescue nationals of either country who may happen to be injured or stranded in space. The agreement may also be an opening move toward more international cooperation and exchange of technological information in space exploration, complementing the recent easing of U.S.-Soviet trade barriers.

#### A SYSTEM OF STAGED GROWTH

Primarily, the shuttle is a vehicle designed for the first, most arduous stage of getting large loads out of the earth's heavy gravity and atmosphere into near-earth orbit, and later assembling large space stations there. The next planned stage, following closely on the first, would be development of a space tug, a smaller version of the shuttlecraft, which would be carried up into orbit by the shuttle itself, and there be regularly serviced and refueled. It would operate from near-earth orbit and from space stations to deploy and maintain satellites in higher synchronous orbits, some 22,000 miles up, where a satellite's speed coincides with the revolutions of the earth so that it appears to be fixed in space over a single area. The tug would also operate from space stations as a shuttle link carrying men and equipment between the stations and the moon. Ultimately, the tug would be replaced by a third vehicle stage, a nuclear-powered spacecraft, whose engine is already well along in development. It would extend the range of operations from near-earth orbit and the moon to Mars and beyond. The basic shuttle, while earning its way in near space, would also serve to hold these options open for future decision and development.

A fresh vision of the great implications of man's quest in space was imparted a year ago by the Swedish-born scientist Hannes Alfvén, now at the University of California at San Diego, on the occasion of his receiving the 1970 Nobel Prize for work in plasma physics. In his address, Alfvén saw as the major impact of space exploration the discovery that interplanetary space, instead of being a structure-less void, is permeated by complex patterns of electric currents, electric and magnetic fields, and charged gaseous particles in heated motion, collectively known as plasmas. The direct study of plasmas in space, he predicted, will not only lead to more fundamental understanding of the origin and accretion of the solar system—a major goal of late twentieth-century science—but it is also likely to supply indirectly the missing key to the control of ther-

monuclear power, a key that has proved elusive to earth-bound theoreticians.

#### JOURNEY TO AN ASTEROID

To further that basic study, Alfvén repeated a daring proposal he had made earlier that the next step beyond the moon be a manned mission to an asteroid, one of thousands of small bodies revolving in a great belt about halfway to Mars; the mission would require some form of shuttle technology. Because of their small size (many of them are less than sixty miles in diameter), asteroids may reveal the composition of the earliest coalescence of matter out of cosmic plasmas.

Other investigators are beginning to look to experiments performed in space for clues to the problems of supplying the earth with new sources of electric power and with scarce materials. There has been an increasing number of technical papers on various proposals to generate electricity from a space station and transmit it by microwave for conversion to usable power on earth. Thermonuclear reactions would be easier to control and sustain in the cold, high vacuum of space; more conventional nuclear plants would also work better there, without danger of lethal accidents or polluting the earth. Also to be taken into consideration is the use of magnetohydrodynamics (tapping electricity directly from high-speed plasma streams) and the direct conversion of solar power from space. Further on, as strategic metals grow scarcer and more difficult to wrest from the earth, it is not beyond the bounds of economic feasibility to ferry them in from planetary bodies. Alfvén suggests that asteroids, because of their low gravity, would be easy to mine. Smaller ones might even be propelled into near-earth orbits, or even to a soft landing on earth, for closer study and use. Thus there is more to the first-stage shuttle program for the future of man than would at first appear.

Back in the early Sixties, when these issues were first being debated, Ralph J. Cordner, then chairman of the board and president of General Electric, had some words to say at a symposium on the space frontier. His observations bear directly on the future of the space shuttle.

"At this stage," said he, "the new frontier does not look very promising to the profit-minded businessman or to the tax-minded citizen. Every new frontier presents the same problem of vision and risk . . . Leif Ericson discovered America five hundred years before Columbus, but apparently the Vikings did not have the vision to see anything worthwhile on that vast, empty continent . . .

"When a new frontier is opened, the new territory always looks vast, empty, hostile, and unrewarding. It is always dangerous to go there, and almost impossible to live there in loneliness and peril. The technological capacities of the time are always taxed to the utmost in dealing with the new environment. It takes an immense effort of imagination for the citizens to see beyond these initial difficulties . . . But such an effort at prophetic imagination is what is required of us as citizens, so that we will not, like Leif Ericson, leave the making of the future to others."

OHIO CONSUMER LOAN ASSOCIATION HONORS DONALD F. BAIRD, OF WARREN, OHIO

#### HON. CHARLES J. CARNEY

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES  
Monday, January 31, 1972

Mr. CARNEY. Mr. Speaker, I was pleased to learn recently that a con-

stituent of my congressional district, Mr. Donald F. Baird, of Warren, Ohio, was honored by the Ohio Consumer Loan Association for his outstanding performance as a member of their board of directors during the past 14 years.

Mr. Baird received the association's distinguished service award, which was presented to him at their 56th annual convention in Columbus, Ohio. Mr. Baird is the 16th person in the OCLA's history to receive this award. In addition to his record of service to the association, he also served his community by maintaining the highest ethical standards as regional manager of the Beneficial Management Corp. However, I believe that his achievement can best be summarized by an excerpt from a resolution passed by the Ohio Consumer Loan Association's Board of Directors:

Be it therefore resolved that the Ohio Consumer Loan Association through its officers and directors, extends to Don Baird its most sincere appreciation for his many years of enthusiastic leadership and faithful service which he has so willingly rendered for the enrichment of this association, and extends to him and his wife, Betty, all good wishes for continued success and future happiness.

Mr. Speaker, this fine example of good business and good citizenship is certainly worthy of recognition. I am proud to have a man like Don Baird as a friend.

#### HON. COURTNEY CAMPBELL

#### HON. CLAUDE PEPPER

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES  
Wednesday, January 19, 1972

Mr. PEPPER. Mr. Speaker, Mrs. Pepper and I are deeply saddened to learn of the passing of our long-time friend and a former, distinguished Member of this House, the Honorable Courtney Campbell. We were intimate personal friends of Courtney and his lovely wife and we have cherished their friendship through the years. Courtney was an outstanding businessman in Florida for many years. He contributed much to the growth and progress of our State. He was an eminent civic leader, always deeply dedicated to the public interest and to the service of his State and country. He was a friend of every worthy cause. He was a man of warm heart and generous disposition who quietly and unostentatiously lent a helping hand to many who needed help.

Courtney served Florida with great distinction in this House. He was diligent in the performance of his public duties, faithful to the high trust of public office. He was a man of high principle and lofty ideals who sought only to serve his district, his State, and country in every way possible. He enjoyed the respect and the confidence of his colleagues here as he did of all who knew him. He was a gracious and considerate gentleman, always thoughtful of others. Wherever Courtney Campbell walked he cast a glow of warmth and friendship and character.

My wife and I are among a host who were devoted to him and who will ever honor his memory. We extend our deepest sympathy to all of his loved ones.

#### DEAN FLOYD ANDRE

#### HON. WILLIAM J. SCHERLE

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES  
Monday, January 24, 1972

Mr. SCHERLE. Mr. Speaker, the death of Floyd Andre is a loss not only of a good friend but also of an outstanding agricultural scholar. For over 22 years, he was dean of the Iowa State University College of Agriculture. As a farmer, a State legislator, and a Member of Congress, I have known and worked with Dean Andre. Jane and I extend our deepest sympathies to Mrs. Andre and the family at this time.

Several news articles follow.

[From Ames (Iowa) Daily Tribune,  
Jan. 19, 1972]

#### FLOYD ANDRE, ISU DEAN, DIED

Floyd Andre, 62, dean of the college of agriculture at Iowa State University for the past 22 years, died about 6 p.m. Tuesday at Mary Greeley Hospital here.

Death was attributed to cancer and complications which resulted from a recent attack of influenza. Dean Andre had been in ill health for the past several months.

Private services for the family will be Friday morning and memorial services will be held Friday at 1:30 p.m. from Collegiate Presbyterian Church with the Rev. John G. Davies officiating.

A native of New Sharon, Dean Andre attended schools there and in Pasadena, Calif. before he enrolled at Iowa State University in 1927. He received B.S., M.S. and Ph.D. degrees here, with major work in entomology and minors in zoology and chemistry.

#### RETURNED TO IOWA STATE

In 1940 he joined the staff of the office of experiment stations, U.S. Department of Agriculture and in 1945 was named principal administrator and entomologist. He was named assistant director of the Wisconsin Agricultural Experiment Station and professor of economic entomology on Aug. 1, 1946 and became assistant dean of agriculture and assistant director of extension at Wisconsin July 1, 1948.

In 1949, he returned to Iowa State as dean of agriculture and director of the Agriculture and Home Economics Experiment Station.

As a consultant in agriculture and education, he had advised on cattle production in Mexico in 1957, on agricultural improvement in Argentina in 1960 through 1963 and administration of ISU's college of agriculture contracts in Peru and Uruguay in 1963-4 and 1970.

#### PLANNING ACTIVITIES

He was Land-Grant College Assn. representative on a team to study a five-year plan for agricultural development and education in Paraguay in 1964 and leader of a team to assist in development and evaluation of a rural university in Brazil in 1964 and 1969.

He was a member of many professional and scientific organizations and had been listed in "American Men of Science" continuously since 1935 and "Who's Who in America" since 1949.

His first wife, Hazel Beck, died in 1956. In 1970 he was married to Avis Lovell, who survives. Other survivors include two daughters.



ters, Mrs. Jacqueline Schmeal of San Francisco, Calif. and Mrs. Alice Clark of Iowa City; a son, Richard, serving with the U.S. Army in Malaysia and five grandchildren.

A memorial fund has been established to aid undergraduate students in agriculture at Iowa State University. Contributions may be made to the Iowa State Alumni Assn. or the Union Story Trust and Savings Bank.

[From the Des Moines (Iowa) Register, Jan. 19, 1972]

#### DEAN ANDRE OF ISU DIES

AMES, IOWA.—Dr. Floyd Andre, 62, dean of agriculture at Iowa State University (ISU) since 1949, died Tuesday night of cancer and complications resulting from influenza.

Dean Andre died at 6 p.m. at Mary Greeley Hospital here, where he had been hospitalized since last weekend.

Widely known in agriculture circles, Dean Andre was an alumnus of Iowa State who served both as agriculture dean and director of the agriculture and home economics experiment studies for the last 22 years.

His career as a leading land-grant college administrator spanned one of the most changing eras in American agriculture, marked by soaring farm surpluses and the development of new farm chemicals.

Despite declining farm population, agricultural enrollment doubled during his tenure as new curriculums related to agribusiness, farm business and other new fields were designed and offered.

In addition to his administrative duties at Iowa State, Dean Andre was often called on as a consultant for agriculture and education by foreign nations.

While he was a leader in agriculture, Dean Andre was not well known by the general public. One of his few public campaigns involved the use of stronger pesticides during the 1960s when a new strain of corn rootworm emerged and was resistant to conventional insecticides.

Dean Andre took a stand urging caution by farm users, including the wearing of protective garb, and issued statements expressing his strong concern about the welfare of farmer users of this new family of farm chemicals.

A native of New Sharon, Ia., he was born Sept. 13, 1909 and completed grade school in New Sharon. He graduated from high school at Pasadena, Calif., and went on to Iowa State where he received his bachelor of science degree in 1931, his master of science degree in 1933 and his doctorate in 1936.

He worked for the U.S. Department of Agriculture (USDA) Office of Experiment Stations upon earning his Ph.D. and until joining the University of Wisconsin as a professor of economic entomology in 1946.

At the age of 39, Dean Andre resigned as assistant dean and director of the college of agriculture at the University of Wisconsin in 1949 to return to Iowa State as one of the youngest deans ever named.

Dean Andre was a member of many scientific organizations including the Association of Economic Entomologists, the Entomology Society of Washington, the Biology Society of Washington, Office of Experiment Stations, USDA, Gamma Sigma Delta, Phi Kappa Phi, and has been listed in the American Men of Science continuously since 1935, and in Who's Who in America in 1949.

He was the owner of a farm near Radcliffe, north of Ames, where he spent many of his free hours.

His first wife, Hazel Beck, died of cancer in 1956 at 42 years of age. A few weeks before her death she wrote an article titled "My Last Wonderful Days" which was printed in the Farm Journal and The Des Moines Register. She said she wrote the article because it might help someone else face such a crisis.

In 1970 Dean Andre married Avis Lovell, who survives. Also surviving are three chil-

dren, Mrs. Jacqueline Schmeal of San Francisco, Calif.; Mrs. Alice Clark of Iowa City; and Richard, serving with the U.S. Army in Malaysia, and four grandchildren.

Arrangements for services had not been completed.

#### THE CASE FOR RESERVE OFFICER TRAINING

#### HON. W. C. (DAN) DANIEL

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 24, 1972

Mr. DANIEL of Virginia. Mr. Speaker, probably no group of people in our Nation has been subjected to the abuse, physical and verbal, visited on the young men enrolled in college ROTC programs. They have been ridiculed and scorned by their peers, dissected and analyzed—negatively—by certain syndicated columnists, and at times considered second-class citizens by the administrative bodies of the schools they have attended.

As chairman of the Subcommittee on Recruiting and Retention of the Committee on Armed Services, I have devoted much attention to the concept of an all-volunteer military. I am firmly convinced that one of the prime components for a successful volunteer service must be citizen-officers, the end product of ROTC.

Occasionally, if all too rarely, a voice will be raised in support of these young men who are motivated by a sense of duty to follow this course through college and into a career as officers in this country's military service.

The editor of the Danville Bee, Johnnie Johnson, has considered this subject also. On January 19, he stated much better than I, the case for Reserve Officer Training. At this point, I include the editorial in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD:

#### JOIN THE ROTC

Having had our say about how a military career might be the answer for high school graduates who cannot afford college, we now turn attention to another alternative—attend college by joining the Reserve Officers Training Corps. It helps finance the way and may pave the way for a profitable military career in an all-volunteer army.

During the 1969-70 school years, "the thing" on military campuses was to wage war against the ROTC—harass its members and physically damage facilities, off campus as well as on.

This was especially true among Ivy League schools where a lot of rich, spoiled brats were enrolled to avoid the draft. After riots, Harvard abolished its program and Cambridge reduced the status of the ROTC program to an extra-curricular activity.

Militant students (if you will excuse the description) charged that the ROTC contributes to the militarization of American society. As that school year ended, they had many followers among that element of the student body which sought to disrupt the regular routine, prevent final examinations and thus further delay being drafted into the armed forces.

Just the opposite happened at Purdue University where outspoken President Frederick L. Hovde declared that the education processes will not be disrupted and "ROTC will continue on this campus regardless." The students responded with a demonstration of their own . . . in support of Dr. Hovde and ROTC.

The turmoil of the spring of 1970 resulted in two separate studies, both of which concluded that the ROTC is too useful to eliminate. Not only does it help deserving young men through college, but it provides half the regular army officers in the armed services. The studies recommended that ROTC be strengthened rather than dropped.

The argument that the corps creates military influence on the campus was rejected out of hand. One panel of six college educators and three senior military officers asserted that officer education on civilian campuses strengthens our traditional civilian participation in and influence upon the military; while other training yields more to domination by the military acting on its own.

Now, two years after the anti-ROTC movement, it is interesting and encouraging to note that no state university or land-grant college has moved either to abolish ROTC or strip the program of academic standing.

The 15-member executive committee of the 113 state universities and land-grant colleges has endorsed the ROTC as "most appropriate." Its statement continued: "In fact, ROTC is one of the best guarantees against the establishment in this country of a 'military caste or clique establishment' since the armed forces rely on the program to supply a substantial majority of civilian-educated regular and reserve officers."

Back in 1969, NEA Columnist Don Oaklev worded it this way:

"Should the services be denied this leavening, should they no longer be able to fill the officer ranks with thousands of ROTC graduates yearly, should they be completely isolated from civilian America, the antimilitarists could find in the end that instead of striking a blow for peace, humanitarianism and individual liberty they have only succeeded in creating in this country a Prussian-type military elite more inimical to their ideals."

And that was long before it appeared possible that this country could have an all-volunteer professional army. The ending of the Vietnam war and recent military pay raises makes an all-volunteer army entirely possible. Which means it will be more important than ever to have an abundant number of civilian-trained ROTC officers.

#### CAPT. FRANK WILKINS AWARDED VIETNAM'S CIVIC ACTION MEDAL

#### HON. JOHN E. HUNT

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 24, 1972

Mr. HUNT. Mr. Speaker, it is indeed a privilege for me to recognize an accomplishment of an individual well known to me and my hometown community of Pitman, N.J., Army Chaplain Capt. Frank G. Wilkins.

Captain Wilkins was recently awarded the Republic of Vietnam's Civic Action Medal in ceremonies at the Republic's II Corps headquarters by Brig. Gen. Nguyen Van Khu, commanding general. In receiving the award, he was cited for his support in raising \$675 to enable 27 students, selected for the scholarships on the basis of scholastic merit, to attend school at the Duc Tri Protestant Schools in Pleiku City. Each \$25 scholarship satisfies the annual tuition requirement.

Presentation of the scholarships culminated about 4 months of effort by officers and men of Advisory Team 21 of the U.S. Military Assistance Command, Viet-

nam's Second Regional Assistance Group, and the nearby U.S. Army Logistics Center. Team 21 is situated in the Republic's Central Highlands near Pleiku City, about 300 miles north of Saigon, and its primary responsibility is to provide officer and noncommissioned officer personnel to advise and assist in all facets of operations at the ARVN's II Corps headquarters.

Before entering the Army, Chaplain Wilkins was assistant to the pastor of the First Baptist Church in Pitman during the 4 years he attended Eastern Baptist College in St. Davids, Pa., from which he received a bachelor of arts degree in 1963. In 1966 he was awarded his bachelor of divinity degree from Colgate-Rochester Divinity School in Rochester, N.Y.

#### THE INVASION OF BATON ROUGE BY BLACK MUSLIMS

**HON. JOHN R. RARICK**

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 24, 1972

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, on January 10, 1972, in Baton Rouge, the capital city of Louisiana, law enforcement officials were ambushed and massacred in an incident precipitated by out-of-State Black Muslims. To date, four people have died and over 30 were injured—several critically.

Because of the slanted news coverage on the national level, I feel that news stories from the Baton Rouge daily papers will give a more accurate account of the facts as well as the seriousness of the melee.

Under unanimous consent related newscippings follow:

[From the Baton Rouge Morning Advocate, Jan. 11, 1972]

#### POLICE CHIEF BAUER TELLS STORY OF NORTH BOULEVARD SHOOTINGS

The first knowledge city police had of a problem developing in the black community came last week when a circular was distributed calling for a meeting last Friday of "all black people." Police Chief Eddie Bauer said Monday.

Bauer, who had bruises and contusions of the face as a result of beating he suffered before the gun battle broke out on North Boulevard just before 1 p.m. Monday, told his story saying he was "operating with a headache."

He had been checked out by doctors at Baton Rouge General Hospital, returning to police headquarters about 4 p.m.

The "flyer" distributed last week said "all black people invited. Hear and See a Right Now Change for a Right Now Condition."

The meeting was held on the Temple Theater Roof at 8 p.m. Friday. The theater building is at 1335 North Boulevard.

Bauer's recounting of the background to the gun battle and the battle itself follows:

#### CITES SCHOOL INCIDENT

City police consulted with school board officials Monday morning when a disturbance occurred at McKinley Junior High School. The incident at McKinley was "definitely" related to last week's call for a meeting of blacks. At that meeting, "selected" blacks tried to get all school children from going to school Monday.

School was dismissed at noon or 1 p.m. (School Supt. Robert J. Aertker said school

was not dismissed and students returned to class.)

Blacks began to gather in front of the Temple Theater about 11:30 a.m. Monday.

By 11:45 a.m., the crowd numbered 75 to 80 people and by noon had increased more. By 12:30 p.m., the crowd blocked the street.

The first call came from Maurice Cockham, a WBRZ-TV newsman, asking for help for newsmen Bob Johnson and Henry Baptiste.

Maj. Jim Dumigan was sent to the scene and called for a wrecker to remove a foreign made green car at one end of the block and a gray Cadillac almost in front of the theater.

The wrecker moved the small car and told to move the Cadillac.

Eleven or twelve "strangers" stood in front of the automobile. Bauer and Maj. W. L. (Buck) Gunby had arrived by that time.

Maj. Dumigan and sheriff's detective Maj. Fred Sliman went to talk to the 11 or 12 men who wore bowties and suits.

They refused to move.

Sliman and Dumigan were hit and knocked to the ground. I was knocked down, hit and beaten. Shots were fired. Gunby came to my aid. He was shot in the leg. Police officer Richard J. Guldry came to my aid. He has a broken collar bone.

The leader of the black group got a shotgun out of the trunk.

Two deputies were killed. I have seven men wounded and don't know the number dead. Two of the "opposition" is dead.

We're asking the people to cooperate, to stay off the streets. We'll be out in force tonight. "From now on, we're not asking anyone to move but once."

"The town will be covered like the dew covers the grass."

The black community has worked with us. They (the "strangers") came here to take over. The people of the community are cooperating with us.

Those that came here are from California, Chicago, Detroit. We're serving warrants on others.

Those who opposed the police in front of the theater "had their own billy sticks." No policeman was disarmed to my knowledge.

It was a situation of "people choosing up sides."

[From the Baton Rouge Morning Advocate, Jan. 11, 1972]

#### EYE-WITNESS STORY OF VIOLENCE GIVEN

(EDITOR'S NOTE: The following eye-witness account of the violence which broke out at North Boulevard and 13th Street Monday is written by the State-Times police reporter who was on the scene.)

(By Bill Bankston)

There were two young blacks standing on the roof of a Cadillac pulled crossways on North Boulevard in front of the Temple Theater.

A group of 200 to 300 blacks were standing around the car, most of them on the sidewalks.

I parked my car about two blocks away and walked toward the crowd.

Apparently the television newsmen had already been beaten when I arrived about 12:40 p.m.

A small foreign car pulled onto North from 13th Street and stopped across the east-bound lane of traffic.

The first officer I saw arrive was Sheriff's Maj. M. M. Benning. He pulled his red patrol car up near the small foreign car.

#### CONVERSE WITH OFFICER

The young blacks on top of the car got off and with several others who were dressed in a similar manner—suits, large bowties and close-cropped hair—walked over to Benning.

After a brief conversation they walked back to the Cadillac.

I asked Benning what they had said.

Benning said he told them they would have to move the car and they asked him whether he was "the representative of the white Caucasian race."

The deputy said he replied he wasn't but that he guessed a representative "is on his way" and the blacks left.

Most of the crowd remained on the sidewalks. The young men in the suits with the close cropped hair—lined up across the street between the Cadillac and 13th Street where more deputies and police were arriving.

A little rain began to fall and I walked back down the street to telephone the newspaper.

#### BRICK FLIES

A brick was thrown at Benning's car and he drew his revolver.

The young men in the suits called toward the crowd where the youth who threw the brick had run, apparently telling the group to do nothing.

Nothing happened and I went on to make my call.

When I finished the call, more officers had arrived along with a wrecker and at least one ambulance.

I went back to the spot where the officers were assembling and then returned to the phone again.

#### HAUL AWAY CAR

When I came out this time, a wrecker was hauling off the small foreign car. The line of young blacks backed up toward the Cadillac.

The line of policemen and deputies began walking toward them. A state police helicopter was circling overhead.

I was on the sidewalk about a block away when the lines came together and rocks and bottles began to fly.

I could see the crowd breaking up with officers swinging nightsticks and shotgun butts.

#### SHOOTING STARS

Then there was one shot. It was followed in a few seconds by another and a third. Then in rapid succession there were a dozen or more shots.

The first two shots sounded like small weapons.

When the shooting stopped, I saw five young blacks on the ground—three in the middle of the street, one on the sidewalk in front of the theater and another beside a car across the street from the theater.

Several officers were struggling on the ground with a young black at the intersection with 13th Street.

#### WALKS WITH LIMP

Another of the young blacks with the close cropped hair moved toward officers from the area of the Cadillac. He waved his hands in the air and limped severely.

He appeared to be a cripple.

The officers appeared to be telling him to halt. But he kept coming toward them. They swung a nightstick and a gun butt, hitting.

He kept coming. He appeared to be saying something, but I was too far away to hear.

#### SPRAY CHEMICAL

One deputy sprayed him with chemical Mace. He continued to move toward the officers.

He fell or was knocked down. The officers hit him several more times before he eventually stopped twisting on the ground.

The officers began yelling for the ambulances to move in and pick up the wounded. I walked away again to call the paper.

This time when I came back to the scene, there was still confusion.

#### ON VACANT LOT

Apparently all the wounded had been removed. There was a young dead black in a vacant lot on the south side of the street.

One officer told me that he was the black who had fatally shot one of the deputies.



Silman, whose leg and arm were injured, told me that when officers walked up to the line of blacks and told them the car would have to be moved, the blacks replied that the officers would have to kill them first.

Silman said the next thing he knew he was on the ground being beaten.

Police Maj. James Dumigan, who was beside him, was struck across the face with some object, Silman said. Silman said his own face was protected by the plastic shield on his riot helmet.

Capt. J. Bryan Clemmons, the sheriff's son, said he fired his shotgun loaded with a tear-gas shell at one of the young blacks when the black drew a chrome plated revolver.

Clemmons said the officer next to him fired a gun at the same black.

Clemmons said he could not tell whether the young black had been able to fire any shots.

When I finally left the scene, which had been wet by several showers, there were four young blacks lying on the sidewalk in front of the theater, their arms held behind their backs with handcuffs. They were apparently not injured. One was in the drip of the overhang and shivering.

The dead black was still in the vacant lot across the street.

On past the Cadillac, there was a deputy kneeling over a wounded officer in the gutter. There also appeared to be an officer lying near the black who had fallen beside the car parked on the south side of the street.

Two officers were trying to help up Sheriff's Maj. Fred Silman who was on his back in the middle of the street, Silman couldn't stand up.

Eventually the officers were able to get him to his feet and help him limp back toward the spot where the officers had first gathered.

Other officers were still swinging night sticks and gun butts at a few young blacks who had not fled.

[From the Baton Rouge Morning Advocate, Jan. 1, 1972]

#### RELATION SEEN WITH UNREST AT MCKINLEY

A disturbance at McKinley Junior High School Monday morning preceded the fatal violence on North Boulevard, and police said the incident was at least related to the larger disturbance, if not a direct contribution to it.

Police Chief Eddie O. Bauer and other police officers said out-of-town agitators had been in town working to create just such a gathering and disturbance.

Several students were arrested in the incident, which grew from a crowd of 20 to as many as 150 students circulating around the campus, police said.

The black students accused a white police officer assigned to work at the school of mistreatment and demanded he leave the school.

About noon Monday, officer Richard O. Waller left the school campus and school authorities said the officer was removed from duty at the school, at least temporarily.

#### SHOCKED

Waller said he had never been accused of mistreatment before and was shocked when he heard students chanting, "We don't want no white cop."

The officer said he arrived at the school and began circulating among the students but heard nothing out of the ordinary.

But at 8:30 a.m., Waller said he heard clapping and yelling on the school's second floor and found about 20 students involved. The officer said he had had trouble with those students before but none of the students, or anyone else, had asked him to leave the campus or made overtly racial remarks.

The students told Waller they were not going to class but were determined to protest violations of their rights.

The officer said he attempted to quell the disturbance but got nowhere and called a

police captain at headquarters who sent a sergeant and a team of juvenile officers to the school.

But the rowdiness spread over the campus, with the chant continuing, "We don't want no white cops," Waller said.

#### SECOND CALL FOR HELP

A second call for help to police headquarters was placed after the officer said he learned at least some white teachers had been threatened and property damaged.

A paddy wagon and other juvenile officers came to the scene and eight youths were arrested, including two adults who were not students, police said.

But another youth opened the door of the wagon and four of the youths fled and were not recaptured, Waller said.

Despite the arrests the chanting directed at Waller continued. Waller said as other school authorities arrived, he was told to leave.

Schools Superintendent Robert J. Aertker said the situation was definitely not related to the gun battle on North Boulevard later and he denied any substantial damage to the school.

Waller said he returned to police headquarters, learned of the gun battle at North Boulevard and N. 13th Street and arrived there after the shooting stopped.

The officer is one of three young white city police officers who are assigned to schools with the full cooperation of school authorities. Waller, as the other two, does not wear a police uniform on duty.

[From the Baton Rouge Morning Advocate, January 11, 1972]

#### BLACK ASKS CROWD TO DISPERSE

"The earth is ours and we're here to give you your city back," the young black shouted in the face of Negro civic leader W. Reed Canada.

"We haven't lost it," Canada replied, pleading with a crowd of blacks to disperse and leave the usually quite Negro business district along North Street.

A group of civil rights activists had been meeting in a nearby church and were expected to address the blacks gathered on the street at noon, police said.

The people on the streets paid no attention to Canada, and shortly after noon, the crowd had confronted police, shots were fired and four persons died.

Canada, owner of a public relations firm and state director of the Citizens Democratic and Educational Voters League, watched as his neighborhood "turned into a battleground."

He tried to help a television news team, who were beaten by activists when they tried to get into the nearby church.

"I saw Bob Johnson (WBZ TV newsman) running by and bleeding from the head like a pig," said Canada. "Then he got hit with a bottle. I told them (blacks) to leave Johnson alone and they started throwing at me."

Johnson was reported in critical condition Monday night.

Canada said Johnson managed to get to an auto, and the civic leader sought shelter in his office. He watched from the window as blacks at the theater moved out into the street to block traffic.

Police arrived, tried to clear the street and that's when the shooting started.

"People were falling like flies, like when we went into Omaha Beach," said Canada, a World War II veteran and who waded ashore at Normandy on D-Day. "It was just like the war around here."

He dived to the floor of his office as the shooting started.

"When I looked up after it was quiet, everyone outside seemed to be lying on the streets, but most of them got back up. Some of them didn't."

Canada said he couldn't understand what caused it—other than blacks were blocking the street and police wanted them to move.

"I think outsiders started it all," said Canada. "When the crowd started gathering on the street this morning I saw young blacks in cars with out-of-state plates. I didn't recognize those people."

"I don't think the black community was involved, certainly not from this immediate area."

"I questioned the strangers and they kept telling me they were going to give us back the city. But we never lost it."

[From the Baton Rouge Morning Advocate]  
LAW OFFICIALS BRACE TO MEET EMERGENCY  
(By Bill McMahon)

The mayor-president's and chief of police's offices became almost battlefield headquarters Monday as local, state and federal officials responded to the noontime killings and injuries on North Boulevard.

As the afternoon and evening progressed, the following occurred:

—Mayor-President Dumas called a curfew which began at 5:30 p.m. and was to end at 6 a.m. Tuesday.

—Gov. McKeithen then used a state statute to proclaim a state of emergency in the parish.

—FBI officers began an investigation because of the death of two deputies.

—State Adjutant Gen. David Wade coordinated state efforts with Police Chief E. O. Bauer, who directed all efforts in the area.

—Col. Leroy Courtney, battalion commander of the 769th Engineering Battalion here, directed about 700 men of the National Guard, called to duty by Gov. McKeithen.

—U.S. Attorney Gerald Gallinhouse of New Orleans conferred with local officials, meeting first with Sheriff Bryan Clemmons.

—Public School Supt. Robert J. Aertker announced schools would remain open Tuesday if calm prevailed.

#### APPEALS FOR CALM

And other officials, such as the Most Rev. Robert E. Tracy, bishop of the Catholic Diocese of Baton Rouge, and Emmitt Douglas of New Roads, president of the state National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, issued calls for a return to calm in the community.

City policemen and sheriff's deputies looked like GIs preparing for night patrol in a combat zone.

Shotguns were unwrapped from waxed paper and boxes in city police headquarters. Some deputies carried automatic weapons. Handguns were everywhere.

Monday's night plan was to cover the parish "like a blanket," Mayor-President Dumas said.

He added praise for police officers. "It's a wonderful thing they have the restraint that they do," he said.

The parish also had an offer for help officials didn't want, Dumas said a man called him, "a Ku Klux Klan type, who said he had his men ready."

"We don't need his kind of help," the mayor-president said.

Gov. McKeithen, who was in Dumas' office in the early afternoon, reported that NAACP President Douglas called from New York and asked that all blacks obey the curfew.

Because of the curfew, LSU officials called off the Southeast Conference basketball game between the Tigers and Alabama. The game was rescheduled for Tuesday night.

Dumas was shocked by the killings in front of the Temple Theater. He said he had agreed to meet with the blacks, who he understood had planned a march to the Municipal Building.

"In others (disturbances) we had, we never lost a police officer," Dumas said. "There was no indication of violence."

Dist. Atty. Sargent Pitcher in recapping the beginnings of the rioting, said he had attempted to get black investigators into a meeting held at the Temple Theater roof last Friday, but they were not allowed in.

WBRZ-TV newsmen Bob Johnson and Henry Baptiste were at the theater building Monday in an attempt to cover the meeting scheduled then, he said. "They (Johnson and Baptiste) called for help," Pitcher said.

Police Chief Bauer said later that another Channel 2 newsmen, Maurice Cookerham, actually called in to ask for help.

Dumas' proclamation of civil emergency, which brought the curfew, was based on the need "to suppress violence," the proclamation said.

The "civil emergency" call closed all liquor stores and private clubs, barred sale of gasoline or liquid flammable products in any container other than in a vehicle's gasoline tank, closed gasoline stations, halted selling or distributing fire arms or ammunition and closed establishments which sell fire arms or ammunition.

[From the State Times, Jan. 11, 1972]

**CURFEW ORDERED AGAIN FOR CITY—STREET-CLEARING HOUR IS 9:30 P.M.**

(By Bill Bankston)

Baton Rouge appeared to be returning to normal today after a night of curfew to calm the city following yesterday's outbreak on North Boulevard that left two sheriff's deputies and two young blacks dead.

Police, deputies and state police, who were backed up by about 700 National Guardsmen, arrested 46 persons for violation of the 5:30 p.m. to 6 a.m. curfew imposed by Mayor-President Dumas.

However, the process was slow, with police headquarters this morning resembling a battle command post with heavily armed police and national guardsmen on the alert.

Police Chief Eddie O. Bauer said the National Guard and all law enforcement agencies were being formed into a coordinated group to counter possible other outbreaks.

Bauer said authorities believe sympathizers with the group which triggered yesterday's shootout may attempt to come to Baton Rouge from other states.

#### WARNINGS GIVEN

He warned sympathizers to stay away. Meanwhile, State Police Commander Stanley Berthelot had urged agencies elsewhere in the state to take precautions for "armed and dangerous militants, possibly en route from other states."

A small group of local people gathered for a time this morning on North Boulevard where the violence occurred yesterday, but left without incident about noon when a couple of police cruisers were sent into the area.

Baton Rouge was placed under a 9:30 p.m. curfew tonight by Mayor-President Dumas who told newsmen this morning that the city streets will be patrolled by city policemen, sheriff's deputies, National Guardsmen and state police.

The curfew will end at 6 a.m. tomorrow. Meanwhile, representatives of Community Advancement Inc., local antipoverty agency, said they were told by out-of-state Black Muslims yesterday that they wanted a confrontation to take place and they were prepared to die.

Charles Granger, one of the CAI representatives, said there were "Black Muslims, well-disciplined Black Muslims" who wanted to provoke an incident which would "kick off a campaign in all North America."

"They actually said they were ready to die here today . . ." Granger said.

Another CAI representative, Moses Williams, said Baton Rouge was picked because it is a Southern city.

He said local blacks had been told to not bring firearms to the 1300 block of North Boulevard where the shooting incident occurred, but they wanted "the women and children there to see them (the Muslims) die."

#### ITINERARY CITED

Dist. Atty. Sargent Pitcher, who said a state of emergency still exists in Baton Rouge, added that local authorities have an itinerary for the group of out-of-state blacks dating back to Nov. 7 in Washington "and ending here in Baton Rouge."

He said information collected so far indicates there were two units, composed of a total of 20 people, "which united here Jan. 7."

Asked why the curfew was called if most of the trouble appeared to be generated by out-of-state people, Dumas said, "We know what we're talking about . . . Sorry, but I can't answer the question."

He added, "If you have an out-of-state license plate, you will be stopped and checked." "We can't let our guard down," the mayor-president said.

Asked if a motivation for the incident had been established, Dumas said, "It will be made as we put the pieces together."

Both Dumas and other law enforcement officials attending the news conference this morning were guarded in their comments about the information they have developed so far on the Black Muslims and incidents surrounding the shootout.

The news conference was sandwiched in between briefings in Room 415 of the Municipal Building and Police Chief Eddie Bauer's office. Newsmen were not permitted to enter the meetings which were attended by Pitcher, Sheriff Bryan Clemmons, Bauer, Dumas, Richard E. Horton of the State Police, Brig. Gen. O. J. Daigle of the National Guard, a representative of the FBI, and others.

Dumas said all high school basketball games have been canceled due to the curfew and that LSU's game with Alabama has been moved up from 8 p.m. to 7 p.m. Southern University does not have a game tonight.

Pitcher said individuals who violate the curfew will be charged under Act 176 which allows local officials to take certain steps during state of emergencies.

The district attorney said any group of more than three people would be broken up. "We can keep this community safe by a show of strength," Sheriff Clemmons said.

"The local black community didn't give any assistance to these black militants and are to be complimented," Pitcher said. He added that Baton Rouge blacks "behaved like law-abiding citizens."

The district attorney said race relations in Baton Rouge have been good for the past "six or seven years."

Asked how many weapons were confiscated at the scene yesterday, Clemmons said about 10, some of which came from the Black Muslims.

Following the press conference, Granger said he, Williams and two other CAI representatives, Betty Williams and Lynwood West had been asked by Bauer to meet with him.

#### FEW INCIDENTS

"It was a typical night after with only a few incidents," one officer in charge of radio communication said this morning.

There were two reports of officers being shot at during the night, but no one was hurt.

Local black leaders called for calm yesterday after the outbreak in front of the Temple Theater; and a group of local Black Muslims said the dozen or so young men involved in the confrontation were not connected with them.

The young blacks were dressed in suits, wearing bowties and had close-cropped haircuts.

Police and some local black leaders said the group was made up of "outsiders."

The Black Muslim group here said the outsiders had not contacted them.

#### DEPUTIES KILLED

Sheriff's deputies Ralph Gayle Hancock, 30, of 12844 Wallis St., and Ralph Dewayne Wilder, 27, of 520 Wooddale Blvd., were shot to death during the confrontation.

Authorities today still attempted to determine the identity of one of the dead blacks. His clothing bore laundry marks from San Francisco.

The other tentatively was identified as Thomas Davis, 25, Chicago.

Officers arrested 22 persons for disturbing the peace after the rock-throwing nightstick-swinging battle and shootout.

#### EIGHT BOOKED

Later eight of them were booked with murder in connection with the incident.

They were identified as Lawrence Brooks, 25, of 727 N. Goodwin St.; Raymond Eames, 21, of 324 N. 24th St.; Robert J. Barber, 20, Los Angeles, Calif.; David McKinney, 22, Chicago, Ill.; Warren Hall, 25, Philadelphia, Pa.; Toussaint L'Overture, 21, Chicago, Ill.; Clennon Brown, 25, Chicago, and Ridgley Williams, Jr., who refused to give his age and address.

A television newsmen and one of the young blacks wounded in yesterday's incidents remained in critical condition today at local hospitals. A policeman shot in the abdomen was in serious condition.

Another 13 officers and blacks were still hospitalized today but were less seriously injured.

In critical condition were WBRZ-TV newsmen Bob Johnson and Lonnie X. Police Sgt. Abram Hoover was in serious condition but showing some improvement.

#### \$500,000 BOND

Dist. Judge Donovan W. Parker set \$500,000 bond each on the 22 persons arrested and accused of participating in the disturbance.

He set bonds of \$25,000 each on those arrested for curfew violations. The cases of the persons arrested for curfew violations were to be reviewed today.

Three men were arrested last night after shots were fired at the car of two police detectives, John Weiborn and Hereford Englehorn.

Two were booked with curfew violation and one was booked with attempted murder and curfew violation.

Henry Harris, 24, of 2161 Missouri St., was accused of firing several times at the detectives' car as the officers patrolled Highland Road.

#### OTHERS IDENTIFIED

His companions, who were identified as Willie J. Triplett, 25, of 1615 Napoleon, and Isiah W. Lucas, 24, of 1905 Missouri St., were arrested for curfew violations only.

The detectives said they recovered a .22-caliber pistol from which the shots were fired and a bag of ammunition when the trio's car was chased and halted.

In the other incident, someone fired shots at the car of Officer Moses Evans.

No one was hurt in either incident.

One man arrested for curfew violation was found to be carrying a pistol stolen in Detroit in 1969, authorities said.

#### ANOTHER GUN FOUND

Also officers found a .38-caliber revolver in the paddy wagon after it had hauled in a load of curfew violators.

The FBI was called in to investigate the incident by Sheriff Bryan Clemmons under a law authorizing the FBI to enter a case where a law officer is shot.

Dist. Atty. Sargent Pitcher said the group involved in the shootout came to Baton Rouge about Jan. 1.



They first stayed at the Bellemont Motor Hotel and said they were seeking no trouble when approached by a police intelligence officer, Pitcher said.

Authorities had been trying to keep an eye on their activities ever since their arrival, Pitcher said.

#### THREE EARLIER ARRESTS

Three young men believed to be members of the group were arrested last week for peddling without a permit when they were attempting to sell what appeared to be Black Muslim literature, authorities said.

The group left the Bellemont after they were contacted by police and moved into the White House Inn on North Third Street.

Pitcher said search warrants for their rooms were obtained after the incident yesterday afternoon. The rooms were searched last night and quantities of black literature were taken as evidence, he said.

Police said the young blacks began shooting first yesterday.

Authorities were still puzzled today as to why the group apparently wanted to provoke an incident.

NAACP President Emmitt Douglas said this morning that the young group yesterday was "the closest thing to a suicide squad I've seen." Douglas returned to Baton Rouge from New York because of the turmoil in the city.

He said that he too was puzzled by the young men's actions.

Last Thursday he met one of the youths killed yesterday in a barber shop, Douglas said. The NAACP president, who was at police headquarters this morning, said he talked with the young man and thought perhaps he had converted him to a policy of non-violence.

Later the young man called and called and asked to talk to him, but Douglas told the youth he was leaving town for New York and would be back this week. Douglas said the youth replied that would be "too late."

Pitcher said the outside group called a meeting on the roof of the theater last Friday night and had distributed literature calling for all blacks to attend.

#### AGENTS NOT ADMITTED

He said authorities were unable to get any of their agents into the meeting.

Another meeting apparently was called in the same area yesterday with the blocking of the street following.

Three television newsmen, Johnson, Maurice Cockerham and Henry Baptiste went to the area and were chased away.

Johnson fell as he fled and was beaten and stomped by a group of blacks, authorities said. Baptiste returned and took Johnson to the hospital. Cockerham was injured but reportedly managed to ward off his attackers with a two-by-four.

Police and deputies began arriving at the scene where a Cadillac had been pulled cross-ways the street.

#### CAR MOVE REFUSED

The young blacks refused to move the car and lined up shoulder to shoulder across the street by the car.

Sheriff's Maj. Fred Silman said that as officers and the young blacks faced each other one of them told him, "You white devil, either you or I are going to die today."

Rocks and bottles began to fly. Officers started using their nightsticks.

#### SHOTS BEGIN

Then a shot was fired. It was followed by more than a dozen more.

The crowd which had gathered on the sidewalks on either side of the street scattered.

Lawmen and young blacks lay in the street as officers gained control.

As Police Chief Eddie O. Bauer, Silman and Police Major Jim Dumigan were attacked other officers moved in as the rocks and bottles began to fly.

Bauer said he did not know where the

first shot came from but later said he believed a black man whom he thought was the leader of the confrontation pulled a shotgun from the trunk of the Cadillac.

Capt. J. Bryan Clemmons said he believed the shooting began when another black man pulled a pistol from his coat and appeared ready to shoot.

"They were lined up like a little bunch of tin soldiers like they wanted us to come up and talk to them," Clemmons said.

"They sort of like lulled us into a trap," he said.

"There was a lot of struggling and then this one black pulled a gun and there was some gunfire . . . and police fired. Then there was more shooting," Clemmons said.

#### LIST OF INJURED

Following is a list of the injured besides Johnson, Hoover and Lonnie X:

John Devine, 25, who gave his address as California, was in fair condition at Earl K. Long Hospital with a gunshot wound in the pelvis.

Ronald Crawford, who also gave his address as California, was in fair condition at Earl K. Long with a gunshot wound in the thigh.

In satisfactory condition at Earl K. Long were James Barlow, 21, Chicago, a scalp wound and a chest wound; Keith Muhammad, 21, Chicago, a gunshot wound of the left elbow, and Milton LeDuff, 22, of 2716 Texas St., a gunshot wound of the right hip and leg.

In satisfactory condition at Baton Rouge General Hospital were Maj. Fred Silman, a broken wrist and a fractured knee; Police Maj. W. L. (Buck) Gunby, a head injury and a gunshot wound in the leg; Police Maj. James O. Dumigan, a depressed fracture of the left cheekbone.

Also listed satisfactory were Joseph Accordo, 55, Box 16, Hessmer, a construction employe who was working on a church in the area who received facial injuries, and Reddick Stevens, 52, of 2835 Jasmine, who was working with Accordo and who also received facial injuries.

In satisfactory condition at Our Lady of the Lake Hospital were WBRZ-TV newsmen Maurice Cockerham, body bruises; Policeman Errol Voinche, a gunshot wound in the right thigh; Deputy Reece Sirjane, a scalp injury, and Deputy Kenneth Savignol, a gunshot wound to the collar bone and a scalp cut.

Deputies treated and released were Lt. Col. Herman Thompson, broken thumb; Maj. Thomas Walsh, bruises; Detective George O'Connor, left arm and thumb injury, and Daniel D'Amico, a cut finger.

Police treated and released included Chief Bauer, facial and body bruises; Officer Richard Guidry, a broken collarbone, and Officer Wayne Glascock, leg bruises.

Treated at Earl K. Long and released to authorities were Clemson Brown, 25, Chicago, rib fractures and head injuries; Leroy Davis, 21, 2751 Texas, gunshot wound of the left hand; Edward Sims, 18, of 737 N. 19th, gunshot wound of the left foot; and Morris Courtney, 66, of 1327 Government.

Treated and released at Our Lady of the Lake Hospital were Henry Duvall, 18, of 1821 Texas, pellets in the ankles and buttocks, and Mitchell Batley, 2146 Bateman Circle, pellets in the right thigh and both calves.

#### SUSPECTS BOOKED

Those booked into jail for disturbing the peace in connection with the fight on North Boulevard, pending further investigation were identified as:

Don Wayne Johnson, 22, 701 N. 27th St.  
Jerry Anthony Williams, 18, 2242 Minnesota St.

Ida Mae Johnson, 38, 8770 Elm Grove Drive.

Olive Lee Byrd, 23, 1546 Matilda St.  
Murphy Bell Jr., 25, 213 East Blvd.  
Darrell Abraham Bates, 18, 155 Taylor St.  
Donald Ray Frank, 16, 263 W. Polk St.

Larry Dale Jackson, 17, 221 Taylor St.  
Albert Bates, 54, 155 Taylor St.  
Leverett Kemp, 20, 1419 Orange St.  
Mitchell John Battley, 28, 2146 Bateman Circle.

Henry Duvall, 18, 1821 Texas St.  
LeRoy Edward Davis, 20, 2751 Texas St.  
Eugene Shropshire, 17, 1208 N. Acadian Thruway.

Henry Harris, 22, 631 S. 10th St.  
Edward Sims, 18, 737 N. 19th St.

#### CITED FOR CURFEW VIOLATIONS

Booked for curfew violations were James Warren, 21, and Samuel Burrell, 26, both of Rt. 5; William D. Curtis, 23, 3040 Jackson; Wilbert Francois, 23, 1249 N. 47th St.; Paul J. Prejean, 29, Lafayette; James O. Hall, 34, Chicago; Gerald Haynes, 18, 1044 Grebe; Herbert Lawson Jr., 34, Port Allen; Huey P. Gauthier, 37, 1287 W. McKinley St.; Ronald P. Haynes, 17, Port Allen; Claude W. Collins, Jr., 21, 1287 W. McKinley St.; Wilson J. Walker, 30, 571 E. Grant St.; George Holden, 32, 2250 Madison St.; Willis Cole, 33, 1370 Smith St., and Neil H. Buie Jr., 52, 3125 Anita St. All but Buie are black.

Also booked for curfew violations were: Ernest H. Brown, 23, 466 W. Johnson; Allen R. Dawson, 22, of 1205 Swartz; Wilton Gray, 27, of 926 N. 28th St.; Birkmon Jones, 25, of 119 N. 29th St.; Angre Jacobs, 24, of 918 N. 28th St.; Richard Wright Jr., 22, 2065 Missouri; Hillery Brown, 20, of 1342 Apple; Alvin Smith Jr., 21, of 1255 W. Roosevelt, and James W. Nesman, 20, of 960 W. Roosevelt. All of these, with the exception of Nesman, are black.

Also arrested for curfew violations were Alvin Smith Jr., 21, 1255 W. Roosevelt St.; Alvin K. Bates, 41, 939 St. Joseph St.; Jimmy L. Davis, 21, 4604½ Capitol Ave.; Lloyd H. Brown, 22, Washington Avenue; William H. Hudson, 26, no address; Edward J. Page, 22, 1768 N. 45th St.; Eugene Williams, 22, 601 Napoleon St.; Willie B. Smith, 30, 1668 N. 45th St.; Frank H. Jones, 29, 1905 Missouri St., and Robert L. Butler, 22, 4401 Wells St.

Also arrested for curfew violations were: Thomas Pleasant, 19, 9190 Lewis; William Bell, 29, RFD, Baton Rouge; Bobby Warren, 33, Zachary; Joseph J. Percy, 42, 8320 Shearson; Lionel McCastle, 36, Rt. Five, Box 101; William C. Carey, 23, 4613 New Wels Rd., Zachary; Frank Lawrence, 42, 1348 Gila St.; Caridon G. Murry, 19, St. Louis, and Rodney A. Grabo, 19, Loves Park, Ill.

Murry and Grabo are white.  
Another arrest for curfew violation and aggravated battery was John Germany, 2708 Ballis.

[From the State-Times, Jan. 12, 1972]

#### SAY MUSLIMS EYED TAMPA BASE FIRST

Some of the reputed Black Muslims involved in a confrontation with Baton Rouge law enforcement officers Monday considered setting up a base in Tampa, Fla., but were talked out of it by Tampa police, a Florida newspaper said yesterday.

The Tampa Times reported that a police officer there said the Muslims told him they were going to have a confrontation with police. "We're well armed and well prepared," the newspaper quoted the Muslims as telling the police.

"We knew they were going to start something somewhere. We just didn't know where."

Here is the story published by the Times: "Tampa instead of Baton Rouge might have been the scene of blood and violence (Monday) if police had not suggested two weeks ago that four men set up their headquarters elsewhere."

"Police Chief S. G. Littleton said (Tuesday) one or more of the men filmed in a shootout with Baton Rouge police (Monday) were apparently the same Black Muslims who were in Tampa in late December."

"The four men came into town in 'sleek black Cadillacs,' one source said and stayed at

the Manger Motor Inn for four days. (The Manger is in downtown Tampa.)

#### EYES ON MANSION

"At that time the Times learned, the men had inquired about purchasing a \$68,000 'mansion' to set up a Black Muslim headquarters.

"They were reportedly involved in an internal Muslim dispute in another northern city, during which gunfire was exchanged.

"Their intent, it was learned, was to begin a new 'nation' of muslims in the South.

"Certain officials of the Tampa police department interviewed the men at the Manger and apparently convinced them Tampa was not the right place for their headquarters. 'They were not intimidated,' said one of the officers who asked not to be identified. 'I think we were just able to point out to them that this community would not be right for their activities.'

"Another officer said, 'They told me they were going to have a confrontation with the police. They said, "We're all well armed and well prepared."

"We knew they were going to start something somewhere. We just didn't know where," he said.

"Phil Barber, assistant manager of the Manger, said (Tuesday) the Muslims 'were no trouble at all' and that 'they were better dressed than I can afford,' and that they were polite to him."

A mention of a headquarters also came up in casual remarks between a member of the newly arrived Black Muslims and a local resident last Thursday.

#### SEEK TO RENT SPACE

Samuel Jenkins, a leading black Mason in Baton Rouge, said he was in the Masonic building on North Boulevard last Thursday afternoon when four or five of the young men came in to rent a meeting place in the four-story building.

Jenkins said he knew they were strangers and recognizing them as probable members of an organization, asked where their headquarters were. He said one replied, "We may make it here in Baton Rouge."

He also asked whether they were associated with the Muslims who have a small meeting house on Government Street and was told, "We're their bosses."

Local Black Muslims, who have had the meeting place on Government Street for about five years and have kept out of public view disclaimed any association with the newcomers and said the men did not get in contact with them.

Thomas Buffington, a Mason who operates a taxi service next to the Prince Hall Masons' building and handles business for the building, rented the meeting space to the men for \$90 cash paid on the line. He said he did not know the young men's business or with what organization they might have been associated.

The Masonic building contains the Temple Theater on the first floor and offices and a social gathering place on the upper floors. The alleged Muslims held a community-type meeting in the building Friday night. The shootout was in front of the Temple Monday night after noon.

Jenkins said the young men were neatly dressed and each wore a "butterfly bow tie," a particularly flared tie. Each tie was of a different color, he said.

He also said he noted they were dressed differently from young Muslims who frequently sell Muslim publications along North Boulevard. He said the local members were usually dressed in neat, dark suits and wore long, strip ties.

[From the State-Times, Jan. 12, 1972]

CURFEW DECISION AWAITED: CITY HAS QUIET NIGHT

(By Bill Bankston)

Authorities were to decide early this afternoon if another curfew was to be imposed

tonight as tension appeared to be easing over the outbreak of violence on North Boulevard two days ago.

Mayor-President Dumas said at 1 p.m. that he had not yet made a decision on the curfew.

He said he would have a decision by 2:30 p.m. after talking with Police Chief Eddie O. Bauer, state police and the National Guard commander, Brig. Gen. O. J. Daigle.

At about 12:30 p.m. today, Dumas stepped out of a meeting with local black leaders which had begun at 10 a.m.

Dumas described the meeting as "productive." But the talks were still continuing, he said.

The meeting was called to discuss and assess conditions in the city which have followed the North Boulevard outbreak Monday that killed two sheriff's deputies and two young black men.

Police said at 1 p.m. that the city remained quiet.

Authorities at 1 p.m. halted for questioning three young black men who were prepared to board a plane at Ryan Airport for Chicago.

The three were dressed neatly in suits, wore large bowties and had close-cropped haircuts.

Officers at police headquarters appeared to believe the trio might be the remaining members of a group of militants accused of triggering Monday's street violence here.

Only a dozen persons were arrested overnight for violation of the curfew that began at 9:30 p.m. yesterday.

Nearly 50 persons were arrested during the Monday curfew that began at 5:30 p.m.

Streets after curfew were quieter last night than they had been Monday night, although the time was rolled back and the LSU-Alabama basketball game, postponed Monday night, was played before the 9:30 p.m. curfew went into effect.

Police, sheriff's deputies, state troopers and 700 National Guardsmen today remained alert to the slightest indication of any developing disturbance.

Officers and Guardsmen were dispatched to meet an arriving bus here this morning when they received reports that it might be carrying out-of-state militants.

The passengers were allowed to continue about their business after being looked over by authorities.

Purpose of the 10 a.m. meeting today, the mayor said, was to "find out what support we are going to get."

"We want to sit down with these people who are the black leaders and see what can be done," Dumas said.

Councilman Joe Deloit attended the meeting as well as representatives of the NAACP and Community Advancement Inc., local anti-poverty agency.

The mayor-president said he has received threats against his life and that police officers have been assigned to him "for the duration." He said there have been calls made to his home "threatening my life and family."

Dumas said "a planned conspiracy has been proven out" in connection with the shooting incident Monday which killed four men.

State police still kept watch on the entrances to the city, on guard for any possible black militants that might be attempting to come here from other areas.

The funerals for the two slain deputies, Ralph DeWayne Wilder, 27, and Ralph Hancock, 30, were scheduled today.

Authorities yesterday were able to determine the name of the previously unidentified young Negro killed in the North Boulevard encounter.

They said they had tentatively identified him as Samuel Upton, 29, of 2136 Griffon, Vallejo, Calif.

The other dead black was tentatively identified as Thomas Davis, 25, Chicago, Ill.

WBZ-TV newsmen Bob Johnson and a black youth identified only as Lonnie X remained in critical condition today.

Police Sgt. Abram Hoover was still reported in serious condition but improving.

The less seriously injured in the incident in front of the Temple Theater on Monday were continuing to improve and more were being released from hospitals.

Some 31 persons were injured in the incident but only about half required hospitalization, authorities said.

#### OUTSIDE MILITANTS

Mayor-President Dumas, Police Chief Eddie O. Bauer and Gov. John McKeithen said the disturbance was caused by outside militants and warned other such agitators to stay away from Baton Rouge.

Local black leaders called for calm in the face of tension over Monday's incident. The Black Muslim group here said the dozen or so young blacks involved in the incident had no connection with their organization.

There were some scattered incidents in the city yesterday, but authorities determined no direct link with the Monday outbreak.

Three teachers—two at Capitol Junior High School and one at Capitol Senior High School—were attacked yesterday.

A white man was hit and robbed by a group of black youths yesterday afternoon near the scene of Monday's violence.

And, a small group was reported causing a minor disturbance near the scene yesterday morning. The group which had been reported throwing bottles and drinking wine left when contacted by police, who said men were local residents.

At another point yesterday the police and guardsmen were alerted to a group of cars carrying black agitators to the city from out-of-state.

The seven cars were tracked by state police helicopters, and officers halted them in West Baton Rouge Parish.

The cars contained only drivers and were rental vehicles being returned to an agency here, authorities said.

#### TEACHERS ATTACKED

Falcon A. Roberts, 25, and an unidentified teacher were attacked as they left Capitol Junior High School yesterday afternoon.

Roberts was cut on the head when hit with a stick. The other teacher was hit on the side of the head with a fist, authorities said.

Roberts was treated at a clinic for his injury.

Police arrested a 13-year-old girl in connection with the incident and today were seeking two boys.

A number of the youths involved were older non-students who had been loitering just off the campus.

They rushed through the gates about 2:45 p.m. as the two men started to get into a car, Schools Supt. Robert J. Aertker said.

In the incident at Capitol Senior High School, teacher C. R. Wood, 45, was hit on the head with a two-by-four in one of the trade and industrial education classrooms.

A 16-year-old non-student was arrested and two other youths were being sought in connection with the incident.

Wood was hit when he told the three to leave the trade and industrial education shop at the high school, police said. He was not seriously injured, officers reported.

#### SPREADING PROBE

FBI agents here and possibly nine other FBI officers are involved in the spreading investigation of the Monday incident here. Sheriff Bryan Clemmons asked for the FBI investigation under a law that allowed the FBI to enter a case where a police officer is killed.

Authorities today were still piecing together exactly what happened on North Boulevard where about a dozen young blacks blocked the boulevard in front of the Temple Theater with a Cadillac.

The ranking officers who walked up to the line of neat-suited, bowtied young men were attacked after they told the group that the car would have to be moved, authorities said.



Rocks and bottles began to fly, and police nightsticks began to swing. Then the shooting began. Officers in the confrontation said the blacks began shooting first.

Some said that apparently small .22-caliber pistols were also fired from the crowds standing on either side of the street watching the confrontation.

Twenty-two persons were arrested in connection with the incident, eight of them being booked with the murder.

Some officials estimated more than a half-dozen weapons involved in the shootout were recovered. However, they could specifically name only three—a shotgun believed pulled out of the Cadillac trunk by one of the militants and the service revolvers of Hoover and Deputy Kenneth Savignol.

Known missing are the weapons of Police Maj. James O. Dumigan, who was injured in the fight and injured in the fight, and Deputy Hancock, who was believed killed with his own revolver after it was wrested from him.

It is believed that Hoover may also have been shot with his own revolver after it was grabbed from him when he was knocked down in the fight.

Both blacks were killed by .38-caliber bullets, authorities said.

Arrested for curfew violations last night were Clifton Manuev, 24, Madison, Wis.; Daniel R. Marsh, 21, 2171 Christian; Douglas L. Skinner, 39, 10596 Airline Hwy.; Ernest Brown, 62, 689 Lettsworth; Wallace Coleman, 31, 1129 America; Louis K. Newman, 19, 2346 Dogwood; Michael Armstrong, 19, 4554 Palm; Allen A. Christ Jr., 31, 3052 Nicholson Dr.; Willie Smith Jr., 18, 1957 N. Ardenwood; Rivers B. Blount, 31, 2804 Kaufman; Sherwood Gaines Jr., 19, 2347 Balis, and Michael F. Reynolds, 19, Tularosa, N.M.

Manuev, Armstrong and Blount were also booked with possession of marijuana. They were arrested separately.

Brown was additionally booked with driving while intoxicated and Smith was booked with having no driver's license.

Marsh, Skinner, Newman, Armstrong, Christ and Reynolds were identified as whites.

[From the State-Times, Jan. 12, 1972]

#### NEWSMAN'S CONDITIONS IS CRITICAL

Hospital officials said today that WBRZ-TV newscaster Bob Johnson remained in critical condition today as the result of a brutal beating he received at the hands of black militants in Monday's noon-hour incident on North Boulevard.

Our Lady of the Lake Hospital authorities said the 38-year-old Johnson, the father of five, was unimproved overnight and that severe head injuries are keeping him on the critical list.

Meanwhile, City Police Sgt. Abram Hoover was removed from the intensive treatment section of OLOL, but is still listed in serious condition. However, the hospital said his condition is improving. Hoover received abdomen and shoulder gunshot wounds.

City Police Major Jim Dumigan, suffering from a left cheekbone fracture, was scheduled to be released today from Baton Rouge General Hospital.

However, City Police Major W. L. (Buck) Gunby will remain in the same hospital with a gunshot wound of the leg and a head injury, while Sheriff's Major Fred Sliman is in satisfactory condition with a broken wrist and a fractured knee.

These and several others were injured during the melee in the 1300 block of North Boulevard when police moved in to break up the blockading of one block with cars by alleged Black Muslims from Chicago, who had told gathered blacks that they had come to Baton Rouge to "liberate" them.

#### TELEVISION NEWSMAN

Maurice Cockerham, a WBRZ-TV newscaster, who received body bruises in the alter-

cation which critically injured Johnson, has been released from Our Lady of the Lake Hospital.

Another WBRZ newscaster, Henry Baptiste, who rescued Johnson from the black mob, was also injured, but not hospitalized.

Two city policemen, Errol Voinche and Reece Sirjane, also injured in the street confrontation, have been released, while Deputy Sheriff Kenneth Savignol remained in satisfactory condition at OLOL with gunshot wounds of the shoulder and a scalp laceration.

Two workmen on a church in the area of of the melee were injured and hospitalized. Hospital officials said Reddick Stevens, 52, Baton Rouge, is in a fair condition, and Joseph Accardo, 35, Hesser, hospitalized with face injuries, is in satisfactory condition.

At the Earl K. Long Memorial Hospital a Negro militant who gave a name of Lonnie X, remained in critical condition from gunshot wounds.

The hospital said John Devine, 25, California, was in fair condition with gunshot wounds and Ronald Crawford, also of California, was in fair condition with pelvis wounds.

In good condition at the same hospital are James Barlow, 21, Chicago, scalp and chest wounds, Keith Muhammad, Chicago, gunshot wound of left elbow, and Milton LeDuff, 22, Baton Rouge, gunshot wounds of the right hip and leg.

[From the Baton Rouge Morning Advocate, Jan. 13, 1972]

#### PITCHER SAYS FOUR MUSLIMS STILL AT LARGE (By G. Michael Harmon)

Four members of an alleged Black Muslim splinter group, who officials say provoked a bloody shootout with police that left four men dead, are still at large, it was revealed Wednesday.

Dist. Atty. Sargent Pitcher said police were searching for two men and two women members of an alleged group of 16 touring Muslims who officials contend came to this Louisiana capital city to precipitate a violent confrontation with authorities.

With the exception of the four, the remaining members of the group are accounted for, Pitcher said.

Two deputy sheriffs and two members of the alleged band died in the sudden volley of gunshots on a city street Monday. Six of the alleged group were arrested and charged with murder; the others were hospitalized. Two Baton Rouge blacks were also charged with murder, but it was not known if they were associated with the alleged group of Muslims.

Officials declined to comment on the four at large, but their unknown whereabouts appeared to be at least one reason for the continuation of a curfew and of a National Guard contingent in the city for the third night in a row.

Officials have maintained that they did not expect violence from the black community, and the city has been relatively peaceful since the Monday gun battle.

Pitcher also made public what he called an itinerary found in the local hotel room of one member of the group.

The so-called itinerary was a list of cities and dates. It started in Rochester, N.Y. Nov. 7 and ended in Phoenix Jan. 17.

In chronological order, included on the list were:

Rochester, Nov. 7; Pittsburgh, Nov. 8; Philadelphia, Nov. 12-15; Baltimore, Nov. 15-17; Washington, Nov. 18-21; Richmond, Va., Nov. 22-25; Norfolk, Va., Nov. 26-28; Raleigh, N.C., Nov. 29-Dec. 2; Charlotte, N.C., Dec. 5; Atlanta, Dec. 6-9; Savannah, Ga., Dec. 10-12; Jacksonville, Fla., Dec. 13-16; Daytona Beach, Fla., Dec. 17-18; traveling and rest, Dec. 19-23; Tampa, Fla., Dec. 26; Mobile, Ala., Dec. 27-30; Montgomery, Ala., (date blurred); Birmingham, Ala., Jan. 3-4; Jack-

son, Miss., Jan. 5-6; Baton Rouge, La., Jan. 7-8; both squads come together Jan. 7; Houston, Jan. 10-13; Phoenix, Ariz., Jan. 14-17.

**GUARDSMEN SAID NOT EMPOWERED TO ARREST**  
National Guardsmen patrolling Baton Rouge in the wake of Monday's gun battle are expected to be in the company of state or local authorities and have no authority to make arrests, a clarification of reports to the contrary indicated Wednesday.

Several groups of guardsmen were seen either by themselves in guard vehicles or in civilian cars, the Morning Advocate learned, but this is a violation of regulations, according to National Guard sources.

City police, sheriff's deputies or State Police must accompany guardsmen as agreed to by all four agencies, Sheriff Bryan Clemmons said Wednesday.

Officers investigating suspected curfew violators or other persons are expected to identify themselves either by uniform, credentials or flashing red light and siren on their patrol cars, Clemmons added.

#### BLACK STOPPED IN OTHER CITIES SAY DEPUTIES

**AMARILLO, TEX.**—A black man killed in street rioting at Baton Rouge, La., earlier this week and three others arrested there were in Amarillo and Canyon Dec. 6, Potter County deputies said Wednesday.

Capt. Stony Jackson said he was called to West Texas State University at Canyon that evening by a campus security guard who reported that a group of about 10 Black Muslims were handing out Nation of Islam literature and seeking donations in the dormitories.

Canyon officers said they called in Jackson to see if any of the group was wanted by the authorities in the Amarillo area.

"They were sharply dressed and each one looked like he might have had a \$100 suit," Jackson said. "They were clean-shaven, with short haircuts, and very intelligent."

Jackson said they cooperated with him in agreeing to leave the campus, perhaps because he is black himself.

Jackson gave their names as Thomas Davis, 25, of Chicago (one of the two Negroes killed at Baton Rouge); Robert J. Barber, 20, of Los Angeles; Warren Hall, 25, of Philadelphia; and Ridgley Williams Jr., 25, of Ada, Okla.

[From the Baton Rouge Morning Advocate, Jan. 12, 1972]

#### MAJOR GUNBY SPECULATES BULLET MEANT FOR BAUER

The bullet which broke his leg could have been intended for Baton Rouge Police Chief Eddie O. Bauer, Maj. W. L. Gunby speculated from a hospital bed Tuesday.

Gunby, a 23-year veteran of the force, was one of the first police officers on the scene at Monday's gun battle on North Boulevard which left two sheriff's deputies dead. Several others were hospitalized.

"All the stuff was spontaneous," the officer said during an interview.

"When what I took to be .22s started firing, I saw one of these guys run out and knock down the chief," he said. "The shot that hit me came from behind. I think there's a good possibility, of course, this is just a guess, they might've been trying to shoot the chief and got me."

Pale and drawn, one arm bandaged above the wrist, the back of his head shaved and painted with antiseptic, Gunby gave this account of the early stages of the Flareup:

"The chief came in and says 'Let's go, Buck, let's go out there.' So we drove around in back there. We looked around and were walking to where these cars were blocking the street. Maj. (Jim) Dumigan, (Sheriff's Maj. Fred) Sliman and them were already trying to get the wrecker in there."

"All of a sudden, I heard some shots fired and all hell broke loose, brickbats flying, what have you. I saw the chief go down and tried to help him and caught a brickbat on the back of my head, then one on my wrist."

"As I was getting up, I felt a deep pain in my leg and knew it was broke. I thought—it's been hit with a brickbat. I got to my car and somebody drove me to the hospital."

"I never did see any guns at all. I was bleeding and my leg and head hurt something . . . I just hear a bunch of gunshots. I never did pull mine. Maybe that was good. I might've gotten it if I did."

"I went through two wars and nine invasions," Gunby sighed. "It's the first time I ever got shot."

"I sure don't like it," the 48-year-old policeman added.

[From the Covington (La.), St. Tammany Farmer, Jan. 13, 1972]

#### WHAT IS THE REASON?

What's an excuse for the racial war in Baton Rouge Monday that killed four? Maybe more.

It wasn't a "long hot summer" in a "ghetto."

It wasn't an orderly, legally designed meeting of blacks.

So apparently it was proposed for just what it accomplished. Murder, hate and fodder for TV cameras.

Who's to blame?

Maybe we should examine a national police force that can suppress the Ku Klux Klan, but seems to do little about the Black Muslims, Black Panthers and other radical black groups.

It's time law-abiding blacks and whites alike rise up in unison against inflammatory trouble-makers.

Violent death knows no color.

[From the Baton Rouge Morning Advocate, Jan. 13, 1972]

#### BLACKS ASK CURFEW ENDED; MAYOR SAYS CANNOT BE DONE

(By Bill McMahon)

"You're going to have to take my word for it. I had to take law enforcement officials' words for it that what we're doing is right," Mayor-President Dumas said Wednesday afternoon as he called another curfew, this one to begin at 10 p.m. Wednesday.

Curfews were called at 5:30 p.m. Monday and at 9:30 p.m. Tuesday following a shoot-out on North Boulevard Monday, which ended in the death of two white sheriff's deputies and two black men.

The fear of further strife led by individuals from outside Baton Rouge is the apparent reason for the continued curfew and use of National Guardsmen and state policemen.

Dumas said some concern that disturbances from people in the Baton Rouge community may occur.

"In any community, you have people who will join anybody," he said. "We're trying to separate the usual race relations problems that we have from any outsiders."

"Internal strife is going on in the Muslim sect," Dumas said, supporting reports that Black Muslims are at the root of Baton Rouge's continuing guarded stance against civil disruption.

Asked if any of the "outsiders" are still in Baton Rouge, Dumas said, "I can't answer that." He said documents relating to Muslim involvement were in the hands of the FBI.

Also asked if his life had been threatened, Dumas replied with a question, "Why do you think these four policemen are here?"

Dumas backgrounded his call for another curfew and continued stationing of the National Guard by saying he had met with black leaders at about 11 a.m. Wednesday. They had asked the curfew be lifted, he said. I told those in favor of lifting the curfew

that if possible I would but that I must first talk to law enforcement people."

"They came to the conclusion that it is imperative that the curfew be kept on," he said.

The curfew decision was based on intelligence data, he said. "They (the black representatives) don't know what we know," he said.

"I know it's a hard thing for the community. I have no other choice."

Asked about the situation for Thursday or later, Dumas said, "We're going to play it day by day."

Commenting on the relative peace of Monday and Tuesday night, Dumas said the situation of the last two days is due to the people of the community who do not want any trouble.

Dumas also said questions by some that prisoners and those arrested for curfew violations were not treated right were being answered by having an investigation made by deputy coroners Dr. Louis James and Dr. James Bernard, both black.

The two men were in the mayor-president's office at the time but explained, "we have not seen the prisoners as yet."

#### CITES DATA

About the alleged Black Muslims who were at the rally Monday, Dumas said he had information they came from Washington, were spotted in Tampa, Fla., and were to have left Tampa for Phoenix, Ariz.

Dumas said he wished Tampa authorities would have told Baton Rouge authorities the "Muslims" were coming Baton Rouge's way.

Dumas said U.S. Atty. Gerald Gallinhouse of New Orleans was still in Baton Rouge. Elmer Litchfield of the local FBI office is in charge of the investigation here, Dumas said.

During the press conference the mayor said he had information two participants in the melee Monday were arrested Wednesday attempting to board a plane at Ryan Airport.

The mayor's information was incorrect. Four black men, all Baton Rougeans, were taken into custody at the airport, questioned and released Wednesday afternoon.

A federal agent who talked to the men identified the four as local Black Muslims and he said authorities were satisfied none of the four were involved in the Monday incident.

The rumor about the airport "arrests" were one of many unsubstantiated rumors which circulated among officials during the day.

[From the Baton Rouge (La.) States Times, Jan. 13, 1972]

#### CURFEW IS LIFTED HERE—GUARD TROOPS GO HOME—18 ARRESTED LAST NIGHT

(By Bill Bankston)

Mayor-President Dumas today lifted the local curfew, and the 700 National Guardsmen sent here to assist police authorities since Monday started going home.

Baton Rouge emerged from another curfew-quiet night this morning.

Mayor-President Dumas made his no-curfew announcement after meeting with ranking representatives of the city police, sheriff's office, state police and the National Guard.

Dumas said police and sheriff's deputies would still be on beefed up patrol and backed up by state troopers for as long as authorities thought there might be any recurrence of the violence that erupted Monday afternoon on North Boulevard.

The mayor also said he would not hesitate to impose another curfew or ask for the Guard's return if the situation warranted it.

In the three days since Monday's confrontation between officers and a group of black militants, the city has been tense but quiet.

Each night the curfew was moved back a little later and the city appeared to return to normal.

Dumas imposed the Monday curfew at 5:30 p.m., about four hours after two sheriff's deputies and two black militants were killed

in an outbreak in front of the Temple Theater.

Last night officers arrested 18 persons for violating the curfew that went into effect at 10 o'clock. Many of those arrested were lone motorists and in a number of the arrests, traffic violations were also involved, police reported.

Of the 18 arrested, 12 were black and six were white.

Investigators continue to attempt to piece together the exact sequence of events on North Boulevard on Monday and to filter fact from rumor in the flood of reports about possible further trouble.

Yesterday, guardsmen and police met at least three buses from out of town as they arrived downtown after rumors that they were loaded with armed blacks.

All the passengers appeared to be ordinary citizens.

Dist. Atty. Sargent Pitcher said investigators are still looking for two men and two women believed to have been in the group of about 16 militants blamed for touching off the Temple Theater incident Monday which killed two sheriff's deputies and two young blacks and injured 31 other persons.

Mayor-President Dumas imposed last night's curfew after meetings with local black leaders and police authorities.

He said that the black representatives had recommended lifting the curfew and removing the National Guard but that intelligence information coming in to police headquarters made authorities feel the curfew was still necessary.

"They (the black representatives) don't know what we know," he said.

#### TWENTY-ONE CITY TOUR

An itinerary found in a hotel room occupied by one of the militants showed the group had begun a 21-city tour in November, moving down the Atlantic Coast from New York State to Florida, then across the Gulf Coast to Baton Rouge, Pitcher indicated.

Investigators indicated they believe two groups of the traveling militants were to meet in Baton Rouge late last week.

Amarillo, Tex., police yesterday revealed that one of the blacks killed here Monday and three of those arrested after the outbreak had been in Amarillo on Dec. 6.

Yesterday, officers halted four young black men at Ryan Airport where they were preparing to board a plane for Chicago.

They were released, however, when it was determined that they were members of the local Black Muslim organization and not connected with the outside group, a federal agent indicated.

#### NO CONTACT

Local Black Muslims said that the outside group had not even contacted them since it arrived here at the end of December.

Elijah Muhammad, head of the national Black Muslim organization, said from his Chicago headquarters that the group that came into Baton Rouge had nothing to do with his organization.

Local authorities are apparently beginning to believe that they were members of a Muslim splinter group that is made up of members or former members of the "Fruits of Islam," the paramilitary arm of the Black Muslims.

Pitcher released the dates and cities on the itinerary found in the hotel room here.

In chronological order, included in the list were Rochester, Nov. 7; Pittsburgh, Nov. 8; Philadelphia, Nov. 12-15; Baltimore, Nov. 15-17; Washington, Nov. 19-21; Richmond, Va., Nov. 22-25; Norfolk, Va., Nov. 25-28; Raleigh, N.C., Nov. 29-Dec. 2; Charlotte, N.C., Dec. 5; Atlanta, Dec. 6-9; Savannah, Ga., Dec. 10-12; Jacksonville, Fla., Dec. 19-23; Tampa, Fla., Dec. 26; Mobile, Ala., Jan. 3-4; Jackson, Miss., Jan. 5-6; Baton Rouge, La., Jan. 7-8; both squads come together Jan. 7; Houston, Jan. 10-13; Phoenix, Jan. 14-17.



Three young men believed to be members of the group were arrested Dec. 30 for peddling literature without a permit.

Pitcher said members of the group first took rooms at the Bellemont Motor Hotel but left after being contacted by police intelligence officers.

They then apparently moved into the White House Inn, Pitcher said.

The group rented the roof garden at the Temple Theater and are believed to have held several meetings there.

Pitcher said investigators were unsuccessful in getting into last Friday's meeting there.

One person who attended the Friday night meeting said the group was asked who they were.

#### "TELL YOU ONCE"

"All right, we're going to tell you once. We're God," the witness quoted them.

Some local blacks also report that members of the group told them, "Come here Monday at noon and we'll show you something you've never seen before."

Pitcher said members of the group were also quoted as saying they had come to Baton Rouge to take over and return the city "to the black people."

Intelligence reports began coming into police headquarters Monday morning that a march on the Municipal Building was planned from the theater.

Three WBRZ-TV newsmen were at the scene shortly after 12:15 p.m.

While they were there the grey Cadillac was pulled across North Boulevard in front of the theater, blocking the street.

Some of the suited, bow-tied young men got on top of the car and addressed the crowd.

The three newsmen started to leave and were attacked.

#### CRITICALLY HURT

Bob Johnson was critically injured. Maurice Cockerham and Henry Baptiste managed to get away but were also hurt. Cockerham, who was later hospitalized, called police. Baptiste managed to go back and take Johnson to the hospital.

Deputies and police began arriving.

Some high-ranking police officers and deputies walked up to the young blacks, telling them they had to move the car.

The officers were attacked, rocks began to fly, nightsticks began to swing, and then the shooting started, authorities said.

Officers said the blacks apparently started shooting first.

Some officers and witnesses said they believe it is possible the first shots were 22-caliber pistols fired from the crowds on the sidewalks.

Police Chief Eddie O. Bauer said he saw the apparent leader of the group pull a shotgun from the trunk of the car.

Sheriff's Capt. J. Bryan Clemmons said he saw one of the Muslim types pull a chrome-plated revolver from his coat.

#### FIRE GAS SHELL

Clemmons said he shot the man with a tear-gas shell. The officer next to him fired a bullet at the man, Clemmons said.

Only police weapons have apparently been recovered and at least one wounded officer's gun is still missing.

Some officers said blacks were attempting to take away their service revolvers.

It is believed that at least two officers may have been shot with their own weapons after they were taken away.

Amarillo police said that Thomas Davis, 25, Chicago, one of the slain blacks, had been in Amarillo on Dec. 6. Also in Amarillo were Robert J. Barber, 20, Los Angeles; Warren Hall, 25, Philadelphia, and Ridgely Williams Jr., 25, Ada, Okla., they said.

Barber, Hall and Williams are among the six out-of-state residents booked here with murder in connection with the Monday in-

cident. Two local residents were also booked with murder, Lawrence Brooks, 25, of 727 N. Goodwin St., and Raymond Eames, 21, of 324 N. 24th St.

Police have identified the second black killed in the incident as Samuel Upton, 29, of 2136 Griffon, Vallejo, Calif.

[From the Baton Rouge (La.) State Times, Jan. 14, 1972]

#### TWO VIOLENCE VICTIMS WERE NOT IN AREA

Two of the men injured during Monday's outbreak of violence on North Boulevard weren't in the immediate area of the confrontation and apparently weren't aware of what was happening in front of the Temple Theater.

Reddick Stevens, 52, of 2835 Jasmine, who was beaten and who has his throat slashed, was working in a church on 13th Street around the corner from the incident.

Joseph Accardo, 55, Hessmer, who was severely beaten, was around the corner on 14th Street, waiting to deliver a truck load of cabbage to the Capitol Tomato Company.

Both remain in satisfactory condition at Baton Rouge General Hospital today.

Stevens, a construction supervisor, was attacked when he stepped out of the church to get a tool from his automobile. He had been working alone in the building all morning.

Stevens didn't even see who attacked him, police said.

A deacon from the church came up and found Stevens lying on the sidewalk, they said.

Accardo, a farmer, parked his truck on the street and was waiting for the tomato company, which had closed for the lunch hour, to open up, police said.

He had driven up 14th from Government Street.

Police said Accardo became apprehensive about a car that had stopped behind and to the side of his truck and got out to walk over to the company to ask to be let inside.

Accardo was tapped on the shoulder and was struck in the face when he turned around. Then at least two men began beating him, police said. He was not robbed.

[From the Baton Rouge Morning Advocate, Jan. 14, 1972]

#### LAW OFFICIALS BLAST CLAIM OF NEGLIGENCE (By Bob Anderson)

Law officials say complaints that they were not on the job Monday morning when trouble began to rumble on North Boulevard are untrue.

They say plainclothesmen were in the area and unmarked cars were patrolling it. One police official puts part of the blame on white newsmen who went to the scene unprotected.

Violence began to develop about 12:35 p.m. when a crowd gathered in the street turned on three WBRZ-TV newsmen, beating one to the edge of death and dealing injuries requiring hospitalization to another. The violence climaxed some 15 minutes later when city police and sheriff's deputies entered the scene and tried to move cars which had been used to form a barricade of the street. Seconds later two deputies and two blacks were dead.

One of the strongest critics of the law enforcement actions is WBRZ newsmen Maurice Cockerham, one of those injured in the initial fracas. He termed them "ill prepared, uninformed and ill equipped."

#### SPOTS SITUATION

Cockerham says he spotted the situation on North Boulevard before noon. He says he surveyed it and returned to the television station where he called police at 12:15 p.m. and told them what he had seen.

"They said they didn't know a thing about it and would send a car out," said Cockerham. "They told two lies at once!"

Cockerham said that he and fellow newsmen Bob Johnson then returned to the site of the disturbance, where they met a third WBRZ newsmen Henry Baptiste. He said there were no uniformed police officers around that he did not recognize any plainclothesmen in the crowd.

He says the three went into a local establishment to find out from the owner what was going on. While they were in the establishment, Cockerham says, a gray Cadillac was pulled across the street and one of the "Black Muslims" climbed on top of it and began shouting to the crowd.

He said that they then went outside to hear, but when the speaker started talking about giving the city back to the blacks and killing whites they decided to go. Cockerham said that this was between 12:30 and 12:35 and still no police had shown up.

#### CROWD CONVERGES

It was at this point that the crowd converged on them and Johnson was severely beaten.

City police do acknowledge receiving a call from Cockerham but say that it was not a call for assistance. They say at that point they did not see a necessity for sending uniformed men into the area and possibly provoking an incident. They say that they did have plainclothesmen keeping the pulse of the crowd near the scene.

Another critic of police actions on Monday morning is Averill Aucoin, proprietor of Owl Drug Store located at the scene of the incidents.

He says that the first hint he had of the impending violence came shortly after 10 a.m. when a customer came in and wanted to know what was happening across the street. He said he looked outside and saw a crowd milling in the street, including the blacks wearing suits and bow ties, who were later identified as the leaders of the group.

A few minutes later teen-agers began coming in and breaking items, throwing things on the floor and taking soft drinks out of the box, he said. When they went out he says he called the city police, who told him they would send a car over to investigate.

Shortly the teenagers came back in and repeated their earlier actions, says Aucoin, and this time tried to get into the cash register.

They couldn't get it open and began threatening to kill him and his customers if he did not open it, Aucoin says. Aucoin says he refused and after more breaking and scattering the youths went back outside.

#### LOCKS DOOR

At this point Aucoin says he started to call the police again but decided they would be there in just a moment and did not. He locked the door, instead, in hopes of keeping the youths out.

The lock did little good, he says, because when the youths decided they wanted to come back in they simply jimmied it open and came in again, with more breaking and threats. He said he had begun fearing for his life and called police a second time and "tried to impress the seriousness of the situation upon them."

He said it was around noon and the youths had come in and gone out several more times by the time two plainclothesmen came and escorted him to his car. He said he had no idea of how long the ordeal went on, indicating that it may have been 20 minutes or half an hour between the time of his first call and the time the detectives came.

Fred Williams, manager of the Temple Theater across the street, said that the two detectives were the only police officers that he saw from the time he came to work at 11 a.m. until the fatal confrontation.

Capt. LeRoy Watson, head of City Police's Intelligence Division, says that there was a good reason for no one seeing police

officers in the area. Watson said that the vicinity was being watched by undercover agents and that uniformed officers were kept away for fear of provoking an incident.

Police information was that the group was getting ready to march down the street to the mayor's office to give complaints to Mayor-President Dumas, and that no major problem was expected to rise out of the rumbling on North Boulevard.

He says the incident was provoked by the presence of the white newsmen.

His men did not move in immediately to help the newsmen when they were attacked, he said, because his men could not see the incident from their positions further down the street.

The chief photographer for the Morning Advocate and State Times, John Boss, who said it was made apparent that he was not welcomed in the area when one of the blacks in a bow tie told him that he probably wouldn't be getting out of the place alive, said that when he moved further down the street (about four or five blocks) that he saw two plainclothesmen that he knew who had a camera set up and were observing with binoculars.

Police Chief Eddie Bauer said that he found Cockerham's statements about no police being in the area "hard to believe." He said that he could not give any specific information on the complaints or on where he had his men stationed until after he had reviewed every tape and every report.

Major Fred Sliman, who was in charge of the sheriff's office Monday morning, said from his hospital bed Thursday that he had no way of knowing that a violence situation was brewing in the area.

He says he got his first notice of a problem around 10 a.m. and sent in a black undercover man to keep him posted.

#### TALKING BAD

After calling in several times with reports that nothing major was happening the undercover man called about 15 minutes before the newsmen were attacked and said that some of the black leaders were starting to "talk bad," saying things like they were going to take over the city and give it back to the blacks, he said.

At that time, Sliman says he gave orders for his morning shift to remain on duty even after the afternoon shift came on, and he began getting his equipment lined up.

About 15 minutes later the undercover agent called again, he says, this time saying that Bob Johnson had been beaten nearly to death.

Sliman says that he immediately ordered an ambulance to be sent to the area, grabbed equipment and the three men he had available and headed for the area.

He says he was there within five or six minutes after the incident occurred.

Sliman is still in Baton Rouge General Hospital from injuries he suffered in the ensuing moments.

Aucolin feels that the police did a poor job of patrolling the area the following day as well. He says that "there may have been a couple of cars that passed through, but no real patrols."

Aucolin says he closed his story early because youths on the streets were drinking wine, shouting obscenities and throwing things at passing motorists, and that one tried to jam his way into the store, but he shoved him out.

He says he called the police again, but no one came.

#### BLAMES DECISION MAKERS

Cockerham believes that officers have done a poor job throughout the entire ordeal. He blames the problems he sees on "the decision makers and not the rank and file officers."

He says the officers had not done their homework on the typical actions of the group

it was confronting. He says that they should not have expected a show of force to make the "Muslims" back down.

He believes the policemen walked into a trap and were ill prepared and says "the fact that some policemen were shot with their own guns" is indicative of this.

Other newsmen such as Al Crouch, also of WBRZ, have commended officers on the scene for their actions. Crouch has described the "restraint" that policemen used as miraculous.

Many of the rank and file police officers have termed Cockerham's charges "lies" and say that he is only trying to make a big story for his television station.

[From the Baton Rouge Morning Advocate, Jan. 14, 1972]

#### BLACK SAYS MUSLIMS MET BY DISBELIEF

(By Gerald Moses)

The out-of-town group of Black Muslims involved in Monday's violence on North Boulevard which left four dead were greeted with disbelief when they staged their first meeting Jan. 7.

Frank B. Millican, a black businessman and a Republican candidate for the Senate in the 15th District, said he attended the Friday night meeting, after handbills advertised the meeting were distributed in his neighborhood.

"No one took them seriously," Millican said.

"One of them said they were here to deliver the city back to the black people, and we answered, 'We never lost it.'"

"They wouldn't say how they planned to do this, but told us, if you want to see it, come out at 12 o'clock Monday."

Millican said Baton Rouge blacks attending the meeting said they did not intend to follow anyone blindly, but the Muslims repeatedly told them, "We're going to do it, we're going to do it."

Millican, a 21-year Air Force veteran, said he made a practice of keeping abreast of local affairs, "and when someone starts putting out handbills about a meeting for us, I'm going," he said.

#### ALL SEARCHED

At the Temple building where the Friday night meeting was held, Millican said all persons attending the meeting were searched, and then escorted to a seat.

"There weren't any of the really local people there that I knew," Millican said, adding that he saw "a few youngsters like you see on the streets."

Millican said one reference was made at the meeting to a proposal to "close the schools down and bring the kids down," but said no detailed plans about this were discussed.

The meeting, Millican said, was recorded by a tape recorder operated by one of the Muslims, who, he said, "identified themselves only by 'Exes.'" He said the group did not solicit the audience for money, and that their leader told them they did not believe in violence.

#### TALKS FREELY

Millican first talked about his attendance at the meeting of the Baton Rouge Jaycees Wednesday night, and talked about it Thursday "There was nothing secret about it," he said.

He told the Jaycees that when one of the Muslims told them they intended to return Baton Rouge to the blacks, "We told this gentleman that we never lost it, and that we owned most of it anyway, because most of whites have moved to the suburbs."

After the initial statement about the aims of the Muslims, Millican said the meeting broke up into small groups and finally disbanded.

He said he saw "a captain and a lieutenant of the local Muslim group meet with one of the group staging the meeting. The captain

said, 'I know you, you're from California.'" But Millican said the local Muslims did not participate in the meeting.

[From the Baton Rouge State-Times, Jan. 14, 1972]

#### REASONS FOR MONDAY'S VIOLENCE ARE STILL SOUGHT

Four days have passed since four persons were killed in violence on North Boulevard. Local, state and federal authorities have sought answers since Monday. Three national television networks, national press and local newsmen have researched the incident.

Yet, few answers are known. In fact, there are more questions than ever.

No one seems to know why the men, identified as Black Muslims, came to Baton Rouge, or why they chose Baton Rouge, or what actually happened Monday noon.

Some eyewitnesses say the men had weapons, some say they were unarmed.

Dist. Atty. Sargent Pitcher has released what has been described as an itinerary of two muslim squads, and it showed the groups were to meet in Baton Rouge Jan. 7.

Yet, reports indicate Muslims were in Baton Rouge by New Year's Eve when three were arrested for soliciting without a license.

Authorities in other areas of the country have reported presence of Black Muslims in their cities. Members of the group were spotted in Tampa, Fla., and West Texas before they were reported in Baton Rouge. It is not known whether these were the same individuals that ended up in the capital city.

The date on the itinerary, Jan. 7, was significant. For the group, according to a local businessman, held a meeting that Friday night at which at least one of them used the saying, "We are here to deliver Baton Rouge back to the black people."

That saying pops up frequently. Frank B. Millican, who attended that first meeting after handbills were distributed in the neighborhoods, said "no one took them seriously."

He said the meeting was at the Temple Building, the scene of Monday's violence, and that there weren't "any of the really local people there that I know." One suggestion at the meeting was to "close the schools down and bring the kids down."

#### PROMISED SOMETHING DRAMATIC

One account of the Friday meeting says they told the audience to show up Monday and promised something dramatic would happen.

After Friday night, nothing apparently happened until Monday. That morning, there was a disturbance at one of the local junior high schools. Some persons have tried to draw a connection between that event and the noon violence, but nothing has ever been proved.

Then came Monday noon. Even with all the news media coverage, there is still confusion. A crowd did materialize, the men blocked the street, the newsmen were beaten (one very critically), the police did come, officers were attacked, and the shooting did start, with four deaths resulting.

Local authorities, by reconstructing events from eyewitnesses and viewing films and slides, have said the first shot was fired by a black.

After the shooting, which lasted only a minute, there was apparently total chaos. Several weapons disappeared. At least one policeman and one demonstrator were dead, and two others were dying.

Black participants who were arrested have not added to the clearing up of confusion. They refuse to talk.

Local police, sheriff's deputies, state police and federal investigators continue to piece together facts. There is a possibility of a congressional hearing on the Black Muslim movement with special emphasis on their activities in Baton Rouge. Local and national news media continues its investigation.

Perhaps one day the pieces will fit together.



[From the Baton Rouge State-Times, Jan. 14, 1972]

# **POLICE KEEP VIGIL: BATON ROUGE REMAINS QUIET AFTER GUARDSMEN EXIT CITY**

(By Bill Bankston)

Baton Rouge remained quiet this morning without the presence of the National Guard and after a calm, curfewless night.

Mayor-President Dumas yesterday called off the curfew which had been in effect since Monday's violence that killed two sheriff's deputies and two young blacks on North Boulevard.

The 700 National Guardsmen left town yesterday afternoon, but police and sheriff's deputies remained on 12-hour shifts and were backed up by a force of state police.

Dumas and Police Chief Eddie O. Bauer said any sign of violence will be met with heavily armed force and continued their warning to outside dissidents to stay away.

## **SCHOOLS CLOSED**

Schools were not in session today. The school board yesterday announced there would be no classes today at public schools because of tension in the city and parish.

Private and parochial schools then also announced closures for today.

Coinciding with the tension this week, four teachers have been attacked at Capitol Junior and Senior High Schools. There was a disturbance at McKinley Junior High School on Monday prior to the North Boulevard incident and there was a walkout of about 35 students at Tara High School.

Authorities said they could find no direct link with the troubles at the schools and the North Boulevard incident.

Rumors of more trouble and of out-of-state militants headed for Baton Rouge have swept the city repeatedly since Monday's incident.

## **RUMOR CHECK CENTER**

Volunteers are now manning a rumor verification center and may be called at 342-7716. The center was set up to help dispel rumors as part of the overall effort to keep the city calm.

"We're 1,000 per cent better organized than we were before this thing happened," Dumas said yesterday. "Those who think they can come here to start trouble will be met with all the force they want."

"Economic and psychological" reasons were part of the decision to end the curfew and send the National Guard home, he said.

The mayor praised the community for the "wonderful support" authorities received during the three days of curfew.

## **JOHNSON UNCHANGED**

Bob Johnson, a WBRZ-TV newsman who was beaten on North Boulevard before police arrived, was still in "very critical" condition today at Our Lady of the Lake Hospital.

Lonnie X, or Larry Mobley, who was shot in the confrontation with officers, was reported in poor condition at Earl K. Long Hospital.

Police Sgt. Abram Hoover, who was shot, was in serious condition at Our Lady of the Lake.

Besides Lonnie X, five blacks remain hospitalized at Earl K. Long. They are James Barlow, good; Keith Muhammad, good; Milton LeDuff, good; Ronald Crawford, fair, and John Devine, fair.

Police Maj. W. L. Gunby and Sheriff's Maj. Fred Sliman are reported in good condition. Deputy Kenneth Savignol is reported in satisfactory condition.

## **OTHER MEN**

Two men who were attacked while in the area of the confrontation are reported in satisfactory condition. They are Reddick Stevens, 52, of 2835 Jasmine, and Joseph Accardo, 55, Hessmer.

Investigators from the police department, the sheriff's office and the FBI are still piecing together information to determine exactly what happened Monday in front of the Temple Theater.

Eight men have been booked with murder and inciting to riot. And authorities indicate the six blacks still hospitalized probably will also be charged.

## **PITCHER VOW**

Dist. Atty. Sargent Pitcher said the eight in jail will be brought to court as soon as possible and said he hoped to take the cases before the grand jury within about 10 days.

The Public Defender Office is representing seven of the eight booked.

The eight accused of the murders of two deputies slain in the gun battle are identified as Lawrence Brooks, 25, of Baton Rouge, Robert Barber, 20, Los Angeles, Calif., David McKinney, 20, Toussaint L'Ouverture, 21, Clennon Brown, 25, all of Chicago, Warren Hall, 25, Philadelphia, Pa., Ramon Eames, 21, of 324 N. 24th St., Baton Rouge and Ridgley Williams Jr., who refused to give an age and address.

All but Eames are being represented by the Public Defender's Office. Eames is represented by his brother, Robert Eames, a local attorney.

## **WANTS PROMPT HEARING**

Gonzales said his office wants a prompt hearing so he might plan defense strategy.

He said, "They may say some were involved in one killing and some were involved in another. They may say this was a conspiracy and they were all involved in them all. The grand jury will decide."

Law authorities continue to support the contention that the band of bow-tied men on North Boulevard Monday was a group of Black Muslims, possibly a splinter or renegade group, who came here to foment trouble and were prepared to fight lawmen.

As a part of the investigation, Dist. Atty. Pitcher has written district attorneys around the country for any information they may be able to obtain on the Muslims' visit to their cities.

The list of cities came from an itinerary of one of the two squads of Muslims who are believed to have met in Baton Rouge on Jan. 7. The itinerary was found in the search of rooms some of the arrested had rented at the White House Inn. The search of seven rooms yielded personal clothing and Muslim literature, Pitcher said.

The district attorney said he has confirmed that the Muslims were in Miami, Fla. and Savannah, Ga. on the dates the itinerary listed, but detailed reports on their activities in those cities is to be mailed to him.

U.S. Rep. John Rarick said he was asking for a Congressional probe of the Black Muslims, which he said has never been investigated by Congress.

Rarick, of St. Francisville, said he has asked the chairman of the House Internal Security Committee for an investigation of the organization.

[From the Baton Rouge (La.) Morning Advocate, Jan. 15, 1972]

## **PROBES INTENSIFY AS CALM RETURNS**

(By Art Adams)

Investigations, both official and unofficial were getting into high gear Friday as Baton Rouge slowly recovered from the shock of last Monday's violence that killed two sheriff's deputies and two young blacks on North Boulevard.

The city was calm Friday night, the second night without a curfew and without the 700 National Guardsmen sent to keep order in the aftermath of the fatal confrontation.

The district attorney's office Friday became the coordinating agency for all the local law enforcement agencies involved in investigating the incident, including the city police, sheriff's office and state police.

## **FEDERAL PROBE UNDERWAY**

Federal authorities were conducting their own investigation. FBI agents Friday were taking statements from police and sheriff's deputies directly involved in the incident.

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, meanwhile, announced it plans to conduct an unofficial public "inquiry" into the shootings.

Dr. D'Orsay Bryant, president of the Baton Rouge NAACP chapter, said the hearing would be patterned after an inquiry conducted by the Memphis NAACP last year after the alleged beating death of a young black by police.

Bryant said he was in the process of talking to men who conducted the Memphis hearings, collecting witnesses and deciding on a format for the hearing. He said he hoped to start the hearing next week.

"The purpose of the hearing will be to tell the story as it actually was," Bryant said.

Louisiana NAACP President Emmitt Douglas said the inquiry was fully sanctioned by the state organization and was designed to get to the truth.

Sheriff's deputies Ralph Hancock and DeWayne Wilder and two black men, Thomas Davis, 25, of Chicago and Samuel Upton, 29, of Vallejo, Calif., died in a volley of gunfire that erupted as police confronted a line of alleged Black Muslims strung out across the 1300 block of North Boulevard.

More than 30 persons were injured, including WBRZ-TV newsman Bob Johnson, who was beaten by a group of blacks before the gun battle started. Johnson suffered severe head injuries and remained in critical condition Friday night at Our Lady of the Lake Hospital.

In Chicago Friday, Black Muslim leader Elijah Muhammad said he doubted that the blacks involved in the shootout were members of his organization.

"I do not deny that the people in Baton Rouge were Black Muslims," Muhammad said. "All I know is that their names were not found in our registry."

In Washington, D.C., 6th District Rep. John R. Rarick called for an investigation of the shootings and blasted federal authorities for "serious laxity" in handling of the Muslims.

In a letter to Chairman Richard H. Ichord of the House Internal Security Committee, Rarick said that "somewhere there has been a serious laxity in federal law enforcement and a breakdown in communications between federal officials and the local law enforcement officials."

Rarick said the incident "has been shrugged off by the national news media as simply being provoked by a bunch of California and Chicago dissenters to the present ruler of the Muslim movement."

## **SEES DEEPER MOTIVES**

But, he said, "Undeveloped evidence suggests deeper motives."

"Evidence exists," he said, "which indicates that some Muslims have been allowed to tour by caravan across state lines and by use of intimidation raise money and conduct membership drives without any interference from the U.S. Justice Department."

"The seriousness of such integration into the Baton Rouge community was not made available to the local law enforcement people by federal authorities," Rarick said.

Twenty persons were arrested following the gun battle. Eight of those arrested were charged with murder.

A ninth person was jailed Friday upon his release from Earl K. Long Hospital. James Barlow, 21, Chicago, was booked with murder, disturbing the peace and inciting to riot.

The eight blacks originally booked with murder agreed Friday to employ three local black lawyers to defend them.

The public defender's office filed a motion for a preliminary hearing of the case, to be held next Thursday before Dist. Judge Donovan Parker.

The eight suspects are Raymond Eames, 21, and Lawrence Brooks, 25, both of Baton Rouge; David McKinney, 22, Toussaint

L'Ouverture, 21, and Clennon Brown, 25, all of Chicago; Robert J. Barber, 20, of Los Angeles; Warren Hall, 25, of Philadelphia, and Ridgley Williams, 25, of Vallejo, Calif.

One of the lawyers who will represent the eight is Robert Eames, brother of defendant Raymond Eames. The other lawyers are Eames' law partners Robert Williams and NAACP attorney Murphy Bell.

Shock and confusion, compounded by an apparent lack of coordination, got local authorities off to a slow start in their investigation of the shooting.

#### COORDINATING AGENCY

However, the pace of the investigation appeared to be picking up Friday. The district attorney's office was designated as the coordinating agency, primarily to facilitate gathering of evidence for the grand jury.

Dist. Atty. Sargent Pitcher said he hoped to be ready to take the case to the grand jury within 10 days. The grand jury is scheduled to meet again next Thursday, but it is doubtful the case will be ready by then.

Meanwhile, police and sheriff's deputies directly involved in the confrontation were preparing their own statements of what happened and were giving statements to investigators in their respective departments.

The FBI has also requested interviews with those involved.

Pitcher said there is full cooperation between the FBI and local agencies.

#### U.S. ATTORNEY NOTES PROBE

U.S. Atty. Gerald Gallinhouse said the FBI is conducting "a thorough investigation of the facts and circumstances relating to the incident Monday . . . to determine possible violation of federal criminal laws."

Gallinhouse also confirmed that the community relations service team of the U.S. Justice Department is in Baton Rouge "to talk with private citizens and groups and get people to lower their voices and reason things out."

Schools were scheduled to reopen Monday after a one-day closing ordered by the East Baton Rouge Parish School President Dumas and other city-parish officials.

The school board voted Thursday to close the schools on Friday after they were told authorities feared for the welfare of students and teachers. No specific reasons were given, however.

In addition to Johnson, several other persons were still hospitalized Friday. They included a man identified as Larry Mobley or Lonnie X, who was still listed in critical condition at Earl K. Long Hospital.

Four other men are still at Earl K. Long. They are Keith Muhammad, Milton LeDuff, Ronald Crawford and John Devine.

City police Sgt. Abram Hoover, police Maj. W. L. (Buck) Gunby, Sheriff's Maj. Fred Silman and Deputy Kenneth Savignol are all listed in satisfactory condition at local hospitals.

[From the Baton Rouge Morning Advocate, Jan. 14, 1972]

#### FOUR PHOTOGRAPHERS RECALL INCIDENT

Four Morning Advocate-State-Times photographers covered the racial incident which left four persons dead and another critically injured last Monday.

Chief photographer John Boss arrived as things were getting hot and then left to make an afternoon deadline before the shooting started. Charles Gerald, of the State-Times and Leatus Still and Larry Odom, both with the Morning Advocate, rushed to the scene as soon as it became known that people were dead. Here is what each of the four saw.

JOHN BOSS. The crowd was still just milling around on both sides of North Boulevard. The street had not yet been blockaded. I asked

a black wearing a bow tie if he planned a demonstration.

He said he wanted a confrontation with the police and city officials.

I asked him what the complaint was.

He said just look around and you'll see what the complaint is.

I asked him what his name was, and he said he didn't have one. He said that he didn't use his slave name.

#### WHY THERE?

When I asked him why they were there he said they were going to take over the town in nine days and give it back to the blacks or die.

"Pictures all right?" I asked.

"I don't care what you do since you probably won't get out of here," he said.

I got in my car, drove off and went around a couple of blocks. I noticed a city police intelligence unit surveying a scene from a distance with binoculars. I parked on North Boulevard, leaving my door open in case I had to get away fast.

The group was pulling a gray Cadillac across the street, so I got out my telephoto lens, moved a little closer and made two fast shots. Members of the crowd were looking at me, and appeared to be coming my way so I left. About a dozen were carrying clubs about 18 inches long, knobby on one end and cut to a point on the other.

I had to make a deadline for the State Times, so I went on back to the paper. At no time did I see (Maurice) Cockerham or the other WBRZ newsmen.

While at the paper I was told about the shootings by Charles Gerald. We sped back in pouring down rain and the gutters were running red. The blacks had scattered and a roundup was on.

The only gun I saw belonging to a black was a policeman's pistol taken from one who was pulled from a building.

The paddy wagon driver said that one of the men in the first load he took in had a .22 pistol on him.

CHARLES GERALD. Just before 1 p.m. we got a call that there was a shooting at the riot area on North Boulevard. By 1 p.m. John Boss and I were parked two or three blocks west of the Temple Theater.

That was as close as the policeman who was directing traffic would let us get. We grabbed our cameras and raincoats. The rain was really coming down.

#### SHOCK TO SEE BLOOD

The first thing I noticed near the Temple was water running red in the gutters of the street. It was really a shock to see that much blood flowing down the street.

The first body I saw turned out to be a wounded black. He was lying face down with his hands handcuffed behind his back. A black ambulance driver was trying to get him onto a stretcher.

There was one black lying on his back in a vacant lot across the street from the theater. He was dead.

I saw one other injured black removed on a stretcher. The injured policemen were removed before we arrived.

There were three or four other blacks handcuffed on the concrete in front of the theater. These did not appear to be injured. They were later searched and taken away.

While we were there the police removed the blacks in the buildings near the theater and sent them on their way.

Someone said there was a person in the theater. A complete search followed but no one was found.

Shortly a search of the cafe across from the theater turned up three or four young blacks, plus what appeared to be the people who ran the cafe.

They were all searched and taken away.

By this time two other photographers had arrived. John and I left it with them and returned to the paper via the National

Guard Armory. City police, sheriff deputies and state police were on duty at the shooting scene.

LEATUS STILL. I heard the bulletin about the shooting on TV, called in and told Art Kleiner (color photographer for the newspapers) I would be on standby at home. A couple of minutes before two, Larry (Odom) called and told me to report to North Boulevard. I arrived about 2:20.

I heard on the radio on the way that they were cleaning out the Angel Cafe. When I got there, there was relative calm.

I watched the police search the Temple Theater with no luck. I saw a prisoner transferred from a paddy wagon to a car. I was told that he had somehow managed to get in the paddy wagon with a pistol.

Around 4 p.m. John and Charlie left. Larry and I watched the police escort a family from behind the Temple Theater and the little kid came out with hands over head. It made a natural shot.

We came back to the office about 5 p.m.

LARRY ODOM. On my way to work I heard on the radio that Chief Eddie Bauer had been beaten up in a confrontation with some Negroes on North Boulevard. Immediately I began to drive faster and get to the newspaper because I knew that once I arrived there I could find out exactly what was going on and maybe what my assignments for the day might be.

Arriving at the newspaper, I met Mike Harmon (Associated Press writer). After asking him and many other people what was going on things began to fall together and I started grabbing lenses and equipment to bring to the other photographers whom I assumed were already at the scene.

Harmon asked whether he could ride with me to the area and we left after speaking with Ed Price, managing editor of the Morning Advocate, a few seconds.

Rain was falling the whole way to North Boulevard. Upon arriving we noticed police all over the entrance and parked the car in a service station parking lot. We started running toward the Temple theatre.

At this time we hadn't heard any bullets flying so we kept on moving. About 300 yards from the theater we noticed a large group of policemen along with Major (Fred) Silman and Al Crouch (TV newsmen).

Al was probably getting an on-the-spot story from Silman, so I stopped and shot a few frames on my camera. Harmon and I split up at this point because I saw a friend of mine (Mike Fussell), a deputy, and asked what had happened. After talking with him, I saw a dead Negro lying along side the Angel Rest and shot a couple more frames. At this time I saw John Boss and Charlie under the entrance of the Temple.

I walked across to exchange views and maybe some type of strategy for photographing the aftermath. At different times during the afternoon small groups of police and deputies would move around and investigate the different buildings in the vicinity of the Temple.

I noticed men moving around towards the back of the Angel Cafeteria. One of the deputies hollered out "Come out with your hands up." He repeated it several times.

Finally a woman opened a door and stuck her hand out, hollering something like, "We're afraid to come out, but we're unarmed."

—It was pouring down rain. Finally, after an exchange of words, officers said they wouldn't hurt them, but to come out with hands up. She came out by herself.

Officers proceeded to her and she went back in with a group of officers following. I stood at the back door and watched from outside.

They began looking under cabinets, in closets, under tables and discovered three or four people. They put them up against the wall, began to frisk them.



There was some resistance by the blacks. Evidently they were scared. After frisking them they began to move them to the front door.

I hollered to my boss, "They're coming out the front," then I moved around there. This was about 2:30 p.m.

I began shooting pictures as they came out the front door . . . they laid the three Negroes on the ground and handcuffed them.

A shot was fired inside and everybody ran for cover.

Then somebody was pushed out of the front door and a fourth Negro came out, dressed in a suit, with a bad wound on his head.

The deputies and police started to pick up the captured Negroes and carry them by shoving and pushing them towards a paddy wagon.

The four were put into the wagon and then two women and an older man were brought from inside the Angel Restaurant and put into the wagon too. One of these was the woman I saw at the rear of the restaurant. All were black.

#### HEARD SHOTGUN BLAST

About this time there was a shotgun blast in front of the Angel Restaurant. It frightened just about everyone in the area and the crowd of people kind of cleared the streets for a few seconds.

A deputy told me that there was a lot of police brutality during frisking inside the Angel Cafeteria. Police did not just say "get up against the wall." They shoved hard and used blows with butts of weapons. The wagon left, and people were milling around the street. Police and deputies began to regroup and start another search.

I went to the Esso Station on the corner of North Boulevard and 13th and drank a cold drink. It was about 3 p.m.

While I was there the black owner or attendant running the station commented that this was an embarrassing situation for him because he had lived in this neighborhood for years and hadn't seen a familiar face—I'm sure he meant a black familiar face—all day.

I finished my cold drink and walked back to the theater, shooting pictures on the way. While standing in front of the theater, deputies had found another well-dressed black.

He was put into a patrol car and driven off.

He tried to hide his face the whole time. He did not have on a tie and was dressed in a leather coat, dress shirt, slack and shoes.

Then I walked back to the theater and followed some riot squad members down an alley alongside. We entered a house that was vacant and almost demolished. After stepping in the front door, I changed my mind and waited until the police passed me and went in.

A youngster about four-six years old came walking out the back and started up the alley under police escort.

They walked up the alley and to front of the street. No one else was in the house and I went back to the front of theater.

A state police van pulled up and started handing out bullet-proof vests. I shot some more pictures of men putting on vests and I noticed a few men had bayonets on the end of their rifles.

The K-9 corps showed up with extra riot helmets, and a sheriff's deputy announced to employees of the sheriff's department that they were to fall back and return to headquarters. This was about 4:35.

I began to get scared because the city policemen who had blocked traffic on the expressway side had opened street and people began to enter by cars.

Leatus Still and I decided that we were going to leave the minute the city police left.

We thought it was really funny for them to open the streets at this time and allow

traffic on N. Boulevard at 5 p.m. in the afternoon.

[From the Baton Rouge (La.) Advocate, Jan. 16, 1972]

#### LOOKING BACK AT THE CONFRONTATION IN BATON ROUGE

(EDITOR'S NOTE: Officials have conceded they may never fit together all the pieces of a jigsaw puzzle of facts and speculation surrounding the deaths of two policemen and two members of an alleged splinter group of Black Muslims in a brief but bloody volley of gunfire on a downtown city street last Monday. The following is an account of the known events leading up to the confrontation, the shooting spree and the aftermath based on interviews with police, newsmen at the scene and other eyewitnesses.)

(By G. Michael Harmon)

On Dec. 30, James Kolter, manager of the Baton Rouge Better Business Bureau, said he received a series of complaints from local downtown businessmen about a group of blacks soliciting funds for something called the "black art center" in Chicago.

After receiving the seventh call, Kolter said he and an assistant drove to Third Street, the city's main business street, and found a neatly dressed young black man attempting to sell art reproductions.

Kolter said the man identified himself as Eugene Varnado, a black Muslim who was part of a nationwide drive to raise \$20 to \$30 million for an art and cultural center in Chicago.

Kolter said he questioned the man about the alleged project but received little information except that he was asking businessmen to mail checks to 5335 South Woodlawn in Chicago.

The man, Kolter said, questioned him about the BBB's authority to interfere with a religious fund drive. Kolter said he asked the man to accompany him to this office for further information on the campaign but he refused.

Kolter said he watched the man for awhile, then called police, who arrested Varnado and two other members of the alleged black Muslim group. The three were taken to the police station, questioned and released.

Asked to investigate the group, Capt. Leroy Watson, head of the city police intelligence division, traced the blacks to the Bellemont Motor Hotel on Airline Highway, a major north-south thoroughfare. Watson said he sent three men to the hotel who told the blacks they were violating local ordinances. A spokesman for the group, Watson said, assured his men they would stop their activity.

#### CHECK OUT

Howard McBride, manager of the motel, said the group checked into the hotel on Dec. 29 and checked out Jan. 1, the morning after the visit by Watson's men. McBride said a man who identified himself as Robert Barber of Chicago checked in for the group. McBride said he did not know how many people were in the group, which took a suite and two rooms.

McBride described Barber as "very surly." "They were out of the motel during the day and we had trouble collecting from them," McBride said. "Barber would say he would come by and pay the bill but he would never show up. We finally had to lock them out of their rooms to get him to come to the desk."

McBride said the bill was paid in cash each day, about \$110 a day.

Watson said his men went back to the motel Jan. 1 to learn the group had checked out. Police, he said, thought they had left town.

Four days later, on Jan. 4, a group of blacks composed of 14 men and two women checked into the White House Inn Hotel, which is located about two blocks from the state capitol.

Watson said it was the same group which had been at the Bellemont, and the facts appeared to back him up.

White House Inn manager Frank Fry said a man who identified himself as David McKinney of Chicago checked in for the group. Under his name, on the hotel registration card, McKinney wrote "The Young Muslims."

"I asked him if they were in show business and 'The Young Muslims' was the name of their group," Fry said. "He said, 'sort of.'"

Fry said McKinney took eight rooms on the seventh floor.

#### PAY BILL

Unlike McBride's account of his dealings with Barber, Fry said McKinney paid his bill, which amounted to about \$190 a day for the eight rooms, promptly in cash and acted very businesslike.

Fry said there was nothing out of the ordinary about the group's behavior until Friday night, Jan. 7, when an apparent guard detail of two men took up positions in the lobby and another two men by the elevators on the seventh floor. The watch, Fry said, was changed every two hours throughout each night from Friday through Sunday.

"They didn't harass anybody," Fry said. "They just stood around and watched."

Fry said he called the FBI in New Orleans and reported that a group of blacks calling themselves "The Young Muslims" were in his motel, and told about the guard detail. Fry said he did not hear from the FBI again until after the Monday shooting incident.

The men, Fry said, were all impeccably dressed in suits. He described McKinney as very intelligent.

Although there were 16 in the group when the blacks first checked in, Fry said the band dwindled to nine by Sunday, occupying five rooms, seven men and two women.

Fry said the group was driving five cars, a Toyota with California license plates, a Cadillac with Illinois license plates, a Dodge van with California plates and a Mercury.

McKinney, Fry said, acted like a business agent, issuing orders that all charges were to be signed by him. Fry said the group ordered coffee sent to their rooms but did not eat at the hotel.

Fry said he questioned his staff following the shooting incident and learned that "apparently one of the men claimed to be God. The others were disciples and the women were the wives of God."

The hotel manager said his staff could not identify McKinney as the God figure.

At this point, the first unanswered questions in the bizarre sequence of events begin to surface. It appears that the group that checked into the Bellemont could have been the same group which later checked into the White House Inn. Both Barber and McKinney were among the eight blacks arrested and booked with murder following the shooting incident.

It was not known, however, where the group went for the four days between the time Barber checked out of the Bellemont and McKinney checked into the White House Inn.

Officials, who thought the blacks had left town when they checked out of the Bellemont, did not learn that they, or another group, were again in town until Thursday, Jan. 6.

Dist. Atty. Sargent Pitcher said he received information from intelligence sources of a meeting on the roof of the Temple Theater in the 1300 block of North Boulevard, the scene of the subsequent shooting, called by Black Muslims.

#### REFUSED ADMISSION

Pitcher said he sent a black undercover investigator to attend a meeting, but the man apparently was recognized and refused admission.

"There was tight security by this group,"

Pitcher said. "They were polite but denied my man admission."

Pitcher said his investigator waited outside and talked to some of the people who came out of the meeting and picked up a handbill the alleged Muslim group was distributing.

The handbill, which advertised the meeting, invited black citizens to "hear and see a right now change."

One local black who attended the meeting was Frank Millican, a businessman and Republican candidate for the state senate. Millican said those who attended were searched at the door and escorted to a seat by one of the alleged Muslims.

"There weren't any of the really local people there that I knew," Millican said, adding that most of the small audience was composed of young people.

"One of them said they were here to deliver the city back to the black people," Millican said. "They wouldn't say how they planned to do this, but told us, if you want to see it, come out at 12 o'clock Monday."

The black businessmen said the alleged Muslims did not solicit the audience for money and at one point told them they did not believe in violence.

The meeting, Millican said, broke up in a matter of minutes without any specific statement of purpose from the alleged Muslim group, but another meeting was called for 10 a.m. Monday.

Pitcher said police have no record of the group's movements over the weekend, but did not expect violence.

"I didn't anticipate any trouble," said Pitcher, who like most officials, still is totally puzzled by the shooting incident. "We've had these things before. We either talk them out or toss a little tear gas."

The group of blacks appeared on North Boulevard, which runs east and west through a downtown section of predominantly black businesses and homes again Monday morning.

There were unconfirmed reports all morning of an imminent demonstration and large groups of blacks on the street. Police sent undercover agents into the area, but, according to Watson, kept uniformed officers out to avoid provoking a confrontation.

One intelligence officer reported that the group was preparing to march to city hall about two miles away, but said he expected no trouble. The march never materialized.

Another meeting was held at about 10 a.m. in the four-story building which houses the Temple Theater, a rundown movie house. Police say the alleged Muslims talked about "taking over the city and returning it to the blacks" at the meeting, but there are no independent accounts of what transpired.

The first newsman to arrive on the scene was Maurice Cockerham, a reported for television station WBRZ in Baton Rouge. Cockerham said he drove down the street shortly before noon, returned to the television station, called the police and reported crowds he saw on the street. The police, Cockerham said, denied any knowledge of the gathering and said they would check it out.

Cockerham and another WBRZ reporter, Bob Johnson, then returned to the street. They parked their car, leaving tape recorder and cameras inside the automobile, and walked up the street where they met a colleague, Henry Baptiste, a black newsman from WBRZ.

Cockerham said the three went to the business office of Reed Canada, which is located two doors from the Temple Theater, to find out what was going on. Canada owns an advertising firm and is a black community leader.

#### BLOCKING STREET

While they were talking to Canada, Cockerham says, a Cadillac and a Toyota, apparently the same automobiles driven by the group which checked into the White House

Inn, were pulled across the street, blocking traffic.

One of the alleged Muslims climbed to the top of the Cadillac and began addressing the crowd.

The speaker was identified tentatively as Samuel Upton, 29, of Vallejo, Calif., who later died in the shooting.

The speaker told the crowd the group was in Baton Rouge to return the city to blacks and talked about "white devils."

"They talked about their faith," said Charles Granger, a young black who works for a local anti-poverty agency. "They mentioned they were great men, a black guard, and they believed in Islam and the great Elijah Muhammad. They indicated they were here to do something for the black people."

"It was mostly a non-verbal thing, however. They said that great things were going to happen and they were here to help. They said they did not need our support and told the brothers not to bring guns."

"They told us to bring out our children to see them die. They said they were ready to die," Granger recalled.

Cockerham, Johnson and Baptiste walked out onto the street when the automobiles were pulled across the thoroughfare, but were told to leave by one group of blacks.

Cockerham and Baptiste said they turned and started walking away when they were attacked. It was not known whether the attack was specifically provoked by the alleged Muslims or represented a spontaneous action by the crowd of about 200 which by this time had gathered at the scene.

#### TOLD TO LEAVE

"They told us to leave," Baptiste said. "As we were starting to leave, they attacked us."

Two young black eyewitnesses to the attack, said, however, the newsmen would have not been beaten if they had left when told to by the crowd.

"Bob Johnson and those guys were asked to leave," said Roland Knox. "He (Johnson) was smoking, he hesitated, and had to put out his cigarette. He even laughed."

"Somebody said, 'what are they (the newsmen) whispering about?' They just stood there. The black brothers started advancing toward them and that's when it happened."

The blacks do not deny that the crowd attacked the newsmen.

Cockerham and Baptiste wriggled free and escaped, but Johnson wasn't so lucky.

"I saw Bob Johnson running by and bleeding from the head like a pig," said Canada, who was watching from his office. "Then he got hit with a bottle and went down again. I told them to leave Johnson alone and they started throwing at me."

Cockerham fled down an alley to an adjoining street and called the police from an office.

"I told them to please get out there quick," Cockerham said. "I told them there's a riot going on."

Up to this time, Cockerham said, there were no uniformed police on the street.

Baptiste, meanwhile, had worked his way back to the area, pulled the bleeding Johnson into his car, and drove him to the hospital.

Baptiste and Cockerham were not injured seriously in the attack, but Johnson remained hospitalized at week's end in critical condition with massive head injuries.

#### POLICE BEGIN ARRIVING

Responding to Cockerham's call, police began arriving on the scene about 12:45 p.m. When they arrived, both the compact and the Cadillac were blocking the street. A line estimated at about 15 of the alleged Muslims, all dressed in suits and bow ties, were lined up across the street in front of the compact car.

A police wrecker was called in and as it drove up to the line of men, one of the alleged Muslims clapped his hands once and

the group pulled back several yards and positioned themselves in front of the Cadillac. The compact was towed away without incident.

Crowds of blacks lined both sides of the street, in front of the shelter and across the street in front of a cafe.

At this point, Maj. Fred Silman and Detective Bob Bleden of the East Baton Rouge Parish Sheriff's Department approached the line from the front. At the same time, city Police Maj. Jim Dumigan, who was standing with Police Chief E. O. Bauer behind the line and the automobile, walked through the line from the rear and joined Silman and Bleden.

An undetermined number of sheriff's deputies stood behind the group of three officers facing the line and a force of police officers were behind Bauer. "They were lined up like a little bunch of tin soldiers, like they wanted us to come up and talk to them," said Capt. Bryan Clemmons Jr., the son of the East Baton Rouge Parish sheriff.

#### WENT UP TO TALK

"Something was said that they wanted to talk and that's when Dumigan and Silman went up to talk to them."

Silman said he approached the line and "told them they would have to move the car from the street or we would call the wrecker to tow it away."

Silman said the apparent leader of the group, Upton, replied, "You white devil, either you or I are going to die today. You're lying. That car is not moving."

At this point, both police and black eyewitnesses agree that one of the alleged Muslims struck Dumigan. Silman said the blow came without warning, as he motioned for the wrecker. Black witnesses, however, say Dumigan was not struck until he tried to walk through the line.

"The officers approached them to tell them they were going to have to move the car," Granger recalled. "Then I saw someone trying to walk through their wall. Walking through their wall was like walking through their dignity."

"He (Silman) was struck. Then Maj. Silman was trying to go through the wall and he was struck. A policeman came in from the left and started swinging his billy club."

As the crowd moved around Dumigan and Silman, the first gunshot went off and nobody agrees what happened after that.

#### FIRST SHOT HEARD

Granger, Silman and WBRZ News Director Al Crouch say the first shot came from the right, near a vacant lot where the bodies of a black and a deputy were later found.

Another view came from Clemmons, who says he may have fired the first shot.

Clemmons, who was standing several yards behind Silman, Dumigan and Bleden and to the right, said when the fight broke out he watched for a while and decided the officers involved "were taking pretty good care of themselves."

"I looked to the left and saw one of the guys in the line pull a chrome-plated .38-caliber revolver from under his coat," Clemmons said. "I was armed with a shotgun loader with tear gas. I didn't even have any buckshot on me. When he pulled the gun and extended his arm. I fired at him. At almost the same time, somebody else, I don't know who, must have fired at him with buckshot because he fell and the pistol dropped to his feet."

By this time, shots were coming from all directions, and no witnesses at the scene have been able to outline the sequence of events.

"Anybody who tells you they can remember what happened after the shooting started is lying," said Bleden.

#### SHOTGUN FIRED

"After that first shot from the right, a deputy sheriff with a shotgun fired," Granger



said. "Another standing behind him with a shotgun shot."

These two shots could have been Clemmons and the unidentified officer who fired at the black who allegedly pulled the pistol, but the theory cannot be confirmed. Granger said he saw no blacks with guns, however.

"People were falling like flies, like when we went into Omaha Beach," said Canada, a World War II veteran. "It was like there was war."

"It looked like a battlefield with bodies everywhere," said newsman Crouch. "One of the Muslims charged into the police line. He was chanting. They hit him with everything they had. They shot him in the leg, hit him with billyclubs and gun butts but he kept coming."

Several other witnesses also reported that the Muslims broke into a chant when the fighting broke out. To Bliden, it sounded like they were saying "kop-lop."

Granger said the Muslims were speaking to their black god.

Crouch said he ran and crouched behind a police car when the shooting broke out. A deputy standing near him, who was later identified as Kenneth Savignol, was hit and Crouch said he pulled him behind the car.

The shooting lasted only about two minutes and when it was over, two deputies and two blacks, identified as members of the alleged Muslim group, were dead.

Dead were deputies Ralph Hancock, 30, and Dewayne Wilder, 27, and the alleged Muslims, Thomas Davis, 25, of Chicago and Upton.

Nine persons have been booked with murder in connection with the deaths of Hancock and Wilder. Charged were Robert Barber, 20, Los Angeles; Warren Hall, 25, Philadelphia; David McKinney, 22, Toussaint L'Ouverture, 21, Clennon Brown, 25, and James Barlow, 21, al of Chicago; Ridgley Williams Jr., 25, Ada, Okla.; and Baton Rouge residents Lawrence Brooks, 25, and Ramond Eames, 21.

It was not known whether Brooks and Eames were associated with the group or were charged for alleged incidental participation in the incident.

Five other police officers and five alleged Muslims were either wounded by gunfire or injured in the shooting spree.

The bodies of Hancock and Davis were found near each other in the vacant lot where some said they heard the first shot fired.

Both Wilder and Upton were found in the street. All four were believed to have been killed with shots fired from .38-caliber pistols.

At the center of the debate on the shooting, is the question of whether any of the alleged Muslims were armed before the fighting broke out.

Chief of Police Bauer, Clemmons and Crouch said they saw blacks with guns in their hands, but did not see any of the blacks fire.

A local television station, however, aired four days after the shooting an interview with a man who said he saw a member of the alleged Muslim group fire at a policeman.

In the interview, the eyewitness said he saw a city police officer, who was believed to have been Hoover, talking to one of the alleged Muslims.

#### KARATE CHOP

Suddenly, the man said, the black man hit the officer with what looked like a karate chop. Hoover fell, the man said, and the black drew a pistol from under his coat and fired down at the policeman three times.

The man said he did not want to be identified because he was afraid of reprisals. The man, the station said, was not an officer or a newsman.

The exact location of the alleged assault was not known.

Police recovered no guns at the scene other than weapons either dropped by or taken from police. The city police, say, however,

they found a .22-caliber pistol on the floor of a paddywagon used to transport those arrested to jail.

Bauer said he saw one black pull a shotgun from the trunk of the Cadillac used to block the street. Bauer, who was on the ground after being hit by a thrown object, said he saw the man pull the shotgun, then lost sight of him. When he saw the man seconds later, Bauer said, he did not have the weapon.

Clemmons said the man he saw with the .38-caliber pistol dropped it when he was shot and someone in the crowd ran out and picked it up.

Crouch said he saw Davis, one of the blacks killed, waving a gun near where his body was found, but he did not see him fire.

Police said they found a pistol belonging to Savignol near the bodies of Davis and Hancock. Hancock's weapon, police say, was not fired.

Pistols belonging to Dumigan and city Police Maj. W. L. Gunby were not found at the scene, and remain missing. Another pistol belonging to wounded city Police Sgt. Abram Hoover was found in the possession of a black, who along with about four other Negroes was found hiding in a cafe across the street from the theater about an hour after the shooting incident.

Blacks who were at the scene contend the alleged group of Muslims were unarmed and fought the police only with their fists.

"They were not violent," said Moses Williams, a young black who was at the scene. "They were nonviolent. They were only violent in defense of themselves. Wouldn't you be violent if somebody started waving guns in your face?"

"They were not offensive," Granger said. "They were defensive."

The blacks and even some members of the police department have speculated that some of the wounded officers may have been shot by their own men.

Those proposing the theory point to the positions of police on both sides of the Cadillac, all shooting toward the vehicle and the line of alleged Muslims, and officers who were fighting.

"They were shooting toward the whole hassle, toward the policemen and toward the brothers," Granger said. "They acted like they were crazy. They were just shooting."

"I'll tell you what happened out there," said Knox. "The white man in Baton Rouge has never had black people stand up to him like these black men stood up to them. It frightened them. When they attacked those black people and the black people did not run like black people have done in the past, it scared them to death and made them back off and start shooting. They were scared to fight anymore so they just started shooting."

#### PROOF AWAITED

Definite proof of whether or not the blacks had guns of their own or whether those policemen wounded and killed were shot with their own weapons will come when investigators get the results of ballistics tests.

A bullet was recovered from the body of Hancock, who was shot once in the chest. The bullet that struck Wilder in the chest went through his body.

The bullet that struck Savignol first struck his helmet and then glanced down and struck his collarbone. Hoover suffered gunshot wounds in the abdomen and shoulder. Gunby was struck in the leg.

Several questions quickly surfaced following the shooting, but most remain unanswered.

Was the group of blacks lined up across the street in fact Muslims or were its members imposters? Was the violent confrontation planned or was it spontaneous? Were the alleged Muslims alone in the confrontation or were they supported by local blacks?

Blacks who talked to members of the group are convinced they were.

"Those people were Muslims," said Knox. "They may not have been in the movement. They may have got kicked out of the nation, but they were Muslims."

Police said they recovered Muslim literature from the hotel rooms occupied by the group. Investigators, however, said a small local Muslim chapter was not involved.

A spokesman for the local Muslims, a man known as Minister Lewis, called the group "renegades" and denied any association with them.

One member of the outside group, who was asked about an association with the local Muslims, was quoted as responding, "We're their bosses."

In an edition of the National Black Muslim Publication, "Muhammad Speaks," Muslim spiritual leader Elijah Muhammad disclaimed any knowledge of the group. In an earlier publication, however, Muhammad said his group was "faced with murderers and killers coming to them from our own black brothers."

In one of a series of news conferences in which he raised more questions than he answered, Baton Rouge Mayor W. W. Dumas said the blacks involved in the shootout were a splinter group of Muslims who were opposed to Elijah Muhammad.

"This Elijah Muhammad, whoever he is, had better watch out for these people," Dumas said.

Dumas referred to the confrontation with police as a planned conspiracy of revolution.

#### WELL TRAINED MUSLIMS

Both blacks and whites agreed that the alleged Muslims were well trained. Several were seen using what appeared to be judo or karate in the fight.

On the questions of whether the confrontation was planned, even the black police critics say they were under the impression that the alleged Muslims appeared ready for death.

Granger said he believes the men were ready and willing to face death to demonstrate the brutality of white racism, "to show that whites would shoot back."

"They wanted people to take notice, to be aware of the minds of white people and show that white policemen would kill them," Granger said, comparing the Muslims' action to the self immolation of Buddhist monks in Vietnam.

Granger said, however, he did not really expect whites to understand the logic. He said it was almost impossible for whites to understand any black mind much less the Muslim mind.

Granger said he was at first leary of the group, thinking they were maybe "con artists."

"I knew they were very intelligent men. They were trained. But I wondered if they were really going to do something," Granger said. "I think they have proven that they were heroes. Everything they said was proven true. They were great men. The greatest men we have ever seen."

Police, it was learned, were in possession of some raw intelligence data that indicated the alleged Muslims may have once belonged to the "Fruit of Islam," a highly trained group of bodyguards for Elijah Muhammad.

In addition to Muslim literature, police also uncovered what appeared to be an itinerary from the White House Inn.

The so-called itinerary was composed of a list of cities and dates, beginning in Rochester, N.Y., on Nov. 7 and ending in Phoenix, Ariz., on Jan. 17.

Even the itinerary, however, led to more questions. Police in Tampa have reported the group was in their city on the date shown on the list. Police in Canyon, Tex., said however that Davis and three other members of the group charged with murder were on the campus of West Texas State University on Dec. 6. According to the itinerary, the group was scheduled to be in

Atlanta Dec \* \* \*. Another, unexplained notation on the alleged itinerary said "both squads come together" in Baton Rouge on Jan. 7.

In addition, while members of the group were in Baton Rouge in late December, the itinerary called for a stop in Mobile, Ala.

It is already apparent that repercussions from the incident are far from over. U.S. Rep. John Rarick of Baton Rouge says he is asking the House Internal Security Committee for a full-scale investigation of the Black Muslims.

On the other side, the Louisiana NAACP planned a public inquiry into the shooting next week patterned after hearings conducted by the Memphis NAACP following the alleged police beating death of a young black last year.

The city was clamped under a curfew and the National Guard was called out for three days after the incident. There were no major disturbances but the city remained tense.

### THE BOY SCOUTS CELEBRATE THEIR 62D ANNIVERSARY

**HON. WILLIAM H. NATCHER**

OF KENTUCKY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 24, 1972

Mr. NATCHER. Mr. Speaker, February 1 marks the beginning of a month's observance of the 62d anniversary of the Boy Scouts of America. During its 62 years of existence, the Boy Scouts of America has become the largest youth organization in the free world. Currently this splendid organization has 6 million members, representing one out of every four boys of scouting age; and through its Boypower 1976 program, the Boy Scouts of America hopes to expand its membership to include one-third of all boys in a quality scouting program.

This fine organization involves America's boys in many constructive and relevant programs. Project SOAR—Save Our American Resources—part of the Boypower 1976 program, is concerned with conservation and the environment. Boys participating in this program pick up litter from vacant lots and replant areas where strip mining has left the land barren and ugly. Instead of passively uttering sharp criticisms, the boys are assuming an active, constructive role in cleaning up the environment and in further beautifying their country. This constructive activism sets a fine example for young and old alike.

Scouting is now moving from the suburbs to the slums. Again the environment is emphasized. By cleaning up their surroundings, the boys gain a little pride in their neighborhood which quickly spreads to other non-Scouts in the area. The boys also learn to see themselves in relation to their surroundings. This new self-awareness helps them to achieve a better sense of identity, so crucial to character and personality development.

Since it was incorporated here in Washington in 1910, the Boy Scouts of America has left an indelible mark on the Nation's youth. Attributes such as honor, self-respect, patriotism, and integrity, inherent in every man, are often repressed or perverted if they are not nurtured and given the opportunity to

develop. As a Boy Scout, boys from all levels of society are given the chance to grow morally, physically, and spiritually. They learn the joy of helping others; they experience the satisfaction of accomplishment; they reap the harvests of nature and glean an everlasting appreciation and love for God and their country. Scouting also provides fun and adventure. I often think back with nostalgia to the days when my friends and I sat around the campfire laughing, joking, and trying to decide who had told the best ghost story. These fond memories and the many valuable lessons I learned will remain with me the rest of my life.

During today's troubled times it is reassuring to know that boys throughout America have the opportunity to channel their energies into worthwhile projects. The Boy Scouts have initiated a new program concerned with another pressing problem. Operation Reach, a drug abuse prevention program, will be launched in February of this year. It is a youth-to-youth program designed to apply peer group pressure to discourage the use of drugs. The boys are inspired to reach toward positive goals and to attain their "highs" from realities such as true friendship and athletic achievement instead of drugs. Operation Reach provides for the distribution of reliable drug information to youth and their parents, thereby creating an atmosphere conducive to open, frank discussion and promoting a bond of trust between the two generations.

Scouting has expanded significantly in Kentucky and I am pleased to note that the Second Congressional District also reflects this increase.

Mr. Speaker, I am proud to have this opportunity to express my great admiration for this wonderful organization, and I wish them every success in their future endeavors.

### PRESIDENT NIXON'S 1973 BUDGET MESSAGE

**HON. GERALD R. FORD**

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 24, 1972

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. Mr. Speaker, President Nixon's fiscal 1973 budget message outlines a balanced, positive, and constructive program to heal the economic wounds of war and deal with this Nation's pressing domestic problems. Although it is a deficit budget, it is a deficit budget aimed at restoring our economy to full employment and maximizing the output of our industrial resources. That is what the American people want.

I think it is especially gratifying to learn that the American public will be saved some \$22 billion due to personal income tax reductions initiated by the President. There are those who only talk about returning power to the people. The evidence shows that President Nixon is doing something about it—by seeking to restore to the American people the control over their purse that they should

have, the control they should never have lost.

We can expect to hear the usual cries of derision from the President's opponents. Yet it is they who brought this Nation to the brink of economic collapse. The American people know who is ending the runaway inflation of the Johnson Administration and replacing the phony prosperity of war with the permanent prosperity of peace.

### DISTINGUISHED CAREER FOR JOHN BYRNES

**HON. WILLIAM A. STEIGER**

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 24, 1972

Mr. STEIGER of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, I rise to discuss an event the Members of this body have learned to their regret: The decision of Representative JOHN BYRNES of Green Bay to retire from this House after 14 consecutive terms, 28 years of service. Representative BYRNES does not need my praise; he has the respect of every Member of the House.

His services and ability are well recognized and were given very apt expression in an editorial that appeared in the Appleton, Wis., Post-Crescent on January 5. With your permission, Mr. Speaker, I will quote one sentence from that editorial and then have the entire piece entered for the RECORD:

His voluntary departure from the 8th District seat . . . will leave a void which cannot be filled regardless of who is elected to the post next November because the stature which Byrnes earned came through years of pragmatic appraisal by his peers in Congress and by voters in the district he represents.

I also include a perceptive John Byrnes grand column which discusses JOHN BYRNES retirement. John Byrnes will be missed by his colleagues and the Nation.

The material follows:

[From the Post-Crescent Jan. 5, 1972]

REPRESENTATIVE BYRNES DECIDES TO RETIRE

The announcement by Rep. John Byrnes of Green Bay that he will not seek re-election will remove from the national political scene one of the most highly regarded and influential Members of Congress and from the 8th District a representative who has won 14 consecutive terms because his political philosophy has squared with that of a majority of the district's voters.

Byrnes has deservedly won high marks for his diligence, forthrightness and talent in his work in Congress by Democrats as well as his fellow Republicans. His voluntary departure from the 8th District seat he will have held for 28 years when his present term ends will leave a void which cannot be filled regardless of who is elected to the post next November because the stature which Byrnes has earned came through years of the pragmatic appraisal of his peers in Congress and by voters in the district he represents.

During his years in Congress, Byrnes has gained a reputation as a party loyalist and as a conservative. He has often argued for reduced federal spending and a balanced budget. He also has seen the danger in the increase of federal power although he has recognized that the federal government necessarily must have domestic programs



which the states cannot adequately launch or finance themselves.

In this connection, Byrnes in this session quarterbacked the Nixon welfare reform with its provisions for a minimum family allowance and job training through the House. On the other hand, Byrnes opposed the President's revenue sharing plan on grounds the federal government now has nothing to share but its deficit. In keeping with his philosophy, Byrnes instead called for tax changes which would give states more capacity to raise their own money. He took such an independent and thoughtful position despite a personal friendship with President Nixon which dates from companion early terms in the House.

As ranking minority member on the powerful Ways and Means Committee, Byrnes has had an opportunity to exert a major influence on tax, tariff and Social Security legislation because of the esteem in which he is held by committee Chairman Wilbur Mills, a Democrat. As late as last October, Mills said he personally would campaign for Byrnes if he sought re-election and if indications were that his re-election was in jeopardy.

Byrnes' major legislative accomplishments have come through his position on Ways and Means. Among these were the tax reform bill two years ago, the 1954 Custom Simplification Act, the 1954 Internal Revenue Code revision, the 1960 Kerr-Mills Act, the 1962 Trade Expansion Act, the 1963 Revenue Act, his support of a cost of living increase to Social Security recipients, and his insistence on the removal of patronage from Post Office and military academy appointments. The respect which Byrnes had from his Republican colleagues was shown when he was elected chairman of the House Republican Policy Committee, which set official leadership policy before key votes and issued background papers on legislative issues.

Byrnes was cognizant of the needs and wishes of his home district for federal programs and aid for local projects. He was responsible for a number of such projects in the district but not before he had asked hard questions about their value and was satisfied that they had merit. Byrnes was willing to stand on his record and he was one of the few congressmen to supply to district citizens a complete record of his votes on all legislation in Congress. He frequently visited the district to conduct office hours in several convenient places to listen to citizen requests and complaints.

Byrnes has compiled an outstanding record as a congressman. He has earned a significant place in the political and legislative history of Wisconsin and the nation. His voluntary retirement from office will have widespread implications, not only at the district level but on the national political scene.

#### DISTINGUISHED CAREER FOR BYRNES

(By John Wyngaard)

MADISON.—The firm declaration of Rep. John W. Byrnes of Wisconsin's 8th District that he will retire at the end of this year heralds the end of the public career of one of the bright young men who figured in the renaissance of the Wisconsin Republican party more than 30 years ago.

The fact that he has served 14 terms in the Congress puts him in a distinguished company in the history of state politics. But tenure is not the only or the important element of a politician's record.

Almost from his first term in the House of Representatives, Byrnes was recognized as a politician of unusual talent. During his many years as a member of the House Ways and Means Committee and as the informal leader of the Wisconsin Republican delegation in the days of the GOP's greatest prosperity in Wisconsin, he was regarded as the most influential Wisconsin Republican in Washington.

The Byrnes story is one of the illustrations of the value of training in the state legislature as apprenticeship for a politician. A couple of dozen other politicians of this era and others have demonstrated that fact also. Elected to the State Senate in 1940, he won for his party a district that had been held by Democrats and promptly convinced senior politicians at the Capitol of his promise and talent.

Two years after he took his seat in the Senate, he was chosen Republican majority floorleader. As if to emphasize their esteem for the slightly built, smiling young lawyer, his Republican colleagues also gave him the strategically important assignment as chairman of the Judiciary Committee, where careful work is more important than in any other of the major standing committees.

In 1944 Byrnes encountered one of the classical tests of the young politician. His congressional district was represented by a Democrat. The Republican district leadership wanted to make a decisive challenge in the election. He was invited to run for the congressional seat.

Such opportunities come only once to the aspiring young politician. Byrnes accepted. Had he demurred, he would not have another chance. For the most part 13 succeeding elections in the Fox River Valley district have been ratifications of the decision of its voters there more than a quarter of a century ago.

His career has exemplified the attitude and the thought and the performance of the conservative of the classical mold. No one could call him a reactionary. He upheld his beliefs with intelligent debate and often with considerable courage. He voted independently when he chose. Now and again there were adherents of mossback conceptions of the role of government in the 20th Century who tended to regard him as dangerously liberal.

Perhaps the most illuminating aspect of Byrnes' career as politician came during his last several years in Washington—although he may have been influenced by his private decision a couple of years ago to quit politics to improve the financial security of his family.

Because of his strategic rank in the Congress, Byrnes was the target of the anxious, almost desperate anxiety of state and local government officials for a program of federal revenue sharing with them. Byrnes patiently repeated his objections. The official who spends the money should be responsible for raising the taxes to provide it, he said repeatedly.

Moreover, he would add, the monumental federal treasury deficits and towering national debt should make it clear that Washington has no money to share. Local politicians didn't like what they heard, but they had to acknowledge that Byrnes was making some points.

Only two men ever sent to Congress by Wisconsin voters have served longer. One is Rep. Alvin O'Konski, his political neighbor, who reached the House two years earlier than Byrnes. The other was Rep. Henry Allen Cooper of Racine, who served 36 years, although with one interruption.

#### AGRICULTURE

### HON. JOHN M. ZWACH

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 24, 1972

Mr. ZWACH. Mr. Speaker, an historic meeting was held in Worthington, in southwestern Minnesota, when representatives from six southwestern Minne-

sota and four northwestern Iowa counties met on January 18 and 19 to talk over major countryside problems.

It was my good fortune to have been a member of that discussion group.

Here was gathered, not only the producers, business, and professional people from the area, but political and thought leaders as well. With such a group, and with such a serious purpose, it is natural that a great deal of very worthwhile discussion resulted.

I am sorry all of my colleagues could not attend this conference. However, because they could not, I would like to share with them the discussions that were held by inserting them in the RECORD.

Today's presentation is "Agriculture" by Norman Larson of Bigelow, Minn.:

#### AGRICULTURE

(By Norman Larson)

Farming in the United States plays a part in the economic growth of our country. It is the largest industry in this country of ours. In fact it is 2/3 as large as all of the rest of the industries put together. It is a sick industry at the present time. It is time some positive thinking be done, because the future of the United States (the kind of an America we, our children, and our grandchildren will live in) hinges on the decisions that are made now. The following is a quote from the Detroit Lakes, Minn. newspaper: "The farmer is still getting less than 1950 prices for his products and has to pay three times as much or more for machinery and other items now as he did then. Is it any wonder machinery sales have gone down? There are plans in Washington to make it possible for farmers to get more credit to buy their things. But what the farmer really needs is not more credit and more debts but just a little fairer income. Wonder why no one thinks of that solution."

Representatives of three farm organizations of Southwest Minnesota and Northwest Iowa (FB, FU, NFO) have held a series of meetings and have agreed upon the following proposals to present to the Senate Sub Committee on Rural Development and all government officials present at the "Crisis in the Cornbelt" meeting:

No. 1. The Government Crop Reporting Service should be stopped. It has not been a benefit to the farmer. In fact most of the time it has been price-depressing. In July, the USDA came out with the report that there was going to be the largest corn crop ever on record. Inside of 2 months corn prices went down about 35¢ to 45¢ a bushel, or about 30%. This was before the new corn crop was even matured or harvested. Furthermore, the USDA and all other government officials should stop saying we have a surplus. Just that word in itself is price-depressing. Some of our agricultural experts say that a farmer feeds himself and 47 other people. For easy figuring let's say that he feeds himself and fifty other people. There are almost 3 million farmers in the United States. Fifty people times 3 million farmers equals 150 million people. Who is feeding the other 50 million people? How can we have a surplus when we have hungry people in the United States? It should be called an inventory and not a surplus. This inventory is a small one and insufficient to feed our nation in case of a national disaster.

No. 2. No person, group, corporation, or organization in business other than farming should be able to use the losses in a farming operation to give them a tax advantage. For example, one conglomerate which is involved in the food industry from the planting to the retailing had an income of \$464 million and a taxable income of \$88.7 million. Yet, due to federal tax breaks this conglomerate not only paid no taxes on that income,

but had a tax credit of \$13.3 million. This is Unfair Tax Advantage!

No. 3. In 1934 Congress passed The Trade Agreement Act. Under this act, the president is authorized to enter into trade agreements in which the United States reduces or agrees not to increase existing duties applying to its imports in exchange for similar concessions by other countries on products exported to the United States. Any negotiations dealing with agricultural production should have producing farmers sitting in on these negotiations. After all the farmers are directly involved in the outcome of these agreements. The United States is the largest exporter of farm products in the world. The world market should be a market instead of a dumping place.

No. 4. The prices of corn are based on 15½% moisture and soybeans at 13% moisture. Farmers are docked for grain above these moisture tests. So to be fair, farmers should be given a premium for tests below these standards. A law should be passed to put this into effect. Standards should be revised for both local and foreign markets.

No. 5. The reports that many farmers and farm organizations receive are that the quality of the grain seems to deteriorate from the time it leaves the farm until it is loaded on the ships to go to our foreign customers. For an example, a buyer from Japan was in the State of Iowa to negotiate a contract for some grain from one of our farm organizations. After they had completed a contract on soybeans they asked him if he didn't want to contract some corn, too. Then he said, "We can't buy good quality corn from the United States. We buy our corn from Africa." They asked him if he would go out on a farm and look at some corn. He agreed to this so they took him out on a nearby farm. This farmer opened up one of his bins of corn for this buyer to look at. The Japanese buyer crawled in the bin of corn and put his hands in the corn. He did this several times and then said, "Where did you get corn like this. I have never seen such nice corn." The farmer told him that he had raised it. The buyer then said, "Impossible, we can't buy corn like this from the United States."

If the standards are so low that the practice of putting foreign material in grain is legal, then the law should be changed.

The Bitterness of Poor Quality Lingers Long After the Sweetness of a Cheap Price is Forgotten. The Selling of Quality Leads to the Selling of Quantity.

No. 6. How can we rid ourselves of car exhaust pollution and help ourselves at the same time? This can be done by blending grain alcohol and gasoline together. What would this blending program do? It would conserve on unrenounceable national resources of petroleum, in addition to reducing air pollution. The conversion of grain to alcohol to blend with gasoline will accomplish the following tremendous benefits: 1. It will increase farm income by about \$5 billion per year, 2. do away with all government controls, restrictions, soil bank and Washington subsidies, 3. restore the farmer to complete freedom of enterprise, 4. require maximum production from every farmer, 5. create two markets, food and fuel, for the farmer, 6. life government inventory of grain and relieve taxpayers of billions of dollars on farm programs, 7. return farmers and farm laborers back to the farms, 8. revise the national economy and avoid a threatened depression.

This could be the greatest program that ever came to this country. With its ability to cut pollution and at the same time help the national economy by putting billions of new wealth in our monetary system.

No. 7. The USDA should explain to the public its expenditures in detail. Such as how much is spent on the school lunch programs, federal meat inspection, forest service, and many other programs that come from the

USDA. Misleading information is given to the public about what the farmers receive. This would help the general public to realize that the farmers don't receive the lion's share of the department's expenditures, and also, that the USDA spends millions to benefit the consumer.

No. 8. The Secretary of Agriculture should be produce-oriented. Agriculture is the largest industry in the United States and the prices it receives for its production is the basis of the U.S. economy. Therefore, he should represent the producing farmer.

No. 9. The quality standards of food imports should be the same as the American farmers have to produce by. We believe in good quality food, so food imports produced by lower standards should not be allowed to come into this country, to compete against American production.

No. 10. The 3 farm organizations represent a proud independent group of people who are asking for a pricing structure that will grant a cost of production plus a fair profit. We do not believe that the production of food should be reduced to a public utility while federal welfare programs tend to reduce farm families to welfare recipients.

No. 11. On the subject of transportation, agriculture and public interest require continuation of service. Therefore we suggest an 80 day cooling-off period, at which time there would be required bargaining to try and avoid a strike.

No. 12. Youth are the most important resource that agriculture has. With the age of the average farmer at about 58 years of age, agriculture is approaching a dangerous point in its history. It is losing its replacements. The pricing structure is such that it is almost impossible for youth to get started in farming. The marketing structure has to be changed so farming will become attractive to our youth.

Also we suggest that farm co-ops and county farm organizations give young people the opportunity to be active in programs and business in order to take advantage of their ability and enthusiasm.

No. 13. A requirement that G.I. farm trainees spend a minimum of 12 hours a week in the classroom for full benefits, 9 hours for three-fourths benefits, 6 hours for one-half benefits, tends to prevent thousands of veterans from using the G.I. educational eligibility for farm training. It is almost impossible for a young farmer to spend twelve hours a week in a classroom and also take care of a farming operation. It would be more realistic if it were about 6 hours of classroom work a week for the full benefits. This would be more in line with the classroom requirements and provisions of the post Korean G.I. training program.

No. 14. Some of the farmers in this area find it difficult, if not impossible, to locate enough water to raise the amount of livestock they want. It is very poor quality for all rural residents, not only farmers. We need a distribution system all over the area of quality water.

#### ECUMENICAL WITNESS

HON. ANDREW JACOBS, JR.

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 24, 1972

Mr. JACOBS. Mr. Speaker, several days ago a group of 650 ecumenical leaders, representing 46 religious denominations and groups, assembled in Kansas City, Mo., to examine the attitude of organized religion toward the war in Vietnam. Out of this gathering came a message from the delegates entitled

"Ecumenical Witness," which concludes that the administration's "Vietnamization" policy is fundamentally immoral for many reasons, not the least of which is that such a policy, in addition to being a life sentence for American prisoners of war, "forces Asian people to be our proxy army, dying in our places for our supposed interests."

My good friend, Methodist Bishop James Armstrong, has asked that I share the import of "Ecumenical Witness," which follows, with my colleagues in the Congress:

The President of the United States has repeatedly assured the American people that the war in Southeast Asia is "winding down" American troops are coming home. The war, he implies, is almost over. This is not true.

The present Administration's Vietnamization policy looks toward, not a negotiated political settlement, but an eventual military victory. We will continue to provide the weaponry and air power, the massive technological support, the advisors and the money. Asians will provide the casualties. While it is true that our ground troops are being withdrawn and our battle losses are the lowest in years, it is equally true that the people of Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos continue to die as before. Bombs still drop. Villages are still leveled. The countryside is still being devastated. The war, which became an American war late in 1964 (and which will continue as an American war after our ground troops have all come home) goes on unabated.

The Johnson Administration is rightly credited with the radical escalation of the conflict. An average of nearly 60,000 tons of bombs were dropped on Indochina every month during the Johnson years. More than 95,000 tons of bombs on the average have been dropped each month since Mr. Nixon took office. And during recent weeks we have resumed large-scale bombing of North Vietnam while intensifying the bombardment of the rest of Indochina. The air war is more deadly than ever before.

We do not hear as much about "credibility gaps" as we did four years ago. Yet, the release of the Pentagon Papers and revelations of manipulation and deceit by our highest government officials during the India-Pakistan conflict show us that the gap is as wide as ever. Many politicians, with one eye on public opinion polls and the other on November elections, continue to mislead and misinform us. But the American people appear to have grown weary and numb; more and more insensitive to human values. The futile war grinds on and we seem unable to do anything about it, so we accept the self-serving rhetoric of those who tell us what we want to hear—and turn away from the broken form of Southeast Asia.

We have gathered as a community of Christians and Jews to participate in an Ecumenical Witness considering the morality of the Indochina war. Seeking to be faithful to God and his self-revelation in history, inspired by the values and authority of the Biblical revelation and united in our belief in the sacredness of all human life, we insist that United States involvement in the war in Southeast Asia is unjust and immoral.

On the basis of the announced intentions of the United States the war has been lost. We have not defeated communism in Indochina nor have we defended freedom. Imposing our will on distant lands and poor and non-white peoples, we have participated in their destruction while thwarting their self-determination. The guilt is not ours alone, but guilt is ours.

The wealthiest and most powerful nation on earth, we have squandered our wealth and misused our power. Areas of crucial domestic need—poverty and racism, the hopelessness of ghetto living, essential reforms



and humanitarian considerations—have been neglected and ignored as we have permitted violence, at home and abroad, to become a way of life. Our present national humiliation is the judgment of God upon us.

Why do we say the war is immoral?

In 1950, the United States of America determined to confront communism in Asia. The full weight of the Truman Administration was thrown behind the French in their colonial war in Indochina. From that day to this, reflecting the presuppositions of our own culture, racism has been implicit in the Southeast Asian conflict. We accept as axiomatic the theme of racism in the war. We further recognize that our own national effort in Southeast Asia is another reflection of our international racist involvement and our racist policies and practices at home. We are not fighting persons but "slants," "slopes" and "gooks." In fact, more often than not, Americans in Vietnam have called all Indochinese people, "friend" and "foe" alike, slants and slopes and gooks. Vietnamization is a racist policy, for it forces Asian people to be our proxy army, dying in our places for our supposed interests. This is immoral.

Following 1954 the United States of America subverted the Geneva Accord, created its own SEATO rationale, and unilaterally intervened in the internal affairs of an independent and sovereign land. It sought to serve its own national interests (as it defined them) by imposing its will on a country not its own. That is immoral.

Since 1964, the United States of America, utilizing the sophisticated weaponry of technological warfare, has showered death upon all of Indochina. Chemical herbicides have been applied to nearly one-seventh of South Vietnam, destroying essential crops and mangrove forests. One out of three persons in Vietnam is a refugee. True, North Vietnam and the National Liberation Front have terrorized villages and committed atrocities. But the massive terror and atrocities of the B-52's and fleets of helicopters are ours. The napalm and CS gas are ours. The flame throwers are ours. Folding fin rockets and cluster bombs are ours. Our anti-personnel weaponry, refusing to distinguish between military and civilian targets, has inflicted hundreds of thousands of casualties on Asian people. All of this is immoral.

The past two administrations have said they would work ceaselessly for a negotiated political settlement. Two things stand in the way of that settlement: the unrepresentative nature of the Thieu government in Saigon; and our refusal to set a date-certain for military withdrawal.

General Hhleu, like Ngo Dinh Diem before him, has imposed a corrupt military police state upon his people. Thousands of non-communist political prisoners fill the jails. Elections are controlled or cancelled. Talk of coalition and neutralist governments is outlawed. Genuine self-determination has not been permitted. And, in the name of freedom, we support, we prop up, that government and similar governments in Laos and Cambodia. That is immoral.

There have been assurances from North Vietnam that prisoners of war would be released and negotiations in Paris could proceed if we would but set-the-date for total military withdrawal. But the legislative and executive branches of our government have refused to respond. That is immoral.

There are risks involved in relying upon negotiated settlements, but the alternatives assure a continuation of the real bloodbath that has already claimed more than a million Vietnamese lives and that has now been spread into Cambodia and Laos.

The only morally acceptable course for the United States is to withdraw its armed forces immediately and totally and refuse to supply the Indochinese governments with military, economic or political aid, which has simply postponed the political solution the Viet-

namese people must ultimately, in any event, find for themselves.

Recognizing the urgent responsibilities of our government, we also recognize the need for the People's Republic of China, the Soviet Union and other nations to cease supplying the Hanoi government and the Provisional Revolutionary Government with the materials of war, enabling all of Indochina's people to determine indeed their own future without interference.

We must also begin to make restitution for the irreparable harm we have visited upon ancient civilizations. We have spent almost \$200 billion in pursuing the Indochina war. Mindful of the enormity of our deed, in co-operation with other nations and groups, directed and controlled by the people of Indochina themselves, we must participate in the rebuilding of Southeast Asia.

As participants in this Ecumenical Witness, what will we do?

We, here, call upon our denominations, churches and synagogues to make an immediate end to the war in Indochina their first priority.

We call upon our denominations, churches and synagogues to announce publicly and transmit to all U.S. armed forces personnel their support and sanctuary for all who refuse to continue to fight.

We call upon our denominations, churches and synagogues to renounce all war and make the total abolition of war and peace with justice as their major concern until achieved. This requires, among other things, a more effective United Nations, and far reaching steps toward general world disarmament.

The world now spends on an arms race more than the entire income of the underdeveloped countries of Asia, Africa, and Latin America. The world must shift from reliance upon an unstable peace based on the balance of terror to a system of law and justice, and the use of the world's resources for meeting the needs of the people.

We call upon our denominations, churches and synagogues to insist that U.S. foreign policy shall support the right of any people to self-determination as to their form of government, their economic system, and their relationship with other governments.

We call upon our denominations, churches and synagogues to examine their economic and racial policies, making those policies consistent with the Biblical message of justice and compassion; righteousness and peace.

We call upon our denominations, churches and synagogues to offer understanding and pastoral care to all persons, to rich and poor, non-white and white, "hawks" and "doves," young and old, saint and sinner.

We call upon all faithful servants of their Lord to express the transforming power of his love through their ministries of reconciliation.

Prophets of old called their nations to repentance. So must we. They cleansed their temples. So must we. They identified with the sins of their people and pled for mercy. So must we.

But words however lofty, and convictions however profound, and contrition however sincere, are not enough. All of these are nothing unless they issue forth in deeds of peace. There are strategies of action to be considered and embraced. As Pope Paul has said, "If you want peace, work for justice."

JOE DALLENEGRA

HON. PETER W. RODINO, JR.

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 24, 1972

Mr. RODINO. Mr. Speaker, it is with feelings of deep sorrow and of great personal loss that I am inserting the follow-

ing tribute to a very special friend in today's RECORD. I share in the sentiments expressed by the following editorial in the Nutley Sun:

JOE DALLENEGRA

Death recently claimed Joseph P. Dallenegra, who with his wife Margaret, his sons Joseph, Jr., and Marc, lived in Nutley for most of his adult years.

Almost 30 years ago Joe Dallenegra took an active interest in the civic affairs of our community. At one time he became so intensely interested in his adopted community that he became a candidate for a berth on the Town Commission.

Dallenegra possessed a great mind and was an able attorney. He was an astute and resourceful participant in the local political scene. Joseph Dallenegra was a man we much admired both for his intelligence and his personal code of ethics. His withdrawal from active community work in recent years was due to his falling health. Mr. Dallenegra's sudden demise leaves to his sons, Joe, Jr., and Marc a proud heritage and a pair of big shoes to fill. The bereaved widow, Mrs. Margaret Dallenegra, is comforted in the knowledge that she, at any instant, may call upon an unlimited store of memories to avoid the risk of lonely, lonesome days—and nights that usually arise when death separates life-long partners.

RED CHINESE ALIENS IN AMERICA—I

HON. JOHN G. SCHMITZ

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 24, 1972

Mr. SCHMITZ. Mr. Speaker, according to recently published accounts of "secret" intelligence reports issued by the Justice Department, for at least the past 7 years there has been a virtual flood of illegal aliens pouring into the United States from Communist China, at an estimated rate of 4,200 a year. These Chinese aliens have been entering this country by jumping ship in U.S. ports and through an elaborate network of smuggling rings headquartered in neighboring Canada. With the longest unguarded frontier in the world, our 4,000-mile border with Canada is an open invitation to these aliens who will not, and cannot, legally pass our ports of entry.

While many of these aliens who sneak across our borders are known to be Communist espionage agents on assigned missions for their Peking masters, others of their kind have been primarily engaging in the illicit drug traffic, distributing literally tons of narcotics used by an alarmingly large segment of our Nation's youth. For instance, police intelligence officials in southern California state that Chinese sailors who had jumped ship in west coast ports were found, when apprehended, to be carrying large quantities of heroin under their clothing in plastic bags strapped to their bodies.

Many of the Red Chinese agents thus far apprehended and identified are said to have been traced to the Hong Kong Seamen's Union, a subversive organization described by the Federal Bureau of Investigation as clandestinely engaged in Communist espionage.

Last November, it was reported in the press that the Immigration and Naturalization Service section of the Justice De-

partment—charged with the task of capturing illegal aliens—had just “smashed a ring engaged in smuggling Chinese sailors from Vancouver, British Columbia, into the United States at Bellinham and Blaine, Wash.” Although another similar Chinese smuggling ring operating between Montreal and New York City had been reportedly shut down by United States and Canadian border patrol officials in early 1971, intelligence sources tell of yet a third such ring known to be operating out of Windsor, Ontario, “smuggling mainland Chinese through Detroit.”

All of these serious border violations have become almost commonplace since Canada's Marxist Premier, Pierre Elliot Trudeau, gave official recognition to both the Communist government of Cuba and the Chinese Communist regime of Mao Tse-tung, thus assuring our deadly Communist enemies a privileged sanctuary in North America on our exposed northern flank and another strategic base of operations in the Western Hemisphere.

Yet, despite all that is now known about the movements of these agents, of the more than 30,000 Chinese aliens said to have illegally entered our country since 1965—by the Justice Department's own admission only one in 10 is ever caught and deported. Their inscrutable comrades—many no doubt highly trained in the devious arts of subversion, sabotage, and assassination—presumably continue to operate quietly within our midst, simply melting into the burgeoning Red underground now operating within numerous Chinese-American communities from coast to coast. One of the primary targets of the Red Chinese for more than 20 years has been the very children of those legitimate refugees who fled to our shores for safety and freedom from Maoist tyranny.

With only 1,655 men in its far-flung border patrol to police both the Canadian border and the 2,000 miles of Mexican border, our Immigration and Naturalization Service is critically short of enforcement personnel to stem the tide of those Red agents whose very presence in our land poses a clear and present danger to every loyal American.

And that is only half the story. While the Justice Department now readily admits that we do indeed have an internal problem with illegal Red Chinese aliens, no mention is ever made by that agency of the thousands upon thousands of legal Communist aliens who for years now have been welcomed into these United States by our State Department as homeless “refugees.” That aspect of the Red infiltration problem will be covered in my next newsletter.

We should keep in mind the prophetic words of FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover who for several decades has been trying to alert the American people to the potential threat of Red Chinese subversion. Last July, in a revealing article entitled, “Mao's Red Shadows in America,” Mr. Hoover warned:

Peking is attempting espionage in a variety of ways, one (of which) is to endeavor to introduce deep cover intelligence agents into the United States, trained Peking agents who clandestinely enter this country using false identities and identifications and attempt

under the cover of being an American to conduct spy operations.

In this covert manner, says the FBI Director, “spy couriers” are developed by the enemy to travel between our country and foreign nations to lay the groundwork for the final assault on America.

#### THE CONCERNS AND THE PROBLEMS OF CITIZENS IN RURAL AMERICA

### HON. KEITH G. SEBELIUS

OF KANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 24, 1972

Mr. SEBELIUS. Mr. Speaker, at the end of each session of Congress, the recess affords us the opportunity to go back home, enjoy the holidays with friends and family, and to once again have the opportunity to do what public officials are supposed to do—visit and listen to our constituents. I attempted to do this in my congressional district in Kansas with quite a few community stops and visits.

In this regard, I have received a letter from a farm wife that summed up the concern of our citizens in the “Big First” district of Kansas, far better than any speech I made or could make.

This letter is from a citizen who is proud of the proven and traditional way of life that we enjoy in rural and small-town America. She is also proud to be an American and knows that freedom brings with it the responsibility of making her State and Nation a better place in which to live. She asks only that her family be treated fairly.

I know that constituent mail is routine in all offices, but I think this letter is especially noteworthy and unique because Mrs. Ruff asks only that we work together to find answers. She does not make our problems a matter of partisan blame.

In listening to the President's recent state of the Union message, it occurred to me that his call for cooperation was essentially the same kind of plea that this good farm wife and lady is making. The President, in his message, declared it to be national policy to improve farm income and revitalize rural America. That commitment is all that Mrs. Ruff is asking for and I would hope we in this body can respond.

Mr. Speaker, I commend this letter to the attention of my colleagues for it expresses the concern and the problems of citizens in my district in a simple and yet most eloquent manner:

LETTER FROM MRS. DOROTHY RUFF OF NESS CITY, KANS., TO CONGRESSMAN KEITH G. SEBELIUS

DEAR SIR: I saw an article in one of our farm magazines that said we should write our Congressman and that if we did not, you would just think all farmers were rich and fat! Well, I won't comment on the fat part, but I want to tell you we are certainly not rich.

This letter started out as conversation over coffee between a group of farm women and myself. Later, it turned into a “dare” because none of the ladies thought I would ever

write and that you would not read it. No one may ever read this, and I don't suppose I will know one way or another, but at least it will do me some good because I am going to put what we think on paper.

I do honestly wonder if you folks in Washington truly know the situation of the small farmer. My husband and I are fortunate as we manage a farm of about 2,000 acres. We have an advantage that many small farmers do not have—we are in a partnership. We have some things—our own cattle and other livestock—but the wheat and feed land are in partnership. The cost of some of the farming and high priced machinery is not a burden we have to pay by ourselves.

I suppose my main question is, does the government really want the small farmer to be able to continue? I know the problem is not simple, but these are some of our complaints as we have to live with them.

Take eggs for example. When we sell them in town, we get 14 cents a dozen, and yet in the stores for the folks who buy them they are from 43 to 67 cents. Now in my book that is awful. Who is getting the difference? The cost of chicken feed has never gone down, and to be sure, the chickens eat the same amount. They don't know their eggs aren't worth anything, and trying to tell a chicken not to eat just doesn't work. We decided to feed the eggs to our dogs and cats before we sell them for 14 cents a dozen. At least that helps on the cost of dog food.

Then, let's take the chicken themselves. We would like to sell our old hens; we cannot afford to buy feed for both the hens and pullets. Know what? We cannot sell them at any price. There is no market for them. How about that. If the dogs eat the eggs, I guess we could let the coyotes eat the chickens. We sure have plenty of coyotes since they took the bounty off.

We paid 27 cents for our baby chicks. If we could have sold them at frying size, we would have gotten from 13 to 15 cents a pound. Three pounds at 13 to 15 cents a brings 39 cents each, but then think of all of the feed they have eaten. Can't get rich that way. Compare this to the fact my sister-in-law told me the chickens in the store were over a dollar, and the chickens weighed two pounds. Who is getting the difference?

Let's take cream. The price stays about the same, 60 cents a pound (butterfat) when we can sell it. Our cows are “dry” right now. But, you look in the store and a half pint of “half and half” cream sells for 30 cents and it's half milk and half water. How city folks stand for that and pay for it, I'll never know.

Consider the price of pigs today. We just sold some nice pigs weighing over 100 pounds. We got only \$13. Heck, we have bought many weaning pigs six weeks of age for \$17. And, if you check in the store on prices for pork and ham, you will see \$1.19 a pound for ham (this was on sale) and 89 cents for pork chops. Something is terribly wrong here someplace!

Wheat, our wonderful Kansas crop, is not good either. The expense of planting is more than ever, and the price of bread and breakfast food is higher all of the time. Last winter, the lower wheat got, the higher the bran price went. Why? Each time we fed bran to our cattle during the winter, the truck load cost more than the one before. None of this makes sense to me, and I am curious just who is making the profit.

I have worked in the fields for 33 years now. We are finding our hard work is not worth what we are getting back. My husband works in the fields during the day, and I work at noon and at night. Sometimes when we use both tractors, we both work all day. We put in as many as 15 hours a day during rush periods. You get tired doing that, but we wouldn't mind if prices were good and we could get ahead. We like to work, and we both hope we never have to quit, but we would like a little profit. We don't ask to be rich.



It costs so much today to operate and run a farm. The cost of machinery is unbelievable and going higher. It would be one thing if the machinery worked but it doesn't. New equipment just bought somehow needs all kinds of work done on it. The repairman was out three days fixing things that should be done right in the factory. It's the same thing with the neighbor's new baler, the repairman out day after day, and it still doesn't work right. He even had to back into town to get them to work on it! Can't they do something at the factories? It isn't fair to the dealer or the salesman or the repairman and it sure isn't fair to us.

We have the same problem with our cars. They just don't hold up on the farm. Considering the price you have to pay, it is not fair. Wouldn't you agree that when you buy something new and pay a good price that when it starts giving you trouble right away that it is reason enough to aggravate most anyone—even a Congressman! One of our neighbors bought a new car, and it was in the repair shop most of the summer; he had to borrow ours when the creek was up to check on his cattle.

I don't mean to go on like this but I am telling you some things that I know and it's not hear-say. I know all you government folks have your hands full and I am not trying to say we small farmers are the only ones that have it rough. My daughter and her husband are small farmers, and they love farming as we do, but they are slowly going broke and that hurts me terribly.

I know there is a lot going on in this world today that needs your attention. I do not like or approve of many of the things. This drug situation with our young people is terrible. Some are losing respect for our laws. We are afraid to do much about vandalism; tractors have been shot up and cattle killed, but if you make them mad they might do almost anything. And, when they get caught, as far as I can find out nothing is done about it; just a small fine. Now this is not government's fault, but it's just to let you know we have crime problems here too. We put up a no trespassing sign but they pay no attention to it.

I have two other complaints and then I will quit bothering you. The cost of car and hospital insurance is much too high, and then when you have to use them you are dropped. Now that is just not fair. It has come to this point; you cannot be without insurance and you cannot afford it. Surely this could be changed.

Finally, there is the cost of postage. I can so easily remember when letters were three cents a piece, and when we sent in an order to a mail order company we got it in three days. Now, we feel lucky to get it in two weeks time. Who or what is to blame, I don't know; I only know things are not like they used to be.

Other folks demand higher wages and get them, and then the cost of living goes up. People don't really have that much more money but what they do get sounds bigger. Some folks don't even pay income taxes because of legal loopholes, but I call that cheating the government. Maybe the small farmer is just too dumb or honest to do things this way, but I don't think that is the way to try and get along in this world.

Well, I guess we have a lot of problems and where it will end is anyone's guess. It's not all the government's fault; the people bring a lot of their problems on themselves. We can only ask you do the best you can. I do think this, however. If there was some way to put every government official out on a farm and make him work like we do and live off of what we make, I bet after the first year, there would be a lot of changes.

I hope you have time to read this, and I hope you don't get mad about it. Writing this letter makes me feel better, and it was worth my time. Now, at coffee, I will be able

to say I wrote my Congressman instead of just sitting back and complaining.

Sincerely,

Mrs. DOROTHY RUFF.

## METROPOLITAN TAX BASE SHARING

HON. DONALD M. FRASER

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 24, 1972

Mr. FRASER. Mr. Speaker, the problems of our metropolitan areas are complicated by the multiplicity of taxing jurisdictions in any single area. Commercial and industrial growth in one jurisdiction increases its own tax rolls but may impose such costs as pollution and congestion on other jurisdictions which do not benefit. Tax capabilities then are not found where tax revenues are needed.

My district, the Fifth District of Minnesota, is part of a new system designed to deal with this problem. Under a plan passed by the Minnesota Legislature last spring, a portion of the tax base from new commercial and industrial development is shared by all jurisdictions in the Twin Cities area. Thus, all jurisdictions benefit from development anywhere in the area.

An article by Robert Cassidy in the January 12 D.C. Gazette discusses this system and suggests its relevance for the District of Columbia metropolitan area. I commend this article to the attention of my colleagues.

The article follows:

### SHARING THE AREA WEALTH

(By Robert Cassidy)

Border disputes are not limited to exotic climes like Bangla Desh or the Sinai peninsula. Here in the Washington area, inter-jurisdictional scuffles are commonplace, if only because of the problems inherent in dealing with two states, a federal city, numerous counties and cities, plus special service jurisdictions. The potential for chaos and fractionalism is clear, and it's a wonder that the battles are kept down to skirmish level.

For example, Arlington and Fairfax are involved in a little-to-do right now over the development of Bailey's Crossroads. The Fairfax plan calls for a tremendous amount of office, commercial, and apartment building in that area, which Arlington would have to supply with sewer services. Last November voters in Arlington approved a sewer bond that implied that commercial growth in the county would be somewhat pared over the next 30 years, at the same time that Fairfax's planners were fashioning a behemoth. Both counties are trying to get together now to set some sort of compromise.

Other examples abound. Last summer, the city of Falls Church considered a proposal to build several high-rise apartment buildings right on the Arlington County line. Meanwhile, Arlington was doing everything possible to minimize growth in the northwestern part of the county, which is the site of the planned East Falls Church Metro Station; the objective was to save a small neighborhood of moderately priced single family houses. The Falls Church plan would have put increased pressure on Arlington to rezone portions of its area for high-rise buildings. Fortunately, the city of Falls Church turned down the apartment zoning, but the matter was tough and go for a while.

Likewise, the Friendship Heights area on the Maryland-D.C. border is ripe for fac-

tional disputes. Who will benefit from the increased taxes produced by major retail and office development there, Montgomery County or the District? Shifting development even a few feet could mean a windfall for the lucky jurisdiction, while the loser gets nothing—except traffic snarls, litter, and aggravation.

All this is nothing new of course. Artificial jurisdictional lines have not worked in what HUD Secretary George Romney calls "The Real City"—which I call the metropolitan area. If these barriers cannot be broken down—and tradition and inertia assure that—they must be made flexible. The British do this through an elaborate system of compensation to surrounding jurisdictions whenever one city in a metropolitan area gets a windfall. What I'd like to suggest is a much more American approach—American not only because it is much more practical than the British approach, but because it is already operational in one part of the U.S.: The Twin Cities area of Minnesota.

Last spring, the Minnesota legislature approved a new tax base system for the 300 separate taxing jurisdictions in the St. Paul-Minneapolis area. Under this system, 40 percent of all new commercial and industrial development is shared among all the jurisdictions. Each taxing area gets a cut of that 40 percent assigned to its tax rolls; thus, it is tax base sharing, not revenue sharing. The portion allocated to each community is based directly on population and inversely to its existing tax base. The result is that wealthy areas get a smaller portion of the 40 percent share than poorer areas with the same population. Also, each jurisdiction applies its own tax rate to the new shared base, so that no area is penalized for taxing its citizens at a higher rate than other areas.

The "share the wealth" plan is a little tricky to grasp at first, but it is really very forthright and practicable. The experience is too new to judge, but the potential is great, if only because the Twin Cities area, with its distinguished record of good government, will make it work. A local civic group described the benefits of the plan:

(1) It will diminish the importance of fiscal zoning, whereby certain areas try to get all the office and commercial development, but shun low-income housing, for example.

(2) It takes into account the increasing concentration of commercial-industrial growth. Only certain parts of a metropolitan area are really suited for such development, but all areas suffer the consequences (e.g. air pollution, traffic congestion). This plan allows every citizen to look at a new office building and say, "I have a piece of that," even if it's not in his town.

(3) It evens out the peaks and valleys of development. Over long periods of time, all parts of a metropolitan area go through stages of building-maturing-redevelopment, which makes the tax base vary. The share the wealth plan distributes metropolitan growth over times as well as area, so that all parts of the metropolis are getting something, even if they are not currently in a growth stage.

Of course, the Twin Cities tax plan does not put an end to countless problems. It does not remove the inequities of the real property tax, with its unequal assessments and burdensome impact on low-income families. And Washington is not Minnesota; trying to develop a tax scheme that would require approval by Congress, two state legislatures, and numerous local officials would be a monumental task. For this reason, I think such a proposal would have to start in either suburban Maryland or Northern Virginia, or both. Then, if it works out, the District could be included. In the meantime, this is a subject which should be studied by a regional agency, perhaps the Council of Governments. If we are to deal with the "Real City" in a meaningful way, we must learn how to finance it in a meaningful way.

THE IOWA CITY VETERANS'  
ADMINISTRATION HOSPITAL  
"BROTHERHOOD" PROGRAM

**HON. FRED SCHWENGEL**

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 24, 1972

Mr. SCHWENGEL. Mr. Speaker, during the past year we have become increasingly aware of the drug problem facing all branches of the military. We have learned of the almost epidemic proportions which this disease has reached. Perhaps just as important, however, is the problem of the addicted veteran, the soldier who has returned to civilian life but has been unable to shed his drug dependency. Recently, a program instituted by the Iowa City, Iowa, Veterans' Administration Hospital, came to my attention.

The program, called "Brotherhood," is a treatment program for veterans with drug dependency problems. The program is voluntary and open to all veterans. A comprehensive approach to treating the individual is taken, including medical, psychological and social problems. Group rap sessions, confrontation therapy, and self-government are just a few of the methods employed. The program is staffed by ex-addict drug counselors, psychologists, psychiatrists, nurses, and vocational counselors.

This program, and others similar to it throughout the country, have the full cooperation of the National Veterans' Administration and its Director, Donald Johnson. This commitment is an innovative step, and a necessary step, in the treatment of addicted veterans. Although in its infancy, the program is achieving its objectives according to Dr. Paul Penningroth, director of the Iowa City Veterans' Administration hospital program. Not only are veterans being helped, but other interesting statistics have been elicited. Most notable is the fact that over half of those who have joined the Iowa City Veterans' Administration hospital program were stationed in the United States. Clearly, this program and others will not only help alleviate the problem of the returning overseas veteran, but will attack the problem of the addicted stateside veteran as well.

I commend the Veterans' Administration, and the Iowa City Veterans' Hospital in particular, for its efforts in this area. I encourage more utilization of our veterans hospitals for drug treatment programs. I would like to share with you a recent editorial in the Iowa City Press-Citizen noting the success of the program to date and the bright future ahead. Our fighting men deserve this support and help; we should continue to offer and expand such programs in the future.

The editorial follows:

**HOPEFUL APPROACH**

The director of the Drug Treatment Unit at Veterans Hospital believes the rehabilitation program is achieving its purposes.

If time which can provide the only certainties, proves his current belief correct then a method of overcoming dependence

upon drugs is available. Expensive though it may be, it would still be less costly for society and the individual in financial as well as human terms than a lifelong drug habit.

Dr. Paul Penningroth notes that 38 veterans have been admitted to the local hospital's program since it was initiated July 1, one of the first such units to be established in the country. The local unit and others were the response of the Veterans Administration to the mounting problem of drug use among veterans, particularly those who had served in Vietnam.

But just over half of the veterans who have joined the program are not Vietnam veterans, 52 per cent were stationed in the U.S. or in other countries than Vietnam. Of the total, 55 per cent are Army veterans, 19 per cent Marines, 13 per cent Navy and 13 per cent Air Force. Reflecting the nature of drug dependency as a problem of society and not just the military is the fact that 45 per cent of those in the unit did not begin using drugs while in service. Eighteen is the most common age for initial experiments with drugs and the average age of those in the program is 23 with 84 per cent being under 25.

Most of those joining the program used a variety of drugs, usually whatever is available, but they also state a preference for a particular one. Of the group 28 per cent preferred hallucinogens, 16 per cent amphetamines, 13 per cent a combination of marijuana and alcohol, 6 per cent barbiturates and alcohol. Thirty-seven per cent were narcotic users, almost all of them physiologically addicted when admitted. Methadone has been used in the treatment of narcotic addicts when indicated.

About two-thirds of those admitted come from Iowa, about one-fifth from Illinois and the balance from other states.

Three have left the program as "graduates" and are now employed and drug free. Others are still in the program and showing improvement; yet others decided not to continue in the program and left.

The approach to the treatment program depends upon the individual supported by the group. Admission is voluntary and treatment is based upon the willingness and desire of those in the program to help themselves. Members of the Brotherhood, as participants call themselves, live and work together, they operate under a self-government of the patients. Participants, Dr. Penningroth points out, have become a closely-knit group who care about their problems, about each other and about letting others know that help is available by contacting the Brotherhood at the Veterans Hospital in Iowa City.

If there are answers to the questions posed by abuse of drugs, programs like that at Veterans Hospital would appear to provide them. As such they deserve support and expansion to reach other persons in need of the help offered.

IN SUPPORT OF PUBLIC OWNERSHIP  
OF THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA'S  
MASS TRANSIT BUS SYSTEM

**HON. GILBERT GUDE**

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 24, 1972

Mr. GUDE. Mr. Speaker, the metropolitan Washington area is currently in the midst of a crisis in the field of public transportation. The D.C. Transit Co. has requested yet another fare increase and now finds itself on the verge of bankruptcy. Today's cities are in dire

need of a responsible and affordable system of mass transit—a need which private companies have simply been unable to meet. Because a balanced and adequate system is crucial to the District's residents and its governmental and commercial interests, I have sponsored along with Congressman JOEL T. BROTHILL of Virginia, H.R. 5628 to provide for public ownership and operation of all Washington metropolitan area bus companies.

I would like to share with my colleagues a recent WMAL editorial regarding this very matter. I hope that H.R. 5628 and related legislation can be brought to hearing before the District of Columbia Committee in the near future.

The editorial follows:

**CHALK TALK**

D.C. Transit's latest fare hike request is really drawing a crowd. Not only D.C. officials but the Price Commission plan to get involved this time. And well they might.

The bus firm, which has been averaging a fare hike request a year, now is seeking another 12½% to 25% increase depending upon which fare proposal you choose.

But in either case, the company admits, a 45 to 50 cent fare would mean the loss of another six million passengers in a year's time.

Even D.C. Transit owner O. Roy Chalk acknowledges this is no way to run a bus line. "A fare increase," he says, "is never a permanent solution."

We might add that blocking the increase is no solution either. Service would deteriorate further.

This solution, as we see it, is public takeover of the company as soon as possible. In the interim, it must be subsidized. We feel this subsidy could be arranged in such a way as to keep D.C. Transit afloat without enhancing Chalk's position in the marketplace.

We are not at all concerned with Mr. Chalk's financial future, but we are deeply concerned about the future of the riding public and mass transit in the Washington area.

**SKY'S THE LIMIT**

**HON. OLIN E. TEAGUE**

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 24, 1972

Mr. TEAGUE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, Mr. Howard Benedict, in the December 8 edition of the Atlanta Journal, discusses the opportunities of space manufacturing. Mr. Benedict's excellent article points out that by the end of the century manufacturing in space could easily develop into a \$50 billion market. One of the strongest cases that can be made for the development of a low cost orbital shuttle is found in Mr. Benedict's article. I commend it to your reading:

VACUUM HELPS: SKY'S THE LIMIT IN SPACE MARKET

(By Howard Benedict)

CAPE KENNEDY.—Workmen in orbiting space factories may one day manufacture high quality electronic devices, perfectly round ball bearings, precision optical lenses, pure vaccines and insecticides and other items impossible to produce on earth because of gravity.

The National Aeronautics and Space Administration and several industrial and research organizations are spending more than



\$1 million a year to explore the possibility of using the unique vacuum and weightlessness of space for such manufacturing.

Some experts predict a \$50-billion market by the end of the century for space-made materials and biologicals.

William O. Armstrong of NASA's Office of Manned Space Flight reported that work to date "has convinced us that manufacturing in space is technically feasible and that space research in material science and technology is likely to pay off."

"In space we could prepare electronic solids and other materials we can only day-dream about on earth," he said.

"The possibility of levitating solids and liquids is one of the most obvious applications of weightlessness," Armstrong explained. "This ability to suspend materials free of physical contact with containers should permit the production of ultra-pure metals and crystals."

A new class of pure glass products is one example, he said. In glass making on earth, the product tends to be grainy because of convection—the transmission of heat or electricity by air, gas or liquid form throughout will prove gravity field. But done in space this could result in precise lenses for eyeglasses, microscopes and telescopes.

"The lack of buoyancy in space also would allow us to maintain a very homogenous mixture of substances of varying density," he said. "Knowing that your substance is uniform throughout will prove highly beneficial in the production of foamed metals or metal composites. In gravity, this is difficult because heavier substances like to settle and lighter ones like to rise."

"The most sophisticated source of control over space processes," he said, "lies in the fact that the movement of heat and solid materials in liquids and gases will be predictable and controllable when the complicating influence of convection is suppressed. This has particular application in the growth of high purity" such as those used in computers, satellite communications systems and radio and television equipment.

The absence of convection also could produce something long sought by industry—a perfectly round ball bearing, especially for rotating or moving devices on large vehicles and machinery to cut down friction and improve efficiency.

The first space test to determine the feasibility of weightless manufacturing occurred on the Apollo 14 flight last February. During the mission, astronauts Alan B. Shepard Jr., Edgar D. Mitchell and Stuart A. Roosa conducted four experiments—transferring liquids from one container to another through a series of baffles, separating a solution of different liquids, measuring heat flow and convection and casting metals in a small heat chamber.

The results were promising and additional limited experiments are planned during Apollo 17 in December 1972.

A more ambitious experiment program is planned for Skylab, the two story space station scheduled for launching in 1973. Three different three-man crews will inhabit the orbiting laboratory for periods up to 56 days to conduct scientific, engineering and medical studies.

When the space shuttle, a reusable rocket plane, begins flying late in this decade, one of its early assignments will be to place in orbit a laboratory which will be used as a central core for a number of experimental modules for science, astronomy, medicine for manufacturing.

From this research it will be determined just how much manufacturing can be done in permanent space stations which the United States hopes to launch in the 1980s. "It is hoped," Armstrong said, "that some of these processes will be ready for pilot-scale manufacturing operations as soon as the space station complex can support this level of activity and that a few will reach full-scale

commercial manufacturing in the latter part of this century.

"By the turn of the century, space manufacturing may account for a significant fraction of all space operations, and therefore it is likely to play a large role in assuring a permanent future for space flight because of the essential functions it will perform in some parts of the world's economy."

Daniel J. Fink, a vice president of General Electric Co. and general manager of its space division, said "It has been estimated that by the end of this century the total value of electronic materials and biologicals manufactured in space could run upward of \$50 billion."

There are two keys to an economical operation. The space lab will not require elaborate costly equipment because of the lack of gravity and the space shuttle, flying between earth and the space station on an airline-like schedule, will drastically cut the cost of flying into space. Each shuttle will be able to make 100 or more round trips before wearing out, thus eliminating costly throw-away one-trip rockets such as Saturn 5.

L. R. McCreight of GE's space division, said that in the biological field an orbiting lab could produce pure vaccines that would not have side effects and pure viral insecticides that would not have harmful environmental effects associated with chemical insecticides such as DDT.

## THE 17TH NAVAL DISTRICT

### HON. NICK BEGICH

OF ALASKA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 24, 1972

Mr. BEGICH. Mr. Speaker, I am deeply concerned about the recent announcement by the U.S. Navy Department to phase out its station and personnel of the 17th Naval District and the Alaskan Sea Frontier, at Kodiak, Alaska.

The Navy's departure from Kodiak will certainly have serious effect on our national defense posture in the North Pacific, in that it will leave a 4,000-mile defenseless gap between Seattle, Wash., and Adak, Alaska.

This untimely move will also have serious impact on the protection of our Alaskan and northwestern commercial fishermen from the foreign fishing fleets, which have been quite recently increasing their activities in the Alaska coast and the North Pacific areas.

I think the removal of the naval facilities from Kodiak would be extremely bad judgment on the part of the national administration.

To amplify my concern, I share with my colleagues an editorial and article from one of Alaska's most respected newspapers, the Kodiak Mirror:

#### LET US GET WITH IT

The American Legion's Jack Allman Post No. 17 in Kodiak has adopted the following resolution, entitled, "U.S. Navy—First Line of Defense," as proposed by Alaska American Legion Department Commander Bob Blair, according to Post Commander Dan McDonough.

Commander Blair has announced his grave concern that the nation's defense posture is to be seriously impaired through the possibility that the military may actually go through with its announced plans to withdraw the U.S. Navy from its Kodiak base—proven through experiences of World War II

to be the most strategic naval base possible in the North Pacific.

The Mirror concurs completely with Commander Blair's thinking and with the Legion's concern on this matter involving the national defense. We are confident that any thinking and concerned citizen would agree also—and we join with Commander Blair and the Legion in urging all patriotic individuals and organization to make a concerted and meaningful effort to alert the nation to the military-naval needs here in the North Pacific and their direct relationship to the national defense of the entire continent. We especially urge that the community leadership mount an effort to marshal the political and economic resources available to educate the decision makers in the nation's capital to this vital and crucial need to keep the U.S. Navy in Kodiak and the North Pacific.

This will undoubtedly require sending a delegation to Washington, D.C. to seek an audience and make direct personal appeals to the Chiefs of Staff, the Secretary of Defense—or even to the President himself.

As Commander Blair has pointed out, "Time is of the Essence!"—so let's get with it immediately if we are going to do anything effective!

#### U.S. NAVY—FIRST LINE OF DEFENSE

Whereas, the American Legion is dedicated to a strong and completely adequate national defense posture for this nation, and

Whereas, the defense of the United States and the North American continent is directly related to an adequate and strong defense posture in Alaska, and

Whereas, the defense of Alaska is directly dependent on an adequate and strong defense capability on Kodiak Island, and

Whereas, the experience of World War II proved beyond any shadow of a doubt, the strategic military value of the U.S. Naval Station, Kodiak and its associated commands, to the defense of Alaska and the nation, and

Whereas, the nation's defense capability will be seriously impaired unless the U.S. Naval Station, Kodiak and its associated commands are not only maintained but substantially upgraded, modernized and expanded so as to include both ships of the line and aircraft capabilities as well as expanded equipment testing and personnel training facilities ashore, and

Whereas, U.S. Naval Station, Kodiak and its environs possess extreme variations of topographical and climatological features and factors, making it ideal for training and testing purposes, and

Whereas, the re-establishment of the 17th Naval District and the Alaskan Sea Frontier with headquarters aboard the Kodiak Naval Station are essential to the maintenance of an adequate national defense posture,

Now therefore be it resolved that the American Legion urgently recommends and supports the continued maintenance, expansion, modernization and upgrading of the U.S. Naval Stations, Kodiak and its associated commands and further urges and recommends the immediate reestablishment of the 17th Naval District and Alaskan Sea Frontier headquarters aboard the U.S. Naval Station Kodiak as well as the establishment aboard the Kodiak Naval Station of a U.S. Marine Corps Training and Testing Base.

#### CONTINUED NAVY PRESENCE VITAL TO NATION'S DEFENSE ASSERTS LEGION CHIEF

Alaska's American Legion chief says "continuation of the U.S. Navy's presence on Kodiak Island is vital to a proper defense posture for the nation"—and he has embarked upon a determined effort to alert the nation to this need.

Bob Blair of Kodiak, commander of the American Legion, Department of Alaska, is "urging that Kodiak Legionnaires and other island patriotic groups and individuals

sparkplug an intensive effort to alert and educate the appropriate national officials to the vital need to keep the U.S. Navy in Kodiak—in the North Pacific—on a meaningful basis.

"It is vital to the national security that the U.S. Navy's presence in the North Pacific not only be maintained—but upgraded, modernized and expanded. It is vital to a proper defense posture for the nation in the part of the world that the defense department recognize the strategic value of maintaining the U.S. Navy capabilities aboard the U.S. Naval Station, Kodiak," says Commander Blair.

"I am deeply concerned at the prospect that the lessons we learned from World War II are either being forgotten or ignored," says Blair.

"One of the most important facts learned from our experiences during World War II was—and is—the strategic value and importance of the island of Kodiak to the defense of the mainland and the nation. The presence of the U.S. Navy here at Kodiak is essential—and we must not allow this vital fact to be obscured, overlooked, ignored or forgotten during the budget crunch caused by cutbacks in the defense budget," says Blair.

Blair said he is presenting a special resolution on the matter to Kodiak Post number 17 on Thursday for adoption and presentation before the Southeast Alaska American Legion Convention which is to be held Jan. 13-14-15 in Petersburg.

Blair expresses "strong hopes" that his appeal and resolution will receive official endorsement from the city, borough, Chamber of Commerce, Navy League, Lions, Rotary, Jaycees—"and any and all patriotic individuals and civic, fraternal and service organizations." He is confident the governor and congressional delegation will respond vigorously.

I am convinced that this is important enough that we should send a delegation to Washington to make personal appeals to the decision makers—to the Secretary of Defense and the Chiefs of Staff—and even to the President himself if necessary. But we don't have much time left in which to be effective. Time is of the essence now. We should have acted sooner—but there is still time to reverse the decision to remove the U.S. Navy from Kodiak," says Blair.

"I am confident that with the proper approach informing and educating the proper officials, that we can succeed in keeping the U.S. Navy in the North Pacific at Kodiak," he concluded.

#### IMPORTS—ECONOMY— UNEMPLOYMENT

### HON. RAY J. MADDEN

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 24, 1972

Mr. MADDEN. Mr. Speaker, the Inland Steel Management Club of East Chicago, Ind., held their annual banquet on last Thursday evening.

I was invited to address the gathering and report on some of our congressional problems.

The following are excerpts on a few of the statements I made to the Inland Steel employees on that occasion:

EXCERPTS FROM SPEECH OF CONGRESSMAN  
RAY J. MADDEN

Mr. Chairman, I am grateful for the opportunity to speak before this gathering engaged in the production of steel and its by-products here in the Calumet Region.

I know that all persons engaged in the steel industry are highly interested in the future welfare and prosperity of one of the major industries in our nation. We in the Calumet Region, as well as other steel producing localities, are at present passing through a recession period which should give all our citizens who are dependent on steel for a livelihood, alarm and consternation as to the future expansion of this industry. Steel production reports and letters I have been receiving over the past few years indicate that our Government must remain steadfast on its demands that the avalanche of steel imports into our country must be curtailed and a quota placed that will protect the production and employment of the steel mills of America.

Abraham Lincoln once said, "If we produce goods and sell to foreign countries they will have the goods and we will have the money. If we produce goods and sell to ourselves we have the goods and we have the money."

Certainly there will be foreign trade as there always has been, but it should be for products that we need and do not have or products which they need and do not have.

The year 1975 is the target the Japanese have set for becoming the largest steel manufacturing country in the world. Today Japan is No. 3. Their production is one hundred and eleven million tons annually, 60 percent of which they have to sell outside of Japan. They are annually increasing productivity to the point that they will top the United States and also Russia which is now No. 2. At the same time the only way they can dispose of their excess steel is through exports. Uncle Sam is today the major buyer of Japanese export steel. Our State and Commerce Departments, over the years, have been telling the Congress that this one-sided international trade must build good will throughout the globe. It is time now that the Congress, and the Administration, proceed to build domestic good will by expanding our steel production at home, restore steel employment and let Japan and our other steel competitors look to other nations to take the bulk of their surplus steel and other steel manufacturing products.

One of the criticisms is that labor costs in the United States is higher than in Japan and West Germany, our major steel competitors. The news media should also inform the public that the American steel worker pays a great portion of his wages in Federal, state and local taxes to take care of the Government, the unemployed, to provide money for foreign aid, the Viet Nam and Korea costs, etc., etc. I look forward to real action this Session of Congress on legislation that will protect the domestic steel industry of the United States from unreasonable forms of foreign competition.

This Session of Congress will have a great number of problems which must be solved so that our economy can re-establish itself to provide future employment and return prosperity. This task can easily be accomplished if the American people become aroused and demand the necessary legislation on which the Congress and the Administration have been dragging their feet.

#### STEEL IMPORTS UP 60 PERCENT IN FIRST 8 MONTHS OF 1971

Through the first eight months of 1971 foreign steel producers sent 60 percent more steel into this country than they did during the same period of 1970, according to Commerce Department data supplied to American Iron and Steel Institute.

In August one million 554 thousand net tons of steel mill products were imported, despite a dock strike that tied up all major ports on the West Coast.

The August tonnage pushed total steel imports through the first eight months of 1971 up to twelve million 298 thousand tons. That is four million 605 thousand tons more

than arrived during the comparable period of 1970.

It also tops by a half-million tons the eight month total for 1968, a year which ultimately saw the record seventeen million 960 thousand tons of steel imports.

Commenting on the report from the American Iron and Steel Institute, J. David Carr, general superintendent, said, "It should be No. 1 priority of Congress to stem this inflow of imported steel products and to win the fight against our foreign competition."

#### TAX LOOPHOLES

The tax burden of the average United States citizen, as well as the average business and industrial taxpayer, could be greatly relieved of a Herculean tax burden if the Congress would become aroused through public opinion to completely close the fabulous and fraudulent tax loopholes. Two years ago the House of Representatives passed a tax reform bill which was a step in the right direction, but merely a slap on the wrist for some of the major tax dodgers.

Last week in the Washington Post Congressman Henry Reuss, ranking member of the House Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee, was quoted in a statement which was headlined in the press with the following:

"Congressman Reuss of Wisconsin, says plugging of tax loopholes could yield over \$20 billion a year." He also stated, and I quote verbatim from the newspaper:

"Reuss declared that despite tax 'reforms' enacted in 1969, three Americans with incomes of over \$1 million and 109 others making over \$200,000 paid no Federal income taxes in 1970.

"He deplored the Administration opposition to the proposed reforms, such as cutting down the oil-mineral depletion 'give-away,' ending the abuses of capital gains, and revamping the estate and gift taxes.

"The tax bill which the Administration did get through Congress recently, Reuss said, means a \$9 billion annual revenue loss to the Treasury—of which \$8 billion goes to corporations and \$1 billion to individuals."

The House tax committee members have not been able to justify why a number of big oil conglomerates pay no Federal taxes. Some pay a small percentage tax. Over a period of 4 years, Atlantic Oil Co. of New Jersey, with an average annual income of approximately \$61 million paid no Federal tax. A few other oil companies are in relatively the same "loophole" category. Standard Oil of New Jersey, a few years ago, with an income of one billion 600 million, paid 1.7 percent tax to the Federal Government.

Mr. Chairman, I have touched upon the above two important problems facing the Congress this year—foreign imports and tax loopholes. Others will be considered in this Session, along with major legislative problems, including education, consumer protection, environmental control, health, unemployment, cost-of-living, public works, transportation, urban problems, senior citizens, Viet Nam veterans, etc.

Yesterday afternoon I voted on the final passage of the conference report which enacted long-delayed election expense reform bill. Campaign fund limitation should have been a law years ago in order to preserve the sanctity and effectiveness of our so-called free election system throughout the nation. The New York Times only recently published an editorial stating that if the Congress did not act in curbing fabulous funds being raised by political parties and candidates for important elective offices, our whole election system and representative government itself would collapse. Everybody knows it costs money to campaign for high office—national, state or local—but the public should also know that when corporations, business, or any organization, including private individuals contribute vast sums for the election of presi-



dent, Senators, Congressmen, Governors, state and local officials, they expect something in return. I do not mean to insinuate that contributions to candidates or parties should be completely abolished but when \$5 million can be raised on a half dozen banquets in one evening as was done several weeks ago, then Congress must step in and preserve our representative government by prohibiting the purchase of public office by special-privileged groups.

The curbing of the fabulous and fraudulent tax loopholes will add greatly in shackling mammoth campaign funds from controlling our election system.

#### STOP ME

**HON. JOHN G. DOW**

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 24, 1972

Mr. DOW. Mr. Speaker, with the decline of American casualties in Vietnam

it is so easy for us to follow the complacent path and let the issue diminish. However, it is well known that by our massive bombing and other actions in Southeast Asia that we are continuing a pretty major war in that area.

There are some perceptive Americans who realize that the war problem is neither gone nor forgotten. One of these is my good friend Fred Kuhn, of Spring Valley, N.Y., who sent to the Journal-News, Nyack, N.Y., a brief but stirring commentary that deserves our attention. A copy of Mr. Kuhn's letter from the December 27 issue of the paper follows:

STOP ME

Editor, Journal-News:

"Government of the people, by the people, and for the people. . . ." This is the glory of the American system; that the policies and

achievements of this great nation are as the works of my own hand.

I killed 300 Vietnamese today.

Doctor, what's wrong with me? I don't know why I did it. I didn't even know about it until I saw it in the paper.

The government (that's me, isn't it?) said I did it for their own good. I—the Government—keep saying I'm winding it down; but, even though I don't get as many Americans killed, I kill more Vietnamese than ever. Because I'm turning into some sort of mad bomber.

Better them than us? That sort of depends on your point of view, doesn't it?

I keep saying I want to know why. But when someone took a secret history from the government (that's me), and opened it up to the people (that's me). I—the Government—arrested him for stealing my property and turning it over to me!

Doctor, what's wrong with me? Stop me, before I kill again.

FRED KUHN.

## SENATE—Tuesday, January 25, 1972

The Senate met at 12 o'clock meridian and was called to order by Hon. JAMES B. ALLEN, a Senator from the State of Alabama.

#### PRAYER

The Chaplain, the Reverend Edward L. R. Elson, D.D., offered the following prayer:

Eternal Father, Ruler of men and nations, Source of all that is good and true, as our fathers trusted in Thee, be to us the guide and strength of all our days. Uphold the leaders of this Nation by Thy mighty power. Open their minds and hearts to receive the wisdom which is above all that is human. Guide them in the use of power, and so direct the deliberations of Thy servants in this Chamber as shall be for the well-being of all the people, the promotion of peace and justice on the earth, and the advancement of Thy kingdom. Fuse the discordant, the diverse and contentious elements into a united people strong in the Lord and the power of His might, that this Nation may be a servant people for the greater good of all mankind.

In the Redeemer's name, we pray. Amen.

#### DESIGNATION OF THE ACTING PRESIDENT PRO TEMPORE

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will please read a communication to the Senate from the President pro tempore (Mr. ELLENDER).

The assistant legislative clerk read the following letter:

U.S. SENATE,  
PRESIDENT PRO TEMPORE,  
Washington, D.C., January 25, 1972.

To the Senate:

Being temporarily absent from the Senate on official duties, I appoint Hon. JAMES B. ALLEN, a Senator from the State of Alabama, to perform the duties of the Chair during my absence.

ALLEN J. ELLENDER,  
President pro tempore.

Mr. ALLEN thereupon took the chair as Acting President pro tempore.

#### MESSAGES FROM THE PRESIDENT

Messages in writing from the President of the United States, submitting nominations, were communicated to the Senate by Mr. Leonard, one of his secretaries.

#### EXECUTIVE MESSAGES REFERRED

As in executive session, the Acting President pro tempore (Mr. ALLEN) laid before the Senate messages from the President of the United States submitting sundry nominations, which were referred to the appropriate committees.

(The nominations received today are printed at the end of Senate proceedings.)

#### THE JOURNAL

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the reading of the Journal of the proceedings of Monday, January 24, 1972, be dispensed with.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

#### ATTENDANCE OF A SENATOR

Hon. FRANK E. MOSS, a Senator from the State of Utah, attended the session of the Senate today.

#### 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 ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

#### STATEMENT BY SENATOR MANSFIELD BEFORE THE SENATE DEMOCRATIC CONFERENCE

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I should like to repeat to the Senate what I said earlier today to the Democratic conference.

We begin this session at the point where we left off in the last. First, it should be recalled that a year ago, upon recommendation of your policy committee, the first act of the Democrats assembled in caucus was to call for "ending the involvement in Indochina and bringing about the withdrawal of all U.S. forces and the release of all prisoners in a time certain." Subsequently, withdrawal from Vietnam at "a time certain" was firmly established as the goal of the entire Senate.

In its own way and time, the administration has moved in the direction of contracting the U.S. involvement in Indochina. The movement out has not been fast enough. To some observers, it even appears that, with the augmented bombing of recent weeks, all of Indochina is just as deeply as ever bogged in war. What is also clear is that the administration has not yet established that the sole condition of withdrawal of all U.S. forces is the release of the prisoners of war. While policies that have moved very substantially in the direction of the withdrawal of ground forces are not to be dismissed, it must also be recognized that the end of the American involvement has yet to be achieved. One hundred fifty thousand Americans remain in Indochina. Americans still die in Indochina; Americans continue to be wounded and maimed and flooded with drugs in Indochina. Americans are confined as prisoners of war in Indochina and the number is increasing.

So long as that situation prevails, the conditions of the initial position of the policy committee last year and of the Democratic caucus and of the entire Senate remain to be fulfilled.

Insofar as the leadership is concerned, therefore, the pressure on behalf of the Senate's position will not cease. May I say, with all due respect, that it is not enough to wind down the war in Vietnam. The residual obligation is to wind this Nation completely out of the war in Indochina and to extricate our forces from the entire Southeast Asian mainland. To underscore that obligation, your policy