

LONG that the Senate recess until 9 a.m. tomorrow.

The motion was agreed to; and (at 8 o'clock and 22 minutes p.m.) the Senate recessed until tomorrow, Friday, March 29, 1968, at 9 a.m.

### NOMINATIONS

Executive nominations received by the Senate March 28 (legislative day of March 27), 1968:

#### IN THE ARMY NATIONAL GUARD

The Army National Guard of the United States officers named herein for promotion as Reserve commissioned officers of the Army, under provisions of title 10, United States Code, sections 593(a) and 3392:

#### To be major generals

Brig. Gen. Joseph Mark Ambrose, O460406.  
Brig. Gen. LaVern Erick Weber, O963734.

#### POSTMASTERS

The following-named persons to be postmasters:

#### ALABAMA

Martha G. Anderson, Semmes, Ala., in place of M. B. Roberts, retired.

#### ARKANSAS

James D. Vestal, Jr., Huttig, Ark., in place of F. M. Johnson, retired.

#### CALIFORNIA

Kathryn C. Kelsey, Bryn Mawr, Calif., in place of I. A. Rice, retired.  
Crawford F. Smith, San Ramon, Calif., in place of W. C. Fereira, retired.

#### COLORADO

Philip F. Koerner, Rangely, Colo., in place of M. E. Gerry, retired.

#### GEORGIA

Tom W. McLeod, Valdosta, Ga., in place of C. C. Alderman, retired.

#### IDAHO

Lloyd R. Puntenney, Greenleaf, Idaho, in place of G. H. Sherman, removed.

#### ILLINOIS

Carl W. Johnson, Magnolia, Ill., in place of E. A. Defenbaugh, retired.

Andrew G. Kubaitis, Willow Springs, Ill., in place of C. E. Daenitz, retired.

#### INDIANA

Russell T. Delp, Brookston, Ind., in place of D. L. Stanford, removed.

#### IOWA

Robert M. Corporon, Dougherty, Iowa, in place of Marie Dougherty, deceased.  
Elmer J. Chalupsky, Elberon, Iowa, in place of J. F. Whelan, deceased.  
Francis J. Boyle, Worthington, Iowa, in place of L. P. Sausser, retired.

#### KANSAS

Robert A. Carpenter, Oswego, Kans., in place of H. E. Monroe, retired.

#### KENTUCKY

Edward F. Hay, Augusta, Ky., in place of U. M. Richey, retired.

#### MAINE

Louis P. L. Loubler, Waterville, Maine, in place of E. F. Poulin, deceased.

#### MICHIGAN

Donald J. Wiltshire, Onaway, Mich., in place of E. A. Peacock, deceased.

#### MINNESOTA

Arlo O. Bierkamp, Luverne, Minn., in place of M. E. Jensen, retired.  
Robert J. Stern, Upsala, Minn., in place of B. B. Amren, resigned.

#### MISSOURI

Clifford N. Bray, Sweet Springs, Mo., in place of J. W. Jones, deceased.

#### MONTANA

Elizabeth B. Watson, Trout Creek, Mont., in place of J. J. Cernik, retired.

#### NEBRASKA

Blaine E. Erickson, Bennington, Nebr., in place of L. A. Mangold, retired.

#### NEW JERSEY

Lillian E. Noreika, Clarksburg, N.J., in place of Murray Kreutner, deceased.  
Andrew Klinry, Minotola, N.J., in place of L. R. Powers, retired.

#### NEW YORK

Francis E. Donahue, Hogsburg, N.Y., in place of W. H. Bergo, removed.

Irving G. Weber, Nyack, N.Y., in place of W. J. Barber, retired.

#### NORTH CAROLINA

Murphy R. Boyd, Jr., Durham, N.C., in place of W. M. Carver, retired.

#### NORTH DAKOTA

Lawrence W. Schaub, Dickey, N. Dak., in place of K. I. Paton, deceased.

#### OHIO

Willard E. Poston, Flushing, Ohio, in place of E. L. Romich, retired.  
Carlos W. Potts, Lore City, Ohio, in place of H. P. Galloway, retired.

#### PENNSYLVANIA

Genesio L. Carlini, Lawrence, Pa., in place of William VanTassel, retired.

#### TEXAS

Edwin L. Logan, Kermit, Texas, in place of C. T. Waller, deceased.  
Russell W. McFarland, Portland, Texas, in place of A. B. Shults, retired.

#### WISCONSIN

Charles E. Stokke, Barron, Wis., in place of G. M. Barritt, retired.

### CONFIRMATIONS

Executive nominations confirmed by the Senate March 28 (legislative day of March 27), 1968:

#### DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

Edward J. Schwartz, of California, to be U.S. district judge for the southern district of California.

George I. Cline, of Kentucky, to be U.S. attorney for the eastern district of Kentucky for the term of 4 years.

Klyde Robinson, of South Carolina, to be U.S. attorney for the district of South Carolina for the term of 4 years.

James E. Atwood, of Washington, to be U.S. marshal for the eastern district of Washington for the term of 4 years.

#### FOREIGN CLAIMS SETTLEMENT COMMISSION

Leonard v. B. Sutton, of Colorado, to be a member of the Foreign Claims Settlement Commission of the United States for the remainder of the term of 3 years from October 22, 1966.

## EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

### The Supreme Sacrifice

### HON. JOHN E. MOSS

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 28, 1968

Mr. MOSS. Mr. Speaker, it was 13 months ago when Marine Cpl. Ronald R. Ryan, of Sacramento, Calif., first wrote to me seeking my assistance in getting him a combat assignment in Vietnam. Today, he is dead—a casualty of a horrendous war.

Corporal Ryan was a trained rifleman in the infantry. It was frustrating to him to know that his security guard assignment in Guam might keep him from serving in Vietnam. He was a determined young man of 21 in February 1967, when he wrote to me. Like many other young Americans, he took leave from college to enlist in the service to fulfill his obligation. Corporal Ryan enlisted in the Marine Corps "for the sole purpose of fighting for my country in Vietnam." It was his

intention to return to college in September of this year.

"Please make it possible for an American to be able to help America, while there is a need," he wrote.

His major obstacle in Guam was the entangled web of Marine Corps bureaucracy. His desires to serve his country as he knew best were earnest, and his superior officers were soon to learn that Corporal Ryan was not easily discouraged.

I wrote the Commandant of the Marine Corps and told him that young Ryan was displaying a great deal of patriotism and it would appear that his request should be honored. During the intervening months of February to June, many letters and phone calls were exchanged.

I was notified on June 12, 1967, that Corporal Ryan had been selected for reassignment to the Republic of Vietnam. His perseverance had won out.

During his 9 months of combat duty, Corporal Ryan was wounded twice, once by a grenade and once by mortar fire. He was killed early this month while re-

turning to duty from rest leave in Australia. He was one of 47 men aboard an Air Force transport plane which was shot down by hostile fire.

His last letter to me was dated June 19, 1967. He wrote of his combat assignment and how he would be rotating back to the States in May 1968, and how he would become a civilian again in June. He closed his letter saying:

I will do my best to serve my country to the fullest extent of my ability.

This he has done. He has made the supreme sacrifice for his country. He was a brave young man.

I am inserting in the RECORD Corporal Ryan's first and last letters to me, and the newspaper story of his untimely death:

FEBRUARY 5, 1967.

DEAR SIR: By writing this letter, I am exercising my right as an American citizen to voice my opinions and express my thoughts to my Congressional representative in Washington, for the first time in my life. I am a twenty-one year old resident of Sacramento, California, and presently serving my country

in the United States Marine Corps. I was a college student and a civil service worker until eight months ago.

Last spring, I quit my job and took leave from college to enlist into the Marine Corps for the sole purpose of fighting for my country in the war in South Vietnam. When I came in, it was more or less a verbal guarantee that I would fight in Vietnam while serving in the Marine Corps. I was trained as a rifleman in the infantry and sent to Hawaii to become a part of the First Marine Brigade, which was destined to serve in the war. However, after being in Hawaii for less than two months, I was transferred to Guam to serve the rest of my enlistment out as a security guard on a Naval Station.

I've tried to volunteer for action in Vietnam while here on Guam, but I've met nothing but stalemate so far. I've only got sixteen months left to serve in the Marine Corps. To get to Vietnam, a Marine must serve thirteen months in the war. That means that I must leave Guam for Vietnam within the next three months or I won't be able to go at all. I have no intention of extending my time in the service and get the same treatment as I'm receiving now. I want to return to my civilian life so that I may continue my education as soon as possible.

However, I will feel that I've completely wasted several years of my life if I don't get to serve my country in combat during a war. There are many people that don't want to go anywhere near Vietnam. Why can't someone that knows why we are fighting and wants to serve his country in the best possible way, take this person's place? Why can't an educated, patriotic, freedom loving, American Marine take another's place in defending democracy in South Vietnam? If there is any way you can help me get to Vietnam, I would sincerely appreciate your help.

I know that asking a personal favor is improper, but what I am asking is in the interest of our country, in the interest of the defense of our way of life, freedom, and democracy, for not only us, but for every free people in the world. Please make it possible for an American to be able to help America, while there is a need.

Sincerely,

RON RYAN.

JUNE 19, 1967.

DEAR SIR: I received your letter dated 13 June 1967. I would like to thank you for your interest and your assistance in helping me attain my goal of serving in Vietnam.

I've already seen my orders. I will be leaving for Okinawa within a week or two. From there, I'll be sent to an infantry battalion in the DMZ zone in the northern part of South Vietnam. I will be rotating back to the states in May 1968, at the end of my eighteen month tour of duty overseas. In June 1968, I will become a civilian once again.

I am very grateful for your concern in me, Sir. In turn, I will do my best to serve my country to the fullest extent of my ability.

Sincerely,

L/Cpl. RON RYAN,  
U.S. Marine Corps.

#### CAPITAL MARINE, 22, DIES IN VIET CRASH

The crash of an Air Force transport plane, shot down by hostile fire in Vietnam, has claimed the life of Marine Cpl. Ronald R. Ryan, 22, a 1964 graduate of Sacramento High School. His sister, Mrs. Elaine Statheros of 6536 Harley Way, has been notified her brother, first reported missing in the crash of the plane carrying 47 men, now is listed as dead.

The Marine Corps wrote: "The aircraft exploded and a huge fireball was observed to rise above the dense foliage in the area . . . It has been determined that there was no

possibility for survivors." The plane crashed March 6 near Khe Sanh.

#### RECEIVED TELEGRAM

Mrs. Ida Anderson of 5043 49th St., a close friend of the Ryan family, received a telegram from the youth less than an hour-and-a-half before the crash reporting he was returning from leave and: "I am safe and well. I will be going home in two months."

Ryan, who had attended Sacramento City College in 1965-66, received notice he was to be drafted and instead enlisted in the Marines. When he found himself pulling MP duty on Guam, he wrote to Congressman John E. Moss of Sacramento, requesting an assignment in Vietnam.

He had been in Vietnam nine months and wounded twice, once by a grenade and once by mortar fire. He was returning to duty from rest leave in Australia when the plane was shot down.

#### TENNESSEE NATIVE

Ryan was born in Memphis, Tenn., but had lived in Sacramento since 1953. He resided at 5042 49th St. before joining the marines. He was a Boy Scout for six years, reaching the rank of Eagle. His parents, Mr. and Mrs. John Ryan are deceased.

Surviving are his sisters, Mrs. Marilyn Beckley of Rancho Cordova and Donna Ryan of Burlingame and Mrs. Statheros.

Memorial services are planned for 10 a.m., Monday in St. Rose's Church, 38th avenue and Franklin Boulevard. The family requests that any remembrances be made to the St. Patrick's Childrens Home Memorial Fund.

### Meeting National Needs and Relieving Pressures on State and Local Bond Markets

#### HON. EDMUND S. MUSKIE

OF MAINE

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, March 28, 1968

Mr. MUSKIE. Mr. President, the spiraling requirements for public investment in educational facilities, housing, sewage treatment systems, transportation, and other public facilities are being felt in many quarters. As Members of the National Congress we are conscious of the impact on the Federal budget.

Recently, Bureau of the Budget Director Charles J. Zwick addressed himself to the problems States and municipalities are facing in trying to meet their share of these necessary investments. He noted particularly the pressures which have developed on the market for State and municipal tax-exempt bond issues and the adverse impact those pressures have had on the cost of State and local borrowing.

The administration has suggested several remedies for the State and local financing crisis, none of which would interfere with necessary public investments. One of the remedies is contained in the new contract financing system which the President proposed for the sewage treatment construction grant program. It is a remedy which will relieve pressures on the Federal budget and the State and local tax-exempt bond market at the same time. The proposal is contained in S. 3206, which is now pending

before the Senate Committee on Public Works.

I commend to my colleague's, Mr. Zwick's remarks to the Municipal Finance Forum, March 19, 1968, and ask unanimous consent that they be printed in the RECORD at this point.

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

REMARKS OF CHARLES J. ZWICK, DIRECTOR OF THE BUREAU OF THE BUDGET, BEFORE THE MUNICIPAL FINANCE FORUM OF WASHINGTON ON "THE FEDERAL BUDGET AND STATE AND LOCAL GOVERNMENT FINANCE," WASHINGTON, D.C., MARCH 19, 1968

I am pleased to have this opportunity to discuss with you a topic of unquestioned timeliness and importance—the impact of the Federal budget on State and local government finances. At the same time, I want to commend you and wish you well in your efforts to promote an effective dialogue on State and local financial requirements. One of the identifying features of our federal system of government as it exists today is the heavy reliance placed on a genuine partnership of interest and efforts among the private sector of the economy and Federal, State, and local governments.

We have come to realize that it is myopic to speak of "local problems" in fact, we have national problems which typically manifest themselves most acutely at that level of government which bears primary, but not sole, responsibility for their solution—i.e., the local community. The solutions to many of these national problems, therefore, must draw upon the combined resources and expertise of the private economy and all levels of government. The resultant marriage, while not always harmonious, is nevertheless both necessary and fruitful. Your own efforts to promote a better understanding of these joint interests and problems are well-placed and, hopefully, will contribute toward more effective solutions.

#### I. NEW BUDGET CONCEPTS

Before looking closely at the various threads of fiscal federalism running through the Federal budget for fiscal year 1969, I must say a few words about the basic format of the new budget. We will, in effect, be celebrating the "rites of spring" a little early this year—with a new organization being introduced to a new budget concept by a new Director.

It was just a year ago that the President appointed a group of 16 distinguished citizens to review the concepts and format of the Federal budget. The Commission was chaired by Mr. David M. Kennedy, Chairman of the Board of the Continental Illinois National Bank and Trust Company of Chicago and included eminent Congressmen, economists, accountants, and similarly knowledgeable spokesmen from other walks of life. Their assignment was to improve and clarify the budget as a vehicle of public policy, in order to enhance its usefulness for the public and Congress alike.

The President's Commission on Budget Concepts issued its report in October 1967. The budget submitted last January incorporates most of the important recommendations made by the Commission.

The new concepts stress:

*A single, unified format.*—In a 1-page summary statement, the new budget displays Federal spending, lending, receipts, and debt on a consistent and reconcilable basis. This largely replaces the older competing budget statements: the "administrative" budget, "consolidated cash," and the "Federal sector" of the national income accounts. Whenever the term "budget" is used now, it refers to the unified budget format—thus removing some of the ambiguity which prevailed when several "budgets" existed.



**Comprehensive coverage.**—The new concept embraces all activities of the Government, including about \$47 billion in trust fund spending which was excluded under the old "administrative" budget. As a result, Federal spending appears to increase significantly over the older numbers to which we had become accustomed. But in real economic terms, the impact on demand of all that spending and taxing has always been there—whether counted or not.

**The difference between spending and lending.**—The new budget recognizes the differing impact on the economy of Federal spending—which adds directly to current incomes—and the repayable lending activities of the Government, which represent essentially an offsetting exchange of financial assets. This treatment does not assume that the loan account has no impact on the economy, it merely recognizes that its effects are different in kind from those of direct spending. Finally, certain loans are counted as spending rather than lending. These include foreign loans made on noncommercial terms and domestic loans where the terms of the contract make repayment contingent in some respects. Eventually, we hope to be able to cover the grey area between these "soft" loans and strictly commercial loans, by imputing a direct spending "charge" for any subsidy element which may exist in the loan terms. Thus, the capitalized value of the interest subsidy will be shown in the "spending" account at the time the loan is made. It will take some time to implement this recommendation of the Commission, however.

**Other aspects of gauging economic impact accurately.**—The Commission recommended that certain business-oriented receipts be offset or netted against their related expenditures to provide a more reliable guide of the net impact on the taxpayer. This proposal has been incorporated in the budget. We are working on another far-reaching Commission proposal, that of putting expenditures on an accrual basis. Our efforts to put tax payments on a more current basis in the past few years has already moved receipts close to an accrual approach. This will permit us to judge the current economic impact of the budget much more accurately than if the lags remained.

**Participation certificates as borrowing, not receipts.**—As recommended by the Commission, we now count the sales of participation certificates as means of financing the deficit, i.e., the same as the issuance of Treasury securities.

## II. FISCAL FEDERALISM

Now that we have established the nature of "the budget," let's look a little more closely at those elements in it which directly affect State and local finances.

The "partnership" approach to solving problems which I mentioned earlier is not a revolutionary idea which arose full-blown in the mid-1960's. It has been with us, in one form or another, since the colonies banded together. National assistance for locally administered programs actually predates the Constitution. The Articles of Confederation in 1785 provided for grants of Federal land to support education in the Northwest Territory. The seeds of partnership can also be seen in the generous land grants for railroad expansion. The canal work on the Great Dismal Swamp in the early 19th Century was a combined effort of a joint stock company, the U.S. Corps of Engineers, the State of Virginia, the State of North Carolina, and the City of Norfolk. Many other early examples can be cited of this multi-level, public-private approach.

The technique is not new, but its use has been greatly expanded in scope in the last four or five years. In this sense, we may be experiencing a kind of quantum jump—where a sizable change in degree is producing a change in kind. The reasons for the

upsurge in multi-level, public-private undertakings are manifold and complex. At the risk of oversimplifying, let me cite two key factors:

(1) **Rising demand for services.**—There has been a steady and impressive increase in the demand for services at all levels of government, but especially for the kinds of services provided locally. These demands have been fueled by increasing population, urbanization, rising incomes, accelerating economic growth—and the concomitant need for the training and education which such growth both requires and stimulates, and a host of related elements too numerous to mention.

(2) **Complexity and magnitude of problems.**—As we moved forward to grapple with each of these problems individually, it soon became clear that many of them were closely interrelated. The boundaries between Problem A (e.g., poverty) and Problem B (e.g., inadequate education) are indeterminate; cause-and-effect relationships become lost in a complex system. Recognition of these interrelationships prompted comprehensive attacks, but it also brought home at an early stage that the solutions could not be bought at "dimestore" prices. If the problems were to be met, all available resources would have to be marshalled. Thus, the characteristic partnership patterns were forged for such endeavors as *Community Action Programs* to combat poverty; *Model Cities* to revivify large blighted areas in the Nation's core cities; the *Concentrated Employment Program* to provide training, job placement, and other employment services in areas of the city where they are most needed; and a variety of similar efforts.

To help meet these critical national problems, the Federal Government tripled its grants-in-aid to States and localities in the short span of a decade. Federal aid, which was \$6.7 billion in 1959, will surge to an estimated \$20.3 billion for 1969. In fact, the \$20.3 billion estimate for 1969 represents a doubling in just the last five years alone.

More than one-fifth of all Federal expenditures for domestic purposes that takes the form of grants to other levels of government—an increase of one-third during the decade.

Federal funds are also becoming increasingly important in the budgets of State and local governments. The latest estimate available reveals that Federal grants constituted nearly 17% of all State and local general revenues in 1967—compared to 13½% five years ago. This increase in the Federal share took place despite efforts to raise revenues on their own behalf which can best be described as "valiant." State and local governments have more than doubled revenues from their own sources over the 10-year period 1956-66. Nearly half of the increase was eked out by raising tax rates—a kind of political parlor game akin to Russian roulette at election time. During the same time span, State and local debt rose nearly 120%—or seven times as fast as the Federal debt.

The contours of Federal grant programs and their relative growth rates have been heavily influenced by national priorities as hammered out in the legislative process. For example, heavy stress has been placed on:

**Equalizing opportunity** (with sizable grants for the Office of Economic Opportunity, education aid to children of poor families, and "Medicaid").

**Stimulating economic growth** (with large amounts going for education at all levels, manpower training, and regional economic development).

**Meeting urban problems** (With total aid to urban areas trebling between 1961 and 1969).

Finally, a recent trend toward more comprehensive and flexible approaches has reflected the nature of the problems to which the grant programs are addressed. Community Action Programs, Model Cities, and

the Partnership for Health program all combine a multiplicity of approaches and leave the setting of priorities largely in the hands of the grant recipient. In like manner, recent proposals would make a number of education and training grants more flexible and hopefully more effective.

## III. PRESENT FISCAL SETTING

While the current response to needs has been impressive, the problems we face show few signs of shrinking. As a matter of fact, both the scope and magnitude of manifest public needs have risen to almost staggering proportions. We have made great strides forward, but many formidable challenges remain. To cite a few examples:

**Persistent poverty** continues to gnaw at our conscience, dampen aspirations, and even threaten our security;

10% of our housing stock, most noticeably in core city areas, is in poor condition—a result of decades of neglect, and

**Air and water pollution** threaten to strangle us in our own affluence.

The report of the President's Commission on Civil Disorders adds one further note of urgency to the problems which our society must face. It emphasizes the need for simultaneous, rather than sequential, approaches. We can't wait for Problems A through D to be solved before we attack the remaining ones. Rather, we must make some inroads on all of them—and soon.

Yet, it would be an exercise in hyperbole to say that our current resources to accomplish these aims are limited. The sober facts are that our resources are stretched to their limits or beyond—to the point where we must seek new revenues and new financing techniques. The proposed income tax surcharge and other revenue measures are absolutely mandatory to: restrain inflationary pressures; relieve pressure on financial markets; and restore order to the international financial markets.

In the present context of acute fiscal stringency, private enterprise and State and local governments must bear an increasing share of the burden of coping with America's domestic problems. The Federal budget deficit is estimated to approach \$20 billion for the current fiscal year, and \$8 billion for fiscal year 1969. Only time will tell what additional demands may be placed on the budget or how the Congress will respond to our proposal for increased taxes. Clearly two back-to-back deficits in the neighborhood of \$20 billion would place a severe strain on an already high-employment economy and frenetic financial markets.

Many of these requirements would have come home to rest on private and State-local shoulders even in the absence of added demands for Vietnam, because of our growing reliance on an effective partnership of resources in solving deepseated and complex social problems. There are few institutional alternatives for dealing with housing problems for low-income people, for example. We have, therefore, been especially concerned that these expanded requirements might place excessive burdens on the tax-exempt bond market.

## IV. PRESSURE ON THE MUNICIPAL BOND MARKET

It may be useful to review briefly the broad developments and prospects for the municipal bond market now—before discussing later some of the new policies designed to avoid any untoward pressure on that market. I would not want to pose as an expert on the market—least of all before this forum. However, as an amateur kibitzer with a great interest in the financial future of State and local governments, as well as in the welfare of the Federal taxpayer, I should like to summarize some of my impressions and the conclusions I draw from them.



1. Over the past two decades, new capital issues of State and local governments have been rising with few interruptions from \$2.3 billion in 1947 to \$11.3 billion in 1966. In 1967, new capital issues will exceed \$14 billion. The net increase in outstanding State and local debt as a percentage of the gross national product has been gradually rising.

2. The outlook for the next decade is for more of the same. A study done by the Joint Economic Committee 15 months ago, for example, projected a rise in the total State and local debt from \$100 billion in December 1965 to well over \$200 billion by the close of 1975.

3. With the increased demand for funds for all types of State and local borrowing, the annual average yields on prime long-term obligations have risen from 1.45 in 1947 to 2.51 in 1956, and still higher recently—to 3.67 in 1966 and 3.74 in 1967. As you know, the interest rates paid on new issues are even higher. For example, the public housing bond sales this month involved a net interest cost of 4.43%—the highest in the history of this program.

4. Any sizable relative increase in net offerings of tax-exempt causes yields—the market measure of the cost of municipal financing—to rise more rapidly than yields on taxable obligations. This is primarily because the tax-exempt bond market at present yields is limited to buyers with relatively high marginal tax rates. Again citing the Joint Economic Committee study, a rapid increase in volume of municipal credit demands could exhaust the market from such buyers and cause yields of municipals to rise to as much as 90% of corporate yields, compared to the 75% to 79% ratios prevailing in the 1955-65 decade.

5. A large share of the increased funds required by State and local governments in the past two decades came from commercial banks. Unless present trends are reversed, they must provide an even larger share of the increased financing projected for the 1965-75 decade. The ability and willingness of banks to add to their municipal portfolios at current yields, however, depends to a considerable extent on monetary policy. If economic conditions require tighter credit, the market for municipals declines and yields increase. This was clearly visible in the "credit crunch" of August-September 1966, when the spread between long-term U.S. bonds and high grade municipals reached a low of 74 basis points in the week ending September 2, 1966.

#### V. FINANCING REQUIREMENTS FOR HOUSING

With this impression of the demands on and limitations of the municipal market as background, I would like to talk for a moment about the special impact which Federal housing programs can be expected to have on the municipal market. These programs right now probably have a greater influence on the capital markets than any other activity of the Federal Government outside of its direct borrowing. In fiscal year 1967, the Federal Government issued new commitments to guarantee almost \$17 billion of private borrowings, of which about \$14 billion was for housing. The comparable estimates for 1969 are \$25 billion in total borrowings and \$20 billion specifically for housing. Moreover, one of these programs—public housing—relies on local tax-exempt borrowing and thus has a direct impact on the municipal market.

The President's recently announced housing production goals can be expected to increase this impact on the capital market in general, and on the municipal market in particular, for two reasons:

Accomplishment of the goals will substantially increase the demands on the mortgage market. Changes will be proposed to allow housing to be able to compete more effectively for the same capital funds on which the municipal market must also draw.

More importantly, an expected expansion of the public housing program will compete directly with other municipal borrowing.

I think it is worthwhile to discuss these goals here, and to describe the proposed new housing assistance programs which are geared to avoid undue reliance on public housing and its demands on the municipal market.

In his February 22 message on the crisis in the cities, the President asked the Congress to recognize a goal of starting 26 million housing units over the next 10 years. Just looking at the goal in terms of averages for a moment, it means that for the next 10 years we should be starting 2.6 million units of housing annually. Over the last 10 years, this country started an annual average of 1.4 million units. Starting 1.2 million more units each year will obviously require substantial amounts of additional financing. Additional net mortgage requirements could reach as high as an average of \$20 billion a year. Over the last four years, net mortgage flows have ranged from \$38 to \$50 billion a year.

Let me point out that I have been talking in averages. Production will not, and cannot, start with an increase of 1.2 million units immediately. Actually, the projection for fiscal 1969 is only 1.7 million housing starts, 300,000 above the average for the last 10 years, and only slightly above the 1964 level for actual starts. Housing starts for 1970 and 1971 are projected at 2 million and 2.1 million, respectively.

As the President stated in his message, these housing goals can be attained only if the Congress takes steps now to insure strong, stable economic growth for the Nation as a whole. If our economy continues to thrive, additional savings will be available for the augmented investment levels needed, in housing as well as in other sectors. This is one of the reasons the tax surcharge is so urgently needed.

However, additional steps must be taken to allow housing to compete on an equal basis for the supply of investment funds. New proposals this year would:

1. Free the FHA and VA mortgage interest rates from arbitrary legislative ceilings. To attract sufficient savings capital, mortgages must provide a yield equivalent to that available from other investments, without the clumsy device of deep discounts (or points) on origination.

2. Encourage the translation of mortgages into debt instruments more convenient for large investors by:

Providing a Government guarantee of bonds issued against pools of FHA or VA mortgages by private financial institutions; and

Establishing the FNMA secondary market operations as an independent, privately-owned corporation, borrowing on the private market for the purpose of buying mortgages to meet mortgage market needs.

These steps should help assure that necessary private financing will be available to meet the Nation's housing goals.

However, we realize that there are many families that need standard housing but cannot afford to pay the full cost without spending a disproportionate share of their incomes. The Nation has long recognized the need to assist low-income families in obtaining decent housing, and has been providing such aid for over 30 years. Within the total 10-year housing goal, therefore, the Federal Government plans to provide direct assistance for some 6 million housing units.

In the past, the principal means for rendering assistance has been the low-rent public housing program. Under this program, tax-free municipal bonds are issued to finance housing construction. The Federal Government provides needed funds to local housing authorities to enable them to pay the principal and interest on the bonds. Over 850,000 units of public housing have been, or are being, made available to low-

income families. However, no one expects that the public housing program can provide the necessary funds for the 6 million units of assisted housing which will be required over the next 10 years. There are many reasons for this: local political and social problems, need for greater involvement of private enterprise, and perhaps not the least, the limitations of the municipal bond market. Other approaches to provide housing assistance are obviously necessary.

The Government began one such approach in 1959, when low interest rate loans for housing for the elderly were first authorized. This notion was expanded in 1961, with the initiation of the so-called "221-d-3" program to provide housing for families with low and moderate incomes. Under this program, the Federal National Mortgage Association, within its special assistance functions, buys FHA-insured mortgages on rental housing that bear interest rates substantially below the current market interest rate. The interest rate on loans in these two programs is now 3%.

However, we have long recognized that direct, low-interest-rate loans is an inefficient way to use scarce current budget dollars to provide a subsidy. These programs, for example, require the Government to pay out \$13,000 immediately in order to reduce the tenants' rent by \$25 a month. Moreover, a low interest rate loan provides a fixed subsidy, that cannot be varied to meet needs or respond to changes in the tenants' own ability to pay.

For these reasons, the Administration is relying on the public housing technique of providing needed subsidy through periodic grants, rather than immediate disbursements on low interest rate loans. In 1965, the President proposed, and the Congress adopted, the rent supplement program. These supplements make up the difference between 25% of a tenant's income and the rent needed to cover the costs of his apartment.

This year, the President has proposed extending this principle to two new programs, by substituting interest subsidy payments for direct low interest rate loans.

One of these programs will replace the two existing low interest rate loan programs I just described. It will provide a greater maximum subsidy, but at a lower current drain on the Federal budget. Under the proposal, the Government will contract with private housing owners (cooperatives, nonprofit organizations, or limited dividend corporations) to pay an interest subsidy on mortgages issued to cover the cost of building the housing. The subsidy will reduce the effective mortgage interest rate to as low as 1%. Basic rents will be established to enable the owner to cover operating costs and amortization of the mortgage at the subsidized 1% rate. Tenants will pay the basic rent, or a higher amount up to 25% of income. Rents collected in excess of the basic rent will be returned to the Government for use in making the interest subsidy payments.

The second program is an improvement over the subsidized homeownership program proposed by the Senate Banking and Currency Committee in S. 2700, reported out last year. Under the President's proposal, the Government would make payments on mortgages on new housing sold to low or moderate income families. The payments would be calculated to keep the owner's mortgage payments at 20% of his income. However, the Government payment could not reduce the owner's payment below the amount needed to amortize a 1% mortgage.

These programs, which will rely on the mortgage market for financing, are expected to provide the bulk of the 6 million assisted housing units needed over the next 10 years. The low rent public housing program is expected to provide only one-fourth of the total.

This means that we expect 1.5 million



units of public housing to be provided over the next 10 years. We can expect this to require municipal bond financing of about \$25 billion, or an average of \$2.5 billion a year. This average compares to the \$472 million of new public housing bonds issued in fiscal year 1967, and the \$700 million expected this fiscal year. Again, this is an average and should not be expected to be reached next year. In fact, we estimated in the budget that public housing bond issues in fiscal 1969 will total \$1.2 billion. To meet the average of 150,000 public housing units annually over the next 10 years, we expect to reach a peak of 200,000 starts in fiscal year 1972, which should translate into a similar number of completions to be financed with public housing bonds in the following year. In 1973, therefore, the municipal market should expect to finance some \$3 billion to \$3.5 billion of public housing bonds.

#### VI. MEASURES TO ALLEVIATE STRESS

The increased housing program, along with all the other anticipated requirements for State and local borrowing, will add to the demand for municipal financing. In this situation, we believe it is in the interest of both the municipal borrowers and the Federal taxpayers, in planning Federal assistance to State and local governments, to seek ways in which to relieve the increasingly heavy pressures on tax-exempt financing.

Several measures have been adopted recently or are now proposed to accomplish this objective.

(1) *Preventing abuse of the tax-exempt principle.*—The most rapidly increasing type of tax-exempt financing has been the so-called "Industrial development bond." These bonds are issued at tax-exempt rates to provide facilities and services to private firms at interest rates not otherwise obtainable. The intense competition among the States to offer such advantages has been aptly termed the "New War Between the States," and leaves the private business firms as the chief gainer, and the Federal Treasury—and the general taxpayers—as the ultimate losers. Moreover, to the extent to which these industrial development bonds drive up the costs of other State and local borrowing, then these same States and localities can also be counted among the losers.

In 1962, some 23 States had authority to float tax-exempt securities for such private industrial purposes, and the value of new issuances at that time was less than \$70 million. However, by 1967, 40 States had such authority and new issuances had skyrocketed to an estimated \$1.3 billion. In response to this staggering pressure on the tax-exempt market and the abuse of the tax-exempt principle, the Internal Revenue Service issued Technical Information Release 972 on March 6, 1967—indicating that the Treasury Department was going to reconsider the tax-exempt status of bonds for industrial development purposes. Draft regulations, effective March 15, 1968, would require income from these obligations to be treated as regular income rather than be tax exempt. This should reverse the unhealthy trend for large, corporate borrowers to add to the congestion in the markets for tax-exempt bonds for traditional public benefits.

(2) *"Debt service" grants for water pollution control.*—One new funding mechanism has been developed to meet the relatively unique problems associated with water pollution control. The Water Quality Act of 1965 revolutionized the Nation's fight against water pollution. Rather than piecemeal efforts, the Act required comprehensive national water quality standards for all interstate and coastal waters. These standards, required from the States as of July 1, 1967, were to contain quality criteria to meet designated water uses, and concrete implementation plans—firm-by-firm and city-by-city—to meet the standards. Although the law was

not explicit, the general intent was that treatment facilities were to be installed within five years. The Clean Water Restoration Act of 1966 authorized \$3.4 billion for grants to help communities meet the standards.

The dilemma is obvious. How can we greatly accelerate construction of treatment facilities to meet standards required by law during the period of budgetary stringency? The President proposed a comprehensive program to resolve this problem in his recent conservation message—"To Renew a Nation."

(a) The program would no longer be funded by direct lump-sum grants only, as is now the case. Instead, the Federal Government would also be authorized to make periodic principal and interest payments over a period up to 30 years on the Federal share of State and local borrowing to finance the needed treatment facilities. Under this program, the Secretary of the Interior would enter into long-term contracts with States or municipalities to make the periodic debt service payments, either to them, or in some cases, to the bondholder.

(b) The interest income to private investors on obligations issued by States and localities to finance these projects would be subject to Federal income taxation.

(c) The States and localities, however, would receive an interest subsidy adequate to bring their costs down to a level reasonably comparable to tax-exempt rates. Thus, there would be no financial disadvantage to States or localities under this program.

Without these latter—somewhat novel—provisions, the water pollution control program would add substantially to the volume of new issues of tax-exempt bonds by State and local public bodies. For example, the currently-authorized program levels would enable local communities to begin construction of approximately \$8 billion of waste treatment plants over the next three fiscal years. Apart from the Federal grants, almost \$5 billion of the financing would be provided through borrowing by the State and local public units. To add such requirements to the tax-exempt market would be particularly undesirable in view of the already large volume of municipal bond issues and the current high interest rates which States and localities are required to pay. Making the proposed new bonds taxable rather than tax-exempt would avoid adding pressures on the municipal bond market and would thus result in long-term savings in interest costs to States and localities on their borrowings for other urgent needs, such as schools, roads, and other public facilities.

Both the payments on the Federal share and the interest differential may be fully guaranteed by the Federal Government. This provision, plus the flexibility allowed in making payments, should help greatly to make the obligations sound and marketable instruments.

We have discussed this proposal with representatives from State and local governments. We have had a frank exchange of views, especially on the question of requiring that, for the purposes of participating in this specific program, bonds issued must be taxable. We do not believe this proposal erodes the principle of tax exemption, since general tax exemption is not challenged in any way. Actually, the proposal recognizes and underscores the necessity for reasonable interest rates if State and local governments are to make the large public facility investments necessary in the near future. It does this by offering an interest subsidy to reduce costs to levels comparable with those of tax-exempt borrowing. Finally, the regular direct waste treatment grant program will continue, and communities will retain the opportunity to utilize this program alone if they so desire.

#### VII. CONCLUSION

In conclusion, we recognize that extraordinary demands are now being placed on the

municipal bond market. The foreseeable future holds few prospects for abatement in these requirements. If anything, the market will be called upon to provide ever-increasing amounts of capital for essential public programs. It seems clear at this point that State and local debt outstanding will soon be increasing at an annual rate of \$10 billion or more, as forecast in the study done by the Joint Economic Committee. Keeping in mind the projections of several billions of tax-exempt financing each year for public housing, an additional \$2 to \$3 billion a year for pollution control facilities, and several billions of industrial development bonds each year, it is conceivable that the combined effect would be to double the annual increase in tax-exempt bonds. Thus, it is clear that some actions must be taken. We are proposing means to alleviate that pressure on many fronts:

Increased taxes, to relieve some of the congestion in the general money market;

New debt instruments, and heavier reliance on some older ones, to help ease some of the pressure on the tax-exempt market; and

Termination of tax exemption for industrial development bonds, to relieve the municipal market of inordinate private demands on limited public resources.

None of these changes will be easy to obtain, despite their benefits for State and local financing. Here is a golden opportunity for your newly-formed organization to perform a key role in promoting public understanding for the need for such change. There are few alternatives available to meet pressing national goals within the narrow confines of today's limited resources.

### The Nigeria-Biafra War

HON. ROBERT N. C. NIX

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 28, 1968

Mr. NIX. Mr. Speaker, the 9-month-old war between Nigeria and Biafra has revealed:

First, that the essential ingredients for an effective federation—protection and participation—are no longer present in the Nigerian political structure; second, that the Moslem leadership in Lagos is totally indifferent to the needs of the Biafrans; third, that through a series of massacres before and during the war, the Biafran dead has totaled over a hundred thousand; fourth, that Biafrans find it useless to join in a federation where they are neither safe nor secure in their persons or property. The Biafrans cannot even count on personal associates from other parts of the federation for social and psychological support.

The present stance of Biafra is therefore an adaptive response. When an institutional system is regarded as a barrier to the satisfaction of legitimized goals, the stage is set for rebellion as an adaptive response. We did this with the British in 1776. This involved a genuine transvaluation where the direct or vicarious experience of frustration leads to full denunciation of previously prized value, for example, a continued association with Britain, in the case of the United States and the goal of one Nigeria, in the case of Biafra. This does not involve the sour-grape pattern, where the fox in the fable merely asserts that the desired but unattainable objectives do



not actually embody the prized values. In other words, the fox does not abandon all taste for sweet grapes, he only says that these particular grapes are sour.

A rebellious fox on the other hand, renounces the prevailing taste for all grapes, sweet or sour.

It may be pertinent to point out that the present strife in Nigeria, or what used to be Nigeria, can be regarded as a breakdown in the cultural structure of the country. Such a total breakdown occurs when and where there is an acute disjunction between the cultural norms and goals and the socially structured capacities of citizens to act in accord with them. When this happens, cultural values may produce behavior which is at odds with the mandates of the values themselves. In this instance, adaptation becomes the main characteristic of a schismatic policy. Since the political behavior that produces adaptation is institutionally permitted, it is not generally regarded as a deviant behavior, hence the justification of the American war of independence and consequently the justification of the Biafran war of independence.

In conclusion, may I observe: First, that the continuation of hostilities will destroy whatever little goodwill that may be needed for effective negotiation. The longer the war, the less the chances for negotiated settlement; second, Russian bombs are dropped daily on Biafran schools, churches, hospitals, and market places; third, that the Nigerian Government seems to aim at the extinction of all life in Biafra and the imposition of tyranny of an unimagined rigor; fourth, that the Gowon deadline of March 31 is at hand and no impartial observer can fail to see that the war would not end on Sunday; fifth, that Americans of all political persuasions can no longer sit back and watch innocent Biafrans being killed with Russian planes and bombs. We can do something to persuade the Nigerian Government to stop this carnage and seek solution on the conference table; sixth, finally, may I suggest to this body to go on record in support of a cease-fire now, and to support the statement issued by the Roman Catholic Church and the World Council of Churches on March 20, 1968, herein incorporated:

**COMMON STATEMENT BY THE ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH AND THE WORLD COUNCIL OF CHURCHES FOR THE ESTABLISHMENT OF PEACE IN THE NIGERIAN CONFLICT**

The Roman Catholic Church and the World Council of Churches unite in one voice in a most urgent appeal to both contesting parties for an immediate cessation of armed hostilities in this sad conflict and for the establishment of a lasting peace by honorable negotiations in the highest African tradition.

Anguished at the appalling loss of life caused by the war, we most solemnly recall to both parties, and to the world in general, the sacredness of human life of which God is the sole arbiter of its earthly duration, and in His name appeal for the respecting of His rights especially in the avoidance of all atrocities, general massacre, mass hatred and vindictiveness.

We further point out that the war is an inhuman and futile attempt to settle disputes. In this sad conflict, especially, armed hostilities cannot achieve a settlement of the differences; on the contrary they are liable to bring, on a scale that is frightening

to contemplate, only further loss of life, starvation, suffering and devastation. Even if, against all right reason, armed hostilities continue, the parties can never achieve peaceful co-existence without a negotiated settlement. The longer hostilities endure, the more innocent human lives will be sacrificed in violence and bloodshed, the more impoverished and devastated will become this beloved erstwhile land of promise.

We appeal to all peoples involved in this conflict to act with mercy and compassion at this time. We exhort in particular all on both sides who hear the voice of Christ and are inspired by the supreme example of His redeeming love on Calvary to meet the challenge of the present crisis by the heroic practice of Christian Charity, which demands that we all forgive and love in Christ those with whom we are in conflict. For war always sows in the natural heart of man seeds of deep hatred and separation that jeopardize collaboration between the parties to the conflict even on the natural plane, and make peaceful cohabitation as children of God difficult. In the overcoming of the difficulties may Christ, The Way, The Truth, and The Life, be the inspiring and compelling example for the establishment of His Peace among all children of our Common Father in Heaven.

We appeal in particular to the African Chiefs of State to offer the contribution of their counsel, their suggestions and, should the case arise, their mediation, with a view to the resolution of this sad conflict.

While it is not our part to declare on the issues of contention, we are bound to call the most immediate attention to the sacred issue of the human right to life itself, which is so seriously threatened on such a vast scale by the horrors and effects of the war. We therefore urge Government and International Agencies in a position to act effectively in this matter to secure a denial of external military assistance to both parties, an immediate cessation of hostilities, the necessary assurances of security to both sides on the laying down of arms, and a negotiated peace.

Deeply concerned with the needs for relief in the necessities of life among the suffering peoples, we appeal for cooperation among all International Relief Agencies in the meeting of the grave needs which will continue long after armed hostilities have ceased. We request that understanding facilities be extended by both sides to such International Agencies for the supply of Relief, and to Ministers of Religion and Mercy whose privileged role in the distribution of the relief is of particular importance in this situation.

We appeal to all men of goodwill throughout the world, and especially among the contesting parties, to unite their voices to ours in prayer to God for the achievement of the most immediate and lasting peace, and to use all their efforts to secure this treasured ideal."

For the Roman Catholic Church, the statement has been issued under the authority of His Holiness Pope Paul VI; for the World Council of Churches by Officers of the Central Committee: Dr. Franklin Clark Fry, Chairman; Dr. Eugene Carson Blake, General Secretary; Dr. Ernest Payne, Vice Chairman; Principal Russell Chandran, Vice Chairman.

**Fiftieth Anniversary of Byelorussian Declaration of Independence**

**HON. CHARLES H. PERCY**

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, March 28, 1968

Mr. PERCY. Mr. President, this is a week when all free men should pause to

commemorate the unquenchable spirit of freedom of the people of Byelorussia. For it was 50 years ago this week that these gallant people, historically oppressed, declared their independence and bravely embarked on a course of national sovereignty.

This course unfortunately was all too soon to come to an end, as the oppression of the czars was replaced by the oppression of the Soviet Communists.

Yet their will to be free is an example of the highest and most laudable aspirations of mankind, and it continues to inspire those who pray and strive for that day when all men may have the opportunity to live in equality and justice and freedom under God.

**The Nature of the Enemy**

**HON. OTIS G. PIKE**

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 28, 1968

Mr. PIKE. Mr. Speaker, it seems to me that Americans have not been adequately informed about a startling pronouncement made by the Hanoi government last week on the subject of what they call counterrevolutionary crimes. There have been short press accounts to the effect that the decree "promulgated" by Ho Chi Minh back in November, but only announced to the public at a press conference last week, demonstrated that North Vietnam was having its own problems with civilian support for the war effort. I believe that the decree does much more than that—it shows the nature of our enemy. The loose definitions of what constitutes a "crime" would be abhorrent to any citizen raised under any system which emphasizes the protection of the rights of individuals. The vague language setting forth the 11 separate "crimes" under which an individual might be punished by death would make defense against an accusation of such crimes a defendant's nightmare and a lawyer's impossibility.

It is interesting to speculate on how the dissenters in this country who are given freedom to dissent to the point of utter irresponsibility would fare if they lived in Hanoi and attempted to dissent from Hanoi's policies. First, "counterrevolutionary crimes" are defined as "opposition to the fatherland and the people's democratic power, sabotage of Socialist transformation and construction, undermining national defense and the struggle against U.S. aggression for national salvation, aimed at defending the north, liberating the south, and reunifying the country." That could mean any opposition to the administration.

Those civilians who flee to Canada might well read article 9, describing how they would be treated by Hanoi, and those who encourage them to do so might take note that the maximum sentence for doing just that in Hanoi is death.

Those who speculate in gold might well read article 11(E) for which again the maximum sentence is death.

Those who encourage young men to resist the draft might well read article



11(G) under which the minimum sentence is 5 years, the maximum is death.

Those who raise the flag of racial violence might read article 12(B). Even those who are sincere, wholly religious conscientious objectors might consider article 12(C) and what life would offer them in Hanoi.

Those who burn draft cards, picket draft centers, or try to obstruct troop movements might consider article 13(C) under which the minimum sentence is life imprisonment and the maximum, of course, is death.

The editors of those newspapers which on a daily basis print Hanoi's propaganda releases and broadcasts might consider what would happen to them under article 15 if they attempted to do the same in Hanoi.

Those who run for public office by attacking this Government and its policies might count their blessings that they are not governed by article 18(A), and if they are also wealthy, article 18(B).

Those who refer to our war as illegal and who are familiar with the phrase "ex post facto" might just consider article 22(A).

It seems to me, Mr. Speaker, that it might be useful to see just what it is that the enemy represents in the enemy's own words. Here is the full text of Ho Chi Minh's decree as broadcast in Vietnamese to the people of North Vietnam from Hanoi on March 21:

Recently, the National Assembly Standing Committee Secretariat held a press conference to make public a decree on the punishment of counterrevolutionary crimes. Newspaper, news agency, and Voice of Vietnam correspondents were present. On behalf of the National Assembly Standing Committee Secretariat, Comrade Truong Tan Phat read President Ho's promulgation and the decree on the punishment of counterrevolutionary crimes. Chairman of the National Assembly Standing Committee Comrade Truong Chinh discussed the meaning and importance of the decree, emphasizing some of its points. He then talked with the newsmen.

Following is the promulgation of the DRV President:

Considering Article 63 of the DRV Constitution and the resolution of the DRV National Assembly Standing Committee, a decree is hereby promulgated on the punishment of counterrevolutionary crimes.

DRV President Ho Chi Minh, 10 November 1967.

Following is the decree on the punishment of counterrevolutionary crimes.

Considering Article 7 on the DRV Constitution, in order to strengthen the people's democratic dictatorship, protect the fatherland, the people, and the people's democratic state, insure the complete victory of the socialist revolutionary cause and of the anti-U.S. national salvation resistance to protect the north, liberate the south, peacefully achieve national reunification, heighten the people's revolutionary enlightenment, and mobilize all the people to actively participate in maintaining security and order, the present decree defines counterrevolutionary crimes and stipulates punishment for counterrevolutionary criminals.

Chapter 1—Counterrevolutionary crimes and the principle governing the punishment of counterrevolutionary crimes:

Article 1—Counterrevolutionary crimes are opposition to the fatherland and the people's democratic power, sabotage of socialist transformation and construction, undermining national defense and the struggle against

U.S. aggression for national salvation, aimed at defending the north, liberating the south, and reunifying the country.

Article 2—Both attempted crimes and actual crimes are punishable. The guiding principles on the punishment of counterrevolutionaries will be to severely punish the main plotters, leaders, principal culprits, and those who stubbornly oppose the revolution; to be lenient toward those who are forced, enticed, or misled and those who sincerely repent; to reduce or exempt punishment for those who show redemption.

Chapter 2—Crimes and punishments:

Article 3—Treason to the fatherland: Any citizen of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam who collaborates with a foreign country to harm the national independence and sovereignty, unification, and territorial integrity of the fatherland and the socialist regime will be imprisoned 20 years to life or executed.

Article 4—Plotting to overthrow the people's democratic power: Those who set up or participate in counterrevolutionary organizations to overthrow the people's democratic power and to destroy the political, economic, and social systems stipulated in the DRV Constitution will be liable to the following punishment:

a—The plotters, leaders, instigators, and principal accomplices will be imprisoned from 15 years to life or executed.

b—Other accomplices will be imprisoned from 5 to 15 years. Under extenuating circumstances, the culprits will be imprisoned from 3 to 12 years.

Article 5—Espionage: Those who commit the following crimes:

Supplying, transmitting, stealing, collecting, and retaining state and military secrets for future supply and transmission to the imperialists and their lackeys or to foreign intelligence services; receiving instructions from foreign countries, recruiting agents to gather intelligence or engaging in other counterrevolutionary activities; sending signals to direct enemy air raids; or receiving instructions from foreign countries, collecting and supplying information and documents which are not state secrets, but which can help foreign countries harm the interests of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, will be liable to the following punishments:

a—The leaders, the commanders, the main accomplices, the fifth-column members, and those who have caused great damage will be sentenced to imprisonment ranging from 12 years to life imprisonment or to capital punishment;

b—The spies who do not belong to the above-mentioned groups will be sentenced to imprisonment ranging from 5 to 12 years.

Article 6—Violating security and territory: Those who intrude into the territory and undermine the security of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam will be punished as follows:

a—The leaders, commanders, and those who have committed serious crimes will be sentenced to imprisonment ranging from 12 years to life imprisonment or to capital punishment;

b—Their accomplices will be sentenced to imprisonment ranging from 5 to 12 years;

c—Those who provide the above-mentioned groups with supplies, guides, and assistance will be sentenced to imprisonment ranging from 2 to 10 years.

Article 7—Armed rebellion: Those who engage in armed rebellion to oppose or undermine the people's democratic power and the people's armed forces will be punished as follows:

a—The main plotters, leaders, commanders, main accomplices, and those who have caused great damage will be sentenced to imprisonment ranging from 12 years to life imprisonment or to capital punishment;

b—Their accomplices will be sentenced to imprisonment ranging from 3 to 12 years.

Article 8—Banditry: Those who for counterrevolutionary purposes engage in armed

activities in mountainous or coastal areas; kill cadres, civil servants, militarymen, policemen, or the people; pillage and burn the properties of the state and people, and disturb security and order will be punished as follows:

a—The leaders, commanders, and those who have committed grave crimes will be sentenced to imprisonment ranging from 10 years to life imprisonment or to capital punishment;

b—Their accomplices will be sentenced to imprisonment ranging from 2 to 10 years.

Article 9—Defecting to the enemy or fleeing to foreign countries for counterrevolutionary purposes:

a—Those who defect to the enemy or flee to foreign countries for counterrevolutionary purposes will be sentenced to imprisonment ranging from 3 to 12 years;

b—Those who for counterrevolutionary purposes force, entice, or help others defect to the enemy or flee to foreign countries will be sentenced to imprisonment ranging from 5 to 15 years. Under certain circumstances, the culprits will be sentenced to life imprisonment or capital punishment.

Article 10—Murder, assault, injuring, kidnapping, or threatening to kill people for counterrevolutionary purposes:

a—Those who, for counterrevolutionary purposes, kill cadres, state personnel, military men, policemen, or other people will be imprisoned from 15 years to life or executed;

b—Those who, for counterrevolutionary purposes, beat, injure, or kidnap cadres, state personnel, militarymen, policemen, or other people will be imprisoned from 3 to 15 years;

c—Those who, for counterrevolutionary purposes, threaten to kill cadres, state personnel, militarymen, or policemen while they are fulfilling their duties will be imprisoned from 2 to 10 years.

Article 11—Sabotage: Those who, for counterrevolutionary purposes, commit the following crimes:

a—Destroying the organs of the government, of political parties, and of people's organizations in the Vietnam Fatherland Front, the barracks of the people's armed forces, and the national defense installations;

b—Destroying dikes, dams, bridges, roads, means of communication, transport, information, and liaison, factories, warehouses, cultural works, or other property of the state, cooperatives, or the people;

c—Stealing weapons, explosives, machines, raw materials, fuel, or other state property;

d—Using poisons, disseminating insects and worms, spraying chemical poisons, or using other means to harm beings, cattle, crops, or trees;

e—Undermining the socialist monetary system and trade;

f—Intentionally performing their tasks badly or refusing to carry them out in order to sabotage production, interrupt or hinder the activities of state organs, people's organizations, or economic, military, scientific, cultural, and social organizations.

g—Urging, enticing, or inciting others to undermine labor and military discipline and the fighting spirit of the people's armed forces and the people will be imprisoned from 10 years to life or executed. Under extenuating circumstances, the culprits will be imprisoned from 5 to 10 years.

Article 12—Undermining the people's solidarity bloc: Those who, for counterrevolutionary purposes, propagandize for, organize, or engage in other activities at:

a—Undermining the people's solidarity and unity bloc, creating feuds and discord among the people and the people's armed forces, sowing discord within the Vietnam Fatherland Front, between the people and the government, between the people's armed forces and state organs;

b—Undermining the nationalities policy and creating enmity and disputes among the fraternal nationalities living together on Vietnamese territory;

c—Undermining religious policy, sowing discord among religions, between the religious and nonreligious, and between religious people and the government; using religion to encroach upon religious people's democratic freedoms and prevent them from fulfilling their citizens' duties or joining the people's organizations, cooperatives, or military, economic, cultural, and social organizations will be imprisoned from 5 to 15 years.

Article 13—Opposing or sabotaging the carrying out of state policies and laws:

a—Those who, for counterrevolutionary purposes, oppose, sabotage, or hinder the carrying out of state policies, laws, and plans will be imprisoned from 2 to 10 years;

b—Those who, for counterrevolutionary purposes, force, entice, or encourage others to oppose, sabotage, or hinder the carrying out of state policies, laws, or plans will be imprisoned from 5 to 15 years;

c—Those who oppose, sabotage, or hinder the execution of national defense plans or create serious obstacles to the carrying out of state policies, laws, or plans will be imprisoned for life or executed.

Article 14—Disrupting public order and security:

a—Those who, for counterrevolutionary purposes, agitate, attract, and assemble groups to disturb public security and order or obstruct state cadres and personnel, troops, and security agents in the performance of their duties are liable to prison terms ranging from 5 to 12 years;

b—Those who, for counterrevolutionary purposes, participate in disrupting public security and order are liable to prison terms ranging from 2 to 5 years;

Article 15—Disseminating counterrevolutionary propaganda:

a—Those who, for counterrevolutionary purposes, disseminate propaganda opposing the people's democratic administration and distorting the socialist regime;

b—Those who, for counterrevolutionary purposes, disseminate the enemy's psychological warfare themes, distort the anti-U.S. resistance for national salvation and for national independence and national reunification, and spread rumors thereby, causing confusion among the people;

c—Those who, for counterrevolutionary purposes, disseminate propaganda favoring imperialist enslavement policy and debauched culture; and

d—Those who, for counterrevolutionary purposes, write, print, circulate, or conceal publications, pictures, or any other materials having counterrevolutionary contents and purposes are liable to prison terms ranging from 2 to 12 years.

Article 16—Attacking detention camps, freeing convicts, and organizing escapes from detention camps and prisons: Those who, for counterrevolutionary purposes, attack detention camps, free convicts, and organize escapes from detention camps and prisons are liable to the following penalties:

a—Those who mastermind, lead, and command such actions, those who play active roles, those who cause major losses, and those detained for a serious crime are liable to prison terms ranging from 12 years to life or execution.

b—Those who participate in the above acts are liable to prison terms ranging from 3 to 12 years.

Article 17—Harboring counterrevolutionary elements: Those who knowingly harbor, conceal, provide supplies for, and help the counterrevolutionary elements to hide themselves, to conceal material evidence, or destroy the proof of their crime are liable to prison terms from 2 to 10 years.

Chapter 3—General provisions:

Article 18—Punishment: In addition to the punishment set forth in the provisions contained herein, those who commit the counterrevolutionary crimes listed in section two will also be punished as follows:

a—Those who commit any of the crimes listed from Article 3 to Article 16 will be deprived of the following civil rights for 2 to 5 years: The right to vote and to run for election; the right to work in state organizations and in the people's armed forces organizations; and the right to hold a responsible position in political, economic, cultural, and social organizations.

b—Part or all the property of those who commit one of the crimes listed from Article 3 to Article 16 may be confiscated.

c—Those who commit any of the crimes listed in Chapter 2 may be subjected to control, restricted residence, or prohibited from residing in a number of localities for 1 to 5 years.

Article 19—Cases which involve severe punishment: Those who commit counterrevolutionary crimes which are listed in Chapter 2 and which are committed in the following cases will be severely punished.

a—Those who cause direct damage to the anti-U.S. national salvation resistance and to the national defense task.

b—Those who take advantage of the wartime situation or of the conditions existing in the localities subjected to hostilities, natural calamities, or other difficulties to commit their counterrevolutionary crimes.

c—Those who carry out counterrevolutionary activities in an organized manner.

d—Those who take advantage of their authority to carry out counterrevolutionary activities.

e—Those who adopt extremely wicked tricks and particularly dangerous methods to commit counterrevolutionary crimes.

f—Those whose criminal actions have caused serious consequences.

g—Those who commit new crimes after having previously been convicted of counterrevolutionary actions or having committed crimes against the people.

h—Those who commit crimes as reactionary elements and who have refused to rehabilitate themselves.

Article 20—Cases involving reduction of punishment or exemption from punishment: Those who commit the counterrevolutionary crimes which are listed in Chapter 2 and which involve one or many of the following cases may be entitled to a reduction of punishment or an exemption from punishment.

a—Those who plot crimes but voluntarily refrain from carrying them out.

b—Those who, before their crimes have been discovered, sincerely confess and clearly reveal their own conspiracy and actions and those of their accomplices.

c—Those who deliberately carry out a conspiracy in an incomplete manner or advise their accomplices to carry out the conspiracy masterminded by the counterrevolutionary leaders in an incomplete manner.

d—Those who have carried out actions which have reduced the detrimental effect of their crimes.

e—Those who commit crimes because they were compelled or deceived and whose actions have not yet caused great damage.

f—Those who, while being detained and prior to trial, sincerely repent their crimes and render meritorious service in order to atone for their crimes.

Article 21—Application of identical principles: The trial of the counterrevolutionary crimes which are not listed in this decree may be conducted in accordance with the provisions concerning similar crimes listed in this decree.

Article 22—Effect of the decree:

a—The counterrevolutionary crimes which were committed prior to the promulgation of this decree and which have not yet been tried will be tried in accordance with this decree.

b—Provisions which run counter to this decree are hereby rescinded. This decree was approved by the National Assembly Standing Committee on 30 October 1967.

(signed) DRV National Assembly Standing Committee chairman, Truong Chinh.

## Tax-Dodge Farming and Real Farm Problems

HON. FRANK CHURCH

OF IDAHO

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, March 28, 1968

Mr. CHURCH. Mr. President, Cecil Calhoun, of Buhl, Idaho, has been a farmer for 34 years. He is known locally as a knowledgeable analyst of agricultural problems.

Recently, at the urging of his friends, he wrote out his thoughts on the present conditions and future prospects of farming. His article was published in the February 23-24 issue of the Twin Falls, Idaho, Times-News.

It is an uncommonly perceptive discussion, ranking with the best I have seen.

Mr. Calhoun knows that Federal programs are not the answer. He said:

After 46 years of government farm programs, the farmer who looks to politicians to rescue him is indeed naive. The very diversity of agriculture, the difference in land quality, management, markets and a host of "unforeseeables" makes it impossible for any program to guarantee the prosperity of agriculture as a whole and the small farmer in particular.

After surveying the current farm credit situation, he wryly advises his fellow farmers to take optimistic USDA press releases with them when they confront their bankers.

The attraction of huge industrial corporations to the tax advantages of unprofitable farming operations is well documented. Mr. Calhoun sees this corporate invasion of farming as today's biggest threat to bona fide agriculture. He notes:

The stake here, from the pure farm viewpoint, is the end result of bankrupting thousands who have put their productive years into building a modest estate and now see those years stripped from them by men of unlimited credit, operating without regard to profit, and the product of this land used to bankrupt yet another echelon of farmers.

Mr. Calhoun suggests that farmers take the initiative in solving their problems:

More reliance should be placed on "on the job" growers associations. Then, hopefully, weld these into a solid Brotherhood or Congress of agricultural producers and move to re-write the laws which permit the tax situations of today, put new teeth in the anti-trust laws and apply them to the food processors and chain stores.

These thoughts being so similar to my own, I commend Mr. Calhoun's article to all Senators who support legislation to outlaw the claiming of farm losses by nonfarmers, to strengthen the position of farmer grower associations, and to cut down discrimination against farmers in the marketplace.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that Mr. Calhoun's essay and Paul Harvey's excellent column that accompanies it be printed in the Extensions of Remarks.

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



[From the Twin Falls (Idaho) Times-News, Feb. 23-24, 1968]

# FARMER CRITICIZES FARM USE AS TAX DODGE

(By Cecil Calhoun)

(EDITOR'S NOTE.—Cecil Calhoun, well known Magic Valley farmer for the past 34 years, has been asked by his friends to express in writing some of his interesting provocative thoughts about agricultural problems. A Buhl area farmer, he was winner of the Distinguished Service Award given by the Buhl Jaycees a few years ago. The award came to him primarily for his work in suggesting options under farm controls. The Times-News is privileged to carry this thesis and is indebted to Mr. Calhoun for it.)

The headlong scramble of huge Industrial Corporations, Oil Companies, Construction and Food Processing, Hotel Chains and as Theodore Roosevelt so well put it "malefactors of great wealth" to acquire farm lands, has reached a point where it concerns every bona-fide farmer. The sorry part of this movement is not the cheap production of food in competition with those of lesser financial status, but the usage of such holdings to control, from farm to consumer, the price of any commodity and at the same time use the farm operation as one of the greatest of tax dodging investments. In fact, it is this phase that has attracted the attention of the Bureau of Internal Revenue, the Department of Agriculture, the Press and finally the Congress of the United States.

Figures released by the IRS and the Dept. of Agriculture for the year 1965 would be completely unbelievable if it were not for their un-impeachable source.

In the state of California the Dept. of Agriculture claims a net profit of \$896 million and the IRS a net loss of \$16 million. This mainly from the oil rich cities of Long Beach and Los Angeles where thousands of "farmer" tax returns totaled losses of \$41.8 million. In Texas this story repeated itself. A net profit of \$900 million in farming recorded by the Dept. of Agriculture and only \$96 million shown in tax returns. The "farmers" living in Houston, Dallas and Fort Worth reported a net loss of \$40.2 million. This usage of farm lands to offset the profits is not confined to the Oil companies. Touching directly on the farmers and taxpayers of Idaho is the practice of food processing firms acquiring thousands of acres, farming it as company lands or setting up a subsidiary farm corporation, taking a terrific loss on this operation and off-setting it against profits of the parent company.

In Idaho, this practice started in the rich wheat lands of the Palouse and today is most evident in the potato industry. Here the growers, suffering from production headaches and financial cramps finally formed a Growers Association patterned after the highly successful Beet Growers Association. Regardless of their success in obtaining better prices, they cannot prevent the acquisition of potato lands and inevitably will find themselves filling plant quotas after company production is used.

Just as a flock of sparrows hopefully follows a horse around the pasture, so will the potato producer hop along behind the processor who can produce two-thirds of his needs under a greater loss factor than any individual could stand, and buy the balance of plant needs at negotiated price and grade.

And the suppliers in the trade centers find, all too often, that the Corporation has bought their machinery direct from the manufacturer at less than wholesale. It is well known that the loss of 11 farms means the closing of one business firm in a town that is farm supported and unless that town can induce some industry to locate in its trade area, the vacant building becomes its trademark.

Today's agriculture, in common with most business, is based on the flow of credit. This is especially true of the newcomer and the developer of new lands. It is predicted by

some farm economists that by 1972-75 the end of the trail will have been reached for these people and to a lesser degree by all who have been forced into re-financing. These men are broke and the day they are refused credit is the day he is finished as a farmer. Each year he has reaped just enough from each failure to re-finance himself to a greater failure. Under today's financing the man who dabbles in small loans to maintain himself is in a precarious position. A bank can liquidate him without material loss whereas the man or Corporation financed for \$1 million or perhaps \$5 million (as the case of one California grower) cannot be closed out without severe loss to the lender. Talks with three bankers and the representative of one of the nation's largest mortgage brokers confirm this statement: The moral, get big or get out. As the mortgage papers that represent his farm are channeled into the hands of huge farming corporations, the day of the multi-million dollar farm loan becomes a fact.

In the face of announcements that interest rates will be the highest in 100 years and taxes at an all time high and farm mortgages increasing by millions of dollars per year (much of it representing the last source of credit) with the parity index of farm prices at 74, the lowest since 1934 you will want to take the press release of Secretary of Agriculture Orville Freeman "The unparalleled prosperity of 1967 will continue throughout 1968" with you when you confront your banker.

After 46 years of government farm programs the farmer who looks to politicians to rescue him is indeed naive. The very diversity of agriculture, the difference in land quality, management, markets and a host of "unforeseeables" makes it impossible for any program to guarantee the prosperity of agriculture as a whole and the small operator in particular. Under any program devised to date the large reap the benefits, the small benefit so little it cannot save them and those who rely on produce that sells on the open market of supply and demand (94 per cent) have the doubtful privilege of paying taxes to support both.

Today in the face of rapidly dwindling farm population, there are 2 organizations claiming to represent agriculture and in order to maintain a membership which might command respect they have accepted so many suburban members that few truly represent a farm viewpoint. The interest focus is mainly on the insurance or discount (co-operative) buying. Their weakness is again demonstrated in the fact that few highly successful farmers or stockmen of a community will associate themselves with any organization. By holding themselves aloof from their less fortunate neighbors they effectively deprive them of the leadership they so desperately need.

One reason for this is that perhaps, over the years, all too many farm meetings have deteriorated into "gripe sessions" or to put it bluntly "bitching" without the least concept of constructive solidarity. This may seem a rough analysis but 70 years in close contact with farming and 34 of those in equally close contact with farm organizations is a good teacher.

The politician knows these weaknesses and while the gravy train rolls down the track, he smugly tells us "when you agree on a farm program, then we will solve all your problems." This person well knows that 20 farmers in a room cannot agree on the time of day and should they reach a tentative agreement at least a third will rush out on the street and declare that they are not a party to any such compromise.

In the coral of politics the most over-worked cliché is "free enterprise or rugged individualism." It has become synonymous with legal looting. Not in my time, perhaps not in my grandchildren's time but surely, if laws are not revised this land movement into the hands of those who control the financial

structure of this country and who can, under present laws, use it to evade any semblance of taxation, the same conditions which prevail in Latin America where 2 per cent of the people own 98 per cent of the land will apply here.

Here in Magic Valley, let us not kid ourselves. The only factor that has saved this land from exploitation is the small irregular fields and intensive irrigation required. Rough as this statement may seem, the average farm in Twin Falls County would hardly make a parking lot for the machinery used on hundreds of the larger units already in existence. And few fields would provide turning space for equipment which prepares, plants, etc. in one operation.

Consider, if you will the holdings of one wheat growing Corporation with headquarters in Montana. In that state alone they have 650,000 acres of grain and this represents only one-third of their holdings.

I have before me a list of six nationally known Corporations with irrigated farm holdings of 1,250,000 acres to over two million acres. And these statistics are seven years old. In Nebraska, the young rancher who cannot get a foothold on his father's spread must bid against Peter Kiewit & Sons, road and bridge contractors. Corporations formed by lawyers, doctors and others of secure income have scooped the heart out of the rich farmlands of the Missouri and Platte valleys. The old farm sites bulldozed into piles and burned and millions of dollars of tax base destroyed. And don't forget that the profits and losses of these lands are juggled just as the "farmers" of California and Texas use theirs.

Drive through the great Central Valley of California. Turn off the freeway and tour the lands 10-20 or 30 miles away from the tourist route. Drive for six miles along a single beet field extending back as far as the eye can see, broken only by the pipelines and ditches, watch sixteen combines strung out in a rice field, imagine a feedlot with 30,000 head of cattle and learn that this is but one of a food chain operation. Sit down, as this writer has done with a Nebraska rancher operating over 20,000 acres and have him tell you that the day will inevitably come when the large holdings of real estate will be broken up by Federal laws in order to avert revolution. That or revise the tax structure.

Nothing in this article should be construed as claiming that the acquisition of farm lands for offsetting the profits of another venture is illegal. It cannot even be classed as tax evasion. The use of subsidiary corporations, holding companies, etc. and the creating of a loss in one department is an established legal course in creating a favorable tax rate. The stake here, from a pure farm viewpoint, is the end result of bankrupting thousands who have put their productive years into building a modest estate and now see those years stripped from them by men of unlimited credit, operated without regard as to profit, and the product of that land used to bankrupt yet another echelon of farmers.

What to do about this? The older farm organizations are too concerned with political situations, too committed to ideology to be effective. To meet once a year and pass resolutions that will not or cannot be implemented is like fighting fire with a water pistol. More reliance should be placed on "on the job" growers associations. Then, hopefully, weld these into a solid Brotherhood or Congress of Agricultural Producers and move to re-write the laws which permit the tax situations of today, put new teeth into the Anti-Trust laws and apply to the Food Processors and Chain Stores. While we cannot prevent the acquisition of lands for bonafide purposes we might prevent their exploitation at the expense of the working man and small but efficient farmer.

It is a bitter paradox that the movement of farmers into the unskilled labor pools of



industry has solved neither the problems of agriculture or of industry. While the overburdened cities strive to care for the multitude that has been thrust upon them, industry is fighting to move into the country. Yes: the poor farmer has now found his promised Utopia and is busy burning it down.

On page 4 of the Feb. 4th issue of the Times-News there appeared a column by Paul Harvey titled "The Farm Boy." It should be required reading for those farmers who feel smug and secure in their modest holdings. After reading this fine commentary, I suggest you read it again. It may well be the epitaph of your dreams.

[From the Twin Falls (Idaho) Times-News, Feb. 23-24, 1968]

#### THE FARM BOY

(NOTE.—For the benefit of the readers, the Editorial Page column which was carried recently in this paper, written by Paul Harvey and titled "The Farm Boy" is again reprinted.)

You're a farm boy; you're extremely fortunate. Pastoral life has enriched your spirit, has given you a healthful, hard-muscled head start on pithy-soft city people. But how are we going to keep you down on the farm after you've punched a time clock?

You've seen dad sweat to harvest the biggest crop in history in 1967—for the lowest price in a decade.

He has produced more and earned less than his city cousins for four decades. In 10 years you have seen farm output per man-hour increase 61 per cent—but your dad is still working for less than the federal minimum wage of \$1.40 an hour.

So this life is not for you.

So where there were 4 million farms in the United States 10 years ago, today there are only about 3 million.

Farm machinery costs more and hired hands want 46 per cent more than 10 years ago.

And where the cost of farming was up another one per cent last year, the prices you got for what you sold were down another one per cent.

You'd borrow money to modernize and expand except that interest rates are the highest in history.

You'd demand Congress do something, except that congressmen think in numbers and fewer than six per cent of our nation's voters are farmers. You producers are outnumbered by consumers, 16 to 1.

You'd expect the Department of Agriculture to help you—but it can't seem to. While farm population has declined 4 million in 10 years, the Department of Agriculture has hired 40 per cent more bureaucrats.

But when government could think of nothing better than a "subsidy," you still ended up with the short end of the stick. Some big factory farms collected \$1 million each in subsidy payments last year. Hundreds of those giant farms collected \$100,000 or more.

And while the government this election year is preoccupied with spending billions to improve the plight of some underprivileged minorities, your minority is mostly ignored. Washington is confident that you won't riot.

Vice President Humphrey's only suggested solution to your problem is that you must form some kind of a union and demand bargaining rights. But harnesses for humans contradict your wide-open-spaces heritage. So you will quit the farm, instead.

You can get a good price for it. The average American farm is now worth \$164 an acre. The value of farm real estate increased eight per cent last year.

But taxes are pyramiding, too. So this is the time to sell out to the subdividers or to the giant farm-land combines. They, with mass purchasing and automation, can still make farming pay. You can't.

This is a sad farewell for you, I know. But go, son. And don't look back.

### The Enemy Has Trouble, Too

#### HON. E. C. GATHINGS

OF ARKANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 28, 1968

Mr. GATHINGS. Mr. Speaker, the Washington Evening Star of March 26 comments on an important aspect of the war in Southeast Asia that has not been given enough consideration in presenting it to the American public to aid their own understanding of the fighting in Vietnam.

We have centered our concern over the differences in this country on the efforts in Southeast Asia, and we should also know of and appreciate the increasing difficulties that beset the enemy in Hanoi. The people in North Vietnam are growing restive under the yoke of Ho Chi Minh; the pressures of the war in South Vietnam are telling on the Communists; and the realization is growing in Russia and Red China that the horrible terror unleashed by Ho Chi Minh has not broken the spirit of the Vietnamese people and that the effort for freedom and dignity in Southeast Asia is not abating but is increasing.

The editorial in the Star is commended to the Members as follows:

#### THE ENEMY HAS TROUBLE, TOO

President Ho Chi Minh's new decree "on punishment for counter-revolutionary crimes" suggests that disaffection may be spreading in North Vietnam and that dissident elements may be becoming a serious challenge to Hanoi's iron-handed dictatorship.

The decree, in any case, is decidedly tough and sweeping. Penalties ranging up to life imprisonment and death are to be meted out for such "crimes" as "disrupting the public order," "undermining the solidarity" of the people or engaging in anti-government "propaganda." The language is broad enough to make punishable a wide variety of activities, including casual remarks against Ho's war effort, student demonstrations for peace, or other individual or group agitation in favor of some kind of negotiation with Saigon and Washington.

Nhan Dan, the official newspaper in Hanoi, has explained the decree as a measure needed because "U.S. imperialists are frantically sending out spies and commandos against the North, are undertaking psychological warfare and inciting counter-revolutionaries to act against the people's democratic power." The counter-revolutionaries include members of "the former exploiting classes," "reactionary elements acting under the cover of religion," "armed bandits in the hilly region" and "saboteurs." These "criminals," in Nhan Dan's words, are not many in numbers, but "their plotting is very deep and their activities very dangerous."

It would be wishful, of course, if not hazardous, to conclude from this that North Vietnam's Communist regime is gravely divided within itself or imminently threatened with massive resistance from the people at large. Yet the country must be hurting very much, with its economy sorely disrupted and its manpower suffering more and more strain with each passing day. In such a situation, there can hardly fail to be ever-growing disillusionment, discontent, and war weariness of the most profound kind—an atmosphere

conducive to the rise of opposition forces, perhaps on a significantly increasing scale.

Ho's grim decree is a reminder that the trouble and woe of the Vietnam war do not lie exclusively on the allied side in the South.

### Research and Development in Industry—1966

#### HON. GAYLORD NELSON

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, March 28, 1968

Mr. NELSON. Mr. President, the report of the Joint Economic Committee of Congress, Senate Report No. 1016, calls attention to the condition of the Nation's human resources and urges steps to transform the impoverished into more productive members of society.

It is a sobering statement that demands the best of our thought. But the report deals with only the impoverished. Our human resources also include the men and women who have become productive members of our society. Among them are the scientists and engineers who work in American industry. It is about the latter that I wish to speak.

The National Science Foundation has published its preliminary report on scientists and engineers engaged in industrial research and development, and funds for research and development—National Science Foundation 68-5. As of January 1967, the full-time equivalent of 371,400 scientists and engineers were employed in industry in research and development. This is 52 percent more than the 243,800 of January 1958. In comparison, total industrial funds for research and development—from private and public sources—rose from \$7.7 billion for 1957 to \$15.5 billion for 1966, an increase of 101 percent.

All industries, except the lumber, wood products, and furniture and the fabricated metal products industries employed more scientists and engineers for research and development in January 1967 than in January 1958.

One industry, electrical equipment and communications, doubled its January 1958 figure with a 104-percent rise to a full-time equivalent of 97,700 as of January 1967.

Other industries with above-average increases over this period were textiles and apparel, 88 percent; aircraft and missiles, 68 percent; motor vehicles, 63 percent; and paper and allied products, 59 percent.

Looking at the changes from January 1966 to 1967, industrial firms reported an average increase of 5 percent in their full-time equivalent number of R. & D. scientists and engineers, from 354,700 in January 1966 to 371,400 in January 1967. All major industries except motor vehicles showed an increase. The largest relative increase occurred in the food industry, which jumped 19 percent in its employment of scientists and engineers for research and development. The two other industries that gained more than 10 percent were machinery at 12 percent, and textiles and apparel, 10 percent.

Mr. President this increase in the



brainpower working in laboratories of industry is good news, for they are the source of the new and improved products and services of the future.

There remains one fly in the ointment. In 1966 Federal funds accounted for \$8.2 billion of the total \$15.5 billion spent in industry for research and development. And as we know from past experience these funds tend to concentrate in a few favored industries in a few places. Many areas receive far more in Government funds than they invest on their own. The machinery industry, which is one of the mainstays of the Midwest, received only \$343 million in Federal funds while spending \$958 million of its own. These National Science Foundation figures give us further reason to continue congressional scrutiny of the distribution of Federal funds for research and development among different parts of the country and their industries.

### Travel Tax?

## HON. SAMUEL L. DEVINE

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 28, 1968

Mr. DEVINE. Mr. Speaker, in connection with the urgent pleas by this administration for a travel tax in an effort to solve the balance-of-payments problem, my attention was invited to a release on March 14 by the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare stating as follows:

Approximately \$742,712 in U.S. currency (Fulbright-Hays) and \$100,000 in excess foreign currency (P.L. 83-480) will be obligated for the projects. Award letter to sponsoring schools and organizations will be forwarded on or about March 14, 1968."

In view of the announcement discouraging foreign travel by the White House, I called this matter to the attention of

the President by letter on that date asking for an explanation.

A reply was received dated March 26 pointing out that although the President in his state of the Union message on January 17 emphasized the need to reduce the travel deficit that the President added "without unduly penalizing the travel of students, teachers."

Mr. Cohen, Assistant Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare, stated:

Any travel regulations put into effect will be consistent with the funds available for priority educational activities abroad.

It was interesting to note, Mr. Speaker, that the American people will be requested to make sacrifices and to pay additional taxes, however, when public funds are involved, there seems to be no limit.

For the information of the Members, I am attaching the list of the foreign studies extension program for fiscal 1968:

#### FOREIGN STUDIES EXTENSION PROGRAM, FISCAL YEAR 1968

Project	Country	Sponsor	Approximate number of participants	Approximate duration
<b>Africa:</b>				
African seminar for advanced graduate students.....	Kenya and Ghana.....	Northwestern University (Ghana, graduate seminar).....	10	8 weeks.
African seminar for social studies teachers.....	Ghana.....	University of Southern California (Kenya and Ghana, teacher seminar).....	25	Do.
<b>East Asia:</b>				
Japan seminar for social studies teachers.....	Japan.....	Georgetown University.....	25	Do.
Faculty seminar on Taiwan.....	Taiwan.....	Regional Council for International Education.....	15	7 weeks.
Southeast Asia teacher seminar.....	Singapore.....	Washington University (St. Louis).....	20	8 weeks.
<b>Europe:</b>				
Scholarships for Russian language study for consortium.....	Soviet Union.....	Council on International Educational Exchange.....	175	Do.
Undergraduate seminar in Yugoslavia.....	Yugoslavia.....	Great Lakes College Association.....	18	7 weeks.
Fellowships for graduate study.....	Italy.....	John Hopkins University (School of Advanced International Studies).....	5	9 months.
Undergraduate study of the U.S.S.R. in Munich.....	Germany.....	Louisiana Polytechnic Institute.....	12	6 weeks.
Intensive overseas study program for prospective teachers.....	do.....	National Carl Schurz Association.....	50	Do.
Undergraduate year in Yugoslavia.....	Yugoslavia.....	Portland State College.....	20	10 months.
Graduate year in Poland.....	Poland.....	Stanford University.....	7	9 months.
Faculty seminar in Scandinavian studies.....	Sweden.....	Society for Scandinavian Studies.....	20	6 weeks.
Undergraduate work-study project in German language and area study.....	Germany.....	University of Cincinnati.....	15	9 weeks.
Faculty research team.....	Italy.....	University of Connecticut.....	3	8 weeks.
Graduate seminar in comparative law.....	Yugoslavia.....	Washburn University, Topeka, Kans.....	20	Do.
Graduate year in Yugoslavia.....	do.....	Western Michigan University.....	5	12 months.
<b>Latin America:</b>				
Curriculum development project in Caribbean education, faculty team.....	Caribbean area.....	American Association of Colleges for Teacher Education.....	8	7 weeks.
Undergraduate seminar on Brazilian studies.....	Brazil.....	Miami (Ohio) (Brazil, undergraduate seminar).....	21	8 weeks.
Chile seminar for social studies teachers.....	Chile.....	University of California, Los Angeles (Chile teachers seminar).....	21	Do.
Andean Study and Research Center.....	Ecuador.....	University of New Mexico.....	6	12 months.
Mexican seminar for social studies teachers.....	Mexico.....	University of Florida (Mexico, teachers seminar).....	31	8 weeks.
Central American studies project.....	British Honduras.....	Wake Forest University (British Honduras).....	12	7 weeks.
<b>Near East and South Asia:</b>				
Scholarships for individuals.....	India.....	American Institute of Indian Studies.....	3	12 months.
Educational Resources Center.....	do.....	New York State Education Department.....	9	Do.
Graduate internships in international public administration.....	Pakistan.....	Maxwell School, Syracuse University.....	4	9 months.
Graduate internships in international public administration.....	India.....	do.....	10	Do.
Seminar for social studies teachers.....	do.....	Syracuse University.....	16	9 weeks.
Development of institutional materials on contemporary India.....	do.....	Tennessee Department of Education.....	20	8 months.
Professional school graduate internships.....	do.....	University of California (Berkeley).....	13	8 months.
Faculty research team to develop and acquire teaching materials on India.....	do.....	University of Virginia.....	6	6 weeks.
Undergraduate year in India.....	do.....	University of Wisconsin.....	27	9 months.

### Answering Life's Moral Questions—Sermon by Dr. Billy Graham

## HON. CARL T. CURTIS

OF NEBRASKA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, March 28, 1968

Mr. CURTIS. Mr. President, our country is beset with problems of every kind and in almost every sphere of our life. It is apparent that something is needed beyond legislation and government action. If an addition to our government, or big government, were answers to problems, our country would not have any.

It was my privilege to hear the broadcast of Dr. Billy Graham on Sunday eve-

ning, March 3. He spoke on the subject "Answering Life's Moral Questions." I believe what he says merits the attention of all individuals, those in government and those out of government. I ask unanimous consent that the sermon be printed in the Extensions of Remarks.

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

#### ANSWERING LIFE'S MORAL QUESTIONS

The President's antiriot commission's report is in. It blames "white racism," poverty, the police and black militants for the riots last summer. It recommends massive amounts of money to be spent to save the nation from worse riots this next summer.

The report has shocked the American people. Certainly we all agree that action is needed. The report illustrates though one of the great failures of our national leadership

to understand the basic cause of all our problems, from Vietnam to racial tension. Our basic problem is not crime, war, poverty, or racism. It is diseased human nature filled with its lust, greed, hate, and pride. One hundred billion dollars would not solve our problems. Our needs are basically spiritual. Only the transforming Gospel of Jesus Christ can solve our basic problems. That is why our Team has scheduled evangelistic crusades in many of our American cities this next summer.

I agree with the report that the need is critical and the hour is late. But I'm not sure that a welfare state such as they recommend is the answer. The British have tried it; and they find that their problems are worse, not better. What is needed is a great spiritual and moral awakening that will turn the nation from our sins to faith in a living God.

There is no doubt that America is passing through the greatest moral battle in its

history. Millions of Americans no longer know the difference between right and wrong. The racial problem is called a moral issue. The poverty problem is called a moral issue. The riot and demonstration problem is called a moral issue. The Vietnam war is called a moral issue. However, no one seems to be defining what morality is. What is the yardstick, the criteria, or the authority for our moral judgment?

An American clergyman says that he will no longer obey any law he does not consider to be moral. In other words, he becomes a law unto himself. Suppose everyone said this? We would soon have chaos.

As a result of this fuzzy and confused thinking, Americans are involved in an immoral spree that has few parallels in history. United Press International carried a major story recently entitled, "What's Wrong with America?" Rioters burn and loot. Demonstrators defile the flag and curse the President. Young men answer the call to arms with, "No, we won't go." Mongers of hate travel throughout the country spreading their poison. Teen-agers are turning by the thousands to drugs and sex. United Press International asked this question, "Is the nation going crazy, led pell-mell by a generation of mixed-up, turned-on, and dropped-out youth?"

Our headlines and television screens tell the story of the obvious dissidents, such as the angry apostles of black power, the draft-card burners, the hippies, the haters of the left and the right, the drug takers. But lumped together these make up no more than 5 percent of the American population. What about the other one hundred and ninety million American people? They are the vast backbone majority with whom the nation will survive or fall. The difficulty with the other hundred and ninety million is that they conform and they don't want to be involved. Many of them are selfish and indifferent, so indifferent in fact that many educators are calling our age the Age of Apathy.

But there are deeper problems of morality than this. Some time ago 845 members of a Christian youth society were asked if they cheated on examinations. Eighty-seven percent confessed that they did. Another survey in a respected high school revealed that 90 percent of the students were involved in cheating. The principal said, "Many students are more concerned with escaping detection and punishment than they are with personal character, reputation, or social consequences. They say, 'I'll take my chances.' One student commented, 'We're success oriented, so we figure it's all right to cheat in order to succeed.'" There are thousands of churchgoing young people in America who are able to list all the kings of Israel, yet they cheat on examinations without any qualms of conscience.

The three institutions in America responsible for morality are the *family*, the *school*, and the *church*. The *family* is the logical instructor in morality, but unfortunately all too many parents may teach one thing but they live another. Christian parents are sometimes interested only in a confession of faith or a recitation of Bible facts. Morality is bypassed. For example, cheating on income tax is no different from cheating on a school examination.

The *school* has also failed. In separating church and state, we have also isolated church and morality. A few years ago 50 percent of the content of textbooks used in schools had moral significance. Today only 3 percent has, and even that 3 percent is disappearing. The school has concentrated on the intellectual and the physical and the material, but not on the moral and spiritual.

Thus we are sowing the wind and we are now reaping a whirlwind (Hosea 8:7) among a new generation of young people. The failure of the family and the school might be understandable, for both of these institu-

tions mirror the society in which we live. But the church has no excuse.

Too often the church has dealt only with the sex problem and not with the many other problems involved in morality. A man may be greedy, selfish, spiteful, cruel, jealous, unjust, violent, brutal, grasping, unscrupulous, a liar, stubborn, arrogant, and dead to almost every noble instinct, and still we're ready to say of him that he is not an immoral man. Morality is not concerned only with sex but also with envy, cowardice, covetousness, cruelty, lying, and laziness. The commandment, "Thou shalt not commit adultery" (Exodus 20:14), is only one out of ten.

Dr. Edward Eddy, president of Chatham College, in his article, "What About the Sinful Student?" charges American churches generally with gross negligence. He says, "The church has failed badly to answer the moral questions of youth. Many young ministers, priests, and rabbis fresh from their training are unprepared to answer the pleas of young people for honest, intelligent reasoning on questions of morality."

The question comes to the average clergyman and Sunday School teacher, and for that matter the average Christian, from young people, "What can we do? What is the yardstick that we live by?" And many times the church has no answer.

First, we need to focus the minds of young and old alike on the sovereignty of God and the Lordship of Jesus Christ. This must not just be a doctrine that we accept with our heads but a personal application in our daily lives. Whether or not anyone else is watching, whether or not we will ever get caught, God is omni-present and He is a God who hates sin just as much as He ever has. He is not a divine buddy who slaps us on the back when we succeed.

Secondly, we need to emphasize the Lordship of Jesus Christ. It is not enough that people make a verbal commitment to Christ. They must know that He is to be their Lord in every area of life. In much of our so-called evangelistic preaching we have asked people to come to Christ as Savior, but we have neglected to ask people to come to Christ as Lord. He is to be Lord in every area of our lives. In our school work, in our social relationships, in our sex life, in our business relationships, He is to be Lord. We are to have the highest ethical and moral principles even if it means to suffer loss in this secular and materialistic age.

There are thousands of young people today searching for truth. But they are searching for something even more. They are searching for peace of mind, peace of heart, and tranquility of soul.

The newspapers the last few days carried the story of Frank Sinatra's wife and two of the Beatles who are high in the Himalaya Mountains meditating and searching for peace of mind that they have not been able to find in the pressures, frustrations, and complexities of the lives they have been living.

Jesus Christ once asked the question, "Whom do men say that I . . . am?" (Matthew 16:13). From the time He appeared on earth and walked among men there have been those who have questioned His claim that He was the Son of the living God and had the answers to the human dilemma and the moral questions. Down through the centuries these questions have been asked in every generation.

Albert Schweitzer while in Africa sought vainly for the historical Jesus, whom the great missionary thought was obscured by the Biblical account of His life and work. In Germany, Rudolph Bultmann has spent many years teaching that modern man needs a demythologized Jesus. Thus the modern world as well as the ancient seeks to provide an answer to the question, "What think ye of Christ?" (Matthew 22:42).

How thrilling and refreshing to turn to the Bible and find the thrilling and moving story of Christ! Here is no philosophizing. The miracles He performed testify to His divine mission. By forgiving sins He demonstrated He is God, for only God can forgive sins. No doctrine in the Bible is more central than that of the Lordship of Jesus Christ. The false representations of Christianity can always be tested at this one point. If the Christology is faulty, it can be predicted that the entire theology is questionable.

If only these young people who have gone to the Himalayas would make a prayerful study of the Scriptures and read the writings of men of God who have faithfully portrayed the Christ of the Scriptures, then with Peter of old they would cry, "Thou art the Christ, the Son of the Living God" (Matthew 16:16). They would find the answer to the riddles and mysteries of life. They would have a hope beyond the grave that is needed by every man who is to find fulfillment in this life. But beyond that, they would find a moral code to live by—a code that would guide and regulate their lives and bring fulfillment, happiness, and peace.

Man was made for authority; and without authority he becomes confused, frustrated, and unhappy. The one authority that works is the authority of the Lordship of Jesus Christ.

When the Apostle Paul said to the Philippian jailer, "Believe on the Lord Jesus Christ, and thou shalt be saved" (Acts 16:31), he emphasized the word "Lord" as well as "Jesus" and "Christ." It meant far more than just an intellectual assent. It meant that from that moment on the Philippian jailer was to be under the daily leadership, direction, and guidance of the Lord Jesus Christ.

This is what young people desperately want to be told. Unfortunately too many of us in the church are giving forth an uncertain sound. We are not saying, "Thus saith the Lord," as the prophets and the apostles did.

Thirdly, we need to de-emphasize the what-do-I-get-out-of-it approach to Christianity. Christianity is not a cafeteria where you can take what you like and leave the rest. Christianity is not man-centered; it is Christ-centered. When we try to mold it into our image to suit our craving, we have seriously distorted it.

The moral code is laid down in the Ten Commandments and the Sermon on the Mount. If we live by these under the Lordship of Christ, then we will get the peace, joy, and satisfaction we are searching for, no matter whether we live in a ghetto or live in a palace. The outward circumstances make no difference. It's the inward faith in God that is basic to our longings, our yearnings, and our cravings.

Some of the most miserable people I have ever met are some of the richest people I know. Their money, their materialism, have not satisfied. And yet we in America are putting so much emphasis on the material that we are not far from the Communist when the Communist indicates that if we all have enough, we'll be happy. But you don't find happiness and fulfillment in materialism. It's bound in the deep spiritual yearning that can be met only by a true faith in Jesus Christ.

You say, "But how can I find faith in Jesus Christ?"

Right now where you sit or where you are riding in your car you can repent of your sins and receive Christ as Savior. You can make that a definite act at this moment. Your life can be changed. You can find Christ.

You say, "But that's too simple."

And that's precisely why many people stumble over the Gospel, because God made it so simple that even children can understand it. You can receive Christ, whoever you are, right now by putting your faith in Him;



and you can find what many millionaires have been unable to find in money. You can find it in faith in Christ.

Shall we pray. . . .

## Bankruptcy Stamped on New Economics

**HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI**

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 27, 1968

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, I would like to call to the attention of the Members the following article by Dr. Melchior Palyi, the internationally renowned economist, which appeared in the March 27 edition of the Chicago Tribune. I feel this is an especially timely article since it points out the practical facts of life that removal of the gold cover as well as the new two tier system for gold convertibility are purely short-term gimmicks. Efforts to control the outflow of gold in our balance of payments depends on a repudiation of the false economic theory now prevailing in Washington. The article follows:

**BANKRUPTCY STAMPED ON NEW ECONOMICS**  
(By Dr. Melchior Palyi)

The dollar was pegged to gold at the rate of \$35 to the fine ounce on Jan. 31, 1934. The pegging was maintained by short-term borrowing abroad and by actual sales of gold to foreigners, both on massive scales. But behind the gold standard facade, we kept our money supply recklessly expanding and our payments balance deteriorating, in violation of the rules of the gold standard.

The remarkable thing is not that this system has broken down; the remarkable thing is that it has lasted for 34 years and 6 weeks. It broke down because too many dollars were pouring out of our banks, and the gold bricks were vanishing into hoards. Bad money drove the good one into hiding. Faced with the peril of losing our entire gold reserve as well as the support of friendly central banks, the convertibility of the dollar was informally suspended on St. Patrick's day. The faked convertibility, put to the acid test, was found wanting.

Now, then, what sort of money system did we choose? No system at all, is the answer, merely a makeshift arrangement to keep the dollar in suspended animation.

On the open gold market, the dollar is left to float—no more gold sales to bolster the dollar. On the other hand, dollars held by foreign central banks remain convertible as heretofore, provided that the holders refrain from converting. So, the shabby appearance of convertibility is being preserved.

### TWO KINDS OF DOLLARS

In other words, there are now two kinds of dollars. Billions of them, held by foreign authorities, remain (or pretend to remain) "as good as gold." These may be called the official dollars. The "private" ones, such as your money and mine, will be left to float; their value now fluctuates in terms of gold and eventually will fluctuate against hard currencies. In terms of German marks, Swiss and French francs, etc., these private dollars will be rising or falling, depending on the whims and hunches of the foreign spectators—on their guesses about the prospects of our payments balance.

St. Patrick's day, 1968, may well go down as a turning point of monumental significance. For one thing, it has stamped the seal of bankruptcy on the new economics. The idea that one can have a stable money system and yet keep the money-printing press

running, this phony idea, applied for three decades, has at last been exposed.

For another thing, we get a lesson in fluctuating exchange rates. The gold value of a floating dollar sank by 20 per cent on the first day of trading, and jumped by over 10 per cent the second. Once a currency is "off gold," such wild fluctuations are a common earmark of its valuation—a fact that is usually ignored by the learned gentlemen who propagandize this sort of money system (or lack of system) from the top of the Ivory tower.

### MAY ABSORB SHOCK

For a short while, foreign central banks may absorb the shock of our destabilization by buying up the excess dollars at fixed prices, as heretofore. But they could scarcely continue doing so without destroying the confidence of the world in their own currencies.

The reason why we are tumbling into floating exchange rates, sacrificing the very base of monetary stability, was the necessity to protect our remaining gold reserve. But the attempt to do so by breaking the monetary system into two tiers—a schizophrenic dollar—will boomerang. If this moratorium on gold payments, which is what it amounts to, is prolonged, we shall lose the gold thru the back door, as it were, because the central banks of the world will not hold on to their dollar balances indefinitely.

## The Riot Commission Report

**HON. FRED R. HARRIS**

OF OKLAHOMA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, March 28, 1968

Mr. HARRIS. Mr. President, the President's National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders did its best to "find the truth and express it" in its report, as the President directed us to do. Criticism of that report—some of it uninformed, some misrepresentative—has been given greater publicity than it deserves, for I believe the weight of responsible national opinion is decisively on the side of the report.

I invite the attention of Senators to four eloquent editorials, for example, which appeared in four of our major cities immediately after the report was issued.

From the Washington Post on March 1:

The report of the Riot Commission splits the darkness like a flash of lightning. It is a distinguished, powerful and potentially useful document not because it presents any startling revelations or novel solutions but because it tells the truth with stark candor, exposing the hideous cancer of racial discrimination and injustice which must be excised from the American system if it is not to prove fatal to American life.

From the Philadelphia Bulletin on March 3:

The National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders has studied last summer's outbursts and come up with a commentary on the United States today.

The picture is sketched in brutally jagged lines, but its truth cannot be denied.

From the Chicago Daily News on March 2:

Eleven men and women comprising a cross-section of thinking America have produced a report that can be the basis for a massive

new assault on the race problem—and, just possibly a breakthrough.

For the Kerner Report, while containing no startling conclusion, manages to convey a sense of great weight and authority. It manages to say that when any similar group of honest, widely assorted citizens gave the matter the same amount of study, they would come up with about the same answers. And they are rough answers.

From the Baltimore Sun on March 2:

It is time now to end the destruction and the violence, not only in the streets in the ghetto but in the lives of the people.

This is the concluding sentence of the summary of the report issued by the National Commission on Civil Disorder after its study of city riots. It should be something on which all Americans can agree. But agreement with this conclusion calls for a great deal more than a mere nod of the head. It demands a grasp of the full breadth and depth of the ferment which explodes into riots. It demands a clear knowledge of the harsh facts of racial discrimination. It demands a willingness to plan, develop, carry through—and pay for—the Federal, state, urban and private programs which can remove the threat of more destruction and more violence.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the four editorials from which I have quoted be printed in the Extensions of Remarks.

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

[From the Washington (D.C.) Post, Mar. 1, 1968]

### RIOT REPORT

The report of the Riot Commission splits the darkness like a flash of lightning. It is a distinguished, powerful and potentially useful document not because it presents any startling revelations or novel solutions but because it tells the truth with stark candor, exposing the hideous cancer of racial discrimination and injustice which must be excised from the American system if it is not to prove fatal to American life.

The danger is more than a danger of disorder. It goes beyond the perils of "the long, hot summer." It threatens more than violence and arson and looting and destruction. What is at stake is the unity of America. This Nation, the Commission warns, is moving toward two societies, one black, one white—separate and unequal. If that movement is not arrested and reversed, it will bring death to the most hopeful of all mankind's attempts at political organization. The alternative to separation is unity—the extension of the promise of American life to all Americans irrespective of race.

One of the most useful aspects of the Riot Commission's report is that it shatters some myths. It dismisses unequivocally the idea that last summer's riots were the result of any organized plan or conspiracy. The true causes lie in pervasive segregation and discrimination in education, employment and housing, in the concentration of impoverished and desperate Negroes in the decaying inner cities, and in the squalor, degradation, bitterness and alienation of these ghettos.

How much of the violence of last summer was a direct consequence of misguided police conduct is one of the startling disclosures of the report. Again and again, shots fired by nervous or trigger-happy police officers were assumed to come from snipers and were answered by volleys tragically destructive to life and property. The Commission warns in the sternest terms against the danger of excessive force in combatting unrest and most particularly against resort to weapons of mass destruction, such as automatic rifles, machine guns and tanks. The use of such weap-

ons in densely populated urban areas is sheer madness.

Is there yet time to avert the waste and sorrow and disaster of rioting in the summer months that lie ahead? Little time is left: and little has been learned from the experience of the summers that have passed. But the truth, if understood and accepted by a free people, can be immensely invigorating and liberating. The Commission points to solutions. They are obvious but they are not easy. They call, in short, for an obliteration of all color lines and for the generous holding out of a helping hand to all those—especially to the youth—who have for so long been confined in the basement of the American economy and the American polity. Treated in time, cancers may be curable.

The report—or at least the summary of it currently available—provides few specifics as to expenditures and commitment of resources. It does, however, say one thing that goes to the very heart of the problem. Observing that the programs it proposes “will require unprecedented levels of funding and performance,” it declares that “there can be no higher priority for national action and no higher claim on the Nation's conscience.” Here is the real nub of the matter. When this truth is genuinely and unstintingly accepted by the Nation's leadership—when it can really be made the first order of business for the American people—it may afford the margin of business for the American people—it may afford the margin of hope that will restore the national health.

[From the Philadelphia (Pa.) Sunday Bulletin, Mar. 3, 1968]

#### TWO SOCIETIES OR ONE?

The National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders has studied last summer's outbursts and come up with a commentary on the United States today.

The picture is sketched in brutally jagged lines, but its truth cannot be denied.

We are, says the commission, moving toward a sort of American apartheid—a black society and a white one, “separate and unequal.” Discrimination and segregation no longer threaten just the Negro, but “the future of every American.” Continuing polarization will ultimately destroy our “basic democratic values.” Violence in streets and in lives must end.

The commission roughs out a huge panorama of programs and changes to reverse this disastrous trend. But the most haunting, most memorable and finally the toughest of its antidotes is this: “From every American it will require new attitudes, new understanding and, above all, new will.”

We are summoned, then, all of us in this work of rehabilitating the nation. Programs we must have, but they will not be enough.

This is a distinctive departure for an official commission report. And it is the best reminder yet that the tremendous steps of desegregation over the past decade and a half, valuable though they have been, are not nearly enough to unify the nation, even technically.

As to the programs, the commission makes good on its assertion that they must be “on a scale equal to the dimension of the problems.” In jobs, it calls for supplying 550,000 this year, at least double President Johnson's request from public and private sectors; in housing, its call for 600,000 units in the coming year is double the Presidential goal.

The commission makes no truly innovative recommendations; everything it proposes has been suggested by someone sometime before. That is hardly surprising. On the other hand, its advocacy may add weight to concepts like a “basic allowance to individuals and families”—the negative income tax, involving “substantially greater federal expenditures than anything now contemplated.”

In other words, a measure of the change in

individual attitude is to be a whole new equation of public outlays. The report wisely avoids any mention of a conflict in spending with Vietnam, but adds: “There can be no higher priority for national action and no higher claim on the nation's conscience.”

There is much, however, that government—local government especially—is told to do that would cost little or nothing, such as neighborhood grievance machinery and better political representation in ghettos.

Why did the disorders happen? It would, in a way, be comforting to think that a conspiracy did cause them, as some people thought at the time. The commission's report rules out that “easy” answer. There was no conspiracy; the cause was all the harsh and bitter things that have been long apparent.

The report is strong, it does not flinch. All of its recommendations will not be met, but it offers a new framework in which to think and plan. With one hand it holds up a mirror to the United States and with the other it points the way to rehabilitation: enrich the ghetto and integrate the society.

“Choice is still possible,” says the commission. We cannot hang back from that choice.

[From the Chicago (Ill.) Daily News, Mar. 2, 1968]

#### STRAIGHT TALK ON RACISM

Eleven men and women comprising a cross-section of thinking America have produced a report that can be the basis for a massive new assault on the race problem—and just possibly a breakthrough.

For the Kerner Report, while containing no startling conclusions, manages to convey a sense of great weight and authority. It manages to say that when any similar group of honest, widely assorted citizens gave the matter the same amount of study, they would come up with about the same answers. And they are rough answers.

The report addresses itself primarily to the white community. It says that the white community is wrong in trying to pin the blame for the Negroes' plight on the Negroes themselves. It says that the white community is wrong jumping to the easy assumption that Negroes rioted in the streets last summer because they were led by some shadowy “conspiracy” of evil, Communist-inspired firebrands. There were individual agitators, but there was no such conspiracy.

It says that Negroes rioted because of spiritual frustration and desperation of a kind the white community does not comprehend—the despair that wells up from being forever pushed into a situation of being nothing, having nothing and having no hope of changing things. It warns that these same surging spontaneous forces, fired by frustration that has not been significantly relieved, can regroup next summer and lay waste more sections of more cities. And it says that unless the chain is broken the United States is headed toward a perilous separation into two warring societies, “one black, one white—separate but unequal.”

It lists a number of positive things that should be done to head off this result, and some of them are drastic. It proposes that government and the private sector each create a million new jobs in the next three years; that industry be encouraged to plunge vigorously into the job-training business; that floors be placed under family income; that the federal government put an absolute end to housing discrimination; that every disadvantaged child be given a hand up the education ladder and all school segregation be ended.

As the report was issued, the nation and its communities were astir with activities in every related area: President Johnson was promising to deal sternly with crime in the streets; the Senate was haggling over fair

housing; John Gardner was in Chicago championing his urban jobs program; the Chicago school board was mulling over Supt. Redmond's minor but embattled school busing proposals.

The report swept past all these specifics and leveled its main battery at the problem that is the common denominator of them all: the prejudice that grips the white community.

It undertook to pry open unwilling eyes to reality:

“What white Americans have never fully understood—but what the Negro can never forget—is that white society is deeply implicated in the ghetto. White institutions created it, white institutions maintain it and white society condones it.” And more simply: “White racism is essentially responsible for the explosive mixture which has been accumulating in our cities.”

And it gave that white society just two choices: face the problem squarely and attack it sincerely and massively, or accept responsibility for America's deterioration into social agony and chaos.

We congratulate the commission and its chairman for having the wisdom to grasp the heart of the problem and the courage to expose it to view.

[From the Baltimore (Md.) Sun, Mar. 2, 1968]

#### FACING THE FACTS

“It is time now to end the destruction and the violence, not only in the streets in the ghetto but in the lives of the people.”

This is the concluding sentence of the summary of the report issued by the National Commission on Civil Disorder after its study of city riots. It should be something on which all Americans can agree. But agreement with this conclusion calls for a great deal more than a mere nod of the head. It demands a grasp of the full breadth and depth of the ferment which explodes into riots. It demands a clear knowledge of the harsh facts of racial discrimination. It demands a willingness to plan, develop, carry through—and pay for—the Federal, state, urban and private programs which can remove the threat of more destruction and more violence.

The commission did not estimate in its summary the total cost in dollars of the programs it recommended. Some of the news dispatches gave the matter an ironic note by suggesting that the programs might cost as much as the war in Vietnam—\$25 billion or more a year. Yet one of the grim facts which must be faced along with the facts in the commission's report is that the war is a heavy drain on the country in terms of dollars and the waste caused by inflation as well as in the confused sense of national purpose.

The commission's recommendations sound familiar, but the important thing about them is that they call for a great deal more than is being done now. Thus the commission urged the creation of 2 million jobs over the next three years and programs to bring 6 million units of new and existing decent housing within the reach of low and moderate income families within the next five years. A massive improvement in public education was urgently recommended.

“We have learned much. But we have uncovered no startling truths, no unique insights, no simple solutions,” said the commission. There is no simple cause of riots, such as a national conspiracy, the commission found. Better law enforcement is essential but over-repressive measures and reliance upon rifles, machine guns and tanks threaten more harm than good.

The most fundamental matter, in the complex of factors which cause riots, was described as “the racial attitude and behavior of white Americans toward black Ameri-



cans." Facing this fact, squarely and honestly, is the first necessary step toward ending the destruction and the violence.

### Congressman Hamilton Introduces Legislation for Family Farm

#### HON. LEE H. HAMILTON

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 28, 1968

Mr. HAMILTON. Mr. Speaker, I introduce today a bill to establish a loan program to allow farm families, and especially young farmers, to acquire and improve farms.

Disquieting facts confront us in agriculture today. An average of 800,000 persons leave the farm each year as the farm population has shrunk in the past three decades from 32 million to 12 million. Farmers are getting older and by 1970 half the farmers in America will be 55 years of age or older.

I recently asked a group of high school seniors from a rural community how many planned to return to that community after educational and military obligations were discharged. Not a single hand was raised.

Youth in our rural areas leave for the city and jobs in industry because it requires no investment and allows them to earn a wage sufficient for most young families to live well. They incur no business debt and no crushing payments of principal and interest. But family farms have been and must continue to be the basis of American agriculture, and my bill is designed to encourage the family farm. The difficulties in establishing such a farm today, though, are formidable.

The investment required for an economically viable farm is well over \$100,000 for land and machinery. To borrow this money at current interest rates places a real hardship on young farmers. With luck, they may be able to secure their investment but they will not enjoy standard-of-living benefits over the decades.

So the young farm family must live very austere for many years. It is unfair that those whose incredible productivity brings health and prosperity to the Nation must live for decades in austerity. About one-fourth, or 9,000 of family farmers eligible for farmownership loans each year have insufficient equity to purchase land or make essential improvements and repay in full a 40-year loan with interest. In an agriculture where expansion is often the key to economic success, the family farmer is unable to finance it.

The American farmer has a fundamental right to share in the prosperity of the Nation he feeds. This is basic justice but it is also basic economics. For if we do not preserve the family farm as the most significant producer of our food and fiber, we will see the prices of these commodities increase far beyond what they are now.

Mr. Speaker, the bill I offer today is a

simple one. It amends the Consolidated Farmers Home Administration Act of 1961 to provide for additional means of making direct loans for acquisition and improvement of a farm. It will not, of course, cure all of the ills of the agricultural sector, but it will enable farm families to a surer footing upon which to build and prosper.

The bill provides that at least a part of the loan which is equal to the normal agricultural value of the farm as improved, but not less than 50 percent of the loan, may be amortized over a period of 40 years at 4 percent interest. The balance of the loan would not bear interest or be due until the end of the 40-year period, or any extension approved by the Secretary, provided the farm is owned by an eligible borrower.

These provisions of the bill will allow young farmers and others to own and improve their own farms, amortize their debt, and still enjoy a reasonable standard of living.

Mr. Speaker, I urge immediate and favorable consideration of this bill. It will encourage our youth to remain in the rural areas, slowing the exodus from the farm. It will encourage farmownership, and help to maintain the family farm as the most significant producer of agricultural commodities.

Mr. Speaker, the cost of this legislation, in view of the benefits to be gained, is small. It requires an additional \$30 million authorization for loans to be made from the Farmers Home Administration direct loan account during fiscal 1969. The administrative expenses involved will amount to approximately \$1.3 million. This money will be returned to the Treasury with interest, not only in dollars, but in increased income, productivity, profits and employment. This is not spending, Mr. Speaker; it is investment in the young farm families of America.

### Interlochen Arts Academy Orchestra

#### HON. ROBERT P. GRIFFIN

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, March 28, 1968

Mr. GRIFFIN. Mr. President, the Interlochen Arts Academy orchestra, from Interlochen, Mich., is now world famous. When this renowned group of teenage musicians performed in Chicago recently, well-deserved acclaim followed their appearance.

I ask unanimous consent that two articles by the distinguished music critic, Roger Dettmer, about that appearance be printed in the Extensions of Remarks.

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

[From the Chicago (Ill.) American, Mar. 2, 1968]

TOUCHING TRIBUTE TO LOU FINK  
(By Roger Dettmer)

Nothing in contemporary performance is greater tonic to the spirit than an outstandingly gifted student orchestra, among which the Interlochen Arts Academy's is foremost in the western hemisphere. Last evening—in

memory of Lou Kent Fink, a Chicagoan who gave generously of himself to secure the future of this singular high school of the fine arts—they played once more in Orchestra hall, better than ever.

Theo Alcandara, a 1966 Mitropoulos competition winner from Spain, currently on loan to Interlochen from the University of Michigan, conducted as if his charges [age 13 thru 18] were professional. They responded in kind to the spur. Not a single work on his program condescended to youth, and two at least might have thrown certain of North America's established professional orchestras.

Most of the nation's symphonic congregations, allowing them the manpower, can cut Wagner's "Meistersinger" Prelude and Respighi's "Pines of Rome." But how many are capable of Mozart's Sinfonia Concertante [K.Anh. 9] for solo oboe, clarinet, horn, and bassoon with orchestra? Or Ulysses Kay's gorgeously sonorous "Fantasy Variations" of 1963—no matter its obvious derivation from Hindemith by way of Roy Harris?

How many, just for starters, have soloists the caliber of Oboist Richard Skidmore and Hornist Bradley Warnaar [not to slight Sally Saxon, substituting clarinetist on short notice, or Bassoonist Martha Driggs]? Young Skidmore cannot, as an 11th grader, be older than 16, nor Warnaar more than 17, yet both played musically—in particular the younger oboist—and technically with the poise of Big Five professionals. But let's not neglect mention of Concertmaster I-Fu Wang, a Formosan, just turned 16, or Trumpeter Timothy Slayman, Flutist Nancy Warner, and English-hornist David Schinbeckler.

Were they high-school athletes rather than serious musicians, colleges [not to mention professional orchestras] would be counter-bidding for them as bonus-babies. Which is maybe what serious music most needs to survive:

Rich trustees with the instincts of proud alumni, meaning endowments for such talented youngsters, and first call of their postgraduate services.

The only sadness last night was a knowledge that compulsory military service confronts the boys in Interlochen's high school of the arts; that the same hands now holding instruments shall be trained in the use of guns—in the art and ethics of Killing for A Cause [nations have always killed the youth of their enemies for A Cause, and had their own youth killed in turn].

That thought aside, if never out of mind, Conductor Alcandara earned further local exposure on the basis of last night's gallant returns. His musicianship was alert and enlivening, his command formidable. Not the least, this tribute to Lou Fink touched the heart of all who knew him, and having known Lou cherished him.

[From the Chicago (Ill.) American, Mar. 10, 1968]

FOR MUSIC'S TOMORROWS  
(By Roger Dettmer)

A concert here last week by the Interlochen Arts Academy orchestra—which is to say 105 intent and accomplished young people from 13 to 18 years of age, come together from home as far flung as Formosa—was an experience of particular pleasure and no little poignance.

The pleasure derived from performances steadily more assured and impressive, after a tentative start in Wagner's "Meistersinger" Prelude. By any measure, the solo playing of Oboist Richard Skidmore and Hornist Bradley Warnaar was outstanding in Mozart's E-flat Sinfonia Concertante [K.Anh. 9 or K. 297b, take your choice]. Indeed, I should have thought them unbelievable, had not the tone and artistry of a 17-year-old hornist in the Cincinnati Symphony Orchestra 20-odd years ago been remembered.

His name was Gunther Schuller, leader today of "Third Stream" composers in this country [who seek a union of symphonic and jazz components], as well as dean of a distinguished eastern conservatory. The same Schuller whose first opera, "The Visitation," was an object of derision on the occasion of its United States premiere, in Manhattan, last June by the Hamburg Staatsoper, only to triumph last autumn in San Francisco, and have its midwest premiere last night at the University of Illinois in Urbana.

For 3 seasons, if I may trust memory, Schuller was Eugene Goossens' principal horn in Cincinnati—still to be heard gloriously on a recording, if one can be found, of a "Rosenkavalier" Suite arranged by Antal Dorati. Yet he was no older than 16 at the time of his appointment, and departed at 19 to play first horn in the Metropolitan Opera orchestra. Why not, then, Bradley Warnaar in a comparable post, or Oboist Richard Skidmore?

The critical need for young players in our nation's professional orchestras [strings are especially lacking] is a serious concern of conductors and managers, to the extent that many middle-income orchestras are regularly raided by the rich big-leaguers. What makes this problem of particular urgency is the 52-week season to which our major orchestras increasingly are committed—meaning a need for alternate principal players.

The Interlochen vision—a high school of arts accredited by the University of Michigan—is severally propitious. Not only are youngsters given a rounded course of studies, with much individual instruction, but learn early the discipline—as well as the distinction—of playing in an orchestra. Perhaps Interlochen can overcome the soloist syndrome once and for all; the benighted hope of parents, especially, that their children shall be Hefetz or Horowitz or Starkers when many could earn handsomely and function importantly as symphony orchestra players.

To achieve this, however, we need additional Interlochens around the country, not just one with facilities for only a few hundred carefully screened students. We also need an awareness among orchestra-trustees that bonuses paid to promising young student-players can be as important for music as bonuses paid to promising young athletes of high-school age are important in professional sports.

The functional lifespan of a wind instrumentalist is shorter than that of string players, because lip muscles weaken faster [conductors of my acquaintance have suggested reducing the retirement age of wind players from 65 to 55, and in one radical case to 52]. Not only are reserves needed, but the soonest possible training of gifted youngsters in order that they may fulfill their virtuosic potential at the earliest possible age—as Schuller did in Cincinnati; as Skidmore, Warnaar and several of their Interlochen schoolmates, comparably proficient, shall do in the near future.

The need is everywhere, but sufficient facilities are lacking. Interlochen's Arts academy has pointed the way for others to follow—to attempt to match—and must, if we are to remain a musically healthy nation.

### The Executive Abolition of Graduate Student and Occupational Draft Deferrals

**HON. THOMAS B. CURTIS**

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 28, 1968

Mr. CURTIS. Mr. Speaker, the effects of the recent order by the President on

the advice of the National Security Council to abolish all graduate student deferments except those in the health sciences and suspend the list of essential skills and critical occupations are just beginning to be comprehended throughout the country.

There is a strong possibility that grave dislocations will result in the colleges and universities throughout the country because of the abolition of these draft-deferred classifications. Yet these student deferments have worked an unquestioned inequity in our draft system, which is intolerable in time of armed conflict when the risks should be spread equally across the society. We are, therefore, confronted today with the results of an irrational system, one designed almost 20 years ago without adequate study and deliberation and never thoroughly reexamined since.

It is my purpose today to obtain and publish information and to enlist the aid of the academic community in the development of a sensible system of military manpower procurement. I have long been an opponent of student deferments in times of armed conflict. However, the results of my previous study of the draft lead me to believe that the administration does not at this time have the information necessary to make an intelligent decision on the abolition of graduate and occupational deferments, for the single reason that it has not conducted studies of the competing manpower needs of our society.

It is apparent that graduate education will suffer significantly by the President's order. To illustrate, in a memorandum I received from the Council of Graduate Schools in the United States it is estimated that 40-percent reductions will occur this fall in first- and second-year enrollments, which, the council states will "be disrupting to all universities and disastrous to many". Furthermore, curtailment of graduate education will have substantial effects on undergraduate education because many graduate students assist in the instruction of undergraduate classes. Because the council's memorandum contains many other points worthy of study, I am appending it at the conclusion of my remarks. Similar questions should be posed regarding occupational deferments and essential skills in the military and civilian sectors of our society to supplement the council's study for graduate students.

The sudden disruption of graduate education and impairment of essential skills and activities is regrettable, but may have a beneficial facet if it operates as a catalyst to bring scholarly attention to our military manpower procurement policies which has been absent for many, many years. The difficulty we face today is in no small part due to the neglect of private scholars, educational leaders, public officials, and military men, to devote sufficient attention toward inventorying and coordinating the needs for skills in our society on a continuing basis.

Student deferments were written into law in the Universal Military Training Act of 1952, in exchange for which the universities and colleges desisted in their

criticism of UMT and a peacetime draft system. This must now be viewed in the long run as serving only as a dangerous palliative to the universities and colleges during the intervening years of peace which led to the curtailment of academic examination into and criticism of the equitableness and efficiency of the military draft system. Without academic concern or political interest from elsewhere in the society, the defense bureaucracy was not about to critically evaluate its system.

Now the Congress is confronted with a second draft crisis in the short period of 1 year. Precisely 1 year ago, in March 1967, President Johnson's second—with in a space of 2 years—"blue ribbon" executive commission, under the chairmanship of Burke Marshall, presented to the Congress its recommendations for alterations in the Selective Service System. Congressional committees subsequently held what can only be described as cursory and inadequate hearings on the Executive's recommendations in April 1967, and a bill changing the existing Selective Service law in only minor ways was passed with practically no debate by the Congress in June 1967.

Prior to that President Johnson's Defense Department study, which was instituted to head off the Republican congressional initiative of 1964, was submitted 1 year late, and with only superficial supporting data. Prior to that there have been other Executive "blue ribbon" commissions established purportedly to analyze and report on the operation of the Selective Service System, but on the basis of the "reports" clearly no study or analysis worthy of the name had been conducted. Indeed, the reports were probably written before the Commission selected to give them public acceptability had been established.

Congress itself has ducked the issue and chosen instead to take refuge in "conclusions" offered by these secretly conducted Executive commissions.

The fundamental neglect common to the series of closed door executive studies I have mentioned is to compile the skills needed in a modern army and correlate them with their counterparts in our civilian sector. No executive commission study has begun at this basic level. I have described their various recommendations "Rearranging the Teacups"—CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, volume 113, part 4, pages 5414-5415.

There are several areas where study is needed in order to develop an intelligent manpower procurement system.

First, we must collect data on the comparability of skills needed by the military that are in existence in the civilian sector. I have seen studies that suggest that this comparability ratio in modern technological warfare of the latter part of the 20th century is extremely high, perhaps as high as 90 percent. What this means is that only 10 to 20 percent of our men in uniform perform skills peculiar to the military, the rest are performing back-up or civilian-type skills. To put this in some context, during the Civil War the comparability of skills ratio was estimated at around 50 percent and in World War I this ratio had risen to approximately 60 percent.



Second, the data on comparability of skills between the military and civilian needs should be utilized. We should go forward with efforts to replace as much as possible military personnel performing nonmilitary jobs with civilians. Our military manpower requirements could be cut substantially in these areas if the studies on the underlying skills are made and applied intelligently.

Third, the other side of the comparability coin, is attracting civilian skills into the military through adequate inducements of improved pay and living conditions. A pertinent example is the Navy Seabees enlistment system in World War II, where comparability of civilian and military skills was utilized effectively. When there was a need for a bulldozer operator, the Seabees recruited one from the civilian sector. Though he might have been fat and 40, he was skilled because he had been bulldozing as a livelihood. This was far more efficient than the present system of sending a 19-year-old draftee, who might prefer to be a mechanic or a cook, first to boot camp and then a bulldozer school run by the military establishment.

Fourth, we need more data on critical skills in the civilian sector which implement our military preparedness and keep our economy going. During my study of the Selective Service System in the past several years I have been most interested in determining what mechanism had been developed to ascertain what skills were essential and what industries were critical in order to grant draft deferments. I regret to report that there has been almost nothing done in this area at all by the administration. Yet in absence of any information or data, the administration has ordered graduate student and occupational deferments abolished.

The method which was established by the administration prior to the Selective Service Amendments of 1967 to determine occupational deferments and important skills was through the Interagency Advisory Committee on Essential Skills and Critical Occupations. This Interagency Advisory Committee was composed of representatives from seven agencies of the executive branch: Agriculture, Commerce, Defense, Health, Education, and Welfare, Interior, Labor, and the Selective Service System. In the 1967 Amendments to the Selective Service Act this function was apparently transferred to the National Security Council under the new name "National Manpower Resource Board." In my remarks on the floor of the House on July 17, 1967—CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, volume 113, part 14, page 19068—I noted the curious fact that during the debate on the establishment of a "National Manpower Resource Board" no mention was made of its predecessor, the Interagency Advisory Committee. In fact, the latter agency had suspended its operations for the prior 6 months in anticipation of congressional action even though we were engaged in considerable manpower expansion in the Military Establishment because of the Vietnam war.

The difficulties I had found with the previously existing Interagency Advisory Committee, and which should be exam-

ined in regard to the National Manpower Resource Board, are not so much with the structure but with performance. As of July 1967, the list of currently critical occupations had not been examined since 1962, despite rapid increases in technological growth and vast changes in needed skills. The job descriptions used are taken from the 1949—supplemented by the 1955 changes—to the "Dictionary of Occupational Titles", although a new edition of the dictionary, itself becoming rapidly obsolete, has been available since 1966. Secretary of Labor Willard Wirtz has informed me by correspondence that neither the Department of Labor nor the Selective Service System keep statistics on the number of workers deferred in each critical occupation let alone what are critical occupations. Since the purpose of the lists, in the words of the Defense Department, is to "protect those skills in which an overall shortage of workers in an occupation exists or is developing which will significantly interfere with the effective functioning of essential industries or activities", an accurate current count is imperative.

Thus the lack of these figures represent important gaps in our knowledge of the relationship between our civilian and military manpower needs. I cannot help but join with those who express anxiety over the President's abolition of these occupational deferments, when he apparently has not the vaguest idea how many there are, or in which industries they work. For anyone interested in my correspondence and other material on this subject, I refer them to my remarks, CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, volume 113, part 2, pages 1822-1830—and CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, volume 113, part 14, pages 19068 and 19069.

Fifth, this attempt to coordinate civilian and military skills must extend to the Ready Reserve and National Guard units. In these units there has been little attempt except on paper to relate the man's skill to his civilian occupation. I have previously called attention to the fact that if one reserve unit in St. Louis were activated, the municipal airport, might have to shut down because of lack of essential skilled manpower.

#### WHAT SHOULD BE DONE

There is no substitute for study. Whether or not we can be of assistance in time to help those immediately affected when the Executive orders go into effect this June, Congress must begin immediately to undertake the long delayed study of the underlying economic and social principles of our military manpower procurement system. It is only through this mechanism of open congressional study that rationality can be brought to this confused system, the equities balanced and efficiencies developed. Those who serve should do so voluntarily as far as possible, and these numbers of volunteers can be enormously increased through a system of proper inducements. At the same time the numbers needed in uniform can be greatly reduced. The skills needed in each sector should be coordinated and balanced.

For this study, I again urge the establishment of a Joint Congressional Com-

mittee consisting of some members of each House who have experience on the education and labor committees and the armed services committees.

The corrosive tragedy to the American people is that after smothering congressional initiative with secret Defense Department studies and blocking other congressional efforts by well-publicized blue ribbon Executive commissions, the administration has suddenly found itself in a position of having to take action in an area it clearly knows very little about and, I am about to conclude, cares very little about. Events are proving that congressional action is indispensable and we should begin the job. On this I am about to conclude it will be necessary to have the present congressional leadership, including the committee chairmanships, replaced by those who might pursue a new course of action. Inasmuch as new leadership in the Congress would come to their positions as the result of an outpouring of expression by the people at the polls this coming November a redirection of policies may be expected. The memorandum follows:

#### THE COUNCIL OF GRADUATE SCHOOLS IN THE UNITED STATES,

Washington, D.C.

Since the enactment of the Military Selective Service Act of 1967 and the issuance of the President's Executive Order 11360 on June 27, 1967, ending deferments of graduate students except those in the Health Sciences, it has become increasingly evident that the new law is already having serious consequences for graduate schools and will have long-range after-effects for all of education, as well as for the industrial, economic, and social structure of the country as a whole.

According to reliable statistics prepared by the Scientific Manpower Commission it appears that for a twelve month period beginning in July 1968, between one-half and two-thirds of all men inducted by Selective Service will be college graduates or those who have pursued graduate studies for a year or more. This means that the available pool of potential entering graduate students for the fall of 1968 and those in the second year of graduate work will be reduced by at least 40 percent.

The immediate consequences of this reduction will be disrupting to all universities and disastrous to many. Almost all universities rely heavily on graduate teaching assistants to staff freshman courses in English and foreign languages and to supervise laboratory sections in physical and biological sciences. Large universities employ two thousand or more teaching assistants. Since the law permits deferments of undergraduate students, it is to be assumed that undergraduate enrollments in 1968 will increase at the normal rate of eight to ten percent. If, at the same time, the available force of graduate teaching assistants is reduced by forty percent, it follows that many universities will be unable to staff their freshman courses.

Similarly, all universities rely on graduate research assistants to provide skilled and technical assistance to faculty members engaged in grant or contract research sponsored by many federal agencies. With the current cutback in research funds, universities will need to employ even more graduate research assistants rather than higher salaried academic staff. If the number of these assistants is drastically reduced, such research will be hampered, interrupted, and in some cases abandoned.

The long-range consequences of the present law will be even more serious. In spite of increased graduate enrollments and greatly

increased production of doctorates, the deficit of teachers in higher education continues to be serious. The following figures for the quinquennium 1967-1968 to 1971-1972) are cited from Projections of Educational Statistics to 1975-76 (U.S. Office of Education, 1966 Edition):

	Earned doctorates	Additional full-time staff needed
1967-68.....	20,000	52,000
1968-69.....	23,600	43,000
1969-70.....	24,790	30,000
1970-71.....	24,900	40,000
1971-72.....	26,800	39,000

If the entering graduate classes in 1968 and 1969 are reduced by forty percent, the production of doctorates in 1971 and 1972 will be reduced respectively to 14,940 and 16,080. These are roughly the same numbers of doctorates awarded in 1963-64 (14,490) and 1964-65 (16,467). In other words, the needed production of college teachers will have been set back by seven years.

The long-range consequences of a protracted hiatus in doctorate production will be equally embarrassing to government, industry, and other sectors of the economy. Very substantial numbers of Ph.D. recipients are absorbed annually by employers other than the educational establishment. The following statistics are quoted from *Doctorate Recipients From United States Universities 1958-1966*, published in 1967 by the National Academy of Sciences:

PRINCIPAL EMPLOYERS OF DOCTORATE RECIPIENTS IN SELECTED FIELDS, 1958-66

(In percentages)

	Educational	Government	Industry	All others
Solid state physics.....	33	10	50	7
Organic chemistry.....	18	2	75	5
Earth sciences.....	44	15	24	17
Biological sciences.....	58	13	10	19
Agriculture.....	56	18	8	18
Health sciences.....	57	7	20	16
Psychology.....	45	26	7	22
Economics.....	63	10	6	21

Exact figures on employment of Master's degree holders are not available, but it is well known that only a relatively small fraction of these are ultimately employed in education. By far the greater number, especially those with professional Master's degrees, are absorbed by industry, business, banking, communications, public health and hospital administration, engineering, industrial research, and other highly specialized professions.

Finally, it must be pointed out that the law schools are particularly vulnerable under present draft regulations. Their enrollments are predominantly male and in the age groups between 22 and 25. They have no reserve of women, over-age men, or foreigners as some academic graduate schools have. A sampling of law schools throughout the country produced loss estimates ranging from 25 percent in some eastern schools to 85 percent in at least one large law school on the west coast.

The Council of Graduate Schools believes it has the responsibility of bringing this situation to the attention of the Congress of the United States and of calling upon the Congress to enact such amendments to the Military Selective Service Act of 1967 that may mitigate its damaging consequences. In making this request the Council of Graduate Schools wishes to define clearly its position and its recommendations.

1. We accept and endorse the principle that the national security transcends the interest of any individual or group of individuals and that military service is an obli-

gation of every able-bodied citizen. We believe that this obligation should be borne equally by all citizens and that neither graduate nor undergraduate students should be deferred or exempted from such service.

2. We believe that all fields of higher education are of equally critical importance to the continued welfare and the balanced development of the nation and we therefore recommend strongly against the designation of any disciplines in which students may be eligible for deferment and others in which they may not.

3. We believe that a system of selective service should be designed to create a minimum of disruption and uncertainty in the lives of those eligible for induction and that therefore the selection process should take place at a natural time of transition, that is, at the completion of high school. Students who, under the present law, have been deferred to pursue a baccalaureate or higher degree, should not be inducted until they have completed their immediate degree objective.

4. We believe that draft-eligible men should be inducted on the basis of random selection upon reaching the age of nineteen. Draft-eligible men who have been deferred under the present law to pursue a baccalaureate or higher degree should, upon completion of such degree be constructively classified as nineteen-year-olds and, if drawn by random selection, should be inducted as soon after graduation as possible. Men who are not drawn in the year of their prime age classification and who wish to pursue a degree program should not be in jeopardy again until they have completed their immediate degree objective.

### To Save a Nation

## HON. EDMUND S. MUSKIE

OF MAINE

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, March 28, 1968

Mr. MUSKIE. Mr. President, the New York Times recently placed the conservation needs of the Nation in perspective. It did so in an editorial entitled "To Save a Nation," commenting on President Johnson's conservation message.

The editorial was accurate when it said:

No recent administration has accomplished more for conservation than President Johnson's has over the past four years. In part, the President and Secretary of Interior Udall have made good on a generation of agitation and education. They have also provided strong leadership and some fresh initiative on their own.

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:

#### TO SAVE A NATION

Man's technological capacity to alter his environment and his preference for speed, profits and convenience have placed his very existence in jeopardy. From the ravaged redwood forests of California to the oil-befouled beaches of Puerto Rico, from the now threatened waters of Lake Baikal in Siberia to the choking, polluted air above New York and a hundred other major cities around the globe, humanity is threatened by the unintended consequences of its own ingenuity.

The reckless, unheeding misuse of technology and the refusal to respect ecological

values may make earth an uninhabitable environment. As President Johnson observed in his message to Congress last week, "conservation's concern now is not only for man's enjoyment—but for man's survival."

The issues are worldwide but, until the concern is also worldwide, each nation must act to save itself and try to conserve what it can of the human habitat. The United States, one of the most prodigal offenders, is also one of the leaders in the belated effort to bring technologies and resources into a humane balance. That is what conservation is all about.

No recent Administration has accomplished more for conservation than President Johnson's has over the past four years. In part, the President and Secretary of the Interior Udall have made good on a generation of agitation and education. They have also provided strong leadership and some fresh initiative on their own.

The latest message is in the nature of an interim report, reviewing old problems and calling attention to some that are new. Its greatest merit is its comprehensiveness; it brings together many diverse but interrelated environmental issues.

Three of Mr. Johnson's recommendations are particularly promising. He proposes giving the Secretary of the Interior authority to regulate the viciously destructive strip-mining industry. If the states do not devise adequate controls within two years—as Kentucky already has done—the Secretary could impose Federal standards.

Similarly the President asks that the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare be empowered to develop and enforce standards covering chemical as well as biological contaminants of drinking water since a recent study indicates that nearly one-third of the nation's public water systems may not be pure.

And to combat the growing danger to the world's oceans and beaches from tankers which spill oil, Mr. Johnson seeks to create an economic incentive for better management. Shipowners would be required by law to reimburse the Federal Government for the full cost of cleaning up oil pollution.

The exciting ideas about long-range planning set forth in last year's report on the Potomac River Valley are carried forward in the President's recommendation that Congress declare the Potomac a "national river" and provide coordinated types of zoning in the valley.

President Johnson submits seven areas for inclusion in the wilderness system and renews his request for several valuable pieces of legislation, some of them long in the Congressional mill, to establish a network of scenic hiking trails, protect certain wild and scenic rivers, revive the highway beautification program, replenish the Land and Water Conservation Fund and create national parks in the redwoods and the North Cascades.

If he properly understands his relationship to his environment and has the will and self-discipline to do so, man can be master rather than victim of his own economic and technological forces. The President's message sets forth the minimum measures needed for what must be an unremitting effort.

### Distinguishing Between Liberty and License

## HON. W. E. (BILL) BROCK

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 28, 1968

Mr. BROCK. Mr. Speaker, there is a dangerous tendency among some politi-



cal extremists to attempt to use mob action as a political tool. In the name of "free speech" they organize large and often violent crowds.

In a recent address, Supreme Court Justice Hugo L. Black delivered a clear and irrefutable denial that mob action is in any way linked with the right of free speech. At a time when the threat of massive demonstrations and civil disobedience hang over this city like an ominous storm cloud, I feel that the Justice's statement is of particular interest to us all.

I include the coverage of it which appeared in the March 24 issue of the Sunday Star in the RECORD, as follows:

LAW DOESN'T BAR PROTEST CURBS,

JUSTICE SAYS

(By Dana Bullen)

The Constitution's guarantee of freedom of speech does not bar authorities from controlling the conduct of demonstrators and street marchers, Justice Hugo L. Black asserted yesterday.

Black, in a speech in New York, said regulation of such activity is "essential" because such conduct "by its very nature tends to infringe the rights of others."

"Our government envisions a system under which its policies are the result of reasoned decisions made by public officials chosen in the way the laws provide," he said.

"Those laws do not provide that elected officials, councilmen, mayors, judges, governors, sheriffs or legislators will act in response to peremptory demands of the leaders of tramping, singing, shouting, angry groups . . ." Black said.

The 82-year-old Justice's views were expressed in the final lecture of a landmark three-talk series at Columbia university in which the Supreme Court's senior associate justice outlined much of his judicial philosophy.

The lectures, unusual by a justice, drew together constitutional views developed by Black during more than 30 years on the nation's highest court.

Black, among other points, rejected claims that his views in recent years have become more conservative. He said that he always has been willing to go as far as the words of the Constitution provide—but not beyond this point.

"I strongly believe that the public welfare demands that constitutional cases must be decided according to the terms of our Constitution itself and not according to the judge's views of fairness, reasonableness or justice," Black said.

In his comments on demonstrations, Black indicated concern that participants in such activity might hold mistaken views about the scope of constitutional protections.

"Recently many loose words have been spoken and written about an alleged 1st Amendment right to picket, demonstrate or march, usually accompanied by singing, shouting or loud praying. . ." Black said.

"I say these have been loose words because I do not believe that the 1st Amendment grants a constitutional right to engage in the conduct of picketing or demonstrating, whether on publicly owned streets or on privately owned property," he said.

"Marching back and forth, though utilized to communicate ideas," Black said, "is not speech and therefore is not protected by the 1st Amendment."

The line between protected speech and constitutionally unprotected conduct is one that Black has mentioned often in his opinions.

"It is not difficult to understand why the Founders believed that the peace and tran-

quility of society absolutely compel the foregoing distinction between constitutionally protected freedom of religion, speech and press and nonconstitutionally protected conduct like picketing and street marching," the justice said.

"It marks the difference between arguing for changes in the governing rules of society and in engaging in conduct designed to break and defy valid regulatory laws," Black said.

In other references to 1st Amendment provisions, Black underscored long-held views that, although conduct can be regulated, words—any words—enjoy absolute constitutional protection.

"Censorship, even under the guise of protecting people from books and plays or motion pictures that other people think are obscene, shows a fear that people cannot judge for themselves," he said.

"The plain language of the Constitution recognizes that censorship is the deadly enemy of freedom . . ." Black said.

"I believe with Jefferson," said Black, "that it is time enough for government to step in to regulate people when they do something, not when they say something."

### Optimum Use of Weather Services by Foresters

HON. GORDON ALLOTT

OF COLORADO

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, March 28, 1968

Mr. ALLOTT. Mr. President, recently I had the pleasure of reading the keynote address delivered before the first national Conference on Fire and Forest Meteorology, sponsored by the American Meteorological Society and the Society of American Foresters. The address, entitled "The Right Atmosphere," was delivered by Mr. H. R. Glascock, Jr., the executive secretary of the Society of American Foresters, which is the official organization representing professional foresters in the United States.

In his statement, Mr. Glascock suggested the means and the need for greater implementation of programs which will allow foresters to make optimum use of the weather services which meteorologists make available to them.

I was delighted to note that a portion of Mr. Glascock's remarks was directed to the exciting new concentration of atmospheric research facilities at Boulder and Fort Collins, Colo. We are proud to have the National Center for Atmospheric Research Laboratory located in Colorado. I am happy to see that these research programs may add appreciably to the combined efforts of professional foresters and meteorologists, as suggested in Mr. Glascock's fine statement.

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

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

THE RIGHT ATMOSPHERE

(By H. R. Glascock, Jr.)

I bring you greetings on the occasion of this first national conference on fire and

forest meteorology jointly sponsored by the American Meteorological Society and the Society of American Foresters.

The coming together of these two professional societies represents a landmark in the long history of cooperative endeavor among meteorologists and foresters. It is recognition of what many members of both organizations have long known: that no science or service can operate as effectively independent of related sciences or services; that the fastest progress is made when researchers and administrators of good will ally themselves with their counterparts in neighboring fields—when occupation and communication barriers are overcome and the advantages of working together fully realized. (I do have to mention communication barriers since we professionals tend to take ourselves very seriously indeed and would not be caught dead without our own jargons).

Nor do I feel a stranger at this joint meeting. Before coming to our Society two years ago, it was my privilege and opportunity for eight years to represent the protection interests of forest owners in the West, participate in a number of western fire weather meteorologists' conferences, and carry the cudgels for improved fire weather services. From this latter effort I still bear the scars of frustration over failure to obtain adequate priority and financing for fire weather research, in particular.

Forestry is a mighty broad profession—much broader than most nonforesters, and some foresters, realize. We define it as the science, the art and the practice of managing for human benefit and use the natural resources which occur on and in association with forest lands. These resources are not limited to trees, but include other plants, animals of all descriptions, the climate, the soil, and related air and water.

To be successful in managing these diverse forest resources for people, a forester must involve himself with the physical, biological and social sciences. He must have access to knowledge in all of these sciences on which to base sound management decisions. In the physical sciences, the need for enlightenment on atmospheric phenomena is especially great. Forest scientists have done some good work on climate near the ground with varying forest cover. But foresters generally must turn to the meteorologist to report the condition of the atmosphere at a given place and time with respect to temperature, moisture, air motion and electrical activity.

The application of this information, of course, is as varied as the forest resources and their uses. Forecasts of weather are needed for planning most forest operations. For example, tree planting, road construction, timber harvesting, slash burning, prescribed burning, fire detection and control, and handling public use of forest lands must all be coordinated with weather conditions. It follows that the more advance the warning of changing weather, the more successful these operations can be. Thus foresters have a continuing need for accurate, long-range weather forecasts, a need which grows with the value of forest resources to people.

No greater need for accurate weather prediction exists in forestry than in the field of fire detection and control. At stake is the protection of the invaluable resources of water, timber, wildlife and scenery, not to mention human lives. It should be no surprise to anyone for me to state that fire weather services to forestry have not kept pace with the need. The total effort, in fact, has dropped behind in terms of relative priority. As the burgeoning air transport industry has involved millions of human lives in a form of transportation having maximum exposure to weather conditions, and the exciting development of weather-tracking satellites has produced usable results in the

photography of clouds, the more prosaic and far less costly weather services involving the less populous, forested third of America have had to take a seat increasingly further back when appropriations time rolls round. Only by capitalizing on an extra-bad fire year where losses in human and forest resources are high, by dramatizing and emotionalizing (not part of a forester's training and make-up), can favorable attention of appropriations committees be focused on the modest amounts being requested. Often as not, it has been a matter of restoring what had been deleted from the budget at the departmental level itself.

The history to date of the National Fire Weather Plan illustrate this process. The Plan was conceived and developed with maximum cooperation among the Weather Bureau, the Forest Service and other forestry organizations in light of demonstrated needs. It was well launched, got off to a good start, and showed great promise. But what was to have been a three-year plan became a five-year plan—even longer as cutbacks in scheduled appropriations increases threw the program more and more off schedule.

The portions of the first phases of the National Fire Weather Plan which have been implemented constitute without question a net improvement in service. New stations have been established to permit more accurate local forecasting and new equipment provided for increased effectiveness. However, the research support which the Plan calls for has not materialized. Fire weather research is still mostly a part-time assignment of forecasters, with only a relative handful of full-time researchers in the country.

What is the *real* reason for this atmospheric myopia? How can the great physical science of meteorology be utilized more effectively in the protection of America's forest resources from fire—a conservation must? Be directed in a more concerted way toward the solution of specific protection problems? How can research in this area provide the strong backup that is needed for improved fire weather forecasting? How may the significant, diverse findings reported at this joint conference be augmented and completed to the point of break-throughs in specific areas?

Without in any way presuming to reflect the views of my own organization, I would like to venture a partial answer. Could it be that two contrary philosophies have acted to hold up progress in fire weather research?

1. the idea that global atmospheric research and weather satellites will be able to do the *whole* job in weather research and services; and

2. the opposing idea that fire weather research and services should both be done by the practicing meteorologist on the ground.

The corollaries to each of these contrary beliefs are:

1. that weather should be centralized and independent of administrative services; and, conversely,

2. that fire weather research should be entirely decentralized and a function of administrative services.

I suspect that neither of these approaches is the better one; that strict adherence to either would be disastrous. What is indicated is a combination of the two. As a generalist among specialists, I may be allowed to guess with impunity that global cloud tracking and photography by satellites is useful to fire weather service, but only when combined with the more detailed tracking of clouds by weather radar stations and with other localized weather data. Certainly the terrain of much of our forest land is such as to introduce a multitude of local influences which modify local weather. It is hard to imagine *all* of the effective research in fire weather being done at atmospheric research centers and laboratories.

On the other hand, there seems much to be gained by fire weather people taking full advantage of the exciting new concentration of atmospheric research facilities at Boulder and Ft. Collins, Colorado. The Environmental Science Services Administration's Institutes for Environmental Sciences combined with the National Center for Atmospheric Research, its \$5.5 million laboratory at Boulder, and the resources of cooperating universities at Boulder and Ft. Collins to constitute an unusually fine environment for weather research of all kinds.

The U.S. Forest Service is beginning to concentrate efforts in meteorological research at Colorado State University. This will supplement its forest fire meteorological research already underway at the three forest fire laboratories in Macon, Georgia, Riverside, California, and Missoula, Montana. The long history of the Forest Service in research and administration teaches the value of having each independent of the other. It also shows the value of concentrating the main thrust of research in a given field where the facilities and climate for that research are best. More recent experience in forestry, in particular the operation of the McIntyre-Stennis Act with matching grants to forestry schools, has shown the advantage of spreading the research dollar among various organizations having the right climate for research.

Looking to the future, one might predict that eventually a fire weather laboratory will be needed as the focal point for a considerably intensified research effort. Surely, means will have to be found for coordinating the cloud-tracking information of weather radar stations with the photographs of clouds taken from satellites, relaying both to a central point where they can be fed into a computer and the results, in the form of weather forecasts, transmitted thence to users.

I would hope, too, that the nation's system of weather radar stations would be completed at an early date. Apparently, stations have been located mainly where hurricanes and severe storms threatened human life. To obtain the radar station at Point Six near Missoula it was necessary to convince government officials that lightning storms are severe storms, which proved not an easy task. The efforts a few years ago to get approval for the weather radar stations which would cover the Pacific Coast came to naught. Since the prevailing winds and weather over much of the country come from the Pacific Ocean, this oversight constituted another kind of atmospheric myopia. One hated to think that it would take another Hurricane Frieda with a blowdown of two billion feet of timber—and perhaps the loss of human lives thrown in—to prove, by the severe storm test, that radar tracking of clouds is desirable here, too. Fortunately, work is now underway to obtain weather radar at Mt. Ashland in Oregon and Larch Mountain in Washington.

The future will expect miracles of foresters and forest lands, in the same way that the present is expecting—and getting—miracles from the environmental scientist. A smaller base of available forest land will have to produce more benefits for more people. Today's losses of forest resources from fire will become untenable. The forester will be seeking protection tools yet undreamed of. He will turn increasingly to the meteorologist for accurate, advance notice and evaluation of changes in local weather conditions, for long-range weather predictions on which he can rely.

Above all, let us hope as these related disciplines move ahead together, that foresters will make optimum use of the weather services which meteorologists make available to them. For only thus can the *full* benefit of cooperation between our two professions be ultimately realized.

## Poor People's March

HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 28, 1968

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, with the Senator and the reverend doctor teaming up to pull a Vietcong sympathy march in our Nation's Capital, no wonder many Americans are chuckling about the public relations buildup—"Poor People's March."

When several of the Nation's wealthiest men, backed by finances from tax-free foundations, team up under the emotion-packed front of helping poor people—it is time the poor people wake up to the inescapable conclusion they are being used as mere foot soldiers to give a public image of popular support for anti-American goals and promises.

Perhaps the poor exploited troops should ask the Senator and doctor for a show of their good faith by first turning their war chest and accumulation of wealth over to the poor—just to prove their sincere interest in poor people and to disclaim the popular concept that a rich minority is merely using the poor for their personal gain.

After all, the party line has always taught that the poor are poor because of exploitation by the rich. If so, the "poor people's" leaders would appear to be a part of the cause of the plight—and not the answer to the problem.

And the march will cost the "poor taxpayers" how much?

Mr. Speaker, I include, following my remarks, a report by Paul Scott:

[From Human Events, Mar. 30, 1968]

SENATOR TO SUPPORT DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA MARCH: KENNEDY AND KING FORM POLITICAL ALLIANCE

(By Paul Scott)

Sen. Robert Kennedy is counting on Dr. Martin Luther King's forthcoming invasion of Washington to give his presidential ambitions a big lift.

With his full approval, Kennedy's closest political lieutenants are passing the word to give the anti-war leader's "poor army" campaign in Washington all the support King requests.

In addition to deciding to endorse publicly the "announced objectives" of King's drive, Kennedy has instructed aides to help King raise money and organize a broad coalition of Negroes, poor whites, students and anti-war groups.

Under his carefully planned strategy, Kennedy plans to use this coalition to bolster his political strength at the Chicago convention, hopefully to help him seize control of the Democratic party and become its presidential nominee.

Should this bold campaign strategy fail, the brother of the late President Kennedy is considering the fourth party route.

As worked out backstage between their advisers, the Kennedy-King political alliance will be built around the twin issues of "Peace and Prosperity."

In his coming confrontation with Congress and the Johnson Administration, King will try to spotlight these goals by pressing demands for swift approval of three proposals:

(1) A guaranteed annual income of \$3,000 a year for all families; (2) a national emergency public works and reconstruction pro-



gram, and (3) an end to the Viet Nam war, to pay for these programs.

While King stages his "demonstrations" and wages his campaign of "disruption" for these proposals, Sen. Kennedy will be spotlighting the same issues in his across-the-country campaign for a national political base.

Aides of both Kennedy and King say they are counting on growing opposition to President Johnson, the Viet Nam war, and the worsening U.S. financial crisis to create conditions favorable for the formation of their broad-based political coalition.

The proposed Kennedy-King timetable calls for organization of this new "united political front" by summer so Kennedy can use the movement to support his presidential nomination bid at the Democratic convention.

Already, one of Kennedy's political confidants, William J. vanden Heuvel, of New York, is at work helping King raise money for his massive demonstrations, which begin here in Washington April 22. They are scheduled to last until the two national political conventions convene in August.

King will then take his protesters to Miami and Chicago.

Vanden Heuvel, who served under Kennedy in the Justice Department played a major role earlier this year in keeping King from supporting the candidacy of Sen. Eugene McCarthy (D-Minn.).

In exchange for withholding his political commitment, King was given a pledge by Kennedy that he would support the organization of the new political coalition regardless of whether he sought the presidency in 1968.

Significantly, both Kennedy and King have been given assurances of support in the development of a broad-based political movement from Walter Reuther, powerful president of the United Auto Workers.

For several years Reuther has advocated such an alliance in order to force a drastic realignment of political power within both parties and Congress.

Like Kennedy and King, Reuther sees the coalition as the catalyst for effecting sweeping social changes in the country and forcing an end to the Viet Nam war.

## Continuing Threat of Soviet Union to Europe

### HON. STROM THURMOND

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, March 28, 1968

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, an illuminating editorial entitled "Europe and the U.S.S.R.," written by Anthony Harrigan, associate editor of the Charleston News and Courier, was published in the Tuesday, March 26, 1968, issue of the Charleston newspaper and deserves the attention of Congress.

The editorial reports that a Chicago meeting of scientists and journalists from both sides of the Atlantic continues to recognize the imperialistic intentions of Russia toward Western Europe despite Soviet claims to the contrary.

Further, Mr. Harrigan pointed out that Dr. Stefan Possony of Stanford University expounded vigorously on the point that the new nuclear strength of the Soviet Union was of grave danger to America and Europe. Dr. Possony wisely pointed out that the United States will

only be able to maintain the peace as long as we hold a nuclear superiority.

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:

[From the News and Courier, Mar. 26, 1968]  
TALKS AT CHICAGO: EUROPE AND THE U.S.S.R.

(By Anthony Harrigan)

CHICAGO.—The Soviet Union's goal of transforming Western Europe into another Finland—a submissive, neutralized region—was cited here at a gathering of political scientists and journalists from both sides of the Atlantic.

Dr. Boris Meissner, director of West Germany's Institute for Research on Marxism-Leninism, warned of the parallel to Finland. He said that "Soviet behavior during the Near East crisis of 1967 demonstrated clearly" that Moscow's moves to relax international tension after former Premier Khrushchev's Cuban adventure in 1962 were only tactical measures.

The Soviet Union, he asserted, still has "the goal of annexing West Berlin" to Communist East Germany. What the world is seeing now, he explained, is simply "a pause for breath" on the part of the Soviets that "may easily be followed by a new phase of expansion."

Dr. Meissner was addressing an international conference sponsored by the Foundation for Foreign Affairs Inc., of Chicago, and the Institute for Central and East European Studies of Wiesbaden, West Germany. For five years, the two institutions have worked together for an exchange of American and European viewpoints. More than 100 specialists on European affairs were on hand, including five members of the West German Parliament and two members of the British Parliament.

The primary concern of the Europeans attending the conference is development of new tension and conflict along the border between free and captive Europe if the United States fails to arrest the communist power drive in Southeast Asia. West Germany, it is feared, would be the prime communist target if American determination falters in the Asian struggle. One of the strongest defenses of U.S. policy in the Far East came from Gen. M. W. Broekmeijer, director of the National Defense College of the Netherlands.

A matter of concern to both the Americans and Europeans present is the policy of France under Gen. De Gaulle. Prof. Wladyslaw Kulski of Duke University raised the question of a possible Franco-Russian treaty that would stab the NATO alliance in the back. The likelihood of such an alliance was discounted by Baron von Guttenberg, parliamentary secretary on foreign affairs to the German Chancellor. He emphasized the fundamental importance of continuing cooperation between France and Germany.

The danger to Europe and America of new Soviet nuclear strength was vigorously expounded by Dr. Stefan Possony of Stanford University. He cautioned conference participants against optimism regarding peace in Europe. Dr. Possony emphasized that Russian talk about relaxing tensions isn't supported by hard evidence. Soviet proposals on the reunification of divided Germany, he said, constitute "political war designed to gain control over Germany." He observed that Germany "is still decisive" in Europe and Americans should bear in mind that "peace and security can be accomplished only if there is superiority on the part of those who are peaceful."

Informal talks with Europeans attending this conference throw light on recent dis-

orders in Communist Poland. Dr. George Strobil of the University of Cologne, a specialist on Polish affairs, contended that unrest at Poland's universities has its roots in the attitudes of older Polish intellectuals. He said that more than 50 per cent of the Polish university students are children of intellectuals. Dr. Strobil explained that the intellectuals are resentful because their economic status has deteriorated. The university protests, he said, have not attracted support among working people and do not have a mass basis.

This conference brings together professors and writers from Germany, France, England, the Netherlands and other countries. Aside from the light it sheds on specific political issues, it makes plain that not all European intellectuals are anti-American. On the contrary, the prominent university figures meeting here display a deep sympathy with America's difficult role in the world today. In discussions that frequently touch on the Viet Nam war, there is respectful awareness that, in the last analysis, the United States has both the power and the responsibility to stop Soviet and Chinese assaults on Western civilization.

America therefore must make the final decisions as to what courses of action are best.

## He Earned His Laurels

### HON. GARNER E. SHRIVER

OF KANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 28, 1968

Mr. SHRIVER. Mr. Speaker, Lloyd S. Miller, a distinguished citizen who is well known and respected by many of us in the Congress, is completing a career of 32 years of outstanding service with Southwestern Bell and American Telephone & Telegraph Co. A native Kansan, Lloyd Miller will retire on April 1, 1968. I take this opportunity to congratulate him and to wish him continued good health, success, and happiness.

Mr. Miller has served as vice president of A.T. & T. in charge of the Washington office since 1960. An attorney by profession, he joined Southwestern Bell in Topeka in 1936.

In the years I have known him both in Kansas and here in Washington, I have found Lloyd Miller to be a man of high integrity, good humor, and wisdom. He is dedicated to the private enterprise system which has made our country great. Above all, he is a great American who will continue to take an active interest in his fellowman and his community during what surely will be productive and contented retirement years.

Under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Topeka Daily Capital which pays well-deserved tribute to Lloyd Miller. The editorial follows:

## HE EARNED HIS LAURELS

Topekans who know Lloyd S. Miller—and hundreds do—wish him well in his retirement.

If he makes as great a success at it as he has his career with the telephone company, he and his family will be happy.

Miller's is the American story come true. By application of a keen mind, native ability, a good education and a pleasing personality he rose high with Southwestern Bell and American Telephone and Telegraph Co.

A graduate of Kansas State University and Washburn University law school, he joined Southwestern Bell in Topeka as an attorney in 1936. After military service during World War II and in 1950, he returned to Topeka as general attorney for the company in Kansas.

Four years later he advanced to general solicitor in the St. Louis headquarters and in 1955 became a vice president—going on up as vice president of AT&T in charge of the Washington, D.C., office in 1960, the job from which he will retire April 1.

Miller has made frequent visits to Topeka in recent years. One of his latest was when he delivered the Topeka High commencement address last spring.

His Topeka friends hope that, when he has more leisure time, he and his wife will spend more of it here.

## The 80th Birthday Anniversary of Ed Ball of Florida

HON. JOSEPH D. TYDINGS

OF MARYLAND

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, March 28, 1968

Mr. TYDINGS. Mr. President, last week a distinguished and able citizen of Florida celebrated his 80th birthday anniversary. I refer to Mr. Ed Ball, the principal trustee of the Alfred I. du Pont estate: entrepreneur, and capitalist extraordinary. It is my good fortune to have acquaintanceship with Mr. Ball for many years, and our family ties go back two generations. My father, the late Senator Millard E. Tydings, was a friend and admirer of Mr. Ball, as was my grandfather, the late Ambassador Joseph E. Davies. Although our political philosophies have frequently differed, I have the greatest admiration for Mr. Ball's accomplishments and contributions to his State and Nation over the past half century. I ask unanimous consent that an article entitled "Ed Ball at 80: The Legend Speaks Out," published in the Miami Herald of March 17, 1968, be printed in the Extensions of Remarks.

Mr. SMATHERS. Mr. President, I join the distinguished Senator from Maryland in submitting the article regarding one of Florida's most prominent and respected citizens. Mr. Ball's contributions to Florida have made him significant and worthy. I have not agreed with all of Mr. Ball's activities or beliefs, but no accurate picture of Florida and its growth during the past 40 years would be complete without including the activities and contributions of my friend Mr. Ed Ball.

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

ED BALL AT 80: THE LEGEND SPEAKS OUT  
(By Nixon Smiley)

Ed Ball owns the longest soda fountain in the world and a castle in Ireland. He is neither a soda jerk nor an Irish prince, although he is called these names by critics. He is a craggy, crafty Virginian who for more than three decades has dominated the political and economic face of Florida. He has been vilified and defied with equal vigor.

Mr. Ball. He's as much a part of the Florida scene as Lake Okeechobee or the Florida Keys. Some people say he actually is a bigger natural resource.

He likes to make deals—business or political—on hunting or fishing trips where two men can sit down eye to eye over a drink of good bourbon and talk straight. Like the time, a quarter of a century ago, when Ball and a friend took a hunting trip to South Dakota.

The year was 1943 and the friend was McGregor Smith, head of the sprawling Florida Power & Light Co. Ball invited Smith on the trip ostensibly to shoot pheasants, but the audacious ruler of the duPont estate in Florida had a business deal up his sleeve that he was reluctant to bring up on a pleasure trip. One evening in the hunting lodge, after the third day of shooting speckled birds in the shoulder-high fields of yellow grain, Smith, who realized something was cooking, decided to break the ice after their third highball.

"Mr. Ball (no one ever dares call him Ed), you didn't invite me all the way up here to South Dakota just to go pheasant hunting," said Smith.

He was exactly right, admitted Ball with a smile that cracked his granite face. "McGregor, I want to buy your company."

Smith was a little shaken by the enormity of the offer. "Mr. Ball, you don't want to buy Florida Power & Light," he cautioned. "We are a public utility, you know. The company is limited by law to a seven per cent profit."

The most powerful man in Florida put down his drink and looked aghast. For a few awkward moments there was complete silence as Ball's lips struggled to form words.

"Do you really mean that?" he finally spluttered.

Assured that the board chairman of Florida Power & Light owes it to his stockholders not to joke about a subject as serious as the sale of his company, Ball finally sank back in his chair and picked up his bourbon and ginger ale. "Well," he hurriedly, "we don't want any company that is restricted to seven per cent earnings."

The subject was dropped and the two men never brought it up again.

Had Ed Ball been born an ordinary man, he may have employed a more ordinary approach to a transaction that involved many millions of dollars. But Ed Ball, who will note his 80th birthday next Thursday, is not an ordinary man.

His personal fortune exceeds the dreams of a caliph, but the money and influence he controls are beyond the comprehension of most men.

Roughly, it adds up to more than two billion dollars.

A reporter once described Ball as "a nuggety, gusty, self-made millionaire," which is not entirely accurate since he was given a grubstake. When Alfred I. DuPont died in 1935 at the age of 69, he left his widow an estate valued at \$27 million after taxes. Ball, who is Mrs. DuPont's brother, parlayed this inheritance into an empire that controls at least \$500 million worth of duPont and General Motors stock; a billion dollars worth of Florida properties, and a string of 30 Florida National Banks with deposits of \$864 million, the largest pool of money in the state. Drew Pearson once characterized him as "the unofficial prime minister of Florida."

Others have been less kind. The late Robert King High of Miami and many other South Florida leaders depicted Ball as a selfish old feudal lord—a kind of robber baron who arbitrarily manipulated, behind the scenes, the economic and political life of the state.

U.S. Senator Wayne Morse of Oregon declared: "Mrs. DuPont gets the money; Ball gets the power, which he then proceeds to abuse."

A Miami Herald editorial complained he had sponsored "a generation of obstruction."

He is not an ordinary man, this financial giant. The wife of a business associate learned this one night at dinner when she borrowed his eyeglasses to read a menu.

"Oh, Mr. Ball," she trilled, "I can see better with these glasses than I can with my own. You must have paid a lot of money for them."

"I did—one dollar and thirty cents," replied the master of the du Pont holdings. "I used to get them for 60 cents but the price at Kresge has gone up."

He is a remarkable man. He is a mysterious man. But never, never ordinary. Had he chosen 30 years ago to sit back like a Virginia gentleman (which he is by birth) and let someone else do the hard work of administering his sister's estate, he could have led a genteel, albeit boring, life on a fat income. But he plunged headlong into the job and built the colossus he heads today.

Alfred I. duPont, who once owned the controlling interest in I. E. duPont de Nemours Company, married Ball's sister, an attractive schoolteacher, in 1921. He had been pushed out of the duPont Co. by his cousins, Coleman and Pierre, and became angry when Wilmington society snubbed his bride, a divorcee. So shortly after duPont and Jessie Ball were married—he was 57 and she 36—they moved to Florida to start life anew.

Ed, whose abilities duPont already had recognized, was sent ahead to buy land in Northwest Florida, a wild area despoiled by timber cutters. The duPonts visited Miami during the boom and duPont observed the dizzy land speculation, but wanted none of it. He settled in Jacksonville, then the most important city in Florida, and built his wife a handsome home in Epping Forest on the St. Johns.

At the time of duPont's death, he had acquired 280,000 acres of land and seven Florida banks. He also owned the Apalachicola Northern Railroad and the St. Joseph Telephone and Telegraph Co., neither of which could be called a valuable asset.

"We had to rebuild the railroad and buy new equipment," said Ball. "The telephone company had 12 telephones, all used by the railroad. Every time a wet razorback hog leaned against a telephone pole the line went out temporarily."

Today Apalachicola Northern is one of the most profitable short-line railroads in the country, and the telephone company has more than 10,000 subscribers. Most of the other duPont enterprises have thrived in much the same way. The St. Joe Paper Co. mill at Port St. Joe, planned before duPont's death, was built in 1938. Over \$40 million has been spent on expansion since 1954. Moreover, the St. Joe Paper Co. owns container factories in 18 states and in Ireland where it also owns a paper mill.

But all these gains have not come without turmoil. He has been denounced nationally by union leaders for refusing to meet their demands and settle the Florida East Coast Railway strike, begun in 1963. His enemies say he wielded control over the Legislature for years, and that anyone wanting to be elected governor or U.S. Senator had to have his support to insure victory. Senators Holland and Smathers had his backing. So did Governors Kirk, Bryant, Johns, Warren, Caldwell. (Others also have said that Ball's backing of a legislative bill or a political candidate can be like the kiss of death.) The only time Ball ever voted for a liberal—he wasn't aware he was voting liberal at the time—was when he voted for Franklin D. Roosevelt in 1932.

"That was a mistake I avoided making a second time," he said. "Roosevelt Tammanized government. Big government started with him and it has been growing ever since. The growth slowed down some during the Eisenhower administration but he did nothing to stop the trend."

He added that "the aim of politics today is to equalize the economic and social positions of those who work and those who don't work."

Ball was a strong supporter of the Pork



Chop Gang, a group of rural state senators who controlled the Florida Legislature before reapportionment. He predicted that if the Pork Chop Gang lost its influence "the NAACP and the unions would take over." He said his prediction had come true in the cities.

Ball believes a person who works is entitled to live on a better level than a person who doesn't work. But while he lives well, he does not surround himself with luxuries. He owns neither an automobile nor an airplane; and the most expensive car he ever owned was a middle-priced Buick. He has never had a chauffeur or a butler. He still drives, much too fast for his friends.

He once drove Col. Thomas Manuel of Fort Lauderdale from Tallahassee to Wakulla Springs, which Ball owns. The frightened Manuel turned to Ball and said: "Mr. Ball, do you drive frequently?"

"Not so often as I did before I had my fourth coronary, colonel," replied Ball.

Manuel, then chairman of the Florida Turnpike Authority, avoided a return trip to Tallahassee with Ball by calling for a state trooper to pick him up.

Traffic cops have stopped Ball frequently, but the affable Ball has a superb record of avoiding tickets. In Jacksonville he was stopped for the fourth time by a patrolman, who caught him doing 60 miles an hour in a 15-mile-an-hour zone. The patrolman pulled out his book and was about to write a ticket when he discovered that his pencil was out of lead.

"Mr. Ball, do you have a pencil?" the patrolman asked.

"Yes, chief, I have a pencil," replied Ball.

"Would you mind lending it to me?"

"Chief," replied Ball, "do I look like a damn fool?"

The astonished patrolman put his ticket book back into his pocket.

Ball manages the affairs of the duPont estate in much the same way as he drives an automobile or avoids getting speeding tickets—with an astonishing audacity and an abiding sense of humor. He has detailed knowledge of his vast empire. He studies reports, analyzes statements, holds brief conferences with associates. He's a good listener, but never engages in long conferences. His associates are often amazed at his perception of engineering plans. He understands them on sight, frequently makes comment that results in changes. He also understands people. He can be skeptical. He said on a telephone:

"No, I haven't had the pleasure of meeting him. But I'm afraid I'm about to get better acquainted with him than I want to."

Ball was married in the early 1930's but the marriage ended in divorce in the 1940's. He required his bride, a widow, to sign a contract stating she could have children. When she had none Ball considered the contract broken.

A short man—five feet six—Ball weighs 150 pounds. His suits, which he wears with vest and a gold four-leaf clover pin in his tie just below the knot, tend to make him appear more trim than he is. When young he weighed 130 pounds. "If I'm overweight, no doctor ever told me so," he said. One reason no doctor has advised him to lose weight is because he avoids them. It's been three years since he had a check-up, although he has a history of four heart attacks. He has never forgiven doctors because one wrongly diagnosed his first attack as angina.

"I adapted myself to an angina status," he said, "and felt comforted. But, hell, that SOB had given me a wrong diagnosis. Two days later I had my second attack. If the Lord hadn't been good to me I would have gone across the creek."

Ball credits bourbon for keeping him healthy. He doesn't smoke, drink coffee or take aspirin. Every day after leaving his office he walks across the street to the Robert

Meyer Hotel where he has a two-room suite and pours himself a bourbon and ginger ale. He likes the company of friends and associates and often invites them to join him in "slaying a few pneumonia germs." If you accompany him from his office he introduces you to acquaintances who greet him on the elevators, in the street or in the hotel lobby. He makes you pour your own drink. Then, raising his glass, he proposes a toast:

"Confusion to the enemy!"

He may have four or five drinks before going to dinner in the hotel restaurant. How long he puts off dinner depends on how lively the conversation. Sometimes he may not eat until 10. He likes his steak medium rare. He refuses leafy vegetables, prefers blackeyed peas or beans. The only salad he will eat is slaw or tomatoes. For dessert he orders plain jello, which he eats along with his steak. His favorite soup is beef bone soup, which is always served at Southwood Farm when he is there. Beef soup is standard on the menu at Wakulla Springs Lodge, which he built in the 1930's as a public retreat. If he eats red meat for dinner he likes to wait three hours to have another drink.

He usually has some shelled pecans or other goodies to offer guests invited to his suite—even chocolate fudge, and he may eat three or four pieces while sipping bourbon. His guests must listen to the world news on his color television set.

One evening the news from Vietnam was especially bad. Ball was irritated by a report from the Pentagon which pointed out the large number of enemy dead compared with the few American casualties.

"Hell, I don't think a thousand dead North Vietnamese is worth the loss of one American," snapped Ball. "I don't understand this war. If I had my way I'd give the people of North Vietnam 72 hours to evacuate the cities and the ports and I'd drop an atomic bomb on every one of them. To hell with what the rest of the world had to say. I'd bomb or I'd get out. I can't see sending our young men to fight a land war that we're not trying to win."

Ball obviously is not a fencestraddler. Gentlemenly ways and affable calmness camouflage the fighter. In politics he can fight as dirty as the next. He told a timid losing candidate: "You can't expect to win if you fellow Marquis of Queensberry rules in a bar-room fight." It was the lion in him that refused to go along with the recommendations of a Presidential emergency board appointed to settle a national railroad strike in 1963. In a sense, he told both labor and the federal government to go to hell, and he has held his ground despite the bombings and countless acts of sabotage against the FEC. Tackling the problem created by the union walkout, Ball eliminated "featherbedding," cut the work force from 2,000 to 900. A crew of three brought a freight train from Jacksonville to Miami instead of three crews of five each before the strike.

"Now we've got one of the most efficiently operated railroads in the country," said Ball. "The railroad was beginning to make a profit before we had to put on a passenger train that nobody used."

Ball is a gut-fighter, but, like his father, Capt. Thomas Ball who came through the Civil War unscathed as a cavalry officer, he wears no battle scars. He has been in continuous litigation since 1930 when a lawyer, James Yates, started a 21-year court battle in connection with an alleged real estate deal. Yates was unsuccessful in trying to collect \$240,000 from Ball who denied he had made a contract with the lawyer. In another long fight Roy E. Crummer brought a \$30 million suit against Ball. Ball was accused of libel in a state hearing dealing with the Crummer Company's buying and selling of municipal bonds. That suit was dismissed in 1956. But Ball already was in another battle, this one with crusty Champion McDowell

Davis, Atlantic Coast Line president, over who was to get the Florida East Coast Railway. Ball had bought the majority of the bankrupt railroad's mortgage bonds in the 1940's and claimed control of the line, but Davis contested the duPont estate's bid to take over its operation. The long litigation is said to have cost both sides \$5 million. One day in West Palm Beach Ball and Davis happened to get on the same elevator and Davis pushed a button that sent the elevator in the wrong direction.

"Mr. Davis," said Ball, "you run an elevator just like you run a railroad."

But Davis fought Ball for 17 years before old age forced his retirement in 1958. Davis' successor, W. Thomas Rice, who likes to think of himself as a Virginia gentleman like Ball, dropped the suit. Ball responded by naming Rice a director of the Florida National Bank in Jacksonville. After a federal court judge turned the FEC over to the duPont estate in 1961 Ball named Rice to its board of directors.

"I have a great respect for Mr. Ball," said Rice. "He has a tenacity the like of which you seldom find."

If there is any key to an understanding of Ball, this is it—tenacity. He never gives up and for years has ignored criticism.

Earnings of duPont interests in recent years have been close to \$12 million annually. Of this \$7 to \$8 million goes to Mrs. duPont, under a will left by her late husband. The will also provides that after Mrs. duPont's death, and after the beneficiaries of several annuities have died, the entire earnings "will go to The Nemours Foundation for the caring and treatment of crippled children, not incurables, and for the care of old people." duPont, of course, could not foresee the growth of the estate which would provide his widow with much more income than she could hope to use. What does she do with it?

"More than half goes for taxes," said Ball. "The rest she gives away. I don't see how she has enough left to buy food."

Mrs. duPont is now in Wilmington, where she is a semi-invalid as a result of breaking a hip in a fall. She is 83.

Last year, Mrs. duPont made contributions which totalled \$3,556,826.03, while her taxes exceeded \$4 million. Her gifts went to charities, churches and educational institutions in over 20 states. The major contributions were in Florida, Delaware, and Virginia. Among her gifts in recent years was a reported million dollars for a library at Stetson University. Between 1936 and 1966 more than \$55 million was given by The Nemours Foundation, by Mrs. duPont and by Ball himself.

In his job as managing trustee of the estate, Ball is coordinator of the banks, board chairman of the FEC, and president of most of the other companies. He relinquished his title of president of the St. Joe Paper Co. in February but remains as chairman of the executive committee. In other words he's still boss.

He also controls millions of dollars worth of property in Dade County, including the 14-story Dupont Building and many acres of downtown Miami.

For his labor, Ball gets no salary, except \$12 a year as chief executive officer of the FEC. But Ball is no poor man. He was left \$750,000 by duPont, and one might conclude that he has used the same keen business sense in investing his own money as he has in parlaying the duPont estate into the economic position it enjoys today.

There is no way to make an accurate guess of Ball's personal wealth, but it probably isn't under \$10 million.

Among other Ball interests is the concession at Washington's home, Mount Vernon, reputed to be the longest soda fountain in the world. And, over the years, he has

"picked up" service stations because he especially liked the location of the properties. He presently owns six in almost as many states.

His purchase of the Edgewater Gulf Hotel at Edgewater Park, Miss., in the 1930's is an example of Ball's keenness in buying, improving and selling at a profit.

"I like to take a run-down company, build it up and sell it," said Ball. He has bought and sold many, including a safe manufacturing company in Hamilton, Ohio.

After paying \$176,100 for the 400-room Edgewater Gulf Hotel, along with an 18-hole golf course, Ball immediately closed down the gambling and lowered room prices and greens fees.

"As soon as we ran the gamblers out we began making money," said Ball. "You don't need gambling to attract respectable people." Ball is no gambler, but he is always ready to "bet you a fifth" if he thinks he's right in an argument.

Ball got his investment out several times before selling the hotel in 1961 for \$2.2 million. He also owned La Concha Hotel at Key West but gave it to the Catholic Church. The church sold it. Ball has a Protestant background but has no religious preference.

Ball owns Wakulla Lodge and 7,000 acres about spectacular Wakulla Springs. He has turned 4,000 acres into a wildlife sanctuary under the management of the Edward Ball Wildlife Foundation and the Audubon Society. Tens of thousands of ducks, coots and other water birds spend the winter at Wakulla Springs where they are fed copious quantities of corn.

But the most astounding refuge in Florida is at Southwood Farm, six miles southeast of Tallahassee, where Ball frequently spends weekends. During the winter 5,000 to 6,000 Canada geese stay here. Some 3,200 acres have been included in the wildlife refuge, where no hunting is permitted. Twice a day the tremendous flock of geese waddles up from a lake to within 100 yards of the main house to eat corn that is strewn over acres of pasture. When all the big birds take off at once, as they may do when frightened, the flapping of wings is almost deafening. Ball's wildlife foundation buys 20 tons of corn a year to feed the geese and other birds. According to the Florida Game and Fresh Water Fish Commission, Ball has lured 98 per cent of the winter visiting geese in Florida to his refuge.

Ball is part owner of an 11th century castle in Ireland which he organized a corporation to buy several years ago. Ballynahinch Castle is 89 miles northwest of Shannon Airport. Ball saw it and fell in love with it, then began calling friends.

"How would you like to own a castle in Ireland?" he asked seductively. He found 125 who did. A brochure promotes the castle—it is operated as a hotel—in a romantic setting, on a river teeming with salmon and sea trout.

Ball finds little time to spend at Ballynahinch, where he has a cottage. He doesn't care to fish for salmon. The wait between strikes is often too long. He prefers to meet his friends at Southwood Farm, go fishing there and have bass and bream for breakfast. Or he likes to drive over the big cattle farm, which is owned by the St. Joe Paper Co., and admire the cattle which he calls "flocks of critters." He also likes to drive his friends to look for wild turkeys or deer, plentiful in the protected refuge.

Some years ago at a parley with union leaders at the St. Joe Paper Co. plant, which is 100 per cent organized, the discussion got around to retirement benefits. Ball asked the leaders how they planned to spend their retirement.

"I'm all ready," he added. "I've got myself a pole and some lines and hooks. I'm going fishing."

He did try retirement for awhile, from

1951 to 1960. But now, on the eve of his 80th birthday, he has no thoughts of retirement any time soon. In fact, he couldn't be enjoying himself more. He relaxes in his work. He enjoys a challenge. The sticks of litigation don't bother him. Neither do the stones of politicians. Nothing seems to worry him. "Yesterday has gone and tomorrow has yet to come," he said, "so I live for today."

This attitude explains why he is unworried over a Congressional order that requires the duPont estate to divest itself of its banking chain or its other interests within a five-year period. You never know what is going to happen in the meantime and Ball thinks that if he has patience it may. Even when he was down with his heart attacks he never believed he was about "to meet St. Peter." He said:

"I figure something would interfere."

Rather than meeting St. Peter, Ed Ball is prepared to get the call of another kindly old man.

One day recently he sat in the living room of his ante-bellum Southwood Farm retreat and sipped a bourbon and ginger ale with his old friend McGregor Smith, 25 years removed from the South Dakota hunting lodge. The phone rang.

Ed Ball jumped to his feet and hurried into the spacious hall to answer it. After hanging up, he returned and took his seat.

"Tell us, Mr. Ball," said Smith in a tone almost as impudent as the telephone's ring, "why you always jump up and run every time that blasted thing starts ringing?"

"Well, McGregah," said the master of the duPont empire in the haughty accent of aristocratic Virginia, "you neva know when Santa Claus is going to call and I don't want to miss him when he does."

His brown eyes sparkled behind eyelids heavy with age and he threw his bald head back and laughed out loud.

#### WE HAVE SHOWN FAITH IN THE FUTURE

(NOTE.—In a rare interview, Ed Ball answers his critics who, he says "always seem to have the last word.")

JACKSONVILLE.—"Miami will get along all right if these impatient city planners and revampers will let it alone."

The controversial Ball gave a rare kind of interview: He answered his critics, and gave his views freely about Dade County where duPont interests own properties worth at least \$25 million.

"First, I'd like to say that I don't know of any of our critics who have done as much for Dade County as we have," said Ball. "A look at the record will prove what we have done. You can then ask the critics what they have done."

Ball has silently borne the brunt of critics for several years. They have accused him of being an obstructionist to the progress of Dade County. They have blamed him for delaying completion of Miami's expressway system, and, even before the system is completed, he is being blamed for predicted traffic bottlenecks downtown.

Before that he was blamed for a delay in the construction of NW 36th St. west of the Miami International Airport. Before the FEC's yards were moved from downtown he was blamed for irritating traffic tie-ups at grade crossings. For years he was blamed for keeping an ugly depot downtown. And once he was blamed for the poor lighting system at the Orange Bowl Stadium.

Although he did not commit himself specifically, Ball displayed a coolness toward the Doadis plan for redevelopment of Bayfront Park and a new expressway along the Florida East Coast tracks.

"I have no specific objection to any part of the plan," he said. "But there is one thing I don't understand—why someone from a country that doesn't have a single modern city would be called upon to make plans for a modern city in another part of the world."

Ball said he was not worried about Miami's future, whether the Doadis plan is implemented or not.

"Time and the influx of people will produce a plan when it is necessary," he said. "Miami's leaders need a little patience. I don't believe anything is going to stop the growth of Miami, which I think has one of the brightest futures of any city in the nation."

Ball expressed optimism about the rest of Florida, too.

"People everywhere—even in California—want to come to Florida," he said.

He thinks, though, that California will continue its lead as the most populous state, but that eventually Florida will challenge New York for second.

Of Miami, Ball said he wasn't worried about "a few shabby buildings" downtown. "There's not a city in the United States that doesn't have a few old, rundown buildings," he said. "They will be replaced as the needs arise."

Ball said that, contrary to what the critics had said, duPont interests were as much concerned with the future of the area as anybody else, adding that "we have played a major role in the development of Dade County."

"We showed our faith in the area's future by being the only bidder on the \$4 million Rickenbacker Causeway just before World War II."

Construction was delayed by the war, and after the war Ball had to put up another \$1.5 million of duPont money to meet rising costs.

"The Rickenbacker Causeway insured the development of Key Biscayne, Virginia Key and Crandon Park," said Ball. "At our insistence the causeway toll was cut from 50 cents to a quarter in order to induce more people to use Crandon Park and to encourage more home building on Key Biscayne."

In 1949 duPont interests, through Ball, financed the double-decking of the Orange Bowl Stadium at a cost of \$1.6 million. Again Ball was the only bidder, agreeing to buy the bonds at 3 per cent interest. A few years later Ball was criticized because he refused to permit the use of Orange Bowl revenue to replace an inadequate lighting system.

"We objected," said Ball, "because the city wanted to use interest due bondholders to install the lighting. You can't do that. But the bonds have been paid off, and I'm glad that Miami has a fine stadium."

Answering critics who have blamed him for a delay in the construction of the North-South Expressway, Ball said:

"Why should we be penalized for the mistakes in locating the expressway? It was poor planning in the first place to run the expressway through downtown and spoil the city with ugly ramps."

Ball objected in 1960 to the location of a ramp designed to pass through part of DuPont Plaza. He said it would lower the value of property owned by duPont interests. Gov. Farris Bryant settled the problem, temporarily, by ordering a new expressway design and delaying its construction.

To critics who say the new plan will cause a severe traffic bottleneck, Ball replied:

"The mistakes in the Miami expressway system should be blamed on the men who put it downtown, not on me. It should have been located west of downtown and the ramps kept out of the business district."

Ball pointed to the Jacksonville expressway system as being nearly ideal.

"We have no ramps in the downtown area," he said. "Instead, the Jacksonville expressway skirts downtown, releasing traffic on a choice of one-way streets. The expressway is easy to reach from any direction, and you can go anywhere in the city—east or west, north or south—in just a few minutes. Houston is another city that has planned a fine



expressway system without any ramps downtown."

Ball was pleased when the Miami City Commission decided not to fight the Florida East Coast Railway's bid to drop an unprofitable passenger service between Miami and Jacksonville. He saw it as a sign that the city leaders were backing away from the anti-Ed Ball movement originated by the late Mayor Robert King High.

It was while High was mayor that the city initiated a suit aimed at forcing the FEC into bankruptcy as a means of wringing control of the line from the duPont estate. Although dismissed by the Federal District Court in Jacksonville, the suit was appealed to the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals in New Orleans. Upon a recommendation of Mayor Steve Clark the city commission last month decided to drop the suit.

Ball believes the former mayor's influence may have been responsible for the nearly two-year delay in issuance of a permit to build a Holiday Inn on Biscayne Blvd., on property leased from the FEC.

"Holiday Inn's lawyers have agreed to every reasonable demand of the city and its planning departments," said Ball.

The 12-story motel is to be built in the 700 block on the east side of Biscayne Blvd. "Now who is the obstructionist?" asked Ball. "Are we? Or is it they?"

Ball emphasized he did not want to blame the present City Commission for past difficulties.

"I have the highest regard for Mayor Clark and the other commissioners I have met," he said.

Ball said he hoped Miami would solve their own problems and "quit blaming me for everything that goes wrong."

Asked why he had never answered his critics before, Ball replied:

"You tell me how it can be done. The critic always has the last word."

## Character of the State of Maine and Its People

### HON. EDMUND S. MUSKIE

OF MAINE

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, March 28, 1968

Mr. MUSKIE. Mr. President, two articles in the winter 1968 edition of the Maine Digest magazine, taken together, provide an unusual insight into the character of the State of Maine and its people.

The first, "Cruising Lobster Pot Alley in a Canoe," illustrates the beauty of Maine's coastline and the thrill of exploring it by canoe.

The second, "Maine Sesquicentennial—1970," illustrates the innovative spirit with which many State of Mainers look forward to the future.

I ask unanimous consent that these two articles appear in the RECORD.

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

#### CRUISING LOBSTER POT ALLEY IN A CANOE

(By Gardiner and Lina Means)

"You otta get a bigger bo't", was all the astonished lobsterman could say when he met our canoe, coming in around the string of islands that run out from Port Clyde, and seeming to emerge from the broad Atlantic. But he was voicing the consensus of the many other fishermen from whom we had bought lobsters for our lunch on the

rocks, or at whose houses we had called to fill our water jugs.

Only once in our fifteen years of canoe cruising along the Maine coast from Casco Bay to Cutler Harbor has anyone accepted our means of transportation as unremarkable. That was when one of a group of men on a pier on Beal Island near Jonesport said to his doubting companions, "Well, the Indians usta. Why shouldn't these folks?"

In point of fact, handled by experienced paddlers with due respect for the changeable Maine seas, a fifteen foot Old Town canoe is an ideal craft for poking in among the myriad of islands that give the Maine coast its unique character. And no more attractive area invites exploration by the canoeist, for each island has a distinct personality which you can come to know intimately as you skirt under the shelter of the shore, beach on a tiny bit of sand or inviting pebbles, enjoy the sight and sound of crashing waves as you ride just outside the line where they hump to break, or as you hunt for a site to pitch the pup tent among the firs or in the grass above the beach or on a bit of peat which the sheep have not cut into waffle-like blocks.

The sailboat skipper who passes knows only the general outlines and the principal harbors; the canoeist knows the details—where the Indians got their flint on Flint Island, where the rock resembles petrified gray mud, where you can slide out on a shelf of red granite. Every island has a sea side with quiet water and even the tiniest bit of rock or land jutting from the sea may provide a welcome shelter from the wind and let you rest before pushing on to a more secure destination. Virtually every island offers a camp site for the night. In addition, the bright-colored lobster buoys which ring most of the islands and follow the coast, just far enough off shore to be safe and near enough to be interesting, mark an ideal route to travel. We call it "lobster pot alley".

Of course, Maine islands can present problems, too, like the acres of mussel flats that surround Sheep Island which we chose for our night's destination as we paddled into the sunset and which nearly ruined man and boat by the time we got through to the grassy shore, or the bare, ledgy island fully inhabited by birds where we found ourselves storm-bound and faced the choice of a prolonged stay with unpleasant company or a fierce, precarious paddle before the wind to the nearest haven. Sometimes a good landing spot at arrival tide turns out very difficult when we come to depart. But almost without exception the islands as we have known them are each and every one a special delight.

And how better to enjoy Maine's spectacular weather? Is it a fog? You poke around in the canoe close to shore, or follow the line of faithful lobster buoys. Is it a storm? You put up your pup tent, tuck your gear under the overturned canoe, and sit it out. We sat out Hurricane Carol on Friendship Island, tent and canoe snug in a patch of woods on a lee slope. Is it a real, sparkling Maine day? In the canoe you are right there amid the dancing, gleaming tips of water, almost a part of the gay brilliance yourself. Or is there a full moon? Slip silently through the water as you travel down Somes Sound.

It's a fine way to enjoy the wild life, too. You are really close and intimate with your porpoise escort, and you can play wonderful games with the seals off North Haven who suddenly discover your presence, flop down in startled agitation, and then, overcome by their insatiable curiosity, pop up to peer at you again.

Our rules for safe and happy island cruising are simple and uniformly effective. First and foremost, don't take chances. If the sea is too rough or the sky too threatening, stay ashore.

Secondly, never cross more than a mile of open water, that is, never get more than a

half a mile from land. We have often been tempted to violate this rule—to scoot across a mile and a half of calm sea—but we have learned our lesson too often to disregard it. We remember the flat calm in which we started to paddle around a small island below Stonington. Suddenly we saw a dark line in the water ahead of us, and within minutes the waves were whipping after us as we turned and scooted for camp. So we never let ourselves be lured into disregarding this rule.

There are few places we have not visited because of it, however, for almost nowhere are island stepping stones more than a mile apart. On the stepping stone principle, we have been able to come along the coast to Rockland, to explore Penobscot Bay, down to North Haven and Vinalhaven, over to and around Deer Isle and down to Isle au Haut, across Blue Hill Bay and down to Swans Island, across Frenchman's Bay and on beyond Schoodic, from the eastern side of Petit Manan to Jonesport, from Roque on up to Machias Bay.

A car on the shore gives us flexibility. Sometimes we put in at a central place, such as Friendship, and spend days paddling west and back, then east and back, going ashore at our launching point. At other times, we paddle up or down the coast, go ashore and hitch our way back to the car. In either case, the car enables us to sample the best parts of the coast without having to go out around each of the long peninsulas which run out into the Atlantic, though we have gone around some when the weather has been favorable.

Our third rule of the sea is "follow lobster pot alley". This is a guide rather than a strict rule, but it serves as a safety factor as well as a useful and pleasant route. For wherever a lobster boat can go to pull a pot, a canoe is safe from hidden and unknown rocks or eddies.

The fourth element which makes for ease and comfort is the mosquito-proof pup tent which we first thought of as a protection against rain, but soon learned to appreciate as our shield against the mosquito and to make our home from dusk through dawn.

For the canoeist who does relish portages—longer than the length of Maine's low-tide beaches—ocean canoeing under Maine conditions offers an ideal activity. Most of the time you can choose how hard you want to work—whether to stay ashore or go out when the breeze is strong, how far to travel in a day. The only compulsion comes from the water supply. Food can almost always be supplemented by fishing for harbor pollock, digging clams, gathering mussels, or intercepting a lobsterman pulling his pots. We carry water for a normal three days, stretchable without much difficulty to four. We could easily add another can if this amount should seem insufficient.

Only a few times have we had to work harder than we wanted to or found ourselves in a precarious situation. On the way to Isle au Haut, and again on the way to Swans, the wind freshened against us, and we were glad the distance was not greater. A tide rip at the mouth of the Medomak River created the kind of water which canoes like to stay out of. We bore down on Starboard Island with a heavy following wind and sea, hoping desperately—and rightly—that the cove we were heading for would turn out to have a landing beach.

Only one place on the coast has really defeated us—Petit Manan Point, with its guardian rock, Old Bull. On a hazy day, we had worked our way across Gouldsboro Bay and were following the lobster pots along the west shore of the Point with the intention of rounding it through the inside passage. Suddenly the fog came down, thick and white, and at the same moment we realized that the lobster pots had stopped. Pausing to get our bearings, we heard the roar of Old

Bull—much too near. "This is no place for a canoe in the fog", we exclaimed and retreated until we found a lobster buoy and could start back along the shore.

But where were we to land? The chart showed no harbor, the sea was running and we could hear it pounding the shore, though we could not see it through the fog even from lobster pot alley. We noted a slight indentation on the chart and remembered seeing a wee cove as we had come out, so we felt our way back to it. As we approached through the fog we made out a tiny bit of gravel among the waveswept rocks—just enough for a quick landing in a canoe. Almost by the time we had carried our gear above the tide and had lifted the canoe onto the shoreward rocks, the tide had risen to obliterate our landing beach. Two days later we made our way overland through the fog, hitched a ride back to our car retrieved the canoe, and drove away, acknowledging Old Bull's ability to guard his point.

Some years later we found ourselves camped on the east side of Petit Manan on a fair, clear, gentle day. "Let's go back out around the Point", we said. "This is the day to see Old Bull and not just hear him roar". So we paddled down the length of the point, to where we could clearly see Old Bull with his waves breaking. Then we looked out. There, quite unpredictably, was a patch of fog. When we were less than a quarter of a mile from Old Bull, he disappeared into his fog blanket. "Done it again", we acknowledged ruefully. "Guess he doesn't want any canoes going around his point". So back we paddled. In a few minutes we looked back to see the fog gone and Old Bull grinning his "I told you so" at us.

Though Old Bull kept us from going around Petit Manan, the surf on the rocks at Schoodic did not. After we had sat out a storm near Winter Harbor, the day broke clear and golden, with a gentle breeze barely rippling the surface of the sea. Just the day to paddle around the point. Just the day, too, for visitors to the Acadia National Park to come down on the great red Schoodic rocks to watch the seas, raised by the storm, roll in and break with towering spray. What was the visitors' eardrum astonishment to look out over the curling, roaring white water and to see a small gray canoe serenely paddled along, quite unaffected by the great, mountainous seas. They looked every bit at horrified as the lobsterman who told us to get a bigger boat.

Canoe cruising on salt water is indeed an unappreciated vacation possibility. In all our voyaging we have never met another travel-canoe. It is not an activity we would recommend to the greenhorn whose only paddling has been on quiet streams or ponds. But for experienced and competent canoeists, there is no better way to enjoy to the full the unmatched beauty of Maine's islanded coast.

#### MAINE SESQUICENTENNIAL, 1970: A PROPOSAL (By Gene Peterson)

Like a stately grand dame the State of Maine carries her years gracefully. She now approaches her 150th birthday and in 1970 Maine will celebrate her sesquicentennial. If this wonderful area has any wrinkles—they show only in her green mountain valleys. If she sheds any tears over her aging—they appear only as deep blue lakes. If she has any worries—they are evidenced only as snow on her white capped winter mountains. Like vintage wine. This beautiful state of ours, grows more rare with each passing year. Then too, her stalwart sons and daughters have risen over the past century and a half to become an even harder breed than their early blood stock. From a long and glorious past Maine looks confidently to the next hundred and fifty years with a determination that it will eclipse the prodigious deeds that have gone before.

Hardly noticed in the closing days of a bitterly divided 103rd Legislature was the appointment by Governor Kenneth Curtis of Senator Walter Birt as Chairman of the Maine Sesquicentennial Committee.

The Committee to be selected to assist the chairman will be charged with the monumental task of preparing a state wide celebration in observance of the separation of Maine from Massachusetts. This committee will have set before it one of the most challenging opportunities ever presented to a citizens panel. They will have the chore of creating a celebration and a theme that can initiate one of the most fruitful and satisfying events this proud state has ever experienced. Many and varied activities should be planned to properly present the mode of living and cultural creativeness that belongs to Maine. They should revolve around a central theme.

Let us meet this challenge with high resolve—and original concepts. Resolve, to make the Sesquicentennial like none other before it, original, in the scope and theme of display.

I would respectfully submit this unique theme to the committee that Senator Birt will head. It will truly make the Maine motto "Dirigo" vibrant and meaningful.

Petition the governments of Sweden, Denmark, Norway and Iceland to join with us to sponsor a Twentieth Century Viking Voyage to America. It has been conclusively established that Viking voyages did sail up and down the East Coast of America as far south as Cape Cod. Recreate the voyage with three of the Viking Longboats manned with nationals of the four Scandinavian countries—colorfully garbed in their Viking bearskin robes with the riveted horn helmets.

What theme shall we then choose that is fitting and worthy to represent the State of Maine? How shall we show our state to its best advantage. What showcase will attract the most attention and not be a meaningless montage of cheap commercialism? Perhaps most important of all, what can we do that will retain its impact for years to come?

May I respectfully submit to whatever committee is finally chosen that we project a grand theme of international proportions. Let us look to the sea that has for so many years been as much a part of our heritage as the air we breathe. In so doing, let us reaffirm our heritage by inviting other seafaring peoples to join us in our celebration.

What more appropriate area to associate with in the celebration than the Scandinavian countries. Here too is the sea—food and drink—to all who live there. Here too are snow and mountains and hardy stock. Here too, are the lovers of the green trees, snow clad mountains, ice blue lakes and rugged individualism. The similarities are striking.

Allow your imagination to dwell on the possibilities of a transatlantic voyage with a caravan of three Viking Longboats, manned by twentieth century Vikings. These hardy Norsemen of today, plowing the waters of the North Atlantic in their Dragon prowed vessels would capture the attention of the whole world—not just the United States.

It does not take much imagination to picture in your minds eye the striking sight of these boats, their single sails belled out in a stiff breeze, a bearded Viking at the tiller and the metal shields gleaming over the single banks of oars on each side of the hulls.

If Allen Villiers sailing the Mayflower on its voyage to New York could attract hundreds of thousands of viewers to line the banks of the East River to see his arrival, how many more could we in Maine attract with far more colorful pageantry? The attention paid to this modern sea epic would give us a showcase for the initial phase of the Sesquicentennial that could never be bought for mere money. We would find our sea saga

gaining international attention from the time the first dowel was driven into the first longboat.

While this would be the moving factor in gaining world wide attention for our venture, here at home we would be putting the permanent touches to the project by building a true replica of a Viking Village circa 780 A.D.

Long after the glamour and excitement of the landing of the Viking Longboats had become a pleasant memory the installation on the Maine coastline of a Viking Village would be a tourist attraction of the proportions of Colonial Williamsburg, Virginia.

Built on the Maine coast with a sweeping sea vista this Viking Village would attract hundreds of thousands of casual visitors for generations to come. With its rough log construction and the simple homely quality of buildings that Americans connect with our period of growth and development, we would have here in Maine the very essence of the vanishing rural homestead. After all . . . one sixth of America springs from a Scandinavian background. This fact and no more would make the Viking Village a valuable economic asset to the state. The American log cabin was born in Scandinavia.

Looking at the theme from a cultural aspect, we could expect to have international music festivals held here annually. With the inclusion of a Great Hall in the architectural splendor of Viking Village it should not be too difficult to sponsor many of the performing arts that are common to the United States and the rest of the world.

Many foreign dignitaries are hosted by the United States each year and frequently the Federal government sees fit to quarter them at Williamsburg, prior to, or following a visit to Washington. With an installation of the magnitude I vision, it is certainly not inconceivable that our Viking Village would be looked upon with favor as a scenic spot for these foreign guests to visit. Certainly our environmental factors, especially weather, would have to be favored over Virginia in the summer when the temperatures are brutal in Williamsburg, air conditioning notwithstanding.

The warmth of the Village with its birch bark and sod roofed houses and churches, farm buildings and boats, all bearing the stamp of originality would give the State of Maine a world renowned tourist attraction that can easily become ranked with St. Moritz and Tivoli.

Of course the impact of a Viking Voyage and Viking Village on all aspects of culture and economics are too immense to be covered here, but it is interesting to contemplate them. Strict zoning on the part of the state to maintain the purity of construction on peripheral surroundings would preserve the authenticity and value of the installation. For years to come we could invite motoring America to, "take a trip abroad without ever leaving the country."

The concept of this venture that I suggest to the men and women who will plan the Sesquicentennial Celebration for Maine in 1970 is unique. Its freshness, its charm and its primal appeal to an America becoming jaded with the pseudo-sophisticated tinsel that they are being constantly fed, will make the Viking Village a valuable and sought after spot for true family enjoyment. The construction of this beautiful set of buildings over an area of approximately one square mile will add much to the natural beauty of any site in which it is set. It will also attract to us the substantial and wholesome family type tourist that is so welcome in Maine.

The planners of the 150th Anniversary of Maine may have entirely different views and values, but I submit the "Viking Village" and "Viking Voyage to America" as a concept that should, at any cost, be sincerely considered.



In His Memory: Louis A. R. Pieri

## HON. ROBERT O. TIERNAN

OF RHODE ISLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 28, 1968

Mr. TIERNAN. Mr. Speaker, last summer, Rhode Island lost one of its greatest sports figures, Louis Arthur Raymond Pieri. In his passing, I lost a good friend in the ranks of hockey.

Lou Pieri's legacy of accomplishments will long influence the future of hockey in Rhode Island. As a youngster, I grew up in the shadow of the Rhode Island Auditorium, Lou Pieri's domain until his untimely death last year. To those of us who took to the ice in our early youth, he encouraged in us a will to win and a desire to excel.

Mr. Pieri gave much of himself to the advancement of the young in Rhode Island. We will long remember him for his generosity and vision.

Mr. Speaker, as part of my remarks, I include the following memorial which appeared in the Rhode Island Reds first program of last season in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD:

### IN HIS MEMORY: LOUIS A. R. PIERI

This past summer Rhode Island lost one of its greatest sportsmen, Louis Arthur Raymond Pieri. The one man who kept Providence athletically prominent in the professional sports world, while all others failed, is no longer with us.

A graduate of Franklin High School and Dean Academy, both situated in his home town of Franklin, Mass., Mr. Pieri went on to receive his Ph. B. and Master of Science Degree from Brown University in 1920. As an undergraduate there he participated in football, basketball and baseball. He went on to teach and coach at Brown, Rutgers Preparatory School and Central Falls High School.

In 1929 he took over the management of the Rhode Island Auditorium. In 1938 he purchased the Auditorium and the Providence Hockey Club, popularly known as the Rhode Island Reds.

Lou Pieri was one of the original franchise holders in the National Basketball Association, with a franchise here in Providence. In 1949 he became half-owner of the Boston Celtics, World's Professional Champions in nine of the last eleven seasons. He served as Treasurer and later as President of that organization until its sale in September, 1965.

However, Lou's main love was his Reds. Eight times the Reds have finished first in the American Hockey League and they have won the coveted Calder Cup, emblematic of League supremacy, four times. This same team which the AHL once threatened to disband, has won twelve League titles. If it were not for Mr. Pieri's dedicated persistence in working to keep the Reds in Providence, this state would be without a professional sports team today.

In 1963 Louis A. R. Pieri was selected as the original "Pillar" member of the R.I. Reds Hockey "Hall of Fame," an honor by which the Reds and the Greater Providence Chamber of Commerce acknowledged and thanked him for his contribution to the people and the state of Rhode Island.

Sports has lost a dedicated workman, and hockey one of its great champions.

	Army	Navy <sup>1</sup>	Marine Corps	Air Force	Total
1. Killed.....	9,672	494	5,958	240	16,364
2. Wounded or injured:					
a. Died of wounds.....	1,188	64	721	25	1,998
b. Nonfatal wounds:					
Hospital care required.....	37,601	1,499	25,000	417	64,517
Hospital care not required.....	33,217	2,667	20,220	1,396	57,500
3. Missing:					
a. Died while missing.....	1,389	98	5	232	1,724
b. Returned to control.....	37	7	6	19	69
c. Current missing.....	176	110	108	456	850
4. Captured or interned:					
a. Died while captured or interned.....	9	1	2	1	10
b. Returned to control.....	9	1	2	2	14
c. Current captured or interned.....	12	111	15	115	253
5. Deaths:					
a. From aircraft accidents/incidents:					
Fixed wing.....	48	118	37	386	589
Helicopter.....	554	33	172	12	771
b. From ground action.....	11,656	505	6,475	100	18,736
Total deaths <sup>2</sup> .....	12,258	656	6,684	498	20,096

<sup>1</sup> Navy figures include Coast Guard.

<sup>2</sup> Sum of lines 1, 2a, 3a, and 4a.

## Vietnam Casualty Statistics

### HON. ROBERT C. BYRD

OF WEST VIRGINIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, March 28, 1968

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to insert in the RECORD a news release issued by the Assistant Secretary of Defense—Public Affairs—on March 21, 1968. The news release contains figures with regard to U.S. casualties, and combat deaths for other forces in Vietnam since January 1, 1961.

I ask unanimous consent to include the release in the Extensions of Remarks.

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

#### VIETNAM WEEKLY CASUALTIES STATISTICAL SUMMARY

The Department of Defense released today the weekly casualties reported in connection with the conflict in Vietnam, as of March 16, 1968.

#### A. U.S. CASUALTIES RESULTING FROM ACTIONS BY HOSTILE FORCES

Total U.S. deaths from actions by hostile forces is the sum of the following categories: killed in action, died of wounds, died while missing and died while captured. Lines 1 through 4 subdivide casualties by cause or category. Line 5 provides an additional breakdown of the same totals by environment (air or ground). Totals are cumulative from January 1, 1961 through March 16, 1968.

#### B. COMBAT DEATHS FOR OTHER FORCES IN VIETNAM—SINCE JAN. 1, 1961

Force.....	RVNAF <sup>1</sup>	Other free world forces	Enemy <sup>2</sup>
6. Total deaths.....	56,888	1,947	314,460

<sup>1</sup> Does not include para military losses.

<sup>2</sup> Includes adjustments from previous period.

<sup>3</sup> Figures for the weeks Feb 25—Mar 16, 1968 are not available.

#### C. U.S. CASUALTIES NOT THE RESULT OF ACTION BY HOSTILE FORCES—SINCE JAN. 1, 1961

	Army	Navy	Marine Corps	Air Force	Total
7. Current missing.....	56	4	2	2	64
8. Deaths:					
a. From aircraft accidents/incidents:					
Fixed wing.....	158	75	25	151	409
Helicopter.....	583	16	118	1	718
b. From other causes.....	1,388	364	556	120	2,428
Total deaths.....	2,129	455	699	272	3,555

Gov. Lester Maddox

## HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 27, 1968

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, a reported speech by the Honorable Lester Maddox, Governor of Georgia, expresses quite bluntly the feelings of many Americans today—that our too big Government has gone mad.

While a national leader proclaims,

"We've gone all the way to this point and we are going to keep on going now," and his principal adversary encourages revolt among our youth, it is refreshing to know that we have a Governor who can still voice the fears, frustrations, and wants of our people.

Mr. Speaker, I include the Atlanta Constitution report of Governor Maddox's speech, as follows:

[From the Atlanta (Ga.) Constitution, Mar. 26, 1968]

MADDOX SAYS GOVERNMENT GONE MAD  
Gov. Lester Maddox said Monday night that the U.S. government had abdicated its

responsibility to protect the people and their property, and "now it seems we need protection from a government which has gone stark-raving mad."

In a speech to the Tri-City Lions Club at Austell, the governor said, "It is my prayer that Georgia may help lead our nation back to sanity and security."

In his second bitter attack on the federal government in four days, Maddox said mass violence in this country is "part of a master scheme born in Moscow more than four decades ago" to tear up America.

There is ample evidence, he said, to support his statement, but it was ignored by the presidential riot probe commission.

"Americans are sick of paying for their

own destruction," Maddox said. "Americans are tired of financing revolutions through big government spending programs which only make bums and deadbeats of many segments of our society."

He said, "Americans want their national leaders to restore local control of government, systems of education, and law enforcement. Americans are ready for a return to constitutional government, states' rights, and private property rights."

"And I believe voices of millions of freedom-loving Americans will make their loudest cry for liberty in the elections of 1968. In the past, the government protected the people and their property. That is the first responsibility of government."

"Now it seems we need protection from a government which has gone stark-raving mad."

Maddox said his administration is "standing for freedom, free enterprise, and the great heritage of America."

### Plans of Students for a Democratic Society To Create Turmoil During Late April

#### HON. STROM THURMOND

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, March 28, 1968

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, the advocates of hate and violence in this country are coming more and more out into the open. This is illustrated by a penetrating article written by syndicated Columnist Alice Widener and published in Barron's Financial Weekly.

The shocking revelations of this article have drawn the attention of the Charleston News and Courier in an article entitled "10 Days in April," published on March 16, 1968.

The editorial states that a meeting held by Students for a Democratic Society in New York City last month resulted in plans for a program of 10 days of violence and disruption in U.S. communities April 21 to 30. This period is expected to coincide with the march on Washington planned by Martin Luther King and supported by black power leader Stokely Carmichael.

It is amazing that such plans can be acknowledged in the press everyday without condemnation by the leadership of this Nation. It would appear that the mayors of the cities threatened should solicit the support of their citizens to prevent these open moves to win social goals through the threat and execution of violence against people and their property.

People of my State have recently witnessed a "hate campaign" against the city of Orangeburg and State law-enforcement authorities who had to deal with violence at South Carolina State College recently.

This country is disintegrating rapidly when our leaders accept violence and do not stand firmly in support of the laws designed to protect the welfare of all of our citizens. It is still my hope that the proper kind of leadership will emerge from our community groups, as they have the most to lose in these matters, since the riots most frequently occur in areas of

a city heavily populated by minority groups. Their homes, businesses, and families are threatened when the law is abandoned. Our national leadership should actively seek the support of the responsible leadership among our minority groups, for it is this body that, in my opinion, can be most effective in meeting the present crisis.

The Nation cannot long survive along its present trend, and I never thought I would live to see the day when in the committees of Congress and elsewhere questions arise as to whether it is safe to send our soldiers abroad to meet our commitments overseas in view of their need to maintain order in the turmoil enveloping our cities.

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:

#### TEN DAYS IN APRIL

Writing in Barron's Financial Weekly, syndicated columnist Alice Widener has exposed plans of the Students for a Democratic Society for a period of revolutionary action next month. One of the principal targets of the SDS will be the New York City financial center that is vital to the operation of American business and industry.

"At New York University over the weekend of Feb. 10-11," said Mrs. Widener, "the SDS held a regional conference to help plan a program for 10 days of violence and disruption in U.S. communities April 21-30."

Mrs. Widener, an authoritative writer on revolutionary movements, reports that the "overall theme of the SDS is that 1968 can be 'the 1905' of the American revolution."

In 1905, Russian Marxists held a dress rehearsal for the Bolshevik Revolution.

"Naturally," explained Mrs. Widener, "many present-day circumstances are different from those of a generation and more ago, but the basic ideology and revolutionary tactics used by Bolsheviks, terrorists and anarchists in Europe and the U.S. more than 60 years ago are exactly like those used today by radicals, youthful leftist terrorists and anarchists in this country and abroad."

SDS members are not shy about disclosing their schemes. They presented a written proposal for a "Financial District Festival." They openly stated that they hope to swarm into the congested Wall Street area in New York City and paralyze the financial heart of the nation.

This sabotage operation will come after the invasion of Washington planned by the Rev. Martin Luther King Jr. with the co-operation of Black Power leader Stokely Carmichael. SDS planners explained how and where they are cooperating with the Black Panther movement.

Mrs. Widener's article in Barron's is one of a number of responsible journalistic warnings of what to expect in the way of revolutionary action this spring. Irene Corbally Kuhn recently pointed out in a column published in The News and Courier that communist propaganda is being shipped into the United States in an unprecedented quantity. A vast global effort is afoot to force the U.S. to withdraw from Vietnam. Revolutionary action within this country is a key portion of the drive.

South Carolinians would be naive to imagine they will escape revolutionary pressures. The current issue of The New Republic Magazine contains a hate-South Carolina editorial captioned "Orangeburg Massacre." Troubles in Orangeburg suggest that the Palmetto State will be a target of the new revolutionists.

If South Carolinians are to understand the character of the difficulties that lie ahead, they must have facts such as Mrs. Widener has uncovered on the "Ten Days in April."

### Poison Gas Boomerang

#### HON. ROBERT W. KASTENMEIER

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 28, 1968

Mr. KASTENMEIER. Mr. Speaker, my initial reaction to the news from Utah that Army experiments in the use of nerve gas had resulted in the death of 6,400 sheep in that State was one of relief. At least the victims were not people. But then as the Army equivocated over its responsibility for the deaths of these sheep it became clear that even they did not know the range of the lethal effects of these weapons.

Some may respond that this illustrates how necessary the testing really is. The question is not whether this testing can be rendered safe, but rather whether it is necessary or desirable in the first instance.

As the editorial in the New York Times for March 27 pointedly argues:

Both incidents are merely the latest of the many serious warnings society has received in recent years about the extraordinary new environmental perils—many of them initially unrealized—flowing from modern technology.

Indeed this is just another incident in the long history of ugly, distasteful incidents humanity has witnessed in the field of chemical and biological weapons testing and use.

As the Times editorial inquires:

In this age of nuclear weapons, moreover, we wonder what benefits the nation receives from poison gases that could compensate for the boomerang effects already suffered and those now looming on the horizon.

A meaningful investigation must be made as the Times suggests. I accordingly invite your attention to the New York Times editorial:

#### POISON GAS BOOMERANGS

The tight secrecy with which every country normally surrounds poison gas research, production and testing has recently been broken in the western United States by two terrifying disclosures.

One is the revelation that some seismologists believe Denver is threatened by a serious man-made earthquake in the next few years. This threat is posed by the changes in subsurface conditions produced since 1962 by 160 million gallons of poisonous waste water. The water, a byproduct of poison gas production, was poured down a well drilled more than two miles deep at an arsenal in the city's outskirts.

The second involves the mysterious death in Western Utah of some 6,400 sheep. The circumstances suggest strongly that their deaths were the unplanned consequences of chemical warfare tests a few days earlier at the Army's Dugway Proving Grounds.

Earlier this decade worldwide concern about radioactive pollution from nuclear weapons tests helped provide much of the push behind the limited nuclear test-ban treaty. In the wake of the Denver and Utah reports the question must arise of whether



similar prohibitions are not required for poison gas production and testing as well. Certainly the extraordinarily dangerous qualities of these substances is testified to by the sheep slaughter and by the fact that the Army felt it necessary to drill a well two miles under the ground to dispose of the waste water generated during poison gas production. Unfortunately the commendable zeal to avoid pollution of immediate subsurface waters in the Denver situation was not matched by adequate consideration of the cumulative geological impact of infusing such vast quantities of liquid into the deeper rocks.

The dead sheep cannot be revived and the problem at Denver is complicated by fears that efforts to pump out the waste water may actually increase the earthquake danger. Both incidents are merely the latest of the many serious warnings society has received in recent years about the extraordinary new environmental perils—many of them initially unrealized—flowing from modern technology. In this age of nuclear weapons, moreover, we wonder what benefits the nation receives from poison gases that could compensate for the boomerang effects already suffered and those now looming on the horizon. And if poison gases raise these dangers, what potential menaces lurk behind the screens that now shield biological warfare preparations from public scrutiny? A prompt Congressional or Presidential investigation of these dark military corners is much in order.

### Downtown: What's Happening?

#### HON. GAYLORD NELSON

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, March 28, 1968

Mr. NELSON. Mr. President, downtown Milwaukee is experiencing tremendous expansion and redevelopment. But this is nothing new. Milwaukee's downtown has been growing by leaps and bounds for more than a quarter of a century. From 1947 to 1958, new downtown building totaled \$74.5 million; from 1960 to 1966, it totaled \$143.3 million. This increase in construction has resulted in spectacular buildings, making the downtown area one of the most beautiful in the Nation. I am quite proud of Milwaukee's achievement—as is all of Wisconsin.

In the March issue of the magazine Milwaukee, a fascinating article entitled "Downtown: What's Happening?" describes the growth of this historic city's main shopping area. It is well worth reading, as are the other articles in the magazine.

I ask unanimous consent that the article be printed in the Extension of Remarks.

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

#### DOWNTOWN: WHAT'S HAPPENING?

Something's been happening to Downtown.

Even the grooviest rut-follower knows that, because his rut is forever being disturbed by a new one-way street sign, a barricade to keep him from falling into a gaping gulch where a freeway will run next year, a choke-up where a mammoth crane is pre-empting half the street while it lofts pre-cast concrete to the top of a new building, crews

digging trenches in the middle of the street (at rush hour) for new sewers or utilities. . . .

What some people call it is unprintable. Others call it a renaissance.

Some of the philosophers in the Division of Economic Development would say this:

"During the late 40's and most of the 50's, there was an almost universal conviction among civic leaders, businessmen, government officials and the citizenry that Downtown was dead. However, in the midst of continuing decentralization, functional change, decay and obsolescence, there are unmistakable signs of a new vigor, meaningful accomplishments and a new spirit in Downtown that denies its death."

Some of the statisticians would put it this way:

"In the last 20 years, the United States has scored a modest increase in building activity in four sectors—government, industry, commercial and residential.

"In that same period, the City of Milwaukee—minus Downtown—experienced a mild decline, reflecting what one might expect of a mature city.

"But Downtown alone established a vigorous growth pattern—quite cyclical but with a pronounced rising trend. It is increasing at a faster rate than the United States average—and when it is combined with the rest of the city it not only arrests the modest decline of the rest of the city but converts it into an increase similar to that of the United States.

"Contrary to popular belief, Downtown not only failed to exhibit a declining trend, but the magnitude of its activity was sufficient to pull up the rest of the city."

If you want the mean-line round numbers (estimated construction costs for all types of buildings, 1947-66), the United States moved up from a little over \$30 billion to a little over \$40 billion. The City of Milwaukee as a whole moved up from a little under \$100 million to a little over \$100 million. But the City minus Downtown dropped from over \$100 million to less than \$80 million—while Downtown rose from a little over \$3 million to well over \$20 million.

Another way of saying it: from 1947 to 1958, Downtown building totaled \$74.5 million; from 1960 to 1966, it totaled \$143.3 million—roughly twice as much in the last seven years as in the first 12.

Or another way: Out of a total of \$2.3 billion spent in the whole city for new construction, alteration and repairs from 1947 to 1966, \$217 million went into Downtown—over 9.5 percent spent on one percent of the geography.

And who was so gung-ho about Downtown? Who were the heavy spenders?

Government? Wrong.

Commercial building led the pack—\$91.6 million dollars' worth of new construction, alterations and repairs from 1947 to 1966—and over \$75 million of that in the last eight years of the period. Both new construction and alterations have run over \$1 million every year since 1958, with big new-building peaks in 1961 (\$22.9 million), and 1963 (\$9.2 million) and 1966 (\$12.5 million). This was the era of the Marine Plaza, the Northwestern National, the IBM Building, the Lewis Center, the Juneau Square complex, the Greyhound Building, The First Wisconsin remodeling and addition, the New Pfister—and in 1967 the Marshall & Ilsley Building—to name a few pack leaders.

The public sector—government and quasi-public buildings—was a strong second with \$88.7 million, including the \$4 million Arena in 1949; the \$2 million Library addition and the Central YMCA in 1954; another \$26.3 million from 1957 to 1961, including the \$7.5 million Municipal Annex, the \$5.6 million State Office Building, and the new Museum and expansion of the Vocational School; and by 1966, another \$10 million for the Mac-

Arthur Square plaza and garage. The Center for the Performing Arts adds another \$9 million. The Union Depot and new Post Office are in the picture, too, although they are technically outside the Freeway loop embracing Downtown.

The residential sector has accounted for \$21.6 million, in a widely oscillating pattern from 1947 to 1966. There were peaks in 1950 (\$2 million), a year that included the 91 unit Shoreland Manor apartments; and in 1954 (\$6.4 million), a year that included the 139 unit apartment put up by Knapp, Inc.; and in 1965 (\$8 million). Residential population drifted down from 21,322 in 1940 to 13,234 in 1960, and to 12,441 in 1967—but in recent years a small but significant number of middle and high income families have been returning to the central city to live. There has been an upsurge since 1961, largely as the result of the Juneau Village development, and some prospects of developing the residential potential of Downtown with further developments such as the high-rise apartments along Prospect Avenue, the Regency project under construction on Kilbourn Avenue, and a poised-over-the-freeway proposal like the Bradley project.

Industrial construction, totaling \$15.9 million in the 1947-66 period, has reflected mainly the development and expansion of large existing enterprises, such as the Johnson Service Co. expansion in 1951, the Pabst Brewing Co. expansion in 1952 and the Journal Co. expansion in 1961.

### Tension Between Israel and Jordan

#### HON. FRANCES P. BOLTON

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 28, 1968

Mrs. BOLTON. Mr. Speaker, the news from the Middle East grows more ominous each day. And as the Washington Post editorially pointed out Tuesday morning:

The recent action of the United Nations may very well have the effect of exacerbating rather than calming the tensions between Israel and Jordan.

Recent border clashes between Israel and Jordanians fall into a familiar pattern. As has occurred so many times in past years, terrorist activities conducted by Arab commandos along Israel-Arab borders have resulted in Israel reprisals.

As the Washington Post editorial stated:

The United Nations Security Council, by condemning the Israeli action alone, can only have the effect by encouraging additional outbreaks.

Already Jordan-based commandos are openly declaring their intention to step up their raids on Israeli-held territory. It was in response to such an Arab commando raid, which destroyed a schoolbus filled with schoolchildren, that Israel Armed Forces struck across the border last week.

The United Nations must exert its full influence to bring Israel and Arab nations to the negotiating table for a peaceful solution of their differences.

Moreover, the United Nations must take steps to curb such Arab commando incursions into Israeli-held territory as precipitated the present crisis.

## Panel "Gutless" in Civil Disorder Report

## HON. ROBERT C. BYRD

OF WEST VIRGINIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, March 28, 1968

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, Mr. George S. Schuyler, respected Negro editor and newspaperman for half a century, recently wrote a column entitled "Panel 'Gutless' in Civil Disorder Report." The article was with reference to the recent report of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders.

I ask unanimous consent to insert the article in the Extension of Remarks.

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

[From the Waco (Tex.) Tribune-Herald, Mar. 2, 1968]

NEGRO WRITER SAYS WHITES WRONGFULLY BLAMED: PANEL "GUTLESS" IN CIVIL DISORDER REPORT

(EDITOR'S NOTE.—Mr. Schuyler, a Negro who is outspokenly conservative, has been an editor and newspaperman for half a century. Among his books are "Black No More" and "Black and Conservative.")

(By George S. Schuyler)

NEW YORK.—As predicted by the suspicious when it was appointed by President Johnson on July 29 last year, the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders has produced an outrageous whitewash. It is indicative of the pervasive gutlessness of current officialdom and civil leadership on all levels in coping with the crisis confronting us.

Not unexpectedly, the police, perennial whipping boys of those running interference for demonstrators, are blamed by the commission for undue severity in suppressing the riot-prone, retardate, extremist-incited and criminally-inclined elements usually dormant in every city. The police are the first line of defense against the troglodytes ever waiting to mug pedestrians, snatch pocketbooks, rape nurses, toss Molotov cocktails, overturn cars, smash windows and gut stores.

The Commission cries tut-tut because the police fired volleys to suppress snipers and vandals; as if they were supposed to tap mob wrists and recite the Pledge of Allegiance while the town burned down around their ears.

So now the police are advised to train more diligently and, along with other citizens, understand better the dimensions of the emergency and the nature of the people with whom they are dealing. It is because the police do know the agitators and criminal elements with which they are dealing that the cities have suffered no more than they did. Illustrative of this knowledge was the drop in the Miami, Fla., crime rate by 60 per cent in Negro districts after Police Chief Walter Headley warned that "when you start looting; we start shooting." Both colored and white businessmen lauded the plummeting of the crime rate.

Evidence of the type of people with whom the police are dealing is the decade of calumniation they have endured, charged incessantly with "police brutality" because they refused to let the underworld take over. Further evidence in many cities is provided by the helmets and bullet-proof vests police are wearing, and the protective canopies over the drivers of fire trucks.

The Commission cries out the tired old alibis for hoodlums; that they are frustrated, have poor job prospects, are culturally de-

prived and do not participate in government. But what's new about that? Who isn't frustrated? Haven't the untrained and unwilling always had poor job prospects? And who has stopped the people in the slums from visiting a library, attending their district political club, and registering and voting?

All of a sudden after years of peace and quiet the slum people are aflame; denouncing whitey, making outrageous demands upon city, state and federal treasuries, baiting public officials. Why? Because of the power of suggestion and the incitement by trained agitators with a vested interest in grief and despair.

For ten years Martin Luther King and his band of pulpit-less parsons of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference have roamed the country obstructing traffic, slandering officialdom, staging demonstrations and inciting to riot all the way from Chicago to St. Augustine. These have been aided and abetted by the Congress of Racial Equality, the Students Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, the Deacons for Defense and Justice, the Black Panthers and a horde of others in cities across the land, panting to stir strife.

As if there were not enough segregation to fight, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People initiated and has persisted in a hare-brained battle against what it has dubbed de facto school segregation. This has successfully kept the cities in uproar; fraying the nerves and trying the patience and tolerance of otherwise friendly or indifferent whites, and raising the expectations of poor Negroes led by psychotics.

As was to be expected, the commission denies that there is or has been any conspiracy behind the civil riots, when reasonably observant Americans see quite the contrary. It is an insult to the collective intelligence. The leaders of the civil rights organizations have always kept close liaison. Recently they have been meeting secretly with reporters excluded, as at the Black Power Conference in Newark while the surrounding neighborhood smoked from vandalism and arson, and like-minded people from Los Angeles to Boston gathered to blame white people for every Negro social malady. They all supported the Conference of Federated Organizations in Mississippi's travail.

With the cooperation of Marxist student groups on hundreds of campuses, civil rights leaders and spokesmen, both extremist and moderate, have carried on a campaign of misinformation and miseducation. One week filthy-speech playwright LeRoi Jones stages one of his anti-white plays in Intermediate School 201 in Harlem with the connivance of the school authorities, the exclusion of all reporters and the bankrolling of the Ford Foundation; and the next week he attends a three-day symposium on social revolution at the University of Oregon in Eugene.

In fine fettle, as usual, the playwright who is out on bail for carrying arms during the Newark shambles shouted "we will govern Newark or no one will govern it." He observed that the only alternative to violence was for the authorities to yield control of the cities where Negroes formed majorities. Added the leader of the Black Student Union at San Francisco State College, Ben Stewart; "the best thing white people can do for Negroes is to die."

Meanwhile in Washington, D.C., Martin Luther King Jr. conferred with H. Rap Brown (now in the New Orleans jug) and Stokely Carmichael at the Presbyterian Church of the Redeemer, after Stokely and 115 of his Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee supporters took over a meeting of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference. Carmichael had barged into the closed meeting, using storm trooper tactics, King capitulated and accepted the cooperation of the extremists on their promise to be nonviolent

in the coming seige of Washington in April. As usual, the press was barred. What did these people want to conceal?

Blaming the white people for our racial trauma is a cheap, political "out" unworthy of the positions the commissioners hold. It is cruelly misleading the public to imply that by some legerdemain nine-tenths of the population, here or anywhere else, can be brought to relinquish their prejudices against one-tenth where multiracialism obtains by being threatened with conflict and possible genocide. If this course is pursued, the blacks will be the ones to suffer.

The best we can hope for in this country is a large measure of tolerance and cooperation between our diverse peoples. There is nothing wrong with prejudice and discrimination per se. Without them we would be devoid of individual personality and the ability to act in new situations. When we reach the point in America that we cannot choose in effect, prejudice the professions, associations and neighbors we prefer, it will not be America any more. Unfortunately, there are ignorant and evil people trying to destroy America as we have known it.

Like Schopenhauer's porcupines, we Americans will have to learn to huddle close enough to keep warm but distant enough not to prick each other. Right now we are on a collision course, and we had better all hold up. It is a time for firmness; not flabbiness.

## Let's Establish a National Credit Week

## HON. FRANK HORTON

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 28, 1968

Mr. HORTON. Mr. Speaker, I rise to submit a bill which, if enacted, would give full and national recognition to the crucial role that credit has played in the development of this great Nation. By establishing the week beginning with the Sunday immediately following Easter Sunday of each year as "National Credit Week," we would be giving just recognition to a field which has encouraged the use of consumer credit consistent with sound credit principles and the welfare of the community. From the time of the first Thirteen Colonies, which flourished partly because of wise credit arrangements in colonial commerce, to the present, the stability and growth of our national economy has been interdependent with sound credit policies and sound credit practices.

The credit managers of America are largely responsible for this growth of stable credit relationships, both at home and abroad. It cannot be denied that today credit in America is dynamic and important. It has passed the \$100 billion a year mark in consumer credit alone. In the area of trade credit, the workload of credit groups and of the credit interchange of the National Association of Credit Management will almost double within the next 3 years.

I am pleased, Mr. Speaker, that we have recently witnessed some major legislative changes in the entire field of credit extension. However, these changes developed out of the efforts to improve the quality of information and performance in the extension and use of consumer credit. There can be no doubt of the contribution that the credit industry



and credit management has made to the development and growth of American economy. I urge you to join with me in support of this legislation.

### Railway Supply Industry Urges Action To Help Railroads

**HON. FRANK E. MOSS**

OF UTAH

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, March 28, 1968

Mr. MOSS. Mr. President, last week I had the pleasure of attending an interesting and informative luncheon program on the other side of the Capitol, dealing with the Nation's railroads.

Mr. W. Ashley Gray, Jr., of St. Louis, Mo., president of General Steel Industries, Inc., and chairman of the Railway Progress Institute, the national trade association of the railway supply industry, spoke during a presentation of a color slide show entitled "The New Railroads."

Mr. Gray discussed the activities of the Golden Spike Centennial Celebration Commission, of which I am Vice Chairman, as well as some current problems in the railroad and railway supply industries. I believe his remarks will be of interest to many persons who were not able to attend the program.

I ask unanimous consent that the text of the news release summarizing Mr. Gray's speech, together with some brief supporting data furnished by the Railway Progress Institute, be printed in the Extensions of Remarks.

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

#### RAILWAY SUPPLY INDUSTRY URGES ACTION TO HELP RAILROADS

WASHINGTON, D.C., March 20.—The railway supply industry today urged Washington officials to act on several fronts to improve railroad earnings and thus help stave off more serious cutbacks in equipment plants.

"Railway supply companies are being forced to lay off many thousands of employees in hundreds of railway supply plants in almost every state," W. Ashley Gray, Jr., Chairman of the Railway Progress Institute, said at a luncheon on Capitol Hill.

"The railway supply industry cannot return to healthy production until railroad earnings reach more normal levels," he added.

Mr. Gray was the speaker at a showing of RPI's slide presentation, "Meet the New Railroads," before a blue ribbon audience of 200 in a banquet room of the Rayburn Office Building.

The guests included Senators, Congressmen, Transportation Secretary Alan S. Boyd, Interstate Commerce Commission Chairman Paul J. Tierney and many other officials in government and industry. Sponsors for the luncheon were Thomas M. Goodfellow, President of the Association of American Railroads, and W. Graham Claytor, Jr., President of the Southern Railway System.

As areas where "prompt action" by government is needed to help the railroads, Mr. Gray listed: approval of pending freight rate increases, quicker action on railroad mergers, elimination of "unfair" real estate tax assessments on railroad property, "swift and effective arbitration of rail labor problems," and elimination of the present \$400 million a year loss on uneconomical passenger service.

Despite the industry's serious current problems, Mr. Gray voiced optimism about its long range prospects. "We are confident of the long run great potential of the railroad and railway supply industry," he declared.

Mr. Gray is President of General Steel Industries, Inc., of Granite City, Ill., as well as Chairman of the Railway Progress Institute. RPI is the national trade association of the railway supply industry, with headquarters in Washington, under Nils A. Lennartson.

Mr. Gray predicted that the railroads will haul 900 billion ton-miles of intercity freight annually by 1970, an increase of almost 25 percent over 1967.

He based the bright long-range outlook on revolutionary rail technology and marketing techniques, such as "piggybacking," (truck trailers carried on railroad flat cars), the unit train (shuttle freights carrying trainloads of one product over a fixed route), the auto rack car for transporting new vehicles, and high-speed short-haul passenger trains such as those developed for the "Northeast Corridor Project."

"Piggyback shipments moved a record 2.8 million truck-trailers in 1967, compared to only 168,000 loadings when this technique was introduced twelve years ago," Mr. Gray said. "And the present figure is expected to triple within the next decade."

"Unit trains already move about 40 percent of the nation's coal shipments," he went on, "and they show great promise for other bulk shipments such as chemicals, grain, ores, cement and steel."

"Auto rack shipments have grown six-fold since 1960. Last year, nearly 5 million new cars and trucks took their first ride to market in an auto rack railroad car. Railroads now carry 50% of all new autos. This growing trend is sure to continue."

"Railroads now handle 42 percent of the nation's total intercity traffic, the largest single slice of the growing freight pie," he added.

Rail transportation will still be a good buy after approval of the pending request for freight rate hikes of three to ten percent, Mr. Gray emphasized.

"Even with the current proposed rate increases, rail shipping would show an eight year reduction of shipping costs of about seven percent," he declared.

"While the general cost of living increased more than 15 percent in the past eight years, railroads reduced average freight charges by eleven percent," he explained.

As for mass transit, Mr. Gray said: "I am sure you are aware we are at the beginning of a new age in urban rapid transit."

He hailed announcement of plans to begin digging in October on a 97-mile subway and surface system for Washington and its suburbs.

"We congratulate you on these plans," he declared, "because the health of America's large cities, so desperately in need of new life and a fresh start, depends on the free and efficient circulations of people and goods in balanced mass transit systems: autos, buses and rapid transit trains—all working together."

Commenting on the railroad contribution to federal, state and local governments, Mr. Gray noted, "railroads pay an average of \$2.8 million in taxes every day of the year, more than all other forms of transportation combined."

#### SUPPORTING DATA

On March 11, 1968, the U.S. Department of Commerce made public the results of a survey conducted in late January and February by the Office of Business Economics and the Securities and Exchange Commission of capital investment plans of various industries in 1968.

"Business investment programs for 1968 reflect higher anticipated outlays by all major industries except railroads," said the re-

port. While manufacturers generally are projecting an increase of about 5 percent, it said, "Railroads are projecting a reduction of 17 percent in 1968 outlays."

Early this year, the Association of American Railroads published the latest railroad earnings figures in the booklet, "Review of Railroad Operations in 1967," by Burton N. Behling, Vice President, Economics and Finance Department, A.A.R.

"Railroads continue to maintain a relatively low position among corporations generally and transportation companies in particular in regard to earnings rates," it said. In table 1 on page 10 of the booklet, the "rate of return on investment after depreciation" was shown as only 2.59 percent for the latest 12 month period.

### A Welcome Lift From the Airlines

**HON. DURWARD G. HALL**

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 28, 1968

Mr. HALL. Mr. Speaker, as a member of the Airlift Subcommittee, House Committee on Armed Services, I was extremely interested in reading an article in the March issue of the Air Force magazine entitled "A Welcome Lift From the Airlines." I believe many of my colleagues will find in this article an informative source of information about the contributions being made to our defense effort by the civilian airlines. The article follows:

#### A WELCOME LIFT FROM THE AIRLINES

(By Edgar E. Ulsamer)

The geography of the United States and this nation's global commitments make it imperative for the US to maintain a vast and rapidly available airlift capability. This need exists in times of peace as well as war, and to meet it is costly in terms of manpower and equipment. This is why it makes sense for the US to augment its basic military capability with civilian airlift from the airlines to the benefit of both.

This system of airlift augmentation was recommended in May of 1949 by Gen. Laurence S. Kuter, then Commander of the Military Air Transport Command (MATC—now redesignated the Military Airlift Command). General Kuter rejected as a "fantastic expense to the taxpayer" the creation on the one hand of a solely military airlift capability or on the other hand actually "taking over as a government enterprise the operation of civil airlines—a concept foreign to our free-enterprise system." He spelled out instead the requirement for a voluntary "mix" of military and civil aviation.

Now, nearly twenty years later, this has been achieved, with cross-fertilizing effects to both sides. It has multiplied the USAF's strategic airlift capability and at the same time has stimulated the growth of the US airline industry. The result is that each is substantially above the capacity of any other country.

The central operating authority for US strategic airlift is the Military Airlift Command (MAC), whose "in-house" capability was greatly increased when a total of 224 C-141s came into the operational inventory between 1965 and February 28, 1968.

This capability will further increase, in revolutionary fashion, when the giant Lockheed C-5A enters MAC service next year.

MAC's airlift capability in 1967, according to testimony by former Secretary of Defense Robert McNamara was four times that of the

1961 level. In 1972, with all currently ordered C-5As delivered, this capability will be ten times that of 1961, Mr. McNamara stated.

Working in concert with the uniformed component of the military airlift is the world's largest and best-equipped commercial air transport industry. A flexible mechanism has been created to balance the degree of the civilian involvement against any given strategic requirement. While the means exist to proceed otherwise, the cooperation between the defense sector and the airlines industry continues to be voluntary—and enthusiastic.

Two government agencies have principal responsibility over the augmentation of military airlift through commercial channels.

The Secretary of the Air Force, with the Military Airlift Command acting as the executive agency, has "single-manager responsibility" for worldwide augmentation. Long-term contracts form the basis of this type of auxiliary airlift.

Predominant responsibility for domestic, scheduled, short-term charter operations of commercial carriers in support of the Department of Defense rests with the Military Traffic Management and Terminal Service (MTMTS). This is an agency managed by the Department of the Army but jointly staffed by all military services. MAC maintains technical supervision over MTMTS' charter aircraft.

#### CRAF, WASP, AND SARDA

Detailed and elaborate programs exist to mobilize civil aviation on behalf of national security during periods of national emergency and all-out war. Foremost in priority is the Civil Reserve Air Fleet (CRAF).

The CRAF plan was initiated in December 1951. CRAF can be tailored, in steps, to any prevailing crisis level, ranging from routine peacetime augmentation of military airlift to the actual incorporation of the CRAF fleet into the Military Airlift Command. The emergency mechanism of the CRAF plan can be activated by the Secretary of Defense or the President, depending on the crisis level involved (see box).

#### Strategic airlift contracts

	Fiscal 1967 MAC contract
Commercial carriers:	
Airlift International.....	\$51,786,000
Alaska Airlines.....	6,976,000
American Airlines.....	15,271,000
Branch Airways.....	30,171,000
Capitol Airways.....	21,567,000
Continental Airlines.....	65,168,000
Eastern Air Lines.....	68,000
Flying Tiger Line.....	65,060,000
Mackey Air Lines.....	133,000
National Airlines.....	303,000
Northwest Orient Airlines.....	48,076,000
Overseas National Airways.....	7,243,000
Pan American World Airways	94,548,000
Saturn Airways.....	9,410,000
Seaboard World Airlines.....	31,537,000
Southern Air Transport.....	11,192,000
Standard Airways.....	1,186,000
Trans Caribbean Airways.....	6,740,000
Trans International Airlines.....	14,815,000
Trans World Airlines.....	33,131,000
United Airlines.....	20,945,000
World Overseas Airways.....	38,018,000
Zantop Air Transport	
(Universal).....	1,911,000
Common Carriage	
(Miscellaneous).....	10,000
Post Office Department Mail.....	109,675,000
Total.....	684,940,000

The Secretary of the Air Force is operational manager of CRAF, but this authority is normally delegated to MAC and its Commander, in the latter's function as Executive Director, Single Manager—Operating Agency for Airlift Services. Allocation of aircraft to CRAF has to be approved by the Department of Transportation's Office of

Emergency Transportation, with the President's Office of Emergency Planning exercising certain overseeing and policy functions.

Currently committed to CRAF on the basis of individual contracts are 419 commercial airliners, representing an insured value of \$2.09 billion. Two hundred and ninety-four of these are jetliners, predominantly 707s and DC-8s in either cargo or passenger configuration. Each aircraft is specifically assigned to one of four CRAF missions—International Cargo, International Personnel, Domestic Service, or Alaska Service.

The approximately 2,000 airliners in the inventory of the U.S. scheduled and supplemental carriers that are not assigned to CRAF are earmarked for the War Air Service Pattern (WASP). WASP is controlled primarily by the Civil Aeronautics Board and is designed to ensure that essential defense and civilian needs are met in a wartime situation. It is likely that, during high states of emergency, the CRAF allocation would be substantially increased over the current level, leaving fewer aircraft for WASP.

General aviation's fleet of more than 100,000 aircraft also can be integrated into the defense transportation system through the so-called SARDA (State and Regional Defense Airlift) program, administered by the Department of Transportation's Federal Aviation Administration.

The importance of civil aviation to defense transportation in general and the United States Air Force in particular is staggering: CRAF, at its present level, can make available 4.2 million ton-miles per hour. It can produce 11.57 million hourly passenger-miles in international passenger service alone.

The WASP fleet represents a value of between \$12 to \$14 billion, depending on what yardstick is applied, and presumably represents more airlift capability than the Department of Defense is likely to require. In addition, CRAF and WASP will gain a steep capability increase as 1,127 new aircraft currently on order and valued at \$8.3 billion come into the inventory of the scheduled U.S. carriers between now and 1971. These aircraft include the Boeing 747 superjet with a capacity roughly equal to that of the C-5A and the "stretched" four-engine McDonnell Douglas DC-8 Sixty series.

While no official dollar evaluation of the general aviation SARDA fleet exists, its 103,000 aircraft represent a value substantially above \$10 billion. The importance of SARDA, in the opinion of defense planners, "can't be overrated in case of a nuclear attack on the United States because these planes are so dispersed, often in remote areas where their survival probability is far above that of the commercial fleet located principally in potential target areas."

Short of full "mobilization" of the commercial fleet, the U.S. carriers make their services available to MAC and MTMTS through the Air Transport Association's military and government transport office.

Secretary of the Air Force Harold Brown commented to AIR FORCE/SPACE DIGEST on the current contributions of the airlines to national defense:

"Since MAC contracts with commercial air carriers for the movement of about ninety percent of the passengers and more than thirty-four percent of the air cargo requirements for the Department of Defense, the airline industry plays a vital role in the augmentation of military capability.

"During [calendar year] 1967, commercial carriers airlifted more than 2,100,000 passengers, and more than 189,000 tons of cargo registering 2.3 billion ton-miles. Of this total, 1.9 billion ton-miles were flown in support of airlift requirements to Southeast Asia. That is a most monumental effort and a magnificent contribution."

During Fiscal Year 1967 the total value of these services (not counting off-duty travel by military personnel) amounted to \$922.2 million.

Of this total, \$685 million represented MAC purchases of worldwide cargo and personnel airlift; 178 million domestic passenger services; \$45 million was generated by the so-called Logair (mainly USAF-AFLC) and Quicktrans (mainly US Navy-Systems Command) domestic airlift; and \$14.2 million for military airfreight and air-express service. In overseas traffic this amounted to 91.6 percent of the passenger and 38.8 percent of the cargo requirement generated by the armed forces.

#### IN SUPPORT OF VIETNAM

About ninety percent of the military personnel traffic to and from Southeast Asia was furnished under contract by US commercial carriers. The carriers also delivered 177,680 tons of cargo out of the 454,005 tons which made up the Southeast Asia airlift last year. A senior DoD official says of the airlines' performance: "They give us all that we could possibly ask for, and we have come to rely on them almost completely for all personnel airlift. No other country has this national resource to the degree that we do."

Gen. Howell M. Estes, Jr., Commander of the Military Airlift Command, reported to Congress that the Vietnam War requirement exceeds the military airlift capability. Therefore, he said, the Air Force will continue to rely heavily on augmentation by the civil air industry. He added that it is "Indeed fortunate that the nation's air carriers have pursued a large-scale modernization program" and that the nation has "an aircraft industry that is a leader in design and is responsive in production." Because of renegotiated MAC contracts, reflecting the more efficient aircraft now in the airlines' inventory, "the dollar in Fiscal Year 1967 [bought] nine percent more cargo ton-miles and twenty-eight percent more passenger seat-miles than it did in 1965."

DoD officials feel that Fiscal Year 1967 represented a peak year for military airlift with the over-all airlift demand dropping by about ten percent in 1968. This, they say, has reduced the need for commercially furnished military airlift by about the same percentage. They believe, however, that the present level will hold steady in the years ahead, with about ninety percent of all personnel airlift to be furnished by commercial carriers.

#### HISTORIC PRECEDENT

The military airlift function of the U.S. commercial carriers is rooted in the Civil Aeronautics Act of 1938, which ascribed to the carriers a definite national defense role—to provide immediate support to the Department of Defense, civil defense, and disaster relief agencies in times of national emergency and national calamity. In spite of this foundation in law, the air carriers have always functioned on a voluntary basis. This voluntary responsiveness to national security dates back to World War II when Gen. H. H. Arnold, Commanding General of the Army Air Forces, dissuaded the President from nationalizing the airlines. Between 1942 and 1945 the commercial carriers produced the then staggering total of more than four billion passenger-miles and a billion cargo ton-miles in military airlift. Air Transport Command's Commanding General, Lt. Gen. Harold L. George, characterized as "stupendous" the "contributions made by the commercial carriers during World War II."

The airlines have worked in concert with military authorities during each national crisis that followed. Commercial aviation was a mainstay in the Berlin Airlift, and during the Korean War commercial air carried more than one and a half times the combined volume transported by MATS, the Royal Canadian Air Force, UN military forces, and



foreign-flag carriers. During the Cuban crisis, the carriers, through the Air Transport Association, made 400 long-haul aircraft available to the Department of Defense. Almost 25,000 military personnel and more than 50,000 tons of cargo were flown by the airlines to the staging areas in Florida and off-shore islands during this crucial period.

In the aftermath of the Cuban crisis the commercial airlines were instrumental in the Cuban prisoner exchange by delivering to Cuba the prisoner exchange ransom of 800,000 pounds of medical supplies valued at \$7.5 million.

During the largest postwar military maneuvers, the Desert Strike Exercise of the U.S. Strike Command in May of 1964 in the Mojave Desert, commercial air carriers transported more than 15,000 combat troops and their field equipment.

#### THE WAR IN SOUTHEAST ASIA

Today, the commercial carriers are deeply involved in the Southeast Asian war effort.

DoD officials are enthusiastic in their praise of what the airlines and their crews are doing in support of the military effort. Commercial aircraft crews often have to brave Viet Cong fire, yet to date there has not been one single refusal by any crew member to fly such missions. "The pilots have learned to perform aircraft carrier type landings and takeoffs to minimize the danger from Viet Cong small-arms fire. In spite of this, the crews keep volunteering for this duty. Stewardesses with high seniority, which would enable them to take the truly plush intercontinental runs, keep coming back time and again to fly such missions," a DoD logistics expert reports.

MAC's Commander, General Estes, has this comment: "In the United States, which has no nationalized airlines, there is an excellent voluntary working relationship between the military airlift system and the civil airline industry. This relationship has been demonstrated again in Vietnam. . . . The fact that a Pan American jet was hit by Viet Cong ground fire on its approach to Saigon shows what may occasionally be expected of our civil crews, and also displays their readiness to respond to the demands of the task."

While commercial aircraft have been damaged slightly by mortar fire on the ground and others have sustained occasional bullet hits in the fuselage, there have been no casualties thus far. In terms of air fare the government gets somewhat of a bargain. It costs the DoD \$308 for the California-Saigon round trip (about 17,000 miles), compared to nearly \$1,000 for an economy-class regular civilian ticket. The load factor on military flights, of course, is in the 100 percent range, enabling the carriers to maintain low rates and still make an adequate profit.

Pan American World Airways, which contributes more than thirty percent of the worldwide CRAF capability, has nineteen four-engine jetliners assigned to military airlift on a full-time basis. Thirteen additional aircraft and an all-volunteer crew of 500 operate a special no-profit R&R (rest and rehabilitation) airlift from Saigon, Da Nang, and Cam Ranh Bay. Last year more than 300,000 US fighting men were carried to Asian resorts and Hawaii for five-day leaves.

Pan American's Chairman Juan T. Trippe says, "We have been devoting an ever-increasing number of aircraft and manpower to the war effort in Vietnam, and it is with some pride that we can say we are the single largest contributor to the military airlift—an airlift that has no parallel in history."

Similarly, TWA's Senior Vice President, R. M. Dunn, told this reporter:

"TWA is genuinely proud of the important part its aircraft have played and continue to play in the US airborne troopship fleet. From the East Coast long-range TWA jets span the Atlantic regularly with American

servicemen and dependents bound to and from assignments in Europe and Africa. From the West Coast a TWA jet airlift daily transports American troops to duty in Vietnam . . . and returns with troops [who] are being rotated to the US."

All carriers incorporate defense transportation considerations into their route structures. In turn the Department of Defense presents its views and recommendations at route application hearings before the Civil Aeronautics Board.

Eastern Air Lines, for instance, in its current petition for direct East Coast-Hawaii service, made military considerations part of the premise on which its case was based.

#### BENEFITS BEYOND REVENUE

Airline executives freely admit that the cooperation between the commercial carriers and the Department of Defense has been beneficial beyond the revenue derived from these sales. The recent and rapid development of the commercial cargo jet fleet would not have been possible without the catalyzing effect of the military business.

The long-term interaction between commercial and military airlift was previewed by General Estes: ". . . one can visualize commercial air transport playing a deterrent role somewhat akin to the role of military airlift. Moving technicians, teachers, advisers, machinery, tractors, bulldozers, tools, books, medicines, and other items of self-help—directly and quickly—to the newly emerging areas of the world, they might well prevent those areas from becoming targets of Communist infiltration. In short, 'recipients of aid' could be helped to turn into 'participants in trade'—and any future need for military airlift to rush in with troops and weapons might thus be substantially diminished or, hopefully, eliminated." The US aviation industry is eager and waiting to do the job.

#### Green Bay Planning Commission and Brown County Regional Planning Commission

#### HON. GAYLORD NELSON

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, March 28, 1968

Mr. NELSON. Mr. President, Green Bay, Wis., located in Brown County, can point with pride to many of its accomplishments. One reason for these many successes is the work of the Green Bay Planning Commission and the Brown County Regional Planning Commission.

Both agencies, while charged with the same basic responsibility, have coordinated their efforts, thereby achieving a remarkable amount of good for their citizens including improved educational facilities, the Washington street beautification program, as well as proposals concerning sanitation, and the creation of a civil defense community shelter plan, to mention a few. The staffs of these agencies deserve to be applauded for their fine efforts.

The Green Bay-Brown County annual report for 1967 is most interesting reading, because it illustrates how two separate government entities can work successfully side by side toward a common goal.

I would be more than happy to supply this report to any Senator upon request.

#### Editorial Comment on FCC Fairness Doctrine and Tobacco Advertising

#### HON. HENRY C. SCHADEBERG

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 28, 1968

Mr. SCHADEBERG. Mr. Speaker, Mr. George Comte, the general manager of the Milwaukee Journal television and radio stations, recently presented a most provocative and lucid editorial analysis on the FCC fairness doctrine and tobacco advertising and the Federal Government.

I believe that it is well worthwhile to share the thoughts of this influential group of Milwaukee stations with my colleagues and under unanimous consent I include the editorials at this point in the RECORD:

[A WTMJ and WTMJ-TV, Milwaukee, editorial, Nov. 23, 1967]

By now you must have heard, or heard about, the anti-cigarette commercials that an F.C.C. decision has forced upon the nation's broadcasters. The decision was handed down under the so-called "Fairness Doctrine" of the Communication Act. This requires broadcasters to afford a "reasonable opportunity" for the discussion of conflicting views on issues of public importance. The F.C.C. has ruled that the issue of cigarettes as being injurious to one's health is a public controversy. And that stations must give free time to viewpoints opposing paid cigarette commercials.

This F.C.C. decision has been criticized variously in the nation's press, from a "grave error" to "opening a can of worms." Some papers have praised the ruling as being "in behalf of health" or "high time the other side was heard." The press, radio and television also have raised this question: If cigarettes today, what tomorrow—beer, insecticides, patent medicines, deodorants, tooth paste? The F.C.C. has made it plain that its ruling affects only cigarettes. The industry is appealing the order in court.

As we said earlier, the ruling stems from the Fairness Doctrine which involves matters of conflicting viewpoints on issues of public importance. The federal government, itself, has conflicting viewpoints on the issue of tobacco and your health and tobacco and your tax money. We'll discuss those conflicts in our next editorial.

[A WTMJ and WTMJ-TV, Milwaukee, editorial, Nov. 24, 1967]

In our last editorial we backgrounded the F.C.C.'s ruling that broadcasters must give free time to viewpoints that conflict with paid cigarette commercial messages. The federal government itself has conflicting viewpoints on the issue of tobacco and your health and tobacco and your tax money. Did you know, for instance, that tobacco is worth more as a tax source than as a cash crop? Almost three times more. In its latest summary of tobacco research, the U.S. Department of Agriculture revealed that in 1964 the farm value of the tobacco crop was one billion three hundred million dollars. This same crop yielded three billion one hundred million dollars in taxes.

About one million acres are turned over to the growing of tobacco. And in seven states it provided more cash receipts than any other field crop. From these statistics, the agriculture department came to this conclusion: Because of the importance of the tobacco economy and the seriousness of the charges leveled against the smoking product, its research into the effect of tobacco usage on

health would be intensified. However, the research into quality problems still makes up the bulk of the department's efforts, with numerous projects on plant diseases, insects, harvesting and curing. These projects, of course, are all designed to bring about bigger and better tobacco crops. We'll talk about additional governmental conflicts concerning tobacco, particularly in the foreign market, in our next editorial.

[A WTMJ and WTMJ-TV, Milwaukee, Editorial, Nov. 25, 1967]

In our last editorial we talked about the conflicting tobacco research projects of the U.S. Department of Agriculture. On the one hand, research for bigger and better crops. On the other hand, research on smoking and your health. But did you know that the Agriculture Department spends taxpayers' money to exploit the use of tobacco in foreign countries? In the last fiscal year, nearly 30-million dollars was spent in price supports to regain and expand foreign markets for U.S. tobacco. This places the federal government in an awkward position—attempting to cut down on cigarette smoking in this country, while spending huge amounts of money to encourage smoking in foreign countries. And, although Congress legislated a label worded: "Caution: Cigarette smoking may be hazardous to your health," Congress specifically allowed the label to be left off cigarettes which are packaged for export markets.

It makes you wonder about such cross purposes. How can Congress permit this questionable relationship with friendly foreign countries when by standards of federal agencies we might be doing the people of these countries a disservice and perhaps jeopardizing their lives. How else can one interpret the actions of the Surgeon General's Office, the Federal Trade Commission, the Federal Communications Commission and the Agriculture Department, itself, on the question of cigarettes and one's health?

We'll tell you about a special deal that Washington has with three friendly countries, and about a Hollywood film for the promotion of U.S. tobacco abroad, in our next editorial.

[A WTMJ and WTMJ-TV, Milwaukee, editorial, Nov. 26, 1967]

This is the fourth and final editorial in a series on the conflicting positions of the federal government on tobacco. Foreign markets usually take about one-fourth of the U.S. tobacco crop, hence are vital to U.S. growers. During the current fiscal year the export payment program totals nearly 30-million dollars. Yet, only about one-tenth as much is being spent by the Agriculture Department on health-related research towards a safer cigarette.

The conflicting position of our federal government has other appalling cross purposes. The Federal Trade Commission recommends more specific wording in the warning label on cigarette packages, and inclusion of it in all cigarette advertising, along with mention of tar and nicotine content. At the same time, the Agriculture Department expects to spend 240-thousand dollars in friendly Japan, Thailand and Austria. This money is for the promotion of their own tobacco products which contain a high percentage of U.S. tobacco. In addition, the Agriculture Department has provided 106-thousand dollars to join tobacco trade cooperators in the production of a documentary film selling the merits of U.S. tobacco. Made by a Hollywood studio, this film is for European theater audiences only. It will not be shown to the general public in the United States. You can guess the reason as well as we can. It represents another Washington conflict on the subject of tobacco and your health. How could a film extolling the pleasures of tobacco be shown here when American radio and television stations are forced to carry anti-cigarette messages?

The entire situation is a classic example of government so big that one agency finds itself at cross purposes with another—and both using your tax money to support conflicting efforts.

## Assault on the Land

### HON. WALTER F. MONDALE

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, March 28, 1968

Mr. MONDALE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Extensions of Remarks a nine-part series of articles entitled "Assault on the Land" and a letter from Shelby Southard, of the Cooperative League of the U.S.A.

This series of articles describes the vast changes in the State of Minnesota brought about by people and what we term progress. John Heritage, the author of the series, has magnificently and dispassionately described what has taken place in Minnesota, clearly pointing out that our opportunity to influence further change cheaply is gone—but that we still do have some choices to make.

Although the photographs which accompanied this series cannot be reproduced in the RECORD, I think it should be noted that Mr. Kent Kobersteen's work in this area greatly reinforced the impact of "Assault on the Land."

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

THE COOPERATIVE LEAGUE OF THE U.S.A.,

Washington, D.C., March 21, 1968.

HON. WALTER F. MONDALE,  
U.S. Senate,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MONDALE: I have just finished reading with great appreciation the series of articles entitled "Assault on the Land" by John Heritage which appeared in the Sunday Minneapolis Tribune during recent weeks. This is a magnificent journalistic job on a subject right in the center of every thinking man's concern these days. I am urging Mr. Heritage to turn this into a book because both his material and the cool, detached style in which he writes would make it a very special contribution, contrasting sharply with the overblown rhetoric and evangelistic fervor with which too many writers attack this subject.

You are to be congratulated for representing a state which has a newspaper editor capable of seeing the importance of this subject and giving a reporter the freedom to write it. Secretary Udall says it is one of the best expositions in depth on this subject he has ever seen.

If I am not being presumptuous, I would like to suggest that these articles are worthy of reproduction in the Congressional Record for they deserve the widest possible audience.

With very best wishes,

Faithfully yours,

SHELBY E. SOUTHARD.

[From the Minneapolis (Minn.) Tribune Picture magazine, Feb. 11, 1968]

ASSAULT ON THE LAND

OPTIONS FOR THE FUTURE

(By Stewart L. Udall, Secretary of the Interior)

Perhaps the most far-reaching factor in our society today is the growing awareness of urgent need for a quality environment.

Neither wishes nor wands will create surroundings to our liking, but work and wisdom will. Whether we mean a meadow or a metropolis, the quality of our environment is, and always will be, the sum total of countless, individual, human decisions.

In retrospect, we see now that as a nation we made many a past decision that led to disastrous consequences. The "cut-and-get-out" philosophy of forest management a century ago left still-unhealed scars in the lake states. Yet at the time it seemed like a capital idea to exploit the seemingly endless forests. After all, wouldn't the transcontinental railroads that demanded ties and timbers help to unite a divided land?

Somehow, even after we had recognized that our resources are not inexhaustible, we continued to presume that science could forever find substitutes. Again, it seemed a good idea to believe and sometimes it worked.

Will there ever be a conversion process that will bring back to beautiful, or even useful, life a pollution-killed stream or a junk-filled lake? And what of the waterfowl when the marsh is covered with concrete and houses? Will we pave every other living thing off the face of the earth to make sleeping and parking room for ever-increasing hordes of humans? And if we do, from whence will come the plant-produced oxygen we need to breathe?

Over the years we have made many decisions that were good. The islands of open space that bless some of our major cities, the highways that skirt natural wonders instead of bulldozing through on the straightest course, the wild, scenic rivers that were not dammed for hasty exploitation—these were individual choices well-made. They were choices made yesterday that left us the opportunities to choose again today.

The closing of options—therein lies our environmental vulnerability. Undeveloped land and water can always be developed later, but most developments can never, in any foreseeable future, be "undeveloped."

Those who plead for time do so because they fear the irreversible nature of development. The marsh, once drained, can never regain its unique ecological balance. The lakefront, lined with ticky-tacky cottages, may never again echo the slap of a beaver's tail.

But progress cannot be halted while we straddle the horns of our dilemma. Decisions must be made, even though the choice (often the wiser one) is to do nothing. The running thread through the decision-making process must be to do what is best as we see it now.

Ultimately, the various levels of government can play only a limited role in our reach for quality. Most decisions affecting our environment are private ones, dealing with privately owned lands and privately invested dollars. But local citizens, through local lawmakers and zoning ordinances, can see their wishes reflected in the communities to come.

Symptomatic of our increasing national concern for the quality of our environment is the public attitude toward the word "conservation." Once looked upon as a synonym for "preservation," conservation no longer evokes a flat, one dimensional, "hands-off" image. The most common definition today is "making wise use of our natural resources."

With this latter day definition in mind, I should like to propose still another description of the practice of conservation. I should like to call it "making the wiser choice."

We do indeed have many choices in the management of our land and our natural resources. We can exploit them to exhaustion, we can preserve them intact, or we can seek a happy balance between consumption and renewal.

On the agonizing anvil of decision, government officials at all levels most frequently choose between the desires of individuals or single industries and that vague, fuzzy entity called "the broad public interest."



Whether as a private citizen or as a public official, one must search long and hard for the wisdom to make the wiser choice.

We can never be 100 per cent right. Our latter day Solomons are faced with choices that can rarely be decided in terms of superlatives, but only in comparatives. Righteousness of cause is a matter of varying degrees. We can only hope that, over the long haul and among the myriad of decisions, the environmental balance will be tipped in favor of the wiser choices.

#### PART I—METRO SPRAWL

(By John Heritage)

"If we do not act soon, man will become the cancer of the planet, destroying its resources and eventually his own self."

—SIR JULIAN HUXLEY.

Metropolitan Minnesota—the Twin Cities area, Duluth, Rochester, other cities—is rapidly building a new environment. It is expressed mostly in a post-World War I countryside phenomenon—suburbia, a spearhead of the population explosion. "We're all appalled by it," says Thomas H. Hodne, a Minneapolis architect. He blames it on the planners, "who said we had to have light and air." Planner Howard Dahlgren attributes the shape of the new, urbanized environment in large part to the pioneer spirit, "which is still with us." "Unfortunately it is frequently whether you can make money, not whether the landscape is beautiful," he says. Dahlgren is principal planner of Midwest Planning and Research, Inc., a Minneapolis firm consulting for 40 suburban communities in the Twin Cities area. But "within our system where individual choice has held sway, and community regulation has been minimal," most of what has happened in the suburbs has been rational, says Robert C. Einsweller, director of planning for the area's new Metropolitan Council.

The system may be changing, however, he says. The fact that the council was created (last year) means more weight is being given to Twin Cities metropolitan area needs, and to the community view as opposed to individual interests, he believes. "The results of the present system have been little short of disastrous," argues Cornell University Prof. John Reps. "Compared to what we are capable of achieving, the American townscape stands as an unanswerable indictment of our chaotic urban land policies," Reps told a recent international meeting of city managers. Characteristics of suburban growth are: rapid land consumption—about 5 square miles a year in the Twin Cities area; rising land and development costs; new, hard-to-meet demands for urban services such as water, sewer, highways and schools; low density, single family housing in subdivisions, and a multitude of governments—300-plus in the Twin Cities area—seeking industries whose taxes help finance the services.

A root problem is the hot competition among the many local governments for industry and the taxes it brings. A recent report by Ted Kolderie, executive director of the Citizens League in Minneapolis, listed some of the by-products: attempts to exclude residential development—which often produces comparatively little in taxes, yet a high demand in services—and difficulty in keeping high development standards. If they are tough, Kolderie said, "a developer can easily slip away to a neighboring community." In the effort to get industry, interchanges are added to the freeway system, cutting its efficiency, and more land is set aside for industry "than could conceivably be used here in the foreseeable future," Kolderie says. Industry often lands amidst residential development or on open space that should have been set aside for the public, Dahlgren adds. Kolderie says local public officials "are responding intelligently and rationally to the demands of an irrational system of local public finance which has

been set up by the accidents of history."

Other by-products of suburbanization are criticized. Dahlgren says, "Any suburb that doesn't think it is subject to the same deteriorating conditions as the central city is kidding itself." "A city is born, grows, and without proper care, dies," says Allen Anderson, state housing and redevelopment director at the State Planning Agency. "We know the problems—one of them has been lack of controls in development." Federally assisted urban renewal projects (all partly to renovate downtown business districts) are under way now in five Twin Cities area suburbs. The desire to find and maintain a "nice home" in the suburbs is often expressed as a powerful political force that rules some elements of the urban scene undesirable and attempts to exclude them, planners and officials note. The result: Garbage dumps, sand and gravel pits, junkyards, mobile homes and heavy industries, among others, are often pushed by zoning to less restrictive communities, or to undeveloped areas—only to become problems later. "The Twin Cities area today has a refuse disposal problem somewhat analogous to a sleeping giant," a late 1966 report by the Citizens League said. But "anything can be accommodated in an urban environment, if properly done," says R. W. Turnlund, village manager of Roseville.

"Open space" is another problem. In an urban area, "the man-made generally overwhelms the natural to the detriment of all concerned," says M. Barry Peterson, open space planner for the Metropolitan Council. The epitome of lost opportunity is Lake Minnetonka, whose 110-mile shoreline is almost solidly built-up, Peterson and others say. In the seven-county metropolitan Twin Cities area, two county governments own eight acres or less in recreation-open space lands—Carver and Scott. At the other extreme, the Hennepin County Park Reserve District owns about 12,000 acres. Over-all, not nearly enough, says Peterson. At the municipal level, he says, "some are doing a good job, but a majority have not met their park needs." None of the suburbs "has started soon enough," he adds. A major problem: "People have sunk so much into housing, they don't want more taxes for parks," Peterson says. "They get indignant, though, when the vacant lot across the street is developed."

The marsh—a unique natural feature—is rapidly disappearing from major sections of the Minnesota urban scene. It is filled and built on when adjacent developments boost its land value. Yet marshes have aesthetic values and may play a key role in maintaining a balance between bird and insect life, says University of Minnesota ecologist Alan J. Brook. They also recharge ground water and reduce floodwater run-off, Peterson added. The St. Croix River from Taylors Falls to the Mississippi River—a major natural feature—will someday be an "urban river, mostly low-density residential," says John Borchert, University of Minnesota professor of geography. Major stretches are undeveloped now. The Minnesota River Valley—described by Borchert as an impressive trench cut 10,000 years ago by a glacier-age river—is now a favorite area for heavy industry to locate. "Emphasis, focus and priorities" are needed for beneficial public use of unique Minnesota natural resources, Borchert says, "but we're not giving systematic thought to any of these."

"One of our greatest land-use problems," says Dahlgren, is strip commercial development (gas stations, drive-ins, etc.) along highways. Interstate Hwy. 494 through Bloomington and Richfield has "produced a strip commercial section no different from the old (like Lake St. in Minneapolis), except that it is bigger and longer," Einsweller says. "Parking is often an afterthought, and frequent exits along it reduce the efficiency of freeways." Roseville, just north of the

Twin Cities, has zoned such development away from State Hwy. 36, "the highway from which most people see the village," says Turnlund. He notes the fear of some business owners that they would be bypassed if they weren't on the major highways. But he and Dahlgren believe they could meet their needs by locating in shopping centers or "commercial service centers."

There will be much more of the "new environment" for Minnesota. Four million people by the year 2000 is the Twin Cities area forecast of the old Metropolitan Planning Commission (replaced by the Metropolitan Council). It is about 1.8 million now. Minnesota's population will increase 15 per cent to 4.1 million by 1980, according to the U.S. Bureau of the Census. The Twin Cities area will occupy 900 square miles by the year 2000, the commission predicted. It occupies about 360 square miles now. What pattern will the growth follow? There are changes: Einsweller says that the Twin Cities area pattern is already "tightening up a little on the edges" and that "leap-frog" development has been cut somewhat—due primarily to the increasingly general requirement that urban area homes can't be built without provision for central sewer hook-ups, instead of with septic tanks. The profile of suburban housing is changing slightly: the "gridiron" subdivision (duplicate homes laid out on duplicate lots on long straight streets) has been "kind of passe for a while," says Einsweller. Some developers, like Pentom, Inc. of Minneapolis, are building attached single family homes, with greater densities, and more open space beyond, and with utility wires underground. Townhouses are becoming more popular. The Jonathan Development Corp. is developing the "new town" of Jonathan on 2,100 acres in Chaska, southwest of Minneapolis. "What we're talking about here is quality of the environment," says the firm's president, State Sen. Henry T. McKnight, Woodland Conservative.

Apartments are on the increase as the "war babies," now in their 20s, hit the housing market, says Lawrence W. Nelson, executive vice-president of the Minneapolis Home Builders Association. Dahlgren predicts "an avalanche back into the central city," and away from the "ranch," where he believes many persons, faced with high costs in suburbia, are realizing they made "a poor compromise." He believes the obstacle to "the avalanche" is people's attitude against raising families in apartments. Nelson and others don't believe this attitude is changing. Einsweller says that "if the person makes the choice," knowing taxes and other costs in the suburbs may be high, "is there anything wrong with that? It may be his most practical choice as well." Dahlgren believes European cities, like Stockholm, are solving urban environment problems by "building high and preserving open space." He says, "Far more control is exercised over land use there than in the United States."

Tougher community standards—now a trend—and efforts of groups like the Metropolitan Council will mean less chaotic, built-in problem growth here, says Anderson. But he adds, "I wouldn't say we are at the point of drastic change." The danger, Dahlgren says, is that the American—and Minnesota—system of a "laissez-faire" kind of urbanization has been accepted by the public. "It so often is subtle," he says. "And we adjust. We get used to ugliness, dirt, filth, pollution, inconvenience. In many ways, people are almost too adjustable."

#### PART II—THE LAKESHORE

Many Minnesota, Wisconsin and Michigan lakes—so highly touted as natural attractions—are "on their way to destruction," says U.S. Sen. Gaylord Nelson, D-Wis. Every lake being surrounded by cottages with septic tanks "has got a death sentence," believes Nelson, a long-time activist in environmental

quality matters. The threat lies largely in over-fertilization of low-turnover lake waters by nitrogen and phosphorus. Recreation-destroying algae are a result. The often scummy growth has shown up in bothersome abundance on many Minnesota lakes, including Bald Eagle, Big Stone, Minnetonka, the Rice Creek chain of lakes, and Sallie.

The death of a lake—loss of its ability to sustain life, then, over the centuries, its shrinking or filling in—is the long-term end. It happens naturally, but man speeds the process. Seepage from septic tanks is a major contributor of the fertilizing chemicals. Regulation of the situation in this state is "almost nil," said Tom Wasbotten, senior public health engineer for the Minnesota Pollution Control Agency. (St. Louis County requires a permit for septic tanks, with review and inspection. Olmsted County has similar controls.)

John Borchert, University of Minnesota professor of geography and member of the pollution control agency, sees the heavy homebuilding on lake frontage as "an aspect of American urbanization," with most of its attendant problems. He notes the development of "summer cities" around popular out-state lakes. Breezy Point on Pelican Lake in Crow Wing County and Port Mille Lacs on the west shore of Lake Mille Lacs are examples. At Port Mille Lacs, 4½ miles of shoreline and 1,500 acres are being subdivided for homes, most of which will be away from the lake. The "public" part of the shoreline will be the marina, where "everybody will have a spot for his boat," according to Cliff Murdock, a lot salesman for the private project. When lot owners build, they will be required to put in wells and septic tanks, Murdock said. There are no plans now for central sewer or water facilities. Many of the lots, as is common in Minnesota, are 50 feet in width. "We could pollute the water, I'll grant," Murdock said. "But they (the public agencies) don't put the squeeze on the big corporations. Nor have they done anything yet about synthetic soaps."

Borchert sees conversion of summer homes to residences requiring year-round urban services as a strong trend. It is happening on any lakeshore within 35 miles of any major Minnesota city, said Borchert, who is directing a statewide lakeshore study. Year-round homes are fast circling, or have circled, the shorelines of lakes like Minnetonka, near the Twin Cities; Pike, near Duluth; Gull, near Brainerd, and Otter Tail, near Fergus Falls. Borchert believes there will have to be "some kind of regulation of both lakeshore and lake use in Minnesota." Otherwise, he said, "we could use the resource all up by the end of the century."

By contrast, the province of Ontario, Canada, has a policy of preserving at least 25 per cent of its lakes' shorelines in a natural, publicly owned condition. "We have thousands and thousands of lakes on which we still own the shoreline, and we can take advantage of our mistakes and your mistakes, too," said Walter Jarvis, land supervisor in the Ontario Department of Lands and Forests at Port Arthur.

Those studying the Minnesota situation say that, for "people use," the lake resource is limited, and more so than is commonly believed. Statewide, all lakeshore homes are on 14 per cent of the lakes, according to George Orning, senior research assistant to Borchert on the Minnesota lake study. Orning is on leave from the North Central Forest Experiment Station in St. Paul to work on the study. The concentration is on relatively scarce "prime lakeshore," of which sandy shore with evergreens and pine trees is an example, Orning says. In north central Minnesota's lake-studded Crow Wing County, the prime lakeshore will be "saturated with development by the middle 1970s," if homebuilding continues at recent high rates, Orning said.

A basic problem: urban lake development is going into a rural environment "in which preparation has not been made," said Roland Nichols, professor of geography at Wisconsin State University, Eau Claire. He is doing a doctoral thesis on his study of Twin Cities ownership of lake homes in northwestern Wisconsin. Some of the results may be: poorly maintained roads; inadequate police and fire protection; cottages so crowded that, Nichols said, "you can almost jump from roof to roof"; cottage and resort parking areas so close to highways they stymie traffic; wells polluted by septic tanks; lake pollution, and shorelines so built up that back-lot cottage owners and the public have no access. Water weed eradication, dredging, marsh filling, tree cutting, and heavy lake use can permanently alter a lake's natural characteristics, destroying much of what is attractive to its human users, Nichols and others say. All are common practices on Minnesota lakes. "You should apply an urban code" to the lakeshore, Nichols believes. In its development, "you should have to consider slopes, soils and drainage," as in cities.

This is rarely the case on Minnesota lakes. "I'm not aware of any real controls that the state is able to exercise," said Jerome Kuhen, planning director for the Minnesota Department of Conservation. At the county and township level, regulation is spotty. Lakeshore controls "may be an ingredient" in some county plans, "but there aren't many examples where it is on the front burner," said Ralph T. Keyes, executive secretary of the Association of Minnesota Counties. (Rice and Olmsted counties are mentioned as having "front burner" interest.)

Wisconsin has moved faster in lakeshore controls. As of Jan. 1, its counties had to have in effect a "shoreline protection ordinance," based on state standards. Required, for example, are minimum lot sizes, minimum lake home setbacks from roads and lakes, and retention on lake lots of some trees. If counties don't set the standards, the law authorizes state action. The new law also calls for state review of proposed subdivision of shorelines for lake homes.

The future in Minnesota? "Planners are coming out with better programs, which should bring benefits shortly," Kuehn said. "But," he added, "an awful lot of shoreline is already developed, which we can't do much about. We haven't really faced the fact that this is sort of a singular problem area." (Federal assistance might be forthcoming to at least one Minnesota lake as a pilot algae clean-up project if Congress approves a lake measure of which U.S. Sen. Walter Mondale, D-Minn., is an author. It passed the Senate last year as part of another bill and is pending in the House.)

[From the Minneapolis (Minn.) Tribune  
Picture magazine, Feb. 18, 1968]

#### ASSAULT ON THE LAND

(By John Heritage)

#### PART III—HIGHWAYS

The Interstate Highway System—with 904.5 miles of it programed for Minnesota—is called both Beauty and Beast.

It is an immense new man-made feature which is provoking violent controversies nationwide about its impact on the land and on society. State highway departments have been charged with an "engineering" focus that ignores aesthetics and human needs.

For example, the Minneapolis Park Board has challenged in court the Minnesota Highway Department's proposed routing of a new highway through Minnehaha Park. Agreement on the issue is close. Interstate and state trunk highways ultimately might take bits and pieces of 27 parcels of Minneapolis park property, according to highway department figures. (In total, a small percentage, the department says; dangerous nibbling at priceless lands, says the park board.)

(The highway department recently offered the park board 20 small parcels, remnants from the interstates, and has worked with Minneapolis to landscape stretches of Interstate Hwy. 35W.)

"Only in the last five years has there been any sophistication developing about the urban freeway," says Robert C. Einsweller, planning director for the new Metropolitan Council. Yet most of the decisions—at least regarding the urban interstates and their routings—already have been made.

In the Twin Cities metropolitan area, there will be 171.3 miles of interstate. About 88 miles are complete now. There will be 12 miles in Duluth, and 8.4 miles split among four other Minnesota cities. The remainder of the state's system will be rural.

The new highways are "pulling everything apart," says Ralph Rapson, head of the University of Minnesota School of Architecture and Landscape Architecture.

"We've subsidized the automobile so enormously across the country," he says. "We complain that the central city is disintegrating, yet we support the very elements that contribute to it." (In more-populous states, steps being taken to accommodate the automobile are enormous. Thirty miles of the crowded New Jersey Turnpike are being converted to a mammoth 12-lane highway.)

Yet the interstate has cut driving time from St. Paul to Chicago by three hours and is giving Duluth a new main street, notes John R. Jamieson, who until recently was Minnesota's commissioner of highways.

More urban mobility, the tying together of Upper Midwest markets and the opening of rural areas to industrial expansion are primary results, says Jamieson, now deputy administrator of the Federal Highway Administration. (He isn't sure the opening of rural areas to industry is a plus.)

"The interstates have given you a new front door to just about everything," says Howard Dahlgren, principal planner of Mid-west Planning and Research, Inc., a Minneapolis firm.

He sees dangers, though, in "trying to do it all with freeways." One result: two-thirds of downtown Minneapolis is parking lot and street. Another possible result: with continued reliance on the automobile, "the whole Twin Cities area system might become unworkable in terms of movement," says R. W. Turnlund, village manager of Roseville, a northern Twin Cities area suburb.

Yet alternatives—such as some form of mass transit—are proving hard to find, nationwide, and especially in the sprawling, low-density Twin Cities area.

"We (the Minnesota Legislature) have failed to really bring under control the private automobile system," says State Sen. Gordon Rosenmeier, Little Falls Conservative. "But what was the background of our experience? How were we to tell?"

In rural Minnesota, where it is proving to be a prime avenue for swift urbanization, the interstate highway is viewed with apprehension by some. Recently completed sections of Interstate Hwy. 94 through west-central Minnesota's Otter Tail County will make rural lakeshore far more accessible to Twin Cities area residents and others. The area "is beautiful now, but if we don't make some effort to shape its future, it will grow as it will," says Clarence W. Peterson of Pelican Rapids, vice-chairman of the Otter Tail County Planning Advisory Commission.

In southern Minnesota farm country, a major issue is what kinds of development should be allowed around interstate interchanges, and whether it will threaten communities' downtown business base.

#### PART IV—ROADSIDES

Hawaii has no highway billboards. It has declared them unattractive, undesirable elements in the "new environment." In Iowa, 30 out of the state's 99 counties have adopted billboard controls. Minnesota, more conven-



tionally, has about 28,000 signs along major rural highways, according to a State Highway Department count last month. There are many times that number in towns and cities. State and federal efforts to control signs here face an uncertain future. County and community regulations are, as yet, spotty and frequently weak.

Nationwide, outdoor advertising has put on a new face since the small Burma Shave signs perched unobtrusively along the highways. The huge or dramatic signs and devices used today compete with the landscape, giving the driver no choice but to look, says Roger Martin, head of the University of Minnesota Department of Landscape Architecture. Today's billboards are concentrated in heavily traveled cities where their messages catch the most attention. The "pure chaos" to which they contribute "is subtly and subconsciously eating away at the state of our well-being," Martin believes.

But as criticized as the appearance of signs, junkyards, highways and the Minnesota and American landscape in general has been, especially by planners and architects, the art of regulating it is taking shape only reluctantly. Hawaii's "no billboard" policy is unique among the 50 states. In contrast, Wyoming recently zoned all federal highway rights-of-way "commercial," which could open them all to billboards.

The 1967 Minnesota Legislature actually weakened the state's then two-year-old billboard control law. After prolonged criticism of the Highway Beautification Act of 1965, pushed by Mrs. Lyndon Johnson, Congress appears willing to grant only enough funds to keep the federal sign control effort barely in motion. Minneapolis recently set moderate limitations on billboard use of its freeways, but only after a long controversy which came to a head when the big signs started going up. St. Paul is considering a tightening of controls.

John Borchert, University of Minnesota professor of geography, says, "Society doesn't have enough agreement yet on what is tolerable from an aesthetic point of view." A dollar value, which might make the difference, hasn't been put on beauty yet, says Robert C. Einsweller, planning director for the Metropolitan Council. State Sen. Gordon Rosenmeier, Little Falls Conservative, says there have been restraints on the legislature by court decisions. It is changing. In the Minneapolis billboard debate and in others across the country, supporters of controls have been finding and citing decisions that say "appearance" is a public responsibility that can be regulated.

Despite what appeared to be bleak prospects for outdoor sign controls in Minnesota, John R. Jamieson, former state highway commissioner, started steps last summer which he thinks will succeed, "if we carry through." Jamieson's strategy (he departed in December for a high federal highway post) involved pushing local billboard regulations (department officials testified for them in Minneapolis hearings), starting to implement what authority is provided in state law, obtaining conditional compliance with federal law, and presenting alternative ways of communicating information to highway travelers.

Now the highway department is acquiring easements on stretches of highway declared "scenic" under state law. Hearings will start in late March on classification of more "scenic" roads, then on removal around the state of abandoned signs, and finally, on the meeting of sign-spacing requirements, says Richard Braun, deputy highway commissioner. (The department says 15,176 rural signs have been removed voluntarily by owners since a statewide permit system went into effect in 1966. Some 11,000 are still up without permits and tentatively are considered abandoned, and about 17,000 rural signs are up legally.)

Jamieson's strategy faces acknowledged hurdles. Planned removal, often with required compensation to owners, of all signs

along the scenic roads will be costly and will depend heavily on continued federal assistance. (Washington and some other states have been removing billboards without paying their owners on highway stretches declared scenic.) If the legislature doesn't fill gaps in the state law in 1969, the conditional state-federal agreement could fall through, possibly leaving the state open for a 10 per cent cut in federal highway aid funds.

Also, the highway department and Minneapolis face possible court challenges from the billboard industry on attempts to make controls stick. "The only thing we ask is the ability to do business where other business is being done," says Roger A. Peterson, attorney for Naegele Outdoor Advertising Co., Inc., headquartered in Minneapolis. Naegele, largest outdoor advertiser in the state, says it supports regulations, but it opposed the Minneapolis controls, disagrees with the highway department's classification of some "scenic" roads and believes the conditional state-federal sign control agreement was entered into "hurriedly and prematurely."

D. D. Wozniak, a St. Paul attorney and former state legislator, is not optimistic that regulation attempts will succeed. "An apathetic public gets used to all this junk lying around," he says. Wozniak sponsored billboard-control measures in four legislative sessions and says "I got beat by the billboard lobby" every time. He believes the signs are "taking a heavy toll against the public interest," though, "and the public has every right to exclude them if it wants to."

#### PART V—POWERLINES

Your lights don't go on by themselves. Minnesota natural resources, through the massive electric power industry, help run them. Here, there is no state regulatory agency overseeing the industry, although several state agencies regulate portions of its activities with permits, etc. (Northern States Power Co. says it wants such an agency.) Federal controls are limited. For the most part, what regulation there is on a community-by-community basis.

Communities have been grappling with the newest feature in the "landscape of power"—towers up to 150 feet high to carry extra high voltage lines. Northern States Power Co., responding to electricity demands that it says double every 10 years, is circling the Twin Cities area with 350 miles of the towers. In instances, they are going through heavily developed suburbs. NSP says technology is not to the point where the big lines can go underground. It may be a moot point if it does become feasible. The towers will probably be up before then.

Roseville, north of the Twin Cities, fought NSP's proposed handling of the high voltage lines through the village, claiming they would lower property values and clash with the environment. The village obtained concessions on landscaping and on the type of poles that will be used, and NSP says it is including similar provisions along the line through other suburbs. Most of the line's routings and conditions have now been settled. NSP is pioneering here with changes it made toward less obtrusive poles in developed areas, but it is still criticized for often routing the structures along highway rights of way, where they dominate the scene for motorists.

Technology and economics permit low voltage power lines underground now, and in many new Minnesota housing developments, they are being put under, with the developer generally paying the added cost and passing it onto the homeowner. The village of Edina last year declared that low voltage lines where new homes will be built must go underground. The state of Maryland is considering a statewide policy to that effect. NSP says costs for putting the thousands of miles of existing low voltage lines underground would be prohibitive, and would re-

sult in much higher electricity bills. Low voltage lines already in developed areas will probably be put underground as housing deteriorates and is redeveloped, NSP says.

In other resource use, about 50 electric power generating dams were exempted by the 1937 Minnesota Legislature from a state say over whether they could be raised, lowered, or abandoned, except in protection of "health and safety." About 35 are left. "It is obvious that many more are going to be abandoned," says Eugene Gere, director of the Department of Conservation's division of waters, soils and minerals. NSP late last year lowered its dam at St. Cloud on the Mississippi River. The structure was possibly near collapse and it was no longer being used to generate power, NSP said. The river dropped six feet and the city marina was left high and dry. After controversy, NSP replaced what it had taken down, at least until after the spring ice breakup.

Raymond Halk, a Minneapolis attorney and a national director of the Izaak Walton League, says the Minnesota Legislature has been responsive in natural resources issues to industry, rather than to the public interest. "I deny that," says State Sen. Gordon Rosenmeier, Little Falls Conservative and a key figure in resource decisions. "I think the legislature has taken a lead, and I think industries are entitled to a good deal of credit in their willingness to go along."

On Minnesota resource use in general, "there has been a strong materialistic priority," says former Republican Gov. Elmer Andersen. "There has been a lot of turning of heads and blinking of eyes. All kinds of things have been permitted that everybody knows shouldn't be."

[From the Minneapolis (Minn.) Tribune Picture magazine, Feb. 25, 1968]

#### ASSAULT ON THE LAND

(By John Heritage)

#### PART VI—FLOOD PLAIN

An increasing number of Minnesota homeowners and businesses are playing a poker game with nature. Knowingly or not, they are betting their investment that the placid stream or river nearby won't swiftly rise over its banks and flood them out. They are building in the flood plain—a normally dry area that under high-water conditions can temporarily and disastrously become part of the bed for a rampaging river. Often, the flood plain gamblers have a hedge against disaster—if they lose their bet and are flooded, public programs, such as federal business and home loans, may help take up their loss. Thus, the public tax dollar pays off the debt.

Historically, many towns have been born on Minnesota rivers, for good reasons like water transportation and power generation. Minneapolis and St. Paul were, as were whole strings of towns along the Minnesota, Mississippi, and St. Croix Rivers, the Red River, and others. And historically, they have had flood problems, although dams, dikes, and other control measures, usually undertaken by the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers, have provided a partial remedy. But a frustrated corps has been finding that the more than \$7 billion federal agencies have spent on control measures since the early 1930s has not cut total flood damage. To the contrary, the corps says U.S. flood losses are still increasing, and now top \$1 billion a year. A major part of the answer: homes, shopping centers, industries, a whole array of urban facilities, are still being constructed in flood prone areas, and being flooded.

Nationally, about 8 per cent of total homes are in flood plains, the corps says. Minnesota probably fits this pattern, said Harold Toy, chief of flood plain management services with the corps in St. Paul. (He notes, though, that detailed studies have not been done yet in the state to exactly determine flood prone areas and measure the amount of development in them.) A major path of

development in fast-growing Rochester, Minn., is down the wide, flat plain surrounding the south fork basin of the sometimes violent Zumbro River. A shopping center, a bowling alley and subdivisions have located recently on formerly flooded lands, exposing themselves to a possible devastating flood someday, Toy said. Near Elk River, Minn., on the Mississippi, expensive homes have been built recently on aesthetically desirable waterfront, and flooded, the corps says.

Why? The low lying lands are often relatively cheap, and especially in space-thirsty urban areas, are tempting. "Certain kinds of businesses seek out this kind of property, taking the risk," said James M. Harrison, a Minnesota Senate research assistant who is staffing subcommittee hearings on the flood plain dilemma. Some businesses need the river, some don't, he noted. And "some people know full well they're going to get flooded out every year," he added. Lilydale, near the Twin Cities on the Mississippi, frequently has been hit. Treating flood plain the same as other land for sewer line assessments, etc., may make it economically necessary for the owner to put it on the market for building, said Raymond Haik, a Minneapolis attorney and counsel for three watershed districts. The politics of a city saying "no" to a possibly hazardous land use becomes even more difficult then, he noted.

Ignorance or refusal to believe there is danger is another reason, said Thomas Lee, supervisor of Wisconsin's flood plain-shoreline management program (Minnesota does not have one yet). "It is a part-time problem. It is difficult to get people excited unless the water is lapping at their doorstep," said Harrison.

Ironically, a building in a flood plain, whether or not it is specially protected from high water, "is the birth of a flood problem," says Lee. More building and filling usually follow, constricting the river system. In the end, man actually forces flood levels up, increasing their range and severity, and changing the everyday face of the river. "There's today's flood plain, then there's tomorrow's," said Haik. Upland development has changed Bassett's Creek through northwest Minneapolis suburbs "so it doesn't take much rain to drown out people below," Haik said. Urban encroachment has lined much of the entire creek, the corps notes. Yet the suburbs involved could not agree on a proposed corps of engineers project to provide water holdback areas. The fear is the impoundments would affect existing development and take away scenic, natural values. But without the project, "the only choice eventually will be running it through another big pipe (already the case where the creek runs through Minneapolis)," Haik said. The corps of engineers, an energetic dam-building agency, has swung now, nationwide, to saying that often the answer is not just corralling the water. Activity in the flood plain must be controlled as well, the corps says. Although building in it is not wrong per se, it must be selective, and usually, flood proofed, the corps says.

Wisconsin's plan, enacted into law in 1965, requires counties and communities to act with applicable tools, such as zoning, building codes, subdivision regulations, and land acquisition, to regulate the flood plain activity. Statewide criteria must be met. Nearby Iowa and Nebraska are among other states with similar regulations, Lee said. Although the corps has had available a flood plain study program since 1960, no Minnesota communities asked for help until 1966. That was the year after severe floods caused \$191 million damage in the state, with 57 counties declared disaster areas. Now the corps is doing the studies for four communities, including Rochester, at their request. (Corps funds for the studies are limited.) According to Harrison, only a handful of Minnesota communities have regulations to manage flood plain activity.

Yet the corps lists 76 communities with potential flood problems. "You need statewide standards. Otherwise, I don't see how you could come up with effective control," Toy said. Today's rapid urbanization will present a continued threat of unwise flood plain use, he said.

The recent costly floods, the possibility of congressional passage of a flood insurance bill which would require flood plain controls before a state could qualify for the program, and the corps' promotion of regulations have stimulated some Minnesota concern. "It appears certain that something substantive will be before the 1969 Legislature," Harrison said. The flood plain zoning subcommittee of the Senate Public Domain Committee is holding hearings around the state on the problem, and two state agencies are studying it. A flood plain control measure was proposed in the 1967 legislature, but got little response. As is typical in Minnesota, legislators are moving cautiously. Involved are the troublesome politics of enacting a law that in instances says "no" to private property owners.

#### PART VII—WETLANDS

Awesome sights greeted explorers and pioneers in the prairie wetland country a century and more ago. In 1849, Capt. Howard Stansbury saw in Utah "marshes covered by immense flocks of ducks and geese. Thousands of acres, as far as the eye could reach, seemed literally covered with them, presenting a scene of busy, animated cheerfulness." When the flocks rose, there was a sound like thunder. The fantastic display of rich, varied wetland life—ducks, geese, pheasants, mink, muskrats—is gone now. The "thunder" of the flocks is a murmur—the birds' wetland breeding grounds have been greatly reduced. The miles of vibrant marsh and potholes are broken into bits and pieces. It was a play closed by man.

In Iowa, it is estimated there were 6 million acres of wet prairie. There are about 50,000 left. The Minnesota loss, though not as large, is comparable. The glacier-produced waterfowl wetlands, concentrated by nature in southern, west central and northwest Minnesota, have been artificially drained, filled, silted in, making way for the "new environment." Among other things, 3,000 lakes, most of them located in the wetlands area, have been eliminated. The massive drainage, which started after the Civil War and continues today, is a striking example of man's ability to remake the face of the land. The alteration has been done mostly in the name of agriculture, and has produced some of the richest farmland in the world.

And the drainage "is going to continue for a long time, provided you're going to use Minnesota land for agriculture," said P. W. Manson, professor of agricultural engineering at the University of Minnesota. Last year's drainage, he noted, was one of the biggest. Although elimination of wetlands usually has proved worthwhile to the farmer, Minnesota experienced a massive failure in the attempt to dry and till the huge Red Lake Bog in the north. The huge network of drainage ditches never was successful in getting rid of the water. Left are crumbling, abandoned farm homes and remnants of the bog. "It was a bad calculation," said Alan J. Brook, University of Minnesota ecologist. The bog, "a huge sedge mass with pear-drop shaped islands," was unique and worth leaving untouched, Brook believes.

Reflecting the agricultural priority, early Minnesota laws treated the wetlands as "wasteland," and water as the "common enemy," presenting little resistance to elimination of the wet prairie, said Raymond Haik, Minneapolis attorney and water-law specialist. Recognition of the threat to the ecologically unique prairie features, with their myriad plant and animal life, started to come around the turn of the century, said Grady Mann, west central Minnesota wetlands supervisor in Fergus Falls for the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service. But decades of protests

from hunters and preservationists have resulted in only minor changes in the state's drainage laws as they relate to use of surface waters.

Instead, a much more costly route has been taken: purchase of wetland areas with state and federal funds (fed mostly by hunting license fees and duck stamp sales). It has been the only major way tried to prevent elimination of wetlands in agriculture areas, Mann said. To date, federal purchases and easements have brought 160,000 acres under public protection in Minnesota, at a cost of about \$5 million. The state has acquired 156,000 acres, at a cost of more than \$5 million. Ironically, nearly all wetlands and swamps were United States-owned about 100 years ago. But they were turned over to many states under three Swamp Land Acts. Minnesota received about 4.7 million acres. All but 1.6 million acres of that has been put in private hands, and much of it—including much wet prairie—has been drained.

Doubling the irony is the fact that before and while the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service has been buying wetlands, the U.S. Agricultural Stabilization and Conservation Service (ASCS) has been helping pay for farmers' elimination of them. In Minnesota, 103,437 acres were drained under that program in 1966, with \$792,986 in ASCS assistance. (Recent changes have made the federal drainage-aid program more selective in projects it assists, reduced its funds, and have given the fish and wildlife service review over drainage proposals.) The "preserve some" versus "farm it" race is pretty well finished in much of southern Minnesota and northern Iowa, the richest farmland. There, "the deeper marshes are in public hands or they are almost gone," said Mann. The economics of food production belated the economics of leaving some wet prairie untouched. The battleground now is in west central and northwestern Minnesota—the northern part of the wet prairie range—still studded with marshes and potholes and busy with waterfowl.

Mann believes the "buy it back" effort will protect only a nucleus of waterfowl prairie. Zoning of wet prairie remnants, with appropriate financial aids, for more selective farm use would supplement the costly public purchase program, he said. This tool hasn't been used for wet prairie protection, either in Minnesota or in North Dakota and South Dakota, he and others say. Obliteration of the "wetland" is not exclusive to the wet prairie which Minnesota shares. A recent report on the situation in Europe concluded that wetlands are "dwindling faster than any other ecological system."

The report, published by The International Union for Conservation of Nature, said ill-considered drainage "results in a chain of troubles, short-term gains are never worth a long-term loss." Part of the aftermath, it said, is increased flooding downstream, although agriculturalists like Manson dispute that. The wetlands absorb water during wet periods and replace it slowly in times of drought, the report and others like Mann said. When they are drained and farmer, the run off of rain and melting snow is greatly hastened, increasing flood levels, the wetland preservationists contend.

The wetland elimination is an example of what Wayne Olson, former Minnesota commissioner of conservation, calls "letting the development come first and worrying about the problems later." He believes that "despite all of the increased effort, we're still going in the wrong direction" in building the "new environment."

[From the Minneapolis (Minn.) Tribune Picture magazine, Mar. 3, 1968]

#### ASSAULT ON THE LAND

#### PART VIII—THE IRON RANGE

(By John Heritage)

Frenchman F. Bouliere, an ecologist, called the Mesabi Iron Range the worst example of



man-made devastation he had seen. U. W. Hella, Minnesota state parks director, said he was embarrassed when he heard Bouliere tell this to an international audience at a parks meeting in Seattle, Wash., several years ago. "Something has got to be done about those pits and dumps," Hella said. The Iron Range townscape is dominated by huge piles of earth and lean ores stripped off to get to iron ore and taconite. Some of the piles are 100 feet high, many are eroded; a few are replanted with trees and one in Hibbing is covered with attractive homes.

Charles Aguar of Duluth, whose consulting firm does planning for range communities, believes the dump-pit array is not a blight but "kind of interesting." The mined lands offer opportunities for ski runs, unique parks and recreation lakes, and they attract tourists, he says. Recreation use "won't take care of 5 per cent of the problem," replies Hella, who believes the mine aftermath looks like the moon.

Pell-mell strip mining for coal through Appalachia in the eastern United States has gutted mountains, poisoned rivers with acid and brought dramatic confrontations with stubborn mountaineers who say their homeland is being wrecked. It has caused enough of a controversy to start people asking nationwide whether mining companies shouldn't be forced to be more heedful of the destruction to scenery wrought by the shovel. The issue is coming home to Minnesota, where even today state laws and leases require iron mining companies to consider little more than "safety" in how they handle and leave the land.

"It is an urgent problem in the state," says countryside. "I'm amazed at the extent of who recalls Gov. Harold LeVander asking mining company officials at a meeting last year what might be done to rehabilitate the countryside. 'I'm amazed at the extent of these operations and their total effect on beautiful northern lands,'" says the commissioner, who has been discussing the issue with the mining companies.

The companies are leery of the idea of restoration requirements. For one thing, the Minnesota open-pit mines, usually worked for decades, don't compare with the strip-it-and-leave-it coal mining in Appalachia, and don't produce acid pollution, says B. M. Andreas.

Andreas is manager of Hanna Mining Company's Minnesota operation and president of the Lake Superior Industrial Bureau in Virginia, which represents major iron mining and taconite companies. The old iron-ore pits can't be filled because they are in the huge taconite body which is now being mined, Andreas says. It has been occasionally suggested by some outside the industry, perhaps in jest, that the pits might do well as giant trash cans for the garbage of the Midwest. The new taconite mines on the eastern end of the range (with huge pits and sprawling tailing basins) are frequently in swamp-land, and thus are not ravaging scenic territory, Andreas said. And the lean ore dumps that populate the range can't be moved, reshaped or leveled for aesthetic reasons because they someday may be put through new processes to extract what iron they contain, according to Andreas.

The answer to criticisms like Hella's? Aesthetics, seldom considered in past diggings, could be engineered into new mines, says Leonard F. Heising, supervising mining engineer with the U.S. Bureau of Mines in Minneapolis. "You could balance the dumps out, landscape them, so you don't have one big heap. It would look more natural." Other states, especially through Appalachia, are requiring extensive mined land restoration.

"I don't think there is much question controls are going to spread nationwide before too long," said Elwood Rafn, chief mining engineer in the department of conservation. Landscaping new dumps would probably be a starting point here, he said.

One thing is certain—what has happened

so far is small scale compared with what is coming. The awesome holes on the range now, some of them up to 650 feet deep, represent removal over a period of 80 years of pockets of iron ore that are just the "raisins in the cake." The cake itself is a 110-mile-long, 3-mile-wide body of low grade iron ore—much of it taconite—which in a hundred years could be dug into a giant canal or lake, a 1967 federal strip-mining report speculated. Reserve Mining Company's taconite pit near Babbitt is already 10 miles long.

Little Leetonia, now down to about 50 families, symbolizes another troublesome peculiarity on the Iron Range—the awkward mixture of mines, towns and highways. Leetonia residents, squeezed by a pit in front of town and dumps in back, went to court in 1963 in an effort to get payments from mining companies for what the families claimed were damages from dynamite blasts, heavy trucks and water seepage. They lost. Virginia, surrounded by mines, is so cramped for space that it has considered relocating its golf course to make way for homes, Aguar said. Seventy settlements have had to be moved off the iron formation in the last 60 years. Eleven communities, including Virginia, are still partly, sometimes completely, on the formation.

Setting off sparks now is the possibility of copper-nickel mining in Minnesota, northeast of the Iron Range in scenic wilderness. International Nickel Company's holdings border the no-mining Boundary Waters Canoe Area. If there is copper-nickel mining, which hasn't been decided yet, most of it will be underground, said Phil Hanft of Duluth, an attorney for Inco. But conservationists remain skeptical and concerned. Reflecting increased aesthetic concerns, state and federal leases and regulations stress land protection and restoration with copper-nickel more so than did the state with taconite, although Raymond Haik, a Minneapolis attorney and a national director of the Izaak Walton League, contends the new controls don't assure provision of adequate restoration funds.

Other unresolved questions in the copper-nickel situation are the location of plants and methods for extracting the ore. Conservationists oppose location of smelter operations in the Superior National Forest where the deposits are found. Inco's Hanft discounts this possibility but said milling operations might locate there. As a possible way to extract low-grade ores, "leaching" with acids is being discussed by the copper-nickel companies, it was learned recently. "I wouldn't discard the idea," said Hanft. Inco will probably use milling instead, he added. The problem with leaching is to prevent the acid's destroying natural surroundings after it has been used.

Efforts to broaden controls over mining would bring some strong resistance, at the minimum, in the Minnesota Legislature. It has tended to respond instead to taconite and copper-nickel company contentions that they operate on narrow profits and need clearance of economic obstacles. "Aesthetics" cost money. Proposals before Congress would broaden federal controls over restoration, but their passage is as yet uncertain, and President Johnson's administration has not yet taken a position on specifics.

#### PART IX—OVERVIEW

(EDITOR'S NOTE.—"We can only hope that, over the long haul and among the myriad of decisions, the environmental balance will be tipped in favor of the wiser choices," wrote Interior Secretary Stewart L. Udall in his introduction to "Assault on the Land." Can Minnesota still make the wiser choices and tip its balance? How far has quality yielded to the needs of an encroaching people? Minnesota's length and breadth have been studied in this series by John Heritage and, inevitably, he has formed a point of view. Here, in a closing essay, is his view of Minnesota and its land, its problems and its promise.)

What is happening to Minnesota is people. They are the reason for accelerating pressure

on natural resources, for the assault on the land. They are the reason for 150-foot-high power poles, highways wider than the length of a football field, and 650-foot-deep iron mines. There is an increasing feeling that if nuclear bombs aren't used to obliterate the human race, man will assure his end by becoming impossibly numerous, or by building an environment that will choke him out. The possibility of preservation, saving something from man, has already become nearly meaningless, even in once-remote Minnesota, which still pictures itself as having vast sections of pristine wilderness, sparkling lakes and tumbling wild rivers which never heard the voice of man.

The picture is wrong. Minnesota clearly shows the marks of civilization, from the Canadian border to the wind-swept Mississippi River bluffs around Winona. Ask the hunter, who finds no-trespassing signs deep in the backwoods. Ask the forest ranger in the Boundary Waters Canoe Area, who says it is time to stop pretending people aren't there and, instead, to start putting in outdoor toilets and garbage cans for the crowds. Ask the city dweller, who waits in clouds of automobile exhaust fumes at rush-hour traffic lights. The question is not whether man can stop himself from including a lake, a forest, the deer, in his "living room." He has already pulled them in. Minnesota, and America, from "sea to shining sea," are man-dominated, and there is no turning back. The only variation from state to state is one of degree.

The question now being raised is whether quality can be included in the new environment—quality of a kind that permits people to live harmoniously, with the enjoyments and satisfactions they seek. Failure to find and assure this may mean "the whole of our elaborate existence" will be swept away, says zoologist Desmond Morris in his book, "The Naked Ape." Ecologists, whose business it is to understand the myriad relationships among plants, animals, water and land, say the "quality" question could have been better answered 50 or 100 years ago. There is a pessimism now, a feeling that too much may already have happened. But the quality issue still is only sporadically raised in Minnesota, and seldom has it brought commitments to effective action. Minneapolis should have decided 10 years ago whether billboards should be on the freeways it knew were coming, says architect Thomas H. Hodne. Lakes for which the state is famous, are being developed pell-mell, with few controls and chaotic results. Yet what is most often mentioned is not their loss of quality, but the need to "play them up" as one of the state's tourist attractions. Some observers believe that in 25 years there won't be much left in the lake resource that will be worth touring.

Hot debates about "game and fish" in Minnesota often obscure the other crucial environmental quality matters, actually serving as obstacles to wise "quality" decisions. And "present resource management in the state is on a case-by-case basis, with the economic interests well prepared to get across their points of view," says Minneapolis attorney Raymond Haik, a national director of the Izaak Walton League. What really hits home in Minnesota is 400 deer trapped on the grounds of the Twin Cities army ammunition plant—a tragic little story of incompatibility that reveals again the great public sympathy for animals that can't fight back. What have gone mostly unquestioned are developments like the homes spreading along the bluffs of the St. Croix River, a uniquely beautiful waterway, and the massive new highway shooting up the scenic North Shore, flanking old roads that were too developed to be widened. Minnesota is rapidly closing options, putting people in incompatible situations.

The hottest "conservation" debates in the Minnesota Legislature usually concern game and fish—like the issue of whether the state should continue to pay bounties on wolves.

Meanwhile, bills making long-term state commitments to mining companies for huge land and water use in the northern Minnesota wilderness move through with relatively little debate. "Conservation" organizations in the state, which might argue the public interest, as national groups are doing in Congress, are often made up of sportsmen, with narrower sportsmen's interests. And of the five divisions in the Department of Conservation, "game and fish" has a staff of 358, far more than any other division. An irony which grows from the Minnesota focus on game and fish is that "conservation" is often so narrowly defined it doesn't include the real issue, the impact of urbanization. One of the most significant conservation questions is how the sewage of the 1.8 million residents in the Twin Cities area will be handled. At stake is the quality of 270 miles of the Minnesota, Mississippi and St. Croix rivers. Yet the hottest part of the issue has not been about river quality, but about how to split financing of the sewage disposal between the central cities and the suburbs.

In contrast, one is slapped in the face with a concern about environmental quality in Wisconsin. Ralph Rapson, head of the University of Minnesota School of Architecture and Landscape Architecture, says crossing the St. Croix River from Minnesota to Wisconsin "is like going from night to day." That state has declared that public protection must be extended to lakeshore, even if it is privately developed, and that public controls must be set up to regulate activity in the flood plain. Everything from wooded hillsides, to tiny creeks, to aged barns is being mapped and rated for its potential as a quality element in the man-made environment. "What we're really faced with is getting out and analyzing what it is we want to remain," especially on the fringes of urbanization, says Philip H. Lewis, Jr., nationally known chairman of the University of Wisconsin's Department of Landscape Architecture. Wisconsin's more sophisticated attitude about the quality of its "living room" might be because "we have lucked out in the past and gotten some deep-thinking individuals," says Roland Nichols, professor of geography at Wisconsin State University, Eau Claire. Wisconsin is taking one more step in its concern: It is not waiting for a way to hook a dollar value to "beauty" or "quality" before the public interest is asserted. Says Lewis: "Many times, you just can't argue it from an economic standpoint."

One still hears in Minnesota that "beauty" remains essentially undefinable and, therefore, that it is difficult to build a case for putting dollars toward it. Some say it is a depressing commentary that a civilization loses the concept of beauty because it cannot be measured in coin. Instead, progress, the sure thing, gets the investment. Said one Minnesota observer: "I can't remember a governor who hasn't campaigned on bringing new industry into the state." But few Minnesota political campaigns have been run that have put "quality" on a par with "progress." The fear? Private property owners—the corporations, the homeowners, the farmers—won't stand for the assertion of a public interest in their private affairs, and won't tolerate the cost of quality. The legislative reluctance to impinge on private property use has been "a political problem," says State Sen. Gordon Rosenmeier, Little Falls Conservative and a key influence in resource decisions. "It is a matter of education, time, patience and wisdom."

Yet the reluctance has usually meant a late response—at all levels of government, although the 89th Congress broke records with environmental programs and supporting funds. The late response has usually made inexpensive preventive measures impossible. Instead, costly remedial efforts are required in an effort to "undevelop" and start over, and everyone's taxes are boosted. Removing billboards will be expensive; buy-

ing back or protecting wetlands has cost Minnesota and the federal government \$10 million in the past 17 years; a bill pending in Congress would pump millions of dollars toward pilot projects to restore the quality of a few lakes; urban renewal has cost billions across the nation. Minnesota is taking scattered steps now to influence the accumulation of events, but again, the efforts are late. After the Twin Cities area had grown to 360 square miles, a Metropolitan Council with limited powers was created; the Minneapolis Park Board has challenged the routing of a new highway through Minnehaha Park, after highways ripped apart several other parks; the state is acquiring more park lands, although today's high land prices make it expensive; the Minnesota Highway Department is landscaping a new Minneapolis Freeway, after fierce criticism of its design; the still-young State Planning Agency is involving itself in resource matters; many counties are attempting regulation of their growth with planning and zoning, although the federal aid that initiated the effort is scarce now, and Otter Tail County recently shelved a planning proposal for "lack of public support," and the highway department is attempting to implement billboard controls, though it faces many obstacles.

What still has not jelled in any widespread way, though, is recognition that a new man-made environment has been created, with frightening implications. What still is generally missing is awareness that there are sophisticated tools available that might help assure "quality" rather than just quantity. Missing also is the commitment to pay for and use the tools. Rosenmeier adds: "Maybe we're about at the point where we've got to say that we don't have room for everybody."

Action can come swiftly. The Natural Resources Act, funded by a penny a pack tax on cigarettes, shot through the 1963 Minnesota Legislature after broad public support developed for it. The 89th Congress passed new pollution control measures when it became evident there was a national public concern about increasingly dirty rivers. City councils and county commissions, state legislatures and Congress, often respond quickly to such things as billboard controls, lakeshore and flood plain zoning, mined land restoration, highway planning, and metropolitan approaches when the public temper begins to rise. But often, there is little movement until then.

Meanwhile, cottage by cottage, highway by highway, power pole by power pole, Minnesota builds the new environment. Growth is not bad per se, but it is happening by chance, and the quality that comes with it usually is from luck, not design.

Drive around the state and see your new living room. It has a lot to do with the kind of life you and your children will lead.

### Just One More Slice of Bread

**HON. GARNER E. SHRIVER**

OF KANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 28, 1968

Mr. SHRIVER. Mr. Speaker, there has been a serious decline over the past year to a year and a half in farm income. Prices received by farmers in the marketplace dropped to the lowest level in 33 years during the past year. For example, this morning in Hutchinson, Kans., the elevator price of wheat was \$1.36 per bushel.

The Kansas Wheat Commission has approached the Department of Agricul-

ture with a promotional idea that could have significant impact upon wheat consumption and farm income. The Wall Street Journal, on its editorial page, today favorably discussed the commission's proposal.

The wheat commission in my State has suggested a campaign encouraging Americans to eat just one more slice of bread every day. It is a worthy proposal. It is my understanding the Agriculture Department is giving thorough consideration to the idea.

During World War II Americans were called upon to observe "meatless Tuesdays." Here is a campaign aimed at urging American families to eat just one more slice of bread each day. As the Wall Street Journal pointed out this could lead to increased consumption of ham, bologna, salami, roast beef, peanut butter, cheese, and so forth. Better health and improved farm income undoubtedly would result if American families would respond to this campaign.

Under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Wall Street Journal:

#### JUST ONE MORE SLICE OF BREAD

What appears to be one of the first new ideas in years for increasing farm income is being promoted by the Kansas Wheat Commission. The beauty of the scheme is that it requires no vast outlays of Federal funds.

All the Kansas group is asking the Agriculture Department to do is undertake a public relations campaign to persuade Americans to eat one more slice of bread every day. The resulting boost in wheat consumption, the Kansans figure, would not only increase farmers' incomes, but would also mean better health for consumers and "a general national prosperity."

Now one slice of bread naturally suggests two, with something in between—ham, bologna, salami or roast beef (which would help the cattle growers); or peanut butter (which would aid the peanut growers); or cheese (which would make the dairy people happy). Sandwiches suggest accompanying beverages, which would make a lot of other people happy.

The addition of all these extra calories is likely to change the shape of a lot of people, who then would need new and better-fitting clothing, making the textile people happy. Almost everybody, indeed, would be happy except the physicians who are always issuing dire warnings against excess weight.

Still, if the Kansans' scheme actually could slim down Washington's outlays for farmers, maybe a lot of people would adopt it, even at the risk of getting fat.

### The Pierre Montoux Memorial Foundation, Hancock, Maine

**HON. EDMUND S. MUSKIE**

OF MAINE

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, March 28, 1968

Mr. MUSKIE. Mr. President, many of us are familiar with the summer music festivals and schools which enrich our national musical experience each year. Marlboro in Vermont and Tanglewood in Massachusetts are two names which have become synonymous with fine music. Beyond that, these music festivals provide aspiring and gifted young musi-



cians with matchless opportunities to learn from masters.

I am proud that my own State of Maine is the home of the Pierre Montoux Memorial Foundation which has been established as a living memorial to the great conductor. Located in the lovely seaside town of Hancock, Maine, where Pierre Montoux made his home for many years, the Montoux Foundation each year offers young instrumentalists the unique experience of learning and playing under the direction of established conductors. This year, in August, five of these concerts will be open to the public.

Mr. President, I am happy to be an honorary sponsor of the Pierre Montoux Memorial Foundation, which is ably guided by Madam Montoux. I am confident that this year's summer season at Hancock will bring enjoyment to Maine residents and visitors and will foster the careers of the young musicians who participate.

### The Late Honorable Noble J. Johnson

#### HON. O. C. FISHER

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 28, 1968

Mr. FISHER. Mr. Speaker, I was saddened to learn of the recent death of Hon. Noble Johnson. On March 17 he was called to his reward following a long illness.

It was my pleasure to serve in this body with Noble for a period of 5 years—from 1943 to 1948, at which time he resigned to become a judge of the U.S. Court of Customs and Patent Appeals.

Everyone who knew Judge Johnson liked and respected him. He was a man of sound judgment whose service in the Congress was constructive and always in the public interest. He always looked after the interests of the taxpayers, and as a member of the Appropriations Committee wielded considerable influence in shaping sound fiscal policies.

Noble Johnson was my personal friend. Indeed he could count many friends among his former colleagues and among those whom he knew following his departure from this body. Always affable, pleasant, solicitous, and friendly, he was in the real sense a delightful person and an interesting company. He was blessed with a remarkable memory and often drew upon his vast storehouse of earlier experience in the courts and in the field of politics, as he would recall interesting and unusual events.

Our late friend also distinguished himself as a jurist. Blessed with a judicious mind, he rendered decisions that were clear, pointed, and sound.

Above everything, Noble Johnson was a man of strong character. He tolerated no compromise with evil, and always stood up for what was right and honorable.

To Mrs. Johnson and their daughter I extend my deepest sympathy in their bereavement.

### The Bright Promise of Neighborhood Health Centers

#### HON. GAYLORD NELSON

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, March 28, 1968

Mr. NELSON. Mr. President, Reporter magazine for March 21 contains a highly illuminating and interesting article called "The Bright Promise of Neighborhood Health Centers."

It is a growing concern of the Nation that the high degree of medical care we afford to the majority of our citizens is not also completely available to the minority—the poor of our country. Judith Randal, the author of the article, states:

Despite growing reliance on government supported programs such as Medicaid and Medicare, medicines' ability to deliver care to the whole community has not kept pace with the high quality of service it can provide the relatively few.

Obviously, no group suffers more from this than the poor.

During the hearings of the Subcommittee on Antitrust and Monopoly, dealing with the competitive problems of the drug industry, several witnesses have corroborated that the poor get sicker more often and the sick get poorer. They generally have available to them less than the best of medical care and quite often pay higher prices in terms of drugs and other essentials. Because I believe that Senators will be interested in the article, I ask consent that it be printed in the Extensions of Remarks.

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

#### THE BRIGHT PROMISE OF NEIGHBORHOOD HEALTH CENTERS

(By Judith Randal)

Of all the innovations put forward by the Office of Economic Opportunity in its fight against poverty, the one that perhaps will eventually accomplish the most is its relatively recent Neighborhood Health Center program. If Project Head Start was the first to catch the public's fancy, the Health Center idea is likely to be of more direct benefit to the poor.

Medical reformers have been aware for some time that as medical discovery and technology have leaped ahead, the profession has become fragmented into isolated specialties with steadily costlier treatment often subordinate to research. Despite growing reliance on government-supported programs such as Medicaid and Medicare, medicine's ability to deliver care to the whole community has not kept pace with the high quality of service it can provide the relatively few. Obviously, no group suffers more from this than the poor. Statistics reveal that the poor have more heart disease, more rheumatoid arthritis, more unrehabilitated injury, more mental illness, more tuberculosis, more of almost every illness whether chronic or acute, and higher death rates in all age groups than do Americans at large. Yet the more that is known about the treatment of any disorder, the greater the likelihood that this knowledge is not benefiting the poor.

Illness—or even lack of well-being—and poverty go hand in hand. It is axiomatic that the poor get sicker and the sick get poorer. To break this cycle, since 1966 OEO

has offered grants to Community Action agencies, hospitals, medical schools, health departments, medical societies, and other public or nonprofit agencies interested in setting up and operating neighborhood centers "for the development of comprehensive health services for the poor." OEO does not initiate or operate the projects; it selects from among many offered for its approval, provides money and administrative guidance, and sets up broad goals and specific standards. Beyond that, each center is left to make its own decisions and launch its own projects.

#### UNDER ONE ROOF

One major difference between OEO centers and existing clinics lies in the phrase "comprehensive health services." The patient is treated not only for specific illnesses; the idea is, as much as possible, to prevent illness and maintain a high degree of health. Another difference is that the OEO centers are run for the convenience of the patients rather than for that of the people who provide the care. There is no need for several members of a family to go from one special clinic to another—all facilities are under one roof. Members of the same family are treated in relation to one another, and patients' medical and other problems are considered and tackled together.

The emphasis is on finding those who need help rather than putting up barriers to help. Initially, care is provided without question. Emergency care is always provided. Whether or not a family is entitled to continuing free medical care is determined by the center's administrators and OEO's eligibility requirements. (Under the OEO poverty standard, an urban family of four must earn less than \$3,200 a year.) In narrowing the choice from among many eligible families, the administrators depend heavily on the views of the Neighborhood Health Council, composed of representatives of those eligible for service and, in most cases, health professionals and other community leaders. Neighborhood workers actually seek out people who will not or cannot come on their own; if transportation or baby sitters are needed, they are supplied. In no case are patients forced through the humiliation of welfare investigations.

Instead of keeping only daytime hours, which mean sacrifices in time and money for many patients. Neighborhood Health Centers are open evenings and weekends; they offer appointments rather than endless waits. Whereas most public facilities are impersonal and dismal, with doctors seeing patients in turn and at random, Health Center patrons may choose a physician and see him regularly in "doctor's office" surroundings. Typically each family chooses the doctor, nurse, and other health worker whom it sees on every visit, although family members will see specialists when necessary.

No one center exactly resembles another. Physically, they range from Watts' brand-new \$1.5 million building to Mound Bayou, Mississippi's, temporary quarters in an abandoned church, a movie theatre, two former stores, and a trailer. They differ considerably, too, in number of patients. The Columbia Point Center in Boston, the earliest, treats only the residents of one housing project; an oeo grant has been given to another center that will draw families from five counties in Michigan. All are staffed with at least an internist, an obstetrician, a pediatrician, and a dentist, supplemented by part-time specialists and supporting personnel including trained residents of the neighborhood.

All Health Centers, according to oeo ground rules, rely as much as possible on the poor themselves to perform a host of necessary tasks. They are trained for a wide variety of occupations, many of which are undermanned in the nation as a whole. Family

health workers, home health and laboratory aides, physicians' and nurses' assistants—these are just a few of the categories destined to help the poor help themselves and others. Contact with doctors and other Health Center professionals, OEO officials think, may even encourage underprivileged young people to try for medical and other health careers.

Neighborhood Health Centers are equipped for emergencies but do not have hospital beds. Each center is allied with a local hospital and sends patients there for surgery or other in-hospital care. For this service, as for any other service provided eligible patients, the centers are reimbursed if a Federal, state, or private agency would normally foot the bill. If no such agency is involved, the center itself pays for care. Just as the family's chosen doctor assumes overall responsibility for his patients' health, the center attends to all the interagency red tape and paper work that must be coped with, relieving patients of tasks that are beyond them. The total average cost per patient is about \$120 a year.

Centers are located in city neighborhoods or rural areas that doctors in private practice have found unrewarding. In Watts, for example, before the Health Center opened in the fall of 1967, there was one doctor for every 2,900 persons and the nearest hospital was twelve miles distant. In urban areas where the poor often flock to hospital emergency rooms with every kind of complaint rather than wait hours in special clinics, many hospitals have taken the initiative and sought OEO help in setting up Neighborhood Health Centers, lending staff members to the project. In rural areas, it has often been doctors in group practice who have initiated centers.

#### TWO APPROACHES, ONE PROBLEM

At the start of this year, thirteen centers, nine in the big cities and four in rural areas, were in full operation; nine others were offering services to a limited number of people, and nineteen more have been given grants but were not yet open. Two centers that were authorized simultaneously under the auspices of Tufts University Medical School—one at the Columbia Point public housing project in Dorchester, Massachusetts, the other in Mound Bayou, Mississippi—serve to illustrate the program.

The Columbia Point housing project is austere, cut off from the mainstream of Boston life. For 150 years the site was Boston's city dump. Since 1953 its dingy brick apartment buildings have been home to 1,500 families or a total of about six thousand people.

Superficially, it is entirely different from rural Mound Bayou, a community of 1,200 Negro sharecroppers in the heart of the Delta. But below the surface, Mound Bayou and the Negro slums of the North share a common background of misery. As machines and weed-killing chemicals have replaced black hands on Southern plantations, 200,000 Negroes have been moving north and west each year, bringing with them a melancholy inventory of want, ignorance, and disease. Although disadvantaged Negroes are not the only ones to benefit from the new health care—Columbia Point is not entirely Negro; poor whites in Appalachia, migrant workers of Mexican extraction, and Indians in Minnesota are also receiving attention—Negroes are by far the most numerous and most typical of the program's beneficiaries.

In the development of their health programs, Columbia Point and Mound Bayou have followed disparate paths determined largely by local attitudes. From the time of its inception two years ago, the Dorchester project has had all the advantages in terms of support from government and professional groups. As a result, service was started six months after the OEO grant was awarded.

Of the six thousand residents in the Columbia Point housing project, 5,324 are patients of the center. Three family-care teams—internist, pediatrician, health workers and other supporting personnel—have been set up. The center has the most up-to-date equipment for ambulatory care, including a computerized record system. A neighborhood immunization program is almost complete. A particularly active health council has been created in a community where no organized activity existed before. It has not only taken an increasingly strong role in planning and administering health care but has gone on to initiate programs for older people and youth groups and has helped to familiarize project residents with other community resources.

An initial survey based on the health records of fifty-four apparently typical Columbia Point families reveals that since they have been under the care of the center, hospitalization of family members has dropped eighty per cent. In part, this is due to the fact that health problems are often treated before they get serious enough to require hospitalization, and in part it is because home-care and neighborhood workers are able to make patients comfortable in their own homes.

At Mound Bayou, by contrast, establishment of a health-care center has been a long, uphill fight. Here the reaction of public officials and medical authorities ranged from indifference to outright hostility. The official line seemed—indeed at times was stated openly—to be that the Negroes of Bolivar County neither needed nor deserved medical attention and that the whole scheme was just more Yankee carpetbagging. Even the Negro fraternal burial societies slowed the efforts of the OEO.

According to a Department of Labor estimate, more than sixty per cent of Bolivar County's Negroes now have no work at all. Many get no relief payments and are too poor to buy the Federal food stamps that are worth twenty or thirty times their cash value in surplus food.

Malnutrition is a serious problem. Infant mortality is another. Ninety-eight per cent of white mothers are attended by a doctor at delivery; only fifty-five per cent of the Negroes are. For Bolivar County's 19,000 whites there are nineteen doctors; for 40,000 Negroes there are only three. The doctor-to-patient ratio in the county is half of Mississippi's average, which in turn is half the national average. The county has maintained a small but active health department. But with an annual budget of only \$70,000 and just six public-health nurses (none Negro), it has offered only limited care and little doctor service. Tufts University expected and found an abundance of undetected, neglected disease and a backlog of uncorrected birth defects and unrehabilitated injury among the poor of Bolivar County.

Two Negro beneficial groups, the United Order of Friendship and the Knights & Daughters of Tabor, had built small "hospitals" at the end of the Second World War. They were utterly inadequate to the needs of Bolivar County Negroes; but they had been established after herculean efforts by their sponsors, and even though they were on the verge of bankruptcy, they were sold only reluctantly to the Mound Bayou Community Hospital Association through a separate grant arranged by OEO. The hospitals have been merged and are now being modernized.

Operating under the sponsorship of Tufts and the direction of Drs. Jack Geiger and Count Gibson, who had set up the Columbia Point center, the Mound Bayou center now has two pediatricians and three other doctors on its staff as well as the part-time services of Bolivar County's three Negro doctors. The Health Center's facilities are makeshift: one church serves as a clinic and another as staff offices, a movie theatre as

a classroom for health-care trainees. (There were 982 applications for thirty trainee jobs when the center opened in November.) A prefabricated building will be set up this spring. By the time it is ready for use, the health center's present daily case load of sixty patients is expected to double or triple. OEO expects eventually that the center will serve 14,000 people.

In a county where 42,000 people come from families that live on less than \$3,000 a year and where some are actually starving, the poor themselves decide who are the very neediest. It is also in such a situation that the comprehensiveness of the Health Center concept is shown at its sharpest. A half-starved child with pneumonia may need penicillin but he also needs food. Mound Bayou's doctors must provide both.

If the health benefits that accrue from the Mound Bayou center are obvious, certain other implications are not. The Health Center staff, with OEO assistance, will also try to help people in Bolivar County to improve their housing, to establish a co-operative to raise and can foods (a farmer has donated the use of a hundred acres of land), and perhaps to open a small factory. The center is running a formal part-time program whereby high-school and junior-college students may get preliminary medical training. The outcome of these efforts is uncertain, but on other scores, at least, two indications of progress are evident.

One is that skilled Southern-born Negro professionals have been willing to return, not merely, as Dr. Geiger said, to give service, but also to provide disheartened people with living examples of what might be possible even for them.

A second is that other Southern states that have been watching events in Bolivar County are displaying a willingness—even an eagerness—for home-grown comprehensive health services of the OEO sort. Lowndes County, Alabama, is a typical case. An area described as "virtually without medical resources," it has received a Neighborhood Health Center planning grant to be administered by the county board of health. The board, along with the state university medical school and the state health department, has begun the preliminaries necessary before services can be begun. So eager was Alabama to get started on this project that Governor Lurleen Wallace, away in Houston, Texas, for cancer treatment, had the necessary papers rushed to her hospital bedside for signature. A similar project is being considered for Montgomery, the state capital.

#### PRESCRIPTION FOR CHANGE

Many observers believe that Neighborhood Health Centers, if built in sufficient numbers throughout the country, might eventually effect a change in many aspects of the nation's system for delivery of medical care. Indeed, the National Advisory Commission on Health Manpower suggested in its report last November that the national health-care apparatus is more mishmash than system: "... a collection of bits and pieces [characterized by] overlapping, duplication, great gaps, high costs, and wasted effort." Daniel Zwick, an OEO official, states the problem in these simple terms: "With medicine one of the most highly organized segments of American society and poor consumers among the least, redressing the balance without scaring the doctors away is by no means an easy task."

Zwick sees in the Neighborhood Health Center a tool for making badly needed changes in the way of delivering health service. Many hospital administrators, he points out, are aware that their outpatient services—frequent targets of social criticism—are inadequate. These hospital managers have often been powerless to rearrange priorities so as to give more attention to the needs of outpatients. OEO may turn out to be just the sort of leverage they need.



Dr. Paul Torrens, director of community medicine at St. Luke's Hospital Center in New York, three years ago saw money earmarked for a badly needed rehabilitation service snatched away to outfit an open-heart surgery suite, despite the fact that New York City was already oversupplied. Now Torrens has received a \$939,402 grant to open a Neighborhood Health Center under St. Luke's auspices.

The OEO Health Centers are also forcing local medical societies and health departments into new professional and social patterns and causing them to accept roles they never would have considered in the past. One example is to be found in Atlanta, where the local Community Action agency, Economic Opportunity Atlanta, Inc., has turned over health-care programming to the Fulton County Medical Society and the Medical School of Emory University. Along similar lines, in the farming community of King City, California, the Monterey County Medical Society is directly involved in the provision of OEO-sponsored health care to indigent people of the area. And in Denver, the city Department of Health and Hospitals has assumed responsibility for two centers, one serving a predominantly Negro area on the east side, the other a Mexican-American west side neighborhood.

Perhaps more significant than any of these developments is the profound influence oeo's Health Center concept seems to be exerting on the nation's medical schools and on the direction of their graduates' careers. For years now, most of these institutions have almost deliberately isolated themselves from the community. Most young doctors have headed either for the research laboratory or the suburbs where a comfortable practice could be staked out in respectable surroundings. Working among the poor was not only frustrating financially but professionally as well. The cost and complication of scientific advances made it virtually impossible for individual practitioners to deliver modern medical care in the slums.

With the advent of oeo Health Centers and the involvement up to now of twenty medical schools in the experiment, both faculty and students have been undergoing a change of heart. The University of Southern California School of Medicine, for example, not only co-operated successfully with the Neighborhood Health Council of nearby Watts in setting up a center, but when Congress delayed in voting funds for the poverty program last fall, the USC medical school came voluntarily to the rescue. Without assurance that it would be repaid, the school advanced enough money to keep the Health Center going.

Other medical schools seem willing to run this sort of risk. About half of those in the country have participated in developing proposals for oeo funds, recognizing that comprehensive health programs not only do a great deal for the poor but also do something for doctors in training.

There is a widespread opinion in medical-education circles these days that the carefully selected cases seen by students in teaching hospitals are hardly typical of the spectrum of ills afflicting America. "Only in the community can a more random selection of health problems be found and early stages of illness studied and cared for . . ." wrote Robert J. Haggerty, professor of pediatrics at the University of Rochester, in the January issue of the *New England Journal of Medicine*. "To achieve this goal of a realistic setting, a defined and known population is needed—a parish for which a clinical department or a university can be responsible, to know who its patients are and who does not now receive adequate care."

It is to be expected, of course, that not everyone shares the high-minded outlook of a medical academician like Haggerty, and

indeed much discussion of the OEO program within the health profession has been couched in terms of whose ox is being gored. The pharmacists are often worried about competition, and at the recent AMA-sponsored National Conference on Health Care for the Poor, for example, there was concern for preserving the right of the underprivileged to "free choice of physician"—despite the fact that this choice is largely fictional. At the same conference, AMA President Milford Rouse cautioned the participants not to overlook the thousand health-care programs currently administered by 175 public and private agencies, and in effect warned OEO not to try to become the 176th—a warning hardly called for in light of the poverty agency's record of attempting to fill vacuums rather than engage in competition with existing health services.

Nonetheless, things are taking shape. President Johnson has recommended that \$60 million of the OEO budget be spent on Neighborhood Health Centers. The goal is to have fifty centers going by the end of this year. Even this amount would be capable of helping only a small fraction of the poor—and the poor are not the only Americans whose health care could stand improvement. (In order to meet the needs of the poor alone, it is estimated that 850 health centers throughout the country would be needed.) Supporters of OEO are confident, however, that no matter how many centers are established, their numbers are less important than the chain reaction this social experiment will set off.

### The Effects of Nuclear War on Civilization

**HON. EMILIO Q. DADDARIO**

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 28, 1968

Mr. DADDARIO. Mr. Speaker, late in the last session of Congress I received from the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency a copy of the report "The Effects of Nuclear War on Civilization," prepared for the agency by Dr. Earl W. Lindveit, a senior staff member of the Battelle Memorial Institute. Because this report is concerned with a matter of such importance to us all, I commend it to my colleagues and include here an excerpt from the introduction:

THE EFFECTS OF NUCLEAR WAR ON CIVILIZATION

(By Dr. Earl W. Lindveit, Senior Staff,  
Battelle Memorial Institute)

#### INTRODUCTION

There are several reasons for undertaking this study to explore the effects of nuclear war on civilization. First, through the quantitative assessment of the horrors of nuclear war will come renewed vigor for the prevention of such a holocaust. Second, in spite of the best political and military actions to prevent war, one must admit that it is a possibility. Thus, nations have responsibilities toward their present and future generations to understand the consequences and, where possible, to ameliorate them.

The physical effects of nuclear explosions are generally well documented. Prevalent reaction toward the prospect of nuclear war frequently predicts an end to civilization and total destruction of society, and such dire predictions may seem logical because of the proven destructive power of nuclear weapons. The extent to which such effects on society are necessarily a logical extension of the destructive power of nuclear weapons is a matter less well documented. Despite a lack of agreement among scientific authori-

ties on the dimensions of such a disaster, the findings that exist are still significant. In many respects, however, analytical studies represent only first attempts to approach problem areas quantitatively.

All thoughts on the subject do not necessarily reflect hopelessness and despair. In his pioneering study *On Thermonuclear War*, for example, Herman Kahn expresses the belief that our society could be restored in time if advance preparation were made to do so, particularly through Government programs. In this regard, preparations such as civil passive and active defense should not be dismissed out of hand as illusory, for studies exist which indicate their life-saving potential in combination with warning and shelter.

Civilization, for all of its sophisticated aspects, remains a delicate balance of related elements. We are reminded of this when natural disasters, power failures, strikes, and other disruptions occur. By and large, these are localized situations that can be made tolerable through outside assistance. On the other hand, nuclear war poses a potential catastrophe with which previous experience provides little guidance. It would unleash widespread destruction upon the world and disrupt the precarious relationships of society with synergistic effects which at best may be only partially predictable. Directly or indirectly—through global fallout in food and water as well as in disruption of international relations—other countries of the world not directly involved in the conflict would nevertheless suffer the consequences . . .

### Dickey-Lincoln School Hydroelectric Project, Maine

**HON. EDMUND S. MUSKIE**

OF MAINE

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, March 28, 1968

Mr. MUSKIE. Mr. President, at the annual meeting of the National Rural Electric Cooperative Association on February 25-29, at Dallas, the association passed a resolution in support of the Dickey-Lincoln School hydroelectric project in Maine.

It is significant that the association, representing Americans across the land, should feel strongly enough about the first multipurpose project proposed for New England to adopt a resolution in its support.

The resolution correctly reports that New England is the only region in the country without a multipurpose hydroelectric plant, that New England has the highest electric rates in the Nation, that the Dickey-Lincoln School project has been carefully studied and has an excellent cost-benefit ratio of 1.9, and that failure by Congress to approve final planning funds for the project would deal a severe blow to all future multipurpose resource development.

Because of the outstanding reputation of the National Rural Electric Cooperative Association and because of the aptness of its resolution on the Dickey project, I ask unanimous consent that the resolution be printed in the *Extensions of Remarks*.

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

**NATIONAL RURAL ELECTRIC COOPERATIVE ASSOCIATION RESOLUTION F-3, ON DICKEY-LINCOLN PROJECT, MAINE**

Whereas, the full development of water resources is of critical importance to a region's development of its commercial, industrial, agricultural and recreational potential; and

Whereas, the Dickey-Lincoln project would be the first multiple-purpose project in the New England area which would serve to develop the above mentioned potentials of the New England area, and

Whereas, the New England area has the highest electrical rates in the nation, and

Whereas, the Dickey-Lincoln project has been carefully studied and shown to have an above-average benefit-to-cost ratio of 1.9, and

Whereas, final planning funds in the budgeted appropriation for fiscal year 1968 were removed from the Public Works Appropriation bill last year through the concerted effort of the New England power companies,

Now, therefore, be it resolved, that we strongly support the budgeted appropriations for the fiscal year 1969 for the Dickey-Lincoln project, and

Be it further resolved that we actively urge the Congress to fully support the Dickey-Lincoln project as the failure to approve the construction of a project having such an excellent benefit-to-cost ratio would deal a severe blow to all future multiple-purpose resource development.

**Narcotics and Dangerous Drug Control Strengthened by Reorganization Plan No. 1**

**HON. CHET HOLIFIELD**

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 28, 1968

Mr. HOLIFIELD. Mr. Speaker, the Committee on Government Operations has approved Reorganization Plan No. 1 of 1968 combining the Bureau of Drug Abuse Control and the Bureau of Narcotics and placing the new Bureau of Narcotics and Dangerous Drugs in the Department of Justice. This matter will come before the House on Tuesday when we will be called upon to vote upon a disapproval resolution that has been reported unfavorably by our committee.

The President's plan was supported during hearings of our Subcommittee on Executive and Legislative Reorganization by the Bureau of the Budget, the Department of Justice, the Department of the Treasury, and the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. These are the agencies which have the job of enforcement in this field. Witnesses include the Attorney General of the United States, the Deputy Director of the Bureau of the Budget, the Assistant Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, the Special Assistant to the Secretary of the Treasury for Enforcement, the Commissioner of Narcotics, the Director of the Bureau of Drug Abuse Control, and the medical director of the American Psychiatric Association. Statements were received from several Members of Congress.

Under the reorganization, the major function of the new Bureau will continue to be the enforcement of laws to eliminate the illicit traffic in narcotics and the

abuse of drugs. The drugs referred to are stimulants, depressants and hallucinogenics such as LSD.

In the new Bureau, the 600 agents would have the authority to make arrests in cases involving both narcotics and dangerous drugs, whereas now the agents of the separate bureaus have no authority in such cases to go beyond their field of control.

Experts such as the Attorney General and the Commissioner of Narcotics have testified that we need this coordination to exercise more control over this problem. A dangerous trend in our country in the use of narcotics and potent drugs has become alarming to us all. The number of active narcotic addicts has increased 15,000 in the past 7 years and a large percentage of these are young people.

In the interest of our children and the public in general, this strengthened program should be adopted.

**Family Service Association Volunteers Welcome Newcomers to Indianapolis Housing Project**

**HON. ANDREW JACOBS, JR.**

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 28, 1968

Mr. JACOBS. Mr. Speaker, we all know that moving into a new home can be a difficult, as well as exciting, experience.

And moving can be especially confusing and trying for low-income families as they make the adjustment to the strange new world of a housing project.

It is particularly helpful at such times if there is someone available who can provide answers to the many questions which inevitably arise.

Such assistance is now being provided by Family Service Association volunteers in Indianapolis in connection with the opening of the new Salem Village housing project.

Much of the success of the project is due to Henry M. Graham, director of the Family Service Association, who has helped guide the efforts of FSA volunteers.

Because of the general interest which I am sure this type of approach might arouse in similar projects elsewhere in the country, I am inserting at this point in the RECORD an article on the program which appeared in the March 10 edition of the Indianapolis Star:

**NEW FRIENDS EASE ADJUSTMENTS AT SALEM VILLAGE**

(By Robbie Du Bois)

A group of outer city housewives have found it easy to bridge the gap in economic levels by simply being a friend in need to low-income counterparts.

As each family moved into the new Salem Village housing project, one of the group welcomed the tenants, particularly the mother. She was a sympathetic, knowledgeable visitor who backed her first offer of help with later visits and is on call for assistance if there is any inkling of a problem developing.

Salem Village is a Federal housing project for low-income families. Operation Welcome

is the undertaking of women volunteers in the Indianapolis Family Service Association. It is a pilot project, first of its kind. Each of the women in the 11-member FSA group was given the names of families she was to assist in the move-in.

Mrs. Robert Bruce McClure is chairman of the group and the only one experienced in social work.

Their efforts were well received.

"My visitor was so kind," says Mrs. Lee D. Maxwell, a widow with four children, 1 to 10 years old.

"I didn't have beds for my children and she took right over and helped get them.

"I was glad to have a woman to talk to. I could talk more freely to her than to the management.

"I surely do feel I've found a friend!" Her new friend is Mrs. Clyde L. Peterson.

Says Mrs. Hattie Reedus, divorced mother of three, "My Mrs. Baker was so nice and courteous. She pointed out the things I needed to know. She knew how things should be done.

"I enjoyed her second call, when she came one evening.

"I know I can call on her if I have any problems."

Mrs. William B. Baker, Mrs. Reedus' caller, is the FSA vice-president in charge of volunteers. She has added the Salem Village welcoming project to many other volunteer responsibilities in the association.

While a few of the new tenants were capably coping, most of the volunteers found immediate problems to attack, like getting children promptly enrolled in their new school, arranging transportation for a handicapped child, explaining management regulations, community facilities, bus schedules.

"There wasn't much I could do on one first visit," rather ruefully confessed Mrs. Andrew J. Brown. "The furniture had been in storage and some of it arrived broken and her husband is in Vietnam. I just stood with her and wrung my hands, too."

"One of my tenants just wanted to sit," said Mrs. Peterson. "If you've ever moved, you know the confusion. I have, so I just sat with her for a while."

"I couldn't do much in one apartment. All they were doing was oh-ing and ah-ing over the lovely place they were living in," said Mrs. Burton B. Kohn. "It was nice to be part of it."

In preparation for Operation Welcome, the volunteers had toured the neighborhood and apartments, learned about the stoves and garbage disposals, been briefed in the rules and regulations. They had frankly and openly discussed their role and decided, as Mrs. Charles T. Coy put it, "We just want them to know they have an interested friend."

The FSA volunteers "greatly eased the transition," says Lewis N. Jones, director of the housing project.

"They're doing a wonderful job in getting the tenants started right. Women will talk to women and listen to women about house-keeping problems."

Some of the volunteers detected in the early visits incipient problems; a rebellious teen-ager, a need for more or better employment perhaps requiring special training, need for convenient child care for working mothers, lack of counseling for a kindergarten child as recommended by his teacher.

The volunteer's role, Mrs. McClure emphasizes, is not to counsel but to know agency resources and encourage referral.

To a woman, the 11 volunteers feel Operation Welcome has been worthwhile and they have done something substantially good, though often at their own considerable inconvenience. Some waited more than two hours for their families to arrive. Others made repeated calls until they found the family moving in.



Eight of them will expand their efforts, as requested by the housing authority, to welcome families as they start moving in this month in the Holmes Avenue project. They and Family Service Association are eager for reinforcements.

"We couldn't have touched this welcoming project with our professional staff alone," says FSA Director Henry M. Graham. "It's got to be a volunteer project, and really, that's the way it should be."

"Volunteers have a very special value in social work because, putting it very simply, they are motivated by a personal love for and desire to be of assistance to their fellow men."

Any one interested in FSA volunteer work, he pointed out, need have no prior social work experience, special education or training.

### Diversified Farming in Kansas

#### HON. ROBERT DOLE

OF KANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 28, 1968

Mr. DOLE. Mr. Speaker, I call to the attention of my colleagues an interesting article by the Honorable Clifford Hope. Mr. Hope, during his long years of service in the Congress, contributed much to our more substantive agricultural programs. The food for peace program is one of the outstanding monuments to his service.

I commend Mr. Hope's article which follows:

[From the Salina (Kans.) Journal, Mar. 24, 1968]

#### KANSAS NO LONGER ON A ONE-CROP ECONOMY

(By Clifford Hope)

In the last two weeks this column has discussed the importance of grain sorghums and corn in the Kansas agricultural economy, particularly since 1957 when the great breakthrough occurred in grain sorghum production. It was also pointed out that in recent years the production of both of these crops has been widely dispersed throughout the state. This has been followed by a substantial increase in beef cattle production, which is reflected in the larger proportion of cash receipts from farming, derived from livestock and its products as compared with crops.

During the ten year period, 1958-1967, cash receipts from crops have exceeded those from livestock in only two years—1958 and 1960. In each case, the margin was small. A recent report from the Kansas Crop and Livestock Reporting Service shows that for the five year period, 1961-1965, cash receipts from farm marketing of crops averaged 533 million dollars, compared with 741 million dollars from livestock and products. For 1966 the figures for crops were 556 million, and 976 million for livestock and products. The corresponding figures for 1967 are 529 million and 970 million respectively.

Most of this increase has come from beef cattle, which have substantially increased both in numbers and value. The west 31 counties of the state have fully shared in this increase. In 1940 the number of beef cattle in the state was 2,155,000, of which 13 percent was in the west 31 counties. In 1950 the number was 2,999,000 and the proportion in these 31 counties was 23.7 percent. On January 1, 1968, the number was 5,324,000, of which 23.6 percent was in the western counties.

When I was a boy on a Finney county farm in the first decade of this century, the farm program which was being urged by the Agricultural College and the State Board of Agri-

culture, put the emphasis on the cow, the sow, and the hen. All of these have fared rather badly in Kansas during recent years. Today, the number of chickens on Kansas farms is less than the number of beef cattle. In the west 31 counties, beef cattle outnumber chickens three to one.

Kansas had 727 thousand milk cows in 1940 and 604 thousand in 1950. On January 1, 1968, the number was 240 thousand, of which only 22 thousand were in the west 31 counties. Milk production has not dropped proportionately because of higher production per cow, but is still far below earlier years.

The sow has held her own a little better. In 1940 there were a little over a million and a half hogs in Kansas. This year the number is about the same. In between, the figures have fluctuated between seven hundred thousand and two and a half million. In recent years about ten percent have been produced in the 31 western counties.

While Kansas agricultural production is rather widely diversified, over eighty-five percent of its cash receipts come from five products. These are beef cattle, wheat, grain sorghums, hogs and corn. To a greater extent than ever before, production of all of these commodities is on a statewide, rather than an area or regional basis.

There is now no part of the state which can be said to be on a one crop economy. This has resulted in greater stability of farm income in all areas. At the same time as shown by recent shifts in the production of corn and grain sorghums between east and west, farmers have been quick to change production patterns when it is to their advantage.

### U.S. Dollar Rejected

#### HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 28, 1968

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, the effects of removal of the gold cover from the U.S. paper money has already been noted.

Some of our foreign friends—who were once eager to accept our paper dollars backed by gold—no longer want to take a chance that U.S. currency may turn out to be worthless.

Mr. Speaker, the comments from the April 1 U.S. News & World Report and Human Events follow:

*Americans headed abroad this summer will have to be ready for trouble. Dollars, once sacrosanct, may not always be honored for foreign cash. What happened the week-end of March 16 could happen again. Our men report:*

*From Johannesburg:* "There were wild scenes at Johannesburg airport as Americans trying to buy airline tickets waved dollar bills that neither airlines nor banks would accept. In Blantyre, Malawi, one resident American had his bank refuse his dollar check for deposit."

*From Paris:* "An editor of 'U.S. News & World Report' traveling in Europe was allowed to change only enough dollars in Geneva to pay his hotel bill."

"His Paris hotel let him change only \$20 into francs at the rate of 4.6 francs to the dollar instead of the usual 4.9. He also had to promise to make up the difference if the dollar was devalued. Airlines, too, were choosy."

Tourists found similar problems in London, Germany, Italy.

An exception: Greece. The military government there is so determined to attract Americans it played down the dollar crisis. Greeks recalled that one hotel was shut last year for overcharging. Few wanted to risk a repeat.

But in Greece, as elsewhere, there is no telling what will happen next time.

### Hazel Henderson Clears the Air

#### HON. THEODORE R. KUPFERMAN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 28, 1968

Mr. KUPFERMAN. Mr. Speaker, my constituent, Hazel Henderson, chairman of the board of honorary trustees of Citizens for Clean Air, Inc., which has its office in my district, spoke recently at a YWCA luncheon on her unending fight to improve our environment.

Her talk is entitled "Man: Guinea Pig in the Growing Metropolis" and I am pleased to bring it to the attention of my colleagues, as follows:

#### MAN: GUINEA PIG IN THE GROWING METROPOLIS

(Speech given by Hazel Henderson, chairman of board of honorary trustees, Citizens for Clean Air, Inc., before New York City YWCA forum March 7, 1968)

Just last week the New York Times carried one of humorist Russell Baker's inimitable little gems of wisdom entitled *New Yorkers Can Take it, Unfortunately*. He claims that the inhabitants of our town "are undoubtedly the most tolerant citizens in the Western world. If there is any physical discomfort, human inconvenience or affront to the dignity of man that they will refuse to put up with . . . it has yet to be devised." He cites the current New York thing called The Strike of the Week; and a host of other irritations and indignities—the high prices, the dirt, noise, overcrowding, chaos and confusion—that masochistic New Yorkers bear without a murmur. Any one of these insults would have Parisians or Washingtonians up in arms. But, he says sadly, "Just like sheep, New Yorkers will take anything."

Mr. Baker, like most of us, has noticed that our cities are not only growing in size, but seem to be growing out of control and becoming more chaotic every year. And as this unplanned growth continues, they also are becoming giant laboratories for the study of a formerly little-understood science known as ecology.

Broadly speaking, ecology is the study of the total environmental system and all the organisms including man which inhabit it. A sprawling city offers a living laboratory for this kind of study, and is a treasure house for scholars of not only the physical sciences, but the behavioral sciences as well. The only trouble is that in every case . . . we human beings are the helpless guinea pigs in these vast urban test tubes. If we are to survive in our cities, the researchers will have to find the answers to three basic questions.

First, will increasing overcrowding of our population into already bursting metropolitan areas eventually so overtax the land, air and water in them that the urban environment will break down completely?

Second, what are today's large cities doing to people, physically, emotionally and spiritually?

And thirdly, is there a better way of organizing ourselves? Are our cities worth the billions of dollars it will need to save them? Or might they even become unnecessary and obsolete in the near future?

Let's look at the first. The question of how many people you can cram into a certain land area without it losing its capacity to cleanse and renew itself. Well, we all know of the Black Hole of Calcutta, and in that case it was the oxygen supply which gave out

first, and the people suffocated. What does this have to do with cities? Well just recently at a symposium held by the American Association for the Advancement of Science, many of its eminent members were discussing whether the earth's oxygen supply would be able to continue to support the present population, or whether it too would be used up by man and all of his manufacturing activities. This isn't as far out as it sounds when we remember that the planet's oxygen supply was not always just there. In fact it has been painstakingly manufactured over the millennia by green plants, and they still remain the only natural source of oxygen we have.

And yet we not only use the precious stuff each time we inhale, but each time we drive our car, turn the lights on or use an appliance and whenever we burn anything. It takes oxygen to make steel, paper, electricity, in fact almost every manufacturing process uses it up one way or another. As our population increases, we all use more of it, faster and faster.

And not only are we using up the oxygen in the air supply, but as you all know, we are adding a great many disgusting things to it, like incinerator smoke, dust from demolition sites, automobile fumes, and radioactive wastes to name a few. When we pack so many people and all their activities into a very small area—like New York City for instance, or any other major metropolis—the air loses its capacity to clean itself. The total system gets a little out of whack. Add to this the fact that we all breathe out carbon dioxide, and all our manufacturing activities give off carbon dioxide too; then it begins to pile up in the atmosphere and the plants and trees can't use it up fast enough to maintain the normal balance. But wait a minute—in the average city there hardly are any plants anyway! So once again, we have really messed up nature's system.

It's the same story with the water supply, we simply expect it to do too many things. Not only must it be our drinking supply, but at the same time a sewer, and a raw material for manufacturing, cooling, air-conditioning as well as recreation. There just isn't enough of it where we need it for the increasing numbers of people, and we must either clean it up and use it over, or run out like New York City nearly did in the summer of 1966.

The same thing applies to land when too many people try to use the same piece of it. It becomes geometrically more expensive and difficult to keep the whole environment clean—just like too many guinea pigs in too small a cage. We all saw what happened if the garbage collection stopped for even a few days. We were almost inundated. Dr. Athlestan Spilhaus, President of the Franklin Institute in Philadelphia, says "If the two hundred million people in the United States were living in 800 cities with a population of 250,000 each, and if these cities were scattered evenly across the United States, we would not have the pollution problems, the riots, and many of the other ills that develop when cities become too large." Already our cities have begun to create their own weather! The great dome of dust which hangs over them considerably increases rainfall, and the heat absorbed by buildings and sidewalks, as well as that generated by all the human activity, increases their average temperature several degrees.

If we are governed by the same set of natural laws that govern all other species, we may be on the verge of finding that our desire to crowd together in rabbit-warren like cities may have put us on a collision course with disaster. Let's consider now what this strange desire to crowd together in ever huger cities may be doing to the poor human guinea pig.

I think we have all read enough about the hazards to our health caused by pollution of the air to know that long exposure to it

can result in diseases like emphysema, bronchitis, allergies, sinus trouble, colds and other respiratory infections, as well as lung cancer. What some of us may not know is that it also puts a heavy burden on the heart which gradually becomes enlarged because it has to pump blood through the lungs much faster to obtain sufficient oxygen. Pollutants gases such as carbon monoxide from car exhausts, of which there are huge quantities in urban air, can cause headache, fatigue, irritability, loss of memory and disorientation in human beings at the current levels found on most city streets.

It is even suspected that children who are driven long distances to school or through heavy traffic, are slower learners because of their exposure. And studies done on traffic policemen show that they are often disoriented and their responses are considerably slowed. Dr. A. J. Haagen Smit of California has done many studies which show that freeway accidents are often not caused by people falling asleep at the wheel, but rather that they are drugged by the carbon monoxide.

Polluted water as we recently learned over again during the New York City garbage crisis, can cause typhoid fever, dysentery and other intestinal infections, and hepatitis. And another little-known pollutant—noise—can also make us physically ill. Dr. Vern O. Knudsen of the University of California found that exposure to over 90 decibels can flush the skin, constrict the stomach muscles and shorten tempers. Other doctors suspect that noise may be a hidden factor in heart disease, high blood pressure, allergy, nervousness and even mental health. When we consider that ordinary New York street noises regularly exceed 100 decibels, we begin to wonder what all these stresses may be doing to us!

But worse is to come. Add to all this, the overall conditions of overcrowding under which city-dwellers live—and we really have a witches brew. Some little known research on the consequences on various species of animals of overcrowded living was recently published by Dr. Edward T. Hall in a book called *The Hidden Dimension*. He claims that all species in the animal world need a certain dimension of physical elbow room. It varies with different creatures, but in each case, if the animals are overcrowded beyond their elbow room requirements they begin to develop physical symptoms, and evidences of mental stress. He found that when rats, monkeys and deer are placed in overcrowded conditions similar to those experienced by humans in our cities, they begin to regress. They develop stomach ulcers and enlarged adrenal glands and their infant mortality rate soars. They become a little deranged, and more irritable and aggressive. Some become apathetic, some homosexual, while others become cannibal and attack and eat each other. Then their fertility begins to decrease as nature desperately tries to restore the balance.

We might even ask ourselves the question as to whether part of the cause of the aggressive behavior in some of the ghetto areas of our cities is not only caused by racial discrimination, but because the whole city environment is more and more difficult to take. It would only be natural that ghetto residents who have to live under the worst conditions of overcrowding, with the least elbow room for recreation, who must spend more time on noisy streets and crowded subways, and who at the same time cannot get away for a little weekend peace and quiet, would be the most likely group to start showing signs of strain with increased irritable and aggressive behavior. In fact could it be that we are witnessing the start of a much wider breakdown of human behavior in response to urban stress and the increasingly impersonal environment? The New York Times editorialized after the riots last summer that any human being condemned to

live for the rest of his life in the dirt, ugliness, noise and pollution of a modern American city would eventually "blow his cool".

The World Health Organization takes a very serious view of such problems, and states that after world peace, urban planning is the greatest problem facing man in the second half of the twentieth century, and that the cities of today present health problems of staggering proportions. Let's look at some ominous facts. A study completed in 1956 on the upper East Side of Manhattan found that four out of five of the people examined had symptoms of psychiatric disorders, and one out of four had neuroses sufficiently severe as to disrupt their daily lives.

Coronary heart disease death rates were 37% higher for males and 46% higher for females in center cities as compared with suburban and rural areas.

Studies on the incidence of lung cancer—once a comparatively rare disease—show that the rate among urban nonsmokers is eleven times higher than among rural non-smokers.

Incidence of emphysema, a once-almost unknown lung disease, has shot up 700% in New York City in the last ten years, and hepatitis traced to contaminated drinking water and shellfish caught in polluted waters is reaching epidemic proportions in many cities.

To add to it all, urban areas now receive 25% less sunlight than rural areas due to the thickening blankets of smog, and affect the spirits and lower the morale of our poor urban guinea pig even further.

The U.S. Surgeon General's Committee on Environmental Health summed it all up as far back as 1962 when it reported that "increasing populations and increasing concentrations of people in urban areas of the United States decrease the quantity of fixed resources of air, water and land available to each individual. This poses a threat of an insidious nature which if not recognized and corrected can lead to urban stagnation and death, as surely as the most violent epidemic."

And finally, lest we think that these symptoms of the toll on people's mental and physical health are only visible in American cities; let's look at the largest city in the world, Tokyo, Japan. In the long hot summer of 1967, Tokyo too, had riots in its slums. The outbreaks were spontaneous, according to reports, and broke out on hot, sultry nights, where hundreds of slum dwellers spilled out into the sweltering streets. They would drink cheap liquor in order to forget their discomfort and sooner or later would begin arguing with each other, and before long there was a fight. The arrival of the police was the signal for everyone to get into the act and mobs raged around, breaking windows, and senselessly destroying property.

It has a familiar ring doesn't it? Of course, there were other factors involved, caused by social discrimination against the slum dwellers, many of whom belonged to minority groups. But then we must also ask ourselves why people discriminate against each other? Would they discriminate less against each other if they weren't jostling each other for elbow room and social position, but lived in smaller communities, with more breathing space? At least the subject deserves a little research in light of the fact that most of last summer's violence occurred in densely overcrowded urban ghettos.

And just three days ago the New York Times reported that Buenos Aires is presently suffering a summer heat wave, and that with it the grime and soot from factories and power plants is hanging in the air. The people are especially aggressive, irritable and short tempered, and arguments between motorists flare up in the street. Taxi drivers snarl; and usually polite businessmen push and shove each other in crowded lunch counters.

Could it be that the urban environment is to blame? Already sociologists are noticing



the apparent indifference of urban-dwellers to each other's needs. They wonder at the kind of alienation that causes people to look the other way in the case of attacks on fellow citizens instead of coming to their aid. The answer that such people often give is that they "didn't want to get involved." And we all feel a little shocked.

But is it really so surprising? How can any human being really be concerned about each and every one of his millions of close neighbors all competing together in the vast urban rat-race?

And with that unhappy view of the urban animal, what can we do to release him from his self-made urban trap? Now we get to the exciting part, because many far-sighted men are already making plans for him. Men like Dr. Athelstan Spilhaus, mentioned before and Dr. Barry Commoner of Washington University. Men like Buckminster Fuller the wonderful humanistic architect who gave us the geodesic dome, and the great urban planner, Constantinos Doxiadis to name a few.

Many of them believe that the first question we must ask is what is the best size for a city to be and whether our present cities are not already cancerously overgrown. A city should be big enough to give us all the cultural diversity we love, and yet in physical surroundings that are clean, orderly and beautiful, with elbow room for everyone. Dr. Spilhaus believes that 250,000 people living together in a city is just about right, and has, with a distinguished group of citizens, launched the first study design for such an experimental city, which will be built in Minnesota, one hundred miles from any other populated area. This distance will make sure that the city will really function as a self-contained unit with its own employment opportunities, so no-one will have to travel to a job in an already existing town nearby. The city will be planned and designed as if it were a huge hotel complex, with shops, services, sleeping, dining and entertainment facilities all built together and integrated into the residential areas, schools and offices.

All the pipes that ever could be needed for drainage, sewage, garbage removal, as well as telephone and electric cables designed to carry much larger future loads, would all be placed underground in the virgin soil, before any streets have to be dug up!

Tunnels would accommodate all vehicular traffic, and garaging would be underground in all buildings, so that man would never again have to confront anything as terrifying as a Mustang, a Cougar or a Barracuda face to face on a street corner. Houses and other larger buildings would be constructed like building blocks in the same way as the apartment complex called Habitat at Expo '67 in Montreal. Whole living units could be added, or taken away as needed. An obsolete building, instead of being wrecked with the usual ear-shattering paraphernalia, would be quietly and simply dismantled without a hammer blow, and reassembled in another way somewhere else. Husbands could (wives permitting!) travel the short distance home to lunch by moving sidewalk, or perhaps tiny plug-in electric vehicles. The city would also be very compact, and surrounded by an enormous wild belt of virgin land, so that weekend hunting or skiing trips would take only a few minutes traveling time.

Stale air would be automatically sucked into underground fume-sewers, where it would be piped to a cleansing and filtering plant, and rainfall would never become mixed or contaminated with sewage as it is today because all sewage would be purified back to drinking quality before being released into rivers or lakes. The sewage itself might be piped long distances and ploughed into desert areas to make them fertile once more.

In cold climates, large areas of the city could be domed over to provide resort-like

climates for recreation as well as comfortable shopping and living. A dome about two miles in diameter could pay for itself in ten years on the savings gained from snow removal alone!

How could we have all this beauty and cleanliness when we would have to have offices and manufacturing facilities in the same location? The answer lies in the very concept of designing and building everything from the ground up. Electric power for the city would be generated by atomic reactors without smoke pollution. Industries, power plants, hospitals, schools and all other facilities would be selected for participation in the city only if they agree to abide by the standards set by the community beforehand. The city would agree to hook them up to all the waste-disposal facilities and these services would be part of the local taxes. But because of the re-cycling and more efficient handling of wastes, these costs would be competitive or cheaper than in old cities. In fact, services such as mass-transit would be so efficient that they could be, like elevators of today, free of charge. The greatly advanced communications system in the city will enable its lucky residents to tune in the library to choose a book or the supermarket, the bank or the local school in their video-screen, and even tele-baby-sitting services will be available. Crime prevention will be simplified for the local police force with the use of video monitors, and the whole city could be managed with the help of minute to minute information provided by computers. Computerized medical check-ups could monitor the health of every citizen, and in every way the new technology would be put to the service of man rather than expecting man to somehow fit himself into the vast machine.

Pie in the sky? I don't think so. As Dr. Spilhaus is fond of pointing out to politicians who tell him that you can't move people around. We do it all the time! In fact, our politicians are always moving us around for all the wrong reasons. They displace people to drive huge highways through their neighborhoods. They bulldoze their property to make way for all kinds of dubious "progress". They take parks to make parking lots, and move thousands of people every year in urban renewal.

In fact some people are beginning to wonder whether we aren't doing exactly the wrong thing by pouring money into our old cities, and building more and bigger buildings to huddle people closer and closer together while 75% of our land area is almost uninhabited. We pour poverty funds into our cities and then wonder why more and more of the poor leave the rural areas of the south and migrate to them? Everything we are doing at present serves to increase the rush to the cities. Shouldn't we instead be trying to improve the lives of people where they are in rural areas which might help to de-centralize the population and use our land area more effectively?

Which leads me to the last and most vital question. Are our old cities really worth saving? Will they require so much money to re-fashion them that we would be better off spending it building new ones? After all, Americans are the only people in the world who discard their houses, appliances and cars without a thought. The pioneers used up the farmlands and then pushed West, and whenever the particular reason for the location of a certain town no longer made sense they just left, and gave the world that unique American phenomenon—the ghost town. After all, what is so magic about one piece of real estate as opposed to another? The reasons that most of our old cities are located where they are have in many cases become irrelevant. With the communications networks of the future we won't need to have towns situated on rivermouths for shipping or near the railroad connections.

Of course, all this isn't to say that we

would have to junk our old cities entirely. As we build the new cities, we could, instead of urban renewal, bulldoze buildings and turn them into badly-needed parks and recreation areas, and in this way we could open out and humanize the old city. Such new areas of greenery and refuge dotted around the densest areas, even if they are small like the new Paley Park off Fifth Avenue in New York, could work wonders in restoring the shattered nerves of city-dwellers.

All of these exciting things are possible. We can spend the funds either way. All we have to do as voters and citizens, is to stop being guinea pigs but think and then decide before it's too late.

## Rabbi Spigelman To Be Honored by Los Angeles Jewish Community

### HON. THOMAS M. REES

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 28, 1968

Mr. REES. Mr. Speaker, the Jewish community of Los Angeles will honor one of its most distinguished leaders, Rabbi William Spigelman, during the month of June 1968, at the Beverly Hilton Hotel.

Rabbi Spigelman stands at the helm of the largest traditional synagogue west of New York, Congregation Shaarei Tefila, the Gates of Prayer, where he has been honored with life tenure. The impressive sanctuary, with its seating capacity of 1,400, was awarded the Los Angeles Beautiful Award, and is a veritable hub of activity for both young and old, sponsoring functions and meetings.

Vitally concerned with education, Rabbi Spigelman is the founder and dean of a scholastically high standard day school, the Yavneh Hebrew Academy, which has accommodations for a thousand students. He is also among the founders of the Rambam Torah Institute, a secondary school, and the Teachers Institute of Yeshiva University on the west coast.

In the numerous citations which he has received for community and civic endeavors, Rabbi Spigelman has been lauded as "a spiritual architect" who has consistently added to the growth and welfare of Los Angeles.

Formerly president of the Board of Rabbis of Southern California and of the Rabbinical Council of California, he now serves at the head of the Southwest Division of the American Jewish Congress, and is a member of its national governing council board.

After the 6-day war in the Middle East last June, he was chosen to participate in a 6-man U.S. team in discussion with the high-ranking officers of the State of Israel, including its President and Prime Minister.

Rabbi Spigelman has also served on the mayor's committee for urban crisis. He offered the opening prayer for the session of the U.S. House of Representatives in Washington, D.C., on May 23, 1967.

An anticipated gathering of a thousand people will honor the eminent rabbi

for 18 years of dedicated and distinguished service to his congregation and to the community at large.

## Lake Tahoe Preservation

### HON. ED REINECKE

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 28, 1968

Mr. REINECKE. Mr. Speaker, I share the widespread concern that has been voiced by scientists as well as the general public and press over the pollution threat to Lake Tahoe. With its location on the route of two transcontinental highways, this is probably the best known and most visited lake in the Western United States. We have started late and, even with maximum pollution abatement effort, it will take years to restore the water quality of this unique scenic area. To get on with the job, it is imperative that State and local jurisdictions both in Nevada and California clarify their specific responsibilities in carrying out treatment work and the planned development of the entire drainage basin. This is vital to the preservation of Tahoe.

I am much encouraged by the active lead taken by Governor Reagan in supporting the strong language of Nevada legislation which is designed to establish a bi-State commission for this purpose. Governor Reagan has recommended that California adopt similar legislation and seek immediate ratification of the compact by the Congress. Conservationists who have battled for nearly a decade to save Lake Tahoe have warmly welcomed this leadership.

Mr. Speaker, I include Governor Reagan's recent message to the Senate and Assembly of the Legislature of California on this subject in the RECORD:

#### LAKE TAHOE BASIN PRESERVATION

To the Senate and the Assembly of the Legislature of California:

I would like to urge quick passage of legislation to take the very important first step toward protecting Lake Tahoe.

While the legislation enacted by the Nevada Legislature to protect Lake Tahoe is not perfect, it is in many respects stronger than the legislation enacted by the California Legislature last year. Failure to enact this legislation would be a great tragedy for the people of California, Nevada and the nation who are concerned about maintenance of the unique environment of Lake Tahoe.

It is doubtful if a more effective piece of legislation can be achieved in subsequent years, and as a matter of fact, it would probably be weakened as time wore on. It would be a tragedy to permit this to be delayed. The bill is nonpartisan in content and nationwide in implication.

It is my opinion that the major portion of the Nevada amendments strengthens the bi-state compact, provides for an orderly approach to its business, and also clarifies the specific areas of jurisdiction of the agency and the counties and the city in the basin.

I feel that we should strongly support the necessary amendments to the California law to bring it into full conformance with the Nevada bill for expeditious action at this session of the Legislature as an urgency measure so that it can be transmitted to Congress for ratification at the earliest possible date.

The bi-state body compact is absolutely necessary to insure that the legislative authorities of the agency controlling the basin are basinwide and clear.

In summary, this legislation represents the efforts of hundreds of people in both California and Nevada who are interested in preserving the Tahoe Basin. The bill is probably as strong as any measure which could attain the support of the majority of local residents, conservation groups, and officials of local and state government in both California and Nevada.

We should adopt the Nevada bill, seek ratification by Congress of the compact, and then work together for the preservation of Lake Tahoe.

If we let this opportunity pass, we may never have another.

## Caution Urged in Purchase of County Co-op Shares

### HON. JOSEPH Y. RESNICK

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 28, 1968

Mr. RESNICK. Mr. Speaker, for months now I have been digging into the diversified business activities of the American Farm Bureau Federation and the gigantic fraud that it is perpetrating upon the American farmer. One of the more interesting tricks practiced by this self-proclaimed "friend of the farmer" is for some of its cooperatives to issue patronage dividends which are supposedly redeemable, and then to refuse to redeem them. A champion practitioner of this neat little ruse is the Ashland County, Ohio, Farm Bureau Co-op, which has not redeemed its dividends for the last 20 years.

Another device used to permanently separate the farmer from his money is to sell him stock with the promise that it can be redeemed on 30 days' notice, and then to refuse to cash it—ever.

Throughout the course of my investigation, Farm Bureau officials have not denied a single one of the charges I have made. In fact, Roger Fleming, the No. 2 man in the AFBF hierarchy, confirmed a good many of them.

The latest testimony to the truth of my charges is the following article by Robert J. Havel, which appeared in the March 19 edition of the Cleveland Plain Dealer. In the article, Mr. Stanfield, executive vice president of the Ohio Farm Bureau, supports my findings. In fact, he agrees that perhaps new laws are necessary to regulate the sale of stock. Here is the executive vice president of the Ohio Farm Bureau admitting to Farm Bureau abuses, while Ohio Attorney General William Saxbe conducted an investigation which can only be described as a "whitewash," and cleared the co-ops of any illegal practices.

This article also shows what happens when the AFBF flexes its political "muscles." Mr. Stanfield's threat to "take another look at" its support of Representative JOHN ASHBROOK because Congressman ASHBROOK has also questioned these co-op practices constitutes the closest thing to political blackmail I have seen in a long time.

Mr. Speaker, I include this article in the RECORD:

## CAUTIOUS TACK IS URGED ON COUNTY CO-OP SHARES

(By Robert J. Havel)

WASHINGTON.—D. R. Stanfield, executive vice president of the Ohio Farm Bureau Federation, said yesterday he would shy away from buying stock in a county farm cooperative until he had carefully checked its financial soundness.

Stanfield made the statement here yesterday when asked about charges of questionable stock practices involving certain county Farm Bureau cooperatives in Ohio. He and other Farm Bureau representatives are in Washington to discuss farm problems with Ohio congressmen.

Several Ohioans have alleged they bought stock in county co-ops on the promise they could redeem the stock on 30 days' notice if dissatisfied with dividends. They have received no dividends for years and are unable to cash in the stock, the Ohioans charge.

Stanfield said it was too bad this situation existed. But he pointed out that an investigation by Ohio Atty. Gen. William B. Saxbe had cleared the co-ops of any illegalities. He agreed that perhaps new laws might be necessary to regulate such stock sales.

The state federation has no control over county co-ops unless operated by the federation, Stanfield said. He asserted that all co-ops run by the state body redeem stock and pay dividends.

"And we will not lend a local co-op money unless we take over control of the co-op," Stanfield said. "When they pay us off, they can have back control of the co-op."

To charges made by Rep. Joseph Y. Resnick, D-N.Y., that some co-ops fail to redeem patronage dividends that members receive for dealing with co-ops, Stanfield said most co-ops redeem blocks of dividends every seven years. When told of charges that the Ashland County co-ops has not redeemed such dividends for some 20 years, Stanfield said he did not know the reason.

"The Ashland co-op is in good financial shape," Stanfield said.

He charged Resnick with merely seeking publicity in his Farm Bureau investigation and said the congressman was not interested in the interests of the farmer. He also said that Rep. Michael A. Feighan, D-20, Cleveland, knew nothing about farming and that Feighan had introduced a resolution to compel co-ops to make full disclosure of their finances merely as a publicity ploy.

"I understand he faces a tough primary fight," Stanfield said.

Reminded that Rep. John M. Ashbrook, R-17, Johnstown, O., never known as an enemy of the Farm Bureau, has also questioned these co-op practices, Stanfield said: "We have supported Ashbrook in the past, but we may take another look at that support."

Many of the complaints have come from Ashbrook's district. The Farm Bureau, like Ashbrook, is conservative.

## Violence a Threat to the Great American Ideal

### HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 28, 1968

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, I would like to call to the attention of the Members the following thoughtful and perceptive editorial which appeared in the March 24 issue of the Harvey, Ill.,



Tribune, which certainly merits our serious attention:

**VIOLENCE A THREAT TO THE GREAT AMERICAN IDEAL**

At stake in the current civil rights controversy and the rash of disorders, riots and extreme action, is the ideal upon which the country was founded. That ideal is not only that all men are created equal in the eyes of the law but more—the assumption that peoples from different countries, from different faiths, of different races, can build a great new country and create a homogenous population.

Throughout history there have been perhaps more doubters and nationalists than believers, concerning this theme. One of the latest examples of nationalism breaking up a great power is Austria-Hungary which, of course, also carried with it the burden of a questionable monarchy. Nevertheless, that once-great power broke up into various nationalist and ethnic groups in 1918 and 1919.

Will the United States eventually succumb to the same fate?

We have progressed toward unity and freedom for all and equal opportunity for several centuries, though the process has never been easy nor have we achieved these goals to the fullest measure. But there has been steady progress. Perhaps it has been too slow. Perhaps, due to circumstances, goals could not be achieved overnight.

In today's confusing picture, sometimes a violent one, the great hope of the United States of America is that the vast majority segment of the population, of all races, will avoid extremist action and extremist views. Extremists often lead the nation part of the way, they often motivate change. Sometimes, however, they tend to retard progress, in advocating violence.

While one can often sympathize with those who become impatient at the pace of progress, we must all keep in mind the great hope and ideal of our country, and the fact that violence seldom produces lasting progress or good will. This great historical concept should not, of course, be used as a justification for inaction in righting wrongs; it should be remembered, however, that extremism, violence and hatred have broken up many countries which contained diverse elements and peoples, as does the United States.

**Gomulka's Anti-Semitic Gambit**

**HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI**

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 28, 1968

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, in the last few weeks I have repeatedly pointed out to the Members the rigid Moscow line used by the Communist dictatorship of Poland in the recent student unrest in that country. The Moscow line, which is obviously anti-Semitic, was the subject of the following penetrating editorial which appeared in the March 23 edition of the Polish American.

**GOMULKA'S ANTI-SEMITIC GAMBIT**

The events in Poland of the past few weeks once again reveal to the world something of the spirit of the Polish people when given the opportunity of expressing their true sentiments. But there are other aspects to the turmoil which can only inflict lasting harm upon the Polish nation, and must be commented upon.

We refer to the tactics being employed by Gomulka to discredit the student demonstrators and the liberal cause they represent. A recent issue of the Communist Party

newspaper Trybuna Ludu, for instance, "reported" that many towns and villages have passed a resolution stating:

"We await severe punishment for organizers of the Zionist campaign and we demand exposure of all responsible and a swift and complete purge of all party and state posts of people unworthy of the confidence of the Polish nation."

The Communist campaign against a number of Jewish intellectuals who are opponents of the Gomulka regime—including the noted poet Antoni Slominski—smacks of Joseph Stalin's campaign against "rootless cosmopolitans" during the last years of his rule. The tactics being adopted by the Gomulka regime to rid itself of opposition thus provides fuel for the fires of those who enjoy slandering Poland as being a nation of anti-Semites.

The Gomulka regime's mischievous and dangerous campaign can only serve to blacken the name of Poland among many people throughout the world as supposedly providing further "evident" of the Poles' alleged tendency towards anti-Semitism. Current developments in Poland should serve as further evidence, on the contrary, of the extent to which the Gomulka regime is unrepresentative of the Polish people.

**The Legislative Reorganization Act**

**HON. GARRY BROWN**

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 28, 1968

Mr. BROWN of Michigan. Mr. Speaker, because of widespread confusion surrounding the proposals for legislative reorganization, I have had prepared a section-by-section comparison of the two most recent versions of the Legislative Reorganization Act which is still pending in the House Rules Committee.

Since the House Republican Task Force on Congressional Reform, of which I am a member, began its project of setting forth in the RECORD detailed comparisons of other bills with the act passed by the Senate on March 7, 1967, another committee print has appeared, and a bill dealing with legislative reform has been introduced by the gentleman from California [Mr. SMITH].

I include below a sectional comparison of Committee Print No. 5 and of H.R. 15687 with the Senate-passed act, which is numbered S. 335:

**LEGISLATIVE REORGANIZATION ACT OF 1968  
SUPPLEMENT**

(Sectional comparison of Committee Print No. 5, dated Feb. 29, 1968, and of H.R. 15687, introduced Feb. 29, 1968, by Mr. Smith (Calif.), with S. 355 as passed by the Senate on March 7, 1967)

(NOTE.—For description of S. 355 provisions, see previous comparison of other bills with the Senate-passed bill, inserted in the Congressional Record during February and March 1968 by Members of the House Republican Task Force on Congressional Reform. Committee Print No. 5 is a reworked version of Committee Print No. 3. Except where noted, the Smith bill is in conformity with Print No. 5.)

**TITLE I—THE COMMITTEE SYSTEM**

**PART 1—PROVISIONS APPLICABLE TO BOTH HOUSES**

Sec. 102(a). Calling of meetings.

Print No. 5—Same as S. 355.

Smith—Same as Print No. 5.

Sec. 102(b). Open business meetings and public announcement of committee votes.

Print No. 5—Retains language of Print 3.

Smith—Same as Print No. 5.

Sec. 102(c). Filing of committee reports.

Print No. 5—Same as S. 355.

Smith—Same as Print No. 5.

Sec. 102(d). Proxy voting.

Print No. 5—Deleted (same as Print No. 3).

Smith—Same as Print No. 5.

Sec. 102(e) "e". Minority or supplemental views.

Print No. 5—Same as S. 355 (renumbered 102(d) ("e")).

Smith—Same as Print No. 5.

Sec. 102(e) "f". Availability of committee report before floor vote.

Print No. 5—In both S. 355 and Print No. 3, this provision was stated in positive terms:

"The report . . . shall be filed . . . at least three calendar days before . . ." In Print No. 5 and Smith, the language is prohibitive:

"No measure or matter shall be considered . . . unless . . ." The intent is the same; the emphasis is altered. However,

Print No. 5 exempts from the 3-day rule: (1) privileged reports from House committees as set forth in House Rule XI, clause 21 (compare with Print No. 3, which exempts only privileged reports of Rules and House Administration Committees), and (2) legislative veto procedures (the same as Print No. 3).

Further, in both the House and Senate the right to waive is to be unlimited by any conditions, and in the House the Speaker alone may exercise this waiver authority.

(Renumbered 102(d) ("f").)

Smith—Otherwise identical to Print No. 5, Smith strikes authority for Speaker and Minority Leader, or Speaker alone, to waive in the House. (I.e., under Smith, the 3-day rule could be waived only by the Rules Committee or by unanimous consent.)

Sec. 102(e) "g". Committee funds; fair treatment for minority.

Print No. 5—Same as S. 355. (Renumbered 102(d) ("g").)

Smith—Provision deleted.

Sec. 102(e) "h". Exemption for appropriations committees.

Print No. 5—Exempts House Rules Committee, in addition to both Appropriations Committees already exempted. (Renumbered 102(d) ("h").)

Smith—Same as Print No. 5. (Renumbered 102(d) ("g").)

**Section 103**

Sec. 103(a) "A". Public notice of hearings.

Print No. 5—Adds select and special committees. (Under S. 355, provision applies only to standing committees.)

Smith—Same as Print No. 5.

Sec. 103(a) "B". Open hearings; broadcasting of hearings.

Print No. 5—Retains language of Print No. 3.

Smith—In re open hearings, the language of Smith is not substantially different from Print No. 5. In re broadcasting, Smith deletes requirement for prior House concurrence, adds still photography and motion pictures to the coverage, makes the provision applicable to both Houses, and appears designed to assure that whether or not hearings are to be broadcast is a determination to be made by each committee.

Both Print No. 5 and Smith add exemption of House Rules Committee to previous exemption of both Appropriations Committees from this provision.

Sec. 103(a) "C". Statements of witnesses. See also subsections 103(a) "D"—Summaries of daily testimony, 103(a) "E"—Minority right to call witnesses, and 103(a) "F"—Points of order on hearing procedure.

Print No. 5—All four subsections are deleted. Instead, the following language is added to subsection 103(a) "A": "Each such committee shall require, so far as practicable, each witness who is to appear before

it to file, in advance of his appearance, a written statement of his proposed testimony and to limit his oral presentation at his appearance to a brief summary of his argument. The minority members of the committee shall have a reasonable opportunity to call witnesses before such hearing.

Smith—Same as Print No. 5.

Sec. 103(a) "G". Exemption for appropriations committees.

Print No. 5—Adds exemption, also, of House Rules Committee. (Renumbered 103 "Sec. 133A(c)".)

Smith—Same as Print No. 5.

#### Section 104

Sec. 104. Committee meetings during session.

Print No. 5—In Print No. 3, Speaker alone, without the concurrence of the Minority Leader, may permit House committees to hold hearings while the House is in session. This language is retained in Print No. 5, but only for those periods when the House is engaged in "general debate."

Smith—Retains the language of S. 355 (requiring concurrence of Speaker and Minority Leader), adding the specification of "general debate."

#### Section 105

Sec. 105. Legislative review.

In Print No. 3, all of the specific language of S. 355 is stricken, leaving only the general admonition that each standing committee of the Senate and House "shall review and study, on a continuing basis, the application (the word 'operation' is stricken), administration, and execution of those laws, or parts of laws, the subject matter of which is within" its jurisdiction. Subsection (b) of Print No. 3 merely adds a professional staff position to each of the committees—in the Senate by concurrence of the chairman and ranking minority member, but in the House by majority vote alone. Both Appropriations Committees are exempted, as well as the proposed House Committee on Standards and Conduct, and legislative "oversight" is redesignated legislative "review."

Print No. 5 retains the language of Print No. 3 with this modification: the House Standards and Conduct Committee is deleted from exempting language, for the reason that Print No. 5 makes no provision for such a permanent (or select) committee on ethics, and the House Rules Committee is added to the exemption which applies to both Appropriations Committees.

Smith—Same as Print No. 5 with the following modification: Smith retains the language of S. 355 requiring each standing committee to submit to its respective House, no later than March 31 each year, an annual report of its review activities "under this section."

#### Section 106

Sec. 106. Conference Reports.

Print No. 5—Retains language of Print No. 3.

Smith—Same as Print No. 5.

PART 2—PROVISIONS APPLICABLE TO THE SENATE

Sec. 121. Jurisdiction of Senate committees, and Sec. 122, membership of Senate committees.

Print No. 5—Same as S. 355.

Smith—Same as Print No. 5 (i.e., same as S. 355).

PART 3—PROVISIONS APPLICABLE TO THE HOUSE

Sec. 131. Jurisdiction of House standing committees.

Print No. 5—Entire section deleted.

Smith—Same as Print No. 5.

#### TITLE II—FISCAL CONTROLS

##### PARTS 1 AND 2—BUDGETARY AND FISCAL INFORMATION AND DATA

Sec. 202. Data processing system.

Print No. 5—Retains language of Print No. 3.

Smith—Same as Print No. 5.

Sec. 203. Budget standard classifications.

Print No. 5—Same as Print No. 3.

Smith—Same as Prints No. 3 & 5.

Sec. 204. Distribution of program and fiscal data.

Print No. 5—Same as Print No. 3.

Smith—Same as Prints No. 3 & 5.

Sec. 205. GAO assistance for cost effectiveness studies.

Print No. 5—Same as S. 355.

Smith—Same as Print No. 5 and S. 355).

Sec. 206. Updating the budget.

Print No. 5—Same as Print No. 3.

Smith—Same as Prints No. 3 & 5.

Sec. 207. GAO personnel, etc.

Print No. 5—Essentially same as Print No. 3.

3. Smith—Same as Print No. 5 except that consultants shall be paid at per diem equivalent to the highest rate for GS-18 (approximately \$110) instead of \$200.

Sec. 208 of Print No. 3, Construction clause on Comptroller General's functions.

Print No. 5—Same as Print No. 3.

Smith—Same as Prints No. 3 and 5.

Sec. 221. Supplemental budget information.

Print No. 5—Retains language of Print No. 3.

Smith—Same as Prints No. 3 and 5.

Note—Both Prints, as well as Smith, delete the provision in S. 355 requiring the Federal budget to include the gross amount of expenditures and estimated expenditures of all Government programs, in addition to other changes made in language of this section. See previous comparison.

##### PART 3—THE APPROPRIATIONS PROCESS

Sec. 231(a). Appropriations hearings to be open.

Print No. 5—No change from Print No. 3, which deletes this subsection.

Smith—Same as Prints No. 3 and 5 (i.e., subsection deleted).

Sec. 231(b-f). Hearings on the budget as a whole.

Print No. 5—Same as S. 355 (subsections renumbered).

Smith—Same as Print No. 5.

Sec. 232. Budget review of multiagency programs.

Print No. 5—Retains language of Print No. 3.

Smith—Same as Prints No. 3 & 5.

Sec. 233. Proxy voting; committee reports.

Print No. 5—No change from Print No. 3, which deletes entire section.

Smith—Same as Prints No. 3 & 5.

Sec. 234. Rollcall vote on appropriations bills.

Print No. 5—Retains language of Print No. 3.

Smith—Section deleted.

Sec. 235. Rollcall vote on compensation of Senators and Representatives.

Print No. 5—No change from Print No. 3, which deleted this section.

Smith—Same as Prints No. 3 & 5.

##### PART 4—UTILIZATION OF REPORTS OF GENERAL ACCOUNTING OFFICE

Sec. 241. GAO assistance to committees.

Print No. 5—Retains language of Print No. 3.

Smith—Same as Prints No. 3 & 5.

Sec. 242. GAO reports to committees.

Print No. 5—Retains language of Print No. 3.

Smith—Same as Prints No. 3 & 5.

Sec. 243. Agency statements on GAO reports.

Print No. 5—Section deleted.

Smith—Same as Print No. 5 (i.e., section deleted).

##### PART 5—LEGISLATIVE COMMITTEES

Sec. 251. Cost estimates by legislative committees.

Print No. 5—Same as S. 355.

Smith—Same as S. 355, also, except that in Smith the language providing committees

with an escape hatch from 5-year estimates is deleted.

Sec. 252. Annual appropriations; grants-in-aid programs.

Print No. 5—Retains language of Print No. 3.

Smith—Same as Print No. 5.

Sec. 253. Committee jurisdiction.

Print No. 5—Same as S. 355.

Smith—Same as Print No. 5 (and S. 355).

#### TITLE III—SOURCES OF INFORMATION

##### PART 1—STAFFS OF SENATE AND HOUSE STANDING COMMITTEES

##### Section 301. Committee staffing and related provisions

Subsection 301(a) of S. 355 increases from four to six the number of permanent professional staff members authorized to be employed by standing committees of the Senate and House exclusive of both Appropriations Committees. If a majority of the minority members of any committee so desire, they may select for appointment two of these six employees, who shall be primarily responsible to minority Members and whose services may be terminated only by consent of the minority.

Print No. 5—As it applies to the Senate, there is no change in language from Print No. 3, which is the same as S. 355. *For the House, however, the provision is significantly altered to require that professional staff employees (two) selected pursuant to a request of the minority members shall be in addition to the increased staff of six professional staff employees to be appointed by the majority.* Further, any professional staff employee hired pursuant to minority request may be fired by a majority vote of the committee. (Compare with other provisions of the "committee print" bills wherein language has been altered regarding minority rights.)

Smith—Retains language of S. 355 for both Senate and House.

Subsection 301(b) of S. 355 provides that, if they so desire, minority members of a committee may select for appointment one of the six clerical staff authorized to be hired by the committee.

Print No. 5—Provides that minority members may request the appointment of one clerical staff employee, but whether or not that request is granted is up to the majority of the committee, as is all authority to terminate services of any employee of the committee.

Smith—Retains language of S. 355.

Subsection 301(c) of S. 355 provides that if a request by the minority for appointment of a staff member under above provisions is made at a time when there is no vacancy on the permanent staff, the requested appointment shall nevertheless be made and the person so appointed paid from the contingent fund until a vacancy occurs.

Print No. 5—Same.

Smith—Same.

Subsection 301(c) "h" of S. 355 requires fair treatment for minority staff in salary rates, assignment of facilities, and accessibility of committee records.

Print No. 5—Deletes that part of the language which concerns accessibility of committee records.

Smith—Retains language of S. 355.

Subsection 301(c) "i" of S. 355 provides authority for standing committees to procure temporary services of consultants and organizations upon approval of authorizing resolutions submitted in each House by that body's administration committee. Such consultants and organizations are to be selected by joint action of the chairman and ranking minority member of the committee.

Print No. 5—Retains language of Print No. 3, which transfers to the full committee the responsibility of selecting consultants and organizations.

Smith—Same as Print No. 5.

Subsection 301(c) "j" of S. 355 authorizes



standing committees, on approval of the administration committee in either house and subject to availability of funds for such purpose, to provide assistance to professional staff members in obtaining specialized training connected with their jobs.

Print No. 5—Same.

Smith—Same.

Subsection 301(d) of S. 355 provides for comparability of pay of Senate and House committee employees.

Print No. 5—Retains substance of the provision but revises figures to conform with latest pay increases.

Smith—Same as Print No. 5.

#### PART 2—OFFICE STAFFS AND ALLOWANCES OF MEMBERS OF CONGRESS

Sec. 321. Legislative assistants for Senators.

Print No. 5—Retains the substance of the provision but revises salary figures to conform with latest pay increases.

Smith—Section deleted.

Sec. 322. Additional travel allowances.

Print No. 5—Retains increase for Senate but strikes provision for the House in view of the fact that since passage of the reorganization bill by the Senate, the House by independent action raised the travel allowances for Representatives. (See previous comparison.)

Smith—Same as Print No. 5. (New Sec. 321 in Smith.)

Sec. 323. Telecommunications.

Print No. 5—Same as S. 355.

Smith—Same as Print No. 5 (and S. 355). (New Sec. 322 in Smith.)

Sec. 324. Conversion of Senate employees' salaries from basic to gross rate.

Print No. 5—Deleted. By independent action, the Senate has implemented this provision since passage of the reorganization bill.

Smith—Same (i.e., deleted).

#### PART 3—LEGISLATIVE RESEARCH SERVICE

Sec. 331. Improvement of L.R.S. within Library of Congress.

Print No. 5—Substantially the same language as S. 355 with one significant difference: Print No. 5 deletes (as did Print No. 3) the language of the Senate-passed bill authorizing acquisition and utilization of automatic data processing support for the Service.

Smith—Same as Print No. 5.

Sec. 332. Joint Committee on the Library.

Print No. 5—Same as S. 355.

Smith—Same as Print No. 5 and S. 355.

Sec. 333. Abolishment of Office of Coordinator of Information.

Print No. 5—Retains language of Print No. 3 repealing the legislation which established the Office. (This is technical language in either case since the House Appropriations Committee has ceased to provide funds for the operation of the Office.)

Smith—Same as Print No. 5.

Sec. 334. A saving provision affecting L.R.S. employees.

Print No. 5—Deleted.

Smith—Same as Print No. 5 (deleted).

Sec. 335. P.A. system for Senate chamber.

Print No. 5—Same as S. 355. (New Sec. 334.)

Smith—Same as Print No. 5. (New Sec. 334.)

#### TITLE IV—CONGRESS AS AN INSTITUTION PART 1—JOINT COMMITTEE ON CONGRESSIONAL OPERATIONS

Sec. 401. Establishment of Joint Committee.

Print No. 5—Retains language of Print No. 3, which eliminates requirement that Joint Committee's membership be taken from certain standing committees.

Smith—Same as Print No. 5.

Sec. 402. Duties of Joint Committee.

Print No. 5—Retains language of Print No. 3, which strikes authority of Joint Committee on Congressional Operations to make continuing study of the operation and organiza-

tion of Congress (!); also strikes authority of Joint Committee to provide for appropriate representation in the courts on behalf of Congress. (In brief, the Joint Committee proposed by Print No. 5 would have these responsibilities: to study automatic data processing, to identify court actions of vital interest to Congress, and to absorb the functions of the old Joint Committee on the Disposition of Executive Papers ("Wastebasket Committee").

Smith—See previous comparison under "Smith-Curtis Draft." The Smith bill retains language prepared for this draft, which added responsibilities to the Joint Committee in connection with lobbying activities and deleting from the duties prescribed in the Senate-passed bill only that of providing for appropriate representation on behalf of Congress in the courts.

Sec. 403. Powers of Joint Committee.

Print No. 5—Retains language of Print No. 3, which eliminates subpoena power of Joint Committee.

Smith—Retains language of S. 355 granting subpoena power.

Sec. 404. Staff of Joint Committee.

Print No. 5—Retains language of Print No. 3, which reduces the professional staff of new Joint Committee from six to one, the clerical staff likewise. (Proposed Joint Committee will be majority-controlled committee.) Also strikes \$100 per diem provision relating to consultants, substituting "equivalent to GS-18" language.

Smith—Retains language of S. 355 except that provision for additional personnel to carry out functions of "Wastebasket Committee" is stricken, and the per diem figure in Smith is the GS-18 figure of Print No. 5.

Sec. 405. Records of Joint Committee.

Print No. 5—Same as S. 355.

Smith—Same as Print No. 5 (and S. 355).

Sec. 406. Transfer of functions of Joint Committee on Disposition of Executive Papers to Joint Committee on Congressional Operations.

Print No. 5. Same as S. 355.

Smith—Same as Print No. 5 (and S. 355).

Sec. 407. Office of Placement and Office Management.

Print No. 5—Retains language of Print No. 3, which prescribes that the staff of the Office is to be appointed by the Joint Committee on Congressional Operations, and strikes the detailed language of S. 355 describing the functions of the Office.

Smith—Same as Print No. 5.

Sec. 408. Expenses of Joint Committee. Same in all bills.

#### PART 2—AUTHORITY OF OFFICERS OF THE CONGRESS

Sec. 421. Officers' authority over Congressional employees.

Print No. 5—Same as S. 355.

Smith—Same as Print No. 5 (and S. 355).

Sec. 422. Capitol Police.

Print No. 5—Retains language of Print No. 3, which is reasonably close to S. 355.

Smith—Same as Print No. 5.

Sec. 423. Senate and House pages.

Print No. 5—Retains language of Print No. 3, which strikes the provision.

Smith—Same as Print No. 5.

Sec. 424. Capitol Guide Service.

Print No. 5—Retains, in general, the language of Print No. 3, in which this provision is rewritten to take care of some technical problems without, however, substantially altering the recommendation.

Smith—Same as Print No. 5.

#### PART 3—CONGRESSIONAL ADJOURNMENT

Sec. 433. August recess for Congress.

Print No. 5—Same as S. 355.

Smith—Same as Print No. 5 and S. 355.

#### PART 4—APPOINTMENT OF POSTMASTERS

Sections 441 thru 444 of S. 355 provide that the Postmaster General shall appoint postmasters of all classes in accordance with civil service examinations, laws, and rules.

Members of Congress are prohibited from soliciting favored treatment for any applicants. Rural route mail carriers are similarly to come under civil service regulations.

Print No. 5—Retains that part of the language which applies to postmasters of the 1st, 2nd, and 3rd classes but strikes the rest.

Smith—Same as Print No. 5.

#### PART 5—REVISION OF HOUSE EMPLOYEES POSITION CLASSIFICATION ACT

Sections 451 thru 462.

Print No. 5—Same as S. 355.

Smith—Same as Print No. 5 and S. 355.

#### PART 6—PAYROLL ADMINISTRATION IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Sec. 471. Conversion from basic to gross rate.

Print No. 5—Same as S. 355.

Smith—Same as Print No. 5 and S. 355.

New Sec. 472 of both Committee Prints and the Smith bill retain a provision written into the Bolling bill allowing sick pay for Representatives' staff.

#### PART 7—MISCELLANEOUS

Sec. 481. Stationery Allowances of Senators and Representatives.

Print No. 5—Deleted (as per Print No. 3).

Smith—Same as Prints No. 3 and 5 (deleted).

#### TITLE V—REGULATION OF LOBBYING

Sections 501 thru 507 of S. 355 amend the Federal Lobbying Act. See previous comparison.

Print No. 5—Except for some renumbering due to technical changes, Print No. 5 retains the language of Print No. 3, which is identical to S. 355.

Smith—Retains all language of S. 355 with the following differences: (1) The Smith bill transfers administration of the Lobbying Act not to the Comptroller General but to the Joint Committee on Congressional Operations, which shall carry out the same duties as are listed in S. 355, adding authority for the Joint Committee to issue advisory rulings on whether or not persons and organizations must register. Also, the Joint Committee is to refer to the Justice Department information it obtains through its studies under Section 402 re lobbying by the Executive of the Federal Government. (2) In Smith, the estimates of lobby spending would be available to public inspection, as in S. 355, but the total receipts and expenditures statements would not be open to the public unless so ordered by the Joint Committee. (3) In Smith, contingent fees are flatly prohibited.

#### TITLE VI—EFFECTIVE DATES

Sec. 601. Technical changes occur, and are periodically revised, in all bills.

**St. Mary's Hospital Auxiliary of Racine,  
Wisconsin**

**HON. HENRY C. SCHADEBERG**  
OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 28, 1968

Mr. SCHADEBERG. Mr. Speaker, I have taken the floor on several occasions to point with pride to the voluntary efforts of individual local groups which, in my opinion, provide the impetus for successful community action in these United States. The Federal Government cannot wave any magic wand and cure all the ills of the Nation, and there is no way in the world for the bureaucrats to provide all the services necessary for the

day-to-day functioning of the local communities.

As I have said previously, the State of Wisconsin is second to none in the field of public service by its citizens. And, in my opinion, Mr. Speaker, the First District leads the State. Today I would like to proudly salute another of the many groups of volunteers who spend long hours working for the benefit of their fellow man, the St. Mary's Hospital Auxiliary of Racine, Wis.

For the past 10 years the St. Mary's Hospital Auxiliary has performed an outstanding service, and in the words of the president of the group, Mrs. Ralph Voigt:

Many women have found a way in which they can enrich their own lives and those of others through their dedication to humanity.

These women deserve our gratitude and humble thanks for a job well done.

### A Living Symbol of Light in Darkened Part of World

**HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI**

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 28, 1968

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, lest we forget, Jozsef Cardinal Mindszenty of Hungary has for over 11 years been confined to the U.S. Legation in Budapest. A very thoughtful reminder of Cardinal Mindszenty and all that he symbolizes appeared in the New World, the official newspaper of the Catholic archdiocese of Chicago, on March 22, written by its editor, Very Rev. Msgr. John M. Kelly.

The article follows:

A LIVING SYMBOL OF LIGHT IN DARKENED PART OF WORLD

(By J. M. Kelly)

It is hard to realize that 11 years have passed since the famous but ill-fated Hungarian revolt against their communist masters. To the loyal and devout Hungarian people there was in the person of Jozsef Cardinal Mindszenty the chief symbol of freedom from oppression and of their own great faith. Their first act was to free him from the imprisonment which he had suffered for so long.

The Cardinal's freedom—after spending 17 years of his life in imprisonment—was short-lived. When the Russians moved in with troops and tanks at the request of Janos Kadar (who is still the Red boss of Hungary) to crush and destroy thousands of young patriots, the Hungarian Freedom Fighters, the Cardinal was admitted to the asylum of the U.S. legation in Budapest. There he has kept his lonely vigil for 11 years, most of the time spent in prayer and study, with an occasional walk—under guard—in the legation garden. The autos of communist agents can be seen outside the legation to prevent possible escape.

His presence still makes itself felt throughout Hungary. The Hungarians remain a devout, courageous, freedom-loving people. They do not want Soviet domination. They know that their Cardinal remains in their midst, even though he could have gained freedom in exile long ago through capitulation. For them and for foreign visitors to Budapest, a stroll past the U.S. legation shows that the Cardinal is still with them. The light that shows through his upstairs window is truly for them a beacon of freedom.

On Mar. 29, the Cardinal will be 76 years of age. Twenty-eight years of his great life

have been spent in one form or another in confinement. Let's all pray very hard for him, just as he prays for us, constantly. Lest we forget, he is one of the true living symbols of light in the communist world. I'm sure he's praying for the Vietnamese, and for our fighting men there, that their lives will be spared the communist enslavement that has been his lot for so long.

### Remarks by Vice President Hubert Humphrey at the Regional Democratic Conference, Pittsburgh, Pa., March 22, 1968

**HON. WILLIAM J. GREEN**

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 28, 1968

Mr. GREEN of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, at the end of 1967 I was honored by the leaders of the Democratic Party of Philadelphia when they asked me to become the Democratic Party chairman in the city of Philadelphia. I took the post and indicated at the time that I wanted the party to be an open forum, not a closed political club. Since then the party in my city has been enriched by a diversity of opinion, and by the contributions of many new people. I think the same might be said of our National Democratic Party. It has become a forum for diverse opinion.

Last week I was privileged to hear the Vice President of the United States address a conclave of Democratic leaders from Pennsylvania, Michigan, Ohio, and the District of Columbia. In the same spirit of an open forum, I present the views he expressed:

REMARKS BY VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT HUMPHREY AT THE REGIONAL DEMOCRATIC CONFERENCE, PITTSBURGH, PA., MARCH 22, 1968

I want today, as Adlai Stevenson used to say, "to talk sense to the American people." I want to put in perspective—and I think it needs to be done—just where we have been . . . where we are . . . and where we are going.

Is the American dream lost in a deep pit of public and private immorality?

Are we a society drifting, without purpose and moving away from our higher instincts? I say no.

I say this is a time of change . . . a time of ferment . . . a difficult time of growth and transition in America.

It is a time demanding much of us.

But it is above all a time when this nation, as never before, is on the verge of finally achieving democracy's full potential.

Almost two hundred years ago we dedicated ourselves to a new proposition—that every single child should have the right, at birth, to free and equal pursuit of life, liberty and happiness.

We dedicated ourselves to the principle that men should not be divided king and servant . . . slave and master . . . rich and destitute.

We launched a peaceful, human revolution to achieve what had never before in the world been achieved.

Through blood and heartbreak, through failures and false starts, America has always kept its eye steadily on that goal.

And today, as we enter the final third of this 20th century, we have every right to ask: Where do we stand? Just what must be done to finally build democracy's house?

Where do we stand?

There is turmoil in America. But there is turmoil because there is progress.

There is turmoil because we are engaged in the greatest effort our nation has ever known—to break through the old barriers of hate, injustice and inequity which have been a blight on our national conscience.

We are taking small children by the hand in our ghetto streets. We are giving them health and education and hope.

We are reaching out to young men without skills or jobs. And we are helping them get those skills so they can get those jobs.

We are pledged to rooting out the dirt, the ugliness, the congestion and the fear which fill America's cities and replacing them with clear sunlight and a new spirit of community.

And the banners under which we march are not those of wealth . . . comfort . . . or luxury for those who already have their established place in life.

Our banners—new banners—read: "Job Corps," "Head Start," "Upward Bound," "VISTA," "Work Study," "Teacher Corps," "War on Poverty," "Jobs," "Schools," "Decent housing." And yes, "Freedom Now."

By any measure, what we are doing is unprecedented in human society.

In three years alone: We have increased by three times our national investment in health and education . . . by 10 times the number of people in job training programs.

In the past four years alone, we have provided twice as much federal help for education as was provided in the previous 100 years.

We have won legal and tangible human victories that were thought impossible in 1960.

And there will be another victory this year when the Congress passes a national Open Housing Law.

And make no mistake about it: Despite setbacks and delays . . . despite opposition from the old Coalition of Retreat, a national Open Housing Law will be passed.

We have goals clearly before us—goals set forth this year by President Johnson in his historic messages to the Congress:

Decent low cost housing for 20 million Americans still trapped in degrading, unhealthy, unnecessary tenements;

A partnership between government and private industry to provide training and jobs for 500 thousand hard-core unemployed Americans;

A comprehensive crime control program to provide Americans "the security that they demand and the justice that they deserve."

Five hundred thousand men trained and employed by 1971 . . . full pre-natal and post-natal care for every needy American mother and infant by 1973 . . . 26 million new housing units by 1978.

We cannot wait.

No single American—living with anything less than an equal chance in this great society—should be made to stand waiting for that chance while we possess the means to help him.

Yet none of this commitment . . . none of this progress can ultimately mean a thing unless this nation can remain free and safe in a peaceful world.

And that is why—while we make this commitment at home—we must also make our commitment to peace and safety in this world.

As President Roosevelt prepared for one of his fireside chats early in 1942, he said to members of his staff:

"I am going to ask the American people to take out their maps. I am going to speak about strange places that many of them have never heard of—places that are now the battleground for civilization. I'm going to ask the newspaper to print maps of the whole world. . . ."

The world has taken up the front pages of our daily papers ever since—strange names . . . hungry children in far-off lands . . .



threats and opportunities . . . the slow and halting story of men everywhere slowly awakening to their common interests.

And since World War II—since the advent of terrible nuclear weapons—we have known that this strong nation had to play a strong and active and responsible role or lose the peace by default.

In these postwar years, we have—in Berlin, in Greece and Turkey, in Iran, in Korea, in the Straits of Formosa, in Lebanon and the Congo, in Laos, in Cuba, in the Dominican Republic, in the Mediterranean and Cyprus—stood up and faced the challenges we had to face.

We have done so because we have known that the risk would be far greater if they were not faced.

At the same time we have, block by block, tried to build a world environment in which peace might grow.

We have waged war on hunger.

We have launched an Alliance for Progress and a Peace Corps.

We have joined with others in taking down barriers to world trade and economic growth.

We have dedicated ourselves to stopping the nuclear arms race.

We have put our commitment behind the United Nations.

We have sent our young people overseas, in uniform and in shirt sleeves, to help those who needed our help.

Oftentimes that work has been thankless. It has been frustrating. It has been costly.

It has been all of these things in Vietnam.

Yet, in Vietnam as in other places, the President of the United States has done what he thought was right to protect the peace.

President Johnson stood by our commitment there because he believes—as other Presidents before him believed . . . as the leaders of Asia certainly believe—that the success of aggression in Vietnam would lead to wider and far more dangerous aggression throughout all of Southeast Asia.

President Eisenhower said in 1959:

"Strategically, South Vietnam's capture by the Communists would bring their power several hundred miles into a hitherto free region. The remaining countries in Southeast Asia would be menaced by a great flanking movement. . . . The loss of South Vietnam would set in motion a crumbling process that could, as it progressed, have grave consequences for us and for freedom."

President Kennedy in late 1963, in a television interview was asked: "Mr. President, have you any reason to doubt this so-called domino theory that if South Vietnam falls, the rest of Southeast Asia will go behind it?"

And he replied: "No, I believe it. I believe it. I think the struggle is close enough. China is so large, looms so high beyond the frontiers, that if South Vietnam went, it will not only give them an improved geographic position for a guerrilla assault on Malaya but would also give the impression that the wave of the future in Southeast Asia was China and the Communists. So I believe it. . . . What I am concerned about is that Americans will get impatient and say, because they don't like events in Southeast Asia or they don't like the government in Saigon, that we should withdraw."

What Presidents Eisenhower and Kennedy said has been repeated to me, face-to-face, by the leaders of the independent nations of Asia and the Pacific. None of them has the least doubt about the stakes involved in the struggle in Vietnam.

They know their safety and independence are at stake.

President Johnson has held to a difficult middle course in Vietnam—a course avoiding both appeasement and the risk of World War III.

It has been no pleasure ride.

Now there are those who say: "We must have peace in Vietnam."

I agree with that. President Johnson agrees. But I ask in reply:

What price are you willing to pay? What will you give for peace? For make no mistake about it, our objective in Vietnam is this:

Not the promise of peace as an election year gimmick.

But real peace for our children and ourselves.

Peace that will last.

A candidate of the other party says he has a plan for peace in Vietnam. But he can't unveil it until next year. What kind of cynical partisanship is this?

Others feel that more could somehow be done to bring peace today. Yet I must admit that their concern has yet to be matched by their specifics.

Over the past number of days, an intensive review has been undertaken within our government to find some better or more effective way to peace.

Yet I think most Americans know that there can be no true and lasting peace in Vietnam, or Southeast Asia, until militant and powerful Communist forces are convinced that aggression will not pay—and that they must turn to honest negotiation.

John Kennedy said it: "Peace and freedom do not come cheap, and we are destined—all of us here today—to live out most if not all of our lives in uncertainty and challenge and peril."

That is how it is.

We Americans must ask ourselves: Are we willing to accept that?

Are we willing to make the sacrifices we will have to make?

Do we have the courage to face up to our own prejudices and shortcomings and imperfections in America?

Do we have the courage to match our noble words with often painful deeds in distant places?

Our answer can and must be yes.

Finally, let's talk sense about our party.

Our party will undergo a severe test in the months ahead.

I think it will be good for the party—if the real issues and real alternative courses of action, not just the hopes and wishes—are fully debated.

I think it will be good for the country—as long as we remember that we Democrats are today responsible for the fate of this nation and, to a very large extent, the fate of the world. And the world is listening to us today—not as the "outs" who will say whatever is necessary to get in, but as the policy-makers, statesmen and guiding spirit of America.

I think the Democratic Party is fully capable of meeting that extra responsibility, and the voter of America will recognize it.

Twenty years ago I stood in Convention Hall in Philadelphia and said the time had come in America for the full realization of human rights.

A good number of our fellow Democratic Party members walked out.

That same year others left our party because they placed more faith than we in the intentions of totalitarian forces in this world. They distrusted our President and opposed his policy.

Others didn't like President Truman's "style"—the way he talked or the patterns on his shirts or the width of his trouser cuffs.

But those of us who had hope and faith and a willingness to see it through stood by our President.

We fought and we won.

In 1968, too, I stand by my President. And we shall fight and win.

President Johnson has done more, in the past four years, for the full realization of democracy in America than any American President in this century.

That is his record. That is the record on which he should be judged.

I am proud to be a part of that record.

I am proud to say that he has brought to

reality causes we have fought for all our lives.

If we, as Democrats and Americans, will stand with him we will make it through these difficult times.

America has not lost its way.

America is on its way.

And that is why President Johnson deserves and needs your support today and every day until November.

## Memphis Riots: Prelude to Washington?

### HON. JOHN M. ASHBROOK

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 28, 1968

Mr. ASHBROOK. Mr. Speaker, once again Dr. Martin Luther King has pulled the trigger while someone else held the gun. Today's afternoon papers report that nonviolent rioters separated from a march led by Dr. King and the results indicate one killed, many wounded, both demonstrators—so called—and police, and undetermined property damage.

King scheduled his march in what has been for some time a racially charged city and then, when he lost control, King sprinted down a side street, leaped into an old model car and sped away. I remember that this is the same way Dr. King helped relieve tension in Chicago several years ago. He is running true to form, literally.

All Americans, and especially residents of the Washington area, must wonder if an ordeal such as just occurred in Memphis is now facing this area.

In addition to an account of today's rioting in Memphis, as it appeared in the Washington Evening Star, I would also like to include in the RECORD a short statement detailing plans for King's Washington protest.

In this connection, I have written to the Secretary of the Interior inquiring whether King has requested use of the Mall or other Federal lands, and on what considerations the request will be granted or denied. I will make the answer public as soon as I receive it.

The news items follow:

#### MEMPHIS: KING MARCHERS RIOT, YOUTHS LOOT STORES

MEMPHIS.—Some 4,000 riot-trained National Guardsmen moved into Memphis this afternoon to put down looting and rioting which erupted earlier in the day during a Negro protest march led by the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King. Gov. Buford Ellington said: "The situation in Memphis has worsened. There are groups of rioters scattered throughout the areas."

Screaming Negro youths broke away from Dr. Martin Luther King's march through Memphis today and ran through the streets, smashing windows and looting downtown stores until police, using tear gas, stopped them.

Police said one of the looters was killed. When the youths tore away from the 3,000 marchers, King sprinted down a side street, leaped into an old-model car and sped away.

Remaining Negro leaders turned the marchers back toward their starting point while 200 helmeted policemen, using tear gas and clubs, battled the Negro youths along historic Beale Street.

Police said at least 51 persons were ar-

rested and dozens of police and rioters were injured.

"We have one dead," said Detective Chief W. P. Huston. "The situation is complete turmoil." He said the looter was slain about eight blocks from Clayborn Temple African Methodist Episcopal Church, rallying point of the marchers.

A spokesman said King had gone to a hotel and would announce later whether he would make a scheduled speech at a rally tonight.

He said King "is an unviolent person and it was obvious there were people in the march who were violent. This thing has been building up—all these kids have been becoming more and more impatient with the ministers."

The marchers, demonstrating in support of the seven-week old strike by sanitation workers, struggled back to Clayborn Temple and police sealed off Beale Street.

(The Associated Press reported that the march leaders, using bullhorns, shouted to the crowd, "The march is over, the march is over.")

(But the looting and violence continued, despite police use of tear gas, the AP said. Finally, the crowd gave way before officers armed with shotguns and rifles, who formed a blockade of squad cars and motorcycles to push the mob out of the downtown area.)

(Virtually every store window on historic Beale Street was smashed by the marchers, and many on Main Street also were shattered, the AP said.)

(In Nashville, Gov. Buford Ellington dispatched 250 riot-trained Tennessee Highway patrolmen to Memphis to help deal with the situation, the AP said. At the same time, he alerted 4,000 National Guardsmen who were to assemble at West Tennessee armories to await further orders.)

Sporadic skirmishing continued around the AME Temple. Bottles and rocks flew through the air at officers, who replied by lobbing tear gas shells.

A young Negro jumped out of a telephone booth near the temple with what appeared to be a rifle. Officers pounced on him and beat him unconscious. A young Negro girl tried to claw the police, but they knocked her down with a nightstick and fired tear gas at her.

A deep, booming report like that of a shotgun came from a tenement across the street from the temple. Fifteen police cars converged on the building.

#### THROWING POLES

At the temple, about 2,000 persons crowded inside. Outside, many youths milled around, throwing poles that had carried picket signs at police, who replied with tear gas. Ministers inside the church used bullhorns to tell the crowd, "Don't be violent."

One civil rights leader, the Rev. Henry Starks, said: "If the leadership had not been what it was, there would have been a tragedy to blot the pages of history."

Another spokesman said the youths "didn't come to march—they were outside of our control and always have been."

(There were varying reports of how many youths broke away from the marchers to begin the rioting. United Press International said about 150 youths left the marchers. The Associated Press used a figure of 20 to 30, but said others joined them later.)

It was the second outbreak of violence by the youths. Earlier, a group leaving a high school to join the march bombarded police with bricks and rocks for half an hour, but were allowed to go ahead and join the demonstration.

In the earlier incident, one Negro girl was slightly hurt when she was struck on the back of the head, and windows in a squad car were shattered.

This disturbance broke out when about 250 students left Hamilton High School to join King's mass march. The principal tried, in vain, to stop them. Police were called and the rock-throwing began when they arrived.

Police said this disturbance simmered down within 30 minutes and the students resumed their trek downtown to the gathering point for King's march.

The sanitation workers strike, which the marchers were supporting, has become a major racial issue in the city. Most of the garbage collectors are Negroes who claim the city is discriminating against them.

#### DR. KING PROMISES HOUSING FOR MARCH OF POOR PEOPLE

ALBANY, GA., March 23.—The Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., attempting to enlist support for his poor people's march on Washington, April 22, said here Saturday the participants would not have to worry about food or lodging.

Dr. King told about 350 persons that his organization, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, was storing food and had secured housing to accommodate 1,500 families.

He said, however, that the housing arrangements would be temporary and would last only "until we can build a shanty town—a town within a town that will let the world know how America treats its poor."

Dr. King said that activities would include regular physical check-ups at Walter Reed Hospital, organized classes on Negro history and top-flight jazz music.

#### Coalition for Youth Action

### HON. ROBERT W. KASTENMEIER

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 28, 1968

Mr. KASTENMEIER. Mr. Speaker, 3 months ago a group of enterprising young management interns at the Department of Labor started an exciting program aimed at involving community, you and college students in a partnership to help solve the problems of their community. The coalition for youth action is a unique program which enables the Nation's young people to take a greater role in shaping the society in which they live.

The coalition received an initial grant of \$300,000 in Manpower Development and Training Act experimental and demonstration funds.

One project funded from this grant is the young adult board in Madison, Wis. In an article written by Rosemary Kendrick which appeared in the Capital Times in Madison on March 20, 1968, this program aimed at involving community, in the belief that my colleagues will find this report of interest, I include it in the RECORD, as follows:

#### TRUAX CHAPEL LEASE PAVES WAY FOR WRIGHT STREET CENTER

(By Rosemary Kendrick)

The ink was barely dry on the lease for the Truax chapel and annex when representatives of several organizations met to plan activities for making it into a Wright Street community center.

Their enthusiasm did not seem dampened by the knowledge that the lease, signed Tuesday morning by Mayor Otto Festge and Madison Housing Authority (MHA) representatives, runs for only three months.

Mayor Festge has appointed a committee to find a permanent home for the center, which is intended to serve residents of the Truax housing project operated by the MHA.

Monthly rental is \$350, of which \$100 is being paid by the MHA and \$250 by the University YMCA.

At Tuesday afternoon's meeting in the chapel annex, University Y program director Jim Sykes explained that his organization has received funds from the Department of Labor for the new center.

Under its Coalition for Youth Action project, the Labor Department supports programs conceived and staffed by college student volunteers.

"An experiment to see if young adults can run their own programs in partnership with the community" is the way the project is described by its director, Fritz Kramer.

Kramer, formerly a graduate student at the University of Wisconsin, told The Capital Times today that "having lived in Madison, I realize the Wright Street area needs something like this."

He said he had received "excellent cooperation" from the City of Madison and the University. "Everyone seems to be very much behind the program, and we certainly are behind it here in Washington," he added.

The University Y's representative to the Wright Street center is William Fritz. He told those assembled at the Tuesday meeting, which was called by the Wright Street Betterment Association, about his plans.

University student volunteers, he said, would like to conduct the following programs at the center:

Recreation activities;

A "pal program," providing companionship and guidance for young boys on a one-to-one basis;

A "big sister" program similar to the above, except with girls; and

A drama project to give youngsters an opportunity to express themselves and learn basic drama techniques.

Other plans were presented at the meeting by:

Andrea Lobert and Nancy Drapin, Uliversty students who volunteered to organize a study hall and an arts and crafts program, respectively, at the center.

Jill May, Bookmobile librarian for the Madison Public Library, who discussed her ideas for serving children in the Wright Street area.

Emilie Wallace, supervisor in family welfare, Dane County Department of Social Services, who requested office space at the center for her social workers, so they could be more accessible to area residents.

The Wright Street Betterment Association and the University YMCA will assume responsibility for co-ordinating these and other future programs, with the MHA having general administrative responsibility for the center.

Securing of the chapel and annex, at least temporarily, for use by low-income families represented a victory for the Wright Street Betterment Association, which was formed about a year and a half ago primarily to provide youth in the area with recreational facilities.

About 550 persons live in the Truax area, more than half of them youths under the age of 19.

The chapel and annex were among the Truax Field buildings given to the city after evacuation by the Air Force began in 1965.

#### Hoover Speaks Out on Violence in American Society

### HON. JOHN M. ASHBROOK

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 28, 1968

Mr. ASHBROOK. Mr. Speaker, certainly no other Federal official has the experience or the facilities to comment as authoritatively on the increase of vio-



lence in this country today as does Mr. J. Edgar Hoover, Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation. In addition to his unsurpassed expertise in this area, he has for years accentuated the importance of moral precepts so necessary to the maintenance of law and order. For decades Director Hoover has held a unique position in American public life, and his efforts have been rewarded by the utmost confidence of an overwhelming majority of grateful American citizens.

The George Washington University Law Review, in its issue of January 1, 1968, featured an extensive treatment of violence in the United States today by Mr. Hoover. In his conclusion, Director Hoover points the finger at each one of us:

Ultimately, the answer must be the development of a sensitive citizen, obedient to the law, but also conscious of the needs of his fellow man.

I place the above-mentioned commentary, "Violence in American Society—A Problem of Critical Concern," in the RECORD at this point:

**VIOLENCE IN AMERICAN SOCIETY—A PROBLEM OF CRITICAL CONCERN**

(By J. Edgar Hoover\*)

On January 27, 1838, Abraham Lincoln, then a young lawyer, made a highly significant speech before the Young Men's Lyceum in Springfield, Illinois on "the perpetuation of our political institutions."<sup>1</sup> In this speech, America's future President spoke about certain things of "ill-omen amongst us." "I mean," he said, "the increasing disregard for law which pervades the country; the growing disposition to substitute the wild and furious passions, in lieu of the sober judgment of Courts; and the worse than savage mobs, for the executive ministers of justice."<sup>2</sup>

Lincoln was appalled by accounts of violence from many areas of the country. "Accounts of outrages committed by mobs, form the everyday news of the times. They have pervaded the country, from New England to Louisiana. . . ." Such mob action, he told the audience, injured the country. "There is no grievance that is a fit object of redress by mob law."<sup>3</sup> "Thus, then, by the operation of this mobocratic spirit, which all must admit, is now abroad in the land, the strongest bulwark of any Government, and particularly of those constituted like ours, may eventually be broken down and destroyed—I mean the attachment of the People."<sup>4</sup>

The antidote to this "mobocratic spirit," and basic to the nation's welfare, was "a strict observance of all the laws."

"Let every American, every lover of liberty, every well wisher to his posterity, swear by the blood of the Revolution, never to violate in the least particular, the laws of the country; and never to tolerate their violation by others. . . . Let reverence for the laws, be breathed by every American mother, to the lisping babe, that prattles on her lap—let it be taught in schools, in seminaries, and in colleges;—let it be written in Primmers, spelling books, and in Almanacs;—let it be preached from the pulpit, proclaimed in legislative halls, and enforced in courts of justice. And, in short, let it become the political religion of the nation; and let the old and the young, the rich and the poor, the grave and the gay, of all sexes and tongues, and colors and conditions, sacrifice unceasingly upon its altars."<sup>5</sup>

Some of the violence and lawlessness of the 1830's, Lincoln recognized, stemmed from individuals who disliked and hence disobeyed "bad laws," for he points out:

"When I so pressing urge a strict observance of all the laws, let me not be understood as saying there are no bad laws, nor that grievances may not arise, for the redress of which, no legal provisions have been made. I mean to say no such thing. But I do mean to say, that, although bad laws, if they exist, should be repealed as soon as possible, still while they continue in force, for the sake of example, they should be religiously observed."<sup>6</sup>

In his closing remarks, Lincoln considered the potential impact of lawlessness on the survival of our political institutions and the need for individual responsibility to insure their perpetuation. The men of the Revolution, who fought and died to create this new nation scarcely five decades before, he said, were passing away through "the silent artillery of time."

"They are gone. They were a forest of giant oaks; but the all-resistless hurricane has swept over them, and left only, here and there, a lonely trunk, despoiled of its verdure, shorn of its foliage; unshading and unshaded, to murmur in a few more gentle breezes, and to combat with its mutilated limbs, a few more ruder storms, then to sink, and be no more."

"They were the pillars of the temple of liberty . . . now, that they have crumbled away, that temple must fall, unless we, their descendants, supply their places with other pillars, hewn from the solid quarry of sober reason."<sup>7</sup>

This means, among other things, Lincoln said, developing men and women who have "a reverence for the constitution and laws."<sup>8</sup>

Seldom has a great statesman of the past spoken so directly, candidly and poignantly to the America of today—a nation whose political institutions are currently under the assault of violence, lawlessness and the "mobocratic spirit." As Lincoln said 130 years ago, "If destruction be our lot, we must ourselves be its author and finisher. As a nation of freemen, we must live through all time, or die by suicide."<sup>9</sup>

**VIOLENCE IN AMERICA**

Recent happenings, such as the riots of last summer (and in previous years), the increasing crime rate, and the existence of organizations which espouse hatred and contempt, reflect that violence is a dangerous reality in our society today. Every indicator available to the FBI, from its investigative responsibilities in both the criminal and the security fields, emphasizes that violence is a rapidly growing malady in our national life.

There are some who claim that America at heart is a land of violence. They cite past wars, the Western frontier of the 19th century, the assassination of Presidents, the anarchist bombings of a generation ago. Violence, they assert, is part and parcel of the American character. Admittedly, American history is replete with tragic instances of violence. All too often violence has prevailed over reason in the settlement of problems. Mobs, riots, even a terrible Civil War brought death, injury and bitter rancor. No intelligent observer will deny the role violence has played in our national history or, for that matter, in the history of mankind. Yet, in America we have prided ourselves for developing what Theodore Roosevelt called "an experiment . . . of administering the affairs of a continent under the forms of a Democratic republic."<sup>10</sup> Our constitution, laws and legal system are designed to provide an effective means by which men of varying interests, backgrounds and desires can live in peace and harmony. Over the years, America's constitutional system has been one of its most noble accomplishments. Wisely, the Founding Fathers understood the true inner nature of man; they realized that a system of government based on law subject to change by the consent of the governed was man's best protection against himself.

"It may be a reflection on human nature that such devices (as checks and balances)

should be necessary to control the abuses of government. But what is government itself, but the greatest of all reflection on human nature? If men were angels, no government would be necessary. . . . In framing a government which is to be administered by men over men, the great difficulty lies in this: you must first enable the government to control the governed; and in the next place oblige it to control itself. . . ."<sup>11</sup>

Government must be a means for men to control themselves, taking into account their personal weaknesses, passions, violence and conflicting aims, yet providing the machinery whereby their common interests can be promoted both as individuals and as a group. Therefore, a public acceptance and respect for law has grown in America since 1789. This is reflected in thousands of ways, large and small: citizens obey traffic regulations, pay their taxes, respect their neighbor's property. There will be exceptions, but they are dealt with through our judicial system. The important point is that the overwhelming majority of Americans respect, obey, and uphold the law. If they did not, our government would disintegrate. People realize that only by this method can their personal security and the safety of the community be assured.

Violence can destroy the harmonious functioning of government. Any individual or group which resorts to violence can negate the validity of our system of government. Here is the death knell for peace and security for all members of the community.

The violence erupting in America today should cause each of us, particularly members of the legal profession, to ask many questions. Is America a nation of permanently increasing violence? Is violence such an integral part of its culture that it is destined in one way or another to alter future political institutions? What can be done about violence?

Violence is a growing menace in terms of human lives lost, property destroyed and personal anguish and injury incurred. More important, however, it inculcates a psychology of lawlessness—a concept that law and order are not ultimately to be trusted, that only by handling the matter outside the law can a favorable decision be obtained. This view promotes fear, hostility and hatred, often erupting into a blind, nihilistic, sadistic violence whose only purpose is to destroy for the sake of destruction.

This psychology of lawlessness is reflected in myriad ways in our society. For example, there are crimes of violence (murders, crazed gunmen spraying inhabited areas with bullets, physical assaults). Gang fights, underworld crime, and forcible rapes form part of the picture of violence—often abetted by lax procedures of judicial leniency such as parole and probation. Recent urban riots show violence on a massive scale. In the nation today there are many incendiary ingredients which make—or can make—for violence.

But violence in our society cannot be measured alone by overt eruptions such as crime and riots. There are a number of organizations, some ideological in nature, whose main tenets are ultimate appeals to force and violence. Some of these groups would like to see guerrilla-style warfare in the United States. They preach a doctrine of violence. In addition, there are various hate groups whose aims are promoted not by appeal to constitutional methods but to the base passions of man. In summary, in our society today there are many seeds of violence, often lying deep and ill detected. As in a witch's cauldron, these ingredients can foment a poisonous brew for the nation; they must be identified, and their potential as well as actual danger appreciated.

**CRIMES OF VIOLENCE**

A major ingredient of violence in America today stems from the field of crime. Accord-

Footnotes at end of article.

ing to the Uniform Crime Reports of the FBI,<sup>13</sup> crime in the United States increased 11 per cent in 1966 over the previous year. Crime is increasing roughly seven times more rapidly than population. During 1966, almost 3 1/4 million serious crimes were reported. This meant, therefore, that six serious crimes were committed in 1966 every minute, day and night, every day of the year.<sup>14</sup>

A large proportion of these crimes are crimes of violence. Actually, the Uniform Crime Reporting program employs seven crime classifications to establish an index to measure the trend and distribution of crime in the United States. These crimes are: murder, forcible rape, robbery, aggravated assault, burglary, larceny \$50 and over in value, and auto theft. They were selected for use in the Crime Index because they represent the most common law enforcement problem; all are serious crimes, either by their nature or in their volume.

Four of the seven major crimes—murder, forcible rape, robbery, and aggravated assault—can be categorized as crimes of violence. Of the total number of crimes in the Crime Index in 1966, 87 percent are crimes against property, that is, burglary, larceny \$50 and over in value, and auto theft. This means that violent crimes as a group represent 13 percent of the total. Thirteen percent of 3 1/4 million serious crimes, however, represents a total of over 420,000 murders, forcible rapes, robberies and aggravated assaults in 1966—a serious epidemic of continuing violence in our society. Not only is the total volume alarming, but also the trend. During the period 1960 to 1966, crimes of violence rose 49 percent.<sup>15</sup> This trend continues. For the first six months of 1967, for example, as compared with the corresponding period of the previous year, the following increases were recorded: murder, 16 percent; robbery, 27 percent; forcible rape, 7 percent; aggravated assault, 9 percent.<sup>16</sup>

For most citizens, crime is synonymous with violence. To have a house burglarized or merchandise stolen from an automobile is a serious violation, but it normally does not place life in jeopardy. The rapist, the mugger, or the street hoodlum, however, bring fear into the hearts of citizens, making them afraid to venture forth on the streets at night or even during the day. Individuals not only lose their lives from crimes of violence, but personal anguish is experienced by the victim, his family, friends and acquaintances. Never can we accurately determine the damage done to both society and individual human lives by the loss of an eye, the paralysis of the body or injuries suffered by multiple stabbings. Countless Americans, without question, have moved their residences, changed the patterns of their lives and taken other preventive steps to avoid becoming victims.

Violence, moreover, is an ingredient of life which often leaves indelible marks even though the intended victim escapes. What psychological effects are left on a child or young person who endures a harrowing experience with a hardened criminal? What tensions are generated in an individual, adult or juvenile, who narrowly escapes being a victim of violent crime? The fear of footsteps following you on a dark street is a nightmare remembered for many years. Nothing erodes the human personality more quickly than fear of physical assault, especially an assault which strikes from unexpected places without reason or purpose.

#### CAREERS IN CRIME

The growing role of criminal violence is also reflected in the FBI's Careers in Crime study. In January, 1963, we initiated a study of criminal careers made possible by the cooperative exchange of criminal fingerprint data among local, state and Federal law enforcement agencies. Fingerprint cards were used to obtain each offender's criminal his-

tory. Individuals were initially selected because they had become involved in the Federal process by arrest or release, were serious state violators arrested as fugitives under the Fugitive Felon Act, or were District of Columbia violators. Specifically excluded from this study and resulting tabulations were the fingerprints of chronic violators of the immigration laws and fingerprints submitted by the military. At the end of 1966, a total of 160,310 criminal histories of individual offenders had been incorporated into the program.

This study has reflected many pertinent trends in current criminal behavior. For example, this data documents the existence of the persistent or hard-core offender; the study disclosed that 55 per cent of offenders released to the street in 1963 were rearrested within two and one-half years. Obviously, rehabilitation methods have not been very successful with this type of criminal behavior. Of key interest, however, is that the study showed a tendency toward the commission of more violent crimes by repeaters. For those persons released in 1963 and then rearrested, a large proportion of their criminal repeating was in the property crimes of burglary, larceny and auto theft; however, 19 per cent of the rearrests for the property crime offenders were for the more serious crimes of violence. Primarily the result of this escalation, violent crime offenses on rearrest were more than double those in 1963. This trend in the Careers in Crime study is a harbinger of deep trouble; if it continues, violence in crime will be a growing problem.

#### VIOLENCE DIRECTED AGAINST LAW ENFORCEMENT OFFICERS

Law enforcement officers in particular feel the violence of the criminal. In 1966, a total of 57 officers were killed while performing their official duties. For the seven-year period beginning with 1960, a total of 335 officers have met tragic deaths because of criminal action. Over a third of the 1966 deaths, 37 per cent, occurred while officers were effecting arrests and handling prisoners. Nearly a quarter of the deaths (23 per cent) occurred when the officers answered disturbance-type calls, such as family disputes or a man brandishing a weapon. Another 18 per cent were killings by persons whom the officers had stopped for questioning or investigation. Murders by robbers either caught in the act or fleeing the scene accounted for 16 per cent of the total.<sup>17</sup>

Criminal violence can strike the officer at any time. In 1966, 35 of the officers who lost their lives were on car patrol. During the seven-year period 1960-1966, more officers were murdered on Friday than any other day of the week. As for the hours of greatest personal risk, they were 10 p.m. to 3 a.m.—with 130 murders occurring during this 300-minute period.

Of the 442 persons involved as offenders in the 335 police murders since 1960, 76 per cent had been arrested on some criminal charge before becoming involved in the police killing. Over one-half of those with prior criminal arrests had been previously taken into custody for an assault-type crime such as murder, rape, robbery, assault with a deadly weapon and assault with intent to kill. During the 1960-1966 period, a total of 11 police murderers had been charged with the offense of murder on some prior occasion. Revealingly, three of every 10 of the murderers were on parole or probation when they murdered a police officer.

Death is only part of the story of violence directed against the police officer. A news item tells another facet:

"You cops won't make it out of here alive! More than 35 persons mauled the four officers, shouting 'Kill them . . . punch them . . . grab their guns!' It took 15 more policemen to break up the taproom brawl. . . ."<sup>18</sup>

In recent years, as is well known, the number of physical assaults against officers

has been on the increase. In 1966, there was a nationwide increase of 13 per cent in the rate of assaults on law enforcement officers. Nationally, statistics reflect 12.2 assaults per 100 officers in 1966, up from 10.8 in 1965. This increase was recorded in every geographical area of the nation. In 38 of every 100 assaults in 1966 physical harm resulted to the officer victim.

A recent study in the FBI's Law Enforcement Bulletin<sup>19</sup> on the rising number of physical assaults on officers comments:

"Any individual who attacks a law enforcement officer has to be characterized as vicious, whether or not the attack results in the officer's death. Any attack on an officer is an absolute disregard of and disrespect for constituted authority and reflects positive action taken by the attacker against such authority."<sup>20</sup>

This streak of disrespect for the law is also manifested by what might be called verbal violence. More and more officers are being subjected to bitter verbal abuse, scorn and ridicule by citizens. They are called vile names, accused (in most cases unjustly) of "brutality," and vilified in the press. Law enforcement does not consider itself above criticism nor does it attempt to operate beyond the domain of public opinion. But to abuse an officer verbally with catcalls, slanderous names and obscenity is to give vent to attitudes which can only undermine respect for law and order. Increasingly, citizens are refusing to aid officers or to provide vital information on their possession necessary to solve a criminal case. Citizen contempt, fear of personal involvement and lack of interest in police problems are unwitting allies of violence in our society.

#### FIREARMS IN CRIME

Firearms play a preponderant role in criminal violence. For example, 60 per cent of the murders in 1966 resulted from firearms. Roughly one out of every five aggravated assaults that year (19 per cent) involved firearms. During the three year period, 1964-1966, assaults with firearms jumped an alarming 36 per cent. In the robbery category, armed perpetrators were responsible for committing 58 per cent of the 1966 offenses. The dreary story goes on *ad nauseam*.

In cases involving the murder of police officers, firearms continue to be the major instrument of death. In 1965, 55 of the 57 law enforcement officers killed while performing their duties died from wounds inflicted by firearms. Since 1960, firearms have been used as the murder weapons in 96 per cent of the police killings.

Actually, the time has come when the nation must understand that the ready availability of firearms, of all types, has greatly enlarged the area of violence in our society. In 1966 alone, more citizens were killed or assaulted with guns in American streets and homes than were killed in battle during the entire Korean conflict. We know too well the tragic story of snipers during urban riots, of crazed gunmen (with complete arsenals of weapons) shooting innocent people, of individuals angered in an argument running home for a gun. In a Northern area a city official described an arms cache seized by police:

"The seized weapons included 45 rifles, seven shotguns, 14 hand guns, 18 sticks of dynamite, two cans holding 50 rounds of black powder, one anti-tank gun, one sub-machine gun, a gun hidden in a cane, three hand grenades, 103 high power blasting caps, one plastic bomb, 12 hunting knives, one machete and 250,000 rounds of live ammunition for . . . guns."<sup>21</sup>

A newspaper commented about last summer's urban riots: "Almost every urban riot this summer has witnessed snipers perched in windows and on rooftops sending a fusillade upon police, firemen and others—with weapons that could be purchased in any sporting

Footnotes at end of article.



goods store merely by putting down the necessary cash." <sup>22</sup>

Better control of firearms is not only desirable, but necessary for the public's safety. In my opinion, mail-order firearm purchases should be banned, interstate transportation of firearms controlled and local registration of weapons required and enforced. The chief responsibility is local, but Federal assistance must strongly complement state gun legislation.

#### ORGANIZED CRIME

In the area of organized crime, violence is the hallmark of daily life. The major syndicate of organized crime, known as La Cosa Nostra, is the modern outgrowth of the prohibition days, when gang wars, murders and tortures were common occurrences in many sections of the country. It is a criminal fraternity which has committed virtually every known type of crime. Broken down into groups, geographically or by population areas, each group is referred to as a "family." Each "family" is headed by a "boss," whose authority is virtually unlimited. A ruthless discipline is enforced by violence and terror. The "boss" needs merely to indicate that a Cosa Nostra member, or another individual, is "unwanted" and his death is a *fait accompli*.

The ordinary citizen probably does not appreciate the extent and parasitic nature of La Cosa Nostra's influence on our national life. This group of criminals (employing today high-priced legal talent and endeavoring to operate under legitimate fronts) utilizes violence in enforcing control over corrupt labor units, in collecting on gambling debts, in fighting competition in such fields as the jukebox industry, in coercing legitimate business to pay tribute, or in blackmailing through usurious loans. Millions of dollars illegally make their way into the pockets of La Cosa Nostra.

Some citizens may say: "A bunch of gangsters. Let them kill themselves off. It's no worry of mine." This viewpoint is categorically wrong. La Cosa Nostra, aside from the financial drain it extorts from the public, injects violence, in many forms, into our body politic. It is virtually a state within a state, with its own laws and discipline, bitterly contemptuous of our concepts of law and order. By the very nature of La Cosa Nostra operations, murders are perpetrated in ways which make the investigative tasks of law enforcement officials most difficult. For example, bodies of murdered individuals have been secretly buried in rural hideouts owned by gang members or weighted down in barrels dropped at sea.

Organized crime pollutes our society. Time after time, using violence or threats of violence (often threats are enough to achieve the syndicate's aims since the intended victim knows the threat will be carried out), La Cosa Nostra has attempted to impede, subvert or nullify the machinery of legitimate government, especially its judicial processes.

Any syndicate member believed to have furnished information to law enforcement officials places himself in physical jeopardy. If a labor leader, businessman, newspaper reporter or other citizen becomes a possible witness in court against the syndicate, he may find himself the object of physical harassment or hoodlum assault. The syndicate will not hesitate to intimidate jurors, use bribery or other types of pressure if they will achieve the desired purposes. Violence begets violence; violence pollutes the society in which it exists. La Cosa Nostra is living proof of this present—and growing—danger.

#### RIOTS

Riots, or other types of civil disturbances, suddenly bring violence to the eruption point. People are killed or injured, property destroyed, law and order subverted. Law en-

forcement responsibility relative to riots is basically local in nature. The FBI's responsibility is to develop and disseminate intelligence information while remaining alert to any violations of Federal law within its investigative jurisdiction. The FBI does not have jurisdiction for either protecting property or persons, or for policing riotous situations.

Riots can be of many types. In recent years, we have seen a variety of riots involving young people, especially at beach resorts. These student riots bring about vandalism, physical violence and mass hysteria. <sup>23</sup> Such actions are justified by some people as "pranks" or "good time fun." Nothing, however, could be more wrong. When mobs, student or otherwise, wantonly destroy property, disobey police regulations and injure people, firm steps must be taken. So-called thrill violence is an earmark of individual and communal disorder.

On occasions violence stems from labor disputes, sports events, demonstrations, picket lines or wherever passions run high on controversial topics. Often a minor incident—an arrest by an officer, a demagogic speech, a fight between two individuals—will ignite a conflagration. Over the years we have had instances of sabotage of many types. Sabotage, especially if committed by trained, fanatical individuals or groups, can be deleterious.

The recent urban riots, as in Newark and Detroit, illustrate the intensity which violence can attain—and the damage which can be wreaked in a few short hours in an urban, highly populated neighborhood. Virtual guerrilla warfare quickly erupts with snipers playing a primary role. Law enforcement officers, unfortunately, find themselves the special target of violence. Law and order break down completely.

What do these civil disturbances show? Relative to violence, they tell us that the passions of men flare quickly. No community in our society can feel immune from a sudden, irrational breakdown of law and order. Violence is never completely predictable. Moreover, it often betrays the "beast" in man. "Good people," those who are good citizens, may suddenly be caught up by the passions of the moment, and become involved in violence or counterviolence. Undoubtedly, many students who participate in beach riots, after returning to their schools, feel chastened over their disgraceful personal behavior. Some adults in urban or other types of riots may feel the same way, but this does not condone their actions. Moreover, riotous situations attract the criminal element. Violence erupts—and almost immediately looting, burglaries and robberies occur. A high percentage of individuals arrested in the recent urban riots had prior criminal records.

#### IDEOLOGICAL VIOLENCE

The twentieth century has popularized the term "ideological." In America today we have a number of groups, ideological in type, which are based on principles advocating force and violence. They strive in every possible way to disrupt law and order, to inculcate hatred and bigotry and to subvert the institutions of free society. These organizations are of foreign origin and inspiration, small in number, but highly organized; their ultimate loyalties are to foreign nations and anti-democratic philosophies.

Ideological violence has left deep stains of blood and hatred in the world since World War I. The ideologies associated with Hitler, Mussolini and lesser despots linger, while those associated with Lenin and Stalin have continuing vitality. Ideological violence is particularly cruel, bestial and fanatical (as the concentration camps of Hitler's Germany and Stalin's Russia testify), since reason is dethroned, myth supplants the truth, and law becomes what the ruling clique says it is. The individual exists only for the benefit of the state. Often, as in Nazism, an indi-

vidual's blood, race or nationality is the determinative factor for personal survival.

*History of Ideological Groups in America.* Although America has been spared the ravages of influential ideological parties, the end of World War I saw the planting of ideologies from abroad in our country. In 1919, the Communist Party, USA, <sup>24</sup> which, loyal to the doctrines of Marx, Engels and Lenin, regarded force as the ultimate determiner of the future, was formed. In the absence of strength sufficient to generate such force, its tactics called for encouraging discontent and hatred, and utilizing unrest, caused, for example, by civil disturbances, to hasten the accomplishment of its own purposes.

Soon Communist splinter groups appeared, reflecting the ideological divergences developing in the international movement. The Socialist Workers Party <sup>25</sup> based its ideology on the communist revolutionary teachings of Leon Trotsky, and attempted to subvert United States domestic and foreign policies either through its own activities or through the agitation and propaganda work of its Young Socialist Alliance. These groups were followed by pro-Axis groups associated with Hitler, Mussolini and the Japanese militarists.

Since 1945, such ideologically oriented groups have continued to pose security problems for the nation through direct activity, through fear generated by their potential for violence, and through the possibility of their infiltration of riots or demonstrations. Moreover, the Communist Party has attempted to enlist the support of students and younger working people through youth fronts such as the W.E.B. DuBois Clubs of America. <sup>26</sup> Recently, the Progressive Labor Party, the aggressive spokesman for the Mao Tse-tung government, has attempted to arouse a revolutionary consciousness in the United States and has participated in a number of demonstrations, picket lines and marches. <sup>27</sup>

*Impact of Ideological Groups.* In this country ideological violence has not meant overt displays of force. We have had no attempted coup d'etat, putsches or storm troopers (though the pre-World War II American Nazis attempted military formations. Ideological groups which operate from definitive revolutionary blueprints realize they are a numerical minority; hence, they hesitate, for tactical reasons, to be implicated in any acts of violence, especially if they might trigger investigations by law enforcement authorities and generate hostile public opinion. This tactic of restraint does not arise from any basic disbelief in violence by the group. The Communist Party's ideology, for example, is anchored on the premise of violence ("Force is the midwife of every old society pregnant with a new one," said Karl Marx). <sup>28</sup> Its leaders, however, being realistic interpreters of our society, know that acts of violence would do their cause more injury than good.

Therefore, ideological violence in this country has largely been implicit, rather than explicit; a matter of future threat, rather than immediate preoccupation. The nation's security problem arises from what organizations such as the Communist Party could do, from both present and future strength, to injure this country by acting on their avowed principles of violence. The FBI's responsibility, pursuant to acts of Congress and Presidential directives, is both to gather and disseminate intelligence information and to be alert to any violations of Federal law.

The whole problem of potential ideological violence becomes more serious since the most potent organization, the Communist Party, has mastered the technique of camouflaging its advocacy of force and violence, providing a cover behind which it can develop new strength, both in membership and influence, which may enable it to attain sufficient potency to seize state power. In communism this technique is called "Aesopian language," that is, the use of roundabout or elusive words to conceal the Party's real intentions of violence—words which the "initiated" fully understand in their Marxist-Leninist

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meanings while the general public is fooled. Hence, the Party is able to operate "fronts," form alliances with noncommunist groups, and encourage citizens to drop their fear of communism. Under the cover of "Aesopian language," the Party is able to draw money, talent and influence for its cause from noncommunist elements of society. The paradoxical situation arises that non-communists, who actually have no sympathy with communism, are manipulated to support its objectives, enabling the party to accumulate power for future strikes against our society. We must make no mistake that the Communist Party, despite its "Aesopian language," depends ultimately on the use of force and violence to attain a qualitative change in our society. If ever the conditions of society, through internal chaos or disintegration, permitted the Communist Party freedom of action, it would move to overthrow our Government by force and violence.

#### TERRORIST VIOLENCE

A rising problem is posed by groups emphasizing terrorist or hoodlum violence. In addition to ideological groups, there are a number of organizations which are basically terrorist and hoodlum by nature. Some, such as the Revolutionary Action Movement and the American Nazi Party, may claim to espouse a type of ideology, but they are not truly ideological since they neither owe allegiance to a preconceived blueprint of principles nor are they integral parts of an international movement. They are chiefly interested in creating disruption, chaos and trouble.

These groups are chiefly of a hate or "anti" variety—anti-Negro, anti-white, anti-Semitic or anti-minority group; their common denominator is a distrust for law and order and a belief in force and violence. They are purveyors of hate, bigotry and prejudice, eager to stir up discontent, fear and unrest. Some of the groups, such as the Ku Klux Klan,<sup>29</sup> were organized many years ago. Others, such as the American Nazi Party,<sup>30</sup> the Revolutionary Action Movement,<sup>31</sup> and the Minutemen<sup>32</sup> are recent in origin. Terrorist violence, as in the case of the Klan, is a matter of record. Murder, arson, or bombings have been perpetrated in many areas by the Klan. This violence has a primary purpose of spreading fear; while they stress a policy of nonviolence, it is in reality hypocritical semantics. Through violence, the Klan has usurped and defiled the law. Overt violence, however, does not tell the full story of terror of these groups. A sinister danger lies in the potential for violence inherent in their fanatical appeals to bigotry, irrationality and fear. At hooded Klan meetings, racial violence is preached in frenzied tones. Similarly, the American Nazi Party can deliver a violent anti-Negro, anti-Semitic harangue and suggest the necessary tools for action in a Nazi "kit" which includes such odious items as "selected rocks carefully balanced and weighted for breaking out school windows" and "switchblade knife lightning fast, extra-long blade for stabbing students." The latent violence in these meetings has a potential for realization since these groups attract a variety of misfits, failures and dropouts from society—men who already bear personal hatreds and grudges and are desperately looking for scapegoats. In addition, there are other groups, which espouse hatred and look with favor on the use of violence. For example, Nation of Islam (NOI)<sup>33</sup> espouses hatred of the white race, government, law and law enforcement. NOI counsels Negroes not to serve in the armed services and has developed a belligerent black nationalist policy. They present a danger which we as a nation must not overlook.

The whole problem of violence in American society has been accentuated by the recent emphasis on "black power," as interpreted

by such individuals as Stokely Carmichael, former chairman of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC). To Carmichael and others of his thinking, "black power" means terror and violence directed against the white community. Many of his statements are highly inflammatory,<sup>34</sup> and at a rally in Washington, D.C., he exhorted his listeners to "burn down this city" if they did not get the vote. The danger is not only the threat of immediate violence, when individuals take these words at face value; there is also the danger of seeds being planted which may cause individuals to take violent actions at a later date.

Inflammatory statements about "black power" inevitably bring forth calls for "white power." "White power," meaning reliance on force and violence, also is repugnant. Both concepts, black and white power, mean denial of law and order and reliance on the barbarian tactics of brute force. Far too many young people, in particular, of both races are thinking in terms of power outside the law to solve the problems of society. The proliferation of this type of thinking can only mean trouble ahead.

#### CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE

A problem related to the rise of violence is civil disobedience, a pernicious doctrine which is becoming more widespread with tragic consequences for the observance of law and order. Proponents of this theory assert that civil disobedience is justifiable if the acts are open, not violent, respectful of the rights of others, and have the purpose of focusing attention on significant moral issues of the day.

To individuals caught up in righteous indignation about problems in current society, the appeal of civil disobedience may seem great. To "gently" break the law, so to speak, for the purposes of your group or cause seems such a "minor" infraction. But suppose every group or individual who honestly believed he had a valid or righteous cause did the same? Chaos would result. Law and order would break down. Society would disintegrate.

What today is peaceful civil disobedience may tomorrow mushroom into open violence. What starts out as a planned, controlled incident of disobedience may infect large numbers and turn into mass violations of the law. What today is a legitimate cause with a moral foundation, justifying civil disobedience to some, may fall into unscrupulous and hoodlum hands with tragic results. In such cases, decisions in society would be made on streets, behind barricades and through gunfire, not by ballot, rational discussion or courts of law.

#### THE NEW LEFT

A contributory factor in the assessment of potential violence in our society is the rise of a student movement called the New Left, with its basic attitudes of bitter hostility, hatred and opposition to democratic values and the principles of free government. The New Left actually is difficult to define. Chiefly student oriented, it is not so much an organization as a point of view, an attitude, a way of viewing society. Its mood is not one of support for America and its values; rather it is one of hostility, defiance and opposition to our government. The New Left's chief passion is to destroy—our government, our democratic values, our American way of life. In a nauseating air of self-righteousness, it criticizes, belittles, mocks. Contemporary society (contemptuously called the "Establishment") is treated with disdain. New Leftist heroes are Castro, Che Guevara, Mao Tse-tung, Ho Chi Minh. It counsels evasion of the draft, attempts to disrupt the legitimate operations of Universities, and catcalls at government officials on campus. Some New Leftists are "beatniks," with sandals, long hair, and old clothes. Other are hippies living in a drug-induced

world to evade the problems of life. Still others are sincere idealists who are badly misguided.

Our nation needs young people who ask questions, who probe into the questions of life. But strict negativism, cynicism, and pessimism are self-defeating. The New Left, though disliking our society, offers nothing constructive in return. Its aim is to destroy, not to build. A key word of New Leftism is resistance. In recent months, the movement has been moving from protest to resistance. Vague talk is heard about "revolution," creating "a revolutionary movement and socialist political party able to take power in America."

Inevitably, this mood of anarchism and nihilism moves toward violence. In their distorted view of society, feeling personally frustrated and alienated, some of these young people are talking about violence. "We are working to build a guerrilla force in an urban environment," said one top New Leftist.<sup>35</sup> "We are actively organizing sedition."<sup>36</sup> "I think violence is necessary, and it frightens me,"<sup>37</sup> are other comments.

What if this mood spreads? What if more young people (who will be our leaders tomorrow) become motivated by this anarchism, negativism, and nihilism? Will disrespect for law be enhanced? What about the potentialities for violence in the years ahead?

#### CONCLUSION

Violence and the potential for violence are current realities in our national life. Violence springs from many sources and displays many faces. No simple explanation or formulation of its origins, motivations or ultimate consequences can be given. The whole problem of violence is inextricably interwoven in the fabric of America's twentieth century life.

That is why the best minds of our nation—the doctor, the psychiatrist, the sociologist, the political scientist, the historian, the attorney, the law enforcement officer—must lend their talents to this problem. If the present trend toward increasing violence continues, the institutions of our society will be gravely imperiled.

As we have seen, violence comes from many sources. Its actuality has been extensive (crime, riots, terrorist groups); its potential for future acts great. It is a feature of contemporary society which needs attention now. Yet our approach must be intelligent and rational, based on sound principles of study and action. Too often emotion, fear, and misunderstanding intrude into the analysis of such national problems. Fear breeds fear; violence begets counterviolence. So-called "power" of one type militates "power" of other types. The end result could actually be an increase instead of a decrease in the potentialities of violence. Therefore, our approach must be positive. Remedial steps must be taken to eliminate the causes of riots, to cut down on crime, to make less attractive the appeals of ideological groups. Ultimately, the answer must be the development of a sensitive citizen, obedient to the law, but also conscious of the needs of his fellow man. Now, as in 1838 when Abraham Lincoln spoke at Springfield, Illinois, the issue at stake is nothing less than "the perpetuation of our political institutions."

#### FOOTNOTES

\*Director, Federal Bureau of Investigation, United States Department of Justice.

<sup>1</sup> Lincoln, *The Perpetuation of Our Political Institutions*, in *I The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln* 108 (Basler ed. 1953).

<sup>2</sup> *Id.* at 109.

<sup>3</sup> *Id.*

<sup>4</sup> *Id.* at 113.

<sup>5</sup> *Id.* at 111.

<sup>6</sup> *Id.* at 112.

<sup>7</sup> *Id.*

<sup>8</sup> *Id.* at 115.

<sup>9</sup> *Id.*

<sup>10</sup> *Id.* at 109.



<sup>11</sup> The Inaugural Addresses of the American Presidents 186 (Lott ed. 1961).

<sup>12</sup> The Federalist No. 50, at 285 (Colonial Press rev. ed. 1901) (Hamilton). Other compilations attribute this essay to Madison. *E.g.*, The Federalist No. 51, at 356 (Belknap Press, Wright ed. 1961) (Madison) (same essay but given different number).

<sup>13</sup> The Uniform Crime Reporting Program is a nationwide, voluntary effort by law enforcement agencies directed toward the collection, analysis, interpretation and publication of crime figures for the United States. The FBI, as the national clearinghouse, compiles these statistics and publishes them in an annual bulletin. This publication, Uniform Crime Reports, provides data on crime trends and rates by state, geographic division and population group. In addition, supplemental data is furnished on a current basis with statistical releases showing crime trends quarterly. These trends are based on a Crime Index which provides the only nationwide measure of the volume and type of criminal activity.

<sup>14</sup> In January, 1967, the FBI National Crime Information Center (NCIC) was instituted at FBI Headquarters in Washington, D.C. The NCIC is designed as the hub of a computerized information network which will serve as a rapid means of processing, storing, retrieving and instantly transmitting vital police data throughout the country in a matter of seconds. NCIC-programmed services include files on stolen vehicles, vehicles used in the commission of felonies, stolen engines and transmissions, stolen or missing license plates when all plates issued for a specific vehicle are missing, stolen guns, other items of stolen property which are serially identifiable, and wanted persons. As the Center expands, other applications will be added. At present the NCIC links law enforcement agencies coast to coast and it is hoped that eventually all law enforcement, local, state and national, will be coordinated by this center. The NCIC represents the entrance of law enforcement into the computer age.

<sup>15</sup> These figures, taken from 1966 Uniform Crime Reports 3-4, represent urban, rural and suburban areas.

<sup>16</sup> Uniform Crime Report Statistics, FBI Press Release, Dec. 11, 1967.

<sup>17</sup> 1966 Uniform Crime Reports.

<sup>18</sup> FBI, *Police Officers Killed in the Line of Duty*, April Law Enforcement Bulletin 25 (1966). The Bulletin is a monthly professional journal published especially for persons associated with or interested in law enforcement and is not available to the general public.

<sup>19</sup> *Id.* at 26.

<sup>20</sup> *Id.*

<sup>21</sup> Wash. Post, Aug. 24, 1967, § A, at A3, cols. 1 & 2.

<sup>22</sup> N.Y. Times, Aug. 27, 1967, § 4 (Magazine), at 4E.

<sup>23</sup> A ranking law enforcement officer describes a Labor Day weekend riot at Hampton Beach, New Hampshire: "Troopers were faced with bricks, bottles, beer cans filled with sand, rocks, and pieces of plate glass hurled at them from shoulder height." Then the student rioters started to throw Molotov cocktails which caused several small fires. "Firemen trying to extinguish the blazes were under constant attack by the mob," and one fireman was stabbed in the leg.

Student misbehavior at a 1967 Fort Lauderdale, Florida, beach riot is set forth as follows: "A soft drink truck, which had been caught in the traffic tie up, and a bakery truck were looted by the rampaging students. Some students started to hurl soft drink bottles at the officers who were attempting to quell the disturbances. . . . Two blocks north of the main trouble area, students tried to tip over a large bus but were dispersed by a squad of officers."

<sup>24</sup> Current officers include Henry Winston, National Chairman, and Gus Hall, General Secretary.

<sup>25</sup> Minor splinter groups from the Socialist

Workers Party include the Workers World Party, the American Committee for the Fourth International and the Revolutionary Committee of the Fourth International.

<sup>26</sup> This organization was founded at a convention in San Francisco, California in June, 1964.

<sup>27</sup> In one demonstration, a PLP leader told a crowd: "We will not be fully free until we smash this state completely and totally. We're going to have to kill a lot of these cops, a lot of the judges, and we'll have to go against the army."

<sup>28</sup> 1 Marx, *Das Kapital* 776 (Int'l Publishers ed. 1939).

<sup>29</sup> The origin of the Ku Klux Klan was in the Civil War South. In the 1920's the Klan reached a peak membership of some four million members, but has experienced long periods of relative inactivity. It is currently experiencing a resurgence, dating from the 1954 Supreme Court decision in *Brown v. Board of Education*, 347 U.S. 483 (1954).

At the present time, there are 14 active Klan-type organizations in the United States. Membership is estimated as approximately 14,000, exclusive of thousands of sympathizers. The largest Klan group, the United Klans of America, Inc., Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, has headquarters in Tuscaloosa, Alabama. Led by Imperial Wizard Robert M. Shelton, this group accounts for over two-thirds of the total Klan membership.

<sup>30</sup> The Virginia-based group, comprising fewer than 100 members and having only a fabricated connection to the Hitler regime, is violently anti-Semitic and anti-Negro. The assassination of George Lincoln Rockwell in August, 1967, leaves the current status of the Party in doubt.

<sup>31</sup> Currently composed of about 50 members, RAM was organized in 1963 by Negroes who favor the concept of organized violence. RAM would like to bring about a communist-oriented society along Red Chinese lines. The key figure is Robert Franklin Williams, who fled the United States in 1961 to Cuba, and then to Red China, to avoid a Federal warrant issued for his arrest on a charge of kidnapping a white couple during a racial disturbance in North Carolina.

Their basic tenet, as expressed in their "Manifesto," is: When massive violence comes, the USA will become a bedlam of confusion and chaos. . . . Stores will be destroyed and looted. Property will be damaged and expensive building will be reduced to ashes. Essential pipe lines will be severed and blown up and all manner of sabotage will occur. Violence and terror will spread like a firestorm. RAM Manifesto.

<sup>32</sup> The Minutemen is an extremist guerrilla warfare group, headed by Robert Bollivar DePugh, with headquarters in Norborne, Missouri. Formed in 1960, this group of vigilante superpatriots believes that a communist take-over will occur in the United States and that guerrilla warfare must be waged against the communist conquerors. The Patriotic Party is the political arm of the Minutemen. It is designed to spread the group's propaganda and obtain financial assistance. Total membership is estimated at fewer than 200.

DePugh and four cohorts were indicted and arrested in August, 1966, in Kansas City, Missouri, on charges of conspiracy to violate the National Firearms Act. DePugh and two others were found guilty and given prison sentences. All remain free on bond pending an appeal.

<sup>33</sup> NOI is an all Negro group, with a highly disciplined membership of over 5,000.

<sup>34</sup> "When you talk of black power, you talk of bringing this country to its knees. When you talk of black power, you talk of building a movement that will smash everything western civilization has created." Cleveland Press, Aug. 6, 1966, at 4, col. 1.

<sup>35</sup> N.Y. Times, May 7, 1967, at 1, col. 3.

<sup>36</sup> *Id.*

<sup>37</sup> *Id.* at 74, col. 1.

## Escalation to Disaster—IV

### HON. ROBERT L. LEGGETT

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 28, 1968

Mr. LEGGETT. Mr. Speaker, oftentimes in a discussion on a critical issue the participants tend to escalate their rhetoric and as a result their discussion generates more heat than light. Usually at this point, cooler heads prevail, and by interjecting a little levity they place things in their proper perspective. In this regard, I insert at this point in the RECORD Art Buchwald's column from the March 28, 1968, edition of the Washington Post. I commend it to my colleagues.

The article follows:

COLUMNIST WALLSTOP IS IGNORED IN SHIFTING GENERAL WESTMORELAND  
(By Art Buchwald)

The decision to bring Gen. William C. Westmoreland back to the United States caught Washington completely by surprise. Even Joseph Wallstop, the syndicated hawk and widely-read pundit, had been kept in the dark on the President's plans.

This didn't go down too well with Wallstop when I saw him a few days later at the Army-Navy Club.

"No one consulted me," Wallstop complained. "I had to read about Westmoreland's recall in the newspapers."

"It's typical of the President," I said, trying to placate my friend. "The people involved are the last to know."

"Even Westmoreland knew before I did," Wallstop said.

"But not by much," I pointed out.

"Well, I think it's sheer idiocy," Wallstop said angrily. "Just when the tide has turned and we have the Vietcong and the North Vietnamese on the run, and the Hue offensive proved once and for all that we were fighting paper tigers, Johnson has given in to political expediency. Doesn't the President know that I need Westmoreland in Vietnam?"

"But there will be other generals, Joe, and I'm sure they'll work with you."

"That's not the point," Wallstop said. "Westmoreland understands my strategy. He's a 'search and destroy' man as I am. He understands my attrition policies. This is no time for me to break in a new commanding general."

"But, Joe, there has been some criticism of those policies since the Tet offensive. There are even some military experts who say that they are not working."

"Well, those experts will soon have jam on their faces. Of course, I can't be responsible for every minor setback in Vietnam, particularly when the President won't give me the troops I've asked for."

"That's right," I said. "You did call up the reserves last month, didn't you?"

"I certainly did, not just in one column, but in three. Yet the President overruled me. I can't get it through to the Administration that if I'm going to be proven right in my column, I need at least 500,000 more men."

"Joe, do you think if we had a million American men in Vietnam we could win the war?"

"Maybe not at first, but we certainly could get the pacification program off the ground."

"And then win the hearts and minds of the Vietnamese people," I said.

"Exactly. But every time I make a suggestion and the Administration rejects it, they dance in the streets of Hanoi."

"That's not easy to do with all the bombing going on," I agreed. "Tell me, Joe, why can't anyone else in Washington see the Vietnam problem as clearly as you do?"

"Because they don't have access to cap-

tured enemy documents," Joe said. He opened his briefcase and handed me a sheaf of papers. "Read them and then tell me if we aren't winning the war."

"They're all printed in Vietnamese, Joe." "Well, you can guess what they say, can't you?" he said, putting them back in his briefcase.

"Tell me, Joe. Now that Westmoreland is coming back to the United States, do you think you'll be consulted about his replacement?"

"If I'm not, I can't guarantee the war will continue as well as it's going now."

## Vietnam

### HON. JEFFERY COHELAN

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 28, 1968

Mr. COHELAN. Mr. Speaker, it seems increasingly clear to me that our official policy in Vietnam must be changed if we are to achieve a decent solution there without destroying that unfortunate country and its people.

Three years, thousands of lives, and tens of billions of dollars seem only to have proven the futility of our present course. We, quite simply, are stalemated.

I do not think we should be ashamed to accept a stalemate, however. In fact, the sooner we recognize that we cannot drive out the enemy and the enemy cannot drive us out, the sooner we will have negotiations and a settlement.

The New York Times put the case well when it said:

If the American aim is simply to deny victory to the Communists, to impose a stalemate than can only be resolved by a negotiated settlement—a settlement that accepts the Vietcong as a continuing political factor in the country—then a half million American troops should be more than sufficient. What is needed is a new strategy designed to achieve this country's limited objective with economy of force.

I commend the Times views to the readers of this RECORD, and include them in the RECORD at this point:

[From the New York Times, Mar. 4, 1968]

NEEDED: A VIETNAM STRATEGY

President Johnson's decision to give General Westmoreland a new job instead of the 206,000 new troops he requested could mark a basic turning point in Vietnam, but only if the change in commanders is accompanied by a change in strategy.

The change that is needed after the heavy blow of the Communist Tet offensive is that proposed to Defense Secretary Clifford and the President recently by high Pentagon civilians who oppose further increases in American forces and favor de-escalation instead.

This proposal would cut back on "search-and-destroy" missions in sparsely populated border regions—where the Communists benefit from short supply lines and nearby sanctuaries—and would avoid, especially, static defense there of posts like Khesanh. Emphasis would be put on mobile operations in defense of populated areas, rural and urban, through "clear-and-hold" campaigns and pacification programs.

This strategy has support in the State Department and the Central Intelligence Agency. It is also favored in the Treasury, which has heard Europe's central bankers warn that mobilization of reserve troops would trigger another run on the dollar.

A change in strategy appeared unnecessary to many as recently as January 1, when General Westmoreland's year-end report predicted that allied war gains of 1967 would be "increased manifold in 1968." But the excerpts from the Westmoreland report, disclosed last week by Times correspondent Neil Sheehan, make sorry reading now.

The American military command in Saigon did not envisage the possibility of a setback on the scale inflicted by the enemy's attacks on the cities later in January. General Westmoreland evidently believed that his military strategy had driven the Communist forces to withdraw to frontier sanctuaries, denying them the ability to mount major attacks from bases within South Vietnam.

But while American forces, operating on this assumption, concentrated on "search-and-destroy" missions in sparsely populated border areas—and dug themselves into such unfavorable static positions as Khesanh—the Communists, undetected, assembled 60,000 troops and hundreds of tons of munitions at bases inside South Vietnam for the Tet offensive.

A massive failure of intelligence was involved, as the C.I.A. now privately admits. General Westmoreland's "war of attrition" last year—in which, as his report said, "the enemy did not win a major battle"—did not see Communist strength reduced, as was thought. Instead, it increased. The C.I.A.'s latest assessment indicates that the Communist forces just before Tet totaled not 448,000 to 483,000 men but 515,000 to 600,000 men—15 to 25 per cent more.

The intelligence failure, however, was less important than what it concealed—the failure of the Westmoreland strategy. That failure was cloaked by tactical successes. Whenever Communist forces could be found and fixed, they could be punished severely by a combination of American firepower, mobility and willingness to take losses at a rate that has lifted American casualties above those of the Korean war. The Communist losses undoubtedly have been much higher; but they have been more than replaced.

Moreover, the C.I.A. estimate of Hanoi's military capability, as reported by Times correspondents in Washington, is that a further American troop increase now would simply "bring a matching increase by North Vietnam, thereby raising the level of violence without giving the allies the upper hand."

The futility of allied-initiated escalation has long been evident. As long ago as May 21, 1964, these columns pointed out that "American intervention was followed by an increased Communist effort. The result so far has been merely to enlarge the guerrilla war without changing the real balance of forces. Further increase in American aid could simply mean another frustrating spin around this vicious circle." At that time there were 16,000 American troops in Vietnam. Now there are more than thirty times that many, with still more on the way.

This "open-ended" character of the war, as Senator Mansfield has described it, makes the search for a military solution not only futile but irrelevant. The Communists have no need to win big-unit battles if, by gratifying the American desire to fight them, they can divert American attention from the real task in South Vietnam. That is the political task of protecting, pacifying and winning the loyalty of the populated areas for the Saigon Government.

The trouble with the Westmoreland strategy is not only that it has failed but that it has been a strategy for fighting the wrong war. The Communist success at Tet, which has halted or seriously disrupted the pacification program in two-thirds of the country, was attributable not solely to surprise and the absence of half the South Vietnamese Army on holiday leave.

Most of the American combat forces were also absent from the crucial battlegrounds in South Vietnam's populated areas. Forty of the ninety American combat battalions were concentrated in the five northernmost of South Vietnam's 44 provinces. Half of these were deployed as reserves against the Communist threat—which increasingly appears to have been a feint—against a single American military post in an unpopulated border area: Khesanh.

In these circumstances, it is no answer to proposals for a new strategy to argue, as President Johnson did last week, that lives could not be saved "by moving the battlefield in from the mountains to the cities" or that doing "less than we are doing" is no solution when "we are not doing enough to win it the way we are doing it now."

The present strategy has not kept the battlefield away from South Vietnam's cities. Nor is there any evidence that it can "win" the war. If victory is to be the American objective, neither 50,000 nor 200,000 more American troops will be enough.

But if the American aim is simply to deny victory to the Communists, to impose a stalemate that can only be resolved by a negotiated settlement—a settlement that accepts the Vietcong as a continuing political factor in the country—then a half-million American troops should be more than sufficient. What is needed is a new strategy designed to achieve this country's limited objective with economy of force.

## Nationwide Computerizing of Credit Fine—If

### HON. CORNELIUS E. GALLAGHER

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 28, 1968

Mr. GALLAGHER. Mr. Speaker, on March 12, 13, and 14, 1968, the Special Subcommittee on Invasion of Privacy held hearings into commercial credit bureaus. Since that time the subcommittee and my office have been deluged with numerous examples of the kind of abuses and errors which were mentioned during the hearings.

The distinguished columnist, James J. Kilpatrick, has provided yet another example in the Washington Star of March 28. I am pleased to insert it into the RECORD at this point:

NATIONWIDE COMPUTERIZING OF CREDIT  
FINE—IF

The Humble Oil & Refining Company maintains its Esso credit card records in a highly computerized operation at Bala-Cynwyd, Pa. Toward the end of January, a man named W. M. Cashman was working on the "K" section of those records.

Cashman's task on this particular day was to cull those accounts so badly delinquent that drastic action would have to be taken toward their collection. His eye caught an item of \$7.05 that was months overdue; his eye also caught the name of "Kilpatrick." He noted these facts on his tablet.

Then he says contritely, he must have been interrupted—a telephone call, perhaps; someone asked a question. He does not recall. But his attention flickered. When he returned to the unfinished entry, he looked at the ledgers and wrote "James J." in front of "Kilpatrick." Then he added address and credit card number.

As a general proposition, columnists ought not to write of their personal problems. Per-



mit an exception. For the flickering eye of Cashman is related to a study now being conducted by a subcommittee of House Government Operations. The study deals with the recording, retrieval, and dissemination of personal data; it is concerned with computers, and with privacy. Cashman had the wrong "Kilpatrick." The Kilpatrick of the \$7.05 was some other Kilpatrick, unknown, unrelated, somewhere else in the country.

On Feb. 7, a coldly peremptory notice arrived in my mail. It came from the Brook Adjustment Service in Brookline, Mass. "This account has been listed with our office for immediate collection," said the printed notice. "This is a demand for payment in full, today." If such payment were not made, "further procedure" was implied. And do not fold, staple, or mutilate this card.

In 30 minutes, I tracked down Cashman and had him on the wire. It was not, perhaps, his happiest day. It was a mistake, he said. He was sorry. Okay. But what had this done to my credit reputation? What had his error set in motion?

It turned out that when the \$7.05 memorandum went off to Massachusetts for collection, a copy routinely went also to the Associated Credit Bureaus of America in Houston. The ACBA, as it is known, is composed of 2,068 local credit bureaus throughout the United States. They maintain dossiers on 96 million Americans. Last year they provided more than 100 million credit reports to 365,000 subscribing merchants, banks, and other granters of credit. The local affiliate, the Credit Bureau, Inc., maintains dossiers on two million present and former residents of the Washington area. (It corrected my own credit record on March 11.)

In recent testimony before the House committee, Robert K. Pinger discussed the approaching nationwide computerization of credit records, and opposed "any legislation that would hamper efforts of credit bureaus to centralize information." Pinger is general manager of the Credit Bureau of Greater Houston, which is pioneering (with Dallas) in an advanced system of computerized data retrieval. By midsummer, the two cities will be "on the line." Because credit data is ideally suited for computer input, other cities soon will follow their lead. The computers will be linked to each other.

This will make possible the virtually instantaneous filing, retrieval, and disclosure of information relating to the financial responsibility "and character" of every person who makes use of credit. Computer symbols will reflect not only how rapidly a man pays his bills, but also data relating to bankruptcy, garnishment, forced collection, divorce, liens, lawsuits, indictments, convictions, income, marital status, dependents, and the like.

So long as the information is accurate, fine. An efficient credit system is vital to the economy; and a man who seeks credit reasonably may be asked to answer such questions. But suppose a clerk's eye flickers? Suppose the symbols are wrong? Pondering these problems, the House committee has set an alarm bell swinging. We ought to heed it closely. It tolls for us all.

### Mr. Tenzer's Retirement

## HON. SEYMOUR HALPERN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 28, 1968

Mr. HALPERN. Mr. Speaker, the recent announcement by my good friend and esteemed colleague from the Fifth Congressional District in New York, Representative HERBERT TENZER, that he plans to retire from the political hus-

ings, was a source of very real regret to many of us.

Although he sits on the other side of the aisle, I am confident that I can speak for our side in expressing the admiration and affection my fellow Republicans hold for HERB TENZER.

Whatever I might say about HERB has already been said in one of the most touching and beautiful feature columns I have been privileged to read in many years.

Written by Andrew J. Viglietta, the column appears in the March 24 edition of the Long Island Press.

Mr. Speaker, Andy Viglietta has become an almost legendary figure among the Nation's journalists and his Sunday Washington column about HERB TENZER clearly reflects the reason.

It dramatically unfolds the human side of a Member of Congress with a kind of simplicity that bespeaks a remarkable insight into the stark realities of political life. That insight, coupled with a consummate writing skill, is the product of more than 30 years of observing, analyzing, and reporting the political scene.

Andy Viglietta is a master craftsman who has produced a superlative essay about a valued Member of this distinguished body, who is taking leave of us. I commend to my colleagues that essay, and I feel certain we all join in wishing HERB TENZER many fruitful, productive, happy years:

### TENZER RETIREMENT

(By Andrew J. Viglietta)

WASHINGTON.—The retirement of Rep. Herbert Tenzer, Lawrence Democrat, is a loss that the federal legislature can ill afford.

Tenzer was not just an ordinary congressman. The Long Islander had more on the ball than most of the 435 members of the House of Representatives.

While he loves the fascination and responsibility of Congress, Tenzer is bowing out only because he wants to spend more time with his wife, Florrie, his children and his five grandchildren.

His stature in Congress began growing the day he was sworn in a little more than five years ago. There were many reasons for it.

First, Tenzer is a man of broad experience—more than most of his colleagues—in the business world, the judiciary, civic affairs and a man who felt keenly about the war in Vietnam but never, never joined with those who practically excoriated President Johnson for his handling of the situation.

Tenzer, too, is a deeply religious man, who prayed to his God not only on Holy Days but every day in the week. Only those of us who have been close to Tenzer in Washington know how religious he is.

His friendly hand on the shoulder of a colleague in trouble always brought hope. His wisdom, gathered from years of experience as a top-flight lawyer and business man was always evident, whether it was in the House Judiciary Committee or on the floor of Congress.

When Tenzer took to the floor to make a speech, one could hear a pin drop. That's the kind of respect his colleagues have for him.

Probably the man who knows him best as a legislator and friend is Rep. Emanuel Celler, Brooklyn Democrat whose district includes the Rockaways.

It was Celler who urged Tenzer to run for Congress; it was Celler who suggested that Tenzer be named to the Judiciary Committee, a coveted assignment for any lawyer.

Tenzer's availability to his constituents is well known. Many times he flew back to his

district during the week, just to keep a promise that he would attend one function. This was especially true if the case was a charitable one.

The United States, going through a rough period in its history, cannot afford to have men like Tenzer retire.

Tenzer will no doubt give advice and counsel freely after next Jan. 1, but it's a sure bet that there will be times after the next Congress convenes that Herb Tenzer will be wishing he were down in Washington taking part in the debate.

Press him on this point, and he'll probably admit it.

### And Death Came for a Young Man

## HON. JAMES H. (JIMMY) QUILLEN

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 28, 1968

Mr. QUILLEN. Mr. Speaker, I call to the attention of my colleagues and the readers of the RECORD a most thought-provoking editorial which recently appeared in the Bristol, Tenn., Herald-Courier.

If every American could read this editorial and pause to think of the personal sacrifice of our fighting men, I believe we would have an outpouring of gratitude to these brave young men who are fighting and dying for each of us in Southeast Asia. The editorial follows:

### AND DEATH CAME FOR A YOUNG MAN

Once in a while, the complexities of the war in Vietnam are pushed aside by a single thought, eloquently expressed—a thought that, at least, makes some sense out of the frustration and the sacrifice and the doubts which are part and parcel of this war.

Such a thought occurred recently to Paul Jones, commentator for Newspaper Enterprise Association (NEA), and this is the way he expressed it:

A boy died for me in Khe Sanh today.

I didn't know him, and he didn't know me.

But he died for me just the same.

I learned about it when the 6 o'clock newscast showed him being carried off the battlefield by his buddies.

He was going home at last—but not the way he had dreamed of going.

I watched the newscast as I ate a good, hot meal in my safe, comfortable home.

The news was pretty much as usual. The war in Vietnam . . . college kids demonstrating against changes in the draft rules, screaming and mugging for the camera . . . more teachers out on strike.

After dinner I tuned in to a program on which a comic wisecracked sourly about the way the war was going—and probably got more money for doing it than this boy in Khe Sanh had been paid all the time he was in service.

Then I went to bed, free from any fear that the house might be blown up by the enemy. The enemy is busy over in Vietnam.

But I couldn't get this boy off my mind.

I wondered if he had been frightened. Of course, he had. Who wouldn't be?

Had he hated this war as much as I hate it?

Probably more. He was in it!

But, somehow, those boys in the thick of it over there seem to understand more clearly than many of us just why they are there, and the dreadful alternative if they weren't.

How had he felt about these characters who are defying the government, calling our leaders murderers, tearing up draft cards and pulling down the American flag?

However he had felt, he had fought for that flag until he was killed.

It's too late now, of course, to try to thank this boy for what he did. But it's not too late to thank his buddies for what they're doing.

But how do you thank someone for facing death for you?

How do you reassure him that as long as men like him are willing to die for freedom, freedom is worth dying for—even though it be abundantly used and abused by the very ones who disdain to fight for it?

So you hope that the boys over there realize that dissent is loud and gets attention, but that gratitude is quiet and doesn't make the headlines.

You hope they know that millions upon millions of Americans are with them all the way.

I hope and pray that boy knew it as he died for me in Khe Sanh today.

### Charles K. L. Davis, Hawaii's Golden-Voiced Tenor, To Sing in Carnegie Hall

#### HON. SPARK M. MATSUNAGA

OF HAWAII

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 28, 1968

Mr. MATSUNAGA. Mr. Speaker, a voice of unusual beauty will be heard in Carnegie Hall on the evening of June 11, 1968, when Hawaii's own golden-voiced tenor, Charles K. L. Davis, appears in his first concert at the world-famous concert hall.

Like leis from his native State, garlands of superlatives have been heaped upon the shoulders of the Hawaiian-born singer in praise of the beautiful quality of his lyric tenor voice.

In a career stretching from his barefoot days on the beaches of Honolulu to a White House command performance, Charles K. L. Davis has proved to be equally at home in opera as in concert and musical comedy.

A winner of the Metropolitan Opera auditions, he has appeared with such luminaries as Rise Stevens and Licia Albanese, as well as with leading opera companies and symphony orchestras throughout the country.

In a rare tribute to this young American tenor, the mayor of Honolulu proclaimed January 19, 1968, as "Charles K. L. Davis Day" to honor him for his outstanding contributions to the arts in Hawaii.

The program at Carnegie Hall will be a repeat of the one given on January 19 when the young star's versatility and showmanship enchanted an overflow audience of 2,300 at the Honolulu International Center. The packed house responded warmly to the varied selections in nine languages—whether a Puccini aria, a hit song from Broadway, a Japanese folk song, or a Brahms lieder. A highlight of the evening was his rendition of "Eli, Eli," the emotional Yiddish lament.

Honolulu Advertiser columnist Eddie Sherman wrote recently:

People are still talking about the sellout smash of the Charles K. L. Davis concert.

The concert at Carnegie Hall will give fresh evidence of the brilliant artistry of Charles K. L. Davis, and I hope that many of my colleagues and other lovers of fine music will join us at Carnegie Hall on Tuesday evening, June 11, 1968, for what will be one of the most exciting musical events of the current season.

I am pleased to insert in the RECORD some additional information about the forthcoming Guido Salmaggi presentation of this bright phenomenon of the arts from the Island State—Hawaii's own Charles K. L. Davis:

Charles K. L. Davis is the most famous opera and concert tenor now representing The State of Hawaii, where he was born. Someone to hear, someone to watch, someone to remember is this young American whose "lyric tenor voice of beautiful quality and vibrant fresh vocalism" (New York Post) has marked him as an outstanding young star in the ranks of bel canto tenors. A winner of the Metropolitan Opera Audition, this artist—in a record short period of time—has scored importantly in opera, concert, radio, television, recordings, summer festivals and supper clubs. He recently sang at a White House Command performance. When Ed Sullivan took a special troupe to Russia he chose Davis to sing with Rise Stevens. Davis' unique versatility, his warm quality of talent plus personality, herald a true star, for, to quote the famous columnist Louella Parsons, "What a voice that boy has!" Equally at home in opera as in concert and musical comedy, Davis has appeared with leading opera companies and symphony orchestras throughout the country. He sings in nine languages.

### Los Angeles County: America's Outstanding Pioneer in Designing Effective Clean Air Programs

#### HON. EDWARD R. ROYBAL

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 28, 1968

Mr. ROYBAL. Mr. Speaker, Los Angeles County is recognized as the Nation's leader in the fight for cleaner air in America's crowded metropolitan centers—where nearly 80 percent of our people live, and where air pollution is becoming an increasingly dangerous menace to health, and to the kind of clean, wholesome atmosphere we want for ourselves and for our children.

For that reason, I am delighted to have the opportunity of including in the RECORD at this point, the text of a recent address on the subject of effective air pollution control presented by Mr. Joseph M. Pollard, Los Angeles County's Washington legislative representative, to the recent Seattle environmental pollution conference of the National Association of Counties.

Mr. Pollard's most informative and enlightening remarks follow:

REMARKS OF JOSEPH POLLARD, LEGISLATIVE REPRESENTATIVE, LOS ANGELES COUNTY, AT THE AIR POLLUTION WORKSHOP SESSION, ENVIRONMENTAL POLLUTION CONFERENCE, NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF COUNTIES, SEATTLE, WASH., MARCH 24 TO 27, 1968

It would be difficult to discuss the financing of American air pollution control programs without some reference to the experi-

ence of Los Angeles County. This is so because Los Angeles County instituted the first large municipal program, it has expended the largest total amount of any municipal program, and it continues to have the largest annual budget of any municipal program.

Air pollution first became a noticeable problem in Los Angeles during World War II. The Los Angeles County Air Pollution Control District was activated late in 1947 and has been operational for more than 20 years.

The Air Pollution Control District has jurisdiction over the entire 4,000 square miles of Los Angeles County, serving both the incorporated and unincorporated areas. It has one set of rules and regulations applied uniformly across municipal lines, and one set of enforcement officers who carry out their functions everywhere within the District.

Within the District resides a population of about 7½ million. There are 4 million motor vehicles using nearly 8 million gallons of gasoline daily. There are more than 20 thousand manufacturing establishments. This is the third largest petroleum refining complex in the country, and there are 11 major electrical generating plants burning fossil fuel.

The air pollution experienced during the late forties and early fifties consisted of about 40% emissions from stationary sources—industry and rubbish disposal—and about 60% of emissions from automobiles. Today, pollution from rubbish disposal has been eliminated, pollution from industry has been reduced almost to the practicable minimum, but pollution from motor vehicles has been controlled only slightly. In the meantime, the number of motor vehicles has more than doubled, and there is more than twice as much pollution from this source as there was when the control program began in 1948. The ratio now is approximately 15% from stationary sources and 85% from motor vehicles.

At present, control measures now in effect are keeping a total of 7,250 tons of pollution out of the air of Los Angeles County every day. Of these 7,250 tons, 5,550 tons are controlled as the result of the steps taken by the Air Pollution Control District in regulating stationary sources. The other 1,700 tons are being controlled by the installation of crankcase and exhaust control devices on motor vehicles.

Still uncontrolled and being emitted are pollutants totaling 13,500 tons per day. Of this, 1,300 tons come from all stationary sources, including not only industry but all combustion processes such as domestic heating and cooking as well. Of the remaining, 12,200 tons are being emitted from motor vehicles, meaning for the most part from the exhaust pipes of gasoline-powered automobiles.

The cost to control 5,550 tons of pollution from stationary sources has been at least three-quarters of a billion dollars. Some of this we can measure with exactness, the remainder we can estimate. For example, a permit must be obtained for every piece of air pollution control equipment installed in Los Angeles County, and we keep a precise record of the cost of this equipment. Our records show that industry has expended more than \$142 million for such control equipment. This does not include, however, the cost of maintaining or operating this equipment, or the value of the land it occupies, nor does it take into account the cost of designing and building into other basic equipment the modifications necessary to meet our requirements without use of separate control devices. Wherever this is possible, it is done. The true cost to industry may be twice the \$142 million. Another item which we measure precisely is the amount paid for fees for these permits, and the amount paid as fines for convictions of viola-



tions of our Rules. Since 1948 these two items amount to about \$3 million. We also know accurately the cost of the Air Pollution Control District for the 18 years of its existence: \$46,430,300. Of this amount, more than \$6 million have been spent for basic research. In addition, however, Los Angeles County taxpayers have also borne a pro-rata share of the air pollution control expenditures of the State of California and of the Federal government; and that is a sizable amount.

Another area of expense has been rubbish collection and disposal, which costs an estimated \$55 million a year in Los Angeles County. Since 1957, this has amounted to about \$500 million.

All of this expenditure for control is only the top of the iceberg of the cost of air pollution. There is no way of knowing the full cost to Los Angeles County over the past 20 years, but we can make an estimate. President Johnson has given the Federal government's estimate of the cost of air pollution to the nation as 11 billion dollars each year. Los Angeles County represents about 5% of the national market, and if we assume that we share the national air pollution cost in the same 5% proportion, then in 20 years we have suffered a loss equal to 11 billion dollars. Because the figure is so staggering, our inclination is to discount it, and then discount it again, but even so we must conclude that the loss has been tremendous. And that is without taking account of the loss of productivity due to the distress of air pollution, and the price of pain and suffering, impaired health and loss of well-being for millions of people. Nor does it take into account the general friction and drag on the entire mechanism of society caused by the debate, and pulling and hauling over the problem; the deluge of billions of words printed and spoken about the subject; the legislative hours expended, and the cost in time and money of discussions such as this very panel. For example, the cost to the APCD of just two proceedings that extended over 4 years—the hearings before the Federal Power Commission on applications to bring in more natural gas, and a case in the Superior Court challenging our Rule 62 on oil burning—cost the County of Los Angeles at least \$250,000.

It is against this backdrop of cost and loss—the three-quarter billion in cost of control, the 11 billion in loss to air pollution—that we evaluate the need for preventive action.

Our District employs 305 personnel, and the budget for 1967-68 is \$3,900,000. These operations are financed from the general tax revenue of the County. There is no special assessment for the Air Pollution Control District as there is for other special districts such as Flood Control, Sanitation, Mosquito Abatement, etc.

Since 1965, the Los Angeles County Air Pollution Control District has received grants from the United States Public Health Service totaling somewhat in excess of \$600,000. The grants were authorized for the addition of new monitoring stations to our network, the purchase of a mobile laboratory, and the enforcement of new rules and regulations, including an extensive program to control solvent emissions.

The Los Angeles County Air Pollution Control District has received little if any "technical assistance" from either the State or Federal governments, largely because the District itself has the best expertise in the field. It has proved to be a valuable recruiting ground for the State and Federal governments, and for other local jurisdictions.

Its function and structure have provided a model for the guidance of other agencies. The United States Public Health Service has printed as the standard guidebook, "Air Pollution Control Field Operations Manual," which describes the practices and procedures in the Los Angeles County District. The National Center for Air Pollution Control has

printed an engineering manual authored by District personnel, which sets forth the design criteria of both basic and control equipment from an air pollution control point of view. The Federal government also is printing a book on incinerator design, authored by the Los Angeles County APCD.

Many of the rules originated by Los Angeles County, such as Rule 62 governing the sulfur content and use of high-sulfur fuels, and Rule 66 regulating the use of organic solvents, have been adopted for Federal installations and by other jurisdictions. So in the case of Los Angeles County, the direction of the flow of technical assistance is the reverse of what might be expected elsewhere.

From our experiences over the years we can draw two important conclusions. First, the technical know-how and the actual control devices are now available for the control of almost any air pollution problem existing from stationary sources. Second, each community must determine for itself the degree of clean air it desires and the price that the community is willing to pay for that degree of clean air.

In Los Angeles, the price has been high because the control program was a pioneering effort. The price in other areas should be much lower because of that effort. Results, answers and techniques now are available that can be of benefit to other areas. The experiences in Los Angeles need not be repeated in every urbanized area facing an air pollution problem. The mistakes and accomplishments in Los Angeles should prove valuable guidelines for other areas to follow. The price any community pays, therefore, for clean air should be far less than it has been for Los Angeles.

### Or Doesn't Anybody Care?

#### HON. LESTER L. WOLFF

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 28, 1968

Mr. WOLFF. Mr. Speaker, one sometimes loses sight of the tragic human circumstances of war while discussing the politics of war policy and the conditions of international relations.

But ultimately what we are talking about when we talk about war, is the tragedy of human suffering and the loss of life. When war is far removed from our borders we, therefore, must be careful not to lose sight of what is happening. We must constantly care.

To this end I would commend to my colleagues' attention a newspaper column by Walter Kaner in the March 10 edition of the Long Island Press. Mr. Kaner is a sensitive human being and an excellent writer. In answer to his question: "Or does not anybody care?" the answer must be: "Yes, Mr. Kaner, we try to understand and we do care."

Because Mr. Kaner's column raises a vital question, I wish to include it in the RECORD at this point:

#### OR DOESN'T ANYBODY CARE?

(By Walter Kaner)

The war in Vietnam is so far away.

It never reached home. Not really.

Not the war pictures. Or the battle reports. Or the war casualties. It touched somebody else. Someone I didn't know.

This week it struck close to home.

I learned, painfully, how a bullet that cuts down a boy in Vietnam can also rip through a mother's heart here.

I was visiting the boy's home when the dreaded telegram arrived.

I saw the grief etched in his mother's face as, with fingers trembling she opened the telegram. Anguish filled his grandmother's face, her eyes sunken and red. His grandfather's chin quivered as he tried to control his tears.

"The Secretary of the Army has asked me to express his deep regret that your son . . . died in Vietnam on March 2 from gunshot wounds received while on combat operations . . ."

She didn't cry. She was numb from heart-ache. She had cried her heart dry the day before when an Army official came to the home that day to break the tragic news. The telegram made it official.

The telegram left out the details. It didn't say he and 47 buddies were killed in ambush outside Saigon. It didn't say they all died in eight minutes of gunfire.

Eight hours, eight weeks, eight years won't ease his mother's grief.

The telegram didn't say other things.

That he was just a boy. Only 23. With his whole life ahead of him. A girl to marry. And a family to raise.

The telegram should have told how he was born of his mother's pain. Raised as a baby with loving care. Of his first day at school. The tears at his first bloody nose in a fight. The joy when he got his first bike.

It should have mentioned the blond, grinning kid playing baseball at the neighborhood lot. The boy who loved to gulp down ice cream sodas. And gorge himself on pizza pies. How he blushed when he introduced "his girl" to his mom. And how he spent hours polishing his jalopy and souping up the motor.

And when he went off to war he joked about it and told his mom not to worry, and how he'd write every day and he'd be home soon and everything would be OK.

But inwardly, he told me, he was worried and wondered if he was really coming back and if he'd ever see his folks and the house and the neighborhood again.

He couldn't understand death. "I don't understand death," he wrote his mother. "Why is it the death rate of American men is considered a statistic when a couple of men trapped in a mine is a national catastrophe?"

Once, before he left for Vietnam, we were having dinner in a restaurant and he watched people laughing, drinking and dining. "Doesn't anybody know there's a war on?" he asked.

"If it's a war for us—Isn't it a war for everybody? If a guy must sacrifice his life for his country . . . shouldn't the people back home sacrifice something too?"

I kept thinking of the dead boy's painful questions as I numbly read the telegram over and over.

Shamefully, most of us don't know there's a war on. And many don't care, as long as it doesn't touch home.

It wasn't an enemy bullet alone that killed the boy. Or the more than 400 other Long Island boys . . . or the more than 19,000 American boys who have died for us in Vietnam.

We helped kill them too. You and I.

We killed them with grenades of apathy. With mortars of complacency. And mines of disinterest.

We've made it the kids' war. Not our war. We're too busy going to nightclubs and restaurants and ballgames and the movies to notice. We're too busy making a buck to think about the kids dying for us. We're too busy with our petty everyday problems to write a GI fighting for us.

While some blond's hips writhe to the rhythm of the Twist at a discotheque a young boy writhes in agony in a rice paddy. While we scream with laughter at a TV comic a kid

screams in pain as a bullet rips into his young body.

There's something wrong, terribly wrong in America.

The dead boy's questions demand an answer. "If it's a war for us—Isn't it a war for everybody? If a guy must sacrifice his life for his country—shouldn't the people back home sacrifice something too?"

I've seen the grief, the heartache, the agony inflicted on the mother and family of just one GI killed in Vietnam. It is being repeated thousands of times across America.

When—in God's name—when will we Americans wake up to the fact there is a war going on?

Or doesn't anybody care?

## Nixon Leads Johnson for the First Time

### HON. JAMES G. FULTON

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 28, 1968

Mr. FULTON of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, with permission to extend my remarks, I include the following article from the Washington Post of March 27, 1968:

THE GALLUP POLL: NIXON LEADS JOHNSON FOR FIRST TIME

(By George Gallup)

PRINCETON, N.J., March 26.—Richard Nixon has a 41 to 39 per cent lead over President Johnson in the latest Gallup Poll "trial heat," conducted after the New Hampshire primary. Far behind Nixon and Johnson, but gaining strength, is ex-Gov. George Wallace of Alabama, with 14 per cent of the vote.

This marks the first time Nixon has led in a three-way test in surveys during the last 15 months.

In a pre-New Hampshire survey in early March, Nixon and Mr. Johnson were tied at 39 per cent, with Wallace, the candidate of the American Independent Party, drawing 11 per cent of the national vote.

Since October, 1966, the Gallup Poll has conducted five test election contests matching Mr. Johnson, Nixon and Wallace. Over this period, Mr. Johnson's support has shown a steady decline, while Nixon and Wallace have registered gains. Wallace, in particular, has doubled his following since the fall, 1966, survey.

Following is the question asked of a national cross-section of 1145 register voters between March 16-20:

"Suppose the presidential election were being held today. If Richard Nixon were the Republican candidate and Lyndon Johnson were the Democratic candidate, and George Wallace of Alabama were the candidate of a third party, which would you like to see win?"

#### NATIONAL TOTALS

(In percent)

	Latest survey	Early March	December 1967	April 1967	October 1966
Nixon.....	41	39	36	36	34
Johnson.....	39	39	44	46	51
Wallace.....	14	11	12	12	7
Undecided.....	6	11	8	6	8

In the 13-state region of the South Wallace wins 31 per cent of the vote in the latest survey, equalling Nixon's total. Mr. Johnson, with 34 per cent, emerges with a slim lead in this region.

Outside the South, however, the Wallace vote drops to 8 per cent, with Nixon managing to top Mr. Johnson by 44 to 41 per cent.

## Vietnam—Peripheral Vision

### HON. HERBERT TENZER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 28, 1968

Mr. TENZER. Mr. Speaker, on Thursday evening, March 21, 1968, I attended a meeting of the executive committee of the Union of Orthodox Jewish Congregations of America in New York City.

I spoke to the members of the executive committee in my capacity as a Member of Congress, also as a member of the executive committee of the UOJCA, and as national secretary of the Synagogue Council of America, representing the rabbinical and lay leadership of the three branches of Judaism—Orthodox, Conservative, and Reform.

The purpose of the meeting was to review the official position of the UOJCA on the Vietnam war. I am placing in the RECORD at this point extracts from the text of my statement:

EXTRACTS FROM STATEMENT OF CONGRESSMAN HERBERT TENZER, MARCH 21, 1968, AT MEETING OF EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF UNION OF ORTHODOX JEWISH CONGREGATIONS OF AMERICA, HOTEL ESPLANADE, NEW YORK CITY

I have announced that I will not seek a third term in the House of Representatives. My decision was made for purely personal reasons. There are 10 reasons for my retirement—my dear wife, Florrie, our son, daughter, son-in-law, daughter-in-law, and our five grandchildren.

During the next 9 months I will continue at my post serving my constituents—attending to my committee work—and continuing my work on pending legislation.

I will also continue my search for and offer constructive proposals and alternatives in pursuit of peace. I will cooperate with all who are dedicated to move the Vietnam conflict from the battlefield to the conference table.

While the President wants peace, I am aware that he cannot view the situation in Vietnam wearing "blinkers" in the manner of some of the candidates. His peripheral vision must enable him to keep in full view and proper focus the global interests of the United States.

The President's peripheral vision must keep in focus at all times:

a) The Warsaw Ambassadorial conferences with the Chinese for the release of American fliers, and other questions.

b) The Panmunjon negotiations with the North Koreans for the release of the Pueblo and its crew.

c) The Geneva Nuclear Test Ban Treaty negotiations and implementations.

d) The Middle East where the Soviets have rearmend the UAR with sophisticated weaponry keeping the area on a powder keg.

e) The Berlin area where the Communist East Germans are trying to create another Berlin crisis.

f) The Soviet Union and China—psychological, ideological, political competition.

and other places on the globe.

While I may differ with the President on Vietnam—I have stated some of the reasons why at present I stand with the President. You might say that I am a "loyalist". I am not a candidate for delegate to the Democratic National Convention.

In the months ahead I will be watching and listening to the debate within the Demo-

cratic party, with great interest. It is significant and unfortunate that no such debate is taking place in the Republican party which has offered little to date in the way of constructive peace in Vietnam.

Mr. Speaker, I am also placing in the RECORD for the information of my colleagues the text of the resolution adopted by the Union of Orthodox Jewish Congregations of America first adopted in 1967 and still representing UOJCA's position on the Vietnam war which is under constant review by its executive committee:

#### Vietnam

Our country is deeply engaged in the war in Vietnam as part of its determination to resist Communist aggression anywhere in the world. A true conception of American aspirations, however, must also encompass an ultimate desire and continuing quest for peace. Such a quest is deeply ingrained in the Jewish soul. It is our Prophets who gave to mankind the eschatological vision of a world in which all nations live in harmony with each other and no longer wage war. The constant efforts of the President of the United States to promote peace and to end the conflict have our fervent support.

The leaders of American government have recognized that any hope for peace by negotiation in Vietnam rests on the manifestation of the ability of the Free World to contain aggression. We express our full confidence that the President of the United States and his Administration will discharge their awesome responsibilities to manifest this determination for the achievement of lasting peace in the best interests of the United States and of all mankind.

Mr. Speaker, I have offered several proposals in connection with the Vietnam war—proposals designed to remove the war from the battlefield to the conference table. Others have made similar proposals. The best of these proposals should be tested. See CONGRESSIONAL RECORDS: March 6, 1968, 5435; March 7, 1968, 5791; March 22, 1968, 7425.

I have differed with the President on Vietnam. I want an escalation of our efforts to bring about peace. I believe the President wants peace in Vietnam, too, but when he speaks publicly on the issue, he must consider many trouble spots and potential trouble spots on the globe at the same time.

The President must have a wide scope of peripheral vision and all Americans should understand that when he speaks, he is speaking for 200 million Americans and for our national interests throughout the world.

We can support his efforts for peace—by acting in unity in pursuit of peace—by urging that one or the other—or a combination of the proposals for peace be tested—yes—tested now.

## Reorganization Plan No. 1

### HON. CHET HOLIFIELD

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 27, 1968

Mr. HOLIFIELD. Mr. Speaker, it is my understanding that the disapproval resolution, House Resolution 1101, reported by the Committee on Government Op-



erations, will be called up in the House next week. This resolution calls upon the House to reject President Johnson's Reorganization Plan No. 1 of 1968 which transfers to the Department of Justice the administration of the narcotics laws now carried out by the Bureau of Narcotics under the Secretary of the Treasury and the administration of the drug abuse laws now carried out by the Bureau of Drug Abuse Control under the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare. These two bureaus will be joined together in a new Bureau of Narcotics and Dangerous Drugs in the Department of Justice, reporting directly to the Office of the Attorney General. Narcotics laws deal generally with marihuana and the addictive narcotics such as opium and heroin. Drug abuse laws deal generally with stimulants, depressants, and hallucinogenics, such as LSD.

In our judgment, this is a meritorious reorganization and the disapproval resolution should be defeated. I remind the Members that the proper vote in support of the reorganization plan will be "nay."

In anticipation of this debate and for the information of the Members, I include herewith as part of my remarks the President's message transmitting the plan, the text of the plan itself, and a section-by-section analysis:

**REORGANIZATION PLAN NO. 1 OF 1968—CREATING A NEW BUREAU OF NARCOTICS AND DANGEROUS DRUGS**

*To the Congress of the United States:*

In my first Reorganization Plan of 1968, I call for the creation of a new and powerful Bureau of Narcotics and Dangerous Drugs.

With this action, America will serve notice to the pusher and the peddler that their criminal acts must stop.

No matter how well organized they are, we will be better organized. No matter how well they have concealed their activities, we will root them out.

Today, Federal investigation and enforcement of our narcotics laws are fragmented. One major element—the Bureau of Narcotics—is in the Treasury Department and responsible for the control of marihuana and narcotics such as heroin. Another—the Bureau of Drug Abuse Control—is in the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, and is responsible for the control of dangerous drugs including depressants, stimulants, and hallucinogens such as LSD.

Neither is located in the agency which is primarily concerned with Federal law enforcement—the Department of Justice.

This separation of responsibilities—despite the relentless and dedicated efforts of the agents of each Bureau—has complicated and hindered our response to a national menace.

For example, more than nine out of ten seizures of LSD made by the Bureau of Drug Abuse Control have also turned up marihuana—but that Bureau has no jurisdiction over marihuana.

In many instances, we are confronted by well organized, disciplined and resourceful criminals who reap huge profits at the expense of their unfortunate victims.

The response of the Federal Government must be unified. And it must be total.

Today, in my Message on Crime, I recommended strong new laws to control dangerous drugs. I also recommended an increase of more than thirty percent in the number of Federal agents enforcing the narcotic and dangerous drug laws.

I now propose that a single Bureau of Narcotics and Dangerous Drugs be established in the Department of Justice to administer

those laws and to bring to the American people the most efficient and effective Federal enforcement machinery we can devise.

Under this Reorganization Plan the Attorney General will have full authority and responsibility for enforcing the Federal laws relating to narcotics and dangerous drugs. The new Bureau of Narcotics and Dangerous Drugs, to be headed by a Director appointed by the Attorney General, will:

Consolidate the authority and preserve the experience and manpower of the Bureau of Narcotics and the Bureau of Drug Abuse Control.

Work with states and local governments in their crackdown on illegal trade in drugs and narcotics, and help to train local agents and investigators.

Maintain worldwide operations, working closely with other nations, to suppress the trade in illicit narcotics and marihuana.

Conduct an extensive campaign of research and a nationwide public education program on drug abuse and its tragic effects.

The Plan I forward today moves in the direction recommended by two distinguished groups:

The 1949 Hoover Commission.

The 1963 Presidential Advisory Commission on Narcotic and Drug Abuse.

This Administration and this Congress have the will and the determination to stop the illicit traffic in drugs.

But we need more than the will and the determination. We need a modern and efficient instrument of Government to transform our plans into action. That is what this Reorganization Plan calls for.

The Plan has been prepared in accordance with chapter 9 of title 5 of the United States Code.

I have found, after investigation, that each reorganization included in the plan is necessary to accomplish one or more of the purposes set forth in section 901(a) of title 5 of the United States Code.

I have also found that, by reason of these reorganizations, it is necessary to include in the accompanying plan provisions for the appointment and compensation of the five new positions as specified in section 3 of the plan. The rates of compensation fixed for these new positions are those which I have found to prevail in respect of comparable positions in the Executive Branch of the Government.

Should the reorganization I propose take effect, they will make possible more effective and efficient administration of Federal law enforcement functions. It is not practicable at this time, however, to itemize the reduction in expenditures which may result.

I recommend that the Congress allow this urgently needed and important Reorganization Plan to become effective.

LYNDON B. JOHNSON.

**REORGANIZATION PLAN NO. 1 OF 1968  
NARCOTICS; DRUG ABUSE CONTROL**

**SECTION 1. Transfer of functions from Treasury Department.** There are hereby transferred to the Attorney General:

(a) Those functions of the Secretary of the Treasury which are administered through or with respect to the Bureau of Narcotics.

(b) All functions of the Bureau of Narcotics, of the Commissioner of Narcotics, and of all other officers, employees and agencies of the Bureau of Narcotics.

(c) So much of other functions or parts of functions of the Secretary of the Treasury and the Department of the Treasury as is incidental to or necessary for the performance of the functions transferred by paragraphs (a) and (b) of this section.

**SEC. 2. Transfer of functions from the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare.** There are hereby transferred to the Attorney General:

(a) The functions of the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare under the

Drug Abuse Control Amendments of 1965 (Public Law 89-74; 79 Stat. 226), except the function of regulating the counterfeiting of those drugs which are not controlled "depressant or stimulant" drugs.

(b) So much of other functions or parts of functions of the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, and of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, as is incidental to or necessary for the performance of the functions transferred by paragraph (a) of this section.

**SEC. 3. Bureau of Narcotics and Dangerous Drugs.**

(a) There is established in the Department of Justice an agency which shall be known as the Bureau of Narcotics and Dangerous Drugs. The Bureau shall be headed by a Director who shall be appointed by the Attorney General to a position in the competitive service. The Director shall perform such duties as the Attorney General shall prescribe, and shall receive compensation at the rate now or hereafter provided for Level V of the Executive Schedule Pay Rates (5 U.S.C. 5316).

(b) There are hereby established in the Department of Justice, in addition to the positions transferred to that Department by this Plan, four new positions, appointment to which shall be made by the Attorney General in the competitive service. Two of those positions shall have compensation at the rate now or hereafter provided for GS-18 positions of the General Schedule and the other two shall have compensation at the rate now or hereafter provided for GS-16 positions of the General Schedule (5 U.S.C. 5332). Each such position shall have such title and duties as the Attorney General shall prescribe.

**SEC. 4. Abolition.** The Bureau of Narcotics in the Department of the Treasury, including the office of Commissioner of Narcotics (21 U.S.C. 161), is hereby abolished. The Secretary of the Treasury shall make such provision as he may deem necessary with respect to terminating those affairs of the Bureau of Narcotics not otherwise provided for in this reorganization plan.

**SEC. 5. Performance of transferred functions.** The Attorney General may from time to time make such provisions as he shall deem appropriate authorizing the performance of any of the functions transferred to him by the provisions of this reorganization plan by any officer, employee, or organizational entity of the Department of Justice.

**SEC. 6. Incidental transfers.** (a) There are hereby transferred to the Department of Justice all of the positions, personnel, property, records, and unexpended balances of appropriations, allocations, and other funds, available or to be made available, (1) of the Bureau of Narcotics, and (2) of the Bureau of Drug Abuse Control of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare.

(b) There shall be transferred to the Department of Justice, at such time or times as the Director of the Bureau of the Budget shall direct, so much as the Director shall determine of other positions, personnel, property, records and unexpended balances of appropriations, allocations, and other funds of the Department of the Treasury and of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare employed, used, held, available or to be made available in connection with functions transferred by the provisions of this reorganization plan.

(c) Such further measures and dispositions as the Director of the Bureau of the Budget shall deem to be necessary in order to effectuate the transfers provided in this section shall be carried out in such manner as he may direct and by such agencies as he shall designate.

**SECTION-BY-SECTION ANALYSIS OF REORGANIZATION PLAN NO. 1 OF 1968**

**Section 1.—Transfer of functions from Treasury Department.**—This Section trans-

fers from the Department of the Treasury to the Department of Justice the functions involved in enforcing the narcotics and marihuana laws, but leaves in the Department of the Treasury the functions now carried out through the Internal Revenue Service and the Bureau of Customs with respect to narcotics and marihuana taxes and imports. This is accomplished by transferring to the Attorney General all functions of the Bureau of Narcotics, all functions of the Secretary of the Treasury performed elsewhere solely with respect to that Bureau, and so much of all other functions or parts of functions of the Secretary or the Department of the Treasury as is incidental to or necessary for the performance of the functions of the Bureau.

**Section 1(a)** transfers to the Attorney General those functions of the Secretary of the Treasury which are delegated to the Commissioner of Narcotics for administration through the Bureau of Narcotics. It also transfers other functions of the Secretary which are performed with respect to the Bureau, such as hearing appeals from decisions of the Commissioner of Narcotics or approving regulations issued by the Commissioner under delegated authority.

**Section 1(b)** transfers to the Attorney General all functions vested by law in the Bureau of Narcotics, the Commissioner of Narcotics, or any other officers, employees, and agencies of the Bureau of Narcotics.

**Section 1(c)** transfers any other functions or parts of functions of the Secretary or the Department of the Treasury which are incidental to or necessary for the performance of the functions transferred. For example, the Alcohol and Tax Laboratories of the Internal Revenue Service furnish the laboratory services required by the Bureau of Narcotics and, as necessary, provide expert witnesses. This subsection assures that the Attorney General will have statutory authority to provide, directly or indirectly, for necessary laboratory services and related expert witnesses. The Secretary is authorized to make expenditures for arms and ammunition required by "civilian employees." Since this authorization applies to all law enforcement arms of the Department of the Treasury, this subsection would transfer only so much of the authority as relates to the Bureau of Narcotics.

**Section 2—Transfer of functions from the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare.**—This section transfers to the Department of Justice the functions involved in controlling depressant and stimulant drugs pursuant to the Drug Abuse Control Amendments of 1965.

**Section 2(a)** transfers all of the functions of the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare under those amendments, except that the function of regulating the counterfeiting of non-controlled drugs would remain in HEW.

**Section 2(b)** transfers so much of other functions or parts of functions of the Secretary as is incidental to or necessary for the performance of the functions transferred. Since dangerous drugs are controlled under amendments to the Food, Drug, and Cosmetic Act, which applies to drugs in general, other prior provisions of the Act apply to dangerous drugs where relevant, as well as to drugs which will continue to be under the jurisdiction of HEW. The language of section 2(b) will assure that the Attorney General and the Secretary will each have any relevant statutory authority under the Act, such as the authority to issue regulations.

**Section 3—Bureau of Narcotics and Dangerous Drugs.**—Section 3 provides for the organization and administration of the transferred functions within the Department of Justice.

**Section 3(a)** establishes a Bureau of Narcotics and Dangerous Drugs in the Department of Justice. The Bureau would be headed

by a Director appointed by the Attorney General to a position in the competitive service. The Director would perform such duties as the Attorney General may prescribe, and would be compensated at Level V of the Executive Schedule Pay Rates.

**Section 3(b)** establishes four new positions in the Department of Justice, to be filled by appointment by the Attorney General in the competitive service. Two of the positions would be compensated at the rate now or hereafter provided for GS-18 positions of the General Schedule, and two at the rate for GS-16. Each position would have such title and duties as the Attorney General may prescribe.

**Section 4—Abolition.**—Section 4 abolishes the Bureau of Narcotics established by law in the Department of the Treasury, including the office of the Commissioner of Narcotics, and directs the Secretary of the Treasury to make such provision as he deems necessary with respect to terminating the affairs of the Bureau not otherwise provided for in the reorganization plan.

**Section 5—Performance of transferred functions.**—Section 5 authorizes the Attorney General to delegate the functions transferred to him.

**Section 6—Incidental transfers.**

**Section 6(a)** transfers to the Department of Justice all of the positions, personnel, property, records, and funds of the Bureau of Narcotics of the Department of the Treasury and of the Bureau of Drug Abuse Control of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare.

**Section 6(b)** transfers to the Department of Justice so much as the Director of the Bureau of the Budget may determine of other positions, personnel, property, records and funds of the Department of the Treasury and the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare.

**Section 6(c)** directs such other actions as the Director deems necessary to effectuate the transfers provided by Section 6.

Sections 6 (b) and (c) are standard provisions of reorganization plans. They enable the transfer, without regard to organizational lines or jurisdictions, of all personnel, property, records, and funds used by the Department of the Treasury and the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare in administering the functions to be transferred to Justice.

### News Blackmail

HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 28, 1968

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, more and more the conscience of the American people is awakening to the misuse of some news media to prostitute reporting for sinister purposes—a sort of educational method of imposing the news writer's philosophy on the reader and listener.

Many have noticed the escalation of smears and attacks upon Rhodesia in recent days to the extent that it causes concern as to just what the news media is being used to cover up or what upcoming event is planned that needs justification.

Could it be a concerted effort on behalf of the news manufacturers to promote more U.N. sanctions against Rhodesia because of the execution in that country of three legally convicted murderers?

Strange behavior indeed when the

same media remains noncommittal on the murder of 20,000 American boys by the Vietcong in South Vietnam.

But no one is fooling anyone—no American is going to sit back and permit any American boys to be sent to Africa because of a stacked vote in the U.N., the New York headquarters of the black racist OAU, nor can all the warped news coverage change anyone's thinking that some of the news media is being used as war promoters and agitators.

I am in receipt of a news cast from WDNG, Anniston, Ala., which indicates the Associated Press opinionmakers do not fool all newscasters—some still believe in fair reporting to the extent that they warn their listeners that all is not right at the control switch of the news monopoly.

The surest way to destroy freedom of speech appears to try to control freedom of speech. The believability gap widens.

Mr. Speaker, I include the station WDNG radio editorial and the U.S. News & World Report article on "Success Story in Africa" following my remarks:

[WDNG radio editorial broadcast Mar. 25, 1968]

On March 17, the Associated Press took a thousand words to tell a story of the Rhodesian arrest of over 100 terrorists that begins, quote "Every time an African drops through the gallows trap in Salisbury prison, the whites of southern Africa cannot help wondering if a day of judgment is creeping closer for them . . . Can the white governments stand against the threats of men who have assumed leadership over the continent's black millions?", end quote AP which goes on and on and on for a thousand words to tell the story that 38 black African governments are banded together in the Organization of African Unity—the OAU—for the purpose of destroying "white supremacy" in the four governments of Angola, Mozambique, Rhodesia and the Republic of South Africa, that the campaign started in 1961 when Holden Roberto organized guerrilla warfare in the Congo to cross the border and attack the Angola farmers—both white and black—that the campaign to date is to free 100 men held in Rhodesia prisons and that the hanging of the five convicted of murderangers all Africa.

The Associated Press goes into great detail about the forces of "black nationalism", about terrorists calling themselves "freedom fighters", about the threat of racial war in Africa that is expected by the Organization of African Unity "to escalate into international confrontation with measureless dimensions" and that the hanged murderers in Rhodesia are considered "racial martyrs" throughout Africa.

Out of this thousand word story, AP takes ten words to say that those who are invading Rhodesia are, quote "armed with sophisticated weapons often of Russian or Chinese manufacture," end quote. AP takes five more words of the thousand word story to say that the Organization of African Unity, quote "plan a Chinese-type guerrilla operation," end quote.

The Associated Press could have taken the thousand words to tell what Red China and Red Russia are doing to train and arm these attacks on the white and the black people of Rhodesia. Instead, AP skips lightly over that part of the story.

The big story in Africa, today, is the subversion of black African states by the Red Chinese and the Red Russians by training and arming these black African states to deliver to the Communists the vast storehouse of natural resources which is southern Africa. Why does not AP tell how Moscow and Peking are working together to de-



stroy the white governments of four countries so that they will become Communist slave-states?

On the following day, AP takes 300 more words to tell how 9 terrorists were killed by Rhodesia when the invaders tried to free the 100 others from prison. Not a word was there in the follow-up story that the whole deal is run from Moscow and Peking. How can AP use 1300 words in two stories in successive days on Rhodesia and lose the big story in the fine print? AP can and does. This is the type of slanted reporting which influences the official policy of the United States government.

[From U.S. News & World Report, Dec. 18, 1967]

#### SUCCESS STORY IN AMERICA: HOW RHODESIA FARES UNDER SANCTIONS

SALISBURY, RHODESIA.—A visitor returning to Rhodesia after an absence of one year quickly comes to this conclusion:

It seems hardly likely that anyone is going to upset the independence of Britain's former colony unless the situation here should get decidedly more critical than it is now.

Two years after Rhodesia's whites unilaterally declared their country independent, Rhodesia keeps perking along—under a lot of strain, but clearly not yet reeling from the effects of a British campaign to bring the rebels down.

There is some evidence, in fact, that Rhodesia is better off than it was a year ago. One diplomatic source estimates that the country will wind up 1967 with a larger trade surplus than it had last year.

#### UNRUFFLED SURFACE

On the drive into town from the Salisbury airport, the visitor passes through some modest, middle-class suburbs. The small, ranch-type houses are surrounded by well-kept lawns and gardens, many with swimming pools. Whites in summer clothes sit in easy chairs, relaxing on a warm Sunday afternoon. There is no visible sign that these people have been seriously hurt by the international economic sanctions carried on against Rhodesia by Britain and the United Nations.

In the grill room of Salisbury's leading hotel, the visitor is surprised to find a big crowd on a Monday night, usually the slowest for restaurant keepers anywhere. The restaurant is packed with people—all of them white—and on the dance floor couples are gyrating to the latest vogues in dance steps.

Miniskirts are as short as those in London, and it is obvious that everyone is having a good time. Says a bystander:

"Sometimes it's hard to figure out whether these people are having a last fling before things get really serious, or whether all this is just proof of how normal everything is."

In the hotel bar, an American businessman who has been coming to Rhodesia for years hoists his glass and declares:

"Sanctions? Our company has a plant in Tokyo, and we're exporting to Rhodesia from there. We're even exporting directly from the U.S."

This American businessman's local representative travels all over the African continent drumming up business. He is a South African by birth and lives in Rhodesia, but carries a British passport. That enables him to travel in black Africa with no questions asked.

A diplomat estimates that there have been 10,000 new-car registrations in Rhodesia this year. That's quite high in a country where only a minority of the people live in the cash economy. All of the 220,000 whites do, plus all of the Asians and the Coloreds—mulattoes—but the majority of the 4.3 million Africans live entirely outside the money economy.

Rhodesia's two principal auto plants—those of Ford and British Motor Holdings—

have been shut down as a result of sanctions. But cars come in from overseas. Plenty of Japanese and German vehicles are to be seen on the streets of Salisbury.

"You can have a new Cadillac if you want it," says an auto dealer. "Of course, it will cost you more—a lot more than in ordinary times."

Also closed as a result of sanctions is the Rhodesian oil refinery near Umtali, close to the Mozambique border. A pipeline from Beira, in Mozambique, used to pump crude oil to the refinery, but today that lies idle.

All of Rhodesia's gasoline now comes either by rail from the Portuguese port of Lourenço Marques or by road from South Africa. Plenty of it is coming in, more than enough under the Rhodesian rationing system, but not enough for indiscriminate use.

#### CROWDS AT THE RACE TRACK

Salisbury is full of cars every day and parking spaces are difficult to find. There isn't much traffic on the country roads, but on Saturday afternoon the local race track, some distance from town, is jammed with people—both black and white—who have come there by car.

However, since the unilateral declaration of independence in 1965, Rhodesia's trade has been pretty clearly restricted. That shows up in figures that are available.

In 1965, Rhodesia's exports were valued at 462 million dollars. In 1966, they dropped to 294 million. Imports, on the other hand, went down sharply under tight Government restrictions, and the country wound up both years with a favorable balance of trade.

For this year, unofficial estimates disclose that Rhodesia will have exported goods worth 376 millions, well over the total for last year. Imports are figured to come to 294 millions. That would leave a surplus of 82 millions. What the final result will be when the balance of payments is added up is not known.

#### TOBACCO IN TROUBLE

It is the sale of Rhodesia's big tobacco crop abroad that has been hardest hit by the sanctions. Normally, Rhodesian tobacco accounted for one third or more of exports. Much of it went to Britain under a preferential-price system. Now, production has been cut almost to half, from 250 million pounds a year to 132 million pounds.

It is estimated that some 600 farmers will be forced out of tobacco growing and that as many as 50,000 Africans will lose their jobs.

Even so, the farmers are not likely to turn against the Government. Backbone of the ruling political party—the Rhodesian Front—is the farmer, and just two days after a sharp cut in tobacco quotas was announced recently, farmers in an area devoted exclusively to tobacco passed a unanimous vote of confidence in the Government.

Some people, including Prime Minister Ian Douglas Smith, are predicting that Rhodesia may never return to its preindependence tobacco sales. If so, foreign-exchange earnings from agriculture probably will continue to be lower, since other crops are not as valuable.

#### MINERALS IN DEMAND

Still being sold abroad are Rhodesia's minerals—asbestos, copper, chrome and iron ore. Some people claim just as much chrome as ever is being exported, although the U.S., formerly the principal customer, has switched to buying chrome from Russia.

Mineral production in Rhodesia during 1966 came to nearly 90 million dollars, according to Government figures, but there is no official word on how much of this was exported.

An American visitor to Rhodesia can, at this time, buy his favorite brand of toothpaste in any drugstore. Also available are familiar brands of American and British gasoline, Scotch whisky and a choice of several American bourbons.

What has surprised many people, at the

same time, is the resilience within the Rhodesian manufacturing industry, which is making things that are hard to get as a result of the sanctions. Breakfast cereals, for example, now are made in Rhodesia. Retail-shop windows are full of such things as shirts, shoes and suits marked "made in Rhodesia."

Industrial production, as a whole, increased 7 per cent in the second three months of 1967, as compared with the same period in 1966. A large textile company reported that its local sales increased 47 per cent between April and July of this year over 1966 figures.

#### FUTURE STILL HOBBLED

If the Rhodesian economy seems to be doing well despite sanctions, there is much concern about how things will go in the future. Everyone in commercial and official circles wants a settlement with Britain, and as soon as possible. Sanctions have meant that any big-boom type of economic growth is out of the question for the present.

There is little evidence of new foreign investment in Rhodesia. A big South African mining company is to put 28 million dollars into nickel mining, but how much of this money will come from outside Rhodesia is a question.

Meanwhile, life for most Rhodesians—both white and black—continues much as it did before independence. Most Africans seem to accept white control—and virtually all whites do.

Although it is clear that the sanctions are hurting the Rhodesian economy, they are not—at this time—a clear danger to the forces in control.

[From U.S. News & World Report, Dec. 18, 1967]

#### LEAVE US ALONE TO SOLVE OUR OWN AFFAIRS (Interview with Ian Smith, Prime Minister of Rhodesia)

SALISBURY.—Question. Mr. Prime Minister, is Rhodesia over the hump in its struggle with Britain?

Answer. No. It really depends on whether these chaps are going to see reason over there, so I wouldn't like to say we're over the hump. We are, however, nearer reaching a position where a final decision has to be made one way or the other.

Question. A decision by the British?

Answer. By both. We either make an agreement or we don't. I don't think there is much time to go on and on, equivocating and delaying.

Question. Would an agreement involve British recognition of Rhodesia's independence?

Answer. Yes, unless we agree that we aren't going to agree—unless we agree to differ.

Question. Will normal relationships with Britain be resumed if you do reach an agreement?

Answer. One would expect this.

Question. Normal trade as well as political relations?

Answer. Yes, one would expect this.

Question. The Rhodesians say the sanctions campaign against them has failed. If that's true, why have they failed?

Answer. I think there are a number of reasons. I think first and most important is that Rhodesia was too strong. We had a well-balanced economy, and it was impossible to get us down by hitting one side of the economy, or even two sides of the economy. This the British tried to do, and to a certain extent they were successful. But we have such a diversified economy that we were simply able to shift the emphasis and to go on.

We are a very advanced and civilized country, you know, and I don't think the rest of the world realizes this sufficiently. Yet we were, because of this very high standard that we had in our country, able to adapt ourselves to new circumstances. We had all the facilities. We could pretty quickly make things here that sanctions would deny to us. I think you are aware of the fact that over

400 new factories have been set up since independence, and so on.

Then I also believe, turning to a different phase of the argument altogether, that we found a lot more sympathy from other people in the world than Britain expected. I think the British should have expected this, because, after all, our case was such a just case. We had done nothing wrong. What we were asking for was what Britain has given to everybody else in the world—independence.

In fact, they were prepared to give it to others far sooner than to us. For some reason or other it seemed the color of our skin was wrong, evidently, and so we couldn't get this. So we did get a tremendous amount of sympathy and support.

Question. Has any hostility of the American Government toward Rhodesia been a factor in your ability to survive?

Answer. No, I wouldn't say so.

Question. Where sanctions have done damage, how long will it take Rhodesia to recover, if you do reach a settlement with the British?

Answer. I think it is difficult to be precise as far as this is concerned. There may be certain areas where we will never return to the position that existed before independence.

Question. Which areas, for example?

Answer. Maybe tobacco, in the agricultural field. I think there are many farmers who relied exclusively on tobacco before who have now diversified and will never go back to that exclusive position in tobacco.

Question. What crops have they gone into?

Answer. Cattle, cotton, maize, monkeynuts [peanuts], soybeans.

Question. Do you think Rhodesia will not go back to producing the great amount of tobacco that it did?

Answer. It would have to prove very attractive, I would say, in order to entice people to do that.

I think that there will be a return if the demand is there, but I don't think it will be quite on the same pattern. I wouldn't necessarily say to the same extent, but on the same pattern, where there were farmers who set up in a pretty big way exclusively on tobacco.

Question. Once a settlement with Britain is reached, what do you foresee as the relationship between Rhodesia and the black African countries to the north? Will you exchange diplomatic missions? Will there be any new developments in trade?

Answer. Well, I think this is possible, but I certainly couldn't give a guarantee, because this depends entirely on those people, and many of them are very unpredictable.

On the other hand there are some who are, I think, displaying a certain amount of reason, who are behaving in a civilized way, and I think it is possible we will have relations with some of them. But as far as the others are concerned, I think we will just have to wait and see, and if we do have relations with them tomorrow, those relations might be broken the next day. This is Africa.

Question. Would you expect to resume normal trade relations with Zambia, which was one of your biggest customers?

Answer. This is one of the most difficult of all to predict, I should think.

Question. What about the trouble you have had with some guerrillas, or terrorists, coming down into Rhodesia from the north? Was that a real threat?

Answer. No, that was of very little consequence to us. Some of these chaps came in and made a nuisance of themselves.

Most of this activity took place round about the Wankie Game Reserve and just below it. Well, this was in the middle of our tourist season, and we have people booked in there from all over the world, including Rhodesia, and as far as I know no single person canceled his booking. They

went through there, through the game reserve in the middle of the wilds and the bush in their motor cars, and this was the battleground.

In fact, I went through there myself, about that time, and as far as I and the rest of us were concerned, these terrorists might just as well not have been there.

Question. How many were there?

Answer. There were about 80 of them, I think.

They came immediately from Zambia, and prior to that they had been trained, I think in countries like Cuba and China.

Then they came to Tanzania, and then Zambia—and Zambia was the launching pad for this little operation.

Question. Were they Rhodesians?

Answer. They were a mixture of Rhodesian and South African. But they were all dealt with, so this may be a salutary lesson for them.

Question. To what extent were the South African police involved in combatting the terrorists?

Answer. No South African police were involved.

Question. Are there not South African police now stationed on Rhodesian territory?

Answer. They came as a result of this incursion, because this was the first incursion of South African terrorists. Prior to that they had been Rhodesians.

Question. Were these South African terrorists on their way to South Africa?

Answer. This was the first time we had had South Africans, and people who openly said—their leader in Zambia said—they were South Africans, and they were on their way to South Africa. They boasted about this. They asked for it. And when we caught some of them and we found that they were South Africans, the South Africans thought that it might be an idea if they sent a contingent of their police to keep a watch on the line there, because this is where they come through. It is very difficult for them to come through to the west, and they come through onto Rhodesian territory.

So I would say that nothing is more logical, nothing better in the way of common sense, than for the South Africans to say, "Well, do you mind if we just come along and have a look here and see if any more South Africans are coming across? We would like to have a look at these chaps."

Question. Do you expect more of this terrorist activity?

Answer. Not any immediate expectation, but who can tell? There are these people hanging around, and for all I know they may be planning to come across.

#### "A MODEL" ON RACE

Question. You were reported recently as saying that it is essential to retain the position of the white man and his civilization in Rhodesia. Can you spell out what that means in terms of the future of the Africans?

Answer. As far as race relations are concerned, I would hope that we will manage to continue to preserve the harmonious race relations that we have always had in Rhodesia. It is no idle boast, this, I think Rhodesia is a model to the rest of the world as far as race relations are concerned. I know of no happier country.

Wherever there are two races, not only in Rhodesia but also, for example, in America, there are always problems, and I would like to know where race relations are more harmonious than in Rhodesia. This is what we are trying to preserve.

Now, dealing with the question of what role the African is going to play in the political field: It is almost impossible to be categorical on this question, because so far the African has shown one thing. He has been very consistent as far as this is concerned, and that is that he is not interested in the Western democratic system of government.

He doesn't understand it, and he doesn't want to, and he doesn't want to have any part of it. This has been our experience so far.

They are basically tribesmen who have been brought up under a tribal structure which has a system of kraal [village] heads, headmen and chiefs. These people represent them. They don't understand our political system, and so far they have shown no interest.

Question. Would future African participation in the political life of Rhodesia then be based on this traditional tribal system?

Answer. Well, at the moment this is how it is, whether we like it or not. There are some Africans who are emerging and who are showing a certain amount of interest in politics. It would, of course, be wrong of me to say that none of them do, but it is a handful, a few thousand out of 4 million, and I think it fair to say that one must presume this will be a gradual business. As they gradually become more and more emergent, I presume they will turn toward the European way. But as yet it just isn't there.

Question. Will this be a slow process?

Answer. Your guess is as good as mine, I don't know whether it's going to be 10 years or a hundred years.

Question. The Russians and some of the other Communists have been involved in supplying weapons to the Nigerians in their civil war. How do you assess that a possible threat to the stability of Africa as a whole? Is it of concern to people down here?

Answer. I suppose it is of some concern. I wouldn't like to be so complacent as to say it is of no concern. Nigeria is a bit far away from us, but this can spread anywhere, and I think it is part of the Communist technique.

Wherever the Communists can get in and leave a few guns and bombs lying around and walk out, they do it, hoping that they will have stirred up trouble. They'll do this anywhere, I think—not only in Africa, of course—anywhere in the world. But this could deteriorate, create problems. On the other hand, it might not.

There are some parts of Africa, I must say, which have indicated quite clearly that they don't like Communism—they're not interested in Communism. It has to be forced upon them. But, on the other hand, the Africans are a very primitive, emergent people, and when they are having a squabble with somebody, and a third party comes in and says, "Well, look here, we'll supply you with a lot of guns and tanks and airplanes to shoot your enemy there," well, they say, "That's fine, thanks, let's have them." That's how the Communists get in; that is their technique.

Question. The Red Chinese have said they are going to build the railroad from Zambia through Hanzania to the sea, and this will be a lot closer to Rhodesia than Nigeria. Does that concern you?

Answer. Yes. This, I think, could have some serious consequences.

Question. Looking ahead, do you see the formation of any kind of common market, or economic union, among the countries of southern Africa, or even some kind of political federation or common-defense organization?

Answer. Yes. I think it is natural that there should be a coming together of those countries that think alike in the southern part of the African continent, in the same way that I think it is natural for this to happen anywhere else in the world. You've got SEATO [Southeast Asia Treaty Organization], you've got your organizations in Europe, and so on. So this is just a natural trend which I think would take place anywhere in the world, and I see no reason why it should not take place in southern Africa.

Question. Would you include a common-defense organization?



Answer. Your question referred to a common-market area. This is what I was dealing with.

#### ADVICE TO THE UNITED STATES ON AFRICA

Question. Is there anything that the U.S., in your opinion, should be doing to restore and maintain stability in Africa?

Answer. Well, I don't know a great deal about what America is doing in the rest of Africa. I have heard some stories, some of which caused me and my colleagues to raise an eyebrow, but I don't know whether there is any truth in these stories, and I think perhaps it would be unwise for me to identify these particular things. I don't want to be provocative.

As far as we are concerned, we would just wish that America and the rest of the world would leave us alone to solve our own affairs.

America, I don't suppose, has done a great deal positively against us. But, at the same time, America has quietly assisted Britain in things like sanctions. I don't know where it is leading them—it certainly isn't in the interest of the black man in Rhodesia, and I think they profess to be trying to help him. I think they have brought more hardship to him than they have to the white man. So I wonder what they are after.

All we want is to be given a chance to prove our case. We reckon that the record proves that we have got a pretty good case here, and in fact many other parts of the

world could look to us for the answer to their problems.

Question. How does devaluation of the British pound affect Rhodesia?

Answer. Fortunately, it is of little consequence to us at the moment, and I think probably it will strengthen us. Had this come about before independence, the consequences would have been quite serious. I've no doubt that we would have been forced to follow suit. But nowadays the position has changed completely—we have realigned ourselves, and I think that this might do us more good than harm.

Question. If the South Africans were to devalue their currency, would Rhodesia have to follow suit?

Answer. This would be a more serious problem for us.

[From the U.S. News & World Report, Apr. 1, 1968]

#### EDITORIAL COMMENTS

Once again black guerrillas are thrusting into white-ruled Rhodesia.

In Lusaka, capital of black-ruled Zambia, next to Rhodesia, African nationalists called them "freedom fighters," claimed they had inflicted 33 casualties on Rhodesia's forces. From our staff man in Salisbury, Rhodesia:

"Rhodesian planes and ground troops are in action against a sizable group of black terrorists. It's war on a small scale, but it's real guerrilla war."

This time, black guerrillas are better armed, better trained. Thornbush country favors them. Summer rains are ending. Rhodesians say they killed 14 raiders, captured one, lost two Government soldiers—one black, one white—in the first clashes. Guerrilla aim is to reach settled areas of Rhodesia, melt into the black population, then operate as terrorists, guerrilla organizers.

Who backs the black guerrillas? "They get arms and training from Chinese Reds," says our man in Salisbury. But odds now favor Rhodesia's whites, better armed, better trained, better organized. The outlook, from Salisbury:

"As black-guerrilla activity grows, whites of South Africa, Rhodesia and Portuguese Africa tend to unite in a white alliance. Rhodesia looks secure."

#### The "Pueblo": How Long, Mr. President?

HON. WILLIAM J. SCHERLE

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 28, 1968

Mr. SCHERLE. Mr. Speaker, this is the 66th day the U.S.S. *Pueblo* and her crew have been in North Korean hands.

## SENATE—Friday, March 29, 1968

The Senate met at 9 o'clock a.m., on the expiration of the recess, and was called to order by the President pro tempore.

Rev. Edward B. Lewis, D.D., minister, Capitol Hill Methodist Church, Washington, D.C., offered the following prayer:

We come to Thee, Heavenly Father, with a very present need. We acknowledge that the bonds which hold the human family together have been broken. Our wisdom has been lacking, our hearts have become increasingly hard, our divisions between man and man, race and race, nation and nation are more apparent from day to day. None of us are free from fault. We have a deep hurt as we look at the world today.

Yet we must look up and see Thee longing to help us. This spring morning gives us new hope in Thy creation. From the dull earth of winter, we see nature reborn in splendor. We remember the words of Jesus, "Marvel not that I said unto you, 'You must be born again.'" Man's nature, O God, needs the touch of a new birth in Thee.

With a new birth in our hearts, our eyes are not dimmed by deep-seated prejudices that feed fear, our attitudes are not stirred by resentment. Our hope is in new opportunities of peace.

We pray for our worthy leaders. Give wisdom, patience, steadfastness, courage, and the gift of love. Here are our minds, our hearts, our lives. Make us anew. We pray in the name of our Lord and Master. Amen.

#### THE JOURNAL

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Journal of the proceedings of Thursday, March 28, 1968, be approved.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

#### MEMPHIS RIOTS AND THE COMING MARCH ON WASHINGTON

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, we have been hearing for months now that Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., has been planning a march on Washington and a "civil disobedience campaign" in the Nation's Capital in April.

Yesterday, Mr. President, the Nation was given a preview of what may be in store for this city by the outrageous and despicable riot that Martin Luther King helped to bring about in Memphis, Tenn.

If this self-seeking rabble-rouser is allowed to go through with his plans here, Washington may well be treated to the same kind of violence, destruction, looting, and bloodshed.

In Memphis, people were injured, stores were looted, property was destroyed, terror reigned in the streets, people were beaten by hoodlums, at least one Negro youth is known to have been killed, and massive rioting erupted during a march which was led by this man. It was a shameful and totally uncalled for outburst of lawlessness, undoubtedly encouraged to some considerable degree, at least, by his words and actions, and his presence. There is no reason for us to believe that the same destructive rioting and violence cannot, or that it will not, happen here if King attempts his so-called poor people's march, for what he plans in Washington appears to be something on a far greater scale than what he had indicated he planned to do in Memphis.

When the predictable rioting erupted in Tennessee, Martin Luther King fled

the scene. He took to his heels and disappeared, leaving it to others to cope with the destructive forces he had helped to unleash.

He was due in Washington today, to conduct discussions in furtherance of the demonstration planned for this city. However, as a result of the tragic happening of yesterday, he canceled the conferences in Washington for today. Nonetheless, I do not believe that the implications of the ugly events of yesterday will be lost on local residents—despite the widespread sanction and support that has been offered to King by churches, the YMCA, and many other organizations in the Nation's Capital. I hope that well-meaning Negro leaders and individuals in the Negro community here will now take a new look at this man who gets other people into trouble and then takes off like a scared rabbit. If anybody is to be hurt or killed in the disorder which follows in the wake of his highly publicized marches and demonstrations, he apparently is going to be sure that it will be someone other than Martin Luther.

Mr. President, what occurred yesterday in Memphis was totally uncalled for—just as Martin Luther King's proposed march on Washington is totally uncalled for and totally unnecessary. He himself has been publicly quoted as saying that he thinks nothing constructive, so far as congressional action is concerned, can come out of his campaign here. Yet he says he is coming anyway. Why? To bring about another riot?

Mr. President, the main difference that I see now between what Martin Luther King plans here and what happened in Memphis yesterday is that the Memphis riot he precipitated might best be described as a hit-and-run riot, in