EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

CHEROKEES HONOR GENERAL COUNSEL EARL BOYD PIERCE

HON. ED EDMONDSON

OF OKLAHOMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 28, 1969

Mr. EDMONDSON. Mr. Speaker, I was delighted to learn, in a recent edition of the Cherokee Nation News, of an honor extended to one of my distinguished constituents, the general counsel for the Cherokee Tribe, Earl Boyd Pierce, of Muskogee, Okla.

Mr. Pierce, one of Oklahoma's ablest trial lawyers and a recognized authority on Cherokee history, was honored with an appreciation dinner at the Restaurant of the Cherokees. The text of the Cherokee Nation News article reporting the occasion follows:

THE "COUNTRY LAWYER" IS HONORED BY CHEROKEES

(By Mrs. Anna Kilpatrick)

It could have easily been a birthday party for Mr. Earl Boyd Pierce, when a group of his co-workers surprised him and Mrs. Pierce with an appreciation gift and a dinner at the restaurant of the Cherokees on Monday evening—complete with his favorite dessert, a cherry cobbler. But as it was not his birthday, it turned out that his co-workers and friends felt in their hearts that Mr. Pierce had done a tremendous job in his capacity, appointed by Chief W. W. Keeler as chairman of the Provisional Committee in keeping the Cherokee Nation in continued progress the past five months while a general business manager was sought, and they wanted to thank Mr. Pierce in a small way for the tremendous job, thus the dinner.

Mr. Pierce, a highly regarded lawyer in our country, born and reared in Fort Gibson and with Cherokee Roll No. (Minor) 2609, is a Cherokee historian, and a master of the Cherokee law as well as an eloquent speaker.

It was Mr. Pierce's long, patient labor with his brother attorneys that finally resulted in the $14 million payment to the Cherokees for their land.

While Mr. Pierce was in charge of the Cherokee Nation, the Cherokee Nation Housing program continued its full activity in building low-cost homes for our Cherokees, the Cherokee Store House acquired much clothing and canned goods for the Cherokees who are in need, the Cherokee Arts and Crafts program made strides in its expansion; the second Arts and Crafts store will open soon at Catoosa, Oklahoma. The Cherokees' land, buildings and monetary values were carefully looked after. The "open door" policy of Chief Keeler was practiced so the faith and confidence in our programs among our Cherokees were re-established. The heart of every Cherokee felt proud of the added beauty created by the planting of the shrubbery around the Cherokee Nation Complex. Indeed, Chief Keeler had confidence in Mr. Pierce when he appointed him to see that the Cherokee Nation remain a nation proud of its great heritage.

Therefore, it was for these reasons and more that the co-workers and friends of Mr. Earl Boyd Pierce wanted to honor their "Country Lawyer" and a great Cherokee.

Bob Stopp, the new general manager of the Cherokee Nation, assumed his duties today. Mr. Pierce, after finishing some unfinished paper work, will leave for Washington on Tribal business.

UNITED STATES NEEDS BIT OF McCARTHYISM

HON. KARL E. MUNDT

OF SOUTH DAKOTA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, July 28, 1969

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. President, indicative of our changing times, and the fact that many Americans who had almost seemed to forget the menace of communism here at home are now reexamining our current scene with a new sense of realism, is an editorial recently written by highly regarded Fred C. Christopherson, of the Daily Argus Leader, and published in that widely read newspaper of the Upper Midwest. It is entitled "United States Needs Bit of McCarthyism."

Having known Mr. Christopherson intimately for more than 35 years, I know he was not an uncritical supporter of the former Wisconsin Senator, but I also know he realizes that the domestic perils of communism, of which Joe McCarthy talked so much, are still with us, were with us at the time of McCarthy's activities, and will continue to endanger our way of life until and unless more Americans come to grips with the realities of today's manifestations of serious dissension and revolt.

Mr. President, perhaps it is time once again for the House Committee on Un-American Activities under its new name and the Senate Internal Security Committee under its old name to reactivate programs of public hearings and private investigation to inform fully many naive Americans who seem unaware of the extent to which the Communist agents and their dupes here at home are still trying to tear down the great free institutions which have meant so much to many for so long here in our beloved United States of America.

I ask unanimous consent that the Christopherson editorial be printed in the Extensions of Remarks.

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

UNITED STATES NEEDS BIT OF MCCARTHYISM

Ever since the days of the late Sen. Joe McCarthy, it has been fashionable in pseudo-intellectual circles to belittle charges of any signs of Communist infiltration in the United States.

Such pseudo-intellectuals quickly pounce on persons who are bold enough—and, might I might add, wise enough—to suggest that Communists may be fostering disorder in this country. They call them witch hunters, assassins of civil liberties and nervous Nellies who aren't fit to be members of their elite society.

So frequent and vicious have been their assaults that many persons have been intimidated to the point that they have been reluctant to voice fears based upon developments.

This is an unhappy situation and one, unfortunately, that is made to order for those whose ambition it is to undermine the foundations of the American government. Under this protective shield, they can work extensively and effectively.

And that is what they are doing on a much broader scale than many realize.

HOOVER POINTS IT OUT

Director J. Edgar Hoover of the FBI, however, is one sturdy American who hasn't been intimidated. In report after report, he has directed attention to evidence of subtle Communist maneuvering behind countless episodes on the campuses of the nation, in some labor unions, in city rioting and in other manifestations directly contrary to the traditional pattern of the American way.

Because Hoover is held in such high esteem by many, the critics are hesitant to make a frontal attack on him. Instead they attack him indirectly and seek to minimize the extent of his findings. Meanwhile they continue their loud clamor and broadcast the cry of "McCarthyism" against others who refer to Communist influence in the promotion of unsavory incidents.

In consequence, the nation hasn't given the attention it should to internal security and to the erection of safeguards to prevent erosion of our vitality from the inside. The undermining process has gone forward so vigorously that many naive persons seem to feel that it is a mark of stupid provincialism to respect the flag and a sign of intellectual prowess to besmirch it.

SHREWD AGENTS AT WORK

This is another issue of significant importance that should be approached by thoughtful Americans with a full understanding of what it means. Evidence developed by Director Hoover should be appraised for what it is worth and what it means. And let us not for a moment be diverted from a proper campaign against internal sabotage by detractors who are either evil by intent or by guile.

Let us bear in mind that the international representatives of the Communists are shrewd and skilled operators. They have had long years of training and know all the tricks of propaganda and deception. They know how to capture the minds of the unwary. They understand well how to exploit the fears and the frustrations of the underprivileged and the distressed. They are also clever and adept in concealing their identity and in working surreptitiously far in the background.

A REAL THREAT

It is true that Joe McCarthy may have been guilty of excesses. It is also true that he may have operated in too much of a shotgun fashion.

But it is also true—very emphatically so—that he started out to do something that should be done. That was to bolster the American defenses against the enemy within.

As of today, the nation has gone much too far in the direction of a movement of anti-McCarthyism, so much so that an acute danger exists. What we need is a revival of a crusading spirit in behalf of stout and sturdy Americanism, coupled with a genuinely intellectual appraisal of forces arrayed against us both inside and outside of America.

Let us preserve normal civil rights. But let us also preserve the structure that makes it possible for Americans to enjoy the greatest freedom accorded to individuals in any nation on the face of the earth.

AMERICA'S ENERGY YESTERDAY, TODAY, AND TOMORROW

HON. ED FOREMAN

OF NEW MEXICO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 28, 1969

Mr. FOREMAN. Mr. Speaker, sometimes the lack of reasonable understanding can be the cause of grievous injustice—not only in the social realm but in the economic realm as well. Recently, in answer to an elementary school classroom quiz, an imaginative little fellow replied:

> Petroleum is a rich source of horse power—

And, he continued—

> One horse power is the amount of energy needed to drag a dead horse 500 feet in 1 second.

Regretfully, this is comparable to the amount of understanding some people have about the vitally important domestic petroleum industry in the United States today.

Important issues affecting the petroleum industry are now the focus of more public attention—in the news media and in Congress—than for many years.

Wholesale tax reform plans have made tax provisions related to the petroleum industry, such as percentage depletion, the subject of widespread discussion and comments. A petition to allow a special import quota for a proposed refinery in Maine has brought about a Presidential commission to review the entire oil import control program. Prices of crude oil, natural gas, and petroleum products are in the spotlight.

The serious problems of the petroleum industry concern all of our citizens because they affect our Nation's energy supply and, indeed, our overall national security. Although the industry has seemed on the defensive in relation to these problems, the facts show that from the key standpoint of best serving the vital interests of our Nation and petroleum consumers, the industry has a strong and justified position on every one of them. Permit me to briefly outline some of the important aspects of the petroleum industry issues—and to encourage you, if you will, to look more deeply into them and examine them carefully.

Critics attack percentage depletion as one of several tax provisions alleged to be "loopholes." It is not a loophole at all—it is simply a depreciation allowance on a depleting capital asset.

Minerals, such as petroleum, by nature have a duel character. In the earth, they are part of their owner's capital assets. When produced and sold, part of the value received represents capital, and part income, making it difficult to establish an equitable taxation basis. In keeping with the basic principle that income, but not capital, should be taxed, Congress adopted the principle of percentage depletion which today applies to over 100 minerals, including oil and gas, as a means of fairly taxing the income derived by extractive industries.

A compelling reason for adoption of percentage depletion was to supply an incentive for owners of capital to accept the great risks involved in the search for and development of mineral resources which are so essential to our economy and security. History shows the incentive has worked well in achieving its purpose. It would be risky to discard or weaken a system which has worked well over a long period of years in supplying petroleum and other essential minerals.

Critics maintain that the oil industry does not pay its fair share of taxes. This simply is not true. In addition to income taxes, the petroleum industry pays a number of other direct taxes. One of these, the severance tax, is paid only by industries which extract natural resources. The fact is that in 1966—the latest year for which figures are available—the oil industry paid $2.5 billion in direct taxes, which amounted to 5.1 cents for every dollar of gross revenue. The direct tax burden for all U.S. business corporations was only about 4.5 cents per dollar of gross revenue, or about 10 percent less than petroleum's.

Percentage depletion has benefited the consumer by helping keep petroleum prices low. In fact, the price per gallon of gasoline today, before the taxes levied at the service station pumps, are the same as the price in 1948. This is even more impressive, when you consider the many improvements made to increase the delivery performance of a gallon of today's gasoline as compared to the gasoline of 1948.

That the consumer is the beneficiary is clearly shown by the oil industry's profit record. According to figures compiled by the First National City Bank of New York, from 1925—the first year's taxes to come under percentage depletion—through 1966, petroleum company earnings after taxes averaged 9.9 percent of invested capital. By comparison, the figure for all manufacturing companies was 10.7 percent. In 1966, this comparison was petroleum companies 12.6 percent, and all manufacturing companies 14.1 percent. Of the 25 leading U.S. industrial corporations on the basis of sales, seven are petroleum companies. But not one of these petroleum companies is in the first 75 on the basis of return on invested capital.

Critics charge that because of the percentage depletion provision, petroleum producers recover their costs many times over. The fact is that although the oil industry realizes about $1 billion a year through the operation of this provision, it invests about $5 billion a year in the United States in searching for and developing new petroleum reserves.

The principal objective of the oil import control program is to help insure our national security. Unlimited importation of oil would discourage exploration and drilling efforts of the domestic petroleum industry and critically impair its ability to supply our national demands when foreign sources were cut off. In the event of another international war, which, considering the nuclear standoff of the major powers, could well be nonnuclear and of long duration, the position of the United States would be critical. To realize the danger in relying on foreign oil, we have only to recall that oil movements through the Suez Canal have been cut off twice in the past 15 years.

Another result of inadequate import controls would be a weakening of our national economy due to the decline of the domestic petroleum industry. The economic impact would be felt by numerous levels of government deprived of tax revenue, and by several industries and thousands of small businessmen who rely on a healthy petroleum business for their existence. The outflow of capital to other nations, resulting from increased emphasis on exploration outside the United States and payments for increased imports of foreign oil, could seriously damage our Nations balance-of-payments positions and thus further weaken our economy.

Weakening both our national security and economy is a high price to pay for what would amount at best to only a small savings for consumers in prices of petroleum products. Moreover, the savings to customers would disappear within a short period of time. Already 21 percent of our Nation's oil supply is from foreign sources. If we become dependent on oil from foreign nations we know from experience that the foreign countries would then increase the price of their oil.

Facts show that existing petroleum industry provisions and programs have been working exceedingly well in providing consumers reasonable prices for petroleum products. For 1968, the average price of all items included in the Consumers Price Index had risen 21 percent over the 1957–59 base period. Yet the average nationwide retail price of gasoline in 1968, exclusive of taxes, was only 6 percent higher than the 1957–59 average. The price of crude oil in 1968 was 2 percent lower.

A person cannot properly evaluate the critical significance to our national interests of the factors which I have discussed here by examining them only one at a time. They must be considered as a combination in relation to the effect on our Nation's energy policy. For what is of overriding importance to the national interest is the net effect of all of these factors in fulfilling huge coming demands for petroleum.

Petroleum—oil and gas—supplies 75 percent of our Nation's energy needs. The U.S. Government predicts that demand for petroleum will rise by 50 percent of current levels by 1980 and will more than double between now and the end of the century. Yet, despite the coming requirements, proved domestic reserves of crude oil declined during the 1968 for the second year in a row and now stand at the lowest level in 10 years.

As for natural gas, exploratory drilling for this vital energy source in the United States has declined by over one-half in the past 10 years, mainly because Federal regulation of natural gas producers has kept natural gas prices unrealistically low. Since 1954, the year Federal regulation of producers began, the ratio of natural gas reserves to annual production has declined from 23 to 1 to less than 15 to 1. In 1968, for the first time in history, U.S. natural gas production exceeded new reserves added, and total proved reserves of this resource declined. In a statement to a congressional subcommittee this past April, John

F. O'Leary, Director of the U.S. Bureau of Mines, said:

We are beginning to discern already the outlines of a major shortage of natural gas.

In response to questioning in the hearing, he estimated that by next winter natural gas distributors will be unable to provide service to new customers because of supply shortage.

Speaking from a more personal point of view, Mr. Speaker, practically every single State in the Union, and a very large percentage of the congressional districts, would be adversely affected economically if we were to alter these long-proven, time-honored tax principles on the same 100 extractive industries. In my own State of New Mexico, we have substantial production in only seven of these industries—copper, manganese ore, molybdenum, perlite, petroleum, potash, and uranium—but alteration of the percentage depletion allowances would severely cripple our tax base from which we derive the income for the construction of our roads, the financing of our schools and educational programs, and other important services.

New Mexico is the sixth largest petroleum-producing State with production almost equal to that of Brazil, Chile, and West Germany combined. More than 13,000 New Mexicans are employed in some phase of the petroleum industry. Their payrolls amount to almost $73 million annually, or $73 for every man, woman, and child in the State. The petroleum industry spends almost $274 million annually for production supplies and equipment in New Mexico. Last year, oil and gas operations paid $60,130,000 in direct revenues to the State—not counting local taxes or approximately one-fourth of all New Mexico State tax revenues.

A careful examination of our past experiences indicates that certainly we must at least maintain these proven incentives and tax principles, not reduce them, if our Nation is to have sufficient, reasonably priced, reliable supplies of petroleum essential to its future security and economic strength.

JUVENILE COURT PROCEDURE—EXCERPTS FROM ADDRESS BY ASSOCIATE JUVENILE COURT JUDGE ORMAN W. KETCHAM

HON. CHARLES McC. MATHIAS, JR.

OF MARYLAND

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, July 28, 1969

Mr. MATHIAS. Mr. President, the adjustments in Juvenile Court procedure necessitated by the Gault decision of the Supreme Court have been the subject of some controversy. In a recent speech to the National Institute on Crime and Delinquency, in Boston, Associate Judge Orman W. Ketcham, of the Juvenile Court of the District of Columbia, made worthwhile observations on the value of those changes.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the excerpts from the speech, published in the Washington Post of July 20, 1969, be printed in the RECORD.

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

DUE PROCESS FOR JUVENILES BEATS FOLKSY "JUSTICE"

(By Orman W. Ketcham)

Many cries of havoc have emanated from judges, administrators and social workers in juvenile courts concerning the new and time-consuming burdens that the provision of due process of law for juveniles has occasioned. But the substance of our law should not be dependent upon the administrative convenience of our court system. In most urban courts today, the time devoted to a juvenile's case has become notoriously short. New procedures required by the Gault decision will now assure the juvenile a larger segment of his "day in court."

Those who expound the "parens patriae" philosophy believe that the introduction of due process of law will diminish the informality which has been the juvenile court's hallmark and circumscribe the discretion of the juvenile court judge. True. But those features have been tried and found wanting.

The first result of the advent of due process is to assure the juvenile a judicial hearing the outcome of which is not foreordained. It used to be the boast of the most jingoistic members of the "father knows best" philosophy that less than one-tenth of 1 per cent of all juveniles charged ever denied their offenses. Such a sudden candor and contrition from antisocial and alienated youth are so unbelievable that I submit that juveniles accused of offences in such courts were never given any opportunity to deny the charges. The presumption of their guilt was well-nigh irrebuttable.

A THERAPEUTIC PROCESS

In our American system we take pride in operating a government of laws, not of men. To set an example of this principle, due process of law should afford the juvenile the opportunity to dispute the factual assertions of policemen, school teachers, social workers and even his parents. This is granted not because all such adults are untrustworthy, but because some are.

After a fair and impartial judicial hearing, if the allegations are not accurate, the juvenile has been vindicated through a system of justice which rates high in his esteem. If the facts of the charge are correct, their careful establishment by legal rules will usually convince the juvenile that truth and justice are immutable, rather than dependent upon his cooperation or lack of it.

Either way, I believe that providing a juvenile with his proper day in court is a very therapeutic process which builds respect for law and justice.

The lawyer who represents a juvenile is in an unparalleled position to foster his client's greater understanding of the legal system which is the cement of our society. A boy charged with delinquency for the first time feels very much alone. Whether justifiably or not, he sees police, school authorities, court officials and even sympathetic social workers as demanding, judgmental and often hostile. In many instances, even his parents appear to be critical and antagonistic.

But his attorney, if he properly follows his ethical responsibilities, will be an adult firmly pledged to understand and present the best interests of the juvenile as the boy sees them. Court appointment of a lawyer can create a strong, new impression that the juvenile court law serves the boy, too, and is not just an agent of adult authority.

Providing a juvenile with tangible forms of due process of law, such as an effective and interested attorney, I believe, is a better way of expressing sincere concern for a youth in trouble than offering him a cigarette on his trip to the detention home.

A juvenile who is given effective assistance by his attorney will have the entire legal process explained and interpreted to him: the preadjudication process, the trial, the judge's decision and the dispositional decree. This should, and usually does, enhance the understanding of the youth and his parents of our judicial system and the law of the land.

LESS FOLKSY BUT FAIRER

Before the advent of due process of law in the juvenile court, the only limit which the law placed upon the "parens patriae" power of the judge was the requirement that he act in "the best interests of the juvenile"—a highly subjective and almost unchallengeable maxim. Due process of law now substitutes established legal procedures for unbridled judicial discretion.

Informality and the "arm-round-the-shoulder" approach to juvenile justice are being replaced by an arm's-length due process system of justice. Even adversary proceedings are available upon demand. The results should be less folksy, but lots fairer.

The post-Gault system sharply diminishes the paternalistic attitude of juvenile courts, which has been so hated by a majority of youth. Instead of a juvenile receiving justice (or leniency) as a matter of grace or adult "noblesse oblige," he is now entitled to the equal protection of the law just as an adult would be. An alienated juvenile will be treated as a first-class citizen with a full measure of individual rights.

Instead of the dominant father and the dependent child prototypes, the new philosophical approach stresses both equal opportunity and equal responsibility for each juvenile. Since the stated goal of our socialization and maturation process is the creation of mutual respect between individuals, this new principle of equality may well lay the groundwork for good citizenship which will last long after the relationship between probation officer and juvenile offender is forgotten.

Finally, the guarantee that a juvenile will be counseled by a lawyer (which I believe should be mandatory and unwaiveable) is an assurance of due process of law in itself. A good lawyer protects the interests of his juvenile client at every stage of the proceeding, even unto the treatment stage. For example, if the juvenile offender has an addiction to heroin, his lawyer can insist upon his "right to treatment" rather than settling for incapacitation or incarceration.

The advent of lawyers into the juvenile court also means that more of the organized bar will be indoctrinated in both the techniques and the problems of the court. There is no more powerful advocate of a budgetary cause before a legislature than a convinced lawyer. Hence, a lawyer may not only demand treatment for his client; there is hope that he will also obtain the funds necessary for the long-lacking facilities to rehabilitate youthful offenders and keep the promise of the juvenile court compact.

One of the canards most frequently stated about the introduction of due process of law into juvenile courts is that the juvenile is prevented from receiving the rehabilitative treatment he needs to save him from a criminal career. This begs several questions. An attorney for such juvenile must ask himself three vital subsidiary questions before answering the ultimate one:

1. Has the juvenile actually done the offense which is supposed to demonstrate his need for rehabilitation?

2. If he has done the offensive, is there a recognized behavioral science procedure or treatment that will correct his fault and save him from a criminal career?

3. If he has done the offense and there is a recognized treatment, can the juvenile court before which he will appear provide such treatment?

If the answer to those three questions is

"Yes," most lawyers will persuade the juvenile to acknowledge the offense and submit to the jurisdiction of the juvenile court. If any of the answers is negative, the attorney should not "throw the juvenile upon the mercy of the court." To protect his client's interest, he should contest the court's jurisdiction.

Immediately there comes to mind the juvenile who, in the eyes of the attorney and any impartial observer, did commit the offense but refuses to admit it. (This is much more characteristic than the case of the juvenile who admits his fault but whose attorney insists upon a trial.) In my opinion, the provision of due process of law for such a recalcitrant juvenile is most therapeutic.

He should (and will, if the police cooperate) be proven guilty of the crime despite his protestations of innocence. He will have had his day in court and have learned that law enforcement can and does arrive at the truth by fair, effective procedures. He will I believe, be several steps further down the road to rehabilitation than if he had—for the administrative convenience of the judiciary—been persuaded against his wishes to admit the offense and forgo his day in court.

To sum up in one sentence: I am firmly convinced that the extension of due process of law to juveniles—however burdensome or inconvenient it may be to police, social workers, judges and juvenile court personnel—is an unmitigated benefit to the juveniles concerned.

A GUIDE TO CONTEMPORARY GREECE

HON. ABNER J. MIKVA

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 28, 1969

Mr. MIKVA. Mr. Speaker, on March 11, 1969 I placed in the RECORD an article by George Anastaplo entitled, "Greece Today and the Limits of American Power." On April 2, 1969 I placed in the RECORD an article by George Anastaplo entitled, "The Passions of Greece Today," and "Retreat From Politics: Greece, 1967." The former article dealt with the contemporary political situation in Greece and the dilemma we Americans find ourselves in—the dilemma of supporting and fostering the current undemocratic regime. The latter two articles presented a cogent analysis of how Greece appeared to a knowledgeable American observer who viewed it firsthand throughout 1967.

Today I would like to place in the RECORD selected portions of an article entitled "A Guide to Contemporary Greece, Especially for Greek-Americans." I think the excerpts of this article will be of special interest to anyone interested in current political developments as well as to Greek Americans.

The article referred to follows:

A GUIDE TO CONTEMPORARY GREECE, ESPECIALLY FOR GREEK-AMERICANS[1]

(By George Anastaplo)

JOHN ANASTAPLO. Good evening, ladies and gentlemen. We have as our guest this evening my brother Professor George Anastaplo, Lecturer in the Liberal Arts at the University of Chicago and Chairman of the Political Science Department at Rosary College in River Forest, Illinois. He also holds an appointment as Professor of Politics and Literature at the University of Dallas. Our guest is knowledgeable in contemporary Greek affairs and has published several articles on that subject. This is what he is here to discuss with those listeners in our radio audience who telephone us this evening.

We have on the news wires this weekend the following report from Salonika, Greece: "A Greek military tribunal has handed out sentences ranging from 13 months to life for 37 members of a Communist-led terrorist band.

"Three of the defendants were ordered deported. Two persons out of the 39 on trial were acquitted of charges of various conspiracies.

"The group was charged with plotting to assassinate former premier Constantine Kollias and with conspiracy to blow up the American consulate in Salonika and the NATO bases in the north of the country."

That is the report from Salonika. Perhaps some of you listeners heard the report earlier this week of the arrest of fifteen retired Army generals in Greece. Rumors circulated at that time that an attempt to oust the army-backed regime and to restore self-exiled King Constantine to power in Greece had been crushed before it actually got under way. All those arrested were known backers of King Constantine who fled to Rome, you will remember, after his unsuccessful attempt to oust the junta in December 1967. The "colonels", as they are called, have been in power now a little over two years. They seized power in April 1967.

Let's ask my brother George what he feels is going on in Greece these days.

GEORGE ANASTAPLO. I think, John, that the most significant development in Greece today, and the one we Americans should be most concerned about, is that American installations—the American consulate in the news report you just read, for instance as well as American automobiles, the property of American personnel stationed in Greece—are now beginning to be subject to attack. This indicates that resentment is beginning to be expressed violently at the role of the United States in Greece. And it is that role—the role of the United States in Greece today—that I am most concerned about. I am, of course, concerned also about the state of affairs in their country for the Greeks themselves—for, to put it simply, Greece today is living under a tyranny. It is a tyranny that is worse than some tyrannies in the world today and milder than some others, but I think it does no good to overlook the fact that it *is* a tyranny with all the consequences that that will have both for us as an ally of that tyranny and for the Greeks as the victims of it.

* * * * *

JOHN ANASTAPLO. You were in Greece last fall when the election was held.

GEORGE ANASTAPLO. That is right, in September, when the constitutional referendum was held.

JOHN ANASTAPLO. Could every one vote in referendum who wanted to vote and could they vote for whatever they wanted to vote?

GEORGE ANASTAPLO. One could vote "Yes" or "No" on a constitution presented by the government. One could vote "No," but in many places outside the large cities the vote of "Yes" was the only vote that seemed safe.

* * * * *

JOHN ANASTAPLO. Is there much resentment in Greece toward the military junta? Is there much outspoken resentment and dislike? You don't see much of it in evidence if there is.

GEORGE ANASTAPLO. One has to distinguish between two groups in the Greek population (or, for that matter, in any population). There are those who are somewhat independently informed and there are those who have their opinions formed by propaganda. The latter group will easily take their lead from the government in power, no matter what that government is, especially if there is no opposition permitted. This group can be the majority of a country. The former group—which includes in Greece the leading military officers, the intellectuals of the country, the university people, the former politicians and many of the most prominent businessmen—is most skeptical about this government. Many of these people are even bitter about it. But what can they do about it? The difficulty is that the informed Greeks recognize themselves to be prisoners of a ruthless military minority. They are not even prisoners of the Army, but of a small number of officers within the Army, a handful of officers who took power by deception one night, who are holding it by the use of whatever means they can employ, and who claim they have the support of the United States. It is difficult and dangerous in such circumstances to express openly one's resentment, but resentment and disaffection *are* there.

JOHN ANASTAPLO. Why is there so much support for the colonels' regime among Greeks living in this country?

GEORGE ANASTAPLO. For many Greek-Americans, the military stands for that force which after the Second World War saved Greece from Communism. So it is natural for Greek-Americans to say, "We don't want Greece to go Communist. We don't want it to go behind the Iron Curtain. The military saved Greece during the bitter civil war of 1945–1949. The military made great sacrifices to save Greece at that time. Now they are doing it again." What the Greek-American doesn't realize is that it is not the military that is ruling Greece today. All one has to do to realize this is to consider the widespread purges that have taken place in the Army at the hands of this particular clique of officers. The colonels are retiring from active duty virtually all officers senior to them in order to be able to continue to hold their power. This is not the military that is ruling Greece: this is a minority of junior officers who have broken their oaths to their king and their country, who have seized power with a well-executed conspiracy and who mean to hold it indefinitely.

JOHN ANASTAPLO. I suppose the most open display of disaffection toward the present government was at the funeral last November of George Papandreou.

GEORGE ANASTAPLO. There have been two significant displays of disaffection. That was the second one. The first great display was in December 1967 when King Constantine made his attempt to overthrow the colonels' regime. His attempt was poorly executed: certain forces which he had counted on were not available. What the people who are now ruling Greece are good at *is* conspiracy, and hence counterconspiracy. They were able to stop the King's effort before it could really get rolling. But the King, in the course of his attempt, visited the city of Kavalla, which had been for years anti-royalist. When the people of Kavalla heard the King was making an attempt to overthrow this government and that he was in their city—and this I have personally heard from people who were there that day—they filled the streets, picked up the King and carried him through the city in a spontaneous demonstration. Thousands upon thousands of people thus expressed themselves in a way that the colonels' government never has been able to arrange—whereas the Kavalla demonstration was anything but prearranged. In fact, the current premier of Greece dares not permit himself to be exposed in a crowd in this way: his security precautions are, I believe, unprecedented for a Greek premier. The other great demonstration against the colonels was, as you indicated, in Athens, in No-

[1] This article is a transcript of an unrehearsed interview, set out in its entirety, conducted by John Anastaplo on his nightly radio program, "Open Line," on Station WJOB (East Chicago-Hammond, Indiana), Saturday, May 31, 1969 (between 7:30 and 10:00 p.m.).

vember 1968, at the funeral of George Papandreou. Evidently, the central part of Athens was packed that day with people who expressed in this way their opinion of the colonels' regime. American reporters spoke of hundreds of thousands as having been involved in that demonstration—many more, evidently, than had voted against the constitutional referendum in that area six weeks earlier. They were thus expressing themselves in what they considered a genuine referendum.

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JOHN ANASTAPLO. Why has American aid to Greece been restored? It was cut off for awhile after the colonels took power in April 1967, but I understand it has been restored. What is the justification for this?

GEORGE ANASTAPLO. Aid was cut down in early 1967—it was never cut off completely—in the hope that the cut might publicly indicate that Americans are somewhat reluctant to ally themselves with this regime, perhaps even in the hope that it might help move this regime back toward constitutional government. After the constitutional referendum of September 1968 which we have referred to, the American government restored its military aid, perhaps under the assumption, "Well, they have had a referendum; now, the country is somehow back under a constitution." The first American mistake was not to cut aid off completely; then, it was a mistake to take that constitutional referendum as being anything other than a fixed election. Thus, I think it was a mistake to restore our aid; I think it is a mistake now to continue it. In fact, I believe that the American government is partly responsible for the continuation of the colonels' regime and that it will be held to be largely responsible by the Greek people in due time. The sooner we disassociate ourselves from that crowd now in Athens, the better off we will be in the long run. It is not difficult to work out a program of what the United States should do now—and this I have done and have presented to people in the State Department on several occasions. The interesting question for me tonight relates to something somewhat different, and that is the role of the Greek-American community in all this. Inside Greece the colonels' principal sources of support are the arms they have and the dread in the Greek people of another civil war: the colonels can use those arms against the Greeks and they know the Greek people will not resist as quickly as they might otherwise resist if they had not had so terrible a civil war only a generation ago. Outside Greece there are two principal sources of support for the colonels: first, the United States, because of its acquiescence in and its lukewarm support of the regime, and second, the attitude of the Greek community abroad, particularly the Greek-American community. It is very unseemly that Greek-Americans, living in a free country (most of them—the ones I am thinking—having been born in Greece, for it is primarily the older generation, I am referring to), should allow themselves to become the spokesmen and the supporters of a tyranny that is as bad for Greece as, say, the Russian tyranny is for the Czechs and the Slovaks.

JOHN ANASTAPLO. I noticed Bill Mauldin's cartoon in the Chicago *Sun-Times* last Wednesday, showing the prisoner's ball-and-chain on both the Greeks and the Czechs, with "Imported Tyranny" written on the Czech bail and "Domestic Tyranny" on the Greek bail.

GEORGE ANASTAPLO. Yes, that does sum it up neatly. The curious thing about the Greek-American support of the colonels is that the alternative to this regime—the most plausible, immediate alternative to this regime—is a government under a conservative, experienced Greek. I am referring, of course, to Constantine Karamanlis, who is now living in Paris. In fact, it is hard to think of any prominent politician in Greece who would not be an improvement over the tyranny of the colonels. But Constantine Karamanlis is the most plausible alternative. Why the leaders of the Greek-American community, instead of throwing their support to a government formed by Mr. Karamanlis—which is what most Greeks today would support and which is what the State Department would probably be relieved to go along with—why, instead of throwing their support to him, as an alternative to the colonels, that community and its leaders continue to support the band of usurpers which is ruining the country of Greece is very difficult for me to understand.

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LISTENER No. 1. In the event of a civil war in Greece, do you feel the United States would step in immediately?

GEORGE ANASTAPLO. That would be a serious decision. If we allow the situation to deteriorate to such a condition that the decent, informed and energetic people in that country begin to take up arms against their present tyrants, what should then be our position? It is hard to know what we would do. The people who will eventually put up armed resistance will have with them Greeks of the Left, including Communists, as well as Greeks of the Right and Center. The United States might then argue, especially when it detects in that armed resistance people who are labelled "Communists," "Well, the colonels we know. The other people we don't know. Therefore, we will support the colonels." We will thus have made a bad situation even worse. That is why I have been arguing that now is the time to get rid of the colonels and to allow the Greeks to replace them with a conservative experienced leader such as Mr. Karamanlis.

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It is, as I said, very hard to lay down a requirement for other people to follow, especially when it means risking their lives. But that is not our problem. Our immediate problem is, What can we do, what should we do——

LISTENER No. 2. As Americans——

GEORGE ANASTAPLO. As Americans, in a situation where conditions are deteriorating and civil war is facing our ally? If we were confronting a situation where we had no responsibility at all for what is there or where we could do nothing at all once conditions had deteriorated, then we could justly say, "That is a Greek internal affair. Let the Greeks settle their own affairs." We could properly stay out of it. If that were really the situation, such a course of action on our part would be defensible, perhaps even necessary: we could sit back and watch. But that is not what is going to happen. We are going to be involved—we are involved, we have been involved—and I am wondering whether it would not be more intelligent to move now when we can help the Greeks replace the colonels by a friend of ours who is popular in Greece, who is experienced and reliable, and thus help the Greeks avoid a civil war which can lead to the destruction of all that we value in that country. That is the risk we are running by going along as we are with the colonels.

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LISTENER No. 2. It is not too late for Greece?

GEORGE ANASTAPLO. It is not too late for Greece. In Czechoslovakia we simply don't have the influence we have in Greece. In Greece, we have great influence—and not only the United States government, but the Greek-American community as well. The Greek-American community has allowed itself to be deluded about what is going on in Greece today and about what is good for the country of their relatives. The Czechs and Slovaks in this country, on the other hand, are not deluded about how things are in their homeland. Neither are the Hungarian-Americans. I cannot think of any people who are as deluded about what is going on in their homeland as are Greek Americans, and especially Greek-American leaders, at this time.

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LISTENER No. 3. Does all this mean there are no elections there?

GEORGE ANASTAPLO. No elections. In fact, the government has systematically removed from office, high and low alike, the officials the Greeks had elected over the years. It has replaced them by appointing, or reappointing, men considered loyal to the present government. The Greeks have had no elections for any office whatsoever since the colonels took over. Nor are they about to have any elections that mean anything. If they have any elections under this government, they will be like a Russian election. They had a referendum on a constitution last September, Russian-style. You know how that is: you vote for the government slate or you vote for nothing. There was no question about the outcome last September. Any parliamentary elections the colonels conduct will be roughly the same: any election conducted by them will be a fraud. Only the uninformed or the cynical will approve of them. One has only to consider how the extensively documented charges of deliberate torture in Greece are being handled by the Greek-American press and by the Greek government. It is time to be blunt with such people, for Greece's good.

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LISTENER No. 4. Do you believe the Greeks will have to go to war to regain their freedom?

GEORGE ANASTAPLO. I think it would be better if it didn't come to that, because if there is recourse to war, one cannot predict how it will turn out. One cannot predict how things will go. After all, we have our experience in Viet Nam, of which the Greeks are quite aware: things don't always work out the way one expects. The Greeks are no better equipped to set a limit to war than we have been.

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GA—GEORGE ANASTAPLO

LISTENER No. 6. Historically, it seems to me, we have been backing military juntas all over the world since the Second World War. I don't see why this should be any different.

GEORGE ANASTAPLO. We haven't been backing only military regimes. It's too bad, and even harmful, that our government has given our citizens generally the impression you have. In Europe, for instance, we have been backing for the most part constitutional governments, genuinely constitutional governments. Greece, we should remember, is part of our NATO alliance in Europe. Virtually every other country in the NATO alliance is a free government, that is, a government freely chosen by the citizens of its country. This means that Greece has become for us a sad exception in Europe. Furthermore, we are backing in Greece a minority of officers who are going to get us into serious trouble, militarily, politically and economically. That is to say, we are going to end up picking up the bill for the mess the colonels are making of the Greek economy; we are going to have trouble militarily, because if civil war does begin, we are going to have the problem of deciding whom we are going to back; and we are going to have trouble politically, because no matter how it all comes out, if we don't hurry up and do something decisively public about it, Greeks will for many years to come look back and say, "America was responsible for the years of tyranny we suffered." Whether that will be true or not, that is certainly what they are going to be saying. The sad part about it all, I want to repeat, is that the alternative, and the alternative that Greeks of all parties are generally willing to accept, is a man who is a conservative, who is a friend of the United States, who is very experienced, who is very well regarded, who was for eight years prime minister, who is available and who would have very little trouble coming to power if American support for him should develop. That, of course, is Mr. Karamanlis, who is the most plausible alternative at this moment to the colonels. It is hard, I want also to repeat, to think of any prominent politician who would not be an improvement over the tyrants who now control Greece. Mr. Karamanlis is not indispensable. But he is, for several reasons, most convenient as an immediate alternative to the colonels.

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LISTENER No. 7. I am not Greek, but I am interested. What are the other NATO countries doing about the situation in Greece? Is there not a way for them to put on pressure, without the emphasis being just on America?

GEORGE ANASTAPLO. Severel of them have spoken out very strongly. For instance, the Scandinavian countries (some who are in NATO, some not) have been quite strong against the regime. Great Britain has spoken out as well. The Prime Minister of Greece denounced on the floor of the House of Commons what he called the "bestialities" of the Greek regime, referring to the tortures. That was last year, long before such things as the recent May 27th issue of Look magazine came out with its detailed account of what is going on in Greece. Public opinion is far clearer in Europe about what the nature of that regime is than ours here. The same can be said about the Greek communities in Europe, outside of Greece, as well as about the Greek-Canadian community.

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LISTENER No. 7. Are Greek-Americans afraid to take sides because they are getting two different points of view?

GEORGE ANASTAPLO. The ones I am thinking of are not afraid of taking sides. If they would refuse to take sides, that would be far better than what they are doing now. They *are* taking sides. I am talking about the older Greek-Americans, the "opinion leaders," the ones who have influence in Washington, the ones who have money, the ones who own the Greek-American press. The Greek-American newspapers, for instance, have been terrible. This is most recently evident in the way they have responded to the Look revelations about Greek tortures, tortures that informed and responsible men all over Europe have known about for at least a year now. If one follows Greek-American newspapers, one sees week after week that most of the articles on Greek affairs come from the Greek government. This seems to be true of many if not all of the Greek-American newspapers in this country: they are simply taking the stuff and printing it as it comes from Greek government sources. This one can notice just by looking through several of them, especially if one knows the sources. One often sees, for instance, material that is handed out by the Greek Embassy in Washington published as news by the Greek-American press.

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LISTENER No. 7. How is the press coverage about Greece in this country?

GEORGE ANASTAPLO. If you read the New York *Times* or the *Christian Science Monitor* or any of the European papers, you find that this regime is a failure. If you read the Greek-American press, you find it is a great success. Whom should you believe and why? Let me suggest something to you. You have Greek-American friends?

LISTENER No. 7. Yes.

GEORGE ANASTAPLO. Let me suggest some simple questions to ask them. Don't ask them what their peasant relatives say when they visit Greece, because peasants can't know what they are talking about on certain issues. It often takes a long time to get down to the peasants what is happening to their country. Ask them, if they have been following Greek affairs for years, "Of the man you once thought was the best man in Greece—whoever he was, whether you thought it was a man of the Left or of the Center or of the Right, whether you thought it was a general or the King—of the one or two or three men you thought highly of before 1967, what does that man, or what do those men, think of this regime now?" Now, that is a very safe question for me to suggest that you ask. I don't have to know who it was they admired, who they looked up to. But if they were following Greek affairs before 1967, they had somebody, some public figure, whom they respected, somebody in Greek politics or somebody in the Greek military or somebody in the social or cultural life of Greece. *Who* was he and what does that man say now? In almost every case, everybody who was once anybody is now against this regime. You can then challenge your Greek-American friend: "Look, you once admired a certain man—X or Y or Z, whether he was of the liberal party or of the conservative party, whether he was a royalist or an anti-royalist—you once admired him. Why is he also against the colonels? In fact, why is anybody against them? Why is virtually everybody who ever knew anything about Greek politics and the Greek government against these people?" Is it just a coincidence that this is so?

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LISTENER No. 10. Is there any Communist faction in the country at all?

GEORGE ANASTAPLO. This government is *said* to be anti-Communist. There are people who are resisting this government who are Communists. There are others who are resisting it who are non-Communists. This is evident in the two news dispatches my brother referred to at the beginning of this program. My impression is that, so far, more non-Communists than Communists resisting the government have been tried and imprisoned in Greece for opposing the present government.

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LISTENER No. 10. Do you feel we are now giving help to the dictators?

GEORGE ANASTAPLO. Certainly, we are helping the dictators of Greece. The American government admits that we are supplying arms to them. We are also supplying indirect aid of certain kinds. I think we should stop it completely. I also think that if we indicated very strongly what our position was—if we made it clear that we believe the colonels to be bad for Greece—, the Greek army would rise up and throw these people out.

LISTENER No. 10. Would there be leadership of any kind for such an uprising?

GEORGE ANASTAPLO. Yes, the best officers are still against this regime.

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JOHN ANASTAPLO. Wouldn't you say that leadership for a successful attempt to oust the colonels would have to come from this shore, from Greek-Americans, and that that leadership has been slow in coming?

GEORGE ANASTAPLO. That, it seems to me, would be the safest way for both the United States and Greece. It is only if the Greek-American community and the United States take a public position different from that which it is well known in Greece they have been taking up to now—only if that happens may bloodshed be avoided. I have been deliberately directing my arguments on this subject to those whom I can hope to reach, my fellow-citizens in this country. I leave it to others to tell the Greeks what they should do or to tell Europeans what they should do. It is important to emphasize at this time what we Americans can do. If we don't do what we should do, then the Greeks will be forced to do what they don't want to do, and that is to fight. Those now seem to be the likely alternatives.

MICHIGAN LEADER HEADS KIWANIANS

HON. ROBERT P. GRIFFIN

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, July 28, 1969

Mr. GRIFFIN. Mr. President, recently Robert F. Weber of Detroit was elected president of Kiwanis International at the organization's 54th annual meeting in Miami Beach, Fla.

As a Kiwanian in the Senate who represents Michigan. I am pleased and proud that a distinguished Detroiter has been chosen to head this outstanding international service organization.

In a recent letter to me, Mr. Webei pointed out that Kiwanis International is launching a major emphasis program called "Operation Drug Alert." Under the program, each of the 5,000 local Kiwanis Clubs will tackle the growing problem of drug abuse as a major concern in 1969–70.

Mr. President, I can attest to the fact that Kiwanis has many other fine goals as well. I ask unanimous consent that resolutions adopted by the recent convention, indicating the scope of the organization undertakings, be printed in the RECORD.

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

RESOLUTIONS ADOPTED AT THE 54TH ANNUAL CONVENTION OF KIWANIS INTERNATIONAL IN MIAMI-MIAMI BEACH, FLA., JULY 2, 1969

1. WE BUILD WITH GOD

Whereas our first Object charges Kiwanians "To give primacy to the human and spiritual, rather than to the material values of life," and

Whereas our nations were founded, are presently sustained, and aniticipate the future through the providence of God, and

Whereas His strength supports us in proportion to our faith in Him,

Therefore be it resolved *by the delegates to the 54th Convention of Kiwanis International that in response to our stewardship of God's many gifts, we Kiwanians pledge to place spiritual values first in all matters of judgment, and*

Be it further resolved *that as we build with God, we renew our determination to remain at all times humble and subservient to His will.*

2. DRUG ABUSE

Whereas enlightened leadership throughout the world decries the illicit drug traffic which exists at the expense of millions of people and leads to their ruination, and

Whereas Kiwanis International has recognized the evils of drug abuse and its increasing prevalence in our communities, sapping our moral fibre and destroying the human being, and

Whereas drug addiction and dependence in their inception and continuance have spread from the areas of undesirable association with a criminal environment to a growing segment of our society at all economic levels, and

Whereas the lack of knowledge of the effects of drugs has combined with the permissiveness of our affluent society to stimulate an increasing trend toward drug abuse among our youth

Therefore be it resolved *that Kiwanis International, through its member clubs, combat drug abuse through the adoption of a major emphasis program wherein Kiwanis* *attention and activity will be focused worldwide on exposing the mental, physical, and financial hazards of such abuse; and*

That all Kiwanians and Kiwanis clubs actively support regularly constituted authority in the enforcing of existing laws and the creation of appropriate new legislation designed to combat and eliminate the drug menace; and

That Kinwanis Clubs initiate and support programs designed to educate and alert their own members and their fellow citizens, with particular concern for the youth of their communities, to the harmful effects of illicit drug traffic and use.

3. THE RULE OF LAW

Whereas the second Object of Kiwanis International is "To encourage the daily living of the Golden Rule in all human relationships," and

Whereas all Kiwanians should respect the laws of their lands and the rights of their citizens, and

Whereas all Kiwanians should realize that crime is a growing menace to a free society, and

Whereas all Kiwanians should recognize the periodic need for change in existing laws of their lands to provide for an expanding and inquiring citizenship, and

Whereas all Kiwanians should encourage those who seek change to do so peacefully and within the framework of the law;

Therefore be it resolved *that Kiwanians everywhere pledge themselves to observe the rule of law in their society, reserving to themselves and to others the right of lawful dissent without infringing upon the rights or dignities of their fellowmen; and*

That Kiwanians everywhere be urged as responsible citizens to provide individual leadership in upholding the existing laws, making necessary changes in them, or initiating new laws as the situation demands; and

That Kiwanians everywhere emphasize the inherent danger of all forms of crime to the economy and to the future progress of their nations and implement action programs by the local Kiwanis Clubs to dispel general apathy, to make the public more knowledgeable and their members more effective against this menace; and

That Kiwanians everywhere support and voice their appreciation of deserving public officials and law enforcement officers for their dedicated service.

4. KEY CLUBS AND CIRCLE K CLUBS

Whereas Kiwanians recognize that our complex society demands increasing responsibilities of our youth and requires earlier leadership experience; and

Whereas sponsorship of Key Clubs and Circle K Clubs broadens the scope of opportunities for service; and

Whereas the basic concepts of the Objects of Kiwanis International can be furthered through meaningful guidance of young men in high schools and colleges;

Now therefore be it resolved *that every Kiwanian pledge himself to accept his responsibilities to Key Clubs and Circle K Clubs in order that young men of high school and college age may have the opportunity to perform service to their schools and communities; and*

That every Kiwanian, recognizing the benefits of education for leadership, provide this training by personal participation and example to the end that every Circle K and Key Club member shall be a responsible citizen and carry throughout his life the inspiration of Kiwanis devotion to freedom and individual enterprise.

5. DIALOG WITH YOUTH

Whereas highly knowledgeable, well educated, idealistic and morally sensitive young people represent our best hope for the future; and

Whereas it is recognized that there are legitimate student protests and that changes are inevitable in an ever-moving society; and

Whereas illegal protests and demonstrations, sit-ins, riots and other acts of violence interfere with the rights of the large majority of students, enrolled with the serious purpose of furthering their education,

Now therefore be it resolved *that Kiwanians foster opportunities for a more effective dialogue between youth and adults; and*

That every Kiwanian and Kiwanis Club activitly support school administrators and students who are working out their problems in a lawful and orderly manner; and

That Kiwanians again express their confidence in youth by appropriate recognition of their achievements.

6. PORNOGRAPHY

Whereas standing up for decency in literature and entertainment is expected of those who accept the Objects of Kiwanis International, and

Whereas many bookstores, newsstands, and some distributors traffic in magazines and books which even from their covers are obviously objectionable, and

Whereas in many films, stage productions, and other forms of public entertainment every traditional code of decency has been violated,

Now therefore be it resolved *that every Kiwanian as an individual citizen make known his concern for decency in literature and entertainment and show by example in his home and in public life his adherence to a personal code of decency; and*

That, in cooperation with others of like mind, he make known to sponsors, producers, distributors, and retailers his opposition to that which he finds objectionable; and

That Kiwanians everywhere support and voice their appreciation to those who adhere to a code of decency in literature and entertainment.

7. VOCATIONAL AND TECHNICAL CAREERS

Whereas the education and training of our youth is paramount to their proper growth and development into productive citizens; and

Whereas there are many students who should be oriented toward vocational and technical careers,

Now therefore be it resolved, *that increased emphasis be placed upon vocational-technical studies so necessary to our modern economy and that Kiwanians promote greater public encouragement of those who work in the trades; and*

That Kiwanians actively involve themselves through financial support and personal service in providing improved methods and facilities for vocational-technical education in their local communities.

8. CONSERVATION AND POLLUTION CONTROL

Whereas in no other age has man been blessed with a greater abundance of available natural resources or so great a capacity for creatively shaping his natural world to the benefit of all mankind; and

Whereas through the waste and misuse of such resources as air, water, land, and forest and through the accelerating demands upon such resources by an affluent and rapidly expanding population, modern man has reason to be deeply concerned as to the exhaustibility and pollution of such resources; and

Whereas man's abuse of nature has extended to his abuse of life itself, as evidenced in the tragic annual increase in crippling injuries and death from accidents; and

Whereas the full cooperation of our citizenry is essential to the preservation of our natural resources and to life itself.

Therefore be it resolved *that each Kiwanian and each Kiwanis Club be dedicated to positive action within the community to identify the greatest needs and opportunities for conservation of life and resources and apply, personally and collectively, intensive effort toward the satisfaction of such needs and the seizure of such opportunities.*

SCHEDULE OF MINNESOTA SIXTH DISTRICT GRASSROOTS CONFERENCES

HON. JOHN M. ZWACH

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 28, 1969

Mr. ZWACH. Mr. Speaker, it is a great privilege for me, and I am highly honored, to represent the people of the Sixth Congressional District of Minnesota here in the Congress of the United States.

Minnesota is a great place to live and wonderful people live there. In the quality of life, all the aspects that provide for the better things of life: healthful climate, longevity, educational, medical, and cultural facilities, recreational opportunities, and opportunities for gainful and profitable employment, Minnesota ranks second of all the 50 States. You can see I am justifiably proud.

But we have more than quality of life and wonderful people. In Minnesota, we have a balance of green fields, forests, and sparkling lakes and streams found nowhere else in America.

In our Sixth Congressional District there are 3,871 lakes totalling more than half a million acres, an average of 134 acres per lake. Most of this water is still unpolluted, clear, blue, and drinkable. A dozen varieties of fish can be caught in their waters and waterfowl swim upon their surface and nest on the shorelines. In summer and winter these lakes provide the best in recreation, swimming, boating, water skiing, fishing, hunting, and ice skating.

Our forests provide a steady income from the harvesting of timber and pulpwood, providing employment in lumber and paper mills. Wildlife abounds in their shadowed depths.

With all of this, the Minnesota Sixth Congressional District is one of the most thoroughly agricultural districts in the entire Nation. We have 32,500 farms on which live some 130,000 people. Each farmworker provides food and fiber for himself and 44 others. Agricultural production in our district provides eventual employment for over 650,000 people. Our farms have 25 percent of Minnesota's dairy cows and 28 percent of our State's pigs. We are a leading producer of corn, soybeans, and flax.

We are proud of our public school system that ranks among the best. And we are a leader in vocational education for those who are not college bound. We are proud, too, of the seven colleges in our district whose graduates takes their places among the leaders of our great Nation.

Mr. Speaker, I am deeply grateful for the opportunity to be of service to the people of this most generously endowed area. My constant aim is to serve my constituents in the best way possible.

I keep in close contact with my people by regularly informing them of my activities in Congress in news releases and columns mailed weekly to our 87 weekly and nine daily newspapers as well as our 21 radio stations which also receive a weekly radio report.

To enable me to be in touch with their thinking, each year I send a congressional questionnaire on the issues before the Nation to each of our 134,000 households. The response to these questionnaires is excellent.

As the Representative of this great district, I have considered it my duty not only to be well informed of the opinions of my constituents, but also to be of the greatest possible service to persons having problems dealing with agencies or departments of our Federal Government.

Each year I hold grassroots conferences throughout our district at times when Congress is not in session.

During the time when I am in Washington attending to official duties, I have a competent secretary in our district office in the Federal building in St. Cloud to assist callers and to help them with requests for aid in dealing with the Federal Government.

This year, during our official August recess, I am again taking time to hold these grassroots conferences throughout our district at convenient public buildings. Because of the shortness of the recess, I must confine these meetings to the county seats this year.

I deeply appreciate the fine cooperation of the many public officials who have made these meetings possible by making meeting places available so that I can render this public service.

I have arranged the following schedule. All of the meetings will be held in the county courthouse except that for Stearns County which will be held at my district office in the Federal building, St. Cloud.

Monday, August 18: 9 to 11:30, Granite Falls; 2 to 4:30, Willmar.

Tuesday, August 19: 9 to 11:30, Benson; 2 to 4:30, Morris.

Wednesday, August 20: 9 to 11:30, Ortonville; 2 to 4:30, Madison.

Thursday, August 21: 9 to 11:30, Montevideo; 2 to 4:30, Litchfield.

Friday, August 22: 9 to 11:30, Buffalo; 2 to 4:30, St. Cloud.

Saturday, August 23: 9 to 11:30, St. Cloud.

Monday, August 25: 9 to 11:30, Ivanhoe; 2 to 4:30, Marshall.

Tuesday, August 26: 9 to 11:30, Redwood Falls; 2 to 4:30, Olivia.

Wednesday, August 27: 9 to 11:30, Elk River; 2 to 4:30, Milaca.

Thursday, August 28: 9 to 11:30, Foley; 2 to 4:30, Little Falls.

Friday, August 29: 2 to 4:30, Brainerd.

Anyone wishing to see me may do so at the location most convenient for them. No appointments are necessary. I sincerely urge individuals and groups to call on me if I can be of help to them in solving any of their problems dealing with the Federal Government.

The knowledge I obtain for these conferences will enable me to render better service, both legislative and personal, to all of the people of our important Sixth Congressional District.

1776

HON. CHARLES M. TEAGUE

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 28, 1969

Mr. TEAGUE of California. Mr. Speaker, I call to the attention of my colleagues the excellent editorial which appeared in the July 3 issue of Stars and Stripes. It was beautifully written by my old friend and former fellow townsman, Mr. Harry Say, and follows herewith:

IN 1776

This is not an editorial to publicize a theatrical play, but to make a point we can not escape mentioning the show. An evening some months ago at the National Press club in Washington, D.C., where a great many of the top newspaper and broadcasting experts of the nation gather, we listened to a veteran Washington representative of one of the great newspaper chains of America give this advice to a friend who had telephoned him.

"No—you will not want to spend your money for the show. It's just a corny revolutionary period costume deal—no real entertainment or sparkle in it. Wait till something better comes along."

The advice this veteran newspaper writer gave his friend dovetailed exactly with that of many of the expert critics on Broadway where the show later opened for its regular run. The production was "1776", the story of the creating of the Declaration of Independence.

At the time the Washington newsmen gave his expert advice, folk were already standing in line. It was sold out for every seat during its entire Washington run. The fact should have given the lofty critics up in New York a disquietng thought. But no. New York critics have a conviction that a Washington audience is not a normal one; that is made up of small town folk collected from over the United States to punch typewriters for the government. They still predicted the play would flop inside a week. They could not understand that something of history with a patriotic background would succeed.

In New York, "1776" has been a sellout week after week. Movie companies are competing to obtain screen rights of the play turned out by Sherman Edwards, a former history teacher who liked his subject, and felt history dramatically presented would attract audiences. He labored long to find a producer who shared his thoughts to the extent of taking the costly gamble of staging the play.

One can understand to a degree the side track on which the critics were thrown. No lavish sets. No pretty girls chorus, no sex in the daily use of the word. Just such characters as Benjamin Franklin, John Adams, Thomas Jefferson, John Hancock and their colleagues of 1776 debating and writing the Declaration of Independence. Oh, yes, there were a couple of women in the production—Thomas Jefferson's wife and Mrs. John Adams.

What the audience sees is history as it was made—these bold and far-sighted men of the Colonies struggling with the job of writing a meaningful declaration destined to last down through the centuries.

On the stage the signers finally finish their job. In silence they sit around their table. In the background the Liberty Bell tolls, louder and louder. The curtain goes down, and the New York audiences that the critics did not think would be there, break into cheering seldom heard by any producer or playwright.

A heartening sight it is 193 years since the great document was signed to observe the reaction of average Americans. Doubly satisfying it is to know that a high percentage of teenagers are enraptured by the show.

It gives one reason to believe this Fourth of July that underneath all the surface turmoil of riots, draft card burners, law breaking, political chicanery and such that the foundations on which the United States was born are still of solid stuff.

Our salute to the author and producer. They have provided that Americans still revere patriotism, find pride in their nation's history, and do not have to be baited to a theatre by sex or dirt.

DEMO CUTTHROAT POLITICS

HON. ROBERT H. MICHEL

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 28, 1969

Mr. MICHEL. Mr. Speaker, an editorial appearing in the July 24, 1969, edition of the Peoria Journal Star has some rather interesting and pointed comments regarding the activities of some of our friends on the other side of the aisle as well as other factions of the Democratic Party. With no further comment, I include the editorial in the RECORD at this point:

DEMO CUTTHROAT POLITICS

When one looks at the barrage of criticism now arising from the Democratic side of the aisle against Richard Nixon, it is a curious exercise to try to sort out the "new" positions from the "old."

Somehow, the Kennedy-Johnson space program was wonderful and untouchable—but since it has come under Nixon's authority, space has become a waste of time to its former boosters.

Once upon a time, Secretary McNamara was unassailable, a genius, a man whose judgments were fantastically beyond criticism or question—but since Defense has come under Nixon's authority, everything they did the last eight years was wrong! (Nobody mentions that these were McNamara's decisions, though). The attack is on "the Pentagon", and the impression is that all McNamara's alleged mistakes of yesteryear are really Richard Nixon's fault.

So it goes on program after program, area after area.

The most simple, cold turkey example of the role of partisan politics in decision-making involving the welfare of the country, lies in the vote record on the straight surtax levy.

One hundred and fifty-six Democratic Congressmen regarded the surtax as an absolute necessity when Lyndon Johnson was President. Two-thirds of the same congressmen are opposed to the surtax now that Richard Nixon is president.

Such is the influence of cut-throat politics on issues, as compared to the merits of the issue, itself . . . or the good of the country.

This brand of politics is a pretty smelly business.

Perhaps the most saddening example in the whole cast of "switchers" is Sen. Ed Muskie. He had given such an appealing impression of a craggy man of integrity just a year ago.

And now he is one of the howling mob, reversing his past attitudes, and leaping in strictly on the basis of every opportunity to throw a spear at the man now tied to the target stake of the Presidency.

When so many "leaders" are so busy making themselves too cheap for the job, where is the next presidential candidate coming from?

SUCCESSFUL APOLLO MISSION TO MOON HIGHLIGHTS HISTORY'S MOST FANTASTIC ERA

HON. JOE L. EVINS

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 28, 1969

Mr. EVINS of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, the successful Apollo 11 flight to the moon is one of the great achievements of the greatest period in history. And much of the success of the great achievements in this golden age of progress can be attributed to scientific work in Tennessee and the Fourth Congressional District which I am honored to represent in the Congress.

In this connection I place herewith in the RECORD my recent newsletter, Capitol Comments, because of the interest of my colleagues and the American people in this most important event:

(Capitol Comments by JOE L. EVINS, Fourth District, Tennessee, July 28, 1969)

APOLLO SPACECRAFT JOURNEY TO MOON AND SAFE RETURN HIGHLIGHTS HISTORY'S MOST FANTASTIC ERA

The successful flight of Apollo 11 to the moon is the most dramatic event of mankind's most fabulous age. Historians unquestionably will record the 20th century as mankind's golden age of progress. This is the era when the accumulated knowledge of centuries is being combined with new knowledge and new technology to produce a series of fantastic and unprecedented achievements.

The significance of the landing on the moon is as much the success in developing the technology required to achieve this goal as it is the physical exploration of the moon and the success in manned space flight. This new space technology already has resulted in progress in many other fields of science with practical application—in medical science, for example, and in many other areas.

As a matter of fact, many historians believe that the three most important achievements of this remarkable age are the successful moon landing, the splitting of the atom and successful penetration into the secrets of genetic life code in human cells. Tennessee and the Fourth Congressional District can be justifiably proud of the role of the scientific facilities in our area in achieving success in all three fields—at the Arnold Engineering Development Center at Tullahoma, in the testing of Apollo components and engines, and at the Atomic Energy Commission and Oak Ridge National Laboratory at Oak Ridge in the development of nuclear energy and in work on the genetic code which promises revolutionary innovations in medical diagnosis and treatment.

The raw courage of the three Apollo astronauts—and of all the astronauts that preceded them in the step-by-step progression of the program of space exploration—is a tribute to the resourcefulness and determination of all Americans and all mankind. As Astronaut Neil Armstrong said when he set foot on the moon:

"That's one small step for man—one giant step for mankind."

The courage of the astronauts coupled with American technology, determination and success in overcoming all obstacles is reassurance to all mankind that he can solve his problems through patience and perseverance. The three astronauts—Neil Armstrong, Edwin "Buzz" Aldrin and Michael Collins—deserve our commendation and our gratitude for their magnificent demonstration of achieving what was considered impossible.

Truly we are indeed fortunate to live in Twentieth Century America as man continues to achieve incredible breakthroughs for progress.

TRIBUTE TO DR. JEFFERSON GARNER

HON. GLENN M. ANDERSON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 28, 1969

Mr. ANDERSON of California. Mr. Speaker, today I rise to pay tribute to an outstanding educator in the public school system of southern California, Dr. Jefferson L. Garner, superintendent of the Centinela Valley Union School District. Dr. Garner is retiring from his position as superintendent of schools and will assume a new post of visiting professor of education for the University of Southern California. As superintendent for the past 15 years, his record has been that of one remarkable accomplishment after another.

It is my intention this afternoon to extend recognition to the character of this influential educator. Dr. Jefferson Garner bestows a special blessing to all he encounters—a recognition of human frailty and the need to value the spirit and soul of man. He is warm with the compassion that comes only from a deep liking of fellow humans—a sensitive awareness that every man has his own sense of dignity and worth for which he must be respected and honored.

Dr. Garner received his A.B. from Chico State College in 1936; his M.S. in Education from U.S.C. in 1947; and his Ed. D. from U.S.C. in 1948. His background discloses a steady and progressive rise in concern for the educational program of the children in his area as he assumed greater responsibility regularly. Starting as an elementary school teacher in 1936, he became a principal in 1939, and the registrar of the Plumas County Union High School in 1942. In 1944, he became assistant registrar to the Los Angeles city schools and assistant superintendent of the Centinela Valley Union High School in 1947. In 1954, Dr. Garner assumed his latest position, superintendent of the Centinela Valley School District. He is a member of many professional organizations and is actively involved in the community service programs of the Rotary Club. I wish him well in his new post of visiting professor of education for the University of Southern California, and I am pleased that he will continue in his chosen field of endeavor that he has served so well.

The real spirit of this innovative educator is captured by the following article, which is reprinted from the June issue of the Centinela Valley Union High School District News:

JEFF GARNER

Every man eventually becomes known by one all-pervading quality—the essence, the heart—of his life, his work. With Jeff Garner it is his warm liking of people, a generosity of spirit; yes, a deep affection for the human race.

It is this quality that has permeated this school district during his superintendency, that underlies the concept that education, learning—call it what you will—is pretty much the reaching out of the hand of one human to another, that the great nourisher of learning is the warmth of human contact and feeling.

"One of the first things I learned about teaching was to keep out of the kids' way," Jeff once said. "Give him his head; he'll find his way—if you've really got something to give him."

Giving a human being his head, the freedom to fulfill his capacities, is a basic philosophy with Jeff Garner, as applicable to the adult world as to children.

A long-time friend of Jeff's related that many years ago in Jeff's presence he was effectively dissecting what he considered the abundant minus qualities of an individual. The friend was quite eloquent, and no doubt there were elements of hard truth in his observations. Jeff listened in non-committal silence for several moments before finally interrupting.

"There's only one thing you're forgetting," he told his friend. "You can ask only so much of a man. I think you'll find a man does the best he can if you let him alone and give him a chance. It's pretty much what we all want—the chance to do our best." He paused for a moment. "Do you think there just might be one good thing you could say about this man?"

"I've never forgotten that question of Jeff's," the friend said. "The idea has stuck with me ever since—that the one good thing you can say of another person far outweighs all the rest."

Jeff's greatest gift is his acceptance of human frailty, acceptance undiluted with the anemic toleration of "understanding," but warm with the compassion that comes only from a deep liking of fellow humans, a sensitive awareness that every man has his own sense of dignity, his own sense of worth for which he must be respected and honored.

"I've yet to hear Jeff Garner run a person down," observed a teacher who has worked closely with him for several years. "Even if you think a guy can't do much more than whistle by the time Jeff gets through extolling the talents of the whistler you walk away wondering how come you could be so stupid in not seeing such obvious talents yourself."

Jeff Garner's feeling for people is reciprocated in many ways.

During the reconstruction of Leuzinger High School there was a choice in the quality of seats to be used in the auditorium. One was handsome and expensive; the other, sturdily homely and lower in cost. Against the advice of those who counseled that the expensive seat was an invitation to teen-age destruction, Jeff insisted on the better quality.

"Have you thought of it this way?" he countered. "Kids appreciate good things like anyone else. Appreciating and liking a good thing, they'll be proud of the better seat. And when you have a kid who's proud of something, you can be darned sure he's going to take good care of it."

Those yet unscathed seats at Leuzinger testify to a man's faith in youngsters.

In another instance a recalcitrant youngster had exhausted all rules and regulations at one of the schools as well as the patience and tempers of the staff. It was decided that the young man must permanently depart the campus.

The distraught mother, her son in tow, appeared in Jeff Garner's office for a tripartite conference requested by the parent.

A teacher at the boy's school was surprised to see the boy the next day when he appeared on campus, apparently unshaken by what in the realm of any teenager's experience might be regarded as a confrontation of formidable potential.

"What happened?" the teacher asked.

"That Dr. Garner's real cool, man," the youngster answered, his face breaking into the first smile the teacher had seen in weeks.

"Well. . . . but what did you talk about?"

"He was telling me all the things he did as a kid," and after gleefully recounting some of the events of Jeff Garner's teen years, the youngster's face sobered. "I've got to make it now. I can't let him down." And the boy did make it.

And there have been others—staff members, students, friends—who have "made it" because of Jeff Garner's faith and helping hand when sorely needed.

Ever seeking a way around the prohibitions, restrictions, frustrations, educational cliches and jargon that stand ever ready to afflict kids, teachers, and schools with deadly boredom, Jeff Garner's free-wheeling approach to education emphasizes the unorthodox, the imaginative, the creative—the philosophy that learning, rather than being limited to a classroom, relates to the quality, color, and texture of human experience, and that often a youngster is infinitely the richer for appearing in a play or painting a painting than mastering the chapter of a text.

It is this same approach, Jeff Garner's faith and willingness to gamble on the productive creativity of his staff that has brought about many programs which have given this district a distinguished leadership among educational systems.

Honoring his retirement, the recent art show of Lennox High School was dedicated to Jeff Garner by the students. In the program notes of dedication were there words:

"*. . . you have made this district one of the rare places in secondary education where aesthetic values—the values of the spirit and soul of man—have a relevant and significant place in our educational framework.*"

The dedication by these fledgling artists of their creative efforts to Jeff Garner bestows a special blessing of its own—the recognition of a man whose life and work are characterized above all else by a warm sensitivity to those elements most cherished by youth (yes, and once-upon-a-time-youth)—the values of the spirit and soul of man.

PRAISE FOR JOB CORPS

HON. J. J. PICKLE

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 28, 1969

Mr. PICKLE. Mr. Speaker, it is no secret that I am an admirer of a job well done, especially when it is done under fire. The Gary Job Corps Center has tossed aside the Washington-generated problems involving Job Corps nationally, and has continued to provide thousands of young men the best training they have ever had. The people who come to visit leave as supporters of the program.

In doing so, the Gary center has become somewhat a model for Texas teachers, and others, as is witnessed by this editorial from the Houston Chronicle, July 20, 1969:

PRAISE FOR JOB CORPS

The federal government's Job Corps vocational training program appears to be serving its purpose in a highly successful manner, at least in the Camp Gary Center at San Marcos.

A group of 30 Houston area school teachers has given unsolicited, enthusiastic approval of the Camp Gary program and recommended that it be expanded. The group recently toured the San Marcos center as a part of the Bill of Rights Institute summer program being conducted at the University of Houston.

The teachers spent several hours observing the training in metallurgy, masonry, carpentry, printing, welding, commercial arts and the use of heavy equipment and machinery. They saw classrooms used for basic training in reading, mathematics and social communications skills, and they talked individually with the corpsmen.

"We were impressed with this group of young men who were acquiring a quiet dignity within themselves as human beings and a genuine pride in their ability to master a vocation," the teachers reported. "I saw more hope on the faces of these men than you will find on the faces of students in a normal high school or college classroom," one teacher said.

The Job Corps program is valuable from the standpoint of providing a large segment of young people with the ability to hold constructive jobs and maintain a secure place for themselves in society. Unlike the programs based on the hand out system, vocational training represents an investment in young people who are willing to work.

CAPTIVE NATIONS WEEK

HON. GARNER E. SHRIVER

OF KANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 28, 1969

Mr. SHRIVER. Mr. Speaker, the third full week of July marks the 11th annual observance of Captive Nations Week. I join my colleagues in Congress, the people of the Fourth District of Kansas, and the rest of the Nation in commemorating the national observance of this week.

We, the American people, who so justly value and treasure our freedom of speech, freedom of religion, and freedom of assembly mourn the loss of these human rights and dignities by the East and Central European people to Soviet dictatorship. Through overt and inovert aggression we have seen the Russian Communist subjugation of the national independence of Albania, Bulgaria, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Czechoslovakia, Poland, and Romania. The so-called Brezhnev doctrine and the Czechoslovakia tragedy manifest for the free people of the world another grave reminder of Russian suppression. The Brezhnev doctrine is a symbol of tyranny by unpopular regimes and perpetuated solely by the military force of the Soviet Union.

Let us resolve anew to never forget the millions of people who are under the yoke of communism in East and Central Europe. One of our greatest, yet most inspiring and worthy challenges, is the pledging of our Nation and our people to the cause of freedom for all mankind. America must continue to be the beacon of faith and the personification of individual rights and human dignity for the suppressed European nations. Captive Nations Week manifests our awareness of the importance of freedom for the 100 million people in the Communist-dictated lands of East and Central Europe. The right of self-determination for all people is our confirmed obligation. Through our obligation, may the people of Europe see freedom from Communist dominance and suppression.

DEFAMATION OF OUR ETHNIC, RACIAL, AND RELIGIOUS GROUPS

HON. HENRY HELSTOSKI

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 28, 1969

Mr. HELSTOSKI. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to be one of the cosponsors of the House Concurrent Resolution, offered by Mr. RODINO, dean of the New Jersey delegation; a resolution expressing the sense of Congress with reference both to defamatory films and broadcasts, as well as to the need for establishment and implementation of adequate standards for such films and broadcasts.

For quite some time now, many of our radio and television "comedians" have demeaned and degraded our ethnic, racial, and religious groups. Our protests to the networks, sponsors, and the performers have fallen upon deaf ears, thus requiring the Congress to take steps in dealing with this problem. No one will deny the fact that Congress has had much more important problems to cope with, but if the film and broadcast industries cannot police themselves on this subject, Congress has to take appropriate steps.

It appears that some action must be taken to curb such films and broadcasts which maliciously ascribe ethnic, racial, and religious origins to undesirable patterns of behavior.

While the first amendment gives every individual the right to speak out freely, it does not grant any individual to speak in a manner which is degrading and defamatory about his fellow Americans no matter what their ethnic, racial, or religious origins may be. America is no place where such demeaning characterization are to be condoned.

America has been, is, and will be the melting pot of the world, and each individual, regardless of origin, has contributed his share to the betterment of America.

As an American of Polish descent, I am proud of my heritage and I wish to call attention to some names which, I am sure, you will recognize immediately.

Generals Thaddeus Kosciuszko and Casimer Pulaski fought for us in our war for independence. And, General Pulaski is known as the "Father of the American Cavalry."

As Poles, Ignace Jan Paderewski and Fryderyk Chopin contributed much to the field of music and musical composition. Surely, everyone is familiar with the name of Madame Marie Curie-Sklodowska, the discoverer of radium, and with Nicholas Copernicus another great Polish scientist. Who, among baseball fans, is not familiar with Stan Musial.

The Americans of Polish descent do

not desire, or should be referred to as "Polacks." To them this is a very degrading appraisal of their national origin.

Among the Italians, we find such names as Enrico Fermi, an atomic scientist; Guglielmo Marconi, a scientist in the radio field; G. Galileo, an astronomer; Luigi Galvani, the developer of the galvanic battery; Columbus and Vespucci, navigators.

You know of Benvenuto Cellini and Leonardo da Vinci, as well as Michaelangelo. Do you remember the Dimaggio brothers? Joe has just been voted the best among the living players.

And, the Italians resent any reference to them as "Dagos." I applaud them in their desire to eliminate this reference to them, which is a derogatory description of a group whose national origin has made great contributions to our country.

I would like to suggest to these "comedians" that before they utter one word with reference to any of the ethnic groups, the racial groups or the religious groups, that they first study the contributions made by these people to our American way of life and for the betterment of all mankind.

One factor that we should all remember is that the people of these various ethnic, racial, and religious groups will remain long after those who degrade them in their "comic" performances are gone.

It is unfortunate that Congress must step into this picture, and it is only because the film and broadcast industries do not desire or cannot police themselves in this area.

While, at this time, we are only expressing the sense of Congress in dealing with this problem, the resolution proposes to establish three principles: First, it would call upon the producers and distributors of films and broadcasts to cease the production and distribution of films and programs which defame, stereotype, ridicule, demean, or degrade ethnic, racial and religious groups. Second, it would call on responsible persons in the motion picture and broadcasting industries to establish and enforce adequate standards. Third, in the event that the motion picture and broadcasting industries do not establish and enforce adequate standards within 1 year after enactment of this resolution, it would call on Congress to establish such standards through Federal legislation.

Mr. Speaker, I trust and hope that congressional concern on this problem will force the writers and performers to reassess their approach to the ethnic, racial, and religious groups and direct their performances toward uniting these groups into a solid American society. Never before in our history have we had the need for unity among those who are a part of this "melting pot" as we do now.

We are in the critical years of our American way of life and no one should take upon himself to degrade, demean, and ridicule anyone who is a part of these great United States or who has origins outside our boundaries.

OVERPOPULATION BIGGEST PROBLEM

HON. ROBERT H. MICHEL

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 28, 1969

Mr. MICHEL. Mr. Speaker, on July 18 the President sent a message to the Congress relating to the overpopulation problem bringing into clear focus the scope of the problem and offering some constructive suggestions as to what might be done to find some solutions.

An editorial appearing in the July 24, 1969, edition of the Peoria Journal Star discusses the problem in some rather straightforward and blunt language and I include the editorial in the RECORD at this point:

OVERPOPULATION BIGGEST PROBLEM

We are bringing more kids into this world than we can possibly provide for.

There isn't enough land to grow enough food to feed the numbers of kids being produced on this planet today. There aren't enough adults around to produce their needs or provide enough teachers to teach them.

It is a tragic, measured, analyzed reality that the figures simply don't add up. There aren't enough resources on earth to provide for the avalanche of babies. There aren't the crops, the land, or enough capable adults to provide services.

Where the reality has hit first and hardest, desperate steps are already being taken. In Japan, which once was the Number One population crowding problem on earth, abortion is open, legal, and being practiced. In India, where massive efforts to increase food production are outstripped by baby production, they have launched a massive campaign of outright sterilization—along with tens of thousands of planned parenthood centers.

That is the really dark side of these statistics about "more than half of population of Latin America is under 21", and such.

There just aren't enough able adults in good health still in their years of vigor to take care of such a staggering number of kids in need of food, clothes, and education.

Result: millions of those growing up to adulthood aren't well fed or educated or capable of solving the problems and contributing significantly to the feeding, sheltering, clothing and education of the still rushing tide—but they are capable of adding more and more babies to the problem.

The tidal wave inundates human progress and human hopes of a better life and higher standard of civilization as well.

Our own booming birth rate threatens to contribute to a similar slippage right here. In any case, the effects of this build-up toward disaster in the hemisphere and on earth certainly doesn't leave us untouched now—nor able to "tread water" and keep our heads out in future as the tide rises.

I don't know who said it first, but it is a plain fact:

"Whatever your present cause may be, it is a lost cause . . . unless we check the population explosion."

Yet we face this overriding reality in America, against a conditioned reflex that expects our local miracle of technology to provide all things for all men with no effort.

In short, we are looking in the other direction, living in a fool's paradise, unaware of the massive shadow of the tidal wave looming over us.

THE LESSON OF APOLLO 11

HON. CHESTER L. MIZE

OF KANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 28, 1969

Mr. MIZE. Mr. Speaker, the adventure of Apollo 11 has few parallels in human experience. Our pride as a people in this accomplishment is utterly unbounded. Americans have met the challenge issued by the late President Kennedy "to put a man on the Moon and return him safely to Earth in this decade." President Nixon has said of this past week:

The world has never been closer together.

The President's profound observation is manifested in many, many ways. Men and women throughout the world can take pride in this magnificent achievement. The dignity of all men is enhanced by the courage and resolution of a few. Men have always lived in the reflected light of the distinguished and the dedicated among them. But more than that, Apollo 11 was the product—more than any other single event in history—of the commitment and struggle of the great thinkers and innovators of all the ages in human history.

From Galileo and Copernicus to Goddard and Von Braun, brilliant, untiring men throughout the world have contributed their lives and energies to the mission that culminated in the live television coverage of Neil Armstrong's first footfall on the surface of another world. It was a proud moment for every race, every creed, every sort of man; it was a moment of universal timeless participation in high adventure and discovery.

It was one of those few moments when technical achievement, courage, discovery, conquest, and the commitment of millions were all coordinated for peaceful purposes. "We came in peace for all mankind." Those words of our President and the astronauts will remain etched on a plaque on the moon, untarnished and undefiled throughout the eons ahead. They are words of commitment and words of hope. They are words this Congress, this Nation, and all humankind cannot ignore as space becomes a familiar medium for exploration and travel.

Perhaps, as we grow in wisdom and experience, we shall learn to accept the challenges of peace, in space and here on earth, as proper challenges for modern man. The challenges are limitless, just as space is limitless.

Hunger, serious disease, inadequate education, prejudice, and exploitation of men by other men—these are the curses that Americans can move against in the decades ahead.

The incredibly complex Apollo program has succeeded beyond our dreams and hopes. Its success should give us hope for future endeavors, future challenges.

Our earth is a resilient, fertile garden for men to cultivate. Men's minds and faith are resilient and fertile as well. With these gifts from God, an optimistic future is within our grasp.

"We came in peace for all mankind," and all mankind has joined us in the journey. That is the lesson of Apollo 11, and that is our hope. It must be our destiny.

FLAME ENGINEERING

HON. KEITH G. SEBELIUS

OF KANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 28, 1969

Mr. SEBELIUS. Mr. Speaker, my remarks today are prompted by a letter and a newspaper article regarding one of a my constituents in western Kansas, Mr. Ralph Pivonka, an enterprising and successful businessman from La Crosse, Kans.

Mr. Pivonka is typical of our citizens in western Kansas and typical of his pioneering forebearers. Out of necessity, he and his son designed and built a propane torch with which to burn weeds and trash on the family farm. That homemade device has now led to a first-rate local industrial concern—a profitable business with incorporation plans.

Mr. Pivonka asks a most pertinent question: How can a successful businessman succeed in an area suffering from depressed farm conditions? How can he contribute to the revitalization of his home community? What can be done?

Mr. Speaker, I offer the article regarding this successful smalltown businessman from the June 12 issue of the Wichita Eagle along with excerpts from Mr. Pivonka's letter to me for inclusion in the RECORD. I think it is obvious that through the example of Ralph Pivonka we can revitalize rural and smalltown America. It is equally obvious Congress should do all that it can to aid in this effort before success stories like this one become a thing of the past.

The article and letter follow:

FLAME ENGINEERING,
LaCrosse, Kans.

Hon. KEITH G. SEBELIUS,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SIR: As a struggling small manufacturer I appreciate your interest in our welfare and the welfare of rural Kansas, with conditions in Western Kansas not good from any point of view. If we cannot create something to hold our people, all but a few western Kansas towns will all but disappear. In LaCrosse, the last 6 months have seen 6 businesses close their doors. These were not exactly small businesses—a grocery, a clothing store, a variety store, a recreation parlor, a drug store, a shoe store. We have prospects of losing an auto agency, an implement agency, and—heaven forbid—our hospital. The hospital will surely close as our only active doctor is closing his office July 1; many other towns in this area are in the same position. Depressed farm conditions are closing businesses by the dozens.

As a small manufacturer, I am aware that there are a number of agencies within the government that are supposed to assist us in obtaining business. However, how to obtain this help is another matter. I have spent countless hours and several thousand dollars in visiting these agencies and have received the usual polite brushoff. The Agriculture Department and their Forest Service are buying thousands of dollars worth of equipment similar to what we manufacture, but to date, we have sold only $25.00 worth of our equipment to them. As small manufacturers, we are unable to support representatives in Washington to lobby for our interests. We need help desperately in obtaining some of the business that is going to Eastern manufacturers.

Your interest in our activity is sincerely appreciated. Perhaps with your help, we may overcome some of these difficulties.

Respectfully,

RALPH C. PIVONKA.

FATHER, SON'S PROPANE TORCH APPEARS BRIGHT

(By Darrell Morrow)

LA CROSSE, KANS.—Fourteen years ago Ralph Pivonka, 64, La Crosse, and his son, Mike, 32 designed and built a propane torch for use in burning weeds and trash on the family farm.

Now the father-son team devotes full time to manufacture and sale of propane torches for farm and commercial use. They produce patented Red Dragon torches under the partnership name of Flame Engineering.

"We started out of necessity. We needed a torch and got to building them. Neighbors would borrow them and never would bring them back, so we decided it maybe had some commercial value. The boy said, 'I'll make them if you'll sell them,'" said Ralph Pivonka.

Four years ago they expanded the business, then run mostly from the farm workshop, and entered the national market. Since that time demands for their products has extended into the international market.

* * * * *

Primary emphasis of the business is on the production of torch equipment for control of insects and weeds from farmlands.

"We use a method radically different than anyone else in the industry. We throw the propane on the ground and use a pilot light to ignite it. It is so darn simple that only a Kansas hayseed would think of it," Pivonka said.

The work of Pivonka and son attracted enough attention nationally that Ralph Pivonka was asked to present a paper at the Fifth Annual Symposium on Thermal Agriculture at Memphis, Tenn., in January 1968. The organization is composed primarily of scientists and researchers and barred speakers who had commercial or manufacturing ties from the platform, Pivonka said.

While other flaming equipment on the market uses vaporized gases from the top of the tank, his equipment uses liquid propane off the bottom.

"In any type of flaming the greatest amount of heat is created at point of combustion. When combustion takes place within the torch, only hot expanded gases are expelled. These gases are heated to incandescence, but because of their expanded condition lack the quality of adhering to the ground for any length of time.

"In liquid spray flaming, the natural tendency of propane to seek low levels has the advantage of creating a flame that adheres to the surface for considerable longer periods than normally is accomplished with conventional equipment. The super cooling of natural vaporization adds to the tendency to adhere to the surface to be flamed, in many cases even to penetrating into cracks in soil, into and under trash where initial combustion creates the greatest amount of heat.

"This initial combustion also creates considerable radiated (infra-red) heat. This radiated heat has penetrating qualities not found when combustion takes place at a point other than point of contact. Radiated heat penetrates deeply into fibrous material creating damage within the plant that destroys its ability to survive," Pivonka explained.

He advocates using the liquid spray flaming equipment during late fall or early spring to destroy insects, their eggs, and some weeds from alfalfa. The flamer is pulled at a speed of about five miles per hour on relatively windless days for best performance, he said.

The first flaming for field use designed by the Pivonkas was for that purpose, but Pivonka said they have had numerous requests for application of the principle to other uses. He said some farmers believe use of the flamer on alfalfa may extend useful life of a planting from three to four years.

"We had a request from Grand Forks, N.D., for a potato vine burner. The idea is to destroy the potato vine so the ground can dry up and farmers can get into fields to pick the potatoes. Flamers also are used to destroy old corn stalks."

A British company has enlisted aid in application of their flaming equipment to drying soil reclaimed from the ocean so it may be compacted more quickly. The company uses a "soil disturber" which aerates the soil by throwing it into the air. "The idea is to flame the soil and dry it while it is in the air," he said.

Experimentation may be undertaken at Houston, where the British equipment is being used to build a levee from reclaimed soil.

The father and son said the demands for their equipment has outgrown their capabilities to produce it. They have contracted much of the production with a La Crosse machine shop. They now devote most of their time to the development and distribution end of the business.

The business has outgrown its partnership status, they have been told by Internal Revenue Service, and they plan to incorporate probably late this year, Pivonka said.

From the single flaming torch which they initially built in the farm workshop for their use and later for sale in the LaCrosse area, they have expanded to 47 items, Pivonka said.

Development of one of their products was requested by bush pilots in Alaska. The pilots requested that they make a simple heater to be used for warming cold plane engines so they would start in frigid Alaskan winters. They previously had let the engines idle continuously.

"We came up with a 100,000 BTU heater that weighs 11 pounds and fits into a fiber suitcase," he said.

One of their requested requirements was that the heater connections be made of common four-inch stovepipe, commonly available anywhere in Alaska, in case extensions or replacements were needed.

A Wichita aircraft manufacturer has indicated interest in the heater for a cold start accessory for its executive plane, Pivonka said.

The aircraft manufacturer requested that the stovepipe be replaced with a fancier connection pipe and the kit packaged in a contoured flight suitcase, he added.

MOON CALL

HON. RICHARD H. POFF

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 28, 1969

Mr. POFF. Mr. Speaker, I quote herewith an editorial from the July 22 issue of the Richmond Times Dispatch.

It strikes me that this editorial is a complete and conclusive response to the editorial which appeared in the July 19 issue of the New York Times.

The editorial follows:

NIXONPHOBIA

It is curious how exceedingly petty certain segments of the population can become when the subject under discussion is Richard Nixon.

An editorial in last Saturday's *New York Times* is a case in point.

Under the heading, "Nixoning the Moon," the *Times* took the President to task for his "attempt to share the stage with the three brave men on Apollo 11" by talking with the two of them who were to be on the moon.

President Kennedy initiated the Apollo program, and Lyndon Johnson was the program's prime political friend and most strenuous advocate, said the editorial. But now, the paper continued, because Mr. Nixon is president "by accident of the calendar" when the moon shot actually was being made, he was engaging in a self-serving performance "unworthy of the President of the United States."

This truly reaches the depths of the picayune.

As unhappy as it makes the *New York Times*, the fact is that Richard Nixon is now the President of the United States. It was entirely fitting for him, as the representative of all the people of this nation, to commend the astronauts on their great achievement and to express to the largest worldwide television audience in history America's hope that this epochal scientific achievement will inspire man on earth to redouble his efforts to achieve lasting peace.

The President's message was eminently appropriate, and the sight and sound of the chief executive talking from the White House with the first men ever to set foot on the lunar surface added to the drama and significance of the historic occasion.

Only a bad case of Nixonphobia would lead anyone to view the President's telephone call, as the *Times* did, as nothing more than "a publicity stunt of the type Khrushchev used to indulge in."

HONORING DR. FRANK PORTER GRAHAM A GREAT AMERICAN

HON. NICK GALIFIANAKIS

OF NORTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 24, 1969

Mr. GALIFIANAKIS. Mr. Speaker, 60 years ago this summer a great American, Dr. Frank Porter Graham, graduated from the University of North Carolina, one of the Nation's great universities. One major factor that contributed to this university's greatness was the many years of leadership by Dr. Graham as its president. This year we also commemorate his retirement from a useful and illustrious career of public service as an official of the United Nations.

I am pleased, Mr. Speaker, to honor Dr. Frank, as he was affectionately known to thousands of students. I cannot think of a more appropriate way to recognize this true statement than to repeat his own words expressing his hope and faith as an American:

THE FAITH AND HOPE OF AN AMERICAN

In the fulfillment of her heritage of freedom and hope of brotherhood may America more and more be a land in which free people become brothers in the sight of God and in the human heart. Here the autonomy of the human spirit, the freedom of the mind, the liberty of inquiry, speech, publication, association, enterprise, work and worship, together with a personal sense of moral and social responsibility, are essential to the dignity of the free individual in whom are the security of the state, the welfare of the people and the progress of civilization. Here the best answer to the totalitarianism of the police state is not scrapping the Bill of Rights but keeping the faith of our historic Americanism. In this land the equal freedom of people to organize for self-development, cooperation and creative participation in the agricultural, industrial, commercial, political, professional, cultural and religious life is now the moving frontier of our dynamic democracy. In the general life the daily toil of millions of men and women is above privilege and power, and the integrity of simple people is beyond price.

May this America be a land where the home, as the sanctuary of love, nurture and faith, is the source and measure of civilization, and the schools, libraries and playgrounds of the people are the chief hope of the equal opportunity of all the children in all the states to develop to the highest their individual capacities for a unified and useful life. In the cities, the towns and the country may the multiplication and acceleration of the mechanical contacts of civilization increasingly mean the enjoyment of leisure and recreation, the widening of information and sympathies, and the deepening of the cultural and spiritual content of the lives of the people. The commonwealth not only means the common responsibilities for the conservation and development of the natural resources and cultural heritage for this generation and the generations to come, but also more and more means the common opportunities of the people for free information, sound knowledge, equal suffrage, fair employment, decent standards of life and labor, social security against the hazards of modern society, good health and medical care within reach of the people, and lawful agitation to broaden the base of the general welfare and lift the level of human liberty "in the pursuit of happiness" in America and the world.

In this land of liberty, for which our fathers died, and for which we would live, work and give our all, may America become a country in which the highest and lowest and all the people equally together have the freedom to struggle for the higher freedom of truth, goodness and beauty; where democracy is without vulgarity, excellence is without arrogance, the answer to error is not terror and the response to a difference in color, race, religion, ideas, economic condition or social status is not discrimination, exploitation or intimidation.

Here is humility of repentance for our own wrongs, freedom of indignation against injustice and evil in places high or low, and courage in action for human decency and fair play. Our democracy is made fairer and stronger by the robust struggles of freedom, and life is made richer by the vigor and variety of the differences of the people. Where and when men are free, the way of progress is not subversion, the respect for the past is not reaction, and the hope of the future is not revolution; where the majority is without tyranny, the minority without fear, and all people have hope of building together a nobler America in a freer and fairer world.

These toiling and hopeful people, as pioneers along the free frontiers of the vast wilderness of our yet unmastered international society, seek to prevent both the destruction of human freedom and self-destruction of civilization and to share their generous strength for peace on earth and good will among men. In a dynamic world, in which a depression or a war anywhere involves human beings everywhere, the people of the American dream, against the lags of the conceptions of the absolute state, the superior race and the master class, patiently struggle in the atomic age through the United Nations, through regional re-enforcements of collective security, through economic cooperation and technical assistance programs, to end all wars and all depressions and to provide the basis for the self-determination and equal opportunity of all people. On the fresh continents of abundant resources, fronting east and west on the two great oceans between the Old World and the New, the people of America, are the grateful heirs of all the ages, races, regions, cultures, and hopes of mankind. With all their faults, frustrations and aspirations these people of this youthful nation would rise to the responsibility of their power and the opportunity for their gretaest to help give fresh hopes to stricken peoples for food and freedom and to help organize justice under law and peace among nations. In creative cooperation with all peoples, East and West, the American people would share their heritage, their toil, their strength and their dream in the unresting adventure of the human spirit in the long pilgrimage toward one world neighborhood of human brotherhood in answer to the prayers of the people for peace, freedom and justice on God's good earth.

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF MOON LANDING

HON. GARNER E. SHRIVER

OF KANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 28, 1969

Mr. SHRIVER. Mr. Speaker, the successful and historic mission of the men of Apollo 11 is over—and now a national discussion on the future of space exploration has begun. Under the leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include editorials from the Newton Kansan and the Peabody, Kans., Gazette-Herald on the significance of the U.S. landing on the moon last week. The editorials follow:

[From the Newton Kansan]

MANKIND PROFITS FROM MOON LANDING

Man's dream of the ages came true Sunday night as Neil Armstrong stepped on the surface of the moon.

"It's one small step for man; one giant leap for mankind."

Armstrong and his companion, Edwin Aldrin, Jr., roamed over the moon's surface adjacent to their landing module as millions of watchers throughout the world watched them on television.

They picked up rocks and dust from the moon's surface to bring back to earth, and they placed gadgets on the surface of the earth's satellite to send back scientific information.

And what does all of this mean? Is it only a giant publicity stunt to demonstrate to the world that Americans are better scientists than are the Russians?

If that were the only significance of this giant leap it would be millions of dollars down the drain.

But there are many benefits that man will eventually reap because of the money spent, the hard, super-accurate work accomplished, and the confidence of the crew in their equipment.

For man is learning more about the universe in which he lives. Information brought back by the moon men will help scientists unlock the secrets of the origin of the earth, and possibly its eventual fate.

These products of the moon landing sound far out and unreal, but there will be more evident products also. Many of the skills learned, many of the gadgets invented, and much of the knowledge obtained in the project will eventually be used for products and for ideas that can help man make his life on earth a better one.

(From the Peabody (Kans.) Gazette-Herald)

IT'S BEEN QUITE A WEEKEND

This past weekend has been quite a time around here. First we had that fine Saturday night rain, and that certainly was welcome. Of course, on Saturday afternoon, we installed an air conditioner over at the Burns News Office—the first one ever in that establishment, and that must be some sort of a milestone.

Oh yes, there was that little matter of Neil and Buzz landing on the moon for a short stroll and a little rock hound work.

That trip to the moon held the interest of most Americans except some of the more sophisticated young and old. It was difficult to realize just what a historic and amazing event we were watching. You had to pinch yourself to realize that this was not another science fiction show, another simulation but the very real thing. That Armstrong and Aldrin were actually right there on the moon—another of the heavenly bodies—and that this means that man can travel and survive on some other chunks of the universe other than earth.

The implications for the future are so fantastic that we unscientific folks can only guess at them. More space travel is certainly in the offing. Last week Vice President Agnew's comments about the exploration of Mars were controversial. This week they seem almost academic.

For the moment—and that is the correct time reference—further exploration of the moon will be the goal. There must be mapping, scientific study of rocks and minerals and other research that may or may not bring economic and other benefits to earth men.

But further space exploration is such a sure thing, it hardly seems worth while talking about it. There simply is no stopping point from here on.

Which statement may bring us "back to earth" with a rather unpleasant thump. These space explorations are exciting and scientifically fantastic—and they are costly. Billions of dollars in tax money has been poured into the Apollo and previous projects. Billions more will be spent in further exploration of the moon. Explorations of Mars and other planets will be much more expensive.

We must go on—but what if the results are only interesting scientifically, and of no economic benefit? What if the benefits are only in the field of space knowledge, earth stature, and keeping ahead of the Joneses? How much of our economic life blood can we afford to pour into what may prove to be pure scientific research?

That's a rather worrisome question. Are we in danger of pauperizing ourselves to prove a scientific point?

There are, of course, numerous benefits in the fields of television, metallurgy, health, etc., which will be derived from the research going into the space projects. But will it be enough to really begin to pay back the economy for the strains the space program is going to put on it?

We may well have a space bear by the tail and not be able to let go of it. But what a wonderfully interesting, exciting, amazing bear it is.

And what a great trio of space explorers the U.S. has to welcome home this week from the most interesting, exciting and meaningful journey since Columbus broadened the horizons of the world by sailing across the Atlantic.

PREVENTIVE DETENTION NOT AN ANSWER TO PROBLEMS OF LAW AND ORDER

HON. ABNER J. MIKVA

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 28, 1969

Mr. MIKVA. Mr. Speaker, the problem of mounting crime is perhaps the most perplexing and frustrating challenge facing this Congress. Rarely has this body been so united in determination to attack a social ill. Yet rarely has any issue less lent itself to meaningful legislative solution. The temptation to press forward with quick and easy sounding action to protect our citizens from danger is great. But the solutions are neither quick nor easy, and if we act unwisely and repressively we may at once both compromise the Constitution and delude ourselves into believing that substantial action has been taken to reduce crime.

President Nixon's recent crime fighting proposals reflect appropriate executive concern over this serious problem. But at least one of the administration proposals—the plan referred to as preventive detention—is an ill advised and unconstructive attack, which both rolls back the Constitution and misplaces the emphasis.

No less a concerned constitutional scholar than Senator SAM ERVIN of North Carolina recently described preventive detention as "unconstitutional" and warned it "smacks of a police state rather than a democracy under law." The Senator's fears are well grounded. The presumption of innocence until conviction by due process is an unequivocal principle of our judicial heritage. Moreover, pretrial imprisonment based on an ambiguous process of "pretrial trial" findings of substantial "probability" of guilt or "dangerousness" simply cannot be tolerated under any notion of fairness and due process.

Mr. Speaker, there are serious problems of protecting citizens from those awaiting trial. But the place to attack the problem is at the judicial end. The Constitution guarantees a speedy trial. The courts must be given the tools to swiftly and surely determine and imprison the guilty. This, rather than giving the State the tools to incarcerate those it extra-judicially terms dangerous, would provide the real base for meaningful attack.

I would urge my colleagues to read Senator ERVIN's brief but incisive remarks on this question which can be found on page 19798 of the July 16, 1969, RECORD. I would also like to insert into the RECORD at this time a perceptive and revealing article from the March 8, 1969, issue of New Republic. The article, "Jail Before Trial," was written by Abraham S. Goldstein of the Yale Law School. A criminal law expert, Mr. Goldstein authored "The Insanity Defense" in 1967 and served as a consultant to President Johnson's Commission on Law Enforcement and the Administration of Criminal Justice.

The article follows:

JAIL BEFORE TRIAL

(By Abraham S. Goldstein)

Criminal procedure in the United States has only recently begun to narrow the gap between widely stated ideals and an unsatisfactory reality. Safeguards as elementary as the right to appointed counsel at trial and the right to be free of coercive interrogation or search without warrant are still in their infancy, furiously resisted by police and prosecutors. Meanwhile, mounting crime has drawn the controversy away from the courts and into the more volatile political arena. Provoked by student protests, black militancy and peace demonstrations, and by a pervasive feeling that "everything is coming unstuck," the forces of "law and order" are using basic institutions as scapegoats and threatening to distort them beyond recognition. One hoped that a lawyer President, determined to present himself as cool and unflappable, would not succumb to this intemperate mood. Regrettably, however, President Nixon's proposal for preventive detention before trial places him in the vanguard of those who would solve the crime problem by rolling back the Constitution.

The Nixon proposal brings to public view a problem, and a controversy, which has been nagging at students of criminal justice for quite some time: does it make sense to release persons charged with crime until they can be tried and convicted? President Nixon has said it does not, at least where the persons involved are, as he put it, "dangerous hardcore recidivists." The Constitution, on the other hand, has been construed fairly consistently as requiring release in noncapital cases, provided the accused can put up the necessary bail to assure that he will appear for trial. The rationale of this right to pretrial release is not just obeisance to the presumption of innocence, though that is hardly unimportant. The person denied release risks loss of employment, with all that may mean to his family and to the public welfare rolls; he is less able to locate witnesses and generally to assist in his defense; the pressure of detention may have an unduly coercive effect upon him, leading to waivers of preliminary hearing, pleas of guilty and waivers of jury trial; and, in the end, he is likely to draw a heavier sentence than his released counterpart.

Though the Nixon proposal has not yet been presented to the Congress, it speaks in broader terms than bills which have been introduced. These, which would be applicable in the federal courts and in the District of Columbia, include one by Senator Joseph Tydings (D., Md.), which would authorize detention only where the felonies charged involve actual or threatened "serious bodily harm," armed robbery, burglary and comparable offenses; another by Rep. William McCulloch (R., Ohio), would add narcotics offenders to the list; a third by Sen. Robert Byrd (D., W. Va.), would add the risk of "danger to other persons or to the community" to the risk of nonappearance which is now the exclusive citerion for pretrial detention. Nixon would subject "dangerous hardcore recidivists . . . [to] temporary pretrial detention when they have been charged with crimes and when their continued pretrial release presents a clear danger to the community." None of the proposals addresses itself to the problem of detention during a riot or emergency situation, where some sort of carefully limited detention may be justifiable.

Preventive detention before trial has long been formally recognized in European countries, including England. And it exists in fact, if not in law, in the United States as courts regularly set bail in amounts deliberately calculated to keep in custody persons who are regarded as dangerous, or persons who are thought to deserve punishment but are unlikely to be convicted. Indeed, the practice has been so widespread that fewer persons are released on bail in most of our states, where there is nominally an absolute right to bail, than in England where there is no such right. The current proposals would take this practice of preventive detention out of an illegitimate twilight zone and make it a regular part of the criminal process.

A measure very much like some now being considered was recently rejected by the Advisory Committee on Pretrial Proceedings of the American Bar Association. It recommended instead a statute patterned substantially on the federal Bail Reform Act of 1966. That statute, which is currently under attack, preserves the traditional standard, making release turn entirely on whether the person charged is likely to appear for trial. The tacit assumption on which it builds is that monetary bond may always be "excessive," in the constitutional sense, when indigent persons are being held, particularly if other factors such as ties to family, job and community make it probable that they will appear. But in assessing the probability of appearance, the court may consider "the nature and circumstances of the offense charged, the weight of the evidence against the accused, the accused's . . . character and record of convictions." The underlying theory, and it is by no means a new one, is that the more clearly guilty a person is, the greater will be his motivation to flee; the more heinous the offense and the worse the criminal record, the heavier will be the sentence and the less credible the promise to return for trial. These same characteristics, of course, may describe the preventive detainee, to the extent that they do, and are applied to retain in custody persons who are both likely to commit crimes, and unlikely to appear for trial, they serve the purpose of preventive detention. But even if such persons remain at large, the federal statute authorizes the court to impose a wide variety of conditions to increase the probability that the accused will appear for trial by reducing the probability that he will commit a crime during the pretrial period. These range from a promise to appear to probation-like supervision, from travel and employment restrictions to a requirement in appropriate cases that the defendant return to custody each night.

We have nothing that describes in any systematic way how these relatively new federal bail provisions have worked. At best, we have some anecdotal material, of the sort presented at the recent hearings of the Senate Judiciary Committee, which describes the occasional highly visible offender who has committed a crime during his release period. There is little to tell us of the extraordinarily large number who do not. Though this lack of evidence should in itself be persuasive where freedom itself is at stake, there is evidence that argues strongly against the change, at least as a serious effort to "solve" the crime problem. Everyone who has ever looked closely at bail has concluded that the bail amount is regularly manipulated by the courts to accomplish preventive detention. That, rather than release, is the *de facto* norm when "dangerous hardcore recidivists" are drawn into the criminal process. Whatever might be said in favor of bringing such use of bail into the open and legitimating it, it is grossly misleading to suggest that crime will be significantly reduced if we do no more than authorize the detention of those who would have been detained in any event, albeit illegitimately.

The Nixon proposal is especially offensive because it uses words and phrases like "hardcore recidivists" and "clear danger to the community" as if they really had content directly relevant to the questions of prediction inherent in preventive detention. It is impossible to say with much assurance who will commit a crime in the future; it is even less possible to say who will commit a crime within the limited period a defendant is awaiting trial, particularly if he is hedged about with restrictions as to what he may do and where he may go and if he is brought on for trial expeditiously.

It is not as if the question of probable danger were a new one. The history of our law represents in considerable part an effort to assess the distinction between the threat of danger and the fact of injury. In the law of attempts, incitement and conspiracy, in offenses like vagrancy and loitering, in provisions for civil commitment of the mentally ill, the sexual psychopath and the juvenile, we have confronted the question of probable danger and come away with very few guides for decision. We cannot say with any confidence how likely it is that yesterday's robber will rob tomorrow, that yesterday's man of violence will be violent tomorrow—especially if "yesterday" is many years past. There are no rules of thumb that can be carried over to a hearing on danger held promptly after arrest, before many facts can be accumulated.

This is dramatically evident in the materials surveyed by the DC Crime Commission. Though 7.5 percent of defendents released in a year were later charged with offenses committed while awaiting trial, only 4.5 percent were charged with crimes of actual or potential violence. More importantly, as the ABA committee pointed out, "Nothing in the DC statistics or any others now available indicates that those defendants who did commit crimes while released were distinguishable beforehand from other defendants who had similar records and charges but who did not commit crimes while released."

The only area where we have tolerated such detention before the facts are really in is that of emergency commitment of the mentally ill and, however unsatisfactory that often is in practice, it does turn on medical certifications and incapacitating mental illness. The new proposals would extend these extraordinary measures to persons charged with crime, with neither a predictive science at hand nor a body of concepts adequate to the need. It is a disastrous oversimplification to pretend we have the capacity to make the fine discriminations that these proposals demand. A pretrial detention procedure would inevitably lead to overprediction of crime, with undue emphasis given to the prior criminal record, the only hard fact available. Dangers imagined and feared by judges and the public rather than the fact of danger in the accused himself would become the touchstone of detention.

Nixon's emphasis on "hardcore recidivists" as the primary prospects for preventive detention is undoubtedly intended to reassure that the power to detain will not be used lightly. It is important to note, however, that such persons were probably subject to habitual offender laws after they had committed two or more felonies. Under these, they might have been sentenced for periods as long as thirty years or life. If they were not, it was because prosecutors chose not to proceed against them under such laws or because sentencing judges relying on the investigation of probation officers, concluded that they were not so dangerous as to warrant extended detention. Even where habitual criminal statutes are not available, the offenders have often committed many offense and prosecutors have either chosen not to charge them for all or judges have imposed sentences to run concurrently rather than consecutively. Finally, if such persons were incarcerated, they were probably released by parole officials who concluded that they could safely be at large. It may be, of course, that prosecutors, sentencing judges and parole boards are exercising their authority unwisely and releasing persons who should be kept in custody. But the remedy is not to imprison the unconvicted offender; it may be to use more effectively the power already existing for dealing with the convicted offender.

The preventive detention proposals seem to be aimed not at the ordinary property offender, the thief or the forger, who makes up some two-thirds of all offenders but rather at the man of violence, the sex offender or the narcotics addict, persons presumably so lacking in self-control that they cannot be relied upon to behave responsibly even when they are subject to bail or other conditions. The narcotics addict is the prime example. His physiological or psychological dependence may be such that he cannot be trusted. For him, in more and more jurisdictions, there are civil commitment procedures, which include provisions for emergency commitment. Similarly, the serious sex offender and the man of uncontrollable violence may be committable under special procedures for commitment of the mentally ill. However disagreeable it may be to think we already have preventive detention procedures, and however reluctant we should be to use them, the fact is they do exist and can be invoked for many of the cases to which publicity has been given.

Perhaps the most important point to be made against the proposal is that the principle of pretrial preventive detention, once legitimated, is likely to develop a life of its own. More and more crimes will be regarded as sufficiently threatening to warrant detention before trial. This will do irreparable harm to the presumption of innocence and to the more concrete interests described earlier. It will, in addition, add materially to already clogged court calendars and an overburdened judicial system as new procedures are created to determine the issue of probable danger and new provisions for appellate review are devised to make preventive detention more palatable. Over time, the result may well be more trial delays, more extended pretrial detention and, eventually, as some of the proposals contemplate, a requirement of release if the trial is not held within a stated period of time. This may lead, in turn, to a condition I have observed in at least one Latin-American country; trials rarely held and preventive detention an entire substitute for post-convention imprisonment.

The criminal law has always had to take into account that the restrictions we place on state power may cost us some measure of protection from danger. In the effort to avoid all danger, the proponents of preventive detention exaggerate what can be predicted about criminality to justify an indiscriminate practice if imprisoning persons whose guilt remains to be proved. Such a course would sacrifice too casually the liberty of too many persons for a negligible increase in public safety. Worse, it may delude us into thinking something substantial is being done to reduce crime.

LEGISLATION TO BENEFIT FEDERAL EMPLOYEES

HON. HOWARD W. POLLOCK

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 28, 1969

Mr. POLLOCK. Mr. Speaker, today I am introducing a bill which will benefit Federal employees. This legislation will enable them to receive retirement benefits after 30 years of service, regardless of age. It replaces the retirement at 65 plan with a procedure similar to that of our Armed Forces. Prospective employees will no doubt be attracted by the option of retiring early with the chance to pursue a new career or sample leisure activities. Present employees will surely be pleased. In addition, the bill is attuned to the growing need in America to spread employment among the increasing labor force. The proposal is far-sighted in theory as well as immediately beneficial to those affected—two worthwhile objectives for this Congress to pursue.

IMPACTED SCHOOLS

HON. CLARENCE J. BROWN

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 28, 1969

Mr. BROWN of Ohio. Mr. Speaker, I am personally convinced that the rationale behind the impact aid program is still a sound one and that the Federal Government has an obligation to assist those school districts which educate the children of Federal employees impacting those districts. Today I only want to point out the unique situation which exists in my congressional district, in which Wright-Patterson Air Force Base is located.

My congressional district has the most schools receiving impact aid in the State of Ohio and receives the most impact aid. That aid is for 13,000 "B" students and 162 "A" students, because Wright-Patterson is not a "residence" base. The proposal of the Appropriations Committee would virtually annihilate the school districts surrounding Wright-Patterson. The school districts in the Seventh Ohio District would lose nearly $2.5 million in aid. Although 162 students would be aided, 13,000 would be cut off.

As a friend of the impact aid program, I am constantly reminded of the wealthy suburban Washington school districts and the irony of their Federal subsidies. It is unfortunate that the views of so many must be prejudiced by the location of these districts. The wealthy suburbs around Washington are not typical. Instead I would ask my colleagues to study the figures accompanying this statement which indicate the more typical impacted school—a district with a higher than State average tax rate, a lower than State average tax valuation per pupil, and a lower than State average expenditure per pupil. While Wright-Patterson is atypical among military installations in having little base housing, I feel that this economic picture of the average impacted school is more typical than the economic examples of impacted districts surrounding Washington. The schools in my district are already taxing themselves more heavily to accommodate the nearby military installation, a national burden; I do not think it fair to substantially increase the local burden for a national benefit.

I am shocked by the degree and abruptness of the cutback which the impact request would force. Due to the virtual absence of "A" pupils, the Federal contribution to these schools would drop from 88 percent of entitlement last year to absolutely nothing. Two school districts receive more than 10 percent of their budget from impact aid; several more receive nearly 10 percent from the Federal contribution. To eliminate this assistance, without warning, in 1 year is inconceivable and an orderly adjustment is not possible.

Another question in this connection concerns the congressionally authorized study currently being done by the Battelle Memorial Institute. I fail to understand the logic of killing the program through the budgetary process before the recommendations from that study are available.

Finally, I think that we must remember that the impact aid program is not part of the more recently enacted categorical programs for Federal aid to education. Impact aid is, in my opinion, more like an obligation of the Federal Government—a payment in lieu of taxes. We do not allow local districts to tax the Federal property but we insist upon their educating federally connected pupils. In the Seventh Ohio Congressional District the taxpayers are already tolerating higher tax rates and accepting a lower expenditure per pupil than the State average. I personally cannot rationalize asking them to do more to defray what is a legitimate national expense.

The table referred to follows:

RANKING OF SCHOOL DISTRICTS IN SEVENTH CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT AMONG ALL DISTRICTS IN STATE, JUNE 196

[647 school districts in the State of Ohio, 1968-69 school year]

	Enrollment	Tax val. pupil	School millage	Total millage	Local tax rev./pupil	State aid per pupil
Beavercreek	42	519	83	112	404	155
Fairborn	30	550	157	81	492	211
Mad River-Greene	180	578	194	250	545	60
Mad River-Montgomery	46	627	90	120	592	9
New Carlisle	64	609	102	108	555	88
Xenia	34	499	142	137	426	154
Yellow Springs	493	284	27	51	114	346

COMPARISON OF TAX RATES OF IMPACTED SCHOOLS IN SEVENTH CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT WITH STATE AVERAGE

[Based on school year 1968-69—fiscal year 1969]

School district	Operating tax rate (mills)	Bond tax rate (mills)	Total school tax rate (mills)	Tax valuation per pupil	1967-68 school year expenditures per pupil operating	Percent of budget, Public Law 874	Public Law 874 receipts represents (mills)	Enrollment October 1968
Beavercreek	31.00	5.70	36.70	9,096	507	5.5	3.50	7,840
Fairborn	28.20	5.70	33.90	8,367	481	10.0	6.50	9,450
Mad River-Greene	24.70	7.90	32.60	7,631	511	8.7	5.41	3,105
Mad River-Montgomery	28.80	7.73	36.53	5,800	548	14.0	17.50	7,328
New Carlisle	28.30	7.50	35.80	6,598	475	6.4	4.45	6,075
Xenia	28.20	6.20	34.40	9,353	539	3.9	2.16	8,511
Yellow Springs	36.30	5.30	41.60	12,924	675	8.5	3.00	1,117

LET US GET SOME ANSWERS ON INTERMODAL OWNERSHIP

HON. BOB ECKHARDT

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 28, 1969

Mr. ECKHARDT. Mr. Speaker, 10 cents of every dollar of agricultural and industrial production cost in the United States goes for the transportation of freight. No industry can so readily help produce an efficient economy or so quickly become a drag on expansion as the transportation industry. We are living in a time of rapid change when old policies and programs are constantly under review. There is a need for new thinking. George Peterkin, Jr., president of Dixie Carriers, Inc. of Houston, recently delivered a thoughtful paper to the annual meeting of the ICC Practitioners calling for a new drive by the ICC, the Department of Transportation, the Association of American Railroads, and the Water Transport Association to promote improved voluntary coordination or rail and water service. Mr. Peterkin believes that substantial savings in transport costs and, therefore, improvement in productive efficiency for both industry and agriculture would result from improved business cooperation of rail and water carriers. I would like to share the contents of this paper with my fellow Members and submit its introduction into the RECORD:

LET'S GET SOME ANSWERS ON INTERMODAL OWNERSHIP

I would like to add my word of welcome, as a Houstonian, to the ICC Practitioners Association annual meeting in Houston. I hope you have had a chance to see some of the transportation aspects of this city because they have a bearing on the topic of my speech. Here in Houston, perhaps more than any other place in the country, we have an example of what a man-made ship channel and a man-made intracoastal canal can do to help produce not only flourishing barge lines but flourishing railroads and flourishing truck lines and airlines. I think it can be said of Houston that part of our growth, over many years, has been attributable to a high degree of cooperation among the different modes of transportation. There has been a great deal of transportation business to do. In our many different ways, we have cooperated to get it done. And in large measure because of this cooperation the Gulf region is one of the fastest-growing regions in the country.

I would like to stress that point because the advocates of intermodal ownership have to prove that the only way to achieve needed cooperation is through intermodal ownership. I would be the first to say that cooperation could be better in the enlightened self-interest of all. But cooperation and coordination do exist and more of it would exist, in my view, if a better job of business selling were done by carriers and shippers.

Speaking for myself, I believe with many others that we are in a time of rapid change and that we cannot afford to maintain doctrinaire positions on important issues of transportation policy. At the same time, we cannot afford to overlook the lessons of history. Those who do, as the saying goes, are compelled to relive the rough patches.

The emphasis of my remarks will be directed toward my field of particular knowledge which are the larger tonnage movements and this means in most cases rail and water transportation. Nevertheless the applicability of these thoughts holds true for all modes.

The history of railroad ownership of water carriers is an unhappy one, extremely well-documented and beyond dispute. In view of that history, a case has to be made that conditions have materially changed.

Instead of arbitrarily saying "no" to intermodal ownership, let's try to get some sensible answers to some obvious questions. Too much of the discussion of this subject is on an emotional level. Proponents make their appeals based on the "injustice" created by a law, which they claim now, is obsolete. They never get to the hard core of the issues. The result is that in the seat of decisions there is a failure of belief that conditions have changed or changed enough to risk letting down the bars to intermodal ownership.

The first relevant question should be the easiest to answer. Better coordination of water and rail service means the *substitution* of a water connection for a rail connection or a rail connection for a water connection. Would we see more of it or less of it than we see under today's independent ownership? The most economical use of transport resources on steel pipe shipped from the Pittsburgh district into the Southwest would be by barge to Memphis or Houston and rail beyond. Barge would be substituted for hundreds of rail miles if the public interest in the most economical use of transport resources were to govern. Up on the Great Lakes, for example, cost studies have shown that modern self-unloaders can transport coal so cheaply that a substitution of boat service even for so short a distance as 40 to 60 miles of rail service produces a lower overall cost, including all the costs of transfer to the vessel. Would that rail-lake route be preferred under common ownership?

There is a failure of belief among shippers and others that it would be and that the public would achieve the lowest possible cost transport service.

The second question is more complex. Would super-concentration of industry, which Mr. Nixon's Attorney General has said is a "danger" to "our economic, political and social structure," be stimulated if railroads went intermodal? Six railroads are now among the top 100 largest corporations in the country. The Attorney General's interest is in the top 200. Would railroad economic power become so overwhelming as to stifle transportation competition? Would transport pricing to all intents and purposes become administered or dictated by a few of the largest companies? That could, of course, be very good for the stockholders of intermodal companies, but could also serve to injure the public interest rather than enhance it as claimed by proponents of intermodal companies. The railroad merger trend, approved by the ICC, has clearly been disturbing to the Justice Department. The Canadian experience is often cited as an argument for the benefits of common ownership. The Canadian Pacific Railroad owns water and truck subsidiaries. But it seems to me, that the CPR is also the most compelling argument against common ownership. Only the Canadian Government is big enough to compete with it. It operates, at a substantial loss, the Canadian National Railway, which is, or at least is intended to be, a yardstick for the CPR.

Super-concentration of power in transportation already exists. There is a failure of belief that more of it would be in the public interest.

The third question has to do with the chronic shortage of capital in the railroad industry. From an insufficient stock of capital, would the railroad managements starve or foster an intermodal subsidiary? In the early 1970's very substantial investment will be required by the barge industry to re-equip itself with larger barges and more powerful towboats to take advantage of the completion of a 12-foot channel from Cairo, Illinois to New Orleans. In addition, the gross national product is expanding rapidly and substantial new investment will be needed to keep pace with public requirements for expanded and improved capacity? Would the barge shipper be better off relying on independent management to raise the capital required for change and expansion or would he be better off trying to get a proper priority from the railroad store of capital?

There is a failure of belief that water carrier subsidiaries of railroads would be able to command an appropriate share of the already insufficient capital resources of the railroads.

The fourth question relates to the structure of the barge industry. There are half a dozen barge lines with broad certificates of convenience and necessity to handle regulated products. There are many more than half a dozen railroads who would want to own barge lines if the bars were let down. So, overnight, if the present laws were changed, there would be a fantastic sellers' market in barge lines and all the major barge lines would probably be owned by railroads in very short order. How then would competition work?

Barge-rail competition over the past several decades has led to very substantial rail rate reductions, often reductions on the order of 50 per cent. Would a rail-dominated barge industry continue to produce reductions "to meet water competition?" There is a failure of belief that it would and the very thought that it would is ludicrous.

These, I think, are the questions which need some candid answers. Until satisfactory answers are supplied, I believe any proposal to charge the present state of the law is going to be met with understandable skepticism.

I do think, however, that a considerable change of climate could be achieved over a few years if the railroads would, by concrete action, demonstrate the seriousness of their interest in achieving improved coordination of intermodal service. What is most needed is a good faith showing by the railroads through their use of the voluntary means which lie at hand to bring about such improved coordination.

Many, and perhaps all the benefits claimed for intermodal ownership can be achieved and, in our view, much more appropriately achieved, through voluntary coordination without any of the risks of diminishing competition so obvious to everyone.

Our trade association, the Water Transport Association of New York, has been busy for the past year or more with a campaign to improve intermodal relationships. We take the view that the historic reluctance of the railroads to join with water carriers may well be based on assumptions which are no longer relevant. One cannot, of course, expect overnight success in a field where feet have been firmly set in cement for decades.

We have attacked the problem movement by movement. Our research has indicated a number of "willing partner" arrangements where higher earnings could be achieved by the railroad and the water carrier and lower overall costs made available to the public by joining the most efficient water service with the most efficient rail service.

We have been able to demonstrate savings in utilization of rail equipment, savings from new investment in transloading operations, savings from substituting water for certain portions of a rail haul.

We proposed to a joint meeting of the Traffic Executive Association—Eastern Railroads, the Executive Committee—Western Railroad Traffic Association and the Southern Freight Association last year that we jointly sponsor an intermodal rate bureau. We had a very cordial joint response. The idea was not acceptable at that time, but the railroad industry, the joint letter said, "desires to maintain an atmosphere of cordiality so that if situations arise in which closer coordination appears to be in the interest of two or more modes, there will be no obstacles to full exploration of the matter."

You might call that a polite brushoff. But ideas of this kind are not sold instantly. In the meantime, our "willing partner" program has achieved some new joint rail-barge rates and represents a focus around which to organize some new thinking. We have a considerable number of new ideas for joint rail-water service under study. The basic principle underlying this whole program is to achieve movements which make sound business sense for the railroads and ourselves as well as producing benefits for the shipping public.

We think there is great potential for improved water-rail coordination which would result in increased earnings for all modes, more efficient use of transport resources and savings to the public. Some of our water-rail studies have shown savings in the 15 to 30 per cent range.

Until there are better answers than now exist for the questions I have posed above, it makes sense to continue to promote the voluntary route. I am convinced that enlightened business self-interest will more quickly produce the desired results of efficient use of resources and low costs under independent ownership than through the creation of the intermodal super-giants. It has been said that by 1980 we will all be parts of intermodal companies. This may well be so, but if we run before we walk, if we upset the law before we upset entrenched prejudices on traffic movements, we may well end up in 1987 with a new Interstate Commerce Act designed to undo the damage created by the extinction of effective competition.

Instead of weakening the competitive process by absorbing competitors, why not try to get an objective new look at the great potential of voluntary cooperation? Perhaps the Department of Transportation or the ICC could work with the Water Transport Association and the Association of American Railroads on a national "willing partner" program to dig out those movements which would benefit from improved coordination, using as a basic yardstick the most efficient combinations of scarce transport resources. And if the earnings to the carriers and benefits to the public on particular movements are satisfactory for all, the question, overwhelming and unanswerable, will quickly become "why not?"

IT IS 1969, TIME TO "GO WEST (AGAIN) YOUNG MAN, GO WEST"

HON. WALTER S. BARING

OF NEVADA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 28, 1969

Mr. BARING. Mr. Speaker, a columnist in Las Vegas has saved me a lot of time by writing about Las Vegas. I will bet, Mr. Speaker, that my staff and I must get 25 to 50 questions any given week, either by phone or in person, about Las Vegas and Nevada. Well, I will insert into the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD a column published in Mr. Hank Greenspun's Las Vegas Sun by columnist Mr. Paul Price.

I also hope some of the Senators on the eastern coast of this country read this closely and should they have further questions, I can answer them by mail or refer them to organizations within my State.

Mr. Speaker, here is Las Vegas, thanks mostly to the research of the Greater Las Vegas Chamber of Commerce and the Bank of Nevada quarterly reports:

DATELINE: LAS VEGAS

(By Paul Price)

(Note.—The following facts, figures and fascinating information were compiled from information provided by the Greater Las Vegas Chamber of Commerce and Bank of Nevada quarterly reports.)

The Las Vegas story, and you probably didn't know the half of it:

The original settlers of Las Vegas were not Mormons (surprised already?) but "massive prehistoric beasts that rumbled through the Las Vegas Valley, then a lush pasture land veined by sweetwater streams."

That was nearly 30,000 years ago and Las Vegas still remains a lush land but the greenery comes from flowing money and not growing grass. The inhabitants now are mostly human beings, practically all of them civilized although a few monsters still are present.

Time advanced and man-tribes, increasingly efficient and more intelligent as the ages passed, developed a pattern of growth and development that has never ceased and apparently never will.

The modern era of the one "lush valley" started with the early exploitation of Capt. John C. Fremont, noted explorer of the Rockies and the Pacific Coast. He discovered "a camping ground called Las Vegas" and we have named a street, hotel and school in his honor.

It was 10 years later, 1855, that Brigham Young sent a daring band of 30 Mormon settlers from Salt Lake to take a foothold and start developing the lands. They "established only the most meager hold on the valley" before the resident Paiute Indians banished them.

Suddenly some unknown and now long forgotten prospectors discovered gold and silver in the area. Word of the strikes flashed across the continent and the massive population boom erupted. Miners, prospectors, "take-a-chancers" and camp followers literally flowed into Nevada and spawned the boom towns of Searchlight, Goodsprings and Eldorado Canyon.

Vegas was a dusty tent town near the present Union Pacific depot and suddenly was turned into a desert metropolis when the railroad named it a division point. Land sales zoomed and in a two-day auction 1,200 residential lots sold for $265,000.

That was in 1905 and the combined worth of those properties probably would be incalculable today.

Then came the doldrums. Nothing much happened and the little town slumbered, sweated and mostly existed until 1930 when the Hoover Dam hydroelectric project began.

Las Vegas started to leap forward, even in those grim days of depression, and the pace was accelerated with the outbreak of World War II. Cheap power and land, according to the Chamber of Commerce, brought "thousands of new residents, among them the far-sighted individuals who envisioned the area as a year-round resort . . . and the era of the multi-million dollar hotel was born."

It was a case of boom-boom-boom from the late 1940s until today and nobody truly knows what the future holds—except more of the same and on a greater scale.

The chamber waxes lyrical indeed in its dreams of the future:

"It has become a growing industrial complex; a sophisticated scientific research center; a humming dynamo generating power for the Great Southwest, and one of the most aviation-oriented cities in the country where the sky is by no means the limit."

It also happens to be the greatest gambling and entertainment city in the entire world, and that may help a little.

What about Las Vegas today?

We currently have a population of nearly 300,000 in the greater Las Vegas area, of which 160,000 is credited to the city. This is an increase of approximately 18,000 over the same period of 1968.

Latest figures as compiled by the Bank of Nevada in its "First Quarter, 1969" report the following:

School enrollment figures, "a significant growth barometer," was 67,576 enrollees compared to 63,242 in 1968—up 6.8 per cent.

McCarran International Airport posted a record high in first quarter air travel with a "passenger service" of 965,519—up 172,950 for an increase of 21.8 per cent.

Central Telephone reported total services of 151,896, compared to 135,760—up 11.8 per cent over 1968.

There were 1,191 births in Clark County in the first three months of this year. The total labor force was 113,300, with only 5,700 unemployed. Service stations pumped 30,604,464 gallons of gas and 10,306 marriage licenses were issued.

Construction permits gained impressively in the first quarter of 1969. The aggregate total was $32,615,480, compared to $18,808,599 last year. That's a gain of 73.4 per cent!

Visitors are the number one factor in the Las Vegas economy. More than 3,522,000 passengers, "on and off," passed through McCarran in 1968—a figure that will be humbled this year.

A major attraction continues to be Hoover Dam, which attracted 8,878,040 visitors last year, most of them in 2,690,315 cars. That figure also is a cinch to tumble because in the first quarter of '69 alone, the Hoover Dam check reported 1,828,125 persons in 553,977 vehicles.

Real estate transactions were stupendous in 1968 and promise to be even more impressive this year.

Estimated real estate sales last year totalled $257,608,000 with $306,752,515 the total loan figure and 8,810 trust deeds recorded.

But in the first quarter this year, $70,412,000 already had been recorded in estimated sales. The loan figure was $92,957,680.

Where will it end? Who can hazard a guess?

This is a prosperous economy. Four of the five local banks—Bank of Nevada, Nevada State Bank, First National and Bank of Las Vegas—listed deposits of $447,281,194.

Compare this figure with the previous year—$381,941,948. It represents a whopping boost of 17.1 per cent.

Bank debits, considered an important economic barometer, increased last year by 18.9 per cent.

Following is some more incidental information:

Lake Mead is the largest man-made lake in the world and offers 550 miles "of secluded beaches and sandy coves."

There are approximately 150 churches in Las Vegas, representing a total of 35 different denominations. A percentage breakdown shows 49 per cent of the churchgoers to be Protestant; 25 per cent Roman Catholic; 22 per cent Mormon; and three per cent Jewish.

Conventions drew 206,709 persons to Clark County last year. Sales and use tax transactions totalled $525,349,351. Water consumption totalled 17,906,545,000 gallons.

The average maximum temperature is 79.7 degrees and the average minimum 52.4 with 3.72 inches of precipitation and 86 per cent possibility of sunshine.

The city is 289 miles from Los Angeles, 448 miles from Reno, 578 miles from San Francisco and 1,157 miles from Seattle.

Nevada has a three per cent sales tax, but under the optional sales tax law passed at the last Legislature the rate on July 1 will go to 3½ per cent in Clark County.

There is no inheritance or estate tax.

The city has two daily newspapers, five TV channels (one educational), six modern hospitals, 10 championship golf courses, 4,500 public, private and semi-private swimming pools and is serviced by eight major airlines, seven bus lines, the Union Pacific Railroad and about 500 taxis.

The next time the folks in Dubuque ask, "What kind of town is Las Vegas?" send them this column.

It will save you a lot of trouble and time.

So, Mr. Speaker, I hope my colleagues and their staffs will read this pretty closely. Because, you see, I represent the entire State of Nevada and quite happily so. Nevada's population is not certified by the U.S. Census Bureau as being over the so-called 500,000 mark, so I do not have as large a staff as some of my colleagues. And, we just do not have enough time to answer everyone's questions adequately in person or on the phone. Hopefully, they will read this and, if they want more, I will be glad to answer their letters requesting more facts or forward them to the Las Vegas Chamber of Commerce, Nevada Resort Hotel Association, or the State of Nevada, Carson City, or elsewhere, because we have the facts of Las Vegas, Reno, Lake Tahoe, and even Beowawe, Nev., and we have them in spades. Do not phone—write. Our phones may be tapped.

THE ECONOMICS OF STUDENT UNREST

HON. ABNER J. MIKVA

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 28, 1969

Mr. MIKVA. Mr. Speaker, I would like to insert in the RECORD an interesting and intelligent artice by Mr. David Bakan of York University on the subject of student disorders.

Mr. Bakan's article is especially important because it gives this problem the attention it deserves. The article is not an attempt at a superficial "solution" of the problem through annihilation of protest, but a plea on behalf of the students that we listen to and understand their message.

We live in an era in which man has become locked in the powerful grip of his frightening inventions. As Mr. Bakan says, we can ill afford to overlook the potentialities of these inventions and the uses to which they are put. It is just this point which the students, through their protests, are attempting to make. It is the young who have the greatest stake in the future. Let us heed, not suppress, their voices.

The article follows:

THE ECONOMICS OF STUDENT UNREST

(By David Bakan)

The worldwide condition of student unrest may be better understood in economic terms. It is erroneous to interpret student unrest as merely an expression of youthful idealism or mischievousness. It is erroneous to think of the activists as separate, divided from other students, and possessed of some private problem or ideology. Every group within a social body expresses something about the social body as a whole.

The root problem is in careers and income, and the place in society that is associated with careers and income. Student unrest may be compared to labor unrest of some decades ago. As the root problem was economic with labor, so is it now with the students.

The unrest is based on the fact that formal education has become very important to the economic future of students. Thus, students are rightly more ready to object if the education they receive is less adequate than their wishes or expectations.

Resources expended for education by a student, his parents, and public and private agencies, constitute a very large investment. A student, young though he may be, has a deep interest in seeing to it that this investment is properly managed. It is difficult to assess the average dollar value of each year of formal education. Yet, it is considerable.

Momentarily setting aside considerations of simple dignity associated with being human, a young person of college years may represent a total investment of, perhaps, as much as $50,000 or even $100,000; having received the benefit of public and private cash outlays for protection, food, clothing, shelter, pre-natal, and post-natal medical attention, dental attention, recreation, entertainment, and informal and formal religious and secular education for, say, about twenty years. This is in addition to all of the unpaid love and care associated with his upbringing. The college student, over and above all idealistic and selfish considerations, is a custodian of a substantial amount of the society's treasure. He is at once beneficiary, vessel, and custodian. It is his responsibility to provide for the future of that treasure, which is what his career represents to a very large degree. It is not only his right to protest if his education is in any way inadequate, it is his responsibility.

The university has become the major gateway to virtually every rewarding and important career possibility. The question is how the passage and processing in that gateway shall be managed. What kinds of educational experiences shall be provided, and for what kind of a future? And how shall we guarantee that access to careers will be managed with justice and competence? The wish on the part of the student activists to have a greater hand in the management of the gateway is indicative of discontent with the way in which the gateway has been managed.

Certainly, one cannot, in one's nonage, know whether the education one is receiving is shabby. Yet, on the other hand, who should know so well whether it is shabby as those for whom school is a daily and lifetime experience? Since we keep students in school well past their nonage, we should be obliged to take their assessments to heart.

Some of the best students—from an academic point of view—are among the activists. Berkeley, Chicago and Harvard have been main loci for student protest. There may be no universities in the world which have higher admission standards then these. Their activism is based on a wisdom, unclear and unprecise perhaps, of the unrealized potential of the university for themselves and others in the world of the future.

Among the great issues in education today is that between *technological* and *humanistic* approaches to the problems that beset mankind. The war in Vietnam is a special instance of this conflict, since warfare in general, and this war in particular, is a kind of supreme instance of efforts to solve the problems of mankind technologically rather than humanistically.

Students today tend to be more humanistically oriented than their professors. There is, for example, the characteristic disappointment of sudents with their first course in psychology because it is usually more technological and less humanistic than they would have liked it to be. The activists in particular tend to be more humanistically inclined than students who are less inclined to activism.

Typically, salaries and total professional incomes of professors who are technologically oriented are higher than those of their humanistic colleagues. Typically, the former are better supported in their research, more excused from teaching duties, more often called upon to give advice to business, industry and government, and have greater access to publication sources. Indeed, discussions of the "publish or perish game," into which professors are forced, characteristically overlook the fact that it is simply easier to publish a technological manuscript than a humanistic one. Publication pressure on faculty is—even if not intended—a subtle but powerful device that channels faculty interests in technological directions because publication of technological papers is easier.

Since the balance of power within most faculties is on the side of the technological, humanistically inclined students are often on their own, as it were, with little, if any, faculty support.

At issue is whether the resources of the future, and hence careers for students, will move in technological or humanistic directions. Most concretely, how will public moneys be distributed in the future between technological and humanistic activities? And how will public moneys be used to create career opportunities? If public budgets move more in technological directions, the humanistically inclined students will suffer with respect to career possibilities, and vice versa.

The future of mankind is being fought out on the campuses. If we take the biblical three score and ten as a lifetime, the twenty year old has fifty years with which to be concerned for both his selfish and altruistic interests. In a time when total destruction of the world is a concrete possibility everyone's selfishness and altruism must converge.

Humanistic education is desperately needed at the present time for all. The three main problems of man are *want, drudgery,* and *safety*. "In principle," technology has solved the problems of want and drudgery. It remains for men to learn to live properly with each other to achieve "in fact" what technology has given to us "in principle." Technology without adequate humanism often leads to reductions in safety as from war, pollution, radiation, and poisons. More humanistic work and education are needed to cope with these.

It has been a common complaint among teachers that students do not want to learn. Today we hear from the students that the teachers do not want to teach.

It has been a common complaint among teachers that students don't listen. It is now time that teachers, and the age groups that they represent, should listen.

Those who are closer to three score and ten may have a smaller vested interest in the future, and can afford to be cavalier about it. But those who are young cannot afford to neglect the future that easily.

DESERVED TRIBUTE

HON. JOSEPH M. McDADE

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 28, 1969

Mr. McDADE. Mr. Speaker, on the 22d of July, the chamber of commerce of Scranton, Pa., honored Dr. H. Meecher Charmbury, secretary of mines and minerals, at a special luncheon held in his honor.

I wish to take public note of how deserving that tribute was. Dr. Charmbury is the finest secretary of mine and mineral industries the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania has ever had. Over the past several years, we have turned to Dr. Charmbury to give his advice and assistance in the many problems which have faced us in the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania overall, but particularly in my own Congressional district. His advice has been the wisest possible. His help has been the strongest possible.

Too often the misconduct of a public official is bruited about the Nation. Too seldom is there any publicity given to the overwhelming body of splendid civil servants who are responsible for running the Nation and the States. Dr. Charmbury is an outstanding example of what a fine civil servant should be. He is a brilliant scientist. He is certainly the most distinguished and industrious man you could find anywhere in this Nation. Above all, he has that deep understanding and human compasson to guide him in making his wise decisions.

I wish to pay my own personal tribute to Dr. Charmbury. I know that the Speaker and all my colleagues here in the Congress join with me in applauding this distinguished servant of the people. If we were to tally up the work and the worth of every public servant in America, I know no man who would excel my fine and splendid friend, Dr. H. Beecher Charmbury.

With your permission, Mr. Speaker, I will append herewith an article from the Scranton Tribune concerning this award and two editorials from the Scranton Tribune and the Scranton Times, which newspapers paid their own tribute to this magnificent man.

The article and editorials follow:

[From the Scranton (Pa.) Tribune, July 23, 1969]

CHAMBER OF COMMERCE FETES CHARMBURY—SERVICE TO AREA IS RECOGNIZED

At a special meeting Tuesday at Scranton Club, the Chamber of Commerce honored Dr. H. Beecher Charmbury, secretary of Mines and Mineral Industry at a luncheon.

C of C president William J. O'Hora cited exceptional service in the development of the Scranton area, and presented Dr. Charmbury with a recognition award for his interest and participation in the Scranton Scar-Lifting projects, the flushing of underground mine fires, and for his participation in a program to employ crush culm to fill in the voids under the city surface.

Representing the federal and state mining department were: Joseph Corgan, U.S. Bureau of Mines; Charles Kuebler, head of the U.S. mining office in Wilkes-Barre; Gordon Smith, deputy secretary anthracite region, and Roger Howell, Pennsylvania Department of Mines.

The C of C gave the Bureau of Mines expert a special VIP attache case containing samples of industrial material manufactured within the Greater Scranton area. The C of C officials stated the products were manufactured locally by national corporate concerns due to the interest and involvement of the U.S. and Pennsylvania Department of Mines and Mineral Industries and especially the interest of Dr. Charmbury.

President O'Hora explained "The excellent cooperation between the local Industrial Development Corporations, SIDCo., LIFE, SLIBCo and the Pennsylvania Department of Mines under Dr. Charmbury's supervision was a most important factor in the industrial development of the Greater Scranton area and all former anthracite mining areas in Northeastern Pennsylvania."

In 1936 Dr. Charmbury received his B.A. degree in chemistry, cum laude, from Gettysburg College, and his master's degree in chemistry from Pennsylvania University the following year. He was awarded his Ph. D. degree in fuel technology from Pennsylvania State University in 1942.

Dr. Charmbury received an honorary doctor of science degree from Gettysburg June 9, 1969. The degree citation read in part:

"In the service of the commonwealth, you have brought your skill to bear on the problems of underground fires, strip mining and polluted air. You lead us to hope for a bright future for the commonwealth and its underground."

[From the Scranton (Pa.) Times, July 23, 1969]

A DESERVED AWARD

The honor paid Dr. H. Beecher Charmbury, head of the Pennsylvania Department of Mines and Mineral Industries, yesterday by the Greater Scranton Chamber of Commerce was one richly deserved. From the time that he was named to his position by former Gov. William Scranton in 1963 Dr. Charmbury has shown a keen awareness of the ills bequeathed to our community by coal operators of the past—surface subsidences, mine flooding, underground fires, burning culm banks and the like. He has been sympathetic and cooperative. He has been generous with his time and his energy in trying to solve our problems. The C of C at yesterday's ceremony presented Dr. Charmbury with a "recognition award"; the word "appreciation" could well be added.

[From the Scranton (Pa.) Tribune, July 24, 1969]

DESERVED TRIBUTE

Dr. H. Beecher Charmbury, state secretary of mines and mineral industries, was most deserving of the tribute paid him Tuesday by the Greater Scranton Chamber of Commerce. Dr. Charmbury was cited for exceptional service in the development of the Scranton area.

He received a recognition award for his interest and participation in the Scranton Scar-Lifting projects, the attack on underground mine fires and for his participation in a program to employ crushed culm to fill in the voids under the city's surface.

Dr. Charmbury, following his appointment to the state post by former Gov. William W. Scranton, became Harrisburg's best known representatives in the Scranton area. He has made countless trips to Northeastern Pennsylvania and his demeanor seldom changes—he is cool under pressure, extremely cooperative with newsmen and highly competent in his job.

Protesters prepared to find Dr. Charmbury a ready target for their wrath over ancient coal mining practices mellowed rapidly once its members came to know the man. He owns the disarming personality of a college professor, which he was before he answered the call from Governor Scranton.

He holds a B.A. degree in chemistry from Gettysburg and a master's degree in chemistry from Pennsylvania State University. He was awarded his Ph. D. in fuel technology from Pennsylvania State University in 1942.

The praise from the Greater Scranton Chamber of Commerce was a confirmation of the citation Dr. Charmbury received when he was awarded an honorary doctor of science degree from Gettysburg last June 9. The citation read in part: "In the service of the commonwealth, you have brought your skill to bear on the problems of underground fires, strip mining and polluted air. You lead us to hope for a bright future for the commonwealth and its underground."

It is significant that the U.S. Bureau of Mines detailed a representative to attend the C of C ceremony.

Close cooperation between federal and state agencies has resulted in the winning of the battle to remove coal mining scars from the terrain in the Scranton area.

REVENUE SHARING MORE URGENT THAN EVER

HON. R. LAWRENCE COUGHLIN

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 28, 1969

Mr. COUGHLIN. Mr. Speaker, on June 3, I, along with 10 of my colleagues, introduced the Federal Revenue-Sharing Act, H.R. 11868.

The need for this legislation obviously is more urgent than ever. There is no doubt that many of our State and local governments are about to collapse financially because of their inability to raise the necessary funds from the restricted and limited areas of taxation available to them.

We must seek ways to enlarge and reinforce the fiscal foundations of these governments, and I believe H.R. 11868 is the vehicle that will provide the means to do the job.

Since the introduction of this bill, I have received numerous inquiries from both my colleagues and the public concerning the specific amounts that would be returned, under the provisions of the bill, to the various States.

I, therefore, asked the Legislative Reference Service to tabulate the returns on the basis that the funds available in the first year, as provided in the bill, would be 3 percent of the Federal income tax revenues, or $2.42 billion, according to the latest figures.

The LRS has done a magnificent job of research, and I include its breakdown of Federal revenue-sharing figures in the RECORD for the benefit of all those who wish to see this legislation enacted into law. The figures were compiled by Maureen McBreen, analyst in taxation and fiscal policy, and Beatrice D. Poindexter, reference clerk, Economics Division, of the Legislative Reference Service:

ESTIMATED DISTRIBUTION BY STATE OF $2.42 BILLION UNDER H.R. 11868

(1) State	(2) Total resident population, July 1, 1968 (thousands)	(3) State population, as a percent of total U.S. population	(4) State and local revenue from own sources, fiscal year 1967 (millions)	(5) Adjusted gross income, calendar year 1966 (millions)	(6) State revenue effort factor (col. 4÷col. 5)	(7) State revenue effort percentage (col. 6÷16.3)	(8) Col. 3× col. 7	(9) Unadjusted[1] State allotment (col. 8×$2.42 billion (thousands)	(10) Col. 9× .388484 percent[1] (thousands)	(11) Total State allotment[1] (col. 9—col. 10) (thousands)	(12) Local revenues as a percent of total State-local revenues	(13) Amount to be allocated to local governments (col. 11× col. 12) (thousands)
Alabama	3,558	1.78	$914.1	$5,611.6	16.3	100.0	1.78	$43,076	$167	$42,909	37.7	$76,177
Alaska	274	.13	139.6	626.7	22.3	136.8	.10	4,356	17	4,339	31.2	1,354
Arizona	1,663	.83	659.4	3,201.7	20.6	126.4	1.05	25,410	99	25,311	44.2	11,187
Arkansas	1,986	.99	498.4	2,801.7	17.8	109.2	1.08	26,136	102	26,034	35.7	9,294
California	19,300	9.65	9,699.4	52,361.5	18.5	113.5	10.95	264,990	1,028	263,962	58.8	155,210
Colorado	2,043	1.02	887.0	4,532.5	19.6	120.2	1.23	29,766	116	29,650	51.6	15,299
Connecticut	2,963	1.48	1,144.6	9,089.6	12.6	77.3	1.14	27,588	107	27,481	51.3	14,098
Delaware	534	.26	245.5	1,467.9	16.7	102.5	.27	6,534	25	6,509	28.1	1,829
District of Columbia	809	.40	314.5	2,100.1	15.0	92.0	.37	8,954	35	8,919	100.0	8,919
Florida	6,151	3.07	2,196.1	11,905.4	18.4	112.9	3.47	83,974	326	83,648	54.8	45,839
Georgia	4,568	2.28	1,339.3	8,420.4	15.9	97.5	2.22	53,724	209	53,515	43.4	23,226
Hawaii	780	.39	360.5	1,784.0	20.2	123.9	.48	11,616	.45	11,571	27.2	3,147
Idaho	703	.35	268.3	1,331.6	20.1	123.3	.43	10,406	.40	10,366	42.9	4,447
Illinois	10,991	5.49	3,891.4	31,077.7	12.5	76.7	4.21	101,882	396	101,486	57.7	58,557
Indiana	5,061	2.53	1,915.9	12,118.1	15.8	96.9	2.45	59,290	230	59,060	49.7	29,353
Iowa	2,774	1.38	1,131.0	6,258.5	18.1	111.0	1.53	37,026	144	36,882	51.8	19,105
Kansas	2,293	1.14	897.2	4,826.7	18.6	114.1	1.30	31,460	122	31,338	52.1	16,327
Kentucky	3,220	1.61	908.6	5,473.7	16.6	101.8	1.64	39,688	154	39,534	38.0	15,023
Louisiana	3,726	1.86	1,283.5	6,100.2	21.0	128.8	2.40	58,080	226	57,854	29.9	17,298
Maine	976	.48	311.2	1,921.6	16.2	99.4	.48	11,616	45	11,571	46.5	5,381

Footnotes at end of article.

ESTIMATED DISTRIBUTION BY STATE OF $2.42 BILLION UNDER H.R. 11868—Continued

(1) State	(2) Total resident population, July 1, 1968 (thousands)	(3) State population, as a percent of total U.S. population	(4) State and local revenue from own sources, fiscal year 1967 (millions)	(5) Adjusted gross income, calendar year 1966 (millions)	(6) State revenue effort factor (col. 4 ÷ col. 5)	(7) State revenue effort percentage (col. 6 ÷ 16.3)	(8) Col. 3× col. 7	(9) Unadjusted[1] State allotment (col. 8×$2.42 billion (thousands)	(10) Col. 9× .388484 percent[1] (thousands)	(11) Total State allotment[1] (col. 9— col. 10) (thousands)	(12) Local revenues as a percent of total State-local revenues	(13) Amount to be allocated to local governments (col. 11× col. 12) (thousands)
Maryland	3,754	1.87	$1,451.5	$11,119.1	13.1	80.4	1.50	$36,300	$141	$36,159	49.0	$17,718
Massachusetts	5,469	2.73	2,279.1	14,244.6	16.0	98.2	2.68	64,856	252	64,604	52.7	34,046
Michigan	8,739	4.37	3,507.7	23,003.3	15.2	93.3	4.08	98,736	384	98,352	47.7	46,914
Minnesota	3,647	1.82	1,626.9	8,082.2	20.1	123.3	2.24	54,208	211	53,997	50.1	27,052
Mississippi	2,344	1.17	624.6	2,793.5	22.4	137.4	1.61	38,962	151	38,811	40.7	15,796
Missouri	4,625	2.31	1,490.1	10,357.2	14.4	88.3	2.04	49,368	192	49,176	52.9	26,014
Montana	693	.34	270.2	1,365.8	19.8	121.5	.41	9,922	39	9,883	54.1	5,347
Nebraska	1,439	.72	512.1	3,192.9	16.0	98.2	.71	17,182	67	7,1156	64.6	11,056
Nevada	449	.22	225.5	1,200.1	18.8	115.3	.25	6,050	24	16,02	54.8	3,302
New Hampshire	702	.35	213.9	1,662.0	12.9	79.1	.28	6,776	26	6,750	58.1	3,922
New Jersey	7,093	3.54	2,633.1	19,324.2	13.6	83.4	2.95	71,390	277	71,113	61.3	43,592
New Mexico	1,006	.50	402.5	1,675.5	24.0	147.2	.74	17,908	70	17,838	29.2	5,209
New York	18,078	9.04	9,984.0	51,873.8	19.2	117.8	10.65	257,730	1,000	256,730	53.3	136,837
North Carolina	5,122	2.56	1,400.0	8,726.0	16.0	98.2	2.51	60,742	236	60,506	31.6	19,120
North Dakota	627	.31	276.8	1,126.4	24.6	150.9	.47	11,374	44	11,330	42.1	4,770
Ohio	10,588	5.29	3,340.3	26,523.8	12.6	77.3	4.09	98,978	385	98,593	57.9	57,085
Oklahoma	2,520	1.26	871.7	4,592.9	19.0	116.6	1.47	35,574	138	35,436	39.7	14,068
Oregon	2,008	1.00	833.9	4,670.6	17.9	109.8	1.10	26,620	103	26,517	49.6	13,152
Pennsylvania	11,728	5.86	3,898.7	28,512.2	13.7	84.0	4.92	119,064	463	118,601	49.0	58,114
Rhode Island	914	.45	313.0	2,276.2	13.8	84.7	.38	9,196	36	9,160	45.4	4,159
South Carolina	2,664	1.33	649.6	4,049.6	16.0	98.2	1.31	31,702	123	31,579	28.7	9,063
South Dakota	656	.32	250.7	1,116.8	22.4	137.4	.44	10,648	41	10,607	52.2	5,537
Tennessee	3,975	1.98	1,048.5	6,956.8	15.1	92.6	1.83	44,286	172	44,114	45.2	19,490
Texas	10,977	5.49	3,278.8	21,559.3	15.2	93.3	5.12	123,904	481	123,423	49.8	61,465
Utah	1,034	.51	373.1	1,990.8	18.7	114.7	.58	14,036	55	13,981	39.9	5,578
Vermont	425	.21	152.2	805.6	18.9	116.0	.24	5,808	23	5,785	36.7	2,123
Virginia	4,595	2.29	1,343.8	9,457.3	14.2	87.1	1.99	48,158	187	47,971	42.8	20,532
Washington	3,276	1.63	1,419.5	8,102.4	17.5	107.4	1.75	42,350	165	42,185	37.2	15,693
West Virginia	1,802	.90	503.6	3,150.0	16.0	98.2	.88	21,296	83	21,213	34.3	7,276
Wisconsin	4,221	2.11	1,781.7	10,075.3	17.7	108.6	2.29	55,418	215	55,203	40.5	22,357
Wyoming	315	.15	158.8	674.4	23.5	144.2	.22	5,324	21	5,303	49.6	2,630
Total	199,861	100,000	76,121.4	467,271.8	[2]16.3	100.0	100.39	2,429,438	9,438	2,420,000	[2]49.2	1,190,537

[1] It was necessary to take a number of additional steps to arrive at the final distribution. By multiplying col. 3 (State population percentage) by col. 7 (State revenue effort percentage) by the $2.42 billion available for allotment, it was impossible to arrive at a total distribution which coincided with the $2.42 billion. In this case, the total unadjusted State distribution (col. 9) amounted to $2,429,438,000, or $9.438,000 more than the $2.42 billion available for allocation. Th is $9,438,000 represented 0.388484 percent of the $2,429,438,000 derived. We then multiplied this factor (0.388484 percent) by each State's unadjusted allotment (col. 9) and subtracted the result (col. 10) from the unadjusted State allotment and arrived at the adjusted State distribution given in col. 11.

[2] Average.

Sources: U.S. Department of Commerce. Bureau of the Census. Governmental finances in 1966-67. Series GF67—No. 3. Washington, U.S. Government Printing Office, 1968. Pp. 31-33 Population estimates. Estimates of the population of States, by age, 1965 to 1967, with provisional estimates for July 1, 1968. Series P-25, No. 420, Apr. 17, 1969. P. 12. U.S. Treasury Department Internal Revenue Service. Statistics of income, 1966. Individual income tax returns. Washington, U.S. Government Printing Office, 1968. P. 141.

MARTY LIQUORI

HON. PETER W. RODINO, JR.

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 28, 1969

Mr. RODINO. Mr. Speaker, Cedar Grove, N.J., has every right to be very, very proud of their hometown boy, Marty Liquori, Jr., who as a 20-year-old student at Villanova has been recently beating the world's best milers.

An article concerning this young man's father follows:

FATHER OF PREMIER MILER HUMBLE ABOUT ACHIEVEMENTS

(By Don McKee)

A normal reaction to the comment, "If you think I'm fast, you ought to see my son," is "Oh, yeah, so what else is new?"

But when a Montclair service station dealer says it, he means it and in duplicate, too, since he is the father of the world's foremost miler as well as a 14-year-old, an Essex Catholic freshman who turned in better half-mile times than his brother at that stage.

And yet, Martin Liquori Sr. of Cedar Grove, who operates the Mountain Esso Service at 146 Valley Rd., admits, "Yes, the boy is good, isn't he?"

The boy is Marty Liquori Jr., a 20-year-old student at Villanova, a junior, who within the past year has emerged as the number one miler.

Young Marty obviously has a number of good racing years ahead of him, and the day may come when the results of a mile run will be announced in the following manner: First, Liquori, Second, Liquori.

Waiting in the wings for his chance to carve a niche for himself in track annals is 14-year-old Stephen Liquori, Marty's brother, Steve, as a freshman this past season at Essex Catholic High School was timed in 2:07 for the half-mile and has broken 5 minutes in the mile.

Louis Liquori of Bloomfield, the 74-year-old grandfather of the boys, maintains a keen interest in the racing activities of Marty and Steve. In the 1920's he ran cross country in New Brunswick.

Martin, Sr., Who was born and raised in Bloomfield, gave track a try at Sacred Heart School in Bloomfield under the tutelage of Johnny Gibson. However, when he matriculated at Bloomfield High School, from which he was graduated in 1947, he devoted much of his energies to working afternoons as a delivery boy for a typesetting outfit.

Following his graduation and the abandonment of plans revealed in the senior yearbook to follow a career as an FBI agent, Martin Sr. obtained a job with the former Lindsley Chevrolet Agency in Montclair. He became parts manager.

Between 1952 and 1966 he was assistant plant manager for an envelope company in New York City.

He assumed the operation of Mountain Esso Service here three years ago.

Martin Sr. is married to the former Sarah Tosone of Montclair, whose brother, James, operates an electrical contracting business just a stone's throw from his brother-in-law's service station, Mrs. Liquori was graduated from Montclair High School in 1947.

Members of the Liquori family have journeyed far and wide to see their son run, including a visit to Mexico last year for the Olympic Games. Several years ago they traveled to California to see a group of meets, in one of which Marty bested Dave Patrick. In the meet after they left, Marty broke the 4-minute mark.

Essex Catholic High School Coach Fred Dwyer, a former outstanding miler in his own right, and Villanova Coach "Jumbo" Elliott received much praise from Martin, Sr.

Two very avid rooters in the Liquori family are the boys' sisters, Lynn Ann, who attends East Orange Catholic High School, and Genevieve, a student at St. Catherine's School in Cedar Grove.

Another rooter is Joseph Liquori of Bloomfield, the proud uncle, described by Martin Sr. as "one of my key men here at the station."

Although Martin Liquori Sr. understandably is mighty, mighty proud of the cinder exploits of his sons, notwithstanding the successes he remains a very humble man, which is as it should be for one who is affiliated with the Humble Oil & Refining Company.

VALLEY FORGE SITE OF ARCHERY COMPETITION

HON. R. LAWRENCE COUGHLIN

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 28, 1969

Mr. COUGHLIN. Mr. Speaker, the House and Senate have provided that the period from August 26, 1969, through

September 1, 1969, be designated as "National Archery Week" in tribute to the increasingly popular sport of archery among Americans of all ages.

I am pleased to note that the site of this competition will be Valley Forge State Park, Montgomery County, Pa., in the 13th Congressional District. Valley Forge, of course, occupies a place in American history without parallel. It serves as a magnificent park where people can visit the encampment and battlements where George Washington and his Continental troops endured untold hardships to forge the mettle of a fledgling nation.

In addition to its historical attributes, Valley Forge provides excellent facilities for events such as the 85th national archery championships scheduled from August 21 to August 24. Prior to this competition, the world archery championships will be conducted there from August 13 to August 20 with competitors from some 30 nations taking part.

Valley Forge State Park is fascinating and beautiful anytime of the year, but it will be an especially interesting place this August for visitors.

A MESSAGE FOR OUR YOUTH

HON. PETER N. KYROS

OF MAINE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 28, 1969

Mr. KYROS. Mr. Speaker, Maine's Church World publication recently contained a fine article by a fine individual, James Page of Portland. Jim Page is a decorated veteran of World War II and the Korean war, and he continues, through his work, to show his dedication to our Nation. He is an adviser to the Diocesan Committee for Youth Activities, and has written a column which is of special relevance to our young people. While Mr. Page's remarks were originally directed to members of the Catholic faith, I feel that they are of equal importance to all persons, and I welcome this opportunity to bring these patriotic words to the attention of my colleagues:

PATRIOTISM AND YOUR COUNTRY

(By Jim Page)

The United States of America is not yet two hundred years old but it has become the recognized leader of the nations of the world. This mantle of leadership came to us with the advent of World War II. The nations of the world now look to your country for aid, guidance and protection.

Your country must now make world shattering decisions within moments and very often these decisions determine the survival of the entire earth. Thousands of young Americans are resting forever in the soil of a foreign land, victims for world freedom.

The past few years have brought about a decline in Patriotism among the teenage and young adult groups. Flag waving is "squaresville" and the "in thing" is to rip, tear, walk and spit on the American Flag.

No other nation on the face of the earth has been as richly endowed by God as this country. No other nation has given so freely of its natural and manufactured resources, no nation has offered so many of her youth as a blood sacrifice in the defense of others.

Now, more than ever, is the time to support and defend this country. There are enough people trying to tear us down. You would not think of denying your Catholic Faith; so, why would you desecrate the flag of your country? They go hand in hand, the Cross of Christ, the symbol of your Faith, and Old Glory the symbol of your America.

Soon you members of the CYO will be entering the adult world and in a few years you will become the "establishment." You will then realize that two things will sustain You, belief in God and love of Country.

I urge you to never apologize for your country to anyone. We are not perfect but, there is not a nation in the world that does not look upon us with either envy or respect. Take the opportunity to travel across this blessed land and see for yourselves what God has given you.

Soon the torch of freedom will be passed on to you. You will be expected to keep it burning bright for all the world to see. Young men, you may be called upon to defend your country. Will you run away from her or will you defend her?

Perhaps, in your greater wisdom, you may be able in the future to sit at the council tables of the world, and with the help of Almighty God you may be able to create a new world where the teachings of Christ prevail and lasting world peace will be enjoyed by all.

The future of this country is in your hands. Are you worthy of the task which will soon be yours? You can start by telling the world what is right with America. You can begin by respecting your Flag at every opportunity because the Flag is You.

Let it never be said that it was your generation which allowed the fires of freedom to die and plunged the world into slavery and darkness. Be a Square, wave the Flag.

BRIG. GEN. ROBERT E. LEE, USAF

HON. JAMES C. CORMAN

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 28, 1969

Mr. CORMAN. Mr. Speaker, we in the Congress enact laws. We depend, however, upon other men in the executive branch to produce the results we intend. Thus, we may conclude that the most adroitly drafted legislation, blessed with the most clearly expressed intent, and colored by our deepest concern will fail of its objective in the absence of the will to carry out its provisions with intelligence and understanding. It is always extremely satisfying to find an individual who has carefully and accurately interpreted the congressional intent, and then gone "all out" to implement the legislation.

As chairman of the Subcommittee on Government Procurement of the House Select Committee on Small Business, it has been my distinct privilege and pleasure to observe at firsthand an individual whose intelligent and vigorous implementation of the Small Business Act has made a major contribution to the betterment of the small business community.

I speak of Brig. Gen. Robert E. Lee, USAF, who, for the past 3 years has been the executive director, Procurement and Production of the Defense Supply Agency. In this capacity, he has been personally involved on a daily basis with problems vitally affecting small firms doing business with the Department of Defense. As you know, the Defense Supply Agency purchases for the military services the common items of supply, such as food, clothing, lumber, tentage, and thousands of other articles which can be obtained from small business firms. General Lee's effective implementation of the Small Business Act in this particular area has been outstanding.

In his appearances before our subcommittee, he has been a highly cooperative and effective witness. In handling a multitude of questions brought to his attention by small business firms, General Lee has continuously displayed a sensitivity to the needs of, and the problems faced by, the small businessman. When cases were brought to his attention, no company could be too small nor its difficulty too routine to elicit a thorough analysis, sympathetic understanding, and a prompt decision.

On July 31, General Lee will retire after 28 years of military service. His departure will leave a void that will not be easy to fill.

I know that I speak for the members and staff of the Procurement Subcommittee in wishing General Lee success and happiness in the new and challenging career he will undertake after he leaves his present office.

FULL FUNDING TO MAINTAIN ADEQUATE EDUCATIONAL FACILITIES AND OPPORTUNITIES FOR AMERICAN YOUTH IS A NATIONAL IMPERATIVE

HON. HAROLD D. DONOHUE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 28, 1969

Mr. DONOHUE. Mr. Speaker, over these past few years and especially over these past several months there has been a great deal of rightful concern and discussion in the Congress on the subject of national spending priorities.

Within the next few days when this House is considering the bill containing the committee proposed appropriations for the Departments of Labor and Health, Education, and Welfare, and related agencies, each of us will have the opportunity to register our convictions on the priority place that should be granted for the reasonable funding of adequate educational expansion facilities and opportunities for American youth.

On this score, practically every recognized educational administrator and organization, at all levels, have registered emphatic belief that the committee proposed appropriations for the proper educational encouragement and development of our youth are regrettably and woefully inadequate. They have registered their further and intense conviction that increased fundings in such vital educational areas as student loans, construction facilities, impact aid, library materials, under title II of ESEA, improving the quality of instruction in programs of title I of ESEA, vocational education, and providing equipment under title III of NDEA should be at least held and approved at the 1969 fiscal year level and, indeed, could be justifiably increased substantially beyond that level.

Mr. Speaker, every Member here is, I know, rightly and patriotically concerned about our urgent legislative obligation to insure the most prudent Government spending of the taxpayer's money and each Member must meet that obligation in accord with his own wisdom and conscience. For my own part I intend to support the proposal to increase funding appropriations for the educational programs and objectives outlined above. I intend to do so because I conscientiously believe such an investment in our American youth and in the future of this country is a profoundly wise and prudent investment that eminently merits inclusion among the very highest spending priorities to maintain, improve and expand our national integrity, progress, and leadership for world peace.

I earnestly hope that every Member of the House will thoroughly and scrupulously examine the vital urgency and importance of the educational programs that will be presented to us very soon in H.R. 13111 and I further most earnestly hope the great majority will, in their wisdom, see fit to approve increased funding authoritatively held to be essential for their true effectiveness in the national interest.

TRUTH-IN-LENDING LOOPHOLES

HON. SEYMOUR HALPERN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 28, 1969

Mr. HALPERN. Mr. Speaker, as a vigorous supporter and sponsor of the landmark truth-in-lending legislation passed last session, I am most anxious to see that this new law is implemented and proves to be truly helpful to all consumers in their credit transactions. I have been encouraged by the thorough Regulation Z developed by the Federal Reserve to implement truth-in-lending, as well as the conscientious activities of many businesses in seeking to comply with the new requirements.

However, through the research facilities of Consumers Union, it has come to my attention that, despite the design of Congress and the compliance of most businessmen, certain "loopholes" have become apparent which may seriously lessen the effectiveness of this measure. It is not yet clear whether new legislative or administrative action are necessary to close these "loopholes". But, I feel a first step must be recognition and awareness of the problems.

With this in mind, I would like to commend to my colleagues, for their thoughtful consideration, a recent report by Consumers Union:

TRUTH-IN-LENDING'S LOOPHOLES—YOUR HOME

(Prepared by Consumer Reports)

MOUNT VERNON, N.Y.—The new Truth-In-Lending Act, which goes into effect July 1, leaves open two tempting opportunities for lenders to understate—perhaps grossly—the finance charge and the annual percentage rate.

The first loophole favors lenders and credit merchants who take as security an interest in the borrower's house or land. The other deals with the purchase of a home.

This is the way the first works: A number of credit-connected charges can be loaded onto a loan secured by residential property without showing up in the finance charge or the annual percentage rate. The lender can charge for title examinations, for title insurance, for preparing deeds and other documents and notarizing them, for appraisal fees, and for credit reports. And cases have been reported in which those charges multiplied actual borrowing costs astronomically.

Those who exploit debtors have frequently used second mortgages and other types of real estate liens as their tools. Home owners have been induced to use the equity in their property as security for loans to consolidate debts, finance home improvements, or raise money for any number of other purposes—good or frivolous. And some installment sales contracts routinely name the buyer's house as security, without his knowledge.

It should be clear that not many reasons for borrowing are compelling enough to justify risking the loss of one's house.

CAN CANCEL IN 3 DAYS

Fortunately, a very prominent notice must go on every consumer-credit contract involving a real estate lien, second mortgage or security interest in your house if the loan is for any purpose except to finance the purchase of *that* house. The notice explains, in large type, that the customer may cancel the contract within three days of signing it, and without penalty or loss of down payment. To cancel, you merely fill in the blanks, sign the notice and mail it to the address shown on it before midnight of the third day, not counting Sundays or holidays when the post office is closed.

Because of the three-day cancellation privilege, it is expected that carpenters, roofers, electricians and other service firms will now be inclined to wait at least three days before starting a home repair or improvement—if they are operating under installment contracts secured in some way by a lien on your house.

But suppose your furnace suddenly must be replaced in the dead of winter, or your roof blows away. By preparing a written statement describing the emergency situation, you can relinquish your cancellation right.

THE SECOND LOOPHOLE

When you purchase a house, you should know about the second loophole—that the disclosures required by Truth-in-Lending in a first mortgage to finance a house do not have to include the finance charge in dollars.

First mortgages usually run for 20 or more years. Hence the total interest cost is likely to approach, equal or even exceed the many thousands of dollars of the original debt. In these days of record-high interest rates, the cost of financing the purchase of a house really mounts up. The total interest on a 20-year, 7½ percent mortgage of $30,000 will come to $28,000. If the loan runs for 25 years, the interest alone is $36,500. Amounts that large are reason enough for house hunters to be told the whole truth about finance charges. Since the law doesn't require disclosure, you should ask the mortgage lender to figure up the total finance charge.

Mortgage contracts must, however, disclose their anual percentage rate, which is really nothing new. Up until now, mortgage interest was about the only kind of interest on consumer loans that was regularly quoted as the true annual rate.

Yet it wasn't by any means always an accurate statement of borrowing costs, and to the extent that first-mortgage lenders may fatten their finance charges with unreasonable extra fees for title searches, credit reports and such, it may not be accurate in the future.

But one kind of fee *will* now have to be counted in. Those are "points" or "discounts," which mortgage institutions have used for many years to pad out interest charges. Under Truth-in-Lending, the extra cost of points must be reflected in the annual percentage rate.

HOUSING: COMMITMENT AND FRUSTRATION

HON. DANTE B. FASCELL

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 28, 1969

Mr. FASCELL. Mr. Speaker, the Secretary of Housing and Urban Development, the Honorable George Romney, pointed out in a recent address that commitment is the difference between accomplishment and frustration in the struggle to meet our Nation's challenges.

In 1961, President Kennedy challenged us to reach out to the moon, and 8 years later, because of the commitment of $24 billion and the efforts of hundreds of thousands of Americans, that goal was realized triumphantly.

Twenty years ago the Congress of the United States declared it to be this Nation's policy and goal that every American should have a decent home. That goal was reiterated in 1968, but we seem to be no closer to its realization today than 20 years ago; and, in fact, it seems as far away as the moon must have seemed then.

Recently, Miss Elizabeth Virrick, one of Dade County's pioneers in social work and civic affairs, called my attention to an article published in Ink, a journal of civic affairs which she edits. It is a perceptive discussion of our failures and problems in providing decent housing for all Americans, and it includes an analysis of the recent Kaiser and Douglas reports.

I commend this article to the attention of our colleagues:

A DREAM OR AN ACHIEVABLE REALITY?

The vital question before this country is: Can housing be built for low- and moderate-income families? There is a feeling among some people that we have reached an impasse in our efforts to supply housing for those living in substandard housing and poor environment. The discussions, articles, books and reports of researchers and investigating committees are taking on a gloomy tinge. Few, of the general public, realize exactly what is involved, how it evolved and even fewer are aware of what the effects may be if we fail to solve this tremendously complex domestic crisis.

COSTS

Between the time this is being written and the time you read it, the costs of construction will have jumped several notches. Someone has said that for every ten cents an hour increase in wages of construction workers, $100 is added to the cost of a building. Recent negotiations of new contracts in all building trades have ended in large hourly wage rate increases, from skilled artisans to laborers. Each delay in construction caused by strikes and shut-downs adds heavily to the cost. Then, too, the cost of all building materials is skyrocketing at frightening rates. The graphs showing increases in cost of construction have had upward lines for years, resembling the drawing of the side of a mountain. Now, the lines have exploded upward resembling almost perpendicular cliffs. All the while, mortgage interest rates also have climbed.

HOW EXPLAIN?

The handwriting on the wall spells inflation but this is only a word. None of it makes much sense (nor can it be satisfactorily explained) to those who have been led to believe that housing would be provided. And while it is bad enough not to meet the Housing Act's avowed goal of twenty years ago of a "decent home in a suitable environment for every American family," it is infinitely more culpable to be in the position of having held out hopes and then not live up to them. It requires no magician with words to explain the mischief that this causes and the understandable (though not condonable) acts of people caught in this melee whose frustration leads them to the only means they know of reacting to it.

Is Congress shadow boxing or playing games?

The strait-jacket imposed by Federal guidelines as to permissible room costs and unit ceiling costs set by Congress several years ago and never adjusted to take cognizance of increased costs, makes almost impossible all building of public housing or any building for low- and moderate-income families. Congress by failing to make appropriations for some of the new provisions in the 1968 Housing Act, has made it still more difficult to explain to those living in crowded, deteriorated and dilapidated housing who have waited patiently for years for housing to be built. It would seem to make sense for appropriations to follow inevitably and quickly on the heels of Congress' authorizations.

Nationally, Neighborhood Development Programs (NDP) have used up all the appropriations that were allotted to them and Washington has received applications for 75 millions of dollars more than is available of 1% mortgage loan applications. The NDP innovation in the 1968 Act that was hailed as a great step forward, also is already a victim of Congress' failure to appropriate funds for programs it has authorized.

A LOOK AT SOME OTHER OBSTACLES

Thousands of hard working, dedicated people all over the country have labored to bring into being housing authorized by the various Housing Acts and amendments since 1949 and to make Urban Renewal work to improve housing and living conditions in American cities. The difficulties that they have had to cope with would long since have discouraged less staunch people. Urban Renewal projects under the most favorable circumstances, have moved at a snail's pace, taking six, eight or more years, and then, only, if the redevelopment plan called for downtown malls, high rent apartments and the like. Rehousing the people who had always lived in the urban development area, multiplies the problems. Everywhere, people are trying to find out why progress is not faster. Many of the reasons emphasize the necessity to change time-honored systems and customs.

We have known for many years that our tax-assessment system is inequitable; that our building codes make sense only to those whose interest is in keeping the status quo and the cost of building high; that our zoning is archaic and tends to keep property values beyond the reach of many; that mortgage interest rates seem to be set to prevent moderate income people from owning a home and to keep rents high; all these together connive to escalate the cost of building a home, owning a home or for that matter, even renting a standard home at a rent within the means of those who most need standard homes.

TAX ASSESSMENTS

As to tax assessments, where is the justice in one man's profiting at the expense of others? Throughout Dade County, for instance, there are many large tracts of vacant land with built-up subdivisions around them and farther out. The man holding the vacant tract is able to do so because his assessment on undeveloped land is low. During the years that his land lies vacant, roads going to and beyond his land are built and maintained. Power and telephone lines are installed and police and fire protection are available. All this time, his land becomes more valuable and he will eventually profit from the developments created by others while the taxpayers have footed the bills for roads and utilities that run past land that produces less than its share of tax revenue. This type of land speculation helps keep the cost of land too high for many people to be able to acquire sufficient equity to be eligible for a loan to build.

Higher tax assessment on unimproved land could serve as a tax inducement that would spur more building.

BUILDING CODES

The South Florida Building Code has been made more stringent than almost any other code in the United States. One of the reasons is the overreaction to hurricanes. Yet, let someone explain why in the hurricanes, frame buildings even those with sketchy foundations, have generally ridden through the storms at least as well as almost any other construction. How important some of the rigid regulations are, is a matter still to be proved, but it is not necessary to demonstrate how expensive they are. Many architects claim that a less rigid code would result not only in lowering the cost of building, but would also give designers an opportunity to build more innovative and original structures.

Two important national investigating Commissions' reports, recently published, emphasize strongly the role of zoning ordinances, tax assessments and building codes, as well as high mortgage interest rates in hamstringing the construction of housing for low- and moderate-income families. These same handicaps bid fair to slow down all building to a point where the national economy will suffer severely. Recent reports on the number of building permits applied for and construction starts, show figures lower than at any time since 1958.

Kaiser and Douglas Reports on Housing.

These two documents of major importance, recently released, can supply whatever information anyone might want on housing. Former Senator Paul H. Douglas and his sixteen member National Commission on Urban Problems visited 22 cities (including Miami) and heard 347 witnesses in public hearings. Edgar F. Kaiser headed the President's Committee on Urban Housing, which was directed "to find ways to encourage the private building industry to play a larger role in rehabilitating the depressed areas of America's cities."

SOME OF THE FINDINGS

The two reports, while very different in size and focus, both arrive at very similar conclusions as to the amount of housing needed now and for the next decade. Both see America's task as monumental.

The Douglas report, among its 149 recommendations, calls for an annual goal of 2 to 2.25 million units including 500,000 for low and moderate income housing; the Kaiser report sets an annual average of 2.6 million new and rehabilitated housing units including 600,000 for lower income families.

The size of the job seems overwhelming when compared with past performance. The Kaiser's goals represent almost a "40-percent increase in the current housing stock, or 70 per cent more than the total production of the decade of the 1950's." The Kaiser report points out: "During the entire 30-year history of federal housing subsidies, only 800,000 subsidized (public housing) units have been built. Recent annual production rates were only around 50,000. In 1949 Congress set a six-year goal for public housing. In 20 years, only two-thirds of that goal has been met."

As reported in "City," the bimonthly publication of Urban America, Inc., "There are about 66 million housing units and 60 million households. Although there appear to be more than enough rooftops, an estimated 6.7 million occupied units are substandard dwellings—4 million lacking indoor plumbing and 2.7 million in dilapidated condition; 6.1 million units (both standard and substandard) are overcrowded with more than one person per room. Among the six million vacant units, only about two million are in standard condition and available for occupancy—the nation's lowest available vacancy rates since 1958. These estimates suggest a growing shortage of decent housing, not only for lower-income families but for the entire population."

The Kaiser Committee proposes that "the federal government grant eminent domain power to acquire land to be leased for development of subsidized housing. The committee also proposes that HUD should be granted limited powers to preempt local zoning codes and any exclusionary state codes or local ordinances from application to federally subsidized housing.

The Douglas Commission would encourage the use of state powers of eminent domain to provide sites for low- and moderate-income housing.

Both reports state that America can pay for the housing goals embodied in the 1968 Act if housing is given the high priority it needs. "So far, however, Congress shows little enthusiasm for reordering expenditures." As the Douglas Commission gloomily notes, "Recent action on the request for the 1969 fiscal year housing appropriations does not augur well for the future . . . Unless the new programs are funded more adequately, the new act cannot achieve its goals." In one of its major recommendations, the Commission urges that money for key programs be made available upon authorization "in order to avoid this traditional roadblock to the fulfillment of these programs—the failure of the appropriations committees, especially those in the House, to appropriate sums for the programs which the legislative committees and the Congress as a whole have passed and authorized."

RECOMMENDATIONS

"Restrictive labor practices add to the cost of construction and support antiquated building codes. To make building dollars go farther and to speed up the physical production of housing units, both reports suggest building code reforms and improvements in technology. The Kaiser report recommends that the federal government be given power to preempt local building codes and ordinances. The Douglas Commission would emphasize remedial action at the state and local levels with federal assistance power as persuasion: In its capacity as prime persuader, the federal government can make aid contingent upon establishment of model building as well as zoning codes."

Who will volunteer to take the part of David against these Goliaths of outdated, but firmly entrenched, building and zoning codes and tax assessment practices?

LAST BUT NOT LEAST

For each and every unit of public housing that has been built in Dade County, there has been a struggle, except for those built at the very beginning (1937) when housing was scarce and jobs were needed by depression-hungry people. Throughout the life of the Housing Authority, the hard working Board and staff carried on the good fight. In December, 1967, the Housing Authority was joined with the Urban Renewal Agency to form "Little HUD" (Housing and Urban Development) and the struggle continues.

There have been variations on the theme by those who have opposed the construction of low rent housing but the song is still recognizable. Of late, it has adopted a new refrain because no one can, or even attempts to, deny the desperate need for housing for low income people. The new chorus is: "Yes, we need public housing and we want public housing. But we don't want it in this particular location." By now this has been said in reference to so many areas that practically the entire County is covered by imaginary signs saying: "Not here—somewhere else." This leaves us with almost nowhere else.

Even scattered site housing, which is indistinguishable from its surrounding structures—often better—is opposed.

WHO SHALL SPEAK FOR WHOM?

Much of the opposition comes from people who do not realize that they are being callous and unthinking when they allege that their neighborhood will be deteriorated if public housing is built. Time and again there has been improvement in appearance and in property values where low rent units have been built. Then, too, grasping the larger issue, the question becomes: can we afford not to salvage our cities and its people.

Those who have the power of decision as to whether public housing may be built, are running short of time in which to hone their powers of perception to decide who is opposing and why, who has the right to dissent and thus wield an awesome power over the fate of others, but most important of all, whose voice should be heeded.

There are, in Dade County, thousands of people on the waiting list for public housing, in spite of the remarkable record that has been made by the Housing Authority and "Little HUD," even with all the difficulties. The following are some of their achievements:

5500 units of public housing;

96 units of public housing for large families—3, 4 and 5 bedrooms—will be ready for occupancy as soon as the vandalism can be controlled so that stoves and refrigerators can be installed;

3500 units committed to NDP areas for private leasing;

2000 units have been built since 1960—more than any other city in the South.

Relocation of over 900 families into public housing; over 2000 since 1964, without which the community would have been in deep trouble. In other words, sufficient families have been relocated in standard housing, mostly public housing, so that the first four parcels in the Urban Renewal Program have been able to get started.

Finished the acquisition of the land in the first Urban Renewal project, demolished the buildings and acquired some of the land in the other parts.

Placed on the boards another 2200 units of public housing, in spite of extreme opposition. One Hundred units designed by Alfred Parker under construction and another 700 designed by the same architect will be out for bids before the summer is over, plus 600 units for the elderly.

Dade County has supplied more relocation public housing than any other city of comparable size.

Was granted $26,000,000 for Neighborhood Development programs (NDP) for ten areas—one of the first in the country, the first in the southeast.

The Junior College site in downtown Miami will come out of this money. None of them would have happened without Little HUD.

Little HUD has out for bids $2,500,000 for water and sewer developments in the Model Cities area. This will complement the system that was put in by the Housing Authority in that area in 1962.

Built the first scattered site public housing in the South.

Obtained reservation of funds for 696 individual grants for rehabilitation of homes in the NDP areas.

Now modernizing James E. Scott Homes and Liberty Square public housing projects with a $2,500,000 modernization grant, including new lighting which is being installed in the James E. Scott area.

Procured a $515,000 government grant for a Park in the James E. Scott area—the first and only such grant for a park in the nation, using public housing money.

Minimum Housing Code Enforcement is also under Little HUD. There have been four times as many inspections as when the Department was under the City of Miami, in an equivalent time. The work force has been doubled.

Miami is the only city that qualified for the Kaiser "In-City" program. This project will start with fifty units, developed in accordance with innovative ideas that have evolved from several years of research.

SUGGESTIONS

We suggest that from the top to the bottom of the governmental hierarchy, the next ten years be proclaimed "The Decade of Building for People Now Living in Slums and Substandard Housing."

When opponents start putting forth objections to various programs, we suggest that the County Commissioners pierce through the verbiage and oratory and decide just who is speaking for whom and whether or not they are really speaking for the best interests of those they purport to represent.

We suggest that a short, direct way to get action be devised so that Little HUD can get on with its work without the roadblocks and delays that are caused by trying to follow a double set of conflicting guidelines—those of Metro and those of the Federal government.

SURTAX SAVINGS BILL

HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 28, 1969

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, from time to time I have spoken on the subject of the surtax and its extension. I have repeatedly said that it is patently ridiculous to attack inflation by taxing the private sector of our economy to remove dollars from circulation only to pump those same dollars back into the economy by continued deficit financing and wild Government spending in the public sector.

I recently outlined the principal features of legislation which I proposed to introduce to correct this situation. It is quite simple. It sets aside the dollars removed from the private sector by surtax withholding. It prevents those dollars from being spent by the Government in the public sector. It encourages taxpayers' savings by returning them to the very individuals from whom they were taken, at the same rate of interest paid by the Treasury for other short-term loans, as soon as it is appropriate to terminate the emergency surtax. I have today introduced this measure.

At the time I outlined my purpose, I predicted that we would have the surtax collection extension before us again. Today, it was. In view of the imbroglio in the other body it is my confident prediction that another short extension will not be our final action on surtax collection.

I include the text of the surtax savings bill:

TEXT OF SURTAX BILL

SECTION 1. Congress finds that the extension of the surtax is designed, in pertinent part, to ease inflationary tendencies by reducing individual spending. It is therefore the policy of Congress to couple the extension of the surtax with provisions for applying funds collected under the surtax toward the purchase of United States obligations. Such a policy is intended to limit government spending of collected surtax charges, and, at the same time, provides a mechanism whereby surtax charges can be returned to taxpayers, with interest, at a time when it is hoped the economic posture of the country will be more stable.

SEC. 2. (a) Section 3402 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 (relating to income tax collected at source) is amended—

(1) by striking out "July 31, 1969" in subsection (a)(1) and inserting in lieu thereof "June 30, 1970";

(2) by striking out "August 1, 1969" in subsection (a)(2) and inserting in lieu thereof "July 1, 1970"; and

(3) by striking out "August 1, 1969" in subsection (c)(6) and inserting in lieu thereof "July 1, 1970".

(b) The amendments made by subsection (a) shall apply with respect to wages paid after July 31, 1969.

SEC. 3. (a) The Secretary of the Treasury shall apply the surtax collected from each taxpayer under section 1(c)(2) of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 toward the purchase of interest bearing securities of the United States.

(b) The securities issued under this section shall be called "Surtax Savings Notes" and shall be issued under the Second Liberty Bond Act. By their terms or by regulations prescribed by the Secretary of the Treasury under the Second Liberty Bond Act, such securities shall—

(1) bear as their date of issue, the date of the first day following the date prescribed for the filing of taxpayer's income tax return;

(2) mature on the last day of the one-year period beginning on the date of issue;

(3) be transferable; and

(4) bear an interest rate equal to the average interest rate paid by the Department of the Treasury on short term obligations of the United States for the thirty day period preceding the issuance of such securities.

(c) In addition, the securities issued under this section shall be in such form or forms and denomination or denominations and subject to such terms and conditions (not inconsistent with this Act) of issue, conversion, redemption, payment, and time or times of payment of interest or interests, as the Secretary of the Treasury from time to time at or before the issue thereof may prescribe.

(d) The Secretary of the Treasury may prescribe such regulations as he deems necessary to carry out the purposes of this Act.

SEC. 4. The President is authorized to terminate the imposition of the surtax under section 1(c)(2) of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 at such time as he deems it advisable.

3M CO. TRAINS HARD-CORE UNEMPLOYED MEN AND WOMEN IN ST. PAUL

HON. JOSEPH E. KARTH

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 28, 1969

Mr. KARTH. Mr. Speaker, the Twin Cities Courier, a respected minority newspaper in my congressional district, recently carried an article on 3M Co.'s training and employment program.

With so many efforts of this kind failing to achieve their intended purpose, it is noteworthy to point out that success can be achieved if the company involved makes the super effort.

3M Co., has done just that. I join the Twin Cities Courier and the community I am privileged to serve in publicly congratulating 3M on their tenacious effort. 3M does not permit failures. When given a responsibility we all share, they do it first class. If we had more companies like them, a major portion of our social problems would be resolved.

I commend to you the following article:

ONE YEAR LATER 3M STILL KEEPS FOCUS ON TOTAL PERSON IN TRAINING, EMPLOYMENT

"The total person."

That was the focus in May 1968 when Minnesota Mining and Manufacturing Company (3M) opened a training center at 1197 University Ave., St. Paul, to give hard-core unemployed men and women an opportunity for gainful and meaningful work.

One year later the unique program, that goes beyond the usual on-the-job-training policy, speaks for itself.

From a modest, unheralded beginning May 1, 1968, when less than 20 trainees were enrolled at the center, the program has expanded to include 75 men and women (the maximum, at present) and marks 54 "graduates" now employed in local 3M plants in this vicinity, working regular shifts on regular production jobs at regular rates of pay.

Several recent graduates and one trainee, together with 3M officials and center executives, discussed the program with this newspaper June 27, evaluating "one year later" progress from the viewpoint of persons who had benefitted by the program.

Robert Mentey, formerly of Milwaukee and now employed at the 3M plant near Hastings, said he was out of a job and "desperate" when he learned of the Factory Training Center here. He admitted he was a high school dropout, going from job to job, trying to take care of his wife and four children, without too much success. "I had a little trouble getting past Don, but when I did get accepted, the program opened up a whole new life for me."

The "Don" he mentioned is Donald A. Williams, former TCOIC executive and now employment coordinator for the center. He explained the guidelines for admission to the program as "very flexible," depending principally on the individual's need, willingness to learn, desire to work and cultivation of good work habits. "In Bob's case," Williams said, "He had a physical disability he wasn't even aware of until the company gave him the routine examination.

Bob took up the story at that point. "They didn't just tell me I needed surgery and could come back again after I had it," he said. "These people care about a guy. They arranged things so I could go into Ramsey County Hospital, have the operation, then snapped me up the minute I was back on my feet. I didn't have a dime to help myself, so you better believe I know what this program is all about. Now I've got a good job, already been moved up a couple of notches, and still have plenty of chance for advancement."

Dan Rivera has been on his new assignment nearly two months and has a heavily bandaged forefinger to prove it. He treated the injury lightly last Friday, being much more enthused about the five month's training received at the center before starting on the regular plant assignment as trucker. Dan is one of a few trainees with a year of college to his credit, but was at "loose ends" until the center gave him incentive and real prospect of moving up the economic ladder. Now his earnings match his ability and offer a "decent future" for his wife and child.

Being single was no economic advantage for Cecil Wadena, who dropped out of school after the 10th grade. Cecil had plenty of drive but no skills until he enrolled at the center shortly after it opened in 1968. Sixteen weeks of training taught him everything he needed to know to take on the job of mixer at 3M's Chemical Division.

Patricia Riddle is one of few women taking advantage of center opportunities. She's now employed as a tape rewinder after finishing 13 weeks of training and says it's the best job and "best paying job" she's ever had. An 8th grade education and some business college studies were not enough to open up meaningful employment doors for the young woman who is head of her family and main support of four children. "The money isn't everything, although it does mean I can take care of my family and buy them some of the nice little things they want. But the training and my job make me feel important to the company. They make you feel needed . . . as if the work can't go on if you are not there."

Abram H. Weaver, center supervisor, agreed with this. "Every trainee and employee is important," he said. "That's why we stress good work habits, good attendance records, promptness and job interest. The center is in production, too, remember. Trainees produce tape and coated adhesives for use, not for demonstration. Of course they make mistakes. Doesn't everyone? But these men and women are doing productive work long before they move into the regular plants."

Tom Henderson takes pride in his work as a machine operator with 3M's Magnetic Products Division "because the center instilled pride in a job well done while I was in training those 14 weeks. The U.S. Army veteran was under-employed as a janitor when the center opened up new economic vistas and satisfying employment. "It sure makes a difference to the wife and kids (Tom has 3 children) when man is happy at his work," Tom said.

Derrel White of St. Paul has the unique distinction of being a center "dropout." Derrel began training last November, then left to find other employment. This May he returned to the program and appeared reluctant to discuss the interim experience. "Just say the center offers what I need to get ahead. But I had to find that out for myself." He's still in training as a general helper, and should move on to a regular production line by fall. The center doesn't object to giving anyone a second chance "or as many chances as a person needs, if he or she really wants the opportunity," said Don Williams.

John Broadway, assistant Maker Operator on a #1 Maker for 3M, had top billing at the Friday luncheon as a "charter trainee." John was one of the first 12 persons hired by the company after he completed four months training shortly after the program started. "These people give a man a chance to use whatever skill and brains he has," John said. As a machine maintenance man before taking training John speaks with the voice of experience, as if former employment was less than challenging. Two years of high school and natural mechanical ability had not taken John where he wanted to go, especially with a wife and three children, until he enrolled in the training program and found his regular employment niche." It makes a man feel good to put in a full day's work when he knows the company is depending on him to keep his end of the operation going as it should."

John was not the only trainee-turned-employee to praise 3M's shop foremen. Each vied with the other to declare his (or hers) the "best yet." They said the foremen "go out of their way" to help new employees understand new assignments and get familiar with every operation "without breathing down your neck." According to center "graduates," the men in charge make each employee feel important to the production effort and needed in any particular department. One said he had never felt that way in his life, as if his absence or carelessness on the job would "gum up the whole works. Just say it sure makes a guy feel worthwhile after he's been feeling mighty low before this came along."

The statement summed up the total-person concept initiated by 3M Company a year ago. Very few trainees drop out of the program after enrollment. Some, like Derrel, return. The scarcity of women was explained by Don Williams. "We're in heavy production and our employment is necessarily limited to women for that reason. But we do hire women, and welcome them at the center for training in suitable jobs. Many have gone into laboratory and clerical work, as well as light manufacturing.

"Our job at the center is to discover abilities many men and women were unaware they possessed. Then we train those abilities and skills, producing while training, and insisting each give his or her best in performance and work habits. This is self-half in action, not "make work" or any type of hand-out. These men and women earn their pay from the very start. When they go into regular production, they're worth every dollar they earn and the company knows and appreciates that," Williams said.

"We need this untapped source of the job market the unemployed and under-employed need us," said Weaver. "Too many able people are denied a chance at good jobs because of rigid requirements. The center fits the individual to meet the normal requirements necessary on any job."

Lack of education, prison or delinquency records, former poor job performance, nothing of this nature stands in the way of anyone wishing to enroll in the program, Williams explained. After a year in business, the Factory Training Center and its total-person concept received top evaluation from those who know, from experience, what it's all about. As one "graduate" said, "Give it a big fat A-plus in our book."

A NEW STAGE OF LIFE

HON. MARGARET M. HECKLER

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 28, 1969

Mrs. HECKLER of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, one of the greatest tasks before this country today is to promote understanding between the generations, and to perceive accurately the causes of unrest among the Nation's youth.

An editorial appeared recently in the Attleboro Sun on this subject which offered some real insights into the problem. The article discusses Prof. Kenneth

Kenniston's thesis that youth is troubled both by "the urgent need to fulfill the promises of the past and at the same time, to define the possibilities of the future." This is well worth considering and I offer the full text for the benefit of my colleagues:

A NEW STAGE OF LIFE

Much is made of the fact that half the nation's population is under 30 years of age. This is often suggested as the explanation of student unrest.

But in all historical eras, the vast portion of the population has always been under 30, counters a psychologist. In primitive societies, most people die before they reach that age.

If chronological youth alone was enough to insure rebellion, the advanced societies—where more of the population reaches old age than ever before in history—should be the least revolutionary and primitive societies the most. This is not the case, says Kenneth Kenniston, associate professor of psychology at Yale Medical School.

More relevant factors, he says, are the degree of involvement of those under 30 with the established institutions of society and the opportunities that society provides for their continuing intellectual, ethical and emotional development.

It is difficult for us to believe it now, but until the end of the Middle Ages, no separate stage of childhood was recognized in Western societies. Infancy ended at 6 or 7 (the "age of reason" in Catholic teaching), whereupon children were integrated into adult society to work as junior partners of the adult world.

The recognition of adolescence as a separate stage of life is of even more recent origin, the product of the 19th and 20th centuries. Only as industrial societies became prosperous enough to defer adult work until after puberty could they create institutions—like widespread secondary-school education—that could extend adolescence to virtually all young people.

Today, in more developed nations, we are beginning to witness the recognition of still another stage of life. Kenniston calls this the stage of "youth." This stage, which continues into the 20s and sometimes the 30s, provides opportunities for intellectual, emotional and moral development that were never afforded to any other large group in history.

In the student revolts, thinks Kenniston, we are seeing one result of this.

What the advanced nations have done is to create their own critics on a mass basis. Young people in college have been freed from requirements of work, of gainful employment and even marriage, which permits them to criticize society from a protected position of disengagement.

It is not that industrial societies have failed to keep all their promises but that they have succeeded in some ways beyond all expectations. Many of today's students have never experienced anything but affluence, political freedom and social equality. Not all of them, but many of them, are searching for a new vision, a new set of values, a new set of targets "beyond freedom and affluence."

But they also know that millions have not yet achieved these benefits they take for granted.

"What characterizes student unrest in the developed nations," says Kenniston "is this peculiar mixture of the old and the new, the urgent need to fulfill the promises of the past and at the same time, to define the possibilities of the future."

A more generous appraisal of themselves, our favored youths could not hope to ask for.

THE MILITARY-INDUSTRIAL COMPLEX: A FOURTH BRANCH OF GOVERNMENT?

HON. ABNER J. MIKVA

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 28, 1969

Mr. MIKVA. Mr. Speaker, one of the most significant developments in Congress during this first session of the 91st Congress has been the growing concern with the tremendous power and influence of the so-called military-industrial complex. With accusations and denials flying in all directions, it would be all too easy for the important aspects of this problem to become submerged.

Amid the confusion, occasionally a clear voice comes through which states succinctly and straight-forwardly the nature of the problem and the cause for concern. Such a voice is that of Edward R. Kantowicz, whose article entitled "The Military-Industrial Complex: A Fourth Branch of Government," I came across recently in one of Chicago's outstanding independent newspapers, the Polish America. I insert Mr. Kantowicz' article at this point in the RECORD for the benefit of my colleagues in considering the important problems raised by the existence of a "fourth branch of government" in America.

The article referred to follows:

THE MILITARY-INDUSTRIAL COMPLEX: A FOURTH BRANCH OF GOVERNMENT

(By Edward R. Kantowicz)

Though it has been eight years since President Eisenhower, in his farewell address, warned the nation against the military-industrial-complex, public opinion generally ignored this issue for most of those eight years.

A year or two ago the student and anti-war demonstrators discovered this issue. Those disillusioned with the Vietnam war sensed that the military-industrial-complex has been the only winner in Southeast Asia. Campus protesters realized that their professors have been working for years as servants of the Defense Department; and thus they added a new element to the issue, describing the defense establishment as the military-industrial-academic-complex.

Yet although the militants tried to dramatize this issue, most people ignored the substance of their complaints and were content to deplore their tactics. But finally, this year, the military-industrial-complex issue came out of the streets and has touched off a major, national debate in the Congress and the news media.

Many sources have fueled this debate. Disillusionment with Vietnam has become respectable, an economy-minded Congress has begun to examine the 80 and 90 billion dollar defense budgets rather than rubber stamping them, President Nixon's ABM plans have raised up fears of a new acceleration of the arms race, and the frequent military "accidents" of recent years—such as helicopter collisions, the Pueblo seizure, and the recent ramming of an American destroyer by an Australian aircraft carrier—have destroyed the illusion that the generals and admirals always know best.

In its simplest terms, the defense complex is an 80 billion dollar economic merger of higher education, heavy industry, and the armed services. Both state and private universities have become heavily dependent on federal aid to meet their rising costs, and this aid often comes in the form of subsidies for basic, scientific research related to military needs. American industry has had numerous ties, some proper, some improper, with government for a long time, but only in the last twenty-five years have billion dollar contracts bound industry so closely to the military. The military establishment itself has always been respected in the U.S., but, except in time of war, it has seldom had much political power. Our country has never been endangered by military coups, and the few generals who have become presidents were generally weak, benign political leaders.

But now that the generals are directly linked to the corporations and the universities, their ability to exert pressure on the government has been enormously enhanced. The universities provide the military with respected, articulate defenders. The corporations give them access to vast funds for lobbying and for strategically placed campaign contributions. Furthermore, the very size of defense contracts makes millions of ordinary Americans, employed in defense-related industries, stockholders in the military establishment. If a U.S. president wished to attack the complex head on, he would not only meet determined resistance from the Joint Chiefs of Staff and the corporate lobbyists; he would also engage thousands of workers in Seattle, Fort Worth, and Houston, where unemployment would follow cut in defense spending.

The power of the military-industrial-complex presents several obvious dangers. As long as defense budgets continue to be swelled by expenditures for missiles and bombers which are obsolete before they are even deployed, the amount of money available to deal with our nation's social needs will be limited. Secondly, the automatic requests for ever more sophisticated weapons systems effectively doom any hopes for controlling the arms race. Finally, the more weapons we have on hand and the more influence the military gains, the more likely it becomes that we will use these weapons. Many more Vietnams loom ahead.

But the most pervasive effect of the military-industrial-complex is its political power. The merger which created this complex has also constituted it as a fourth branch of government, insufficiently balanced by the other three.

All popularly-elected governments develop unofficial, long-lasting departments which give them a continuity transcending the changes caused by elections. In nations like France and England, where a permanent civil-service bureaucracy has long been entrenched, the bureaucracy makes most of the day to day decisions in government, untouched by changes in the top leadership. In America, spoils politicians have generally been able to continue their petty grafts and patronage policies undisturbed by the periodic reform attempts of presidents and public opinion.

Today, the military-industrial-complex has become the preponderant power in our government and is shortcircuiting the checks and balances. Presidents will come and go every four or eight years, Congress will hold periodic hearings, public opinion will flare up and then die down, but the defense establishment has become permanent. With just a little patience, this establishment can ride out the periodic attacks against it and still get most of its requests granted.

The news media give the impression that it is now open season on the military in Washington. But I doubt if the Pentagon is worried. A major disadvantage of the excellent news coverage which television and the press are now capable of is that such coverage often serves as a substitute for action. The people watch the news specials which explore the dangers of the military-industrial-complex; then, reassured that these dangers have been exposed, they turn to other matters and the furor dies down. The public has had a catharsis, but the complex is untouched.

The best hope for the immediate future is that the political leaders will not let the current debate over military spending cease, that they will choose wisely the specific issues to debate—such as the ABM, the proposed war profits tax, arms limitation agreements—and that the public will not lose interest. The politicians and the people must be persistent if they wish to rule and not be ruled by this fourth branch of government in our political system.

THE FLIGHT OF APOLLO 11

HON. CHARLES E. CHAMBERLAIN

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 28, 1969

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. Mr. Speaker, the flight of Apollo 11 has ended but its ramifications have only begun. As with all great events the full measure of its significance cannot be immediately grasped but will only be revealed in the decades and even centuries ahead. Nonetheless the record of what was said in 1969 about this incredible accomplishment will be, I suspect, of almost as much historical interest in the years to come as the feat itself. For this reason I am pleased to make a part of that record the timely and illuminating editorial comments on the moon voyage of the three daily newspapers which serve the Sixth Congressional District of Michigan.

The editorials follow:

[From the Lansing-East Lansing (Mich.) State Journal, July 25, 1969]

MAN'S COMMON GOALS CAN BE ACHIEVED

They're back.

Man's most daring adventure is over, a complete success. So much so that it's still difficult for most of us to believe it could happen with such precision and virtually no snafus.

American astronauts have walked on the moon and planted a flag and a few scientific gadgets on the lunar surface. They even had time to chat for a few moments with the President of the United States by phone before they hopped in their space bug and zoomed back to earth.

Neil Armstrong, Edwin Aldrin and Michael Collins now will face the world acclaim they deserve for their deeds and cool courage. Their names will go into the history books.

Perhaps the most amazing part of the moon journey was that the astronauts calmly and deliberately seemed to make it look so easy. Of course, it was anything but that.

The moon conquest was the product of the greatest pooling of brains and technical genius in modern history and involved hundreds of thousands of men and women.

It cost the lives of some brave men and it shook the world.

Now comes the great debate which, in fact, has already started. For if man can master the techniques of travel to other planets, certainly we can also coordinate efforts in finding answers to the earthbound problems of war, poverty, pollution and strife.

The walk on the moon was not just a space spectacular, a mission accomplished and to be remembered only by future generations. It was an end but also a beginning of a new era in world history.

By accomplishing the impossible, the Apollo program has demonstrated what can be done when men set their minds and total energies toward a common goal.

The world needs peace, establishment of freedom, and decent living standards for all. It's possible that the moon mission may have been a long step toward helping people everywhere recognize that these are common goals and can be achieved.

[From the Lansing-East Lansing (Mich.) State Journal, July 21, 1969]

AMERICAN SPACEMEN HAVE OPENED A DOOR

The events of Sunday, July 20, 1969, leave the world in a state of awe unparalleled in this century.

There have been many incredible milestones during the past 69 years, but nothing quite so startling as the spectacle of seeing two men set foot on another planet for the first time.

As this is written, the American astronauts still face the perilous journey back to earth. Millions pray for their safe return from what certainly is the most spectacular pioneer exploration of all time.

With precision and cool courage they have pushed through the partly opened door of the new space age and stepped beyond. Thousands on earth who made it possible stood and held their breaths.

Now it is a fact.

Americans, once again, have accomplished what once was thought to be impossible and moved the human race toward a new era. The implications of putting men on the moon and what this portends for the future is still difficult to calculate.

But, as has been said many times, this achievement is equal to and perhaps surpasses al previous probes of man into the unknown.

It can only be hoped that by stepping among the stars, man can somehow recognize his smallness in the universe and learn to live in peace.

[From the Jackson (Mich.) Citizens Patriot, July 22, 1969]

MOON WALK PROVES PERFECTION POSSIBLE

Emotions of the human race piled up and tumbled over one another as Neil Armstrong and Edwin E. Aldrin, Jr., made their perfect landing on the moon and romped in the euphoria of one-sixth gravity like school boys playing with a pogo stick.

The technical perfection of the venture came to be taken almost for granted, although doubts and fears had to linger in the minds of the millions who watched.

Would the LM be able to take off from the moon on schedule? Would it be able to link up with Columbia, the command module? Would the ride down the chute of space to a pinpoint landing in the Pacific also be perfect? What would happen if . . . ?

Have we been taking too much for granted because the space flights have gone so well, with a few near-misses, but no disasters save one tragic fire which took place on the ground and not in space?

If doubts were raised in the mind of the great average American who is paying the bill for space exploration, it might be due to his own bad experiences with the products of American technology.

Maybe his new car has been called back to have a manufacturing defect corrected. Perhaps the washing machine he bought six weeks ago is making strange noises. His television goes on the fritz, even though less than a year old, just as he is ready to watch the moon walk pictures. Maybe the computers which perform vital functions where he works, have a way of going zany at critical moments. Sophisticated new processes in manufacturing develop bugs. He tries to direct-dial a telephone call to Kalamazoo and ends up talking to a recording in Powder River, Wyo.

He comes to understand the painful truth of Murphy's law: "If anything can go wrong, it will."

Then he kibitzes on man's greatest adventure and hears only reports of perfection. The space men's code word, "beautiful," or the phrases, "you're looking good," drones out of the TV or radio speaker hour after hour, telling the listener that no one in the technological chain of the space mission has goofed.

An average man learns that devices which could not be tested under field conditions—such as the gadgets the spacemen carried on their backs as they walked the moon—performed perfectly. Ingenious men and their clever computers had been able to anticipate and cancel out every threat implied in Murphy's law.

So we grow confident. The fear of possible disaster slips farther back into the consciousness. We begin to assume that the take-off from the moon will be perfect (it was); that the rendezvous will be right on the mark; that the trip back to earth will be so perfect that it borders on the boring, and that the spaceship, with its precious cargo, will splash down within shouting distance of the recovery aircraft carrier.

The technical prefection of the mission so far is all the more amazing because of its sheer complexity. The workaday jobs of industry and the professions, no matter how sophisticated they may seem, are child's play by comparison. The trick of designing and manufacturing a modern automobile, for example, probably involves less than one-thousandth of the technological moves necessary to put a man on the moon and bring him back.

Be that as it may, the perfection of the Apollo 11 mission gives those who worship at the altar of American technology new goals to shoot at. Maybe the example heralds the day when all cars will perform perfectly from the day they are driven off the assembly line; computers won't send bills to the wrong people for goods or services they already have paid for, airplanes won't dawdle for hours at the end of runways waiting for a slot to take off and something will be done to get people to work in the morning and back home at night with the relative ease with which the Apollo crew went zipping a quarter of a million miles into space for a rendezvous with destiny.

[From the Owosso (Mich.) Argus-Press, July 22, 1969]

WE LEAVE PLENTY OF "CALLING CARDS"

Astronauts Neil Armstrong, Edwin Aldrin and Michael Collins may have been short on human company during their lunar voyage, but there is no shortage of inanimate reminders of earth along their course.

In the brief time since the first Sputnik, less than 12 years ago, man has distributed an incredible number of his souvenirs in cislunar space—the 240,000-some miles separating earth and moon—and on the surface of the moon itself.

As of June 30, there were 1,730 manmade objects—functioning and spent satellites, rocket bodies and other debris—in space, according to the U.S. Air Force Aerospace Defense Command which catalogues all launchings. To which have now been added the castoffs of Apollo 11 and Luna 15.

Not only the United States and the Soviet Union, but France, Britain, Canada and Italy—using American rockets to launch their satellites—have contributed to the total. The U.S. count leads all others combined by almost three to one.

Strewn across the moon's surface are the remains, intact or shattered, of 22 American and Soviet unmanned lunar probes.

Apollo 11 added considerably to the total.

In addition to the flag and the lower half of the lunar module which serves as the launch pad for their blast-off from the moon, Armstrong and Aldrin left behind functioning scientific equipment and no longer needed items such as cameras, tools and even parts of their space suits.

It all adds up to some $15 million worth of space-age hardware—a bargain price for the few bags of lunar rocks for which it is being exchanged.

[From the Owosso (Mich.) Argus-Press, July 23, 1969]

A GIANT LEAP

Almost as astounding as the achievement itself is the rapidity with which it has been accepted.

All the doubts, the uncertainties, the fears that preceded the epochal moment, shared by hundreds of millions here on earth almost as firsthand experience, are eclipsed by the fact. Man has set foot on another world.

Space has not yet been conquered. But it will be, although the conquest is sure to be long, hesitating at times, filled with new doubts, uncertainties, fears and disappointments. We all know it now as certainly as do the men of Apollo 11.

Never before has so much of humanity been aware simultaneously of a turning point in the human story. Behind us lies the earthbound past, the long milleniums of man's struggle up from primeval darkness. Ahead lies a future in the stars as yet only dimly perceived but, we are now certain, inevitable.

Prometheus bound has become Prometheus unbound.

It is indeed "a giant leap for all mankind," not only for the billions who inhabit earth today but for all the untold generations which have gone before. It is a link in the unbroken—and, we may hope, unbreakable—chain of human progress.

Cave dwellers who first turned stones into tools have contributed as surely as have the two men who have walked on the moon, the thousands who have participated in the Apollo program, the many more of different times and lands who have added bit by seemingly unrelated bit to theory and technology that have released man from earth.

The conquest of space truly transcends time and the divisions of man. It is as if all of human history has been preparation, a gathering of strength and knowledge and a focusing of purpose toward this moment. The men who first walked the moon happen to be American. But that is only because the organization that has shaped all that has gone before into successful achievement of the goal has been an awesome and indisputably American contribution.

Not the least of the achievements of Apollo 11 is the sense of unity it imparted to men on earth, not only among Americans but people of all lands who shared in the drama and saw it for what it is, a triumph for all men. If only a portion of this sense of community and interest can be retained, the moon program will be well worth the immense cost and effort.

Already attention shifts to what is to come. This November, Apollo 12 will land in the Oceanus Procellarum, the relatively smooth area that covers much of the moon's western face. Apollo 13 and 14 are targeted for rougher areas, first looks at the moon's tortured highlands.

Step by small but increasingly confident step, the exploration of the lunar surface will continue until Apollo 20, the last mission now definitely scheduled, sets down in the deep crater of Copernicus in July, 1972. By then, a new course to the planets will have been charted.

Neil Armstrong's "one small step for man" will have become a conquering stride.

WYATT POLL RESULTS

HON. WENDELL WYATT

OF OREGON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 28, 1969

Mr. WYATT. Mr. Speaker, each year since I was first elected to this body I have issued a questionnaire on significant national and international issues to those I represent in Oregon's First Congressional District.

The same procedure was followed this year, with over 180,000 questionnaires distributed to my constituents, I received 30,894 replies, a record number of returns.

These annual polls are highly important to me, as they indicate the feelings of those I represent on matters to come before Congress. The tabulation of this year's questionnaire results has just been completed, and I would like to present it at this time for the benefit of my colleagues in this body:

	Yes	No	No opinion
1. If the Paris talks drag on with no apparent progress toward a peaceful settlement of the Vietnam conflict, would you favor a resumption of the bombing of North Vietnam?	57.8	31.0	11.2
2. Should the President be required to secure the approval of Congress before taking any action involving the commitment of American forces to hostile actions abroad?	73.6	21.0	5.4
3. Should the United States extend diplomatic recognition to Red China?	44.3	43.4	12.3
4. Do you favor President Nixon's recommendation for a limited antiballistic missile program?	51.9	31.8	16.3
5. Foreign aid:			
a. Should the United States continue to extend military assistance to other nations?	34.6	53.2	12.2
b. Should the United States continue to extend economic assistance ot other nations?	57.2	31.7	11.2
6. Once the Vietnam conflict has been resolved, would you favor replacement of the present draft system with an all-volunteer army?	52.9	38.0	9.2
7. Tax reform: Do you feel that there are substantial inequities and loopholes in the Federal income tax laws which require change?	92.7	3.0	4.3
8. Do you favor the banning of cigarette advertising on television?	64.7	26.4	8.9
9. Should Congress enact a statute to require the licensing and registration of all firearms?	34.7	60.7	4.6
10. Should the Congress create a Cabinet-level Department of Consumer Affairs?	38.7	34.7	26.6
11. Do you favor President Nixon's proposal to create a National Law Enforcement Academy to upgrade the competence of State and local police?	70.1	19.1	10.8
12. Should the National Labor Relations Act be amended to require that farmers recognize and bargain with unions representing their workers?	28.1	55.9	16.0
13. Should Congress place a ceiling on the total amount of Federal farm subsidy payments which 1 person may receive in any 1 year?	85.0	5.1	9.7
14. Do you favor President Nixon's proposal for automatic cost-of-living adjustments in social security benefit payments?	81.3	11.0	7.7
15. Should Congress propose a constitutional amendment to set the minimum voting age at 18 in all States?	24.6	69.5	5.9
16. Should Congress propose a constitutional amendment to permit voluntary nondenominational prayer in public schools?	70.8	20.8	9.1

	Percentage favoring
17. Electoral college reform is being advocated. Which of the following choices do you prefer? (Please check 1 only.):	
a. Abolish the electoral college system and provide for the direct popular election of the President	76.4
b. Provide for the election of presidential electors by districts within each state, rather than the present "winner-take-all" system of State at-large election	5.2
c. Provide for the proportional division of each State's electoral votes among the various presidential candidates in accord with the share of the popular vote each receives in the State	9.5
d. No change in the present system	5.1
e. No opinion	3.8

FEDERAL AID TO EDUCATION TO BE CONSIDERED

HON. JAMES G. O'HARA

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 28, 1969

Mr. O'HARA. Mr. Speaker, tomorrow we will begin consideration of appropriations to fund Federal aid to education for the 1970 fiscal year.

A number of us were deeply concerned when the administration recommended sharp reductions in some very important programs, among them impact aid, library assistance, and guidance and counseling.

We were further disappointed when the Committee on Appropriations, while recommending the restoration of about one-third of the cuts proposed by the administration, still did not favor adequate funding for these programs.

School districts across the Nation are caught in the vise of limited property tax revenues on one side and soaring costs and increased numbers of students on the other.

In light of this, these programs are of critical importance to hundreds of school districts and to the students enrolled therein.

Recently, I solicited the views of a number of school superintendents in my congressional district.

I offer several typical replies which I think indicate why we must increase the funding for these educational programs. I also include for the RECORD a letter from Michigan superintendent of public instruction Ira Polley, which details the school financial situation for the entire State.

The replies and letter follows:

WARREN CONSOLIDATED SCHOOLS,
Warren, Mich., May 28, 1969.

Hon. JAMES G. O'HARA,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR JIM: Please know that we in the Warren Consolidated School District will deeply appreciate your effort to assure continued Federal support of E.S.E.A., Title II and N.D.E.A., Title III.

We realize you are aware of the rapidly escalating salary costs which this district must face as reality under collective bargaining This is hardly the time for withdrawl of federal support, even though some may regard the dollars involved as relatively insignificant.

Despite the generosity of our local people in approving millage, we face a curtailment of program particularly in the areas of media and specialized services to children. The aforementioned federal titles have provided real assistance in these areas in the past years. During 1968–69 fiscal year, we expect to receive in excess of $60,000—a small sum in terms of federal appropriations, but assistance which means much to us in terms of counseling and guidance, and library and classroom learning media.

Thank you kindly for your assistance.

Very truly yours,

CLAYTON W. POHLY,
Deputy Superintendent for Curriculum Services.

CENTER LINE PUBLIC SCHOOLS,
Center Line, Mich., April 29, 1969.

Hon. JAMES G. O'HARA,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN O'HARA: It is with a great deal of shock that I write to you asking your efforts be made in behalf of maintaining federal aid to education. You are well aware that at the state level we are experiencing a great deal of difficulty in keeping our heads above water. You have made me aware of the impact of the federal cuts in this program. While federal aid does not compare with state and local aid, it is indeed a shocking thing to know where we as a government are putting our greatest values.

I would like to commend you for your efforts in behalf of the boys and girls in the State of Michigan and throughout the United States.

Sincerely,

WAYNE WOODBY,
Superintendent of Schools.

CHIPPEWA VALLEY SCHOOLS,
Mount Clemens, Mich., April 23, 1969.

Hon. JAMES G. O'HARA,
Mount Clemens, Mich.

DEAR SIR: Thank you for your letter of April 16, 1969, bringing me up to date on the proposed Federal Aid reduction that would affect our School District.

On the local level we currently are levying 31.61 mills to build and operate our schools. The proposed change in the School Bond Loan Program in Michigan will require an additional 2.4 mills that our District will have to levy. In addition to this, a question will be placed on the ballot in June requesting from 4 to 6 additional mills for operation. The proposed Federal Aid reduction would be the equivalent of ½ mill in our School District.

Federal Aid will not make or break us but, at this point with the financial problems that Michigan schools are having, we sure hope that something can be done so another burden won't have to be added to our plight.

Sincerely,

GORDON E. PECKHAM,
Superintendent of Schools.

WARREN CONSOLIDATED SCHOOLS,
Warren, Mich., April 29, 1969.

Hon. JAMES G. O'HARA,
U.S. House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR JIM: It is most gratifying to be kept informed with regard to your stand with respect to education.

We certainly don't like to balance any budget by making our children suffer for it. Michigan schools are in serious financial difficulties. Many of them are now experiencing deficits. Within a year most of them will be in this critical condition. On the other hand, taxpayers are revolting on the local level. The pressure is on, and certainly this is not the time for the federal government to do less for the boys and girls of this nation.

Therefore, I would urge you to utilize every device at your command to resist any reduction in the Elementary and Secondary Education Act as well as in the Impact Area Aid. In fact, this is the time and the hour for our federal government to come to our assistance if they are willing to recognize the universal need to improve the quality of education across this nation.

Again, congratulations upon your courageous stand.

Sincerely yours,

PAUL K. COUSINO,
Superintendent.

EAST DETROIT BOARD OF EDUCATION,
East Detroit, Mich., April 16, 1969.

Mr. JAMES G. O'HARA,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR JIM: I appreciated receiving your position paper relative to P.L. 874 and Title II and the affects of the anticipated loss of these monies on our Macomb schools.

I first of all want to commend you in your leadership role to attempt to retain for us the anticipated losses in supportive monies.

The East Detroit libraries would not have been able to up-date their volumes without these supplemented monies. In a period of crisis in our millage votes for operating, just to maintain what we have, Title II has been a welcomed blessing.

Although our district has not participated in P.L. 874, I can appreciate the loss of these revenues to those districts so affected. We would favorably encourage the status-quo in that program also.

In conclusion, as a school leader, I welcome your timely "alerts" and concerns in behalf of education here at home. Keep up the good work, Jim.

Sincerely,

ROBERT K. SMILEY,
Superintendent.

MOUNT CLEMENS COMMUNITY
SCHOOL DISTRICT,
Mount Clemens, Mich., April 21, 1969.

Hon. JAMES G. O'HARA,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. O'HARA: Thank you for your letter of April 10. The Mount Clemens Community School District, at the present time, is operating with an above average millage levy. Our school district also qualifies for Section Seventeen which means that our citizens are also taxed high with municipal taxes. Therefore, the possibility of losing $51,000 for category "B" students is a concern to our Board of Education and the administration of this school district. One of the problems that this school district faces is the planning of the Colchester Project. Throughout the planning the planners have declared that this would be an ideal place for servicemen from Selfridge Field. Therefore, we face an increase in category "B" students. Your support to maintain these funds will be greatly appreciated in this matter.

Sincerely,

WILLIAM C. HARDING,
Superintendent.

WARREN WOODS PUBLIC SCHOOLS,
Warren, Mich., April 21, 1969.

Hon. JAMES G. O'HARA,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR REPRESENTATIVE O'HARA: I've been most appreciative of your informational letters of the past few weeks. You have an uphill fight ahead of you but certainly be assured there is support and appreciation for your efforts.

I unfortunately can't give you direct evidence of loss from 874 impact legislation. For some crazy reason our district just has never qualified to any extent. We have been out of that picture for years now. I do appreciate the value to some of my neighbors and would vicariously wish God speed in your efforts for them.

The matter of Title II under the ESEA legislation, Library Assistance, is quite another thing. We have benefited considerably under that program. Our allowances have been in the neighborhood of $10,000 a year and they have done much to increase our library services. As you know our district has been growing like a weed and maintenance of adequate library materials has been a very difficult task. To add to that problem of creating an adequate library, we have this year had a serious operating deficiency problem. We don't expect this problem to clear up for another year or possibly 2 years. One area in which we've attempted to save a little money has been in the library field. As a consequence, the bulk of the improvement registered this year has been from Title II money. Actually, we have operated this year on a dispensation from the State Department because our local money expenditure has decreased. In view of our financial plight they have however authorized us to proceed with our normal appropriation, thus Title II is a very real thing to us. I hope you can do some good in that area.

Again thank you much for your flow of information and particularly for your concern for us.

Sincerely,

ROBERT S. TOWER.

RICHMOND COMMUNITY SCHOOLS,
Richmond, Mich., April 21, 1969.

Mr. JAMES G. O'HARA,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN JIM: I appreciate your letter of April 10th calling attention to possible cuts in the amount of funds for education that are reportedly going to be a part of Mr. Nixon's budget recommendations. Of course I am very concerned. Someone, somewhere in this nation is going to have to decide that education is one of this nation's most valuable investments and that it does cost money. In Richmond unless we get additional funds before next school year, all of the students are going to be on half days. We are cutting our staff 20%.

In regard to the proposed cutbacks in P.L. 874, Richmond is not specifically affected nearly as much as some of the other districts in Macomb County. Our current count of eligible youngsters is below that required so we are being phased out of P.L. 874; however, for a district the size of Richmond, the loss of nearly $1,700 in the library services assistance is critical. Even this amount represents a reduction of nearly $1,000 from the amount we originally received. We have been able to substantially upgrade our library services because of this assistance.

Thank you for your efforts on our behalf.

Sincerely,

UREY B. ARNOLD,
Superintendent.

DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION,
Lansing, Mich., May 9, 1969.

Hon. JAMES G. O'HARA,
U.S. House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. O'HARA: The purpose of this letter is to urge you to support full funding of elementary, secondary, and vocational education programs in 1969–70.

The purpose also is to express my huge

concern about the President's proposed reductions in Michigan's education programs. The President's budget proposes to eliminate all funds for:

Library books and resources to school children (ESEA II);

Acquiring equipment for critical instructional areas (NDEA III);

Supporting guidance and counseling (NDEA III);

Constructing new public libraries (LSCA II).

The budget proposes a 50% reduction in public library service grants and a 30% reduction in ESEA III programs.

Altogether, Michigan's school children, parents, and elected school boards will lose nine million in federal aid at a time when state and local resources are particularly strained.

I believe that the appropriate action for the House to take now is to vote appropriations equal to the $5.4 billion which has been authorized by the Congress for elementary and secondary education during the past year. There are several reasons why this is necessary:

(1) The most critical domestic budget issue facing our people today is the financing of the public schools. In the last three years local and state spending for elementary-secondary education has risen by twenty-five percent while the federal contribution has increased less than ten percent; and the President's budget will, in fact, bring federal spending below the 1965–66 level.

If the Congress truly believes in a partnership of federal, state, and local governments to meet urgent domestic needs, then education is an appropriate place to demonstrate its commitment, and full funding is a proper expression of that commitment.

(2) State legislatures are being called upon to vote new taxes and shoulder an even larger share of educational costs; and most are meeting their responsibilities. They should not be expected, in addition, to pick up worthwhile programs which the Congress has started and then discarded.

If the Governor's 1969–70 budget is passed the Michigan Legislature will have raised its contribution to K–12 education by fifty percent over 1965–6; if the President's budget is passed as presented, the Congress in the same period will have *decreased* its contribution by over five percent.

(3) The public expects local school systems to deploy resources wisely and to involve parents and residents in school programming. It is difficult enough for a school system to gain public trust in its own regular programs without having to bear the onus of bad faith and disorganized management which comes when the Congress suddenly withdraws a program which it has asked that system to undertake only three years earlier.

Yet this is what has happened in the recent reductions of ESEA I; and it surely will happen when ESEA II is cut out and ESEA III substantially cut back, as the President proposes.

The public confidence is essential if local school systems are to prosper; and the Congress cannot strengthen that public confidence unless it achieves consistent and adequate financing of the programs which it asks public schools to undertake.

(4) Children in Michigan visibly benefit from the particular programs which the President is proposing be eliminated. Parents, teachers, and elected school and public officials have supported these particular programs because the benefits are visible: For example:

More individual attention from talented teachers, possible through various ESEA III projects.

Libraries in schools and communities where there were no libraries before, made possible by ESEA II and LSCA I and II grants.

Equipment which can help a child of poverty improve his grasp of English, made possible though NDEA III grants.

Acceptance of these benefits by the people of Michigan warrants the maximum appropriation for these titles and for all other elementary and secondary education titles.

I plead with you to find an early opportunity to describe our concerns to your colleagues on the Appropriations Subcommittee on Education. I am sure the members of that Committee will be interested in your views and analyses.

Respectfully yours,

IRA POLLEY.

WORCESTER'S PROUD PARTICIPATION IN THE HISTORIC MISSION OF APOLLO 11

HON. HAROLD D. DONOHUE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 28, 1969

Mr. DONOHUE. Mr. Speaker, when the historic Apollo 11 vehicle successfully blasted off at Cape Kennedy last July 16, the special pride and prayers of the people of Worcester, Mass., rose with and accompanied it until the three astronauts were safely returned to the deck of the *Hornet*. I think, by now, that it is pretty universally known that the late Dr. Robert H. Goddard, the acclaimed "father of modern rocketry," was born, educated, and conducted most of his early study and experimentation in rocketry in the city of Worcester. His loyal, gracious, and gifted wife still resides in our city of Worcester, and has maintained an intense interest in the continuing remarkable projections of Dr. Goddard's original, inventive genius.

Of course, Worcester, being an internationally recognized industrial center, substantially contributed, through its skilled industrial workers and plants, to the unparalleled success of the Apollo 11 mission. In view of these extraordinary factors, it is only fitting that the city of Worcester would proudly celebrate its unique participation in the most historic space exploration achievement in the history of the world. The celebration was in the form of a luncheon sponsored by the Worcester Area Chamber of Commerce and Rotary Club.

At this point, I would like to include an article from the Worcester, Mass., Telegram newspaper issue of July 25, 1969, containing an account of the luncheon ceremony and the further article containing the text of remarks by Mrs. Esther Goddard at the luncheon:

MISSION'S SUCCESS CELEBRATED BY CITY

(By Walter Donway)

Mrs. Robert H. Goddard, widow of the Worcester scientist called by many "the man who made the moon landing possible," yesterday joined Worcester in celebrating the successful completion of the Apollo 11 moon mission.

And as the first of Dr. Goddard's dreams became reality, she expressed the conviction that the rest of them would also come true.

But in her remarks, as she recalled the prophetic writings and experiments of her husband, who was ignored and sometimes ridiculed in his own time, there was both a quiet satisfaction and a gentle chiding.

Speaking at a luncheon sponsored by the Worcester Area Chamber of Commerce and Worcester Rotary Club, Mrs. Goddard began her speech—only moments after the successful Apollo touchdown in the Pacific Ocean by saying:

"This occasion offers a rare opportunity to use one of the most irritating comments ever made by a woman: 'I told you so.'

TRANSCENDS TRIVIA

"Therefore I am not going to say it, for our subject far transcends such trivia.

"This week we have seen one of man's grandest dreams become reality. In my husband's early life, it was a dream only. In his lifetime he brought it to a reasonable scientific hope, not widely shared in the non-academic community."

But with the splashdown, she said, "We have attained reality. We have brought the stars nearer."

WAS CLARK PROFESSOR

Dr. Goddard, a physics professor at Clark University, performed experiments in the 1920's and 30's that won him more than 240 patents, some awarded after his death in 1945. They are said to form the foundation of the science of rocketry today.

The audience of 200 or more at the luncheon, who were also addressed by Mayor John M. Shea and City Manager Francis J. McGrath, gave Mrs. Goddard a standing ovation.

After the luncheon, she was a guest of honor at a public celebration in front of City Hall, where a brass band and a cannon salute greeted the return of the three astronauts.

COMPANIES LAUDED

Before the gathering of about 100, Shea and McGrath congratulated seven Central Massachusetts companies that contributed parts or technology to the moon flight. Representative of the companies briefly described to the crowd what their firms contributed to the flight. Represented were Wyman-Gordon Co., David Clark Co. Inc., Sprague Electronic Co. Inc. and AVCO Corp.

After congratulating the companies, Mayor Shea said, "We of Worcester have other cause to be proud of this day, because years ago, in Worcester, a man conceived the first practical idea of the feat three astronauts performed today. We in Worcester are proud of Dr. Goddard, whose many hard, lonely hours of work made this great undertaking possible."

City Manager McGrath praised "the three brave astronauts who carried this mission to fruition—and the backup men, not only at Cape Kennedy but throughout the country, who proved, in contradiction to communism, what capitalism can do."

City Councilor George A. Wells told the young people who came to give Mrs. Goddard a sketch of her husband, presented in behalf of the Worcester Boys' Club, "Dr. Goddard was a product of the Worcester school system. You youngsters never forget that."

MET WITH SKEPTICISM

In her address to the Rotary club earlier, Mrs. Goddard said that when her husband first published his findings on jet propulsion, "He met with skepticism and indifference, even though, with Yankee caution, he publicly mentioned only the moon as a goal. Now that this has been attained, perhaps his further dreams, as found in his papers, may be met with less elevating of the eyebrows."

Mrs. Goddard then explained some of her husband's insights about travel to the moon, presented in a report which Goddard filed with the Smithsonian Institution in March of 1920.

Mrs. Goddard is now editing a collection of her husband's papers, which will include this document and others.

OUTLINED VISION

In this report, Mrs. Goddard said, "my husband outlined his vision of lunar and interplanetary travel and beyond."

As early as 1919, Mrs. Goddard said, her husband had foreseen "unmanned exploration of the moon with camera and instruments. The propellants would be liquid hydrogen and oxygen, and guidance in space obtained through small side jets.

"Since limitations of instruments would eventually become clear, manned explorations must then be undertaken."

"Today we are at this point in his plan," Mrs. Goddard said, "now may I read what he thought was to come?"

PASSAGES QUOTED

She then quoted long passages from the 1919 report in which her husband weighed the possibilities of using solar energy for interplanetary travel and intergalactic travel.

Goddard included in this part of the report a discussion of the possibility of using atomic energy as an earlier, better substitute for solar energy.

"It is perhaps worth emphasizing," Goddard wrote in his projection of "superspace" travel, that although a discussion such as this may seem academic in the extreme, it nevertheless poses a problem which will some day face our race as the sun grows colder."

He then explored the possibility of locating human beings on different planets near different suns.

There is a line in a song in "Finian's Rainbow," Mrs. Goddard concluded, "that goes 'I follow a fellow who follows a dream.' I am blessed to have seen part of his dream fulfilled today. I can do no less than to express the conviction that the rest will follow."

PRESENTED PICTURE

During the luncheon ceremony Mrs. Goddard was presented, on behalf of Richard C. Steele, president and publisher of The Worcester Telegram and The Evening Gazette, a color picture of herself standing in front of Clark University's new Goddard Library, which is dedicated to her husband. She was also given the plates from which the newspapers recently printed the text of her husband's three-page patent for his experimental rocket and the plates from which the graphic schema of the rocket was reproduced.

Gary Walsh of WTAG made the presentation.

MRS. GODDARD RELATES LATE HUSBAND'S IDEAS FOR BEYOND MOON AND PLANETS

(NOTE.—Text of Mrs. Goddard's speech at the Rotary Club luncheon yesterday:)

This occasion offers a rare opportunity to one of the most irritating comments ever made by a woman: "I told you so." There I am not going to say it, for our subject transcends such trivia.

This week we have seen one of man's grandest dreams become reality. In my husband's early life, it was a dream only: in his lifetime he brought it to a reasonable scientific hope, not widely shared in the non-academic community. In the past 10 years, as a result of the most efficient and effective mobilization of scientific, technological, and managerial talents ever assembled on this planet, we have attained reality. We have brought the stars nearer.

Robert Goddard had a hard base for his dreams. He was a Worcester product, from a family which took part in the early industrial development of this city. In the shed attached to his home was a tidy workshop, where he learned to work with his hands. A set of Cassell's "Technical Educator" was on the bookshelves. Worcester also furnished a first-rate scientific and technical education, and helpful cooperation from many business establishments, including ceramic nozzle linings from the Norton Company.

When at last he dared to publish his findings on jet propulsion, he met skepticism and indifference, even though, with Yankee caution, he publicly mentioned only the moon as a goal. Now that this has been attained, perhaps his further dreams, as found in his papers, may be met with less elevating of the eyebrows. In a report filed with the Smithsonian Institution in March, 1920, my husband outlined his vision of lunar and interplanetary travel, and beyond. First, of course, would come unmanned exploration of the moon with camera and instruments. The propellants would be liquid hydrogen and oxygen, and guidance in space obtained through small side jets.

Since the limitations of instruments would eventually become clear, manned explorations must then be undertaken. Landing on the moon must be without jar, by reducing the velocity so that it becomes zero when the surface is reached. He pointed out that such landings were certain to yield results of great scientific value, even aside from the question of interplanetary-communication.

SAW FURTHER

Today we are at this point in his plan. Now may I read what he thought was to come.

"It was intimated, at the beginning of the present paper, that a frank discussion would be made regarding the further possibilities of jet propulsion, together with such related matters as pertain to traveling great distances from the earth's surface. It is evident, from the calculations made regarding the use of solar energy in space, that the most extreme speeds will be produced by solar, rather than by chemical energy. This assumes that the energy of atomic disintegration will either not be producible in practical amounts, or will not be controllable by means involving small weight. These assumptions may not be warranted.

"If it is possible to utilize atomic energy, the matter of transportation would be comparatively simple, and a large body could be sent from the solar system, thus affording protection to the contents from meteors. In this case, living beings might be carried, the necessary light and heat being furnished by radioactivity.

"Further, atomic disintegration may open the way from the creation of what might be called artificial atoms, in which energy might be stored by many high-speed particles. This tremendous amount of energy could be liberated when these artificial atoms were broken up, or the particles were removed gradually.

"INTERGALACTIC TRAVEL

"If we pass from interplanetary space to superspace, this can only imply intersolar-system space, or perhaps intergalactic space. It is perhaps worth emphasizing that although a discussion such as this may seem academic in the extreme, it nevertheless poses a problem which will some day face our race as the sun grows colder, even though, by dint of jet propulsion, we succeed in moving sunward.

"The most desirable destination would be a planet near a larger sun or suns, so situated that the temperature would be like that of the earth, but where the cooling would be slower. The destination should be in a part of the sky where the stars are thickly clustered, so that any further migration would be comparatively easy, the stars preferably being hydrogen or new stars. Because of possible danger from meteoric matter, expeditions should be sent to all parts of the Milky Way, where new stars are thickly clustered. With each expedition should be taken as much as possible of all human knowledge, in as light, condensed, and indestructible a form as possible, so that the new civilization can begin where the old ended.

"CREW HIBERNATION

"Possibly the point open to greatest question is the matter of maintaining the crew safely at a very low temperature. It has long been known, however, that protoplasm can remain inanimate for great periods of time, and can also withstand intense cold. It may be necessary to evolve suitable beings through many generations."

There is a line in a song in "Finian's Rainbow" that goes "I follow a fellow who follows a dream." I am blessed to have seen part of his dream fulfilled today. I can do no less than to express the conviction that the rest will follow.

THE CAIRO CREDIBILITY GAP

HON. JOSHUA EILBERG

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 28, 1969

Mr. EILBERG. Mr. Speaker, it is a truism of warfare that few nations, defeated on the battlefield, will readily admit to its citizens the true facts of its crushing loss. The German war machine was not destroyed by the Allies in 1918, the German generals contended; rather, it was sold out by the actions of the civilian government.

Today, the Egyptian Government is using a similar ploy in regard to its warfare with Israel. While its army and air force suffer defeat after defeat, the Government, through its official voice, Radio Cairo, and the articles in the semiofficial newspaper Al-Ahram, continues to spew forth reports of crushing Arab victories.

In battle after battle, the Egyptians boast, it is Israeli planes which are shot down; it is Israeli soldiers who are killed; and it is Israeli fortifications which are destroyed.

None of these supposed victories can be or have been substantiated; they are merely figments in the imagination of the President of Egypt. Fabrications such as these, Mr. Speaker, have the effect of arousing the Egyptian masses to engage in further acts of terrorism; they in no way lead to peace.

Since it is imperative that a peaceful settlement be reached immediately by means of face-to-face discussions between the Israelis and the Arabs, it is incumbent upon us to reveal to the world the true purpose of these inflated boasts; that they are merely propagandistic lies which thwart the cause of peace.

President Nasser's speech, reported in the press on Wednesday, July 23, is a prime example of such a boast. The Arab States, cried the Egyptian President, are about to enter into the "liberation stage"; the period when the Arab armed forces will enter Israel and "liberate" the land from its rightful owners.

The effect of such a speech, Mr. Speaker, is quite obvious: it will lead to more bloodshed; it will result in a greater number of terrorist attacks; it will breathe new hatred of Israel into the minds and hearts of the Arab people; but it certainly will not lead to peace.

It is words such as these, words of destruction and death, which are uttered constantly by President Nasser; words of peace, however, are seldom heard.

On July 14, the Israeli Embassy, in an attempt to deflate the lies emanating from Cairo, issued a backgrounder entitled, "The Cairo Credibility Gap." In this brief report, the Israelis have presented for all to read the true facts behind Egyptian "victories" and the correct statistics concerning Israelis and Egyptian ground and air losses.

Let me cite one example. Egyptian sources contend that the Israeli Air Force has lost 33 planes in the 4-month period between March and July 14, 1969. During the period covered by the report, from the June war of 1967 until July 14, 1969, Israel has, in fact, lost only three of its planes, all to Egyptian antiaircraft fire while Egypt has lost 28 of its aircraft, 22 in dogfights and six to antiaircraft fire.

In subsequent air battles over the Suez Canal, Mr. Speaker, the Egyptians have continued these fanciful boasts. Since July 14, reports Cairo triumphantly, no less than 30 Israeli planes have been downed. The true facts, however, are these: Israel has, in actuality, lost only two planes, while Egypt has lost 11.

In order to dispel the entire slate of Egyptian myths, I should now like, under unanimous consent, to submit this statement, "The Cairo Credibility Gap," for inclusion in the RECORD, as follows:

THE CAIRO CREDIBILITY GAP

1. A study of Egyptian communiques and official statements over the past two years leads to the conclusion that the armed forces of Israel must be reeling from defeat to defeat. Cairo's inventory of Israeli losses along the Suez Canal for the single period of March 3–July 10, 1969, reads as follows: 104 dead (plus additional reports of "numerous killed", with no numbers specified); 140 tanks destroyed, 66 vehicles destroyed, 79 observation posts destroyed, 29 gun and mortar batteries silenced, 2 anti-aircraft battalions and 7 missile positions silenced, and "large numbers of missile and artillery positions knocked out of action." Egypt goes on to claim the destruction of 4 army engineering units, 12 machine gun positions, 12 command posts, 12 regional administration centers, 7 arms dumps, "much engineering equipment", "numerous fortified shelters", and "many giant fires ignited".

2. *Nasser: 60% of Israel's Canal Fortifications Destroyed:* On May 1, 1969, President Nasser made the following declaration in his May Day address at Helwan, a suburb of Cairo (Radio Cario, 5/1/69, 17.04 hours GMT):

"The Israelis announced that they had built up a fortified line along the eastern bank of the Suez Canal; that they had named it the Bar-Lev Line and that the Egyptians could not demolish these emplacements . . . *War Minister General Fawzi informed me and the Cabinet last week that our armed forces have so far been able to destroy 60% of the Bar-Lev Line (applause). General Fawzi told us at the Cabinet that the armed forces will continue to implement their plan until they complete the destruction of the remaining 40% of the Bar-Lev Line (applause).*"

Two weeks later, the Egyptian press was able to report the destruction of the remaining 40%. On July 4, 1969, the Egyptian daily, *El-Akhbar,* announced that the destruction of the Bar-Lev Line "has finally compelled the Israelis to withdraw into the desert."

On May 6, 1969, foreign correspondents were invited to tour the Suez Canal fortifications on the Israeli side. They interviewed the soldiers, inspected the bunkers and reported the truth. Not one of the emplacements had been destroyed during the weeks of Egyptian shelling. (See, for example, the *New York Times,* May 7, 1969).

3. *Israel's Air Force "Bled White":* Every air skirmish ends in Egyptian victory according to Cairo communiques. These assert that Israel has lost to Egypt no fewer than 33 aircraft between March and July, 1969: 4 Mirages, 6 helicopters, 12 Pipers, "6 combat planes" (unspecified), "a jet" (unspecified), and 4 other unspecified aircraft. Add to these the alleged downings between June 1967 and March 1969, and the Israeli Air Force has, according to *Radio Cairo,* been almost "bled white."

Israel has, in fact, lost to date three aircraft to Egypt since the Six Day War:—two fighters and a Piper spotter plane shot down by anti-aircraft fire on July 25, 1967 and on December 1, 1967 and March 9, 1969 respectively. These planes were all shot down by anti-aircraft fire.

Egypt, on the other hand, has lost 28 combat aircraft, most of them MIG 21's, between July 4, 1967 and July 7, 1969. Twenty-two were downed in dog fights and 6 by anti-aircraft fire. Twelve Egyptian MIG 21's have been downed since May 1969. (See list ———).

4. *"Raids that Never Were":* The continuous violation by Egypt of the cease-fire agreement has elicited an Israeli response both along the cease-fire lines and deep inside Egypt proper. On 6 occasions since November 1968, Israeli commandos have struck at installations within Egyptian territory. Cairo has sought either to deny their having taken place or, when this has not been possible, to place the blame on lone Israeli aircraft. The Nag Hammadi raid of November 1, 1968, is a case in point. The *New York Times,* November 2, 1968, carried the following item, datelined Cairo:

"The United Arab Republic announced at dawn today that a single Israeli warplane had bombed a bridge and a power station in Upper Egypt, near Luxor. A communique issued from the Egyptian Supreme Military Headquarters said that the raid had occurred 10 PM yesterday."

The Israeli army communique, November 1, 1968, gave its version as follows:

"An Israeli army commando unit struck tonight at three targets in southern Egypt on the road between Cairo and Aswan, some 230 kilometres north of Aswan. The targets were a transformer plant and two bridges over the Nile. Our forces returned safely to base."

The *New York Times,* November 4, 1969, carried a report from the scene of the raid, Nag Hammadi, written by the *Times* Cairo correspondent, Eric Paco. The report states in part:

"More than a dozen residents of this sleepy area in Upper Egypt contend that helicopter-borne Israeli commandos, not Israeli bombers, caused the damage reported Thursday to a local dam, bridge and power station. An Egyptian officer flatly denied the reports of the residents, who today told their version of the incidents to Arabic speaking visitors . . . Colonel Ibrahim, a military commentator on television who sometimes serves as military spokesman, contended that the damage had been caused by a Israeli plane or planes using bombs, rockets and bullets. The visitors were not shown any bullets or bomb or rocket parts to support this contention. They were hustled out of the station after a short visit in the dark . . . After causing the damage the Israeli commandos disappeared into the night according to the residents who asked not to be identified for publication."

5. *Radio Cairo:* In a land of widespread illiteracy, where the people are dependent on village radios and on word-of-mouth facts that are too often fiction, the myths of the government-controlled *Radio Cairo* linger and are undoubtedly believed. Its stories on Israel are frequently hair-raising, sometimes comical. A random example of the type of news disseminated to the Egyptian people is this item monitored on July 6, 1969, 9.30 GMT. It reads:

"The Israel authorities have today cut off all water supplies to the Arab residents of Jerusalem in retribution for the Security Council resolution of July 3, (concerning Jerusalem). The aim is to compel the thirsty people to flee the city. The Jerusalem Arabs have expressed their determination not to give in to the Zionist terror tactics."

Foreign visitors by the thousands were in Jerusalem on that Sabbath day, among them foreign correspondents. Nobody reported the story. It was another myth.

6. *Nasser's Interviews:* President Nasser's natural propaganda skill has been attested to by foreign visitors to Cairo. He is graced with personal charm, is known to be keenly sensitive to the Western mood and thinking and is adept in measuring his words to audiences abroad. The Nasser interviews in the Western press carry passages that on the surface at least appear reasonable. Such passages never reach the Egyptian public. Without exception, every Nasser interview with a Western newsman is subjected to intensive editing and censorship before it is released for publication in the Egyptian press. Deleted or rewritten are any and every reference that might be interpreted as moderate or accommodating. This was true in the case of his interview in *Look,* March 10, 1968, his interview in *Newsweek,* February 10, 1969, his interview in the *New York Times,* March 2, 1969, and his interview in *Time* Magazine, May 16, 1969. In each instance the technique has been to doctor and rephrase the original text to make it conform to actual Egyptian policy.

A particularly significant and not atypical example is the Cairo treatment rendered to the *Look* interview (March 10, 1968). *Look* had asked Nasser whether he had perhaps been misled by suspicion and faulty information when, in 1967, he accused the U.S. and Britain of attacking his air force. He replied:

"You could say that, yes."

The Cairo press gave this as Nasser's reply to the same question:

"You may say so, but others say something else."

To this day the Egyptian public has not been told the truth and no doubt many still live with the fantasy that the Egyptian air force was destroyed by U.S. and British carrier planes.

7. *Al-Ahram Story:* One of Cairo's foremost propagandists is Heyseinan Heikal, a close confidant of Nasser and editor of the semi-official daily newspaper *Al-Ahram.* On February 19, 1969, the *New York Post* carried an AP dispatch datelined Cairo that read as follows:

"President Nixon has invited a 14 year old Egyptian girl whose father was killed in the 1967 Arab-Israeli war to visit him at the White House if she ever comes to the U.S., the semiofficial newspaper *Al-Ahram* said today. "The girl, Nagla Hilmy, sent Nixon a letter last month saying her father, Hedayat Hilmy, a pilot, was killed "with weapons America gave to Israel." Hilmy had piloted Nixon's plane when he visited Egypt in 1965, *Al-Ahram* said . . . "*Al-Ahram* said it would pay the girl's expenses for the trip she hopes to make during her school summer holidays."

The report quoted from President Nixon's reply to the girl's letter as follows:

"If we can achieve peace, fine men like your father will not be lost in future battles and instead, continue to contribute to the happiness of their families and the welfare of their countries."

The Washington Post, June 21, 1969, reported that Nagla Hilmy had arrived in Washington with her mother on June 19, 1969.

The facts are these: the late Hedayat Hilmy was not killed "with weapons America gave to Israel." He was not killed in the Six Day War, nor in any military action involving Israel. *Hedayat Hilmy was a transport pilot who lost his life in October 1967 when the Ilyushin-14 he was flying from Cairo to Alexandria collided with another Ilyushin transport. Al-Ahram*, September 8, 1968, carried his photograph and an obituary notice from the family, announcing the first anniversary of his death (according to the date of the Arabic lunar year). The notice gave details of a memorial gathering that was to be held on the following day in Cairo.

In an attempt to reap a cheap propaganda victory, *Al-Ahram* had shifted the scene and the date of the pilot's death. Whether the daughter knew the true circumstances of her father's passing—she was 12 years old at the time—is not known.

8. Prestige, Morale, Politics: The character and policy of the Egyptian propaganda machine has apparently changed little, if at all, since that time in June 1967 when Cairo fabricated the US-British mass attack on the Egyptian air force, invented an air victory involving the destruction of 167 Israeli planes, and told the world that Tel Aviv had been reduced to ruin. Relevant still are the words of the *Washington Post*, June 7, 1967, which spoke of Cairo's propaganda excesses in these terms:

"Fortunately, over the years, this cesspool on the Nile has so utterly destroyed its own credibility that truth itself would be rendered dubious by disclosure from such a polluted source. But a lying media of communication, even though notoriously unreliable, can work dangerous mischief in an inflammable situation. In a society where there existed independent sources of information, its capacity for evil might be diminished. But its monopoly multiplies its works of wickedness."

The monopoly control by the Cairo Government over the nation's mass media persists, as do the fantasies and the exaggerations. Considerations of prestige, morale and politics continue to take precedence over truth, with consequences that must, as they have in the past, prove grave to Egyptian society. In the words of the *Christian Science Monitor*, June 30, 1967, "The Arab Lands refuse to face facts and take haven in self-deceptions which will make it harder for them to face reality . . . They take refuge in fantasy, thereby only compounding their future difficulties.

EGYPTIAN AIR LOSSES SINCE SIX DAY WAR

4 July 67, Suchoy-7 downed by anti-aircraft fire at Raas Sudar.

8 July 67, MIG 21 downed in dog fight over Suez Canal.

11 July 67, Suchoy-7 downed by anti-aircraft fire at Romani.

15 July 67, 2 MIG 21's downed in dog fight over Suez Canal.

15 July 67, 2 MIG 17's downed in dog fight over Suez Canal.

15 July 67, Suchoy-7 downed in dog fight over Suez Canal.

15 July 67, 2 MIG 17's downed by anti-aircraft fire over Suez Canal.

28 August 67, Suchoy-7 downed by anti-aircraft fire over Suez Canal.

11 October 67, MIG 21 downed in dog fight over Suez Canal.

10 December 68, MIG 17 downed in dog fight in vicinity of Sharm-el Sheik.

8 March 69, MIG 21 downed in dog fight over Suez Canal (pilot captured).

14 April 69, MIG 21 downed in dog fight over Suez Canal.

21 May 69, MIG 21 downed by anti-aircraft fire over Suez Canal.

21 May 69, 3 MIG 21's downed in dog fight over Suez Canal.

23 June 69, MIG 21 downed in dog fight over Suez Canal.

26 June 69, 2 MIG 21's downed in dog fight over Suez Gulf.

2 July 69, 4 MIG 21's downed in dog fight over Suez Gulf.

7 July 69, 2 MIG 21's downed in dog fight in vicinity of Sharm-el-Sheik.

Total downed—28, of which 22 were destroyed in dog fights and 6 by anti-aircraft fire. Israel's losses during the same period on the Egyptian front were 2 fighters (25 July 1967 and 1 December 1967), and 1 Piper spotter plane (9 March 1969), all downed by anti-aircraft fire.

CAMPUS DISCIPLINING TOUGHER THAN BELIEVED

HON. WILLIAM A. STEIGER

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 28, 1969

Mr. STEIGER of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, there has been much discussion in recent weeks about the actions of college and university administrators with regard to the handling of student disorders.

Attorney General Mitchell and HEW Secretary Finch have made clear the strong belief of the Nixon administration that the administrative independence of colleges and universities is an essential element of the academic freedom which this Nation has always cherished for its institutions of higher education. Responsibility for the orderly maintenance of these institutions should not be preempted by any Federal agency.

Some have claimed that college administrators have not dealt adequately with the problem of disruptive student action. This view, it seems to me, is not correct and for the information of my colleagues, I am including at this point in my remarks, information which details some of the action which has been taken by colleges and universities throughout the country:

[From the Los Angeles Times, June 23, 1969]

DISCIPLINING ON CAMPUS TOUGHER THAN BELIEVED—COLLEGES HAVE BEEN FAR FROM SOFT IN DEALING WITH SOME DISSIDENT STUDENTS

(By John Kendall and George Kannar)

From the cradle of the student movement, UC Berkeley, to the nation's oldest university, Harvard, scores of campus disturbances this school year have prompted the question:

"Why don't they just throw the troublemakers out?"

The question implies an easy answer: get tough. The implication is that nothing is being done.

But the fact is, universities and colleges have disciplined scores, probably hundreds, with more than clucks of disapproval and slaps on the wrist. During the last school year, for example:

UC Berkeley dismissed 15, suspended 35, placed 160 on disciplinary probation in three disturbances and collected some $20,000 in fines for property damage. Those totals do not include possible action against 273 students involved in the "people's park" incident.

HARVARD TAKES ACTION

Harvard dismissed 3, "separated" 13 for periods up to two years, placed 20 on probation and warned 99 against future misconduct after 400 policemen were called to clear University Hall of protesters.

Stanford University suspended 14, placed 77 on probation and levied fines totaling $5,425 after demonstrators disrupted the Jan. 14 board of trustees meeting and occupied Encina Hall on May 1.

University of Chicago expelled 43 and suspended 81 for periods up to six quarters for a two-week building sit-in and an invasion of the Faculty Club. Police were never called.

Dartmouth obtained a court order to clear a seized building. When it was violated, 40 undergraduates were arrested by police. Thirty-six of them were sentenced to 30 days in jail. Campus disciplinary hearings were under way at the end of the school term.

FORTY-TWO SUSPENDED AT OCCIDENTAL

Occidental College suspended 42 students for the remainder of the spring term after they sat in the placement office to protest on-campus military recruiting.

San Francisco State College expelled 1, suspended 27, placed 10 on probation and issued letters of reprimand to 97 students in a tumultuous period marked by repeated use of police on campus.

San Fernando Valley State College placed 46 students on disciplinary probation after the takeover of the upper floors of the Administration Building Nov. 4. The college has reserved the right to review the cases of 27 of the students waiting trial on felony charges.

Expulsion, dismissal or suspension may seem minor to angry citizens. But to a student who may lose his 2-S draft status or financial support, or who may fail to graduate, these are not small matters.

What's happened at UC Berkeley illustrates the effectiveness of university discipline, in the opinion of Chancellor Roger W. Heyns.

He told the Comstock Club in Sacramento recently that in the past two years "only 32" of more than 350 disciplined students have committed a second violation and five have committed a third.

Heyns said the impression that UC Berkeley ignores discipline and enforcement of rules among its students is a "myth" which survives outside the campus.

In the four years prior to 1969, the chancellor reported, more than 350 Cal students were disciplined for rules violations, not including what he termed "beer, sex, and cheating" cases. (There have been only two of this traditional type at Berkeley, since Jan. 1.)

Today political activity is the principal reason for rule-breaking, not panty raids, and just as the reasons have changed, so have the uninversity's methods in dealing with violators.

Going—if not gone—are the days when the dean of students handled each discipline case like a parent, judging the student informally with a minimum of rules.

BECOMES SPECIFIC

Lately, rules have proliferated along with statements of the rights and responsibilities of students. Instead of vague commands against misbehavior, many colleges and universities have become specific in spelling out offenses, punishment and procedures.

Last month, the Board of Trustees of the California state college system amended general rules which said any student may be placed on probation, suspended or expelled for:

A—Disorderly, unethical, vicious or immoral conduct.

B—Misuse, abuse, theft or destruction of state property.

New rules list cheating, forgery, misrepresentation, obstruction or disruption, physical abuse, theft, unauthorized entry, sale or possession of dangerous drugs, possession or use of explosives or deadly weapons, lewd or indecent behavior and soliciting others to do an unlawful act.

The new regulations define "deadly weapon" as "any instrument or weapon of the kind commonly known as a blackjack, slingshot, billy, sandclub, sandbag, metal knuckles, any dirk, dagger, switchblade knife, pistol, revolver, or any other firearm, any knife having a blade longer than five inches, any razor with an unguarded blade, and any metal pipe or bar used or intended to be used as a club."

As the rules become specific and as the number and types of offenses increase, the procedure for dealing with violators becomes more legalistic, taking on the appearance of an adversary proceeding—a trial.

Changes in the students themselves help foster the trend toward legalization.

Increasingly distrustful of what they think is secrecy and behind-the-scenes maneuvering, many students demand that everything must be conducted in the open. Many want the procedures written down so they know how to defend themselves against charges.

But "openness" itself has a positive value for some of them. At Yale University, for example, "open decision-making" is one of the most appealing revolutionary rallying cries. Opening the disciplinary procedures somehow seems to lead almost inevitably to regularizing them, and eventually making them more formal and legalistic.

At UC Berkeley, regulations issued more than a year ago guarantee due process for the accused student, including right of counsel at an impartial hearing, safeguards against self-incrimination and an adequate summary of the hearing.

To William Van Alstyne, general counsel of the American Assn. of University Professors, the system becomes "more judicious" as it becomes "more judicial."

But not everyone agrees that legalism is good. State College Chancellor Glenn S. Dumke doesn't.

PROCESS COLLAPSE

"There is . . . a very real danger that student discipline on university campuses is being jeopardized by the imposition of administrative injunctions, providing attorneys for the prosecution and for the defense, the use of legal rather than academic vocabularies, etc.," Dumke said in a recent speech.

"Not only can such judicial trapping provide a false impression of due process, but they can seriously slow down that process to a point where it simply becomes inoperative."

At San Francisco State College, one of Dumke's administrative headaches during this school year, the usual disciplinary process collapsed when the student body president refused to appoint student members to a student-faculty committee.

Emergency procedures were invoked by acting President S. I. Hayakawa. He appointed an associate as the coordinator for internal affairs, charged with gathering information about violations and conducting hearings before panels of volunteer faculty members.

"We've sort of staggered along as best we could under tremendous handicaps," says a college spokesman. "We have tried to make it a fair system although it has not been satisfactory."

This fall San Francisco State administrators plan to use the same emergency system, unless the Academic State approves a new one.

At UC Berkeley, a new judicial system was proposed by a student-faculty Study Commission on University Governance. In a report, issued last year the group said.

"We, too, share the nostalgia for a community whose limited size and shared purpose permit it to dispense with rules and procedures. Reality compels the admission that such a community does not resemble the Berkeley of 1968."

The commission proposed that the central adjudicatory function of the university community should fall to a faculty-student Student Conduct Court, divided into a preliminary hearing division and trial division. The planners foresaw the occasional need for a campus review court.

They called for formation of a legal services board, an agency composed of law-trained faculty members and students. The board would prepare cases, supply advisors to students brought before the courts and assist the courts in resolving legal issues.

The commission's stated objective was to provide for a judiciary independent of executive or prosecuting functions and to create judicial and rule-making machinery which is broadly representative of all campus interests.

RULES COORDINATOR

So far, nothing has been done about the recommendations.

With one exception, UC Berkeley's disciplinary machinery remained largely the same through the university's recent troubles. A difference is the appointment of a coordinator of rules and facilities, separate from Dean of Students Arleigh Williams' office, whose task is to initiate cases according to the time, place and manner of rules infractions.

Cases which Dean Williams thinks are serious enough are heard by the Committee on Student Conduct, composed of five faculty and four student members.

Williams admits that the volume of cases has had a "serious impact" on the university's disciplinary machinery, but he says the Committee on Student Conduct continues "to meet the calendar."

"I feel our system is fair and a very wise system," he says. "I think it has handled discipline in a very capable manner. It is not lenient, nor is it repressive. It is a system that is able to provide proper justice for persons accused of violating the rules."

Not so, says Charles Palmer, UC Berkeley's student body president this year.

"I think there are tremendous problems here," he says. "Many of the structures are irrelevant. Discipline often appears arbitrary and not terribly consistent. Lots of people are tried for what they couldn't be tried for in court. It has become a political thing. Some people are disciplined and some are not."

In Palmer's opinion, the system is not representative. He says it is run by faculty members appointed by the chancellor and by students who are "not our peers."

Palmer's view is strikingly different from that of Pat Shea, a member of the Council of Presidents at neighboring Stanford.

"I think Stanford has made tremendous steps in community government and community respect for its own laws," the political science major said.

Stanford's new president, Kenneth S. Pitzer, agrees.

At his recent inauguration, Pitzer said the university's new system is intact but "seriously overburdened." But, he said, "We are gaining, rather than losing in this area. I hope for further progress next year."

"We are moving forward in rebuilding the understanding and confidence among the constituencies at Stanford."

Stanford has attempted to involve the entire campus community in determining what constitutes a community disruption, then engage each element further in solving the problem and applying disciplinary measures.

To accomplish this, a Committee of 15 last year recommended a new legislative and judicial charter.

The charter, approved by faculty, students and administration members, places primary responsibility for enforcing campus rules in the Stanford Judicial Council, composed of four students and five faculty members.

Two other new groups were formed: a 65-member Academic Senate, small enough to discuss major topics, and a five-member Faculty Consultative Group for Campus Disruptions to provide a continuous link with the faculty during crises.

Then, last fall, acting President Robert J. Glaser promulgated a new policy on campus disruptions. Generally, it makes it a violation of university regulations for a faculty member, staff member or student to prevent or disrupt normal university functions or obstruct the legitimate movements of individuals on campus.

The policy was approved by the student legislature and Academic Senate.

Thus, by the end of 1968, Stanford faced the new year with a policy on disruption, a community-approved judicial process to enforce that policy and new means for student-faculty participation.

How well the new system worked is pointed out in a recent report by Gerald Gunther, a nationally prominent professor of constitutional law at Stanford and a member of the university's Faculty Consultative Group.

NEW MACHINERY

Gunther recalled that in May, 1968, students occupied the Old Student Union Building to gain amnesty for seven students disciplined for attempting to disrupt CIA recruiting. Subsequently, the Academic Council voted in favor of amnesty for students involved both in the original disruption and the sit-in.

Last month—a year later—when students occupied Encina Hall the new machinery began to work. Within an hour of the 1 a.m. occupation, the Dean of Students and 15 faculty members had entered the building to certify that a disruption existed and to ask demonstrators both to leave and to identify themselves. Identification was begun, and after consultation with the Faculty Consultative Group, a decision was made to call police.

At 7:30 a.m. more than 100 Santa Clara County sheriff's deputies arrived. As previously planned, faculty members entered the building with each arrest team.

Their purpose, according to Gunther, was to encourage students to leave, to prevent fear of police attack, to prevent misunderstanding afterward concerning what happened and "to give pause to those demonstrators who had hoped to follow the policy of radicalizing more students by provoking actual or apparent police brutality."

The sit-in protestors chose to leave Encina Hall voluntarily. Seventy-eight demonstrators were identified and placed on immediate temporary suspension and Stanford obtained a court order to restrain further disruptions.

The Judicial Council has recommended, and President Pitzer approved, suspension for 14 of the demonstrators and probation for 48 others. The suspensions are the first such mass penalty at Stanford in more than 20 years.

ACTION ENDORSED

The day after the Encina Hall sit-in the Academic Council virtually unanimously endorsed the action of Pitzer and the provost.

Gunther says it would be "utter foolishness" to imply that Stanford has arrived at permanent campus peace.

"But," he says, "the important thing to see is that the administrative methods used and the attitudes of the Stanford community have undergone fundamental and pervasive changes.

"While no one is happy with the resort to police force—least of all the president and provost—the contrast in community support with the earlier sit-in and with results of many other campuses is marked.

"The university has learned new and more effective procedures for dealing with disruptions and the university community, while far from united on the issue, has worked together in enforcing its policy."

Van Alstyne of the American Assn. of University Professors, who recently taught at Stanford, says he knows of no other institution that "has done as much as Stanford to make its internal processes work."

He estimates, however, that perhaps a hundred universities and colleges have revised or are revising their disciplinary procedures because the volume and gravity of student disruptions have disclosed the weakness and arbitrariness of their machinery.

One school, Cornell University in Ithaca, N.Y., found its traditional disciplinary procedure painfully inadequate this year. In fact, the issue at Cornell which prompted disruptive student action was the disciplinary system itself.

In April black students, armed with shotguns, occupied an administration building to protest alleged arbitrariness of Cornell's all-white disciplinary structure, which had just recommended punishment for five black students involved in an earlier incident.

James Perkins, Cornell's president, agreed to drop the charges if the students would leave the occupied building peacefully. They did, but two days later the faculty repudiated Perkins' compromise and continued proceedings against the five students.

Two days later, with the specter of armed violence hanging over the campus, and with a member of the Black Students Union declaring over national television that "Cornell University has just three hours to live," the faculty changed its mind and stopped proceedings against the students.

In the end, no one was punished for anything by the university, although a handful of white SDS members face civil trespassing charges.

Cornell has decided not to discipline its students until it has a comprehensive plan for revision of the disciplinary system. A special committee set up to study the problem is expected to release its report soon. Meanwhile, only routine "beer, sex and cheating" cases are being handled.

At Harvard, the Faculty of Arts and Science approved the university's recent penalties for seizure of University Hall by a 342 to 29 vote, and adopted a resolution which said:

"We recognize the need to formulate, in the near future, a document that will emerge from the widest discussion within and will reflect a wide consensus of all members of the Harvard Community.

"This statement shall apply equally to students, to officers of instruction and to officers of administration."

In an interim statement, the Faculty of Arts and Science listed activities regarded as incompatible with the purpose of the academic community. They included:

Violence against any member or guest of the university community.

Deliberate interference with academic freedom and freedom of speech (including not only disruptions of a class but also interference with the freedom of any speaker invited by any section of the university community to express his views).

Theft or willful destruction of university property or of the property of members of the university.

The faculty members recommended appropriate discipline, including expulsion, dismissal, separation or requirements to withdraw.

Dartmouth has taken a similar approach during the past 18 months to establish college guidelines by community consensus.

If any campus communities are reluctant to deal with disciplinary problems, there are plenty of legislators from the state capitals to Washington, D.C., to prompt action.

Colorado has a new law providing penalties of up to $500 in fines and jail sentences up to a year, or both, for anyone interfering with the normal functioning of a college or university.

Ohio requires colleges and universities receiving state support funds to adopt regulations for the conduct of students, faculty members, staff members and visitors.

Between 80 and 100 proposals to deal with campus disturbances were introduced this session in the California Legislature.

Knowledgeable observers expect the proposals will be winnowed to two compromise bills—one dealing with changes in the penal code and one with the education code.

Perhaps the most striking provision in the penal code bill may be a proposal requiring a 10-day mandatory jail sentence for the second conviction of an unlawful act during a campus disturbance. A third conviction would bring a mandatory 90-day jail term.

SUMMARY OF DISCIPLINARY ACTIONS TAKEN BY SELECTED UNIVERSITIES IN CASES OF STUDENT UNREST

Dartmouth College—40 students jailed for 30 days, fined $100 each for failure to abandon occupied building.

Stanford University—78 students placed on temporary suspension pending hearings, after seizure of building. After hearings, 14 suspended, 48 placed on probation. Fines totalling $3525 levied.

University of California—(All campuses.) A total of 458 disciplinary actions, including 8 dismissals, 71 suspensions, for period Sept. 1967–Dec. 1968.

University of Kansas—56 students disciplined, including 33 suspensions, 13 delayed degrees.

University of Colorado—2 students expelled, action pending against four others after disruption of speech by Hayakawa.

University of Chicago—Action taken against 165 students after sit-in at administration building. Of these 42 were expelled, 85 suspended.

Duke University—48 students placed on year's probation for seizing administration building.

Columbia University—Action taken against 500 students in wake of last spring's troubles. 300 have been censured or placed on probation, 26 suspended.

State University of New York at Stony Brook—21 students jailed for 15 days after library sit-in, action pending for 68 for same incident. 12 others facing charges for interfering with civilian recruiter.

Occidental College—42 students suspended for sit-in protesting on-campus military recruiting.

San Francisco State College—One student expelled, 27 suspended, 10 placed on probation, 97 reprimanded for last year's disturbances.

San Fernando Valley State College—46 students placed on disciplinary probation after seizure of administration building. Felony charges pending for 27 others.

Harvard University—Three students dismissed, 13 separated for up to two years, 20 placed on probation, 99 given warnings in wake of University Hall seizure. 199 were arrested.

Univ. of Miami (Coral Gables, Fla.) 14 students arrested May 14, 1968.

Southern Univ. (New Orleans) 23 students arrested April 9, 1969.

Univ. of Illinois (Champaign) 244 students arrested September 9, 1968.

Univ. of Illinois (Chicago) 22 students arrested May 8, 1968.

Ohio Univ. (Athens, Ohio) 21 students arrested November 26, 1968.

U. of Conn. (Storrs, Conn.) 16 students arrested December 26, 1968.

Roosevelt Univ. (Chicago) 50 students arrested May 8, 1968.

Purdue Univ. (Lafayette, Ind.) 41 students arrested May 21, 1968.

So. Car. State College (Orangeburg, S.C.) 30 students arrested February 7, 1968.

Grambling College (Grambling, La.) 22 students arrested October 26, 1967.

Dartmouth College (Hanover, N.H.) 54 students arrested May 7, 1969.

Fisk Univ. (Nashville, Tenn.) 303 arrested April 1968.

George Washington Univ. (Washington, D.C.) 5 students arrested April 24, 1969.

Vorhees College (Denmark, S.C.) 25 students arrested April 29, 1969.

Univ. of Wis. (Madison, Wis.) 39 students arrested February 1969.

Oshkosh State Univ. (Oshkosh-Wis.) 102 students arrested November 21, 1968.

Queens College (New York) 39 students arrested April 1, 1969.

Ohio State Univ. (Columbus, Ohio) 34 students arrested June 4, 1968.

Kent State Univ. (Kent, Ohio) 53 students arrested April 16, 1969.

Central State Col. (Wilberforce, Ohio) 92 students arrested November 13, 1967.

Western Mich. U. (Kalamazoo, Mich) 37 students arrested April 4, 1969.

According to information presented to the Special Subcommittee on Education of the House Committee on Education and Labor, the following is a breakdown of the use of various forms of action.

	Percent
Unrecorded	21.7
Agreed to Demands	4.4
Total	26.1
Injunction	2.2
Disciplinary Action	6.4
Campus Police	4.4
Outside Police	26.3
National Guard	6.4
Arrests	25.7
Use of Firearms	1.8
Total	73.9

The definition of student disorder is:

"Use of force, disruption or seizure of property under the control of any institution of higher education to prevent students or officials from engaging in their duties or pursuing their studies."

The point that I wish to make is that it is apparent that universities and colleges do respond to student disorders and the bulk of unrecorded actions were nondisruptive within the context of the definition.

CAPTIVE NATIONS WEEK

HON. JOSEPH G. MINISH

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 28, 1969

Mr. MINISH. Mr. Speaker, this month we mark the 11th anniversary of Captive Nations Week. Since 1959, when President Eisenhower issued a Presidential proclamation to observe the event, Captive Nations Week has served as a valuable opportunity for the citizens of the United States to demonstrate their solidarity with, and concern for, the enslaved peoples of Eastern Europe.

Over the past two decades, Communist tyranny has thwarted the legitimate aspirations for freedom and self-determination of the 100 million persons of Eastern Europe. Czechoslovakia provides the latest evidence of the brutal character of Soviet hegemony. From that tragedy, however, the world learned once more that the freedom-loving peoples in Communist dominated lands have not despaired. Despite 20 years of repression, they continue to look to the day when they will at last be able to exercise their fundamental rights free of Soviet interference.

Mr. Speaker, by our annual observance of Captive Nations Week, we assist in keeping the light of freedom burning brightly in the hearts of the people of Eastern Europe. These brave individuals know the United States as the world's citadel of freedom. We must continue to support them in their difficult quest for self-government with freedom and justice.

CIVIL SERVICE RETIREMENT FINANCING AND BENEFITS

HON. CLARENCE E. MILLER

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 28, 1969

Mr. MILLER of Ohio. Mr. Speaker, I fully support measures to improve the inadequate financing of the civil service retirement system. It is imperative that confidence be maintained in the actuarial soundness of the retirement fund so that millions of Government employees and their families can be assured that money will be available to pay retirement annuities and survivors' benefits when they come due.

The American voters are already outraged, and justifiably so, about the 41-percent congressional pay increase that was run through this body earlier in the year over the strong objections of those of us who condemned the fiscal irresponsibility and political skulduggery acquiesced to by the silent majority of Representatives who are supposed to express the will of the people.

Just a few weeks ago this body passed legislation to temporarily extend the income tax surcharge which will continue the tax drain on our already overburdened wage earners and small businessmen. There was little question that extending the surcharge was a financial necessity to help hold the line against ruinous inflation and to prevent further rises in already unacceptably high interest rates.

When the Congress has made such demands on the American taxpayer, I cannot in good conscience vote for a measure to liberalize the retirement benefits of myself and my colleagues. When we force economic austerity on the Nation as a whole, we should not then liberalize our own benefits to be financed out of tax dollars.

I supported the amendments to strike from the bill the liberalizing retirement benefits for Congressmen. Unfortunately, those amendments were rejected; I, therefore, had no choice but to vote against final passage of the bill.

It may be construed that my vote is opposed to correcting the inadequacies of the retirement fund for civil service workers. As I have explained, this is certainly not the case. I fully support necessary measures to establish financial security for civil service employees retired now or in the future. But I cannot vote for any bill that increases financial benefits for Members of Congress, such as H.R. 9825 provided.

PAINTERS AS COMMUNITY LEADERS

HON. RICHARD D. McCARTHY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 28, 1969

Mr. McCARTHY. Mr. Speaker, I would like to take this opportunity to praise the work of the Painters Council, District 4, AFL–CIO, of Buffalo and western New York, in providing community leadership in the Buffalo metropolitan area. Under the able direction of Mr. Kenneth C. Carlucci, business manager of district 4, the Painters Council plays a vital role in a wide variety of civic tasks. Through direct contributions of money, through organization and labor, and through business management the Painters Council is helping to make Buffalo a better city to live in.

The council is taking the lead in arranging and managing a $10 million housing project on Buffalo's waterfront. It has painted innumerable public buildings free. It contributes to such worthwhile projects as a Girl Scout's camp, a dining room at the Crippled Children's Guild, and the Philharmonic Orchestra drive. And it leads the drive to send Christmas gifts to American servicemen in Vietnam.

In the fullest sense, Mr. Carlucci and Painters Council, District 4, are part of the Buffalo community. Without their leadership, Buffalo would be a poorer place to live. I would like to add my praise to that of the other citizens of Buffalo for the standard of excellence set by Mr. Carlucci and his associates. I am inserting in the RECORD for the further information of my colleagues an article by Anne McIlhenney Matthews, appearing in the Buffalo Courier-Express of June 26, 1969, describing the work of the council:

PAINTER'S CIVIC TASKS HAILED

(By Anne McIlhenney Matthews)

If all unions emulated the Painters Council, District 4, AFL–CIO, of Buffalo and Western New York all headaches and many of the problems in community relations would disappear.

"Bits and pieces" (as the British press puts it) have seeped into the news and into the consciousness of the community concerning what the council has done, is doing, and plans to do, but when you put them all together and assemble a whole story of the big "package" of the council's local enterprises it is big enough news to merit national and worldwide recognition.

The logical man to tell the story is Kenneth C. Carlucci, business manager of the council and therefore chief administrator of its endeavors. Carlucci succeeded James H. Wolford in this job six years ago when Wolford was promoted to general representative of the Brotherhood of Painters.

The biggest piece of news community enterprise-wise is that the council plans to get into big-time realty business as have other unions in the nation, notably like that of the restaurant-hotel employes union in Chicago. The council hopes to erect a $10 million, middle-income and luxury housing project on Buffalo's waterfront, west of the Marine Dr. apartments, east of the Thruway and on the man-made island that is projected by the city and state in their plans. A letter of intent has been sent by the council to the state director of urban development, Edward Logue, and the council is now awaiting the "go-ahead" to complete plans contingent on the preliminary site work to be done by the city and the state.

Under the plan the state will provide 93 per cent of the money for the housing complex but the council will provide the seed money and managed and administered the enterprise. The project calls for 2,500 housing units for middle- and luxury-income tenants.

Many of the council's community activities stem from collaboration by union painters and area contractors on a program created by both but administered by the painters council. This is a community "involvement" in its deepest sense, financed by a portion of the hourly wage of every union painter which goes into a fund. The "contributions" are forever lost to the individual painter and constitute a giant finance pool for charitable endeavors.

Last year this fund was tapped for a pledge of $1,500 for a pops concert to help put the philharmonic drive over the top. In other recent years union members have painted the Catholic Pamphlet Society in Fillmore Ave.; the West Side Rowing Club; Neighborhood House in Lemon St.; the Girl Scout Camp Aloha in Wales Center; the Children's Dining Room at the Crippled Children's Guide, 936 Delaware; and they have cooperated for the last five years with the Clean-Up, Paint-Up Week doing one major project each year.

In this connection they painted the Wilcox Mansion, scheduled to be a National Historical Shrine; all the Police Athletic League centers; and last year the old Warner Brothers Bldg. on Franklin St., now the head office for the Assn. for Retarded Children.

For the last three years they have sponsored and contributed prizes to an annual Christmas Lighting Contest for the best decorated homes.

For the last two years they have spearheaded a project of Christmas gifts for servicemen in Vietnam, sending more than 2,000 each year.

"We always hope we will never have to do it again," Carlucci said.

Immediately after the *Pueblo* crisis, the council bought 1,000 automobile bumper stickers from Cmdr. Bucher's wife and distributed the reminder, "Remember the *Pueblo*," among its membership.

Each Christmas they have a party in honor of the Buffalo Bills and their families at Leisure Land in Hamburg. To this they add their own families, plus a guest list of 200 orphans or retarded children. The evening is replete with gaiety, autographs from the Bills, games and gifts for every child. This now is agreed on as an "annual affair."

For the last five years they have bought a block of 25 seats at every Bills home game and each Sunday they have escorted a different group of retarded children to the stadium. Two summers ago they bought out the entire stadium for a special Bisons game and gave the tickets to Neighborhood Houses, boys clubs, and other such activities in the inner-city.

They have fun doing this too! They have taken groups of 50 senior citizens to the circus, realizing that the Big Top is not just for kids. Several weeks ago they took 19 nuns (the Felician Sisters from Villa Maria College) to the Hamburg Raceway for dinner and a night at the races. Carlucci regrets that the painters escort didn't profit from prayerful guidance. The sisters "collected" on every race and all were winners on the "natural," a filly named "Sister Blue."

For the last two years they also have awarded two scholarships of $1,000 annually to children of union contractors and painters in the name of the James H. Wolford Scholarship Fund.

Both Wolford and Carlucci were cochairmen with Msgr. Franklin Kelleher of the Golden Gloves tournaments in recent years and the council has painted the old kitchen and auditorium of the Working Boys Home in Vermont St.

There are many more "bits" among the "pieces."

The council sponsored many bowling teams both for adults and youth; double A and midget baseball teams; midget football and touch football for adults, and dozens of other recreational programs.

One of their own personal projects also has vast community impact. This is the Painters District Council No. 4 complex at Virginia and Elmwood. One building is for the retraining of journeymen and apprenticeship training. One being completed will be a headquarters office building.

Long an "eyesore" corner featuring a dilapidated gas station and cleaners store with the upstairs rooms constantly raided by police as a bookie joint, the council wanted to buy the whole block bordered by Elmwood, Virginia, Mariner and Allen, tear down all of the houses which are in various stages of disrepair and erect a modern housing project for low and modern income tenants. The city blocked the endeavor with a ruling that it violated some sort of code endorsement.

However, it is still a council "dream" ardently backed by Allentown Village members.

After a recapitulation such as this one wonders where the man at the helm finds time to do all these things. But the adage "ask a busy man" applies particularly to Carlucci because "in addition" he is chairman of the Allocations Committee of the United Fund; on the state Joint Legislative Commission's Social Studies and Civil Service Committee; on the Regional Planning Committee of the State Legislative Commission; on the Executive Board of the AFL Central Body and also on its Port Council; vice president of the New York State Painters Conference; former executive secretary of the Town of Tonawanda Heart Drive and a director of the town's March of Dimes; past commander of Amvet Post 59; member of the Disabled Vets and the Loyal Order of the Purple Heart; life member of the Crippled Children's Guild, etc.

The "etc." means that he also is active in church work and, like Wolford who is noted for singing The Star Spangled Banner at local functions, he studied music with Miss Julia Mahoney at the Community Music School.

And, yes, I couldn't resist the cliche! I asked him what he does in his spare time!

NATIONAL GALLERY OF ART CALENDAR OF EVENTS FOR AUGUST 1969

HON. JAMES G. FULTON

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 28, 1969

Mr. FULTON of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, it is a real pleasure for me to place in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the Calendar of Events of the National Gallery of Art for the month of August 1969.

We in Washington are fortunate to have this excellent gallery in our Nation's Capital and I urge my colleagues, as well as visitors and citizens of Washington to visit the gallery and see their fine exhibits. The calendar follows:

NATIONAL GALLERY OF ART, AUGUST 1969

LABOR DAY FILM

Moulin Rouge, the award-winning film based on the life of the nineteenth-century French artist Henri de Toulouse-Lautrec and starring José Ferrer. Lecture Hall at 4:00 p.m. and 7:00 p.m. on Sunday and at 2:00 p.m. on Monday of Labor Day weekend. Running time is two hours.

SUMMER FILM LECTURES

A series of eight lectures combined with films and dealing with the history of art from ancient times to the present day. All programs presented by National Gallery staff lecturers on Sundays at 4:00 p.m. in the Lecture Hall. Continues through August 24.

AMERICAN NAIVE PAINTING

111 Masterpieces of American Naive Painting from the Collection of Edgar William and Bernice Chrysler Garbisch continues on exhibition in the ground floor galleries. Selection includes *Flax Scutching Bee, General Washington on White Charger (Jack)*, and one of the famous scenes of the *Peaceable Kingdom* by Edward Hicks. Fully illustrated catalogue with foreword by John Walker and preface by Lloyd Goodrich, 9½" x 8½", 160 pages, 55 color plates, 56 black-and-white illustrations, $3.50 postpaid.

JOHN CONSTABLE

An exhibition of 66 paintings by Britain's foremost landscape artist, selected from the collection of Mr. and Mrs. Paul Mellon. Studies of sky and clouds, portraits, and a group of landscapes including the incomparable *Hadleigh Castle*. Fully illustrated catalogue with introduction by John Walker and notes by Ross Watson, 10" x 7½", 64 pages, 66 black-and-white illustrations, $2.50 postpaid.

RECORDED TOURS

The Director's Tour. A 45-minute tour of 20 National Gallery masterpieces selected and described by John Walker, Director Emeritus. Portable tape units rent for 25¢ for one person, 35¢ for two. Available in English, French, Spanish, and German.

Tour of Selected Galleries. A discussion of works of art in 28 galleries. Talks in each room, which may be taken in any order, last approximately 15 minutes. The small radio receivers rent for 25¢.

GALLERY HOURS

Weekdays 10 a.m. to 5 p.m. Sundays 12 noon to 10 p.m. Admission is free to the building and to all scheduled programs.

CAFETERIA HOURS

Weekdays, 10 a.m. to 4 p.m., luncheon service 11 a.m. to 2:30 p.m. Sundays, dinner service 2 p.m. to 7 p.m.

MONDAY, JULY 28, THROUGH SUNDAY, AUGUST 3

Painting of the week: Giovanni Bellini. *The Feast of the Gods* (Widener Collection) Galley 22 Tues. through Sat. 12:00 and 2:00; Sun. 3:30 & 6:00.

Tour: *Introduction to the Collection*. Rotunda; Mon. through Sat. 11:00, 1:00 & 3:00, Sun. 2:30 & 5:00.

Sunday film lecture: *Art of the Seventeenth Century; Speaker:* Carleen Keating, Staff Lecturer, National Gallery of Art, Lecture Hall 4:00.

Sunday film: *The American Vision*, 1:00.

Weekday films: *The National Gallery of Art*, 2:00; *The American Vision*, 4:00.

11" x 14" reproductions with texts for sale this week—15¢ each. (If mailed, 25¢ each.)

MONDAY, AUGUST 4, THROUGH SUNDAY, AUGUST 10

Print of the week: John James Audubon. *Columbia Jay* (Gift of Mrs. Walter B. James) Ground Floor; Smoking Lounge, Tues. through Sat. 12:00 and 2:00; Sun. 3:30 and 6:00.

Tour: *Introduction to the Collection*. Rotunda. Mon. through Sat. 11:00, 1:00 and 3:00; Sun. 2:50 and 5:00.

Sunday film lecture: *Art of the Eighteenth Century; Speaker:* William J. Williams, Staff Lecturer, National Gallery of Art, Lecture Hall 4:00.

Sunday film: *The American Vision*, 1:00.

Weekday films: *The National Gallery of Art*, 2:00; *The American Vision*, 4:00.

Inquiries concerning the Gallery's educational services should be addressed to the Educational Office or telephoned to 737-4215, ext. 272.

MONDAY, AUGUST 11, THROUGH SUNDAY, AUGUST 17

Painting of the week: Hals. *Balthasar Coymans* (Andrew Mellon Collection) Gallery 47; Tues. through Sat. 12:00 and 2:00; Sun. 3:30 and 6:00.

Tour: *Introduction to the Collection*. Rotunda, Mon. through Sat. 11:00, 1:00 and 3:00; Sun. 2:30 and 5:00.

Sunday film lecture: *Art of the Nineteenth Century; Speaker:* Ann W. Kaiser, Staff Lecturer, National Gallery of Art, Lecture Hall 4:00.

Sunday film: *The American Vision*, 1:00.

Weekday films: *The National Gallery of Art*, 2:00; *The American Vision*, 4:00.

For reproductions and slides of the collection, books, and other related publications, self-service rooms are open daily near the Constitution Avenue Entrance.

MONDAY, AUGUST 18, THROUGH SUNDAY, AUGUST 24

Painting of the week: W. H. Brown. *Bareback Riders* (Collection of Edgar William and Bernice Chrysler Garbisch) Gallery G-10. Tues. through Sat. 12:00 and 2:00; Sun. 3:30 and 6:00.

Tour: *Introduction to the Collection*. Rotunda. Mon. through Sat. 11:00, 1:00 and 3:00; Sun. 2:30 and 5:00

Sunday film lecture: *Art of the Twentieth Century; Speaker;* Ann W. Kaiser, Staff Lecturer, National Gallery of Art, Lecture Hall 4:00.

Sunday film: *The American Vision*, 1:00.

Weekday films: *The National Gallery of Art*, 2:00. *The American Vision*, 4:00.

MONDAY, AUGUST 25, THROUGH SUNDAY, AUGUST 31

Painting of the week: Giorgione and Titian. *Portrait of a Venetian Gentleman* (Samuel H. Kress Collection), Gallery 21, Tues. through Sat. 12:00 and 2:00; Sun. 3:30 and 6:00.

Tour: *Introduction to the Collection*. Rotunda, Mon. through Sat. 11:00, 1:00 and 3:00; Sun. 2:30 and 5:00.

Sunday films: *The American Vision*, Lecture Hall 1:00; *Moulin Rouge*, Lecture Hall 4:00 and 7:00.

Weekday films: *The National Gallery of Art*, 2:00, *The American Vision*, 4:00.

FAIR LABOR STANDARDS ACT

HON. BENJAMIN S. ROSENTHAL

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 28, 1969

Mr. ROSENTHAL. Mr. Speaker, I am introducing today legislation which would repeal section 7(i) of the Fair Labor Standards Act. This section provides a special exemption from the overtime requirements of this act for certain, but not for all, commission salesmen employed typically in our larger retail stores. My bill would place all such salesmen on the same footing as other retail salesmen, including many commission salesmen, with respect to receiving overtime compensation.

The present exemption was included in the act in 1961 when Congress first extended the act's coverage to a substantial number of retail trade employees. Its inclusion at that time was considered desirable to avoid upsetting accepted practices in retailing when the industry was being required, for the first time, to adapt its pay practices to the provisions of the Federal law.

Certain safeguards were incorporated into the exemption such as a requirement that only highly paid commission salesmen could qualify for the exemption. In 1966, we amended the exemption in an attempt to clarify how it should be applied.

Since that time I have been in receipt of numerous communications from many of my constituents, as I imagine have other Members of the Congress, about the exemption. The complaints are first, that some employees are taking advantage of this exemption at the expense of commission salesmen; second, the exemption discriminates against the more productive salesmen; and third, that precise interpretations of the terms of the exemption are impossible, so that many employers are led, unintentionally, to violate the law. The 1966 amendment did not help to solve these problems.

In short, this exemption has proven, in practice, to be not only unfair, but unworkable. It should be repealed. That is what my bill would accomplish.

TIME FOR URBAN MASS TRANSIT

HON. FLORENCE P. DWYER

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 28, 1969

Mrs. DWYER. Mr. Speaker, it is a general rule of almost unexceptional validity that the longer public bodies delay in undertaking needed public action the higher the cost will be—not only in a financial sense but in social, economic, and political terms as well.

In the case of the Nation's neglected needs in the area of urban mass transportation, we have clearly reached the point where we can no longer afford further delay in committing ourselves to a meaningful effort.

This morning's New York Times describes the existing situation in the Metropolitan New York-New Jersey-Connecticut area, along with an article contrasting service in the Chicago area, and I include the articles in the hope that they will bring home more immediately to our colleagues the truly urgent character of the need.

The articles follow:

COMMUTER LINES AT CRISIS POINT—NEGLECTED FOR YEARS, RAILROADS SERVING CITY ARE FALTERING

No American city is as dependent on railroad commuter service as New York. But after decades of neglect, the state of the commuter lines has reached a point of acute crisis.

Last-minute cancellations of Long Island Rail Road trains are delaying and embittering more and more commuters every day. New Haven riders are finding their trains crowded, littered and late. The Penn Central is arguing with New York State's Public Service Commission over how to get badly needed cars for its Hudson and Harlem Divisions. And commuters throughout New York City's suburbs are wondering if they will be forced to pay higher fares for poorer service.

Perhaps the only plus in the metropolitan commuter rail situation is to be found in New Jersey, where two of the three commuter lines serving New York City are showing signs of improvement, in part through an infusion of state operating subsidies. But these gains have been made in a situation regarded as so unsatisfactory as not to afford much gratification to riders.

This picture has been drawn by The New York Times from interviews with rail officials, commuters and representatives of government and civic agencies concerned with the plight of the six railroads that bring a quarter of a million commuters into the city each working day.

Experts and observers say the inefficiency of metropolitan rail service spring from a variety of factors, including the need to turn from the railroads' long-term origins to rapid-service systems, an increase in vandalism over which the lines have little control, public indifference and a history of controversial management practices.

But increasingly the commuter who daily faces the threat of cancellations, breakdowns, overcrowding and long delays has been showing a lack of patience with such explanations.

"It's amazing what a stoic lot commuters have been," a New Haven rider remarked recently. However, this stoicism has been yielding to rage and activism.

T. David Reznik, a marketing analyst, doesn't ride the railroad to work these days—he walks the railroad to work. Instead of taking his regular Penn Central trains to and from Larchmont each day, he takes a variety of trains so he can go through the aisles distributing complaint sheets to his fellow passengers.

The printed sheets have blank spaces in which passengers can write in the number of "bulbs not working" and "fans not working" or the "minutes late" in arriving.

"I start in back and work my way forward, car by car," Mr. Reznik said. "The conductors keep threatening to arrest me." He said he had handed out 4,000 forms in the last three weeks, and the Federal Department of Transportation has been receiving the completed forms from passengers.

On Long Island, a drive is being organized to obtain 10,000 signatures on petitions asking for the removal of the top management of the state-owned Long Island Rail Road, and reports are current that Governor Rockefeller will seek the dismissal of the line's president.

Conductors are hearing more and more from angry passengers, and at least a few of them are growling back. Asked what the trouble was in a delay, one conductor told a fuming commuter recently: "I'll write you a letter."

Passengers are expressing a rising anxiety over railroad safety, especially on overcrowded trains. They suffer and swelter in cars with sealed windows when air-conditioning fails. With cinder blocks dropped on trains from overpasses and sharp rocks flung at windows by vandals, some riders feel like moving objects in a shooting gallery. Executives do not know at what hour they will get to work and their wives do not know what time they will reach home at night.

Frederick A. Menes of Old Westbury, L. I., has been getting up at 5:30 A.M. every weekday, half an hour earlier than usual, to be certain of getting a train that will bring him in on time to his job as general personned supervisor for the New York Telephone Company.

Mr. Menes begins his morning anxiously listening to radio reports of rail delays on the Long Island Rail Road. What has been canceled today? Until recently he counted on catching a 7:26 train out of East Williston that was due at Pennsylvania Station at 8:12.

If the 7:26 has been scratched. Mr. Menes dashes for the 7:02, changing at Jamaica for a packed train that is scheduled to arrive in Manhattan at 7:55.

But even if the 7:26 is running, it is not at all certain that it will arrive on time. If another train has been canceled, the 7:26—normally an express after Jamaica—may add some local stops in Queens, and may lumber into Penn Station at 8:30 or 8:35.

Such frustrations have important implications for New York City.

Late arrivals to work mean costly lost time and scrapped schedules for the city's businesses. Suburbanites who turn to their automobiles add to the city's traffic, parking and pollution problems and swell demands for new expressways or increased subway facilities. State officials confront demands for subsidies or even railroad takeovers that would shift costs to all taxpayers, including city residents who never ride the commuter lines.

"It's getting to the point at which something's about to blow," said Barrie Vreeland, director of the transportation department of the Commerce and Industry Association. Mr. Vreeland's office has been receiving a stream of complaints from corporate personnel officers worried about late arrivals at work.

Ralph C. Gross, president of the association, described the rail problems as "detrimental to business expansion and economic growth" here because "most of the top and middle-level executives who work in New York live outside the city."

Urban planners are generally agreed that there is no more efficient, or potentially faster, way of moving large numbers of people from suburban or urban business centers than by rail. Yet in much of the nation, railroad passenger service largely has disappeared.

The Federal Urban Mass Transportation Administration says only five American cities still have regular commuter rail service: New York, Chicago, Philadelphia, San Francisco and Boston. Most cities now have auto-oriented transportation systems.

As a result, experts say that billions of dollars of public money have been pouring into expressway systems while only a few millions have trickled into capital improvements for commuter railroads.

As urbanization chews up fields and meadows near the city, executives are moving farther out into the suburbs, sometimes well beyond the 50-mile range, and that makes high-speed rail transit more necessary for them. But suburbanites who turn from trains to autos put pressure on for the building of more highways.

The Regional Plan Association, the nongovernmental research organization, notes that "the autos required to transport the equivalent of one trainload of commuters is about four acres of parking space—eight times the area of the main concourse at Grand Central Terminal."

Fundamental to the railroads' problem is the fact that they were not designed to do the job they are now doing. According to Robert W. Minor, senior vice president of the Penn Central, the lines were originally long-haul carriers and were not engineered for the short-haul, high-speed service required today.

Commuter railroads here do not have the equipment needed for rapid acceleration and deceleration in the short distances between suburban stations. And the stations themselves generally lack the high-level platforms needed for fast loading and unloading of passengers.

Efforts are beginning to be made to change all this through the introduction of new equipment, financing and major reconstruction, but the overhaul is going to take years, according to railroad experts. And they note that the transition itself is contributing to delays and breakdowns.

Those who nourish a hope that things will soon get better have little to go on but optimism, in the opinion of most rail specialists.

The Regional Plan Association pointed out that the commuter lines are largely based on "the investments made in capital rail equipment prior to 1929." The Depression discouraged investments, then World War II came along, and then the postwar automobile boom, with its corresponding decline in riders using the rails.

According to records of the Amercan Railway Car Institute, the trade association of railway car manufacturers, there is no continuing industry in the manufacture of self-propelled "inter-urban or commuter cars."

In 1969, said Walter A. Renz, the association's president, only 25 cars have been ordered for all the commuter lines in the nation.

"The cars cost so much because there are so few orders," he said. "It's no secret that the railroads detest these passenger runs, and I haven't seen any real commuter car business for a long, long time."

Added to these problems are difficulties and prospects peculiar to each of the commuter railroads in this area. Some of these aspects are discussed on this page.

Long Island Rail Road

In the barnlike Dunton Electric Repair Shop in Jamaica, Queens, a score or more cars awaited repairs recently. There are commuters who believe that the true symbol of the Long Island line should not be Dashing Dan (which the railroad is phasing out), but these disabled cars.

Anthony F. D'Avanzo, general chairman of the Brotherhood of Railway Carmen, Lodge 886, says the members of his union have been working an average 24 hours overtime to catch up on a servicing backlog that has restricted railroad efficiency for many months.

Moreover, Mr. D'Avanzo says, the work strain accounts for high absenteeism and this compounds the problem of how to find enough cars to take 90,000 regular commuters and 40,000 others into and out of the city each day.

On June 26, its worst day, as many as 223 of the Long Island's 774 electric cars—both old and new—were out of service for inspection and repairs. Thirty-five of 363 diesel and other cars also were not in use. As a result 19 of the line's 631 trains for that day had to be canceled, and each cancellation affected about 1,000 riders.

This was not an isolated situation on the nation's biggest commuter railroad. On a recent Friday, nine morning and nine evening rush-hour trains were scratched from the schedule.

Such cancellations cause more than just inconvenience.

"The other day I was not just uncomfortable, I was physically frightened," a young rider said. "With passengers from one of the canceled trains, my train, normally crowded, was dangerously crowded.

"At Jamaica an elderly woman was pushed into the car and her arm got caught and she cried, 'My arm, my arm!'

"You know that small area up at the front of the train, where the door is open and all they have is a chain across the front? Well, in that little space about four feet wide there were, as far as I could count, 23 people wedged in. I had my hand up, holding the edge of the door and I could not get my arm down. I couldn't turn my body either way and I could move my feet about an inch in either direction.

I WAS SCARED

"There wasn't any question of taking tickets. Impossible. So the conductors rode outside on the catwalk of the engine. I felt trapped and smothered and helpless. Usually I am just so angry I could choke somebody, but this time I am scared."

The line says its last major report of on-time performance was 97.1 per cent for the 10-year period ending Dec. 31, 1967. For 1968, it says record was 89.9 per cent; for the first six months of this year, 89.3 per cent. These are over-all figures, however, and do not indicate the performance of individual trains.

Another major problem for the line, which originated from older railroads, is that its routes are now often well away from areas of population growth. The Long Island's more modern electric service, for example, ends its eastward thrust at Babylon on the south, Mineola and East Williston in mid-island, Port Washington on the north.

Since 1966, the line has been operated by the Metropolitan Transportation Authority, which was created by the Legislature. When the authority took over, the line was in bankruptcy. The following year it obtained a $30-million Federal grant for improvement and extension of its electric system. The authority is now extending electric lines, rebuilding roadbeds and building high-level station platforms.

ELECTRIC CARS ORDERED

The authority has also sought to replace most of its antiquated electric stock. A fleet of 620 electric cars was ordered from the Budd Company of Philadelphia for delivery by October, 1970.

The first cars arrived Dec. 23. Dr. William J. Ronan, chairman of the M.T.A., says this was 25 weeks later than he anticipated.

So far, 108 have been delivered. They have not performed well. There have been repeated electric malfunctions. Brakes have locked. Air-conditioning has failed. Trains have broken down at rush hours.

The M.T.A. stopped formal acceptance after the first 94 cars arrived. By July 1, 52 were out of service on one day. This has since been reduced to about 30 in a day.

Setbacks such as these have led at least one of Long Island's militant commuter organizations to demand the ouster of Dr. Ronan. But the beleaguered chairman has his defenders, including Governor Rockefeller, whom Dr. Ronan formerly served as a key aide.

"Those new Budd cars, if they had all worked, would have meant progress," Ralph Gross of the Commerce and Industry Association said. "As we understand it, Dr. Ronan had a choice of two courses; Either to go on pouring money into keeping old and worn-out rolling stock going or to stop doing that and to put the money into getting badly needed new cars.

"We think the planning was logical and had the time-table been adhered to, things would already have been better on the line. All those breakdowns were not Dr. Ronan's fault."

The Long Island Rail Road deals with 17 labor unions representing 6,500 of its 7,000 employes. The dates on which contracts expire vary among the unions. The line says they have higher wages and more favorable work rules than the national average. Nevertheless, labor friction has been frequent, including strikes and work slowdowns that at times have made commuting a nightmare.

Dr. Ronan says labor-management relations have been improving. This is his hope for restoring the rate of inspection and repair to the level at which it stood before a dispute last August with the carmen that led to a three-week labor slowdown.

As a result of the slow-down, inspections and repairs were delayed on 288 cars on a single day.

New Jersey Carriers

Anyone wishing to indulge a bout of nostalgia for the old days of railroading need not go to a railroad museum. He has only to go to Hoboken and board almost any Erie-Lackawanna commuter train.

Getting to Hoboken from New York City is the easiest part of the journey. On one of the hottest days of the year, at the height of the evening rush with the trains fully crowded, the Port of New York Authority's PATH cars were fully air-conditioned and completely comfortable. Next, however, the commuter boards an Erie-Lackawanna train.

"Well, I see they've got the heat on," a commuter grumbled as he boarded the 5:38 Boonton Branch train to Dover and sat in a car of great age that creaked as the train began its trip.

The 10 globe lights in the car—three of them out—afforded a very dim light and the blue paint on the ceiling and sides of the car was cracked and chipped, leaving large patches of rust.

The slow-motion fan in the center of the car could not have stirred tissue at eight feet, but the windows were wide open and a good breeze came in.

As the train got close to the end of its run, a conductor looked at a passenger and said, "Well, it won't be long now, thank heaven."

On summer days the sun can heat temperatures inside the line's old cars to extreme highs, but the railroad that calls itself "The Friendly Route" says its dependability is also lofty—98 and 99 per cent on time. Passengers, many of whom object to the line's old and dirty equipment, give it full credit for that.

SEVENTY THOUSAND JERSEY COMMUTERS

More than 70,000 commuters use the three major New Jersey railroads—the Erie-Lackawanna, the Jersey Central and the Penn Central. But as recently as 1967 both the Erie-Lackawanna and the Jersey Central were formally seeking to abandon passenger operations. It was then that they were put under the control of the State Department of Transportation.

David J. Goldberg, New Jersey's Commissioner of Transportation, said commuter traffic had increased on the three New Jersey railroads about 10 per cent since his department began operations in January, 1967.

The state pays operating subsidies to the Jersey Central and the Erie-Lackawanna, which is owned by Dereco, Inc., a holding company of the Norfolk & Western Railway. These subsidies are negotiated annually, $4.9-million and $4.5-million respectively for the year ended June 30. The Pennsylvania, together with others, gets state aid for equipment.

Mr. Goldberg said New Jersey had "purchased virtually all the coaches available around the country worth investing funds in to rehabilitate." Of 53 it bought from the Santa Fe Railway, 27 have been assigned to the Penn Central and 26 to the Erie-Lackawanna, some to start service in October.

But the outlook seems bleak for any large-scale modernizing of the lines.

William B. Hurd, assistant administrator of the Federal Urban Mass Transportation Administration, was asked: "With so few cars being built, isn't it probable that 5 and 10 years from now, commuters on the Erie-Lackawanna will be riding the same outdated cars they're riding now?"

His answer was, "I think so, yes."

For the Jersey Central, in receivership since April, 1967, the state has obtained an agreement that the Norfolk & Western and Chesapeake & Ohio railroads would acquire the line as part of their merger plan and include it in Dereco. But the merger is still awaiting Interstate Commerce Commission approval.

STATE LEASES LOCOMOTIVES

Mr. Goldberg says that 13 new locomotives the state has leased to the Jersey Central have helped improve on-time performance, which had been "very poor."

Long-range plans call for electrifying the Jersey Central lines. But for interim service, the N. & W. and C. & O. are to provide 50 air-conditioned and rehabilitated coaches acquired from other railroads.

The state is also rehabilitating 60 Jersey Central coaches and beginning to buy new equipment, including 35 speedy Jersey Arrow self-propelled electric cars for the Penn Central.

But Spencer Scheffling, the Penn Central passenger statistician, said the 26 Jersey Arrows now in service had encountered "most persistent problems" in power transmission, couplers and doors. On a typical day, 8 to 10 are out of service for part of the day, he said.

HARLEM AND HUDSON

Not all commuters are uniformly incensed by their experience. Arthur Feldman, who was born and reared in the Bronx and who recently moved to Croton-on-Hudson, has a different perspective:

"It's a lot better than the subways," he said. "I take the 6:30 a.m. train from the Croton-Harmon station. It never leaves at 6:30 and it runs 5 or 10 minutes late, but to me that's nothing.

"The windows are so dirty you can hardly see out of them, but when I was on the subways could I see out of the windows? To me, it's a dream. I get a seat. In the subways, if I got a seat, it was a miracle."

Other commuters, who have the choice of subway or train, agree with his view, and are willing to pay for the difference.

At 5:38 p.m. a local train leaves Grand Central Terminal for Yonkers and Glenwood by way of 125th Street and several intermediate stops in the Bronx. A single fare of $1.10 is charged everyone boarding the train, whether they go one stop or to the end of the run.

VANDALISM A PROBLEM

The other night, the train was nearly filled but there were only five riders left in it by Yonkers. The others had got off at earlier stops; all rode in preference to the subway.

But many of the 24,000 daily commuters of Penn Central's Harlem Division and the 12,000 commuters of its Hudson Division are hardly enthusiastic about the service they get.

Between April 1 and June 16, the Harlem and Hudson Divisions had 18 fires that delayed a total of 300 trains, according to the Public Service Commission. Fourteen of the fires were caused by vandalism.

Vandalism is but one problem confronting these lines and their growing number of riders.

In 1967, the Public Service Commission found a "noticeable deterioration" in service, including "deficiencies in track maintenance" and worn shock absorbers that made passengers feel they were "riding on a washboard."

In June, 1968, the commission ordered the upgrading of track and equipment and it limited electric engines to 50 miles an hour speed, instead of 60, while this was being done.

One consequence was that on-time performance for the 120 rush-hour trains declined from 81 per cent to 60 per cent, according to George E. McHugh, chief of the railroad bureau of the State Public Service Commission.

In June, the railroad said, its over-all on-time record was 87 per cent for its 340 daily suburban trains. The divisions are under orders of the Public Service Commission to maintain 80 per cent on-time performances for each of its trains every month.

The state commission also has ordered the Penn Central to buy or lease 80 new self-propelled, multiple-unit cars to replace its Harlem and Hudson electric fleet within two years. The Penn Central is strongly resisting this as requiring an uneconomic investment in "1918-type" service.

TELLS OF IMPROVEMENTS

According to Leonard W. Maglione, Penn Central's suburban service manager, the railroad has made a number of major improvements in Hudson and Harlem service.

In the last five years, he said, 79 more trains have been added each weekday. Since 1965, 34 new multiple-unit electric cars have been received, and 40 mainline passenger coaches have been refurbished and placed in commuter service for non-electrified areas, with 12 more due by Oct. 1. In addition, 22 locomotives with both diesel and electric power have replaced antiquated equipment on the Harlem Division.

Since fares were restructured, service on the divisions is "operating on approximately a break-even basis," as opposed to "large and increasing deficits" before 1962, the railroad said. This gain has been cited by the Penn Central in its hotly contested bid to restructure fares on the New Haven.

THE NEW HAVEN

Frederick Gilbert, vice president and general manager of Time-Life Broadcasting, takes the crowded 8:04 A.M. New Haven train from New Canaan, Conn. It arrived at Grand Central at 9:10 one recent day.

"My goodness," Mr. Gilbert said. "We're in right on time. What'll we do with the rest of the morning? It's too early for a martini."

There was a touch of hyperbole in his observation, but the New Haven's report on operations for the Monday-to-Friday train for a full month ended June 26 showed that not one run was completed on schedule. Only three of the 23 trains met the New York standard of on-time performance—arrival within 5 minutes of timetable.

Woodlawn, in the Bronx, is a frequent slowdown point on the line. The New Haven, alone of the commuter railroads, runs the same train on two different electrical systems. In Connecticut it draws power from an overhead line carrying 11,000 volts of alternating current. At Woodlawn it changes over to pick up power from a third rail. When the connection goes even slightly awry, it takes tinkering—and time.

Delays, breakdowns and overcrowding have angered New Haven commuters at a time when the railroad, to help with its basic financial problem, is bidding for a restructuring of fares on a portion of its suburban service.

Last Tuesday, the Public Service Commission barred the Penn Central, which operates the New Haven, from imposing the new fare structure on 14,000 of its 23,000 commuters until the agency could investigate the request. The following day officials of Westchester communities served by the line assailed what they said was unsafe and unsanitary equipment.

New Haven officials say no other railroad except the Long Island has had a higher percentage of its total revenue coming from passengers—42 per cent, as against about 6 per cent on most lines.

BANKRUPT IN 1961

Lacking enough freight income to offset passenger deficits, the New Haven went bankrupt in 1961. Plant and equipment deteriorated.

The Penn Central took over the line last Dec. 31 and says it found the overhead electric system "grossly deficient," with some wires that draw the power worn to one-fifth their original size.

Nearly 10 per cent—about 24 of 264—of the New Haven's cars were soon scrapped. Almost half of the locomotive fleet was found to be long overdue for overhaul.

The railroad reports that it is overhauling 50 of its 60 passenger locomotives this year. Six stainless steel coaches are being refurbished each month out of a fleet of 100; other coaches will be run until scrapping time. This and other refurbishing are causing shortening of trains.

Penn Central officials say they believe that in the immediate future the line's lateness record will get worse and may remain so for some time. In its first four months as a Penn Central division, the New Haven experienced a 5 per cent reduction in number of trains—and an 82 per cent rise in number of trains late.

The Penn Central attributes these delays to the deteriorized equipment it inherited and to its efforts to modernize it. Track upgrading and round-the-clock restoration of the overhead electrical supply have delayed trains.

Vandalism also plagues the New Haven. Twenty-seven hundred broken windows have had to be replaced since Jan. 1 at $100 a window. Some riders pull down window shades as a shield against shattering glass when riding through the city.

$20.4-MILLION GRANT

In 1967, the Federal Government made a grant of $20.4-million to cover the cost of 144 new cars and modernizing other New Haven line facilities. The grant, made through the Urban Mass Transportation Act, was made jointly to the Connecticut Transportation Authority and to the M.T.A. for these purposes.

But the grant depended upon certain agreements between the two states and the railroad that have still to be fulfilled, so the money has not yet been pumped into the ailing line.

The expectation is that the M.T.A. will buy the New Haven's right of way, stations, shops and power installations in New York State. The Connecticut authority would lease most such facilities in its state.

The two authorities would then contract with the Penn Central for the operation of the commuter service and, with the help of the Federal grant, would pay for the new cars and other improvements.

"This seems to be close to settlement," a Federal official said. But then he added:

"Of course, it will take some years to procure the cars and do the other fixing up."

CUBS ARE TOPIC A ON CHICAGO TRAINS—COMMUTERS, UNLIKE THOSE HERE, GET GOOD SERVICE

(By John Kifner)

CHICAGO, July 27.—The major topic of conversation among commuters on the Chicago & North Western Railway is not the Chicago & North Western Railway. The railroad's officials think that is fine.

While passengers in New York fume over service and rickety equipment, C. & N.W. commuters sit placidly in clean vinyl seats reading under fluorescent lights about the Chicago Cubs on smooth-running double-decker coaches that whisk them back and forth—on time.

Further, the company's three commuter lines—which carry 90,000 passengers between here and the city's affluent northern and western suburbs—are reporting profits of nearly $2.5-million a year.

It was not always so. Thirteen years ago, the lines—the second largest commuter service in the country behind the Long Island Rail Road—were losing $2.5-million a year and service was terrible.

UMBRELLAS NECESSARY

Some of the commuter cars in use then dated to the turn of the century. Windows were broken, doors came off, the cracked sheet-metal roofs leaked and passengers sat under their umbrellas in the rain.

Schedules were all but fictional and there were often unexplained stops. The cars were drawn by coal-burning steam engines that frequently broke down, and the cab once fell off an engine during a run. The employes were surly.

The turnabout began on April 1, 1956, when a group of disgruntled stockholders pressed for control of the company and succeeded in installing Ben W. Heineman, a 42-year-old lawyer, as chairman of the board.

Mr. Heineman and his new managers found the road a shambles. Repair facilities were outmoded, the management structure was confused, and the company was $212-million in debt and selling its rails for scrap in order to meet the payroll.

Within 40 days the old steam engines were replaced by diesels, not by buying new ones, but by the simple expedient of reassigning diesels (some were being used as switch engines) and running them more efficiently.

GAMBLE WITH LONG ODDS

Then Mr. Heineman decided to gamble that a commuter system could be run efficiently and could make money—a bet that no other railroad had won.

The Chicago & North Western began to invest $50-million, much of it borrowed, in an ambitious modernization program.

The most noticeable feature of the program is the line's fleet of specially designed stainless steel cars. Each coach seats a little over 160 passengers on two decks. The vinyl used inside makes keeping them clean an easy task.

Mr. Heineman discharged about a sixth of the line's employes and eliminated 22 passenger stops in the city that duplicated the municipal transit service.

Then, in 1958, the Chicago's & North Western adopted a new schedule of fares that instituted an increase and a new commutation concept.

UNLIMITED RIDES

Instead of weekly or monthly cards good for a set number of rides, with the prices varying widely, the new basic unit for the railroad became a monthly pass good for an unlimited number of rides.

About 30 per cent of the riders also use a plan under which the pass is automatically sent out to them before the beginning of the month and they are billed for it.

The innovations began to take hold, and by 1959, the line showed a small but satisfying profit of $30,000. Then the automobile expressways into the city were completed and the Chicago & North Western lost $2-million in 1961 and 1962.

But the railroad picked up the passengers from three other commuter lines that folded because of the expressways and then began to win passengers back from the automobiles.

ATTRACTION IS SERVICE

The railroad's main attraction is its efficient service, but it also promotes it with effective ballyhoo.

One of the promotions is Rainstick Junction, a cart filled with unclaimed umbrellas from the lost and found department that is put out in the terminal on rainy days. The theory is that commuters will borrow the umbrellas when they need them and then put them back, but 90 per cent are never returned.

"They're robbing us blind," chuckled one railroad official. "But actually they're just stealing their own umbrellas back."

PRIDE AND PRAYERS OF THANKSGIVING AFTER ANOTHER TRIUMPH OF HUMAN INITIATIVE AND RESOURCEFULNESS

HON. ALLARD K. LOWENSTEIN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 28, 1969

Mr. LOWENSTEIN. Mr. Speaker, the world pauses now in wonder and admiration to salute three men whose valor and stamina brought mankind to the moon, and to offer prayers of thanksgiving for their safe return. We salute, too, at this time, the memory of President John F. Kennedy, whose vision and determination made this moment possible, and we pledge to apply ourselves with equal vigor and determination to some of the problems that still afflict this planet.

Finally, we join in tribute to the thousands of unheralded individuals throughout this Nation whose devotion, whose skills, and whose imagination made it possible to do the impossible in even less than the decade allotted by President Kennedy. As a personification of these anonymous men and women, our gratitude and admiration go out particularly to Mr. Thomas J. Kelly of Merrick, N.Y., the father of the lunar module *Eagle*. Mr. Kelly is responsible, more than any other person, for the development and construction of the extraordinary vehicle that carried men on that hazardous last step to the surface of the moon. The American people will want to remember Mr. Kelly and his dedicated fellow craftsmen as they celebrate another triumph of human initiative and resourcefulness over the unknown.

I include in the RECORD at this point the following article from the New York Times:

[From the New York Times, July 22, 1969]

FATHER OF THE LM: THOMAS JOSEPH KELLY

(By Sylvan Fox)

Among the millions who saw the Apollo 11 moon landing on television was one man for whom the experience was akin to a father's watching his son accomplish a formidable feat.

The man was Thomas Joseph Kelly, a slim, boyish 40-year-old with wiry brown hair, who designed the ungainly but efficient vehicle that carried Neil A. Armstrong and Col. Edwin E. Aldrin Jr. to the surface of the moon and off again.

Mr. Kelly was at Houston's Apollo Mission Control Sunday night watching the moon landing.

"It felt great," he said in a telephone interview yesterday. "Wonderful. A real culmination for a lot of people."

For Mr. Kelly, who was born in Brooklyn and grew up in Merrick, L. I., it was the culmination of a dream that began when he was attending the Mepham High School in Bellmore, L. I.

"I had always been interested in airplanes," he said. "The space field is sort of a logical extension. It's just higher, farther and faster, which is what the airplane business has been doing for years."

"And anyway," he said with a laugh, "I'm fascinated with the idea of being able to explore the moon and the planets."

DEGREE AT CORNELL

Mr. Kelly shows no defensiveness when the ugliness of his lunar module is pointed out.

"There was no need to streamline it," he says. "It operates only in space. There are no aerodynamics to contend with. It's designed functionally. Everything is there for some particular reason, not just for looks."

Mr. Kelly's career has been deeply committed to the space program almost from its beginning.

After graduating from Mepham High School, where he met the girl he was to marry, he got a Bachelor of Mechanical Engineering degree from Cornell University in 1951 and went to work for what is now the Grumman Aerospace Corporation in Bethpage, L. I.

"My remaining schooling," he said, "was all at night."

While working at Grumman, Mr. Kelly gained a Master of Science degree in mechanical engineering at Columbia University in 1956. He then went into the Air Force as a lieutenant, working in performance engineering. At the same time, he took courses at Ohio State University in aeronautical engineering.

When he left the Air Force in 1958, Mr. Kelly decided what he wanted to do with his future. "I wanted to get into space at that point," he said.

He worked for a year at the Lockheed Missiles and Space Company in Sunnyvale, Calif., then returned to Grumman.

"And I've been there ever since," he said.

In 1960, Mr. Kelly became the project engineer on a manned space study instituted by Grumman.

"This gradually grew in scope and ultimately led to our winning the LM contract as a result of an industrywide competition which was held in the summer of 1962," he recalled.

The contract was awarded to Grumman by the National Aeronautics and Space Administration in January of 1963, and Mr. Kelly became the lunar module project engineer, which he describes as "equivalent to being the No. 2 engineer."

Two years later, he became the No. 1 man or engineering manager. His titles have changed a couple of times since then as work on the lunar module progressed (manager of assembly and tests "when we were getting into the final assembly and checkout of our first lunar spacecraft" and for the last two years assistant program director for engineering), but his function has always been to get the lunar module from the drawing board to the moon.

With the LM's mission completed, Mr. Kelly's interests have already begun to turn elsewhere. Three weeks ago he began a one-year course at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology in industrial management. The course is expected to move Mr. Kelly into the management of Grumman Aerospace.

Mr. Kelly's associates describe him as "friendly and warm" but extraordinarily serious about his work.

"It seems almost ridiculous," one said, "that you can be on a program for six years and never have anything funny happen—but nothing ever has, really."

"He's an extremely knowledgeable type when it comes to the LM," said another. "I've never seen him stumped for an answer."

THE MOON AND GREEN CHEESE

HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 28, 1969

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, there has been considerable press coverage across the country over possible reappraisals of our national space age targets.

One of the more succinct and practical commentaries was carried in the Calumet Index, a biweekly publication serving the far South Side and adjacent areas, in the Wednesday, July 23 edition.

THE MOON AND GREEN CHEESE

In discussing the "miracle" of the moon landing, invariably the question is asked—"Should we spend all that money on space exploration when so many things on earth need doing?"

Our answer is, "Yes—so long as we continue to give it the same careful, thorough thought and planning as we have given it until now."

Billions upon billions have been spent over the years to solve the problems of poverty and pollution but the thought and planning given these solutions have been infinitesimal.

In all to many instances, our efforts in these fields have been under the direction of half-baked bureaucrats whose only qualifications for the job have been an affinity for politics and an ability to get out the votes for the "right" candidate.

The argument that all we need to eliminate poverty, pollution and slums is more money is one of the great and tragic falsehoods of our day.

What we need is thought and effort and planning and dedication—the money will take care of itself.

DRIVING COURSE FOR THE AGED

HON. HASTINGS KEITH

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 28, 1969

Mr. KEITH. Mr. Speaker, it is a common misconception that with retirement comes inactivity and a life of leisure for our older citizens. Nowadays, this is no longer true. The retired are filling their extra free hours with numerous projects which reflect not only a broad range of interests but also a realization of the importance of these projects in the community. All over the country members of Foster Grandparents, Inc., are volunteering to take care of children in family emergencies or welfare cases. And VISTA reports that an increasingly large number of older people are contributing their services to its program. In short, our older citizens are closing the generation gap and, one might say, becoming younger and younger.

Mr. Victor Lindstrom, associate area vice president for the American Association of Retired Persons in my district, recently informed me of the efforts of the AARP to provide safe driving instruction for its members. Mr. Lindstrom has himself taken the course and is now teaching it to others in the area.

Knowing the interest of my fellow members in the achievements of our senior citizens, I would like to include in the RECORD an article by Wendell Coltin about this course that appeared in the Boston Herald Traveler of March 16, 1969:

OLDER DRIVERS WIN POINT IN SURVEY

(By Wendell Coltin)

(NOTE.—Raise the question of highway safety and the older driver—or the older driver and highway safety—to David Jeffreys and you'll get strong arguments in behalf of the older drivers. Jeffreys is director of national affairs for the National Retired Teachers' Association and American Association of Retired Persons.)

The NRTA has 230,000 members, with an affiliate in every state and nearly 1000 local units. The AARP now serves 1,300,000 members and has 571 local chapters across the nation.

Back in 1967, when Jeffreys was in Boston, we were brought together in a telephone conversation by Victor Lindstrom of Harwich Port, who is the AARP's area representative, and at that time Jeffreys expounded on a driver improvement course underway for AARP members. In nearly two years, "just over 15,000 persons" have been given the course by about 400 volunteer instructors.

A few days ago, he appeared on the biennial conference program of the National Council on Aging in Washington and was flattered that 1500 of his members had figured prominently in a study conducted by the National Safety Council.

A council research report, delivered at the conference, pointed out that "chronological age—contrary to a widely held belief—is not the best indicator of a driver's continuing fitness, or lack of it, behind the steering wheel."

Dr. Thomas W. Planek, the Safety Council's research director and senior author, said the level of a driver's health would be much more meaningful for ruling a driver off the road than his health. Safety proposals that would rule some older drivers off the road based on their declining abilities generally are geared to some specific age, Dr. Planek said, largely because the information is easy to get and usually beyond dispute.

Jeffreys said the interest of AARP members in driver safety was re-emphasized by the fact that 1500 members in selected AARP chapters made better than a 52 per cent response to the questionnaire, the highest response rate in the study."

He recalled that a "good number" of AARP members were made available for participation in the national drivers' test a few years ago and they "racked up a better score than the younger test group."

He said, "Our members are not only interested in driver-improvement, we feel they are better and safer drivers and becoming even more so as a result of our special program—the Driver Improvement Program."

This, he said, is the Defensive Driving Course developed by the National Safety Council in 1965, which "proved its effectiveness in the training of professional drivers in commercial vehicle fleets; and is designed to make better and safer drivers of already-licensed drivers.

Jeffreys said the AARP Driver Improvement Program came into being because of a need expressed by the association's members.

Over a period of years, members in growing numbers had revealed their concern for highway safety and driving on today's freeways at today's speeds.

"They told us," he said, "of their concern over the sometimes traumatic experience of taking a driving test when their license was due for renewal, or when they moved to a different state. They told us of their concern over cancellation of their auto insurance, or skyrocketing premiums.

"All of this was related to their need to drive to maintain their mobility and, consequently, their independence. Many of our members were aware of the existence of driver-improvement courses, offered under a variety of auspices, but they were reluctant to take classes, sometimes held at night, with youngsters or truck drivers or traffic violators.

"When we decided to do something to help both our members and other concerned older persons, we turned to the National Safety Council, which had a definite interest in safety of older persons and also had a tried and tested Defensive Driving Course."

"The course," he pointed out, "is designed to make better and safer drivers of already-licensed drivers. It emphasizes the techniques of driving defensively in today's traffic, recognizing that nine out of 10 accidents involve improper driving and are preventable."

The course has proved popular with the more than 15,000 members who have taken it; and a feature is that the volunteer instructors are older persons—also AARP members, who have been trained to teach it. Jeffreys reported, "We are committed to a major expansion of the Driver Improvement Program in 1968."

Each student who completes the course receives a certificate and wallet card. He is also eligible for a 10 per cent discount on Driver Plan 55 Plus, a special auto insurance plan developed for AARP members by the American Maturity Insurance Co.

"There is a continuing need to train additional instructors, to make the course available in many more communities and to serve the many thousands of older persons who do not know of our association, or of this program."

NOTE.—The Massachusetts Safety Council, which has been offering Driver Improvement Courses in many communities, will give the subject attention at the annual Massachusetts Safety Conference in the Statler Hilton March 31 and April 1.

EULOGY FOR THE LATE TOM MBOYA

HON. JOHN CONYERS, JR.

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 28, 1969

Mr. CONYERS. Mr. Speaker, a tragedy took place in Africa on July 5, a day that all of America was thinking about its independence. It was an act of an assassin that struck down a very important African, Mr. Tom Mboya, who had given all of his efforts in the service of his country for the betterment of his people and to the strengthening of ties between his country, Africa in general, and the United States.

I cannot add more to what his Ambassador, the Honorable Leonard Kibinge, stated in the eulogy that the Ambassador gave at a memorial mass for Mr. Mboya which was held in New York City on Tuesday, July 15. The mass which was offered by the Vicar of Harlem, Father Harry Salmon, was accompanied by a great American jazz musician Miss Mary Lou Williams, whose composition called a "Mass of Peace" attempted to convey to those present through music and the essence of the service the remarkable vitality of young Mr. Mboya who, at 38, gave his life for his country. Mr. Speaker, I would now like to include in the RECORD the eulogy that was presented at the service:

EULOGY FOR THE LATE TOM MBOYA

It was just a little over a year ago in this church that a mass was offered for another man who was taken from his family, his people, and his country by the act of an assassin. Today we are here because, like Senator Robert Kennedy, Tom Mboya was senselessly and suddenly shot down and he, too, taken from his loved ones, Kenya, Africa and the World.

It is difficult for me to express what a great tragedy the death of Tom Mboya is to Kenya and to Africa. Tom, who gave himself completely to his country, was described by our President, Mzee Jomo Kenyatta in the statement that Mzee made upon learning of Tom's death:

"Mr. Mboya was adamantly, ceaselessly and courageously reinforcing the efforts of those who had started the struggle for the emancipation of his people in Kenya as well as our brothers throughout the continent of Africa. Had it not been for his efforts and personal sacrifice, Kenya's independence could have been hampered or seriously compromised. Mr. Mboya was an undiluted African nationalist who always viewed issues on their national as well as international repercussions. The part he played in welding the Kenya nation is invaluable and will remain an inspiration to all of us. Rarely in my life have I come across a man who was prepared to devote so much of his time and energy to the service of his nation and to the welfare of mankind."

Tom Mboya was a Kenyan.

He belonged to *no one group.*

He represented *all of us.* His continued efforts to serve and promote national unity was but one of his constant goals and one that he himself personally achieved through his success in elections. His was a constituency that represented more than 60% of Kenya citizens whose origin was different from that of his own tribe.

He felt quite strongly about this particular issue, namely the unity of the nation. He spoke out, and I quote: "That we are born of different tribes we cannot change, but I refuse to believe that because our tribes have different backgrounds and customs and cultures we cannot create an African community or a nation."

It was with this profound belief that he personified our concept of one nation.

Tom's devotion and dedication to Kenyan unity and development was a mark of his courage to address himself to the most complex of national and African problems. He, as Minister of Economic Planning and Development and Secretary-General of the Kenya African National Union, always grappled without hesitation with issues that some men, if possible, would have avoided or preferred not to recognize; but his gifts, talents and self-assuredness made him speak out when necessary, act when called upon, and not hesitate when fundamental questions were raised about the advancement of human dignity and freedom.

When one thinks about Tom Mboya, we think about the Tom of the present: the articulate, intelligent, courageous, able politician and statesman. But we have also to understand that the Tom we knew came from a simple family whose parents were illiterate, whose father worked as an ordinary laborer on a sisal estate, who was the first born of five brothers and three sisters and who, out of his father's small earnings, was able to begin his elementary education. As he grew and at the end of 1947 he could have continued his education for his Cambridge School Certificate, but he was unable to; why? because his family could not afford it.

This was an important development in his life.

He then trained as a sanitary inspector and joined the Nairobi City Council and was elected secretary of the African Staff Association. At this time he began to interest himself in active politics and became a full-time trade union organizer, converting the African Staff Association of which he was president, into the Kenya Local Government Workers Union and he soon emerged as the Secretary General of the Kenya Federation of Labor. It is from this position that he emerged as the voice of the Kenyan people in the absence of any other African organization to speak for them. Tom, *the worker*, the *trade unionist*, never lost his sense of social justice.

Tom Mboya's concern about Kenyan nationalism and Kenyan independence was highlighted in a speech that he gave in New York on the occasion of African Freedom Day in April, 1961: "Let me speak for a while about the father of my own country, Kenya, the man who perhaps more than any other represents the African personality, Jomo Kenyatta . . . the denial of freedom to Jomo Kenyatta and other detained peoples of Kenya is a mockery of justice . . . the present crisis in Kenya cannot be resolved until Jomo Kenyatta is given his unconditional freedom. Our people love him and are determined to make this undisputed leader of the African people the head of our first independent government. Our people respect him not only for himself but for his character, his integrity and judgment and iron will".

Tom's statement about Mzee was coupled with his actions in refusing to join an interim government in 1961 until Mzee was given the freedom to return to Kenya. But his acknowledged nationalism and pan-Africanism goes back to 1958 when he was elected chairman of the All-African People's Conference meeting in Accra, a distinction that he acknowledged as "the proudest moment of my life." His role on the African freedom movement as chairman of the All-African People's Conference . . . His stimulation of the pan-African freedom movement of East and Central Africa; . . . His dedication and strong support of the Organization for African Unity and the Economic Commission for Africa were all important aspects of his commitment to Africa.

He spoke to the 8th Session of the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa in 1967 "African development is at stake. Nothing less than a major effort both within Africa, and by our friends overseas can produce the progress we seek and make our continent a material contributor to the World economy.

The initiative and decision to cooperate must come from Africa itself." His concern with the economic development of his country and his continent was but one more example of his preoccupation with the needs of his people.

Approximately 10 years ago Tom showed another of his many qualities—his great respect for the education and training of Kenyans and other Africans. His desire to see young people of Kenya educated took the form of his pushing forward what we now know as the airlift of African students from Kenya and other African countries to the United States. From having about 60 students in the U.S. in 1956 by January, 1963, Kenya had over 1,000. In the development of the Kenyan airlift to educate Africans Tom justified what took place as "the need for educated people is so great that I often marvel at those persons who suggest expansion will produce too many educated people and there will be nothing for them to do and so a worse problem will have been created. My view is that no field in Africa today is saturated and to try to slow down the African desire for education or for specialization in various fields would mean strong resentment."

He also dealt with local education problems in a vocational secondary school, Starehe, in Nairobi to train ghetto children in Nairobi.

He himself well utilized his formal academic training at Ruskin College; but it was only one year of his life toward all that he gave in different ways to the education and training of others.

Tom Mboya was well-known in the United States. It was just 9 years ago that Tom appeared on an American national television network show called "Meet the Press". His brilliance coupled with his youth astounded Americans. His relationships with this country from the pre-independence period through the Kenya student airlift along with his visits made him conscious of a need for an informed American awareness about African development and real independence. He had an understanding of the assets and weaknesses of the United States towards Africa. In an article as far back as 1957, Tom stated "In the field of foreign policy, America's position in the eyes of Africa is rather disappointingly hazy. She has not lived up to their expectations, and internally the segregation problems have affected American prestige and moral standing. Her people are however, still regarded with friendship and expectancy, although it has become generally recognized that there exists a great deficiency of informed opinion on Africa."

The advent of independent African states and his own visits have contributed to the greater education and understanding between Africa and the United States. Kenya owes her very favourable image in the United States to Tom. The relations between our two countries could not be better.

Tom, however, never wanted to be known other than as a Kenyan involved in world affairs and as he ended his book "Freedom And After" he said, "Through our international policy of preserving positive neutralism, to the conclusion of friendship with all nations, we will be showing the rest of the world what freedom really means."

In the lives of all public men, it is often the close, warm family relationships that suffer. The dedication to national issues, public demands and international forums take the man of leadership away from his family. But most of all, in thinking about Tom, one has to think about his love for his wife, Pamela, and his three children. He and Pamela married in January, 1962 and with their three children attempted to keep together the little time they had among themselves. When time and work permitted they would go to Rusinga Island and he would give to his family the full but few hours that he carefully put aside.

It is Pamela Mboya and her three children who above all miss Tom the most, and it is to her and the children we can only say that their loss is greater than that of all other Kenyans. In this difficult hour, we offer Pamela and the children our heartfelt condolences and pray that God will give them strength and courage to face the future.

Tom's death cannot be meaningful no matter how one wants to interpret it. But, *if out* of this comes a renewed commitment on the part of all Kenyans to achieve what he wanted to uphold, and if we can but reflect in our commitments his dedication and efforts to the unity and the development of our country; to the contribution of Kenya in the evolution of a greater East Africa; to the strengthening of ties within Africa; and to the emphasized role of Africa in the World Community in its efforts towards peace and development, then we will have contributed in our own way toward an everlasting memorial to a great Kenyan, African and world leader, Thomas Joseph Mboya.

THE INNER REACHES

HON. LESTER L. WOLFF

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 28, 1969

Mr. WOLFF. Mr. Speaker, the incredible journey of three brave men and the success of technology in a challenge are now a part of history. Yet, even before our three astronauts had safely returned to earth, there was considerable projection regarding the expeditions to come.

As Representative of the Third District, which contains Grumman Aircraft Engineering Corp., and many constituents dedicated to scientific advancement, I am certainly proud and enthusiastic about this feat. Nevertheless, I am still left with a nagging question: While we strive for the outer reaches of man's capabilities, what are we doing to preserve and encourage the inner reaches of man's concern for man? Surely our domestic problems cannot be ignorant to us for in height they measure far taller than the Saturn 5 rocket which thrust us into a new age.

My concern in this matter was recently presented in a most appropriate editorial in the Community Newspapers, Inc., within my district. Continually attuned to the most important issues of our time, it was not surprising to find such a thoughtful editorial in this chain of weeklies. I would, therefore, like to extend my remarks and include it in the RECORD:

LET'S MAKE IT AT HOME

The Eagle has landed, and it was the most courageous, daring, imaginative, mind-boggling, impressive, efficient adventure in our history. All of us on the North Shore, those who worked on vital parts of the Apollo 11 project at Grumman and at other plants and those whose taxes helped foot the bill, should take pride in the achievement.

Now we must use that same American courage, daring and imagination to tackle those problems which torment us here on earth: poverty, racism, the Vietnam war, alienation of our young, city renewal projects which dawdle along for years, drug addiction, foul air and fouler water, commuter trains which don't run and airplanes which stack up on the runways, leftists who burn up libraries and rightists who stockpile shotguns and grenades.

We've made it to the moon. Let's make it at home.

CALIFORNIA LEGISLATOR OFFERS PENETRATING ANALYSIS OF CAMPUS TURMOIL

HON. GEORGE E. BROWN, JR.

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 28, 1969

Mr. BROWN of California. Mr. Speaker, response from the political community to the severe traumas which have so thoroughly shaken the American educational establishment generally has been that of extreme platitude. Rarely over the past months have I come across reaction from political leaders to campus unrest which indicates anything more than a surface knowledge of the factors which are causing turmoil to arise.

Recently, however, I was tremendously impressed by the scope and depth of analysis of the problem which has been made by California State Assemblyman John Vasconcellos. One of the youngest members of the California Assembly—and one of its most promising, he was named as "best freshman Assemblyman" in 1967 by the Sacramento press corps—Mr. Vasconcellos has made a major effort to really understand the campus revolution.

In June, Assemblyman Vasconcellos presented three statements which cut directly to the core of those elements which have led to unrest and confusion within the educational system. I believe his analysis and related 18-point program are easily the best I have yet seen from anyone in political office, and I insert them here in the RECORD with the hope that all my colleagues will also benefit from them:

CAMPUS UNREST—I

The people of California are sick and tired of campus unrest, disruption and violence—and so am I!

But it's time each Californian engaged in some cool and sober reflection—because the approach we've been using is a failure; it has failed; it is failing.

Even apart from moral questions, that approach—more laws, tougher penalties, name-calling, sloganeering, more police, sheriffs, highway patrol, national guard, guns, shotguns, buckshot, bayonets, tear gas, helicopters, mass arrests, jail farm atrocities, the killing of a young human being—is a failure.

Whether or not I like the approach—whether or not I like the conclusion—cool and sober reflection dictates my judgment—and I can't escape it, I won't run from it—that our approach to date is a failure.

If anyone doubts the failure, he need only ask himself two questions—without even seeking to place blame anywhere:

1. What kind of a society has to club and gas and shoot its own young?

2. Why has the Governor said: "But the way things are going now, I could start a riot just by showing up (to meet with students)"?

Even more thought provoking: To approach has had contrary results. In the past two weeks I've talked with or heard from students from the University of California at Davis, Berkeley, Santa Cruz, San Diego and Irvine, from the State Colleges at San Jose, Sacramento and San Bernardino, from Santa Clara University and the University of Southern California and Stanford University, from West Valley College and San Jose City College, from Bellarmine Preparatory, Del Mar, Camden and Willow Glen High Schools in San Jose. Anyone who's listening—with ears and minds open—knows the approach we've been using is having only one measurable result: it's turning conservative students into liberals, turning liberal students into radicals, and turning radical students into revolutionaries.

I'm not willing to live with failure, so I'm not satisfied with exclusively using an approach that is failing. I believe we can and must do better. The people of California have a right to something better.

Tho we needn't *abandon* the failing approach, we at least ought to try concurrently a new approach. It's long past time we explored alternatives.

It's time we turn the tide of fear and despair and polarization, into a tide of reconciliation and peace. It's time each Californian—I, each other legislator, the governor, each university regent, each college trustee, each educator, each student, each tax payer, each of the "street people"—turned our attention to a new approach—to seeking understanding of our problems, to searching out their causes, and to exploring positive and creative and human alternatives—that will lessen our fears, and restore our hopes.

We must ask ourselves why our approach to date has failed; we must ask ourselves why we experience the campus unrest, disruption and violence in the first place; we must explode the myths, and misconceptions and deal with the facts and the foundations, and then discover a realistic alternative approach.

I believe such an alternative approach is available, and I invite each and every Californian to join me in discovering it.

Shortly I will present my analysis of our failure, and the foundations for an alternative approach; thereafter I will present an 18-point program for an alternative approach, that I believe will turn us from failure towards success, from fear towards hope, from polarization towards reconciliation.

CAMPUS UNREST—II

Last week I indicated the failure of our current approach to resolving campus unrest, disruption and violence.

In analyzing our failure, I appeal to every persons who believes in our system, who believes in our democratic process, who believes in peaceful change, who believes in dealing with the truth.

A University of California at Berkeley student taught me best about our failure: "You're trying to solve internal problems with external pressures; instead of making necessary changes, you're only willing to use force."

While our approach may (and should be used to contain the problem), it fails to solve it. Our failure results because our current approach rests on four sets of myths and misconceptions:

1. Myths and misconceptions about students (and others) involved in campus unrest:

a. That students are children—to be seen and not heard.

(1) Untrue. More than any society in mankind's history, we've generously invested our resources in providing educational opportunity for our young; we have over 6,000,000 young persons in our California public educational system, including nearly 1,000,000 in higher education; we've educated them to be independent, critical, idealistic; they're bound to question us; we have much to learn from them, if we only listen.

b. That there are many outside agitators, and a large plot or conspiracy.

(1) Not true. While they exist, the number of outside agitators and conspirators is small; and they succeed only because we create conditions under which they thrive—our failure to respond to legitimate demands, our overreaction to illegitimate demands, provokes the many students who want to believe in peaceful means.

United States Commissioner of Education James Allen, appointed by President Nixon, recently denied the conspiracy theory, and pointed out that most of the campus militants are good students from typic: American families.

c. That these young persons—especially the most radical and militant—are foreigners and/or monsters.

(1) They aren't. They aren't Martians, not even Europeans; despite their sometimes outlandish appearance, their sometimes outlandish language, and their sometimes outlandish demands, they are in fact not outlanders; they are *our* very own, *our* own children, *our* heirs.

d. That there is a silent majority of students happy with the way things are.

(1) Untrue. It is true (as it should be) that the vast majority of students condemn methods used by radicals. However, a recent survey showed 80% of students agree with the goals and criticisms and demands for change that are being made; at University of California Berkeley, 85% of 15,000 students voting favored the people's park; "Fortune" magazine in January indicated that upwards of 15% of our students are solidly aligned with the demands for radical change; Republican Congressmen just completing a campus tour found much more dissatisfaction than expected.

e. That these students are a passing fad, that we can snuff out.

(1) They're not. Thruout the world—from Egypt to Japan to Czechoslovakia to Greece to France, young persons everywhere are questioning the way we have been doing things, demanding new answers, demanding a new and more human system and society.

f. That these students are unpatriotic, unAmerican.

(1) They aren't. In fact, they are radically conservative, in demanding individual freedom, equality of opportunity, liberty and justice for all, Christian brotherhood, local control, decentralization, freedom from government oppression, active participation in public policy decision making—they believed what we taught them about "liberty and justice for all," American ideals, democratic institutions.

g. That young persons today are the same as we were at their age, the same as young persons have always been.

(1) They aren't (and like never again will be), for the American genius and free enterprise, technology, automation, cybernetics, have freed them from the stresses of the great depression; these young persons sense the freedom that each of us would like to have, and they sense it so strongly, they will not surrender it, even to force and fear.

h. Students are there to get an education. If they don't like it, they should get out.

(1) Sure, they're there to get an education—but that doesn't all come out of books and classrooms; and hopefully we're educating them to question, evaluate and improve—and if they didn't tell us taxpayers what's wrong in our educational institutions, who would?

i. That those who agree with the ideals of students, agree with their tactics, with disruption, with violence.

(1) Not *generally* true. Many persons, including myself, agree with many of their ideals, but neither defend nor condone nor encourage disruption or violence.

2. Myths and misconceptions about the University of California, the State Colleges, and our community colleges:

a. That our institutions of higher education are providing good, adequate education.

(1) They aren't. They are too big, too impersonal, too rigid, too dehumanizing, too stifling.

b. That the governing boards of our higher education institutions are representative and responsive and relevant to the persons they are governing.

(1) They aren't. The recent Harris survey demonstrated that the typical regent-trustee in the nation is nearly sixty years old, white, Anglo-Saxon, Protestant, a businessman or industrialist, who reads little outside his own specialty field—a far cry from the age, color, nationality, religion, and scope of interest of our nearly 1,000,000 students in higher education.

c. That campus administrators are doing a perfect job.

(1) Untrue. Too many campus administrators are inflexible, unresponsive to the need for changes, too concerned with their own power, unwilling to listen to students.

d. That faculty members are doing a perfect job.

(1) Untrue. Too many faculty members are inflexible, unresponsive to the need for changes, too concerned with research and writing, too uninvolved with their students, unwilling to listen to students, treat their students too impersonally, are too jealous of their own prerogatives.

e. That decisions can be made without consulting those persons most affected by them.

(1) They can't be. The premise of our society is consent of the governed; the ideal of a free man is one who has some say in decisions that dramatically affect him, his life, his future. Our students are listened to almost not at all.

f. That channels of communication, and of participation, are adequate.

(1) They aren't. Even Governor Reagan recently stated that the "channels of communication are clogged"—and they're clogged much, much worse than he indicated.

g. That a university's purpose is simply to train persons to fit into society, to get jobs, to be socialized.

(1) Only partly true. The broader purpose of a university, a college, higher education, is to learn how to become a better human being; to turn a person on to himself or herself, to lifelong learning, to building a better life for himself and for his fellow man; to develop his ability, and his judgment to serve his fellow man.

h. That a university shouldn't be involved with community problems.

(1) Wrong, it should be. Every human being, every human institution, has a constant and heavy responsibility to benefit mankind, to involve himself, herself, itself, in people-problem-solving.

i. That a university should be a quiet place.

(1) Nice-sounding, but not true. The purpose of education is to improve the lot of man; to move mankind forward, to learn from the errors of the past, to correct the errors of the present, to point the way to a better future. A person who is stagnant, an institution that is dormant, fails in responsibility—to fellow man, to all of mankind. And unless we're satisfied with things as they are (and who can be?) we should welcome the questioning, criticism and boat-rocking (so long as peaceful and non-disruptive) that comes from a university, and from its students, and from our young persons.

3. Myths and misconceptions about the causes of campus unrest:

a. That campus unrest is unrelated to the unrest and to the problems in our society.

(1) Untrue. Campus unrest is directly related to the problems of war and peace, the bomb, the draft, poverty and hunger, race and prejudice, even conservation. Until these problems are resolved, all persons should be, and certainly young persons—more idealistic—will be, unrestful.

b. That unrest needn't exist, that disruption and violence needn't be expected.

(1) Untrue. We have real tensions in our society—and whether we like it or not (and most of us don't), we have to expose and explore, even sometimes experience, those tensions—if we are to relieve and resolve them.

c. That peaceful dissent and protest are available and adequate.

(1) Unfortunately, channels of communication are clogged; unfortunately, we in power, in "the establishment" too often haven't listened to peaceful protest and dissent; even when students march peacefully we most often fail to respond. And if peaceful expressions, peaceful protest, go unheeded, then frustration grows, and violence ensues. It's like the farmer who had to hit the mule with a 2 x 4 to get its attention. When we give our attention to the peaceful dissent, only then can we prevent violent dissent.

d. That the minorities in our society, in our educational institutions, have equality of opportunity, etc.

(1) Untrue. Just walk into any ghetto, or barrio, and look around. And while black Americans comprise 10% of our population, and brown Americans 12% of our population, they comprise only approximately .09% and .08% respectively, of our student population in the University of California.

e. That no changes are needed in our higher education.

(1) Many changes are needed; and, as President Kennedy said: "Those who make peaceful evolution impossible, make violent revolution inevitable."

f. That our system is perfect.

(1) Wrong. With all its successes, much needs improvement, correction, change in our society.

4. Myths and misconceptions about our approach:

a. That there are simple answers to our problem.

(1) There aren't any; the problem is the most complex facing us.

b. That force and fear will solve the problem.

(1) They won't; they haven't; at best, they contain the problem, but they don't resolve it. These aren't ideal methods and motivations in a free society, and somehow, we've raised a generation that doesn't readily submit to force and fear, but instead is only further provoked thereby.

c. That name-calling and scape-goating help the situation.

(1) They don't—instead, they provoke it; too often, it's only an excuse for not observing and admitting our own shortcomings, our own lack of involvement, our own refusal to listen and to respond to needs for change.

d. That getting tough—suspension or expulsion or other forms of banishment will get rid of those causing trouble.

(1) It doesn't; those persons, as non-students, will still be around, and as long as the problems and root causes exist, there will be ample opportunity for them to promote destruction and violence (history demonstrates this).

e. That jail or prison or concentration camps will bring peace and quiet.

(1) They won't; we simply cannot jail an entire generation.

f. That we needn't wonder "why" young persons are restless.

(1) Untrue. There is always a "why" behind the behavior of each human being and, as human beings, we ought always to wonder "why"—for only then can we cope with the problems of human behavior.

Students and other young persons labor under myths and misconceptions also, and they should be dispelled:

1. That older persons, persons in power, persons in "the establishment" don't care.

a. Untrue. Most older persons were raised in totally different times; were taught to think and feel and perceive and judge, in a way that was appropriate to different times, particularly to the depression. But they are human beings also, and they do care.

2. That our system of government won't work.

a. Wrong. With all its failings, our system has produced this young generation and this level of awareness of its failings.

3. That the faults in the system justify disruption and violence.

a. Untrue. Disruption and violence primarily breed fear, and reaction, and repression—and close up the very persons who need to be opened up, for a free society to function as it should.

4. That there is no hope *within* the system.

a. Untrue. While our system, and the persons within it, have many shortcomings, it also has great strengths and resources on which we can draw. I witness great changes in persons in the system, changes in concern, in responsiveness, in attention, in values, in decisions, in understanding. And despite its shortcomings, no system has liberated so many so much: the amount of freedom and opportunity within our system is greater than in any other in the world, and the awareness of our weaknesses becomes possible only because we have achieved so much.

In summary, all of us lack faith and trust in each other, have forgotten that each of us—regardless of age, color, race, position, sex, wealth, or religion—is a human being with a desire to find understanding, to improve the society in which we all must live, to find the avenues to justice that are the only way that law and order will come ultimately, to achieve peace. We're too quick to jump to conclusions, to call names, to label each other—and too slow to recognize, and reached for, and touch the humanness that exists within each human being.

Because of this breakdown in trust, because of this reliance on myths and misconceptions—we have campus unrest, and we have failed in our approach to resolving it.

Tomorrow I will present an 18-point proposal to deal directly and positively, humanly and effectively, with campus unrest, disruption and violence.

CAMPUS UNREST—III

Recently I indicated the failure of our current approach to campus unrest, disruption and violence, and presented my analysis of why our approach has failed, and why we experience unrest, disruption and violence on our campuses.

Today I propose a new approach—an alternative approach—to greatly increase our ability to prevent campus unrest, disruption and violence.

1. To every citizen: Seek to understand the facts and truths that underlie campus unrest; most important realize *you* can, *you* must, involve yourself in resolving it. Don't settle for myths, misconceptions, name-calling and sloganeering.

2. Change the composition of the University Board of Regents and the State College Board of Trustees—to include at least two student members and two faculty members as voting participants on each, and to include a broad cross-section of our population.

3. Reform the structure and governance of higher education, particularly towards decentralization and local control, for greater flexibility, responsiveness and participation by persons right on the scene and most affected by the decisions.

4. Include students on all decisions-making bodies on each campus of higher education—as recommended by the Assembly Select Committee on Campus Disturbances; responsibility is best learned by participating in making decisions that affect a person's own life.

5. Create permanent Student Affairs Advisory Committees—composed one-half of students—for the University Board of Regents, the State College Board of Trustees, and the Community College Boards of Trustees.

6. Extend the voting franchise (and civil and criminal responsibilities) to persons 18 years of age and older, to give to our young persons the sense they have power *within* the system, thru the ballot box, to affect the decisions that affect their lives, and to relieve the sense of powerlessness that leads to frustration, and too often explodes in violence.

7. Greatly broaden (financing, admissions, tutoring) our Educational Opportunity Programs, to give hope and opportunity for those minority persons who will become leaders in their communities.

8. Create ethnic studies departments where requested and appropriate—so that Third World persons may design education relevant to ghetto life and solving problems of persons living in ghettos.

9. Re-vamp curriculum. Too often the who, what, where, when, how and why of our educational system are hopelessly inadequate, even irrelevant, for our students today. Learning must become relevant to students as human beings, in our time, and for their future.

10. Broadly expand fieldwork in higher educational curriculum, particularly in the humanities and social sciences, so young persons may learn more relevantly, and so their idealism may, thru involvement, help improve society *now*, and give them a sense of helping *now*.

11. To Regents and Trustees: Recognize and relate to the human beings who are students—whose lives you dramatically affect; read broadly about education and the generation gap; individually meet with administrators, and with students (separately) in small groups; don't take your credibility and confidence for granted.

12. To administrators: Open up the lines of communication; treat students as intelligent, concerned human beings; get to know student leaders personally, and consult them frequently.

13. To faculty members: Get out of the shadows, and into the action. Relate personally to your students, to their ability, intelligence, idealism; treat students as human beings; relate to the community at large: go into the community and discuss with citizens and taxpayers the meaning and purpose and value and problems of higher education.

14. To leaders of "the establishment" (especially holding public office, and business and industry leaders): Get onto the campuses—participate in programs like "Interact" operating at University of California at Davis and pending at University of California at San Diego, and "Project Dialogue" at the University of California at Berkeley.

15. To "adults": Don't be part of the silent, apathetic majority: involve yourself personally in searching out positive alternatives; visit the campuses; invite students into your homes, service clubs, chambers of commerce, unions, bridge clubs, parents' groups; don't talk *at* students, don't talk *to* students—talk *with* students; don't just listen passively, but listen actively, to them and to what they are trying to tell us.

16. To students: Mobilize peacefully; channel your commitments, your ideals, into peaceful, nonviolent, missionary tactics; take your message to "adults" in our society: ring their doorbells, go to their service clubs, unions, churches, every group; engage them in dialogue, one-to-one and in small groups; persist until there results some openness, some understanding, some acceptance, some reconciliation; don't heighten the fear that separates us one from another, seek to reach and touch the humanness that unites us one with another.

17. To everyone: break the circle of force—break the cycle of escalation; have faith in ourselves, in each other, even in our system—which is as good as you—and I—make it. It takes a lot of faith to live in a free society—we've got to believe again.

18. Explore the proposals by "Look" magazine Senior Editor George Leonard in "Beyond Campus Chaos—A Bold Plan for Peace" in the June 10th issue of "Look"—for policy reforms in admissions, courses, lectures, exams, grades, buildings, war work, curriculum, open learning, research, communications and ceremony.

No one person, and no one approach, can promise simple or quick answers or peace—for we've generated so much change in our society, with technology and affluence and education and mass media—that our times are bound to be turbulent with adjustment.

The above approach isn't guaranteed to provide all the answers—but at least it asks the right questions—a healthier foundation than we have so far utilized.

We've got to appeal to the best—not the worst—in each other. With trust and faith in each other; with a recognition that as human beings we all have more in common than we have in conflict; with an openness to each other and to change, and to searching together for peaceful resolutions of our difficulties—we can minimize our problems, and maximize our potential—to really build a society in which each man and woman is free, has equality of opportunity, good education and housing and medical care. The elimination of poverty and prejudice are within our grasp—if we but bend ourselves, lend ourselves, to its attainment.

We stand on the threshold of a magnificent future—if we don't scare ourselves to death, if we don't kill each other off. A nation, a future, of real freedom awaits us, beckons us—if we do not run from it, if we do not seek escape in some prior time.

It is the task, the responsibility, of each individual human being living in California to involve himself and herself generously in our search—for only if each of us gives ourselves to our common struggle, will any of us find peace in our times.

I invite each Californian to join me in our search.

TRIBUTE TO DR. WERNHER VON BRAUN AND SUCCESSFUL SPACE TEAM THAT PLANNED AND CARRIED OUT FANTASTIC APOLLO MOON MISSION

HON. JOE L. EVINS

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 28, 1969

Mr. EVINS of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, as we contemplate the successful moon-landing mission of Apollo 11, the name and work of Dr. Wernher von Braun stands out as a great space leader and pioneer.

Dr. Von Braun was a leader in the German space team that came to the United States following World War II. Dr. Von Braun has always had the faith and belief that man could achieve this astounding feat and this famous scientist's ability and dedication played a vital role in the development of our Nation's space capability.

In this connection I also want to pay tribute to two colleagues of Dr. Von Braun, Dr. Kurt Debus, Director of the John F. Kennedy Space Center at Cape Kennedy and Dr. Robert R. Gilruth, Director of the Manned Spacecraft Center at Houston, who also provided great leadership in our program of space exploration.

I commend and congratulate these great space scientists for their perseverance, determination, and success.

In addition to his capabilities as a great scientist, Dr. Von Braun also has a remarkable and acute understanding of the relationship of space exploration to religion. In Dr. Von Braun's view, space exploration and additional knowledge of the solar system and the universe reassure man of the existence of a Divine being.

Because of the interest of my colleagues and the American people in space exploration and its religious implications, I place in the RECORD herewith recent newspaper articles which appeared in the Cookeville, Tenn., Dispatch and in the Los Angeles Herald-Examiner concerning Dr. Von Braun.

The articles follow:

[From the Cookeville (Tenn.) Dispatch]

GOD, MAN, AND THE MOON

(By Bill J. Austin)

Years ago when man's great mind began to solve some of the riddles of illness, when physicians became fully capable of isolating a speck of trouble on a tiny cell, when spare parts were assembled and put inside the body of men, when it seemed, really, that this walking around, talking, upright person was nothing more than something to be tinkered with and fixed at will, when these things came about, some people believed that Man, man alone, could do it all. Nobody else was needed. Man had just popped up. And modern medicine could solve his problems and woes.

But the more these great physicians and researchers looked, the more they probed, the more they searched, the more they came to believe that there was some delicate hand at the root of it all, some sort of Creator.

Then space scientists began to fling all sorts of stuff into the heavens. They flung sputniks into the sky and then sent them swirling around the globe. They developed weather satellites, and communications networks which would send television pictures across the 10,000 miles in a twinkling of the eye. And then they hurled man into the sky and when nobody saw a God standing up there directing traffic, breathing fire and brimstone at this earthly intrusion, it seemed for certain, at least to some, that this Creator business was a bunch of puritanical nonsense.

That's what some of the "God is dead" crowd thought.

This is no sermon. The writer is not qualified to deliver one. But it is a way of noting the remarks of one of the great scientific minds of the world, and the man who developed the rocket which has placed two Americans on the moon, 250,000 miles from home. .

Dr. Wernher von Braun said last week that space travel is not only man's new physical frontier but also the gateway to keener spiritual awareness of God's sovereignty in the universe.

He said this space travel signals the start of the "cosmic age," a second phase in mankind's long development, an era in which the earth will be seen in truer perspective as a "planet among planets," and in which the magnificence of divine creation and power will become increasingly evident."

In a word, Von Braun believes in God.

"I started reading religious books," he said, "and the truth of Christ's teachings emerged like a revelation," he told a writer for the Miami Herald.

And he adds:

"Our outlook through this peephole at the vast mysteries of the universe only confirms our belief in the certainty of its creator . . . any effort to visualize God, to reduce Him to our comprehension, to describe Him in our language, beggars His greatness.

"We must learn to consider God as creator of the universe and master of everything. We need a greater Lord than we have had in the past. . . . Our religion, our environment and our outlook have been earthbound," Von Braun said.

Von Braun's genius got man on the moon. And the genius of great physicians have enriched our walk on this planet by providing the miracles of healing.

But in each case, it seems, when light is put to the darkness, when a disease is whipped, or a new journey experienced, it only validates the words of that onetime carpenter who gently trod this earth 2,000 years ago.

They cut short his teachings, forced marched him to the place called Golgotha, cut and slashed His body with nails and hung Him there to die.

Now, lo, these many years later man puts a microscope to a particle from a tiny cell, or he walks on the moon, and the truth emerges.

And still we continue to learn it all the hard way.

[From the Los Angeles Herald-Examiner, July 5, 1969]

VON BRAUN: SCIENCE AND RELIGION ARE COMPATIBLE

(By Louis Cassels)

Dr. Wernher von Braun, the German-born scientist who has played a major role in America's space program, is baffled by people who suggest that modern science has discredited belief in God.

As far as he is concerned, just the opposite is true.

Since he became director of the National Aeronautics and Space Administration's George C. Marshall Space Flight Center at Huntsville, Ala., von Braun has joined the Episcopal Church and has become an avid reader of theological books.

He discussed his religious beliefs in a recent interview with Adon Taft, religion writer for the Miami Herald. The interview will be published in the July issue of the magazine Christian Life.

Von Braun said he finds it as difficult "to understand a scientist who does not acknowledge the presence of a superior rationality behind the existence of the universe as it is to comprehend a theologian who would deny the advances of science."

Von Braun added: "There certainly is no scientific reason why God cannot retain the same position in our modern world that He held before we began probing His creation with telescope and cyclotron."

The God which many people find it hard to believe in, von Braun suggested, is actually a pathetic caricature constructed by limited human vision.

"Any effort to visualize God, to reduce Him to our comprehension, to describe Him in our language, beggars His greatness," the famous physicist said.

"I find it best to accept God as an intelligent will, perfect in goodness, revealing Himself in the world of experience more fully down through the ages as man's capacity for understanding grows."

Thus, in this age of space travel, which dramatizes the immensity of the universe, men must enlarge their concept of God and recognize that He is not a local deity of this planet but "the Creator and Master of everything."

"Manned space flight is an amazing achievement, but it has opened for us thus far only a tiny door for viewing the awesome reaches of space. Our outlook through this peephole at the vast mysteries of the universe only confirms our belief in its Creator."

Von Braun said he believes in "the continuity of our spiritual existence after death" for essentially scientific reasons.

"Science has found that nothing can disappear without a trace. Nature does not know extinction. All it knows is transformation.

"Now if God applies this fundamental principle to the most minute and insignificant parts of His universe, doesn't it make sense to assume that he applies it also to the masterpiece of His creation—the human soul? I think it does."

"MISS KATIE" HUTTO: A REMARKABLE LADY

HON. ALBERT W. WATSON

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 28, 1969

Mr. WATSON. Mr. Speaker, recently I initiated a program designed to give my constituents an opportunity to suggest an idea that they would like to see enacted into law. Entitled "There Ought to be a Law," this form of public opinion poll attracted over 4500 entries. From this number, a distinguished panel of judges selected 10 finalists, or what they considered to be the 10 best suggestions for a law.

One of the finalists was Mrs. Katie W. Hutto of Orangeburg, S.C. Affectionately known as "Miss Katie," this remarkable lady has devoted a lifetime to the service of others. Coincidentally, at the time she was selected as a finalist in the law contest, Miss Katie decided to retire after 47 years of public service.

Mr. Speaker, in the July 25 issue of the Orangeburg, S.C. Times and Democrat, reporter Joyce Milkie wrote a very interesting and inspiring story about "Miss Katie." I recommend it to the attention of my colleagues and request that it be included as a part of my remarks as follows:

A BUSY WOMAN ALL OF HER LIFE, SHE PLANS NOW TO "SET A SPELL"

(By Joyce W. Milkie)

Miss Katie has been a busy lady all her life. After 21 years at the Orangeburg County Library, she finally decided it was time she found out what it's like to "set and rest a spell." So Mrs. Katie Hutto, known to at least two generations of Library patrons as Miss Katie, has made the decision to retire.

Of course, this is the third time in her 47 year career she has made this decision, but this time, she said, she really means it . . . this is it!

Miss Katie, nee Katherine Williams, was born and raised "right on Broughton St.," and claims nobody would ever know who she was if the story carried her name as "Katherine." She is the daughter of the late Dr. Frank Howard Williams and Mary Caroline Gleason of Charleston.

During the early part of her life, Miss Katie set the pattern for the latter part. She began to work and she's never stopped.

She attended Winthrop College, then married Purcell Hutto from Livingston and became a housewife and mother to two daughters, Mrs. Wilbur N. (Carolyn) Creech of Orangeburg and Mrs. Phil (Jean) Corker of Signal Mountain, Tenn.

Along with managing all this, Miss Katie worked for two years at Moseley's Dept. Store as an office employe then became a teacher. For 24 years, she taught the first grade at Livingston, S.C.

During the depression years, Mr. Hutto died, leaving Miss Katie with two daughters to raise and educate and a living to make.

"Well," she said consideringly, "I kept on teaching. Of course, we didn't make much money, but we managed. Then I worked at Moseley's Saturdays and summers all during the time the girls were in college."

After her husband's death in 1938, Miss Katie continued to reside in Livingston. When her second daughter married, the girls didn't think much of their mother staying by herself in Livingston and finally, in 1948, she returned to Orangeburg to stay, retiring from teaching.

This was her first retirement.

Since it's almost impossible to keep a good woman down . . . it wasn't long before Miss Katie was looking around for something to keep her busy, add to her income, and challenge her.

She found it at the Orangeburg County Library where she began work in August of 1948 and was on the Bookmobile for 18 years. For about 10 years at that time, her companion on the lumbering book wagon was Mrs. Mary B. Herbert.

"Everybody in the county," said Mrs. Herbert, "knows and loves Miss Katie. We made a team—she's fast and I'm slow—we complemented each other.

"This is a fine gal, you hear?"

Miss Katie blushed and protested.

"Well," Mrs. Herbert continued, "we always tried to conduct ourselves in a way to bring credit to the library. We always felt we represented the library . . . and the county."

In June of 1966, Miss Katie tried retiring again.

"I thought that was the time for me to quit," she said. "My doctor said, 'You're 65. No more truck driving for you.' So that was that.

"But when they called me to do part time work, I hurried on back and have been working in the library on a part-time basis ever since."

She lives in a small, pretty house. She loves her daughter's German Shepherd "Casey," and visits Casey every day, but she doesn't have a dog of her own. She's afraid she'd get too attached to it and be too upset if something happens.

Right now, she has few plans. She just wants to "stay home and read, which is her passion, and she especially loves mystery stories.

Mrs. Hutto is active in several professional organizations. She is a member of the Orangeburg-Calhoun County Retired Teachers; the S.C. State Retired Teachers and the National Retired Teachers Association. She is also active in her church, the First Baptist.

She loves children. And she gets a lot of pleasure from mature people hailing her on the street and saying, "Miss Katie, don't you remember me? You taught me in first grade!"

"If I don't know children," she said, nodding vigorously, "I don't know who does!"

She especially enjoys her four grandchildren, although none of them are very small anymore. One grandson, Charles Creech, is in the Marine Corps and studying data processing; Kathy Creech was given the Thackston Award for being an outstanding student this past year; Bob Corker is president of the student body at Chattanooga City High School in Chattanooga, Tenn.; and Phyllis Corker was chosen Miss Signal Mountain this year.

"They are all nice children," she said, obviously the proud grandmother.

She loves to walk and when it gets cooler weather, she plans to do a lot of that. She doesn't think she's a very good cook, and believes you are either born a good cook . . . or you'll never be one.

"I'm not a bit domestic," she said ruefully, "but I have worked and fought to educate my children. I have never made much money, but I was willing to do any job I could . . . and we have always gotten through.

"I went to work when I was 16 and I made 50 cents a day running errands for a milliner. My grandson, who is 16, made over a hundred dollars a week during the summer working in an ice house . . . and he couldn't understand why they took out income tax!"

She laughed heartedly at the difference between now and then.

"Well, I believe it is better for everybody to work . . . to keep busy. But now I'm going to relax and learn to enjoy a lot of things I haven't had the time for. I'll visit my children, I'll read, and walk and just relax.

"My children and my sons-in-law are wonderful to me. They are fine people. I'm a lucky old woman!"

Happy retirement . . . Miss Katie.

A BALL ON THE MOON

HON. THADDEUS J. DULSKI

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 28, 1969

Mr. DULSKI. Mr. Speaker, the great achievement of Apollo 11 is being hailed widely—and rightfully. As the late President John F. Kennedy predicted early in this decade, an American has set foot on the moon in this decade and an American was the first to do it.

Acclaim has come from far and wide. I was particularly interested in the editorial which was published in a group of weekly newspapers in my district of Buffalo, N.Y. It appeared in the several editions of the Front Page, the South Buffalo News, and the West Seneca News. Following is the text of the editorial in the July 24 editions:

A BALL ON THE MOON

There will never be another event which will rival or overshadow the momentous landing on the moon of America's two gallant astronauts, Neil A. Armstrong and Edwin E. "Buzz" Aldrin, Jr.

The closest parallel of significance goes back to the Resurrection of Jesus Christ.

Now, as then, there are disbelievers and apathetic indifference among all kinds of people. This is most unfortunate since these same people do not fully comprehend the universal history which was made on Sunday, July 20, 1969.

Man has finally broken his confinement to one planet and has opened a new vista for travel to distant heavenly bodies. It was only a question of time before the mystery of space travel and planet landings was solved.

The Lord created many mysteries when he created this Earth and its human inhabitants. He also provided for ways to solve these mysteries—all man had to do was to place his accumulative brain power to earnest work. This was evident when good old Yankee know-how triumphed over the stumbling efforts of the Soviet Union to beat this country in space technology.

Any country which still does not have adequate sanitary facilities for its populace, and which still provides the commu-ıal use of one bathroom to six families in a so-called modern apartment building, is rated no threat to our scientific, technological or medical superiority.

The Soviet Union again pulled a celebrated bluff by sending Luna-15 around the moon at the time America was due to attempt the first moon landing. Its sole mission was to spy on our men and see if we actually would land men on the moon. The weak attempt to dull the tremendous breakthrough by sending the unmanned satellite around the moon only served to further embarass the Soviet Union. The Russians have themselves to blame for this since they awakened a sleeping giant when they sent Sputnik aloft and caught the whole world napping.

The Soviets have been afforded plenty of opportunities to join in a collective effort to conquer space and other planets. The lip service and refusals by the Reds have now served to blunt their boasting.

Their silence on all their space shots and the subsequent successes by the United States must make even the most hard-bitten Russian wonder just what kind of game his leaders are playing when the saber-rattling takes place each May 1.

Make no mistake about it—America has proved in every way it has participated in, and now with the successful moon landing, that this country is still the most powerful, the most knowledgeable—and, by far, the best—country in the universe.

Our words will never be able to convey our most heartfelt thanks to the men and women in our space program. History will now take a sharp turn in a different direction. New words, new worlds, new horizons will become a new part of our lives.

In the next 31 years, reaching for the Year 2,000, this old Earth will never be the same. New challenges will face us; somehow we have the feeling, backed up by proof, that "We shall overcome!"

RED DONALDSON—SAVANNAH'S MASTER HOST

HON. G. ELLIOTT HAGAN

OF GEORGIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 28, 1969

Mr. HAGAN. Mr. Speaker, it is almost as though an era has been drastically diminished in Savannah because of the untimely passing of one of this proud city's most famous sons, Kermit L. "Red" Donaldson.

I cannot imagine anyone having been to the almost fabled Johnny Harris' Resturant not remembering the "master host." For Red Donaldson was just what that name implied—a rich personality with a fondness for the humanity that walked through his restaurant doors and a friendly exuberance with which he greeted all patrons.

There are many who will recall the famous "Johnny Harris barbeque sauce," especially the servicemen who were stationed at Fort Hunter and Fort Stewart and other nearby military installations during World War II and since.

Wesley Willis' article about Red Donaldson from the Savannah News-Press magazine describes him well. I feel once you read it, you will almost know him and will understand my keen feeling of pride in being among Red Donaldson's friends. The article follows:

RED DONALDSON—SAVANNAH'S MASTER HOST

(By Wesley Willis)

Many, many Savannahians and nomads will long remember and revere the warm greeting received as they entered one of three portals at Johnny Harris' Restaurant. The man responsible for energizing this nostalgia is gone. His epitaph, etched on the hearts of a multitude of people would have to read: Red Donaldson-Savannah's Master Host.

This is the Horatio Alger story about a man and his restaurant. The first chapter commenced shortly after the turn of the century, when Red was born on a farm in Nevils, Georgia. Even a city boy knows that hard work is no stranger to a boy reared on a farm. Thus, the key to his success, hard work.

Red, who preferred the excitement of city living, ventured into Savannah at an early age. His first job was in a service station. His genial personality and hard work soon built this station into a fine paying business for his employer. Yet he was not satisfied with this as his permanent livelihood and many lives here have benefited by his decision to change vocations.

Red Donaldson and Johnny Harris' Restaurant were a melding of one since the two became intermingled in 1927. The original location of the restaurant was at Victory Drive and Bee Road. This was the genesis of the success story of the Master Host. His first duties were varied and included dishwashing, cooking, manning the cash register or you name it. He was like a human pogo stick, full of bounce and energy, performing where his services were most needed. Red was diligent and thorough. His father taught him a lesson that stuck with him through the years. It was that success is within the reach of all men if they are willing to pay the price for this beautiful treasure called S-U-C-C-E-S-S. Red Donaldson was willing, otherwise there would be no harvest for the story you are reading.

Early in his restaurant career, besides working long hours, he walked to and from work in all kinds of weather. As the crow flies it is a long haul from Abercorn and Duffy streets to Victory Drive and Bee Road. An ordinary man would have succumbed to this tortuous pace. The big difference was that Red was an extraordinary man and this slight inconvenience was just the beginning of the man and his successful venture into the restaurant field.

The restaurant flourished and soon Red assumed managerial duties and became indispensable to Johnny Harris. The place became to cramped to take care of the crowds who came to feast on the two specialties of the house, barbecue and fried chicken. So plans were made to expand. Rather than do patch work on that location it was decided to build a completely new facility.

On September 13, 1936, the new house that Red surely helped to build opened for business at the present location. Through the years the original specialties of the establishment have grown into a menu of many succulent foods that would please the palate of even a master gourmet. Yet, the most important entree' has never appeared on the menu. Red's real down to earth specialty was good clean fun. It was a commonplace sight to see a rabbi or ministers of many faiths dining with their wives and children. Then there were priests with their friends. All of them have dined in complete comfort with the Master Host. Really, the only go-go girls ever to perform there were the young daughters of customers, scurrying to the ladies room!

The fine foods of Johnny Harris' would not be complete without that tantalizing barbecue sauce. You will find it on every table in every booth. Some of you oldtimers will remember how it was at first dispensed in soft drink bottles to the many customers who wanted to drench their home foods with this delicacy. The sauce business is now full grown and can be procured in supermarkets and to the delicatessen trade throughout the Southland. Gift boxes are also shipped all over the United States and to our servicemen overseas. It is delicious on all foods and as one commercial states, "Johnny Harris' Barbecue Sauce is good on Johnny Harris' Barbecue Sauce!!"

Johnny Harris, the founder, died in April, 1942. Red continued on as manager and part owner. The business flourished under his competent leadership. This growth was due to a combination of fine food and the congeniality of the man. He met all with a smile and a sincere hello.

When ex-Savannahians return for a visit, Johnny Harris' Restaurant is the most likely mecca they seek for a chance reunion with old friends. The young daughter of a onetime citizen once remarked during one of their visits, "Mama and Daddy are going to Johnny Harris', the garden spot of the universe." And truly it is. It is a garden of beautiful friendship where good fellowship excels. Many long time acquaintances have been renewed under this roof. Also Johnny Harris' is where you are likely to find a member of the family in an emergency. Recently a mother passed away at midday. One brother was asked to locate his younger brother. His first call was to Johnny Harris' Restaurant. The brother was there.

As time will do, it went on and so did the ambitions of Red Donaldson. In 1955 he purchased full control of the restaurant. For the ensuing four years business continued to flourish under his supervision. Then to the sorrow of many, he decided to lease his restaurant. This took place in April, 1959. Suddenly the atmosphere lost the glow so well remembered by the legion of friends of the Master Host.

Finally, after much consultation with his innerself, Red decided in April, 1961 to return to the helm at his house of memories that he could not seem to relinquish. Immediately the building sang a joyous and triumphant melody. Red had returned to his natural habitat and following him as daylight moves behind darkness, there was again the warmth that only he could generate. Even the lights twinkled and took on added brightness.

Most people usually wait until the death of a man to shower the family with superlatives about him. Not so in the case of Red. His virtues were extolled by his friends almost daily to members of the family. Possibly these displays of fondness stemmed from his love and loyalty to his people. He was seen so often in hospital corridors, going to or from a visit with friends, that several nurses and hospital employees thought he was a minister. And truly he was a minister of goodwill and hospitality.

He was the patriarch of his clan of loyal workers. He had the capacity to sense and participate in another's feelings or thoughts. For this reason very few of his workmen were of the itinerant type. His barbecue cook, to cite an instance, has performed there for forty-five years and there is a waiter who has worn out much leather shuffling across the floors for twenty-five years. Red was also held in high esteem by his competitors, prominent business executives, leading political figures throughout the state and his fellow mortals from all walks of life.

Red believed in the epitome of atmosphere and food for his household of personalities. He was so congenial to all, regardless of social or monetary status, that all felt they were a guest, in his home rather than the paying clientele. Everyone will substantiate his policy of no rowdyism. Ladies could dine alone, sans the fear of being harassed by the male species. Some few who have tried to combat this policy are still on the outside looking in. He was long on patience yet all who knew him were well aware that he would not tolerate any hanky-panky episodes.

The illustrious career of Red Donaldson was terminated on May 13, 1969. He was stricken on his farm in Brooklet, Georgia and died a short time later at the Bulloch County Hospital in Statesboro. It was only fitting that his exodus took place only a short distance from his birthplace. Lord Baden-Powell once said, "Try and leave this world a little better than you found it, and when your time comes, you can die happy in the feeling that you have done your best." The Master Host surely must have passed on with a happy farewell to the better community he bequeathed to his fellow men.

The lights seem dimmer at Johnny Harris' Restaurant these days. Red will forever remain in the hearts of the lives that he brightened with his famous smile, sincere drawl and warm handshake. It was always difficult to think of him without Johnny Harris' Restaurant; it is almost sacrilege to imagine the restaurant without the Master Host, yet at each of the three doors and all through the edifice, his echo, "Hello my friend," will forever remain.

TWO SENTINELS OF THE STATUS QUO

HON. JOHN CONYERS, JR.

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 28, 1969

Mr. CONYERS. Mr. Speaker, I would like to bring to my colleagues' attention the following speech delivered by the Honorable Senator FRANK CHURCH. It is one of the most perceptive analyses I have seen on the United States and the Soviet Union, observing that "in their foreign policies, the two superpowers, have taken on a remarkable resemblance." Neither policy is as honorable as its proponents envision it, nor as dissolute as its opponents would portray it. Each is ill-advisedly and contradictorily trying to protect the international status quo from subversion by the other. I include in the RECORD this excellent study as follows:

TWO SENTINELS OF THE STATUS QUO

An analysis of the parallel foreign policies of the United States and the Soviet Union

For all their immense physical power, the two dominant nations in the world—the United States and the Soviet Union—suffer from a neurotic sense of insecurity, although neither regards itself as being in imminent danger of attack by the other. At tremendous cost, their nuclear armories keep them at bay and, even if each were foolishly to add a new inventory of ABM missiles to the awesome stockpile, the delicate equilibrium will hold, leaving the two rivals in a state of chronic but only low-grade anxiety over the danger of attack by the other. It is a costly and desperately dangerous way of keeping the peace, but it is all we have shown ourselves capable of thus far.

The immediate threat that each superpower perceives from the other is its ideological impact on third countries, most particularly those that it regards as its protective buffers. It is one of the supposed realities of international politics—a kind of higher law transcending such legal documents as the United Nations Charter—that great powers are allowed to have spheres of influence made up of "friendly" neighbors. In the case of maritime powers such as the United States, the neighborhood may extend to the fringes of distant continents; but, whether or not the buffer is contiguous, the principle is the same: In order to guard itself against even the most remote or hypothetical threat to its security, a great power is held entitled to intervene in the affairs of its small neighbors, even to the extent of making the basic decisions as to how they will organize and run their own societies.

This is where ideology comes in. Neither the Soviet Union nor the United States seems to regard itself as being in danger of *direct* ideological subversion by the other, although there have been times—the period of Stalinism in the Soviet Union and of McCarthyism in the United States—when they did. In more recent years, the focus of great-power apprehension has been on their small-power buffers. Over these, each great power displays frenzied determination to exert ideological control. Within its sphere, the Soviet Union insists on the maintenance of Communist governments, inaccurately described, for the most part, as socialist; the United States, on the other hand, insists on the maintenance of non-Communist governments that we, for the most part incorrectly call free.

Starting with the assumption that ideology is an instrument of foreign policy through which the rival great power will establish its political domination over others, whenever and wherever the opportunity arises, each great power seems to look upon its own buffer states as peculiarly susceptible to ideological subversion by the other great power. It is further assumed that the ultimate aim of this subversion is to isolate and undermine the great power itself; that ideology, being contagious, is singularly suited to this purpose; and that, like a disease, it must therefore be isolated and destroyed before it can spread. These assumptions lead to the conclusion that it is no more than an act of self-defense for a great power to take such measures as it judges necessary to preserve the ideological purity of its sphere of influence.

Seen in this way, the various interventions of the United States and the Soviet Union are explained not only as legitimate defensive measures but as positive services. Thus, in the case of the intervention in the Dominican Republic in 1965, American policy makers were untroubled by the fact that the U.S. actions violated both the Rio Treaty and the Charter of the Organization of American States and that the revolution the U.S. suppressed was on behalf of a freely elected government that had been expelled by a coup. These were judged only superficial considerations when weighed against the need to defend America from the specter of a "second Cuba" while rescuing the Dominicans from their foolhardy flirtation with communism. Similarly, in the case of Vietnam, far from wishing to impose anything on anybody, the United States, in former Secretary of State Dean Rusk's view, seeks only to save the world from being "cut in two by Asian communism." [1]

It remained for the Russians to devise a doctrine of ideological justification for the policy of interventionism. In a document that has come to be known as the Brezhnev doctrine, the Soviet government pointed out that, in invading Czechoslovakia, the Soviet Union and its proteges were doing no more than "discharging their internationalist duty toward the fraternal peoples of Czechoslovakia" and defending their own "socialist gains" against "anti-socialist forces" supported by "world imperialism" seeking to "export counter-revolution." [2] Turn this phraseology around, substitute "anti-democratic" for "anti-socialist," "world communism" for "world imperialism," "revolution" for "counter-revolution," and the resultant rationale differs little from the official explanation of our own interventions in recent years.

Whether or not the Russians actually believe their excuse, I would not venture to guess. At any rate, I don't believe it; I believe that the Russians—even if they persuaded themselves otherwise—suppressed the liberal government of Czechoslovakia because they feared the contagion of freedom for the rest of their empire and ultimately for the Soviet Union itself. Nor do I believe that, in suppressing revolutions in Latin America and in trying to suppress revolution in Vietnam, the United States is acting legitimately in its own self-defense. There are, God knows, profound differences between the internal orders of the United States and the Soviet Union—ours is a free society and theirs is a totalitarian society whose leaders have shown themselves to be terrified of freedom—but, in their foreign policies, the two superpowers have taken on a remarkable resemblance. Concerned primarily with the preservation of their own vast hegemonies, they have become, in their respective spheres, defenders of the *status quo* against the pressures of revolutionary upheaval in which each perceives little but the secret hand of the other.

THE IMPOTENCE OF POWER

Suppressing revolution in its own immediate vicinity is an easy if embarrassing task for a superpower. Suppressing it on a distant continent is more difficult; and, as we have learned in Vietnam, beating down a strongly motivated, capably led and well-organized indigenous force is a virtual impossibility. Confronted with rising nationalistic movements, the superpowers, to their own astonishment, sometimes find themselves muscle-bound. Their nuclear power, though colossal, is so colossal as to be unusable except for keeping *each other* terrified. But in dealing with the unruly "third world," as Presidential advisor Henry Kissinger pointed out, "Power no longer translates automatically into influence." [3]

Nor, one might add, does influence translate readily into desirable or usable power. In Europe before World War One, there was a significant relationship between influence and power and between territory and power—though perhaps even then, the correlation was less than it seemed. Yet, by conquering territory or forming alliances, a nation could hope to gain material resources and political predominance. Accordingly, the balance of power was maintained—more or less—by isolating and denying opportunities for territorial expansion to the most powerful or ambitious nation. In our own time, the balance of power is determined far more by economic and technological developments *within* countries than by alliances and territorial acquisition. China, for example, has gained far greater power through the acquisition of nuclear weapons than if it had conquered all of Southeast Asia.

Nonetheless, the great powers struggle to establish their influence in neutral countries. Guided by a ritualized, anachronistic, 19th Century concept of the balance of power, they seek influence for its own sake, as if it were a concrete, negotiable asset. I am thinking not only of Vietnam but of India, where we worry about Soviet economic aid, and to whom the President once even cut off food supplies because the Indian prime minister had sent birthday greetings to Ho Chi Minh. I am thinking of Laos, where we are not only fighting a proxy war against the Communist Pathet Lao but are engaged in an agitated rivalry with the French for the control of secondary education. And I am thinking of the global propaganda effort of the United States Information Agency, with its festivals and exhibits and libraries carefully pruned of books that seriously criticize America, all aimed at manufacturing a favorable image of the United States.

All this, we are told, is influence, and influence is power. But is it really power? Does it secure something valuable for either the other country or ourselves? If so, I have never heard a satisfactory explanation of what it is; and that, I strongly suspect, is because there is none. The real stake, I apprehend, is not power at all, but a shadow that calls itself power, nourishing an egotism that calls itself self-interest.

Vietnam, in this context, is a showcase of bankruptcy, a hopeless war fought for insubstantial stakes. As a war for high principle, Vietnam simply does not measure up: The Saigon government is neither a democracy warranting our support on ideological grounds nor a victim of *international* aggression warranting our support under the United Nations Charter. As an effort to contain Chinese power, the war in Vietnam is irrelevant as well as unsuccessful; even if a Communist Vietnam were to fall under Chinese control, as I do think it would, the gains to China would be trivial compared with those accruing from her industrialization and acquisition of nuclear weapons.

The case on which Vietnam must stand or fall—if it has not already fallen—is the theory of an exemplary war, a war fought not so much on its own intrinsic merits as to demonstrate something to the world, such as that America will always live up to its alleged commitments or that "wars of national liberation" cannot succeed. The stake, then, is ultimately a psychological one—influence conceived as power.

Knocking down the case for an exemplary war is at this point very nearly belaboring the obvious. How we can demonstrate faithfulness to our commitments by honoring dubious promises to the Saigon generals while blatantly violating our treaty commitments in the Western Hemisphere—as we have done no fewer than three times since 1954 [4]—is beyond my understanding. As to proving that wars of national liberation cannot succeed, all that we have proved in four years of bitter, inconclusive warfare is that, even with an Army of over 500,000 Americans, we cannot win a victory for an unpopular and incompetent regime against a disciplined, a nationalist insurrectionary force. In the harsh but accurate summation of a British conservative who was once a supporter of the war:

"Instead of the Americans impressing the world with their strength and virtue, they are making themselves hated by some for what they are doing, and despised by the remainder for not doing it more efficaciously." [5]

At least two prominent members of the Nixon Administration have explicitly recognized the bankruptcy of our Vietnam strategy. Henry Kissinger writes:

"Whatever the outcome of the war in Vietnam, it is clear that it has greatly diminished American willingness to become involved in this form of warfare elsewhere. Its utility as a precedent has therefore been importantly undermined." [6]

President Nixon's Ambassador to the United Nations, Mr. Charles Yost, has made the point as forcefully as possible:

The most decisive lesson of Vietnam would seem to be that no matter how much force it may expend, the United States cannot ensure the security of a country whose government is unable to mobilize and maintain sufficient popular support to control domestic insurgency. . . . If indigenous dissidents, whether or not Communist, whether or not supported from outside, are able to mobilize and maintain more effective popular support than the government, they will eventually prevail.[7]

Vietnam is only one—albeit the most striking and costly—instance of a general, if not quite invariable, American policy of opposing revolution in the developing world. In some instances, this policy has been successful, at least for the short term. With our support, repressive governments in Brazil and Greece and a conservative government in the Dominican Republic, to cite but a few examples, have successfully held down popular aspirations for social and economic change. Through our support of reactionary governments in Latin America and elsewhere, we are preserving order in our sphere of influence and momentarily, at least, excluding revolution. But it is order purchased at the price of aligning ourselves with corruption and reaction against aggrieved and indignant indigenous forces that by and large are more responsive to popular aspirations than those that we support.

This policy of preserving the *status quo* is an exceedingly shortsighted one. Sooner or later, there can be little doubt, the rising forces of popular discontent will break through the brittle lid of repression. So, at least, historical experience suggests. We did it ourselves in 1776 and much of the history of 19th Century Europe consists of the successful rebellion of nationalist movements—German, Italian, Belgian, Greek and Slavic—against the powerful European order forged by the Congress of Vienna in 1815. In the 20th Century, we have seen the great European empires—British, French and Dutch—break up in the face of nationalist rebellion in hardly more than a decade after World War Two.

Since then, the revolutionary tide has continued to swell across Asia, Africa and Latin America, and it seems unlikely that even the immense resources of the United States will prove sufficient to contain the tide much longer. We have all but acknowledged our failure in Vietnam. What would we do if Souvanna Phouma's government in Laos should collapse, as it probably would if we terminated our counterinsurgency efforts and as it may, anyway? Or if a popular rebellion should break out against the military dictatorship in Brazil? Or if a Communist-Socialist government should come to power in Chile through a free election, as it could in 1970? Would we send armies to these large countries, as we did to South Vietnam and the small Dominican Republic? With aid and arms, we have helped delay the collapse of regimes whose very existence is an obstacle to social and political justice. Eventually, there seems little doubt, they will collapse, the more violently and with greater upheaval for having been perpetuated beyond their natural life span.

Thus far, I have been talking of the fragility and shortsightedness of our policy of repressing revolution. Something should be said about its morals as well. "Order" and "stability" are antiseptic words; they do not tell us anything about the way human beings live or the way they die. The diplomatic historians who invoke the model of Metternich's European order in the 19th Century, usually

Footnotes at end of article.

neglect to mention that it was an order purchased at the cost of condemning millions of people to live under the tyranny of the Russian Czar, the Turkish sultan and other ignorant and reactionary monarchs. The absolute primacy of order over justice was neatly expressed by Metternich in his assertion that, "Barbarous as it is, Turkey is a necessary evil." In a similar vein—if not, let us hope, with equal callousness—when we speak of "stability" and "order" in the developing countries, we neglect to note that in more than a few instances, the order purchased by our aid and by our arms is one that binds millions of people to live under a feudalism that fosters ignorance, hunger and disease. It means blighted lives, children with bellies bloated and brains stunted by malnutrition, their parents scavenging food in garbarge heaps—a daily occurrence in the omnipresent slums of Asia and Latin America. Only the abstractions of diplomacy take form in high policy councils; to see its flesh and blood, one must go to a Brazilian slum or to a devastated village in Vietnam.

Besides being shortsighted and immoral, our policy of perpetuating the *status quo* has a third fatal defect—a defect that represents our best hope for formulating a new foreign policy: It goes against the American grain. That is the meaning of the dissent against Vietnam and of the deep alienation of so many of our youth. It is their belief in the values they were brought up to believe in—in the idea of their country as a model of decency and democracy—that has confounded the policy makers who only a few years ago were contending that we could fight a limited war for a decade or two without seriously disrupting the internal life of the United States. What they overlooked in their preoccupation with war games and escalation scenarios was the concern of millions of Americans not just with the cost but with the character of wars they fight and their consequent outrage against a war that—even at what the strategists would consider tolerable cost—has made a charnel house of a small and poor Asian country. In this moral sense, there is hope—hope that we will recognize at last that a foreign policy that goes against our national character is untenable.

AN ACT OF FAITH

The question to which we come is whether order, in the sense in which we now conceive it, is, indeed, a vital interest of the United States, or whether, in this revolutionary age, we can accommodate ourselves to a great deal of disorder in the world. My answer, as I am sure will be clear by now, is that we must and can learn to live with widespread revolutionary turmoil. We *must* because it is not within our means to stem the tide; we *can* because social revolution is not nearly so menacing to us as we have supposed—or at least it need not be. If we can but liberate ourselves from ideological obsession—from the automatic association of social revolution with communism and of communism with Soviet or Chinese power—we may find it possible to discriminate among disorders in the world and to evaluate them with greater objectivity, which is to say, more on the basis of their own content and less on the basis of our own fears. We should find, I think, that some revolutionary movements—including even Communist ones—will affect us little, if at all; that others may affect us adversely but not grievously; and that some may even benefit us.

All of which is to say nothing about the *right* of other peoples to settle their own affairs without interference by the great powers. There is, after all, no moral or legal right of a great power to impose its will on a small country, even if the latter does things that affect it adversely. Americans were justly outraged by the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia, not primarily because we thought the Russians could have endured Czech democratization without loss to themselves but because we thought the Czechs had a *right* to reform their system, whether it suited the Russians or not. Ought not the same principle apply in our relations with Latin America and, indeed, with small countries all over the world?

I believe that it should. I would go even further and suggest that we rededicate ourselves to the good Neighbor Policy enunciated by President Franklin Roosevelt 30 years ago. There is, of course, nothing new about the principle of non-intervention: We have been preaching it for years. What I suggest as an innovation is that we now undertake to *practice* it—not only when we find it perfectly consistent with what we judge to be our interests but even when it does not suit our own national preferences. I suggest, therefore, as a guiding principle of American foreign policy, that we abstain hereafter from military intervention in the internal affairs of other countries under any circumstances short of a clear and certain danger to our national security—such as that posed by Castro's decision to make Cuba a Soviet missile base—and that we adhere to this principle whether others, including the Russians and the Chinese, do so or not.

Surely, it will be argued, we cannot be expected to refrain from interference while the Russians hold eastern Europe in thrall and the Chinese foster wars of national liberation in Asia and both seek opportunities to subvert non-Communist governments all over the world. Would this not throw open the floodgates to a torrent of revolutions leading to communism?

Setting aside for the moment the question of whether Communist rule elsewhere is invariably detrimental to the United States, experience suggests a policy of nonintervention would *not* throw open the floodgates to communism. Communist bids for power have failed more often than they have succeeded in countries beyond the direct reach of Soviet military power—Indonesia and Guinea, for example. Of all the scores of countries, old and new, in Asia, Africa and Latin America, only four are Communist. There is, of course, no assurance that an American policy of nonintervention would guarantee against new Communist takeovers—obviously, our abstention from Cuba in 1959 was a factor in the success of Castro's revolution. But neither is there a guarantee that military intervention will defeat every Communist revolution—witness Vietnam. Neither abstention nor military intervention can be counted on to immunize against communism, for the simple reason that neither is of ultimate relevance to the conditions that militate for or against revolution within a country, in the first place.

We have, in fact, had positive benefits from pursuing a policy of nonintervention. There is no country in Latin America more friendly to the United States than Mexico, which expelled American oil interests 40 years ago, while seemingly enthralled with Marxist doctrines, and which even now pursues an independent foreign policy, including the maintenance of cordial relations with Cuba. The thought presents itself that a policy of nonintervention could now serve as well to liberate us from the embrace of incompetent and reactionary regimes, which ignore popular aspirations at home out of confidence that, if trouble develops, they can summon the American Marines, while holding us in line by the threat of their own collapse.

The critical factor is nationalism, which, far more than any ideology, has shown itself to be the engine of change in modern history. When an ideology is as strongly identified with nationalism as communism is in Cuba and Vietnam and as democracy is in Czechoslovakia, foreign military intervention must either fail outright or, as the Russians have learned in Czechoslovakia, succeed at such cost in world-wide moral opprobrium as to be self-defeating. My own personal feeling is that, in a free market of ideals, communism has no record of achievement to commend itself as a means toward rapid modernization in developing countries. But, be that as it may, it will ultimately succeed or fail for reasons having little to do with the preferences of the superpowers.

We could profitably take a leaf from the Chinese notebook in this respect. The Lin Piao doctrine of "wars of national liberation," often mistaken as a blueprint for world conquest, is in fact, an explicit acknowledgement of the inability of a foreign power to sustain a revolution without indigenous support. This is what Lin Piao said:

"In order to make a revolution and to fight a people's war and be victorious, it is imperative to adhere to the policy of self-reliance, rely on the strength of the masses in one's own country and prepare to carry on the fight independently even when all material aid from outside is cut off. If one does not operate by one's own efforts, does not independently ponder and solve the problems of the revolution in one's own country and does not rely on the strength of the masses, but leans wholly on foreign aid—even though this be aid from socialist countries which persist in revolution (i.e., China)—no victory can be won, or be consolidated even if it is won.[8]"

One hears in this the echo of President Kennedy, speaking of South Vietnam in 1963: "In the final analysis, it is their war. They are the ones who have to win it or lose it." Or, as Theodore Draper summed it up, "The crisis in 1965 in South Vietnam was far more intimately related to South Vietnamese disintegration than to North Vietnamese infiltration." [9]

Nationalism is not only the barrier to communism in countries that reject it; it is a modifier and neutralizer of communism in those few small countries that do possess it. As Tito has demonstrated in Europe and as Ho Chi Minh has demonstrated in Asia, a strongly nationalist regime will defend its independence regardless of common ideology; and it will do so with far greater effectiveness than a weak and unpopular regime, also regardless of ideology. It is beyond question that the Tito government has been a vastly more effective barrier to Soviet power in the Balkans than the old pre-monarchy ever could have been; and, as Edwin O. Reischauer has written:

"It seems highly probable that Ho's Communist-dominated regime, if it had been allowed by us to take over all Vietnam at the end of the war, would have moved to a position with relation to China not unlike that of Tito's Yugoslavia toward the Soviet Union." [10]

If freedom is the basic human drive we believe it to be, an act of faith seems warranted—not in its universal triumph, which experience gives us no particular reason to expect, but in its survival and continuing appeal. The root fact of ideology to which we come—perhaps the only tenet that can be called a fact—is that, at some basic level of being, every man and woman alive aspires to freedom and abhors compulsion. It does not allow from this—as, in the rhetorical excess of the Cold War, it is so often said to follow—that communism is doomed to perish from the earth as a distortion of nature, or that democracy, as we know it in America, is predestined to triumph everywhere. Political forms that seem to offend human nature have existed throughout history, and others that have seemed attuned to human needs have been known to perish. All that can be said with confidence is that, whatever is done to suppress them, man's basic aspirations have a way of reasserting themselves and, insofar as our American political forms are attunded to these basic aspirations, they are a long leg ahead in the struggle for survival.

Footnotes at end of article.

Faith in the viability of freedom will not, in itself, guarantee our national security. But it can and should help allay our extravagant fear of communism. It should enable us to compete with confidence in the market of ideas. It should free us from the fatal temptation to fight fire with fire by imitating the tactics of a rival who *cannot* be as sure of the viability of his ideas in an open contest. The Russians, when you come right down to it, have better reason to fear freedom in Czechoslovakia than we have to fear communism in Vietnam. Appealing as it does to basic human aspirations, the contagion of Czech liberty very likely *is* a threat, at least in the long run, to the totalitarian system of the Soviet Union; by no stretch of the imagination can Ho Chi Minh's rule in Vietnam be said to pose a comparable threat to democracy in the United States.

The greatest danger to our democracy, I dare say, is not that the Communists will destroy it, but that we will betray it by the very means chosen to defend it. Foreign policy is not and cannot be permitted to become an end in itself. It is, rather, a means toward an end, which in our case is not only the safety of the United States but the preservation of her democratic values. A foreign policy of intervention must ultimately be subversive of that purpose. Requiring as it does the maintenance of a huge and costly military establishment, it must also entail the neglect of domestic needs, a burgeoning military-industrial-academic complex, chronic crises and marathon wars—all anathema to a democratic society. Every time we surpress a popular revolution abroad, we subvert our own democratic principles at home. In no single instance is the self-inflicted injury likely to be fatal; but with each successive occurrence, the contradiction and hypocrisy become more apparent and more of our people become disillusioned, more become alienated or angry, while a few are simply corrupted.

Being gradual and cumulative, the malady went largely undetected for too long a time. Now, however, a hue and cry has been raised, and for that we may be grateful, because the great debate in which we are engaged can, if we wish, be corrective as well as cathartic, by laying the foundations for a new approach in our foreign relations.

The shape and content of a new foreign policy are still beyond our view. For the moment, all that comes clearly into focus are the contradictions of our present approach and a few basic inferences that can be drawn from recent experience, notably: that we need not rely on military intervention to give freedom a chance of surviving in the world; that, indeed, we cannot do so without compromising our own freedom; and that only by being true to our traditional values and our own best concept of ourselves can we hope to play a decent and constructive role in a revolutionary world.

FOOTNOTES

[1] Press Conference of October 12, 1967, *The New York Times*, October 13, 1967, p. 15.

[2] "Sovereignty and International Duties of Socialist Countries," *The New York Times*, September 27, 1967.

[3] Henry A. Kissinger, "Central Issues of American Foreign Policy," in *Agenda for the Nation* (Kermit Gordon, ed., Washington: The Brookings Institution, 1968), p. 589.

[4] The covert intervention against the Arbenz government in Guatemala in 1954, the Bay of Pigs in 1961, the intervention in the Dominican Republic in 1965.

[5] Peregrine Worsthorne, "Goodbye, Mr. Rusk," *The New Republic*, January 18, 1969, p. 8.

[6] "Central Issues of American Foreign Policy," in *Agenda for the Nation*, p. 591.

[7] Charles W. Yost, "World Order and American Responsibility," *Foreign Affairs*, October, 1968, pp. 9–10.

[8] Lin Piao, "Long Live the Victory of People's War!" *Peking Review*, No. 36, September 3, 1965, p. 22.

[9] Theodore Draper, "The American Crisis: Vietnam, Cuba and the Dominican Republic," *Commentary*, January 1967, p. 37

[10] "What Choices Do We Have in Vietnam?" *Look Magazine*, September 19, 1967, p. 27.

MEMORIAL TRIBUTE TO REV. A. D. WILLIAMS KING, SR.

HON. ALLARD K. LOWENSTEIN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 28, 1969

Mr. LOWENSTEIN. Mr. Speaker, the world and the Nation have yet to start recovering from the wound at the heart that came with the death of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.—if recovery is possible. We can only glimpse from our own anguish what that loss was to those closest to him, to the leadership of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, to the Congregation of the Ebenezer Baptist Church, to his family.

And now a few months later we again bury a leader of the SCLC, a pastor of the Ebenezer Baptist Church, a member of this family: the Reverend A. D. Williams King, whose fate it was to be best known to the public as "the brother of Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr."

Those who knew this Rev. King cherished him as one of those rare spirits whose presence was a blessing wherever he appeared—one who needed to be no one's brother to be beloved in life and sorely missed in death, because he was in fact so genuinely everyone's brother.

Yet one of the remarkable things about this remarkable man was his relationship with his famous brother, for it is not always an easy thing to be known everywhere you go as the younger brother of one of the great folk heroes of your time, of one of the greatest men of all time. To be overshadowed without being jealous, to be compared without feeling competitive—in short, to take pride in another man's achievements and to give everything you have to help that man to do his work better: that was A. D. Williams King, truly his brother's brother.

On April 3, 1968, A. D. arrived in Memphis. "I heard my brother needed help," he said, and unheralded and unsung he came, as he always had, to give it. So the brothers embraced and laughed in the hallway of the fatal motel, and in the last hours of his life Martin King was strengthened and cheered as he could not otherwise have been.

There is no group of men and women on earth who bear more nobly than do the leaders of the SCLC, the best of mankind's spiritual heritage. There is no group of Americans who bear more devotedly the best of America's hopes and dreams. When they are hurt, all men are hurt who want a world at peace, who want an America with liberty and justice for all. Few families have given so much that is enduring and good to their times and to their country as has the King family of the Ebenezer Baptist Church of Atlanta, Ga. No family has given so much starting from such humble origins.

So again the heart of the Nation goes out to the congregation of the Ebenezer Baptist Church, to Dr. Abernathy and his associates in the SCLC, and to this extraordinary and beautiful family, smitten so soon again by so great a grief. And our prayers go especially to the widow and children of Rev. A. D. Williams King, and to his parents, gallant, gracious, indomitable, enduring.

What a debt we shall all owe to the King family and to the leaders of the SCLC if America ever becomes what America could and should become. And what an inspiration they provide to work for that kind of America. There has to be hope for a land that can produce people like these, and it has to be the duty of those of us who are left to do more than we have to see that hope realized.

I include in the RECORD at this point the memorial tribute to Rev. King from the program published by his church on the occasion of his funeral:

ALFRED DANIEL WILLIAMS KING, SR.
1930–1969

Alfred Daniel Williams King, Sr., was born July 30, 1930, the third child and second son of Alberta Williams King and Martin Luther King, Sr.

It was the destiny of this second son to live in the shadow of his great and honored brother. And yet, the Reverend Alfred Daniel Williams King, Sr., worked with such humility, such courage, such an abiding faith in the cause of his family, his people and mankind itself, that he now stands forever in his own right as a hero and a good man.

He was born into a family rich in tradition and prophetic in vision. His maternal grandfather was Adam Daniel Williams, second pastor of Ebenezer Baptist Church in Atlanta. His father had assumed that pastorate and became a legend in the struggle of the Negro people.

Christine King Farris, Martin Luther King, Jr., and A. D. Williams King were all born at 501 Auburn Avenue, N.E., in Atlanta, where they were brought up in a home of love, understanding and compassion. They also learned of injustice in the land.

"A.D." was educated first in the public schools of Atlanta, then at Palmer Memorial Institute in Sedalia, North Carolina. In 1960, he graduated from Morehouse College in Atlanta. He completed his formal education with studies at the Interdenominational Theological Center in Atlanta. He was honored in 1968 with a doctoral degree from the University of Haiti.

His heritage beckoned A.D. Williams King to the ministry, and though he resisted it, his humanity finally made him a preacher. His pastoral career began in 1957 at Mt. Vernon Baptist Church in Newman, Georgia. In 1961 he became pastor of the First Baptist Church of Ensley in Birmingham, Alabama.

In May, 1965, he was installed as pastor of Zion Baptist Church in Louisville, Kentucky. On that occasion, for the first time, three members of the King family preached successively in one day: M. L. King, Sr., in the morning; Martin Luther King, Jr., in the afternoon; the Reverend Joel King, brother of the senior Dr. King from Mansfield, Ohio, in the evening.

On April 4, 1968, Martin Luther King, Jr., was assassinated in Memphis, Tennessee. His younger brother, Alfred Daniel Williams King, had come to Memphis that day "to help my brother."

In August, 1968, A.D. Williams King accepted a call to become Co-Paster of Ebenezer Baptist Church.

On July 21, 1969, he was the victim of an accidental drowning at his home in Atlanta.

He is survived by his wife, the former Naomi Barber, married to him June 17, 1950, in Atlanta; their children, Mrs. Alveda Celeste King Ellis, Alfred Daniel Williams King, Jr., Derek Barber King, Esther Darlene King, and Vernon Christopher King; his parents, the Reverend and Mrs. Martin Luther King, Sr.; his brother-in-law and sister, Mr. and Mrs. Isaac Farris, Sr.; their children, Isaac, Jr. and Angela Christine; his sister-in-law, Mrs. Martin Lurther King, Jr.; her children, Yolanda Denise, Martin Luther III, Dexter Scott and Bernice Albertine; four aunts; three uncles; his son-in-law, Mr. Jerry Ray Ellis; his mother-in-law, Mrs. Bessie Barber Bailey; and numerous other relatives and friends who are legion.

Alfred Daniel Williams King, Sr., had an unheralded but significant career as a civil rights leader and freedom fighter.

He was in the sit-ins and the Freedom Rides of the early 1960's—a testament of bravery exhibited by few men of his time. He was also jailed many times in the cause of the nonviolent movement. He was in Albany, Georgia, in 1961; St. Augustine, Florida, in 1964; Selma, Alabama in 1965.

In the historic Birmingham, Alabama, Movement of 1963 he played a leading role. His home there was bombed as he assumed a leadership that challenged America and the world.

In Louisville, he organized the Kentucky Christian Leadership Conference and the Louisville Movement of 1967–68, which culminated in the first open-housing law below the Mason-Dixon line. In August, 1968, as the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, of which his brother served as Founding President, met in Memphis, the church of Rev. King was bombed.

After the passing of his brother, Rev. A. D. Williams King was everywhere he was needed. He was a faithful and valued Member of the Board of Directors of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference. He served and sacrificed in the struggles of garbage workers in Memphis, Atlanta, St. Petersburg and Macon. He was a leading strategist of the Poor Peoples's Campaign. He was the first representative of SCLC to appear in support of the historic strike of hospital workers in Charleston, S.C., a strike that recently ended in victory for all black and poor people.

History thrust Alfred Daniel Williams King, Sr., into a most delicate and difficult position. He assumed that position with grace and dignity.

He was a decent, generous, strong and gentle man.

He was the kind of brother, son, husband, father and leader that men hope to be.

Alfred Daniel Williams King, Sr., loved life and he loved people with a gorgeous and limitless passion.

People moved him so much because he loved them so much.

FEDERAL BIRTH CONTROL

HON. ANDREW JACOBS, JR.

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 28, 1969

Mr. JACOBS. Mr. Speaker, I insert this the following article, which appeared in the Indianapolis News on Saturday, July 12, 1969:

FEDERAL BIRTH CONTROL

Talk is cheap, and that's about all the public has heard from Washington concerning economies in government.

Expenditures keep going up and there is considerable speculation that the Federal government may spend up to $200 billion this fiscal year, which began July 1. While that figure is almost incomprehensible, it's not too difficult to see why the budget keeps rising when individual cases are considered.

For example, the Department of Health, Education and Welfare has announced a grant of a quarter of a million dollars to Indiana to provide family planning for the poor in the state's metropolitan areas. The $244,000 grant will provide counseling, medication and birth-control devices.

The public is assured by Dr. Joseph F. Thompson, who will have charge of the grant, that "there is no coercion involved. A woman must request the information or equipment before we give it out."

The lack of coercion doesn't answer the religious and moral objection many Americans have to the use of artificial methods of birth control. It is ironic that a number of people who are so eager to encourage young men to opt out of military service on religious grounds are also so persistent in getting the Federal government to force others to subsidize birth control.

We believe that birth control is a private matter among individuals and should be neither encouraged or discouraged by the government. It's another expense contributing to the high cost of government when the need is for a little common sense about the use of the taxpayer's money.

BUFFALO EVENING-NEWS ISSUES MEN-ON-THE-MOON EDITION

HON. THADDEUS J. DULSKI

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 28, 1969

Mr. DULSKI. Mr. Speaker, all of us are bursting with pride—and rightfully—at the triumphant success of Apollo 11, allowing American astronauts to be the first to set foot on the moon.

The achievement staggers the imagination, coming on the heels of a long series of successes in the space program of our United States.

Yet, even at this time of great jubilation we must not forget the great sacrifices that have gone into our effort over the years. I refer, of course, in particular, to the tragedy on the pad at Cape Kennedy which took the lives of three of our brave and dedicated astronauts.

The successful voyage to the moon of Apollo 11 has been chronicled in a special edition of the Buffalo Evening News, published last weekend in my home city of Buffalo, N.Y.

I have today sent a copy of this excellent souvenir edition to every Member of the House and the Senate.

The lead article in the special edition of the News puts this achievement in focus, as follows:

OUR MEN ON THE MOON—FULL STORY OF MANKIND'S GREATEST ADVENTURE

The white-clothed human leg stretched down the ladder, probing carefully. It was motionless for a moment—and then it went downward those last awful inches to the surface below.

After his many millenia on earth, man was beginning the move into a new home in the vast mansion of space.

It was July 20, 1969, and Neil A. Armstrong was standing on the surface of earth's closest neighbor in the solar system, the silent, dusty wasteland of the moon.

Armstrong, who had reported the lunar module's arrival a few hours earlier with the eloquently simple words, "Eagle has landed," now spoke into the microphone inside his space helmet.

"That's one small step for man." His voice faltered on the last word. There was a moment of silence. Then he added, "A giant leap for mankind."

Another white-suited figure came down the ladder.

Edwin E. Aldrin Jr. hesitated near one of the space ship's spidery legs, turned uncertainly and then spoke reverently into his microphone about the "magnificent desolation."

Thousands of miles away, million of human beings were experiencing an excitement they never will forget.

Most of them in America had eaten Sunday dinner and then settled themselves in easy chairs before television sets with the same feeling of casual anticipation they would for a Sugar Bowl football game.

Suddenly, the full realization struck. They were watching one of the great moments in all of human history.

Many of the viewers wept. Many prayed. And many just stared in disbelief.

"In the beginning, God created the heaven and the earth," begins the Biblical chronicle of Genesis.

Over countless centuries, man had clung precariously to life on God's earth. He had made it a comfortable home—a "good earth." And he had made it a place of pain and tears, a place of hopeless poverty. He had soaked its fair meadows with the blood of soldiers and made wide stretches of it ugly as he seized its resources.

Now, man was moving out into God's heaven.

Then, incredibly, the solmenity of the moment evaporated. Armstrong and Aldrin were dancing and cavorting over the moon's surface—like two young boys dashing out to play in winter's first snowfall.

Deliberately or unwillingly, the two space travelers were demonstrating again the miracle of man's powers of adaptability. Suddenly, you knew that man would be able to live with what he found in space . . . that, in the words of human young, he'd "hack it" out there.

Returning to earth Thursday, the Apollo-11 astronauts are men apart for a while, quarantined against the possibility that, if moon bacteria exists, they could start deadly plagues.

Looking backward, it is strange to think that man's quest into space began less than a dozen years ago. On Oct. 4, 1957, a Russian rocket hurled a 184-pound sphere into an earth orbit.

The U.S. got into space Jan. 27, 1957, when the Army launched Explorer II—a basketball-sized orbiter.

Four years later, the first two men were in space within a month of each other.

Russian Yuri Gagarin rode a space ship for one earth orbit April 12, 1961.

On May 6, Alan B. Shepard rode a Mercury ship in a sub-orbital space trip down the Atlantic missile range.

The Russians scored their last major space victory on March 18, 1965, when Aleksea A. Leonov stepped out of a two-man capsule for history's first space walk.

On June 3, 1965, Edward H. White made the first American space walk and enjoyed it so much that his co-pilot, James A. McDivitt, had to coax him back into the capsule.

Both American and Russian space programs were jarred by tragedies in 1967. The first crew for the Apollo series—Gus Grissom, White and Roger Chaffee—died in a launch-pad fire as they were rehearsing in a liftoff simulation.

Three months later, the Russian Soyuz-1 crashed during re-entry, killing its pilot.

Both countries' space programs were slowed after the tragedies. The American NASA program had to operate in the 1968 fiscal year on its smallest budget in six years.

The Russians were having their troubles, too. They were struggling with design problems for the manned lunar trip—problems that they apparently never have solved.

The world continued to watch the U.S.-Russian race to the moon, not knowing that the race already had been decided.

Apollo-8 made the first manned lunar orbits and the world was thrilled last Christmas Eve, as Frank Borman read the words of the Bible's Book of Genesis while he moved across the moon's wastelands.

The troublesome lunar module problems were shown to have been solved by its successful use during the Apollo-9 trip in earth orbit. The lunar module, or "Lem," was ridden during Apollo-10 by Thomas Stafford and Eugene Cernan, who made breathtaking passes over mountains on the moon in it. That set the stage for the historic Apollo-11 journey.

The future of space travel stretches ahead in inviting vistas.

But, aside from more detailed moon explorations, the next order of business is the prosaic job of putting big observatories, laboratories, and launching pads in permanent earth orbit.

The Saturn rocket will be the work-horse of the lunar age.

But work is well along on the designs of Nova-type and nuclear space engines.

Then, man will turn his attention to our planetary neighbors, Mars and Venus. Already, American probes are on the long voyage to Mars that will be climaxed when they photograph the "red planet" from close range. We'll be looking at those pictures before summer's end.

Sometime after the year 2000 man will depart on voyages to the vast reaches of space outside our solar system. Those trips will stretch over many years, but Einstein's findings tell us the voyagers will return to earth still young men—probably to find their grandchildren old and gray.

For the nearer future, the most interesting footnote has been spoken by America's first man in space, Alan Shephard.

He thinks future space travelers will not have to undergo the rigorous training of today's astronauts.

"I think there is no question that we could send a man into space without astronaut training," he says.

Maybe your grandchildren will be telling you about their trip to the moon.

No one would say that's impossible—not after the night of July 20.

Mr. Speaker, a feature on the front page of the special moon landing edition of the Buffalo Evening News was a poem written by our superintendent of schools in Buffalo, Dr. Joseph Manch.

Following is the text of the poem:

MOON WALK

We watched and waited, prayer in every heart,
And slowly learned this miracle of space
Was real, and that these men, with astral art,
Would walk the gray earth satellite whose face
Has known the poet's pen, the lover's plaint
And the philosopher's surmise. And so
The truth is clear and joy needs no restraint
To celebate the "giant leap" we know.

The wonder of it all! Our fearless men
Have stepped upon the moon and stirred the dust
Of eons and returned to us again
To give fresh promise of another thrust;
An orbit of the heart to find increase
Of hope—that men may walk the earth in peace!

—JOSEPH MANCH.

BECAUSE I AM AN AMERICAN

HON. GEORGE E. BROWN, JR.

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 28, 1969

Mr. BROWN of California. Mr. Speaker, recently, Miss Mary L. Kulper, a constituent of mine from Alhambra, Calif., wrote to the Alhambra Post-Advocate a short statement presenting her feelings on what it is to be an American.

I agree with Miss Kulper that all of us would benefit from more personal expressions about our country and how we, as individuals, relate to it and to its continuing traditions. I found Miss Kulper's article quite interesting, and I now insert it into the RECORD so as to share it with the rest of my colleagues:

BECAUSE I AM AN AMERICAN

EDITOR,
Post-Advocate:

Lately I have been concerned about my fellow man. I feel as though Americans are forgetting what an American is and what their job as Americans is.

I have jotted down a few things that I feel Americans are forgetting. I realize that what I have written is just a small portion of what I feel as an American. If it meets your approval please print it in your paper. I think that if people see more and more articles dealing with what Americans feel maybe more and more people will start thinking what it is to be an American.

I wrote to my Congressman (Rep. George E. Brown) and asked if I could obtain a flag that has flown over the capital of the United States. I told him I would fly it every day. Well, I have flown it every day for almost a year.

Now, when I drive around Alhambra I notice more and more people flying their flags every day. It makes me feel good.

I want to thank you for taking the time to read this letter.

MARY L. KULPER.

ALHAMBRA.

(The flag that Congressman Brown sent to Miss Kulper was flown over the nation's capital on July 30, 1968—EDITOR)

I AM AN AMERICAN

(By Mary L. Kulper)

I am an American. Oh, that doesn't make me perfect, but it does make me a special breed of person. One thing an American is is a believer, and I believe in what my fellow man is striving for.

I am not capable of doing wrong when I believe in America, but today too many Americans are going too far—defacing and not accepting the flag. Oh, I realize that all that comprises a flag is a piece of cloth with some stars and stripes on it, but that is not all that our flag is. That flag of ours has been through every war America has fought, starting with George Washington. So we are not honoring only the flag itself but the Americans who have died for it. The flag represents freedom for all, no matter what color, race or creed.

People today are going too far and they want too much freedom. Sure, we fought for freedom for all, but there is a limit; if there wasn't things would have been much different than they are today. Today, like in the beginning of this great nation, we need people to protect our freedom so that we don't ruin a truly free nation.

People today also take every day's living too much for granted. These people don't realize or don't want to realize the hardship our forefathers went through—but I do, because I am an American.

When I see a flag waving in the breeze, I picture struggling men fighting for our freedom. I realize our life is a free life but we must all help each other to really benefit. We must truly be Americans.

FREEDOM FROM HUNGER FOUNDATION SPONSORS HIKE

HON. ANDREW JACOBS, JR.

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 28, 1969

Mr. JACOBS. Mr. Speaker, on May 17, the American Freedom From Hunger Foundation sponsored a successful "African Trek" of 24 miles through Rock Creek Park, in Washington, D.C.

Participants in the hike were matched by citizens who pledged to contribute varying amounts per mile walked by the various participants. The contributions were specifically for the purpose of food for hungry children.

Various Members of the Congress including the Honorable PATSY T. MINK of Hawaii, Hon. DONALD M. FRASER of Minnesota, Hon. CHARLES H. PERCY of Illinois, Hon. BROCK ADAMS of Washington, as well as John Mink, Jay and Mrs. Rockefeller and numerous other notables, donned their walking shoes for what was really a rather grueling physical experience, wearing out one kind of sole and uplifting another kind of soul.

Some of the other really outstanding citizens who participated in this altruistic event included Mr. Louis J. Mahern, one of the world's foremost authorities; the Honorable Joseph Palmer, Assistant Secretary of State and Mr. William Satterwhaite, Ambassador to South Africa.

At various checkpoints along the 24-mile course, various African embassies delighted the participants with displays reflecting the culture of various African States.

Though the hike was as exhausting as one might imagine, the very large proportion of the very young who participated was an inspiration in itself.

We older ones were inspired by the performance of the young people, particularly the high school boy who literally ran nearly the entire distance, finishing hours ahead of the hikers.

One could not help but be inspired by young Henry Schoelkopf who unfortunately had worn formal shoes which pinched a bit but who said, "Hurting feet aren't as bad as empty stomachs." Henry marched for more than 20 miles. Chaning and Chesley Jonker were among the youngest participants and as they learned to recite Kipling's "If" they inspired us all to persevere.

Mr. Speaker, the song goes, "If everyone would light just one little candle." The brilliant torch of concern for starving fellow humans was held high on May 17 by all these wonderful people and institutions who literally gave of themselves for the American Freedom From Hunger Foundation African Trek in Washington on May 17, 1969:

The Honorable Walter E. Washington.

The Honorable Senator CHARLES H. PERCY.

The Honorable BROCK ADAMS.

The Honorable DON FRASER.

The Honorable PATSY T. MINK.

The Honorable Joseph Palmer, Assistant Secretary of State.

William Satterwhaite, Ambassador to South Africa.

Lt. Robert Peck, District of Columbia Fire Department, Office of Public Safety.

Mr. Lee Thurman, Director, Civil Defense.

Clinton Mitchell, Special Assistant to Executive Director, Community Relations, Mayor's Office.

Dean Francis B. Sayre, Jr., Washington National Cathedral.

Canon Charles Martin, St. Albans School.

Mr. Edward Curran, National Cathedral School for Girls.

Detective Ray Wrenn, Police Boys Club.

Lieutenant Ellis, Special Events, Metropolitan Police.

Mr. Martinek, Superintendent, Park Police.

Washington Red Cross, Rescue Unit.

Georgetown University nurses—four nurses volunteered their services for first aid.

Dr. William Robinson, medical doctor on route all day.

Miss Condy Smith, in charge of manning checkpoints.

Mr. Phil Lee, transportation.

Mr. Ian Smith, Peace Corps Liaison.

Miss Linda Sawyer, radio stations WMAL, WTOP, WABA, and WOL.

Charles Cheng, Teacher Union, District of Columbia.

Mr. Robert Pellaton, route coordinator and map director.

In addition to the above, numerous letters were sent to African ambassadors, churches, schools, and neighborhood groups who contributed both their time and their energy to make the walk a success.

Organizations with more than three walkers were: Walt Whitman High School; Gordon Junior High School; Office of Economic Opportunity; Sidwell Friends School; St. Albans School; National Cathedral School for girls; Coolidge High School; Paul Junior High School; Peace Corps; Backus Junior High School; Howard University; St. Cecilia Academy; W. T. Woodson High School; First Trinity Walther League, Lutheran Church; VISTA.

Notre Dame Academy; Walter Johnson High School; Federal City College; Young Christians Movement; District of Columbia Teachers Union; Roosevelt High School; Western High School; Holy Trinity; American Institute; Sousa Junior High; Williamsburg Junior High; St. Anthony's; Bishop McNamara; Junior Neighbors Committee; Cardozo High School; Rabaut Junior High; Eastern High School; Anacostia High School; Kelly Miller Junior High; Taft Junior High; Deal Junior High; Wilson High School.

Former Representative Leonard Wolf of Iowa, executive director of the Freedom From Hunger Foundation is to be credited with the management of this entire philanthropic effort.

THE COMMUTER RAIL CRISIS

HON. RICHARD L. OTTINGER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 28, 1969

Mr. OTTINGER. Mr. Speaker, it is particularly timely that this week, with the Senate Subcommittee on Housing scheduled to conduct hearings on mass transportation and the House Banking and Currency Committee having before it proposals to create a mass transportation trust fund, a definitive report on the commuter rail crisis in New York, New Jersey, and Connecticut has appeared in the New York Times.

I and other Members of the Congress have pointed out repeatedly how vital fast, efficient, and economical mass transit is to our cities and suburbs but we still lack a meaningful national commitment in this area. We know now that we have the ability to place men on the moon with great precision and speed, but we cannot assure the commuter from Westchester, Putnam, Fairfield, or Bergen Counties that he can get to his job in New York in anything resembling a reasonable amount of time.

The crisis we face is the result of many different factors and government, the railroads and labor must all share the responsibility. But to point the finger of blame accomplishes little; our task must be to forge a meaningful program to develop balanced systems of public transportation for this Nation's metropolitan areas. This will take imagination, courage and vast sums of money, but above all, it will take an urgent sense of commitment, for we really have little time left.

A first step must be passage of the mass transit trust fund legislation pending in the House and Senate. I am proud to be a cosponsor of this measure, and I sincerely hope the chairman of the Committee on Banking and Currency will schedule hearings in the near future. Inaction on the part of the administration is no excuse for inaction on the part of this House.

So that there may be no question about the seriousness of the situation which faces us, I present, for inclusion in the RECORD, today's articles in the New York Times:

COMMUTER LINES AT CRISIS POINT—NEGLECTED FOR YEARS, RAILROADS SERVING CITY ARE FALTERING

No American city is as dependent on railroad commuter service as New York. But after decades of neglect, the state of the commuter lines has reached a point of acute crisis.

Last-minute cancellations of Long Island Rail Road trains are delaying and embittering more and more commuters every day. New Haven riders are finding their trains crowded, littered and late. The Penn Central is arguing with New York State's Public Service Commission over how to get badly needed cars for its Hudson and Harlem Divisions. And commuters throughout New York City's suburbs are wondering if they will be forced to pay higher fares for poorer service.

Perhaps the only plus in the metropolitan commuter rail situation is to be found in New Jersey, where two of the three commuter lines serving New York City are showing signs of improvement, in part through an infusion of state operating subsidies. But these gains have been made in a situation regarded as so unsatisfactory as not to afford much gratification to riders.

This picture has been drawn by The New York Times from interviews with rail officials, commuters and representatives of government and civic agencies concerned with the plight of the six railroads that bring a quarter of a million commuters into the city each working day.

Experts and observers say the inefficiency of metropolitan rail service springs from a variety of factors, including the need to turn from the railroad's long-term origins to rapid-service systems, an increase in vandalism over which the lines have little control, public indifference and a history of controversial management practices.

But increasingly the commuter who daily faces the threat of cancellations, breakdowns, overcrowding and long delays has been showing a lack of patience with such explanations.

"It's amazing what a stoic lot commuters have been," a New Haven rider remarked recently. However, this stoicism has been yielding to rage and activism.

T. David Reznik, a marketing analyst, doesn't ride the railroad to work these days—he walks the railroad to work. Instead of taking his regular Penn Central trains to and from Larchmont each day, he takes a variety of trains so he can go through the aisles distributing complaint sheets to his fellow passengers.

The printed sheets have blank spaces in which passengers can write in the number of "bulbs not working" and "fans not working" or the "minutes late" in arriving.

"I start in back and work my way forward, car by car," Mr. Reznik said. "The conductors keep threatening to arrest me." He said he had handed out 4,000 forms in the last three weeks, and the Federal Department of Transportation has been receiving the completed forms from passengers.

On Long Island, a drive is being organized to obtain 10,000 signatures on petitions asking for the removal of the top management of the state-owned Long Island Rail Road. and reports are current that Governor Rockefeller will seek the dismissal of the line's president.

Conductors are hearing more and more from angry passengers, and at least a few of them are growling back. Asked what the trouble was in a delay, one conductor told a fuming commuter recently: "I'll write you a letter."

Passengers are expressing a rising anxiety over railroad safety, especially on overcrowded trains. They suffer and swelter in cars with sealed windows when air-conditioning fails. With cinder blocks dropped on trains from overpasses and sharp rocks flung at windows by vandals, some riders feel like moving objects in a shooting gallery. Executives do not know at what hour they will get to work and their wives do not know what time they will reach home at night.

Frederick A. Menes of Old Westbury, L.I., has been getting up at 5:30 A.M. every weekday, half an hour earlier than usual, to be certain of getting a train that will bring him in on time to his job as general personnel supervisor for the New York Telephone Company.

Mr. Menes begins his morning anxiously listening to radio reports on rail delays on the Long Island Rail Road. What has been canceled today? Until recently he counted on catching a 7:26 train out of East Williston that was due at Pennsylvania Station at 8:12.

If the 7:26 has been scratched, Mr. Menes dashes for the 7:02, changing at Jamaica for a packed train that is scheduled to arrive in Manhattan at 7:55.

But even if the 7:26 is running, it is not at all certain that it will arrive on time. If another train has been canceled, the 7:26—normally an express after Jamaica—may add some local stops in Queens, and may lumber into Penn Station at 8:30 or 8:35.

Such frustrations have important implications for New York City.

Late arrivals to work mean costly lost time and scrapped schedules for the city's businesses. Suburbanites who turn to their automobiles add to the city's traffic, parking and pollution problems and swell demands for new expressways or increased subway facilities. State officials confront demands for subsidies or even railroad takeovers that would shift costs to all taxpayers, including city residents who never ride the commuter lines.

"It's getting to the point at which something's about to blow," said Barrie Vreeland, director of the transportation department of the Commerce and Industry Association. Mr. Vreeland's office has been receiving a stream of complaints from corporate personnel officers worried about late arrivals at work.

Ralph C. Gross, president of the association, described the rail problems as "detrimental to business expansion and economic growth" here because "most of the top and middle-level executives who work in New York live outside the city."

Urban planners are generally agreed that there is no more efficient, or potentially faster, way of moving large numbers of people from suburban or urban business centers than by rail. Yet in much of the nation, railroad passenger service largely has disappeared.

The Federal Urban Mass Transportation Administration says only five American cities still have regular commuter rail service: New York, Chicago, Philadelphia, San Francisco and Boston. Most cities now have auto-oriented transportation systems.

As a result, experts say that billions of dollars of public money have been pouring into expressway systems while only a few millions have trickled into capital improvements for commuter railroads.

As urbanization chews up fields and meadows near the city, executives are moving farther out into the suburbs, sometimes well beyond the 50-mile range, and that makes high-speed rail transit more necessary for them. But suburbanites who turn from trains to autos put pressure on for the building of more highways.

The Regional Plan Association, the nongovernmental research organization, notes that "the autos required to transport the equivalent of one trainload of commuters use about four acres of parking space—eight times the area of the main concourse at Grand Central Terminal."

Fundamental to the railroads' problem is the fact that they were not designed to do the job they are now doing. According to Robert W. Minor, senior vice president of the Penn Central, the lines were originally long-haul carriers and were not engineered for the short-haul, high-speed service required today.

Commuter railroads here do not have the equipment needed for rapid acceleration and decleration in the short distances between suburban stations. And the stations themselves generally lack the high-level platforms needed for fast loading and unloading of passengers.

Efforts are beginning to be made to change all this through the introduction of new equipment, financing and major reconstruction, but the overhaul is going to take years, according to railroad experts. And they note that the transition itself is contributing to delays and breakdowns.

Those who nourish a hope that things will soon get better have little to go on but optimism, in the opinion of most rail specialists.

The Regional Plan Association pointed out that the commuter lines are largely based on "the investments made in capital rail equipment prior to 1929." The Depression discouraged investments, then World War II came along, and then the postwar automobile boom, with its corresponding decline in riders using the rails.

According to records of the American Railway Car Institute, the trade association of railway car manufacturers, there is no continuing industry in the manufacture of self-propelled "inter-urban or commuter cars."

In 1969, said Walter A. Renz, the association's president, only 25 cars have been ordered for all the commuter lines in the nation.

"The cars cost so much because there are so few orders," he said. "It's no secret that the railroads detest these passenger runs, and I haven't seen any real commuter car business for a long, long time."

Added to these problems are difficulties and prospects peculiar to each of the commuter railroads in this area. Some of these aspects are discussed on this page.

METROPOLITAN LONG ISLAND RAILROAD

In the barnlike Dunton Electric Repair Shop in Jamaica, Queens, a score or more cars awaited repairs recently. There are commuters who believe that the true symbol of the Long Island line should not be Dashing Dan (which the railroad is phasing out), but these disabled cars.

Anthony F. D'Avanzo, general chairman of the Brotherhood of Railway Carmen, Lodge 886, says the members of his union have been working an average 24 hours overtime to catch up on a servicing backlog that has restricted railroad efficiency for many months.

Moreover, Mr. D'Avanzo says, the work strain accounts for high absenteeism and this compounds the problem of how to find enough cars to take 90,000 regular commuters and 40,000 others into and out of the city each day.

On June 26, its worst day, as many as 223 of the Long Island's 774 electric cars—both old and new—were out of service for inspection and repairs. Thirty-five of 363 diesel and other cars also were not in use. As a result 19 of the line's 631 trains for that day had to be canceled, and each cancellation affected about 1,000 riders.

This was not an isolated situation on the nations biggest commuter railroad. On a recent Friday, nine morning and nine evening rush-hour trains were scratched from the schedule.

Such cancellations cause more than just inconvenience.

"The other day I was not just uncomfortable, I was physically freightened," a young rider said. "With passengers from one of the canceled trains, my train, normally crowded, was dangerously crowded.

"At Jamaica an elderly woman was pushed into the car and her arm got caught and she cried, 'My arm, my arm!'

"You know that small area up at the front of the train, where the door is open and all they have is a chain across the front? Well, in that little space about four feet wide there were, as far as I could count, 23 people wedged in. I had my hand up, holding the edge of the door and I could not get my arm down. I couldn't turn my body either way and I could move my feet about an inch in either direction.

"I was scared

"There wasn't any question of taking tickets. Impossible. So the conductors rode outside on the catwalk of the engine. I felt trapped and smothered and helpless. Usually I am just so angry I could choke somebody, but this time I was scared."

The line says its last major report of on-time performance was 97.1 per cent for the 10-year period ending Dec. 31, 1967. For 1968, it says its record was 89.9 per cent; for the first six months of this year, 89.3 per cent. These are over-all figures, however, and do not indicate the performance of individual trains.

Another major problem for the line, which originated from older railroads, is that its routes are now often well away from areas of population growth. The Long Island's more modern electric service, for example, ends its eastward thrust at Babylon on the south, Mineola and East Williston in mid-island, Port Washington on the north.

Since 1966, the line has been operated by the Metropolitan Transportation Authority, which was created by the Legislature. When the authority took over, the line was in bankruptcy. The following year it obtained a $30-million Federal grant for improvement and extension of its electric system. The authority is now extending electric lines, rebuilding roadbeds and building high-level station platforms.

Electric cars ordered

The authority has also sought to replace most of its antiquated electric stock. A fleet of 620 electric cars was ordered from the Budd Company of Philadelphia for delivery by October, 1970.

The first cars arrived Dec. 23. Dr. William J. Ronan, chairman of the M.T.A., says this was 25 weeks later than he anticipated.

So far, 108 have been delivered. They have not performed well. There have been repeated electric malfunctions. Brakes have locked. Air-conditioning has failed. Trains have broken down at rush hours.

The M.T.A. stopped formal acceptance after the first 94 cars arrived. By July 1, 52 were out of service on one day. This has since been reduced to about 30 in a day.

Setbacks such as these have led at least one of Long Island's militant commuter organizations to demand the ouster of Dr. Ronan. But the beleaguered chairman has his defenders, including Governnor Rockefeller, whom Dr. Ronan formerly served as a key aide.

"Those new Budd cars, if they had all worked, would have meant progress," Ralph Gross of the Commerce and Industry Association said. "As we understand it, Dr. Ronan had a choice of two courses: Either to go on pouring money into keeping old and worn-out rolling stock going or to stop doing that and to put the money into getting badly needed new cars.

"We think the planning was logical and had the timetable been adhered to, things would already have been better on the line. All those breakdowns were not Dr. Ronan's fault."

The Long Island Rail Road deals with 17 labor unions representing 6,500 of its 7,000 employes. The dates on which contracts expire vary among the unions. The line says they have higher wages and more favorable work rules than the national average. Nevertheless, labor friction has been frequent, including strikes and work slowdowns that at times have made commuting a nightmare.

Dr. Ronan says labor-management relations have been improving. This is his hope for restoring the rate of inspection and repair to the level at which it stood before a dispute last August with the carmen that led to a three-week labor slowdown.

As a result of the slowdown, inspections and repairs were delayed on 288 cars on a single day.

NEW JERSEY CARRIERS

Anyone wishing to indulge a bout of nostalgia for the old days of railroading need not go to a railroad museum. He has only to go to Hoboken and board almost any Erie-Lackawanna commuter train.

Getting to Hoboken from New York City is the easiest part of the journey. On one of the hottest days of the year, at the height of the evening rush with the trains fully crowded, the Port of New York's Authority's PATH cars were fully air-conditioned and completely comfortable. Next, however, the commuter boards an Erie-Lackawanna train.

"Well, I see they've got the heat on," a commuter grumbled as he boarded the 5:38 Boonton Branch train to Dover and sat in a car of great age that creaked as the train began its trip.

The 10 globe lights in the car—three of them out—afforded a very dim light and the blue paint on the ceiling and sides of the car was cracked and chipped, leaving large patches of rust.

The slow-motion fan in the center of the car could not have stirred tissue at eight feet, but the windows were wide open and a good breeze came in.

As the train got close to the end of its run, a conductor looked at a passenger and said, "Well, it won't be long now, thank heaven."

On summer days the sun can heat temperatures inside the line's old cars to extreme highs, but the railroad that calls itself "The Friendly Route" says its dependability is also lofty—98 and 99 per cent on time. Passengers, many of whom object to the line's old and dirty equipment, give it full credit for that.

More than 70,000 Jersey commuters

More than 70,000 commuters use the three major New Jersey railroads—the Erie-Lackawanna, the Jersey Central and the Penn Central. But as recently as 1967 both the Erie-Lackawanna and the Jersey Central were formally seeking to abandon passenger operations. It was then that they were put under the control of the State Department of Transportation.

David J. Goldberg, New Jersey's Commissioner of Transportation, said commuter traffic had increased on the three New Jersey railroads about 10 per cent since his department began operations in January, 1967.

The state pays operating subsidies to the Jersey Central and the Erie-Lackawanna, which is owned by Dereco, Inc., a holding company of the Norfolk & Western Railway. These subsidies are negotiated annually, $4.9-million and $4.5-million respectively for the year ended June 30. The Pennsylvania, together with others, gets state aid for equipment.

Mr. Goldberg said New Jersey had "purchased virtually all the coaches available around the country worth investing funds in to rehabilitate." Of 53 it bought from the Santa Fe Railway, 27 have been assigned to the Penn Central and 26 to the Erie-Lackawanna, some to start service in October.

But the outlook seems bleak for any large-scale modernizing of the lines.

William B. Hurd, assistant administrator of the Federal Urban Mass Transportation Administration, was asked: "With so few cars being built, isn't it probable that 5 and 10 years from now, commuters on the Erie-Lackawanna will be riding the same outdated cars they're riding now?"

His answer was, "I think so, yes."

For the Jersey Central, in receivership since April, 1967, the state has obtained an agreement that the Norfolk & Western and Chesapeake & Ohio railroads would acquire the line as part of their merger plan and include it in Dereco. But the merger is still awaiting Interstate Commerce Commission approval.

State leases locomotives

Mr. Goldberg says that 13 new locomotives the state has leased to the Jersey Central have helped improve on-time performance, which had been "very poor."

Long-range plans call for electrifying the Jersey Central lines. But for interim service, the N. & W. and C. & O. are to provide 50 air-conditioned and rehabilitated coaches acquired from other railroads.

The state is also rehabilitating 60 Jersey Central coaches and beginning to buy new equipment, including 35 speedy Jersey Arrow self-propelled electric cars for the Penn Central.

But Spencer Scheffling, the Penn Central passenger statistician, said the 26 Jersey Arrows now in service had encountered "most persistent problems" in power transmission, couplers and doors. On a typical day, 8 to 10 are out of service for part of the day, he said.

HARLEM AND HUDSON

Not all commuters are uniformly incensed by their experience. Arthur Feldman, who was born and reared in the Bronx and who recently moved to Croton-on-Hudson, has a different perspective:

"It's a lot better than the subways," he said. "I take the 6:30 a.m. train from the Croton-Harmon station. It never leaves at 6:30 and it runs 5 or 10 minutes late, but to me that's nothing.

"The windows are so dirty you can hardly see out of them, but when I was on the subways could I see out of the windows? To me, it's a dream. I get a seat. In the subways if I got a seat, it was a miracle."

Other commuters, who have the choice of subway or train, agree with his view, and are willing to pay for the difference.

At 5:38 P.M. a local train leaves Grand Central Terminal for Yonkers and Glenwood by way of 125th Street and several intermediate stops in the Bronx. A single fare of $1.10 is charged everyone boarding the train, whether they go one stop or to the end of the run.

Vandalism a problem

The other night, the train was nearly filled but there were only five riders left in it by Yonkers. The others had got off at earlier stops; all rode in preference to the subway.

But many of the 24,000 daily commuters of Penn Central's Harlem Division and the 12,000 commuters of its Hudson Division are hardly enthusiastic about the service they get.

Between April 1 and June 16, the Harlem and Hudson Divisions had 18 fires that delayed a total of 300 trains, according to the Public Service Commission. Fourteen of the fires were caused by vandalism.

Vandalism is but one problem confronting these lines and their growing number of riders.

In 1967, the Public Service Commission found a "noticeable deterioration" in service, including "deficiencies in track maintenance" and worn shock absorbers that made passengers feel they were "riding on a washboard."

In June, 1968, the commission ordered the upgrading of track and equipment and it limited electric engines to 50 miles an hour speed, instead of 60, while this was being done.

One consequence was that on-time performance for the 120 rush-hour trains declined from 81 per cent to 60 per cent, according to George E. McHugh, chief of the railroad bureau of the State Public Service Commission.

In June, the railroad said, its over-all on-time record was 87 per cent for its 340 daily suburban trains. The divisions are under orders of the Public Service Commission to maintain 80 per cent on-time performances for each of its trains every month.

The state commission also has ordered the Penn Central to buy or lease 80 new self-propelled, multiple-unit cars to replace its Harlem and Hudson electric fleet within two years. The Penn Central is strongly resisting this as requiring an uneconomic investment in "1918-type" service.

Tells of Improvements

According to Leonard W. Maglione, Penn Central's suburban service manager, the railroad has made a number of major improvements in Hudson and Harlem service.

In the last five years, he said, 79 more trains have been added each weekday. Since 1965, 34 new multiple-unit electric cars have been received, and 40 mainline passenger coaches have been refurbished and placed in commuter service for non-electrified areas, with 12 more due by Oct. 1. In addition, 22 locomotives, with both diesel and electric power have replaced antiquated equipment on the Harlem Division.

Since fares were restructured, service on the divisions is "operating on approximately a break-even basis," as opposed to "large and increasing deficits" before 1962, the railroad said. This gain has been cited by the Penn Central in its hotly contested bid to restructure fares on the New Haven.

THE NEW HAVEN

Frederick Gilbert, vice president and general manager of Time-Life Broadcasting, takes the crowded 8:04 A.M. New Haven train from New Canaan, Conn. It arrived at Grand Central at 9:10 one recent day.

"My goodness," Mr. Gilbert said. "We're in right on time. What'll we do with the rest of the morning? It's too early for a martini."

There was a touch of hyperbole in his observation, but the New Haven's report on operations for the Monday-to-Friday train for a full month ended June 26 showed that not one run was completed on schedule. Only three of the 23 trains met the New York standard of on-time performance—arrival within 5 minutes of timetable.

Woodlawn, in the Bronx, is a frequent slowdown point on the line. The New Haven, alone of the commuter railroads, runs the same train on two different electrical systems. In Connecticut it draws power from an overhead line carrying 11,000 volts of alternating current. At Woodlawn it changes over to pick up power from a third rail. When the connection goes even slightly awry, it takes tinkering—and time.

Delays, breakdowns and overcrowding have angered New Haven commuters at a time when the railroad, to help with its basic financial problem, is bidding for a restructuring of fares on a portion of its suburban service.

Last Tuesday the Public Service Commission barred the Penn Central, which operates the New Haven, from imposing the new fare structure on 14,000 of its 23,000 commuters until the agency could investigate the request. The following day officials of Westchester communities served by the line assailed what they said was unsafe and unsanitary equipment.

New Haven officials say no other railroad except the Long Island has had a higher percentage of its total revenue coming from passengers—42 per cent, as against about 6 per cent on most lines.

Bankrupt in 1961

Lacking enough freight income to offset passenger deficits, the New Haven went bankrupt in 1961. Plant and equipment deteriorated.

The Penn Central took over the line last Dec. 31 and says it found the overhead electric system "grossly deficient," with some wires that draw the power worn to one-fifth their original size.

Nearly 10 per cent—about 24 of 264—of the New Haven's cars were soon scrapped. Almost half of the locomotive fleet was found to be long overdue for overhaul.

The railroad reports that it is overhauling 50 of its 60 passenger locomotives this year. Six stainless steel coaches are being refurbished each month out of a fleet of 100; other coaches will be run until scrapping time. This and other refurbishing are causing shortening of trains.

Penn Central officials say they believe that in the immediate future the line's lateness record will get worse and may remain so for some time. In its first four months as a Penn Central division, the New Haven experienced a 5 per cent reduction in number of trains—and an 82 per cent rise in number of trains late.

The Penn Central attributes these delays to the deteriorated equipment it inherited and to its efforts to modernize it. Track upgrading and round-the-clock restoration of the overhead electrical supply have delayed trains.

Vandalism also plagues the New Haven. Twenty-seven hundred broken windows have had to be replaced since Jan. 1 at $100 a window. Some riders pull down window shades as a shield against shattering glass when riding through the city.

Grant of $20.4 million

In 1967, the Federal Government made a grant of $20.4-million to cover the cost of 144 new cars and modernizing other New Haven line facilities. The grant, made through the Urban Mass Transportation Act, was made jointly to the Connecticut Transportation Authority and to the M.T.A. for these purposes.

But the grant depended upon certain agreements between the two states and the railroad that have still to be fulfilled, so the money has not yet been pumped into the ailing line.

The expectation is that the M.T.A. will buy the New Haven's right of way, stations, shops and power installations in New York State. The Connecticut authority would lease most such facilities in its state.

The two authorities would then contract with the Penn Central for the operation of the commuter service and, with the help of the Federal grant, would pay for the new cars and other improvements.

"This seems to be close to settlement," a Federal official said. But then he added:

"Of course, it will take some years to procure the cars and do the other fixing up."

FREEDOM BECOMES ILLEGAL—VI

HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 28, 1969

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, the quasi-judicial court decision outlawing freedom of choice in my State has produced so much bewilderment that the Louisiana School Board Association is asking popular support for an en banc reconsideration by all the member judges of the fifth circuit court of appeals.

Mr. Speaker, I include a letter from the president of the Louisiana School Boards and a statement for the press following my remarks:

LOUISIANA SCHOOL BOARDS ASSOCIATION,
Baton Rouge, La., July 24, 1969.

Hon. JOHN R. RARICK,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR JOHN: The school boards of Louisiana are making an urgent and serious effort to secure an en banc hearing by the U.S. Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals on recent decisions deeply affecting public education.

Your help would be invaluable and I earnestly solicit your fullest assistance in using your position and influence to aid us in obtaining this full court hearing.

For your information, I am attaching a copy of a statement I have just released to the press and mailed to all judges of the Fifth Circuit.

With sincere belief that it is time for a full review in order to clarify these sweeping decisions and to prevent chaos, I appeal to you respectfully with the hope that you will lend your active and effective support to this effort to procure an en banc hearing.

Many thanks for your cooperation.

Yours sincerely,

JAMES J. ROBERSON,
President, Louisiana School Boards Association.

STATEMENT BY JAMES ROBERSON, PRESIDENT LOUISIANA SCHOOL BOARDS ASSOCIATION, JULY 21, 1969

Who has made a mistake? Who is right? The few Judges of the Fifth Circuit who have sat as three-man teams to issue orders for all schools in several states to be totally unitary by the 1969–70 school year or the District Judges from the many districts and the vast majority of the citizens who say freedom of choice is still the only workable way to maintain the school systems?

Only three Judges of the Fifth Circuit have participated on as many as four hearings pertaining to school desegregation. No one judge has sat on as many as one-half of these cases. Only three of 11 judges in active service have sat on as many as one-fourth of these. Moreover, 10 District Judges have sat on these cases.

After looking at these facts, it does seem that we do not have a decision of the Fifth Circuit. Rather, the decision of a few Judges of the Fifth Circuit and several District Judges sitting in place of members of the Fifth Circuit.

These facts alone should be reason enough for the Fifth Circuit to call an en banc hearing to decide how best to preserve public education. They have sat en banc in cases such as a white man who had been indicted by a Grand Jury which contained no Negro; a draft dodger; an ex-convict for carrying a deadly weapon; in interstate commerce; and in the case of a woman who lost a judgment to the United States over a loan.

Maybe, if they did sit en banc, they just might consider that there is a possibility they have made a mistake. They might accept some constructive criticism, of which there has been much—criticism from fellow Judges of their own Court, from three District Judges who have said, ". . . with every ounce of sincerity which we possess, we think freedom of choice is the best plan available." And from one District Judge who said, "There is in my opinion no authority in the law for this Court to issue such an order and it seems to me that the time has come for the Federal Courts to cease experimenting with the public school systems of this Country.

Secretary Finch has said, "That a vast majority of southern schools are in compliance with the Civil Rights Law," and has privately stated that the problems that needed attention were the school districts in our western and northern states.

With these and many other facts, there is a good possibility that the Fifth Circuit has made a mistake, that they should accept constructive criticism and have an en banc hearing of all of the Fifth Circuit Judges and with no District Judges participating.

I ask every Federal Judge and citizen to ask these honorable men of the higher Court to reconsider their orders pertaining to education. I will also ask all school board associations and citizens in other states to join together in asking for a full Court hearing.

SURVEY INTERVIEWS DETROIT WHITE COMMUNITY

HON. MARTHA W. GRIFFITHS

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 28, 1969

Mrs. GRIFFITHS. Mr. Speaker, on Sunday, July 27, the Detroit Free Press featured two articles written by Philip Meyer, the first entitled, "What Do Detroit Area Whites Think Now on Race Issue? Survey Detects a Softening," and the second entitled, "What Young Interviewers Found, the Paradoxes of 'Prejudiced People,'" which presented the preliminary analysis of the 19th annual survey of the Detroit area study, a yearly survey run as a research and training program for the University of Michigan faculty and students. This year's survey directed by Prof. Howard Schumann of the University of Michigan in cooperation with the survey team interviewed a scientifically devised sampling of Detroit area white homeowners. For the benefit of my colleagues, I wish to include the preliminary results of this survey as reported in the Detroit Free Press by Philip Meyer:

[From the Detroit Free Press, July 27, 1969]

WHAT DO DETROIT-AREA WHITES THINK NOW ON RACE ISSUE? SURVEY DETECTS A SOFTENING

(By Philip Meyer)

The all-too-familiar story of rapidly growing racial tension among Detroit area whites may be a myth, a new survey by the University of Michigan has revealed.

A sizable proportion of metropolitan-area whites are frightened and hostile to Negroes—enough to cause a continuing problem for anyone interested in seeking racial peace. But their number appears to be shrinking, not growing.

This finding comes from the Detroit Area Study, a yearly survey run as a research and training program. The student interviewers talked to a probability sample of 330 Detroit-area residents, and many were troubled by what they found.

"I was surprised by the prevalance of drawn drapes, barking dogs, and inhospitable people. I got the distinct impression that Detroit has indeed become an uptight city," reported one of the students after the week of interviewing, in late April and early May.

But the answers to their questions showed that there are both short-term and long-term trends toward a softening of white attitudes toward blacks.

Early in 1968, when the riot was still fresh in the minds of Detroit-area residents, black and white, another survey of the city and its suburbs asked, "What do you think is the most important thing the city government in Detroit could do to keep a riot like the one in 1967 from breaking out again."

The answers were classified according to whether the first thing mentioned was a repressive measure—such as more police or giving police more authority—or something else, such as improving conditions for Negroes.

In that earlier survey, 72 percent of the whites in Detroit and its suburbs thought of repressive measures first. This year, the proportion with that kind of response had faded to 61 percent.

There was, however, no corresponding increase in the proportion of whites who volunteered the idea that conditions for blacks ought to be improved. Instead, more people this year said they couldn't think of any important anti-riot measures.

It is a small sign, but a hopeful one. A more dramatic shift was found by comparing white attitudes toward blacks over a much longer time span—nearly half a generation.

In 1956, a similar survey put this revealing question to Detroiters:

"One day a six-year-old asks her mother if she can bring another girl home to play. The mother knows that the other girl is a Negro, and that her own daughter has only played with white children before. What should the mother do?"

Three possible responses are offered: The mother should tell her daughter that she must never play with Negroes; or the daughter should be told that she may play with Negro children in school but not at home; or the Negro child should be permitted to come to the home.

Thirteen years ago, a majority of Detroit whites was against letting the Negro child play at the white child's home. Today, three out of four say the black child should be invited to the home.

[In percent]

	1956	1969
The exact comparison:		
Don't play with blacks	12	2
Play at school only	47	22
Bring the child home	41	76
Depends, don't know, no answer	4	5

Detroit whites have come a long way in those 13 years toward bridging the gap between the races. But a hard-core reservoir of fear, hate, and distrust still exists. Yet, this reservoir is not as great as it sometimes seems.

Many whites who have basically friendly feelings toward blacks tend to think they are pretty much alone in feeling this way. the survey findings suggest that they are wrong.

For example, nearly half the people who answered the question about the Negro child this year said they didn't think most people in the Detroit area would agree with them. And almost all of these thought other Detroiters were less liberal than themselves.

An explanation for this discrepancy will have to await more detailed study and analysis. But one possibility is that racial problems have made people with liberal or tolerant views afraid to speak out. Publicity given riots in the past few years may have made well-meaning whites afraid to express their real views for fear of seeming different.

The discrepancy also turned up in a question about housing.

Eighty-one percent said their neighbors wouldn't want them to sell their house to a Negro. Most of them were wrong in this judgment. Because when the question was reversed to, "Suppose a close neighbor was selling his house and he had a Negro customer for it. What would you want him to do?" fully 50 percent either said they didn't care or that they would want the neighbor to sell to the Negro.

"It might be a rationalization," said Elizabeth Fischer, one of the student interviewers. "Respondents may want to present themselves to interviewers in the most favorable, least prejudiced light and blame it all on the neighbors . . .

"An alternative explanation would be that the most prejudiced people are also the most vociferous and that the people who say they wouldn't care if a neighbor sold his house to a Negro keep their mouths shut. Thus, people's perceptions of what the neighbors think would be dominated by what the most bigoted neighbors think."

If true, this means that white Detroiters are not as anti-Negro as they seem. It could also mean that people may hide their tolerant feelings because they don't want to seem out of step.

The survey takes a fairly precise measure of the mood of fear among Detroit whites today. Ever since the 1967 riot there has been the fear, encouraged by some black militant statements, that the next large-scale disorder will involve the invasion of white neighborhoods by rioting blacks.

It is an unreasonable fear for several reasons: no such incident has taken place in any American city, no matter how bad its racial troubles; and the dynamics of crowd behavior are such that riots can be sustained only where large numbers of people congregate. Even if a suburban target were singled out by an angry mob, the mob would cool off by the time it got there.

Yet, the fear persists. The question was, "How much danger, if any do you think there is of groups of Negroes from the inner city going out to white areas and suburbs to commit violence on whites; do you think this is a great danger, some danger, little danger, or no danger?"

The answers:

	Percent
Great danger	24
Some danger	36
Little danger	29
No danger	9
Don't know	1

These responses show that whites in Detroit are far more frightened of Negroes than Negroes are of whites. Last fall, a Detroit Free Press survey asked inner city Negroes if they had heard any stories about groups of whites planning to attack Negro neighborhoods. Only seven percent had heard and believed such stories.

The Negro groups who talk of organizing themselves for self-protection against whites have their white counterparts. One white person out of five in the survey said it would be a "good idea" for the whites to organize into groups for protection against violence by Negroes—a sign that there are a lot of frightened people in this town.

There are also a lot of poorly informed white people. Detroit Negroes have been surveyed repeatedly since the riot to see what they want, and one of the most consistent findings is that the great majority wants integrated housing.

Yet Detroit whites, for some reason, are unwilling to believe this. Fifty-four percent said they think most Negroes want separate all-black housing. Only 35 percent gave the correct answer: most Negroes want mixed housing.

The reason for this misinformation is unclear. Perhaps it is wish fulfillment on the part of whites who see segregation as the way out of the race problem. Or perhaps it is due to over-exposure in the news media of the black nationalists who do want separate Negro neighborhoods and claim to speak for more than the minority they actually represent.

Another myth persists in Detroit: that property values go down when Negroes move in. Fifty-one percent said they always or usually go down; 32 percent said they sometimes go down. But in areas where the effect of integration on property values has been carefully studied, it has been found that it normally causes property values to rise in the long run. There is a simple economic reason for this: Housing is scarcer for blacks than for whites. Therefore, blacks pay as much or more. However, panicky whites who don't know this often lose money when they sell to speculators who do.

Some common racial stereotypes are fairly widely accepted among Detroit whites: 60 percent said whites have more ambition than Negroes; 50 percent said whites have higher morals; 43 percent said Negroes are more inclined toward violence than whites.

However, the great majority of whites who believe in white superiority don't attribute it to basic racial differences.

For example, those who said whites have higher ambition than Negroes were then asked whether they think "whites are just naturally more ambitious or that it's something about the way they are brought up?" A five-to-one majority agreed that it was the way people are brought up that matters.

The survey revealed that whites are very badly misinformed of the effects of Negro crimes. They were asked, "Do you think the victims of Negro crimes are mostly Negro or mostly white?" Sixty percent said mostly white and 24 per cent said about half and half. Both were wrong.

The right answer—(mostly Negro)—was given by only 13 percent. According to the Detroit police department, from 60 to 65 percent of the victims of Negro crimes are Negroes. In homicide cases, the proportion of Negro victims is even higher—80 to 85 percent.

A majority of respondents in the survey were right, however, in assessing the proportion of crimes such as robbery and assault which are committed by Negroes. Sixty percent said more than half, and this is true, at least in the city of Detroit. The police department estimates that blacks commit about 80 percent of the robberies and 65 to 70 percent of the assaults.

The survey probed for subtle distinctions in racial attitudes with questions that described action situations requiring a decision. The question on selling a house to a Negro was built this way.

Thirty-seven percent said, without any qualifications, that if they owned a house, wanted to sell it, and a Negro couple offered to buy, they would sell it to them.

But nearly half of these people then admitted they would back down and not sell to the Negro couple if their neighbors came around and asked them not to.

Getting people to change their minds in the other direction was harder. Those who first said they would not sell to a Negro were asked what they would do if the buyer were "a respected doctor with very high references and you know he would not cause trouble in the neighborhood."

Seven out of eight said they still wouldn't sell to a Negro.

Favorable attitudes toward blacks held up more strongly when the subject was switched from housing to schools. This time, the question was:

"Suppose there was a proposal at your children's school to give Negro parents an opportunity to transfer in about 25 Negro children from a very over-crowded school. The principal of your school calls a meeting of all parents to decide on the proposal and you go to the meeting. Would you support or oppose the proposal at the meeting?"

Persons who had no children were asked to imagine that they did. Fifty-four percent said they would support the proposal for busing in black children, and only 40 percent said they would oppose it.

"Suppose," the student interviewers then said to the 54 percent who favored bringing in blacks, "several very worried friends come to you before the meeting and urge you not to support the transfer because they are concerned about what it may do to the school and to the education of their children. Would you be willing to change your vote to avoid causing them worry, or at least not to vote at all?"

Four out of five stood their ground and said they would still vote to bring the Negro pupils into the school.

When the topic switched to jobs, things got more complicated. Eighty-three percent said they think that employers should hire men for top management without paying any attention to whether they are white or Negro.

For many, however, this is not a very strongly-held conviction. The interviewers posed this problem situation:

"Suppose a good Negro engineer applied for a job as an engineering executive. The personnel director explained to him, 'Personally, I'd never give your race a thought, but the two men you would have to work with most closely—the plant manager and the chief engineer—both have strong feelings about Negroes. I can offer you a job as a regular engineer, but not at the executive level, because any serious friction at the top could ruin the organization."

Fifty-one percent of those interviewed thought the personnel director did the right thing. More, 54 percent, thought he was in the wrong, but this is still far less than the number who said they favor color-blind hiring practices as a general principle.

The typical white Detroiter, then, comes across in the survey as someone who has some sympathetic attitudes toward the problems of blacks but is not particularly willing to go to any trouble to help solve them.

The student interviewers, trained to stay neutral while they asked the questions, did have some reaction that came out later in term papers. The gap between thought and action struck some of them.

"Many of the respondents reflected a remarkable ability to admit the high degree of poverty and disorganization in Negro life," said one coed, Diana P. Wright. But she also noted "an equal unwillingness to give up anything, whether it be all-white neighborhoods, employment practices, and so forth."

One of the interviewers was a coed who wrote about the "stunning" differences between the university environment and the world outside.

"Most overwhelming and despairing," she said, "was learning the extent to which our present society is closed to real change."

HOW THE SURVEY WAS MADE

This study of racial attitudes of Detroit area whites was designed by Profs. Irwin Katz and Howard Schuman of the University of Michigan. It is the 19th annual survey of the Detroit Area Study, a research and training program for U-M faculty and students currently directed by Dr. Schuman. Each year, it covers a different problem. The survey is conducted in the spring and analyzed the following fall. Because of the urgency of this year's subject matter, the normal data processing routine was accelerated and a preliminary analysis carried out under the sponsorship of the Detroit Free Press. The information presented here is based on 330 interviews with heads of households and wives of heads obtained by graduate students. Another 300 interviews taken by professional interviewers of the U-M Survey Research Center show substantially the same results and will permit more detailed analysis.

[From the Detroit Free Press, July 27, 1969]

WHAT YOUNG INTERVIEWERS FOUND—THE PARADOXES OF "PREJUDICED PEOPLE"

(By Philip Meyer)

One of the troublesome things about the racial prejudice is that people can have it without knowing it.

Others can have it, know that they have it, and still find it logical from the point of their own limited words.

University of Michigan students, young and bright, were surprised to find this out when they fanned out across Detroit and its suburbs recently to gather information on white racial attitudes.

The students found that the world is not like the university. It is full of people with vastly different experiences and social and economic positions. And if they see things differently it is because they have experienced life differently.

"Given their information," said Rick Ogmundson of some of the people he interviewed, "there is usually a sort of understandable rationality to their world view. Furthermore, no matter how bigoted or prejudiced they were, most of them seemed to be pretty good people doing the best they could under the circumstances. My stereotypes of the evil bigot were shattered."

Elizabeth Fischer, who interviewed people in Warren, went back to Ann Arbor with a "more sympathetic view of my white suburbanite respondents and their prejudices and fears."

"The first stereotype to go," she said, "was that the inhabitants of the identical brick houses would also be identical. I found instead that they ranged from quite liberal to quite prejudiced, and their life styles also seemed very different."

She found that even those with prejudices can be nice. "My most prejudiced respondent was one of my most cooperative. He offered me a highball and had two himself during the course of the interview."

The student interviewers noted a very close connection between the racial attitudes of whites and the personal experiences, no matter how limited, they had had with blacks. And the data they gathered told the same story.

In general, the whites who were most sympathetic to Negroes and their problems were those who had had more everyday-life exposure to blacks. About half the people in the survey had gone to integrated schools, and they were more aware of racial discrimination, more ready to socialize with Negroes, and considerably less frightened than those who had gone to segregated schools.

For example, only 20 percent of those who had gone to school with blacks thought there was a "great danger" of groups of Negroes going out to the suburbs to commit violence. Among those without any integrated school experience, 31 percent saw such a "great danger."

Another finding was that people who are frightened of blacks are scared of other things as well. The students asked people how dangerous they think Communists are in the United States. Those who considered Communists a great danger, about 45 percent of the total sample, were twice as likely as other Detroiters to be scared of Negroes, too.

There was even a connection between fear of movies with nude actors and fear of Negroes. Among those who thought such movies should be banned, 31 percent think an invasion by violent blacks is a great danger. Among the majority who think adults should be allowed to see naked performers only 21 percent fear the mythical black invasion.

There is, therefore, in Detroit a fearful personality type, and racial attitudes are only a part of this general uptightness. This will not be news to many social psychologists, because faith in people, a sense that the world is a pretty good place and not a jungle, has long been known as a frequently-useful predictor of attitudes.

One interviewer encountered an example of this "the-world-is-a-jungle" attitude in a 41-year-old Wallace voter in a working-class suburb. He was a small man, dark and solidly built, and he talked for some time on his front porch where it was dark and cold before letting the interviewer inside.

"You can just look at it," he said, when asked to describe some of the main problems in the Detroit area. "The colored having the uprising, they're going to take over Detroit. There's nothing but problems. There's no respect for the right."

This man is for banning movies with nude performers and he is particularly anxious about dirty words. "They've got a song with the filthiest word there is, and they play it right over the radio," he said. The word is so awful he could not bear to say it himself, he said.

He is frightened of Communists. "I don't know why they let anything happen, an enemy of the country, why don't they send the commies out?" he asked.

He avoids his neighbors, even though he has lived 23 years in the same block. "I don't think you should get too close," he said. "I say, 'Hi,' to them. You have to."

Given this set of attitudes, his feeling toward blacks and their problems is fairly easy to guess.

"It's their own self," he said. "They won't work. They could get jobs if they wanted. There's lots of jobs. They just won't work."

Why did he think Negroes are like that?

"I don't know."

The survey included two items that measure a person's faith in people. They ask for agreement or disagreement to two statements. One statement is, "Most people can be trusted." The other is, "Most people will take advantage of another person if given a chance." If you agree with the first and disagree with the second, you rate high—as did 45 percent of all those interviewed—in faith in people.

And these questions are good predictors of racial attitudes in Detroit. Sixty percent of those who rank the highest in faith in people also believe that where Negroes lag in jobs or income or housing, it is mainly due to the way that whites have treated Negroes in the past.

Among those with the lowest faith in people, only about half as many believe that white behavior is to blame.

This low-faith-in-people group is, not surprisingly, the most ready to organize to defend white neighbors from the expected Negro attack. Forty percent in this category want to organize such groups, compared to only 13 percent in the high-faith category.

Education and age are also strong predictors of racial attitudes. A white person who is young and has finished high school is more likely than older, less educated people to let his children play with black children, attend parties with Negro guests and not feel uneasy, sell a house to a Negro, and to support fair housing practices.

To the extent that the young are becoming more visible and more influential and with the population becoming steadily more educated, this is a hopeful long-range sign. It means that white prejudices should continue to decrease as time goes by.

But meanwhile, there is still enough prejudice to cause trouble. And there are the people who are not really prejudiced but still don't want to inconvenience themselves to ease racial tensions.

When Angus Campbell and Howard Schuman surveyed 15 cities last year for the Kerner Commission, they sought to build a base for comparing the attitudes of whites and blacks and the relative antagonism in each city.

According to Schuman, Detroit ranks in the "low middle" in racial polarization—not the best, but far from the worst. Detroit contrasted sharply with Newark, the other city to have a major riot in 1967. The 15-city survey found "extreme" antagonism among both whites and blacks in Newark the following year.

Despite the riot, then, Detroit has a better basis for building good feeling between blacks and whites than many other cities. One thing that holds progress back is the fact that a great many white people here are simply unthinking: "I think I'm more liberal about race relations than the average American," said a 42-year-old department story buyer. One incongruous detail: throughout the conversation, she kept using the word, "nigger."

Interviewer Mary Sadowski found that most prejudiced whites knew that their prejudiced beliefs were a hindrance to getting along in the world efficiently, but, nevertheless held tenaciously to them . . .

"There are a few respondents whom I will remember for a long while. One was an elderly man, 68 years old, who lived with his wife in a modest brick home in a partially integrated neighborhood. He was definitely anti-integration and anti-civil rights, although he was doing his best to adjust to the racial mixture in his own area.

"He would comment on the different questions, saying he did not appreciate the Negroes living near him . . . However, he seemed somewhat apologetic for his statements, said he realized his views were not completely Christian and, as a strong Christian, he realized he should not discriminate so greatly."

The fact that seeing Negroes socially and having gone to an integrated school makes attitudes more tolerant might suggest that living in an integrated neighborhood improves racial feeling. But this is not the case in Detroit.

In general, residents of integrated neighborhoods—and 30 percent of the whites in the survey live within at least two or three blocks of Negroes—are more afraid of blacks than those in all-white neighborhoods. Probably in most cases, these people are not living in integrated neighborhoods by choice.

They are tense whites preparing to flee the central city.

Interviewer Robert E. Klein found "an enclave of largely poor whites who are surrounded by what they perceive as an encroaching, formidable black majority. The neighborhood is a last vestige of a once all-white area . . . A substantial number of young people, poor people who have probably migrated from the South in search for jobs in industrial Detroit, and a predominant number of poor, old people."

Klein asked some of his suburban respondents how often they get into Detroit. "They average maybe two trips a year," he said. "One housewife said that all the facilities she needs are where she lives. The problems of the inner city are alien to them."

This observation suggests a basic problem: where fresh contact is made between blacks and whites these days the whites being contacted are those least disposed to respond favorably. As the black population spreads outward from the poorer, older central part of the city, it touches first the poorer, less educated, most frightened whites.

It touches people like the retired auto worker who said, "There's no more socializing in the Detroit area. You can't go out at night without being assaulted. And the taxes are outrageous. Blacks migrating from the South are not paying taxes. As far as I'm concerned, Detroit is a dead area. I'm going to move out of here."

And a Redford Township man said he moved from Detroit "partly to get away from them . . . it kept getting worse."

One of the risks of living in a university community is that you tend to forget how different the rest of the world is. The student interviewers totally immersed themselves in Detroit, living during the interviewing period at the Andoria Hotel.

At the end of the third day, one of the coed interviewers was driving back to the hotel and suddenly realized that she was talking to herself. Later, she figured out why.

"For so many hours," she said, "I had to read a structured questionnaire and record responses which radically differed from my attitudes and remain neutral throughout. I had had to present myself as a proper . . . young lady who was completely impartial. In short, it was relief to talk with someone as rational as my myself again."

She was partly kidding, of course, but her point makes sense. White Detroit is not as progressive as its bright, educated young people. But it is getting there. This a tense and painful time, but there is no reason to suppose that it will last forever. If there are fear-breeding, destructive forces at work in Detroit, there are also civilizing influences, and the survey results offer hope that the latter will eventually prevail.

ANTICIVIL RIGHTS PROVISIONS IN H.R. 13111, LABOR, HEALTH, EDUCATION AND WELFARE APPROPRIATIONS FOR FISCAL YEAR 1970

HON. JEFFERY COHELAN

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 28, 1969

Mr. COHELAN. Mr. Speaker, tomorrow, or perhaps the day after, the House will again consider the anticivil rights provisions offered by the gentleman from Mississippi (Mr. WHITTEN).

The provisions, if retained in the bill, would effectively repeal title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 as it applies to education.

I will at the appropriate time introduce amendments to strike these obnoxious, anticivil rights provisions.

I solicit, and indeed I urge, your support for these amendments to delete the Whitten provisions.

LETTER TO THE MEMBERS OF THE HOUSE

I have in fact written to each Member of the House stating my opposition to the Whitten provisions and expressing my concern.

I include a copy of this letter at this point in the RECORD:

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Washington, D.C., July 25, 1969.

DEAR COLLEAGUES: Next week the House will decide whether the Federal Government should be able to effectively encourage desegregation in schools which are unconstitutionally segregated. Beginning on Tuesday, July 29, the House will consider H.R. 13111, the HEW Labor Appropriations Bill for FY 1970. This bill as it stands would effectively repeal the Civil Rights Act of 1964 as it applies to education. This letter is to urge your support for amendments which will be introduced to strike these anti-civil rights provisions.

Sections 408 and 409 of the bill were added in committee on the motion of Representative Jamie Whitten of Mississippi. These sections are the same as provisions introduced last year by Mr. Whitten. At that time, the House approved the provisions on a teller vote, but later defeated the sections on two very close roll call votes on the conference report.

Mr. Whitten's provisions have nothing to do with bussing. Under the present law, federal funds may not be spent to force bussing. The provisions have nothing to do with school closings. HEW cannot under current law force any school to be closed.

These provisions have a lot to do with freedom of choice desegregation plans. Under the Constitution, as interpreted by the Supreme Court, freedom of choice plans are unlawful unless they promptly result in the abolition of unconstitutional dual school systems.

These provisions might also force the end of neighborhood schools. Under them, parents would be in the position of overriding local school board decisions regarding geographical pupil assignment.

This is clearly an issue of black and white. A vote against the amendments to strike will be a vote against Civil Rights, against the Constitution, and against elementary fairness and equality in education.

Sincerely yours,

JEFFERY COHELAN.

WIDESPREAD OPPOSITION

Mr. Speaker, these noxious antiblack provisions are opposed by every civil rights and civil liberties group in the country.

Major religious groups are adamant in their opposition.

Organized labor, too, is vigorously opposing these provisions. In fact just today I received a letter from Mr. Andrew Biemiller of the AFL-CIO strongly urging the deletion of the Whitten provisions. I include this letter from Mr. Biemiller at this point in the RECORD.

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR AND CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS,
Washington, D.C., July 28, 1969.

Hon. JEFFERY COHELAN,
U.S. House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN COHELAN: This year is the 15th since the Supreme Court ruled in its landmark *Brown* decision that racially-segregated dual school systems are unconstitutional. It has been five years since Congress declared in Title VI of the Civil Rights Act that federal funds may not be used to support activities which discriminate on the basis of race.

In January of this year, the Office for Civil Rights at the Department of Health, Education and Welfare released statistics showing that the desegregation figure stood at slightly more than 20 percent—that's one black child in every five attending school with whites—in 11 of the states whose school systems had, before *Brown*, been segregated under state laws. This progress, while encouraging, can hardly be called satisfactory when one considers that black children are continuing to be denied their constitutional rights.

Title VI has proven itself an effective instrument for school desegregation. That is why the AFL-CIO is particularly disturbed about two provisions of the Labor-HEW Appropriations Bill (H.R. 13111), as reported by the Committee on Appropriations. We refer to Sections 408 and 409 which would have the effect of undermining the HEW Title VI school desegregation program by requiring that the Department accept so-called "free choice" plans regardless of their effectiveness. The Supreme Court ruled just last year that the only acceptable free choice plan is one which is effective in ending the dual school system. Sections 408 and 409 are aimed at preventing HEW from requiring changes in assignment patterns to accomplish desegregation of dual, racially-segregated systems.

We must not permit this to happen, just a few months after Congress last fall rejected almost identical provisions in the 1969 Labor-HEW Appropriations Bill. We in the AFL-CIO commend you for the leadership you are providing in the effort to protect the HEW program to assure equal educational opportunity. We urge support for your amendment.

Sincerely yours,

ANDREW J. BIEMILLER,
Director, Department of Legislation.

ANALYSIS OF THE WHITTEN PROVISIONS

Mr. Speaker, I have had prepared a detailed analysis of the Whitten provisions. It is the conclusion of this analysis that the mention of bussing and school closings in the text of the provisions is simply a red herring designed to obfuscate the real purpose of the amendments which is to perpetuate unconstitutional segregation in schools.

I include this analysis of the Whitten provisions in the RECORD at this point:

ANTICIVIL RIGHTS PROVISIONS OF LABOR-HEW APPROPRIATIONS BILL

The following provisions were added to the Fiscal Year 1970 Labor-HEW Appropriations Bill by the Full House Appropriations Committee:

"SEC. 408. No part of the funds contained in this Act may be used to force bussing of students, the abolishment of any school, or to force any student attending any elementary or secondary school to attend a particular school against the choice of his or her parents or parent.

"SEC. 409. No part of the funds contained in this Act shall be used to force bussing of students, the abolishment of any school or the attendance of students at a particular school as a condition precedent to obtaining Federal funds otherwise available to any State, school district or school."

These anti-civil rights provisions are intended by their sponsors to undercut the Federal law prohibiting the use of Federal funds in school systems which discriminate on the basis of race, color, or national origin.

The House sponsor of these provisions was Congressman Whitten of Mississippi. If enacted, the provisions would seriously impede the efforts of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare under Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 to prevent discrimination in federally-aided education programs and to eliminate unconstitutionally segregated (dual) school systems.

Identical provisions were approved by the House Committee in 1968. However, both the full Senate and House modified the provisions so that their anti-civil rights effect was nullified.

ANALYSIS

Freedom of Choice—Sections 408 and 409 are intended to require that HEW accept so-called "freedom of choice" desegregation plans for Title VI compliance purposes whether or not such plans are effective in ending discrimination and unconstitutional segregation of schools. The courts have held that freedom of choice plans are acceptable only when these plans result in the elimination of discrimination and unconstitutional segregation. If, under a free choice plan, vestiges of a dual system remain, school officials must take additional steps to complete the desegregation of schools.

On May 27, 1968, the Supreme Court held in *Green* v. *School Board of New Kent County, Virginia*, that:

"The burden of a school board today is to come forward with a (desegregation) plan that promises realistically to work, and promises realistically to work *now*."

If, said the Court:

"There are reasonably available other ways, such for illustration as zoning, promising speedier and more effective conversion to a unitary, nonracial school system, 'freedom of choice' must be held unacceptable."

The Nixon Administration has stated its unequivocal commitment to ending racial discrimination in schools in accordance with the law and court decisions. In a joint statement issued on July 3, 1969, Attorney General Mitchell and Health, Education and Welfare Secretary Finch said:

"Our policy . . . will be as defined in the latest Supreme Court and Circuit Court decisions: that school districts not now in compliance are required to complete the process of desegregation 'at the earliest practicable date'; that 'the time for mere "deliberate speed" has run out'; and, in the words of *Green*, that 'the burden on a school board today is to come forward with a plan that promises realistically to work, and promises realistically to work *now*.' " * * *

"In accordance with recent decisions which place strict limitations on 'freedom of choice,' if 'freedom of choice' is used in the plan, the school district must demonstrate, on the basis of its record, that this is not a subterfuge for maintaining a dual system, but rather that the plan as a whole genuinely promises to achieve a complete end to racial discrimination at the earliest practicable date. Otherwise, the use of 'freedom of choice' in such a plan is not acceptable.

Busing and Closing of Schools—Sections 408 and 409 also refer to busing and closing of schools. These are spurious issues, designed to attract support for the real object of the provisions: the legitimization of unconstitutional freedom of choice plans.

(1) HEW does *not* require the transportation of students to overcome racial imbalance. It does require that federally-assisted school systems eliminate discrimination and unconstitutional segregation as a condition for receiving Federal funds. *How school systems eliminate discrimination and unconstitutional segregation is a decision for local school authorities.*

(2) HEW does *not* require the closing of schools. If schools were originally established for the purpose of segregating students by race and their continued operation has the effect of perpetuating segregation or denying equal educational opportunity to students of a particular race, color or national origin, such operation must be discontinued. In cases where clearly inferior schools are operated for minority students, it is sometimes necessary that they be closed in order to equalize educational opportunity within a school system. The only cases in which school districts have closed usable facilities have been where they elected to do so because school officials felt that white children would not attend them. *This is always the choice of the school district.*

FREEDOM OF CHOICE PLANS

Mr. Speaker, earlier this year the Civil Rights Office of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare prepared a memorandum explaining the details of the freedom of choice issue.

This memo makes clear the point that freedom of choice plans are clearly unconstitutional unless they result effectively and promptly in the abolition of dual school systems.

I include this memo at this point in the RECORD:

FREEDOM OF CHOICE

A freedom of choice student enrollment plan is a system of assigning students to school by requiring all students, or their parents to make a choice of school. Experience has demonstrated that use of the so-called freedom of choice plan simply keeps in effect for the vast majority of Negro students a racially segregated school system with inherently resulting inequities and badges of servitude.

In many communities, direct intimidation, harassment and physical force were used to discourage the choice of a white school by a Negro. In other instances indirect social and economic pressures as well as the long established relegation of Negroes to subservient status have prevented a true exercise of choice.

Freedom of choice plans were listed, among other suggested plans, in the Department's first school desegregation guidelines issued in the spring of 1965 as a possible method of eliminating the dual, racially segregated school system, in accordance with the nondiscrimination provisions of Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. The guidelines emphasized, however, that the responsibility for establishing a unitary, non-racial system rested with local school authorities and that the free choice plan, or any other plan, was expected to achieve this purpose.

Many school authorities using freedom of choice contend they have complied with Title VI, as well as with the 1954 Supreme Court decision in *Brown* v. *Board of Education* outlawing racially segregated school systems, as long as a choice is offered to Negro students to attend the white schools.

In almost every case, however, this policy leaves unchanged the same illegal dual school system that existed before the free choice plan was adopted. In other words, most Negro children continue to attend all-Negro schools staffed by Negro teachers and white children attend predominantly white schools with white teachers. Obviously, this does not achieve the desegregation required by law.

Federal courts, the Supreme Court and the Department of HEW have determined that when freedom of choice failed to bring about a unitary, non-racial system, school officials were obliged under the law to use some other method or a combination of alternatives which would accomplish the legally required result. In short, the issue under the law is not the means, but the end result.

The unanimous Supreme Court decision made this clear on May 27, 1968, in *Green* v. *County School Board of New Kent County, Virginia:*

"In desegregating a dual system, a plan utilizing freedom of choice is not an end in itself . . . The burden on a school board today is to come forward with a plan that promises realistically to work, and promises realistically to work *now* . . . It is incumbent upon the school board to establish that its proposed plan promises meaningful and immediate progress toward disestablishing State-imposed segregation."

The court also quoted Judge Sobeloff in *Bowman* v. *County School Board:*

"Freedom of choice is not a sacred talisman; it is only a means to a constitutionally required end—the abolition of the system of segregation and its effects. If the means prove effective, it is acceptable but if it fails to undo segregation, other means must be used to achieve this end. The school officials have the continuing duty to take whatever action may be necessary to create a 'unitary, nonracial system.' "

Earlier, on December 29, 1966, a three-judge panel of the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals ruled in seven school desegregation cases in Louisiana and Alabama that:

"School authorities are under the constitutional compulsion of furnishing a single, integrated school system."

The court added, on the basis of the Supreme Court's historic 1954 Brown decision:

"As Brown dictates, the decree places responsibility on the school authorities to take affirmative action to bring about a unitary, non-racial system. As the Constitution dictates, the proof of the pudding is in the eating; the proof of a school board's compliance with constitutional standards is the result—the performance. Has the operation of the promised plan actually eliminated segregated and token-desegregated schools and achieved substantial integration?"

The court also states:

"Freedom of choice is not a key that opens all doors to equal educational opportunities."

The three-judge ruling was affirmed by a majority of the full 12-judge appellate court in March 1967. This court has jurisdiction in the Deep South States of Georgia, Alabama, Florida, Texas, Louisiana and Mississippi.

GENERAL STATEMENT

Mr. Speaker, these Whitten anti-civil-rights provisions should be clearly understood—and rejected—for what they are:

They are an attempt to impose a Federal limitation on the flexibility of local school districts to decide locally the means they shall employ to eliminate discrimination in schools;

They are an attempt to legislate a requirement that so-called freedom of choice plans are acceptable means of desegregating schools even though such plans may fail to eliminate discrimination and unconstitutional segregation in schools;

They are an attempt to perpetuate the infamous and blatantly discriminatory "separate but equal" dual schools system in the South which was declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court 15 years ago in Brown against Board of Education; and

They are an attempt to negate effective HEW enforcement of title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, which prohibits discrimination in federally assisted education on account of race, color, or national origin.

Mr. Speaker, for these and many other reasons, I urge the deletion of these noxious provisions from the Health, Education, and Welfare, Labor appropriations bill tomorrow.

THE FIGHT FOR CONGRESSIONAL REFORM

HON. DONALD W. RIEGLE, JR.

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 28, 1969

Mr. RIEGLE. Mr. Speaker, I have been encouraged by the interest that outside individuals and organizations have shown in the vital issues of congressional reform. I have recently read an article in the Ripon Forum concerning the application of computer technology to congressional decisionmaking. As you know, I have joined with nearly 150 of my colleagues in sponsoring legislation to improve the operations of Congress—the use of computer technology is a very important section of this legislation.

Therefore, Mr. Speaker, at this point in the RECORD I am inserting the Forum article, entitled "Coming Soon: Systems Politics," by the past president of the Ripon Society, John S. Saloma III, as a further assertion of the pressing needs which the Congress has for the thorough and effective application of computer methodology to the congressional processes:

COMING SOON: SYSTEMS POLITICS

(NOTE.—Despite all the talk about the electronic age, the computer era is not really upon us yet. Its arrival awaits reductions in the net costs of acquiring, processing, storing, retrieving, and using information. As the next five or ten years witness the beginnings of this process, government as well as the rest of society will begin to feel the results of this new technology which will make possible an advance in human intellectual capacity comparable to the invention of language, arabic numerals and calculus.

(The consequences of computerization for the American system of checks and balances will of course be fundamental. With systems analysis will come "systems politics." John S. Saloma III, former president of the Ripon Society and associate professor of political science at M.I.T., working under a grant from the Carnegie Corporation to the American Political Science Association, has been studying the likely impact of a computer technology on the governmental decision-making process. His fascinating discussion of the potential changes in the balance of power among the Congress, the President, and the Bureaucracies that computers may spur is adapted from his book *Congress and the New Politics* published by Little, Brown and Company this month.)

(By John S. Saloma III)

Is the demonstrated success of the computer and the new information technology in business, industry and private institutions transferable to the arena of public policy? If Congress embraces the computer, the really significant result will be improved techniques of decision-making—operations research, mathematical analysis, systems modeling and simulation—used in conjunction with computers and a more adequate data base.

No matter how conservatively one views the future, computers, by virtue of their ability to store and process enormous amounts of data, to calculate at lightning speeds, and to simulate human and organizational decision-behavior, provide man with an intellectual tool of almost inconceivable power. Almost certainly the application of the computer will introduce a new era for both the social and political systems. There will be cumulative improvement in information processing and computer-assisted techniques for analysis. Together these advances will dramatically alter the decision-making context. Looking at the massive information problems in government today suggests the potential.

Information provides the premises for decision or action. By one definition, decision-making is simply "the process of converting information into action." Yet in a political system where information is a form of power, there are many limitations on acquiring the right information. The political decision maker needs, broadly speaking, two types of information: *technical* information defining the content of a policy issue and *political* information concerning the relative strength of competing claims and the consequences of alternative decisions.

CONGRESSIONAL DATA WOES

The Congress suffers from several specific information problems. It is dependent on the Executive bureaucracy, and that bureaucracy often cites Executive privilege as a justification for withholding information. In addition the widespread secret classification of material under the mantle of "national security" raises another powerful barrier to Congressional access to needed information.

Also, the individual member of Congress groans under a glut of paper and strains to acquire specific, reliable information as anyone familiar with "the Hill" will testify. Not surprisingly, a variety of simplifying devices are substituted for individual decisions; following party leadership, deferring to the judgment of the responsible committee, voting with state delegation, consulting members who are expert on the subject under consideration, etc.

The point is clear. Most of the limiting conditions that act to constrain decision-makers in a world of imperfect information are abundantly present in the contemporary Congress. Congressmen and Senators muddle through as best they can.

The question of interest to us is what difference will the new information technology make for the decision-making process in government. First we shall examine a range of technically feasible change; then, some of the political factors that will condition such change in the American political system.

One of the most obvious advances that will be made possible by the new information technology is increased quality of information (including factors such as relevance, precision, completeness, and timeliness) and quality of information processing (accuracy, speed, ability to handle complex relationships, inflexibility, and potential for codification in standard rules).

But, with the computer the problem of information overload will be more subject to the control of the individual decision-maker. He will have the potential to get "on top" of his work. The computer can be programmed to provide top decision-makers with "exception" information demanding attention or action.

Decision-makers may specify in advance what types of information they wish to receive on given subjects of interest as new information becomes available. Central libraries or document centers can then service the individual decision-maker according to his "interest profile" through a technique of "selective dissemination of information."

Instead of being a largely passive recipient of information, the decision-maker will be able to interact with the data system using it as an active search mechanism.

IMPORTANT CONTROLS INTRODUCED

Congressmen may continue to tap a variety of information sources on a random basis to obtain political information, but improved selective processing of relevant technical information (and even political information on their constituency) should significantly change the problem of information overload. The individual legislator will have an important degree of control over the amount and nature of information he receives.

The legislator will be provided with the capacity for systems thinking and systems analysis—that is, the dynamic behavior of complicated systems and the analysis of multiple variables. Such simulations will permit the preparation of major contingency plans. A lengthened time perspective, and a greater opportunity for strategic planning will replace the "remedial" orientation of incremental policy-making with orientation toward the future. He will be able to think ahead more, instead of exhausting himself just trying to keep abreast.

The incrementalist's view that "public policy problems are too complex to be well understood, too complex to be mastered" and that decision-makers develop "a strategy to cope with problems, not to solve them" will be replaced with a more optimistic perspective. The decision-maker will be "on top" of information. He will have analytical techniques and information processing capabilities that will give him new understanding of governmental and social systems and with this a sense that he can manipulate and control them. Where the incrementalists have rejected the impossible prescription to be comprehensive in favor of a more manageable strategy of "outright neglect." The new information technology will enable the decision-maker to develop a *more rational* and *aggressive* strategy of problem-solving.

But perhaps the greatest long-run contribution of the computer to man's problem-solving capacity will be its ability to facilitate two types of breakthrough in collaborative research. The first of these gains is the cumulative storage and preservation of solutions—a kind of division of intellectual labor. Since a computer never forgets, all gains or improvements in computation or analysis, no matter how incremental, are preserved until better techniques are perfected and may be retrieved, used and refined by contemporary and future generations of decision-makers.

One does not have to be a technological radical to appreciate the cumulative potential of computer programming. If most human decisions have an underlying structure, as disjointed, incremental, restricted in scope as that structure may be, in time computer programmers and analysts will discover and program the implicit decision techniques, rules, and coefficients. Already computer programs based on the analysis of past managerial behavior have proved more efficient than continued management practices (*i.e.*, rules of thumb) based on experience. Most computer experts do not expect the computer to replace the human decision-maker but rather to extend his planning and decisional capacities through the continued refinement of man-machine interaction. The computer will thus absorb the incrementalists in its inexorable accumulation of intellectual power.

"ON-LINE" COMMUNITY

Even more significant than the steady development of computer programs is the advent in prototype form of "the on-line intellectual community" based on man-computer interaction and computer-facilitated cooperation among men in a university setting. Carl F. J. Overhage and R. Joyce Harman describe the potential breakthrough based on the experience of Project MAC (research and development of Machine-Aided Cognition and Multiple-Access Computer systems) at M.I.T.:

"Because communication among men is fallible, and because heretofore men did not have effective ways of expressing complex ideas unambiguously—and recalling them, testing them, transferring them, and converting them from a static record into observable, dynamic behavior—the accumulation of correlatable contributions was opposed by continual erosion; and the melding of contributions was hampered by divergencies of convention and format that kept one man's ideas from meshing with another's. The prospect is that, when several or many people work together within the context of an on-line, interactive, community computer network, the superior facilities of that network for expressing ideas, preserving facts, modeling processes, and information and the same behavior—those superior facilities will so foster the growth and integration of knowledge that the incidence of major achievement will be markedly increased."

Comparable networks will in time be available in business and government and among sectors of each of these communities with overlapping research interests. The potential of man-machine-man interaction for pure and applied research is one of the scarcely realized but most staggering potentials of the new information technology.

Before examining the overall significance of these factors on decision-making in government, it would be wise to examine some reservations about the revolutionary impact of information technology.

DILEMMAS PERSIST

Lessening the information constraints on and increasing the potency of the analytical tools available to decision-makers will not remove the dilemmas of decision-making. There are limitations that go well beyond information *per se*. As the information constraints on decision-makers are eased, other limiting factors and decisions will come into play:

1. The problem of values. If we define politics as a struggle for control stemming from conflict over the direction of social life and public policy, it is clear that the central problem of politics is one of values, not information. Decision-making involves values at all stages. Choice activity especially requires value criteria for decision. For instance, budgeting is a political activity and the problem of choice or allocation ultimately remains one of values.

2. The political use and abuse of information. Information systems in government may be used to serve the political purposes of the political actors who have the resources to control them. How then can one prevent the President or program-oriented bureau chief from consciously or unconsciously biasing an information system that Congress must use?

3. Cost factors. Government (and the taxpayer) must pay the bill for the computers, their programming and the personnel to man them. Balanced against this cost is the problem of final payoffs: how much tangible difference will all this new equipment make?

Acknowledging these reservations, however, we still believe that the combined and cumulative impact of the new information technology will bring some radical changes in the environment of governmental decision-making.

Mid-1970 is only six years away—is it impossible that improvements in the legislative process from wide use of advanced data systems will actually be achieved by 1975? Studies by RAND Corporation experts suggest that by the early 1970's computers will be small, plentiful, and inexpensive. Computing power will be available to anyone who needs it, or wants it, or can use it either by means of a personal console connected to some large central facility, or by a small personal machine. Additional projections foresee, by 1975, a computer that will make possible automatic libraries able to look up and reproduce copy; by 1978, automated looking up of legal information, and the widespread use of automatic decision-making at the management level for industrial and national planning. By the mid-1980's, the computer will begin to realize its potential as a research tool through modeling and experimentation, as an integral part of the educational system, and in areas such as medicine and biological sciences.

Assuming that the projected technology is largely realized within the Executive branch by the mid-1970's, we shall examine some of its consequences within the Executive and then go on to examine the potential impact on Congress.

NEW BUREAUCRATIC CLASS

First, there will result a centralization of effective decision-making authority at the Presidential and departmental levels. As the compartmentalized information resources of individual agencies are integrated into comprehensive information systems, political executives will have greater leverage over the bureaucracy. At the same time fewer people will be involved in policy decisions. The likely long-term trend in the Federal government is toward the development of highly trained professional "analyst" staffs within the Budget Bureau and at the departmental secretary level. The power of the analyst within the Executive branch will pose new problems for Congressional watchdogs. Congress must define new points of access and review in the decision-making process if the historical concept of balance is to be maintained.

Secondly, there will develop a more explicit candid style of politics which may complicate the problem of achieving political consensus. The above point to important secondary consequences for Congress.

THE IMPACT ON CONGRESS

In January, 1968, the Legislative branch acquired its first Analysis and Data Processing (ADP) installation directly involved in aiding the legislative process. The new on-line terminal system, installed in the American Law Division of the Legislative Reference Service, now enables LRS to record and store on magnetic tape descriptions of all bills and resolutions introduced in the 90th Congress. The system will compile by computer the "Digest of Public Bills" and eventually allow random recall of bills by number, title, and word descriptions, at the request of a Congressional office or committee. (Upwards of 26,000 bills and resolutions were introduced in the 89th Congress—an indication of the scale of the project.)

Congressman Robert McClory (R-Ill.) who in the 89th Congress introduced the first bill in either House directly applying ADP techniques to the work of Congress, has been the most articulate spokesman for Congressional action. Congressman McClory, concerned by the growing "information gap" between the President and Congress, proposed to equip the Congress with "an identified capability, based on automatic data processing devices and procedures, to retrieve selected information that is of priority value to the Members and committees."

After viewing the new system, Congressman McClory anticipated that some of the next ADP applications might be:

(1) Daily printouts summarizing the previous day's Congressional action;

(2) An automated index of congressional documents and legal periodicals;

(3) Up-to-the-minute information on legislative issues scheduled for debate;

(4) Vote summaries on bills already passed;

(5) The status of legislation pending in committee;

(6) Description of information stored on computer files in the Executive departments.

THE WIND IS SHIFTING

A quiet revolution in thinking appears to be taking place on Capitol Hill. Members privately express the desire to be aware of coming problems so they can "gear up" for them. A few Senators and Congressmen already sense that information technology is the "coming thing" and are investing their own time as well as that of their committee staff and/or their office staff in developing a greater familiarity with information systems.

A wide range of Congressional committees have been studying a variety of related problems (and educating their members in the process): the implementation of (PPBS) the Planning-Programming Budgeting System pioneered by former Secretary of Defense Robert S. McNamara; the development of social indicators and a system of social accounts; copyright legislation relating to information retrieval; the application of the systems approach to urban problems and environmental pollution; and, the consequences of computer technology for individual privacy. The committee publications of the Congress—hearings, staff reports and memoranda, selected documents—already constitute one of the most comprehensive and relevant sheafs of facts on the social and political implications of the new information technology.

While most Congressmen and their staffs have had only a brief introduction to information technology and its potential, a start has at least been made. The real change in Congressional attitude and skills will probably not be felt, however, until a new wave of political talent with practical experience with computers—through universities and the private sector—is elected to Congress. Some of the IBM experts have already turned up in the halls of Congress. One of them; formerly employed by the International Business Machines Corporation and a candidate for the Doctorate in Business/Government Relations from the Harvard Business School (then) freshman Congressman Donald W. Riegle, Jr., (R-Mich.), caused somewhat of a stir in Washington in the fall of 1967 by sending then Secretary of Defense Robert McNamara a request for a matrix of 85 specific data items for which he (Riegel) had written a computer program. Another freshman Senator with a combined engineering and law background, Senator Howard H. Baker, Jr. (R-Tenn.), lectured the Association for Computing Machinery about the impending nuclear power breakthrough in breeder reactors that could produce power at almost zero fuel cost and the need for a much broader Congressional overview and plan for the technological and social revolution that this implied. Senator Baker has been an articulate spokesman for a new Senate Select Committee for Technology and the Human Environment.

Impressive as these individual examples may be, Congress as an institution has yet to experience the potential of information technology. Widespread Congressional interest suggests a greater receptivity toward computers and information systems than might at first inspection have been anticipated. It is still likely, however, that Congress will lag behind the Executive in fully accepting the new technology.

HOW LONG WILL IT TAKE

How great a lag will exist by our projected date of 1975—assuming that Congress permits the Executive to implement the new technology without hinderances? We may posit three points on a continuum from (I) *Congressional resistance* to computer technology, notably the failure to fund any central computational facility for use by the Congress, the failure to budget any allowance for Congressmen to utilize other facilities, and the failure to provide analyst staff for the use of the committees and/or members; through (II) *limited Congressional acceptance* of computer facilities and analyst staff with access tightly controlled by the individual committees and/or party leaderships; to (III) *open Congressional acceptance*, with all members enjoying "free" use of computer facilities and full access to staff and data resources. According to our projection, Congress could have moved all the way to Situation III by the mid-1970's. A more realistic estimate would place it somewhere between Situations II and III. Ultimately, in our estimate, Congress will operate in Situation III although the exact institutional *form* in which it organizes and applies these new resources remains to be determined.

Accelerating the acceptance of innovation are the built-in tensions between authorizing and appropriations committees both eager to control program decision; the publicity incentive for committee and subcommittee chairmen generally to identify themselves with innovations and the perennial Congressional fear that Congress is yielding initiative and authority to the President; party competition; and, the generational divide between "activists" and high seniority Congressmen.

Indeed, once he had access to the new data processing and systems analysis tools, the contributions of the individual legislator would be considerably enlarged. We have noted the contribution of individual legislators to Congressional initiative in legislation and investigation. Although only a minority of Congressmen will choose to play the role of legislative inventor or watchdog, the effectiveness of such members will be enormously increased by computer-assisted techniques of search and analysis. Members will be free to "browse" through the data archives in developing and assessing legislative alternatives. Some legislators will hire professional analysts on their office staffs or acquire analytical skills themselves. While such legislative diligence will still be the exception, one can readily foresee a Congressman sitting at a console in his office pouring over a computer print-out into the late evening hours and cutting through the paper arguments and justifications of Executive programs with penetrating lines of questions.

In addition, *ad hoc* congressional study and work groups would freely form and disperse as new challenging tasks arose at the interstices of committee power. The work of such study groups would be "collateral" to that of the standing committees but would introduce a needed flexibility into the Congressional organization.

CAN DEMOCRATIZE COMMITTEES

While information systems afford new possibilities for specialization and increased committee power—especially in the area of legislative oversight or control of the Executive bureaucracy, they should also afford possibilties to "democratize" committee power. Where limited information previously conferred important advantages on those few individuals who had the legislative seniority and central committee positions to accumulate such information, now generalized availability of information and program analyses would enable junior committee members and interested Congressmen not on the committee to gain a better understanding of the issues involved. The majority would have greater opportunity to influence committee action and to prevail against the committee on the floor when its action was not representative of the views of the entire membership.

Generalized information systems should enable Congress to satisfy both the necessity for specialization and the goal of comprehensive policy reviews. Where information on Executive agency activities has been compartmentalized within the Executive budget and the Congressional committee system, it would now be available to any curious Congressman. The "special analyses" of the federal budget already being developed by the Bureau of the Budget are a prototype of the kind of comprehensive information that Congressional committees will be able to tap. Individual Congressional committees, no longer limited to information within their agency jurisdiction, could become important loci for government-wide program review and coordination. Where the President alone has had the information to develop a measure of agency coordination. Congressional committees would now share that information, *and* the authority to use it, subject to the majority support of Congress.

NEW BALANCE OF POWER

While the application of information technology in government will have its greatest immediate political impact *within* the Executive (with important secondary consequences, as we have observed for the Congress), the longer term consequences of better information in government raise fundamental questions about the American system of separated powers. Congress and legislative bodies generally need *not* lose power to the Executive. The potential advance in information technology is theoretically equally accessible to *both* the President and Congress, with Congress standing to enhance its powers versus the Executive considerably. The thorny question of how power should be organized in the American politcial system will be faced once again.

Beginning roughly with the Budget and Accounting Act of 1921 and including the establishment of the modern Executive bureaucracy, the Executive staffs to the President, and the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946, there arose a specialization of roles—Executive leadership and Congressional review or oversight. The model of "Executive-centered" government while tending to enhance the power of the President and reduce the autonomy of Congress, was based on a rationale that differentiated roles for President and Congress.

Simply stated, the President set the agenda for legislation; the Congress reviewed, amended, and passed legislation; the President supervised the execution of the laws by the federal bureaucracy; and the Congress reviewed administrative performance. Executive-centered government, however, conferred important relative information advantages on the President. The President was closer to the day-to-day operations of the Executive bureaucracy. He had access to the detailed information generated by the budgetary cycle and the numerous intelligence activities of the general bureaucracy. Moreover, the budgetary process and supporting central staff gave him a continuing framework for decision.

BLURRING DISTINCTIONS

A second major rationalization of authority has begun with the new emphasis on program budgeting and information systems in government. As this rationalization proceeds many of the assumptions underlying specialized roles for the President and Congress will have to be re-examined. The distinction between Executive decision-making and broad policy oversight will become increasingly blurred as the time perspective of governmental decision-makers is lengthened. As improved information systems yield better indicators of performance, reduce the time of the management information cycle, and permit real-time monitoring of governmental activities, the Congressional role of "oversight" (review after the fact) will be supplemented by new possibilities for "control" (legislative decision or activity prior to the relevant administrative action). The policy or control functions of the President and Congress will become less distinguishable as both develop the capacity to ask program questions and undertake analyses of data from the same generalized information systems or specially developed systems for their own use.

One restraint on a fully developed Congressional policy role in the past has been the unwillingness of Congress to build a parallel legislative staff bureaucracy. As a result, Congress has often had to "second guess" the Executive without the information to back its hunches. Now, as technology generalizes the availability of information, Congress can tap into Executive-based information systems, establish quality controls, and develop more limited information systems for its own specific requirements. Congress will review, evaluate, analyze and make its own determination of priorities. The process of making choices and analyses more explicit enables Congress to participate much more intelligently and vigorously, with a *limited* staff, in the decision-making process. In fact, there may even be a danger of too vigorous participation.

The new definition of the separation of powers that will evolve is a matter for speculation. If we assume the trends that we projected earlier, distinctive Presidential and Congressional biases may soon develop in the decision-making process. We might expect the Executive to overemphasize the benefits of rationalization in program formulation and administration, to overvalue economic and technical criteria of performance. If the new information technology leads to an increasing separation between operating missions, life styles, and social roles for those institutions and individuals involved in rationalized activities compared to those involved in nonrationalized ones, Congress, representative of a society embracing both lifestyles, would inherit the difficult task of mediating the impact of the former on the latter and restraining the tendency toward irrational and frustrated response. Congress would add elements of "political rationality," considerations of human costs and benefits to the decision-making process.

SYSTEMIC DISSONANCE

In this context, one rationale for the separation of powers—"systemic dissonance"—takes on new significance. We have suggested through this discussion that the revolution in information technology represents an almost immeasurable potential increase in man's knowledge—especially in his understanding of and ability to control his environment. The intelligent use of that knowledge and the power it confers is an awesome responsibility. In the United States it involves the democratic consideration of emerging technological possibility and consequences. The multiple perspective of the American system, the numerous points for developing, testing, and advancing ideas may ultimately prove to be one of the greatest assets of American democracy in the future.

DRUG ABUSE AND OUR PRESENT EFFORTS TO MEET THE PROBLEM

HON. WILLIAM D. FORD

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 28, 1969

Mr. WILLIAM D. FORD. Mr. Speaker, as a cosponsor of H.R. 9312, a bill to provide assistance to special education programs on the very serious drug problem we face, I was pleased to see the Nixon administration express its intention to work toward a solution to the problem.

In an effort to determine exactly what sources of Federal aid are presently available for the treatment and prevention of drug abuse, I have had the following compilations of Federal programs prepared. The first is a "Summary of Federal Laws Providing Aid to States and Localities for the Treatment and Rehabilitation of Narcotic Drug Addicts" prepared by the Library of Congress. The second is an abstraction from the "Catalog of Federal Domestic Assistance" compiled by the Office of Economic Opportunity.

I insert these in the RECORD in the hope that a look at our past efforts at drug control may provide some insight into where our emphasis should be placed in the future:

SUMMARY OF FEDERAL LAWS PROVIDING AID TO STATES AND LOCALITIES FOR THE TREATMENT AND REHABILITATION OF NARCOTIC DRUG ADDICTS

COMMUNITY MENTAL HEALTH CENTERS ACT OF 1963

The Act provides for grants to States for the construction of public and other non-profit mental health centers. The grant may range from one-third to two-thirds of the total cost of the project. Allotments to States are based upon population and need.

Under a 1965 amendment, grants are available to help pay salaries of professional and technical personnel employed in mental health centers. The funds are awarded on a decreasing percentage basis for a center's first 51 months of operation. Grants may cover 75 percent of eligible staff costs the first 15 months, 60 percent in the first subsequent year, 45 percent in the second, and 30 percent in the final year of support. Staffing grants are awarded by the National Institute for Mental Health directly to the facility on a 12-month basis. Construction grants go to mental health centers that will provide at least 5 services: consultation and education, emergency psychiatric help, partial hospitalization, and inpatient and outpatient services.

During consideration of the legislation in 1963, it was established that the Department of Health, Education and Welfare—responsible for administration of the Act—interpreted the term "mental illness" so as to include narcotic drug addiction. The community mental health centers, therefore, may be used (although not exclusively) for the treatment and care of narcotic drug addicts (however, see the Alcoholic and Narcotic Addict Rehabilitation Amendments of 1968, below).

As of March 1, 1968, 271 centers had received Federal support either for construction or staffing, or both. These centers are located in 48 States, the District of Columbia, and Puerto Rico. More than 1,000 institutions—universities, social service agencies, clinics, community and State hospitals—have aided in the development of these centers.

ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY ACT OF 1964

The 1966 amendments to the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 contained authorization for programs for the prevention of narcotic addiction and the rehabilitation of narcotic addicts. Such programs are to include provisions for the detoxification, guidance, training, and job placement of narcotic addicts. Although the amendments do not specify the amount of money to be spent for these programs, the conference report indicates that the committee explicitly agreed that no less than $12 million of the earmarked funds for health service programs ($61,000,000) or an equivalent proportion of such funds as may actually be appropriated, be used for narcotic rehabilitation. Subsequently, $11.2 million was appropriated for the anti-addiction programs for fiscal year 1967. No further appropriations have been made.

The funds are made available for the treatment and rehabilitation of narotic drug addicts through the Community Action Program (Title II of the Economic Opportunity Act), and in 1967 CAP supported eight narcotic control projects. The first of these to be funded was a narcotic addition program in San Antonio, Texas. The program provides for both hospitalization and job training. The rehabilitation program involves not only the addict but his family as well. Funds were also awarded to Puerto Rico, Chicago, Tacoma (Washington), New Jersey, Washington, D.C., New York City and Los Angeles in 1967.

NARCOTIC ADDICT REHABILITATION ACT OF 1966

The Act is designed primarily to promote the rehabilitation of narcotic addicts charged with or convicted of violating certain Federal criminal laws. In addition, it provides for procedures whereby an individual not charged with any crime may be committed to a Federal institution for treatment; and it provides for assistance to State and local governments and to other public and private organizations and institutions for the development and operation of addict treatment facilities.

Title I provides for the civil commitment of certain addicts charged with Federal law violation who desire to be treated for their addiction in lieu of standing trial. Title II provides for a sentencing procedure to commit for treatment those addicts (qualifying under the law) who are *convicted* of a Federal crime. Title III provides for civil commitment to a Federal institution of addicts who are not charged with any criminal offense. Title IV, Section 401, provides for the establishment of outpatient services for persons released after confinement under this or any other act providing for treatment of narcotic drug addiction.

Section 402 of Title IV authorizes the Suregon General to make grants to States, local governments and other public and private non-profit organizations and institutions for the development and operation of facilities for the treatment (including post-hospitalization treatment) of addicts. It also provides for Federal aid for field testing and demonstration projects, surveys and training programs. An appropriation of $15,000,000 was authorized for fiscal year 1966 and for the succeeding year.

Section 402 of the Act was repealed by the Alcoholic and Narcotic Addict Rehabilitation Amendments of 1968 (see below). Under these amendments the assistance program provisions are transferred from the Narcotic Addict Rehabilitation Act to the Community Mental Health Centers Act of 1963.

THE ALCOHOLIC AND NARCOTIC REHABILITATION AMENDMENTS OF 1968

These amendments amend the Community Mental Health Centers Act of 1963 by authorizing funds ($15,000,000 for fiscal year 1969 and $25,000,000 for fiscal year 1970) for grants for construction and staffing of facilities for the prevention and treatment of alcoholism and the prevention and treatment of narcotic addiction.

The grants are offered to public or non-profit private agencies and organizations to pay part of the cost of construction of treatment facilities (including post-hospitalization treatment facilities) for narcotic addicts and to assist in meeting professional and technical personnel costs for the initial operation of such facilities. The grants for personnel costs may be awarded to those facilities constructed under Part A of the Community Mental Health Centers Act (providing for construction of mental health centers in general) or under the provisions of the new amendments. In addition, such grants may be made for the operation of new services in other treatment facilities for narcotic addicts.

Grants are to be administered on the same basis as are those made to general mental health centers as provided for in Parts A and B of the Community Mental Health Centers Act. The construction grants are made to the States, based on population and need, and are administered by State mental health agencies in accordance with such plans as have been approved by the Surgeon General. The amount of the Federal share of the total grant received by any one construction project may range from one-third to two-thirds.

Staffing grants are awarded by the National Institute of Mental Health directly to the facility. The funds are made available on a decreasing percentage basis during the center's first 51 months of operation. Grants may cover 75 percent of eligible staff costs for the first 15 months, 60 percent in the first subsequent year, 45 percent in the second, and 30 percent in the final year of support.

The amendments also contain authorization for training development and for the conduct of surveys to evaluate the addiction treatment and prevention programs funded under the Act.

The provisions of the narcotic addict rehabilitation section of these amendments are modifications of the program authorized under section 402 of the Narcotic Addict Rehabilitation Act. According to the House report accompanying the amendments, "The stated intent of this provision of the 1966 Act is to assist communities in the development of a network of comprehensive, aftercare, treatment, and rehabilitation programs. The legislative history clearly indicates that the development of these community-based programs was intended to be related to other community mental health services." The provisions of this program were transferred to the Community Mental Health Centers Act by these amendments and Section 402 of the Narcotic Addict Rehabilitation Act was repealed.

It was noted in the House report: "The purpose of the legislation is not to establish Federal programs for those problem areas, but rather to provide seed money to encourage the States and local communities to establish programs to deal with these health problems."

CATALOG OF FEDERAL DOMESTIC ASSISTANCE

ALCOHOLISM—PREVENTION AND CONTROL

Nature and Purpose of Program: This program provides for Federal assistance in the construction and initial staffing of services for alcoholics *and narcotic addicts* as *part of community mental health centers*. The purpose is to provide a wide range of services and continuity of care for alcoholics and also narcotic addicts.

Who Can Apply and How to Apply: Public and nonprofit private agencies may apply but they must be affiliated with a community mental health center, if one exists in the community. Applications received by Regional Offices of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare are reviewed and approved by the National Institute of Mental Health.

For Information Contact: National Center for the Prevention and Control of Alcoholism, National Institute of Mental Health, 5454 Wisconsin Avenue, Chevy Chase, Md. 20203. Printed information available.

Authorizing Legislation: 42 U.S.C. 291 et seq.

Administering Agency: Public Health Service, Health Services and Mental Health Administration, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare.

INDIAN HEALTH FACILITIES CONSTRUCTION

Nature and Purpose of Program: This program provides for the construction of hospitals, sanitation facilities and health centers, including school health centers, and health stations for provision of health care for more than 403,000 Indians, Eskimos, and Aleuts who apply directly to the facilities for services. In certain locations the Service constructs personnel quarters, and it performs alterations to upgrade and modernize its facilities.

Who Can Apply and How to Apply: Communities may request financial assistance for construction of community hospitals from the Indian Health Service. The Service can provide such assistance when it is deemed the most effective way of providing health care. Applications for assistance may be directed to the address shown below.

For Information Contact: Indian Health Service, 7915 Eastern Avenue, Silver Spring, Md. 20910.

Printed Information Available: The Indian Health Program of the U.S. Public Health Service; The Second Annual Report to the Indian People.

Authorizing Legislation: 42 U.S.C. 2001–2004a.

Administering Agency: Public Health Service, Health Services and Mental Health Administration, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare.

JUVENILE DELINQUENCY PREVENTION AND CONTROL

Nature and Purpose of Program: This program is designed to help States and local communities strengthen and improve their juvenile justice and juvenile aid systems, and to provide diagnostic treatment, rehabilitative, and preventive services to youth who are delinquent or in danger of becoming delinquent. To accomplish these aims, grants, technical assistance, and information services are authorized in the following areas: planning comprehensive anti-delinquency programs; providing rehabilitative services; implementing community-based prevention services; training professional personnel for youth work; supplying information services; and providing technical assistance.

Who Can Apply and How to Apply: States, local communities, public and private nonprofit agencies, correctional systems, courts, law enforcement agencies, youth agencies, universities, and school systems are among those eligible for assistance. Prospective grantees should write to the address shown below.

For Information Contact: Office of Juvenile Delinquency, Social and Rehabilitation Service, U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Washington, D.C. 20201.

Printed Information Available: Public Law 90–445, regulations, guidelines, and application forms.

Authorizing Legislation: 42 U.S.C. 3801–3890, Juvenile Delinquency Prevention and Control Act of 1968, Public Law 90–445.

Administering Agency: Social and Rehabilitation Service, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare.

NARCOTICS AND DANGEROUS DRUGS—PUBLIC EDUCATION

Nature and Purpose of Program: This program is offered to assist any professional, service, social, educational, religious or other interested group in establishing an educational program on drug abuse. By exposing the interested parties to experts and available resources in the Field and advising various approaches to the problem, it is anticipated that the requesting organization will function as the program's proponent. The assistance offered by the Bureau is strictly advisory, exposing the technical advantages of our expertise to those planning to initiate programs. The beneficiaries of the programs are not limited, but emphasis is placed on those who abuse or misuse drugs and persons and their families who may be inclined to use, misuse, or abuse drugs.

Who Can Apply and How To Apply: Any service, social, professional, educational, religious or other similar organization interested in initiating a Drug Abuse Educational Program designed at eliminating drug abuse or its attendant problems may apply for technical assistance. Interested applicants should address applications to: Assistant Director for Science and Education, Bureau of Narcotics and Dangerous Drugs, 1405 Eye Street NW., Washington, D.C. 20005.

For Information Contact: Division Chief, Educational Programs Division, Bureau of Narcotics and Dangerous Drugs, 1405 Eye Street NW., Washington, D.C. 20005.

Printed Information Available: *Drugs on the College Campus*—Single copy free from Bureau of Narcotics and Dangerous Drugs; *Drugs of Abuse*, \$.20—Available from: Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402; *Progress of Marihuana: Facts you Should Know*, \$.20—Available from Government Printing Office.

Authorizing Legislation: Reorganization Plan, No. 1, 1968: Federal Register, Volume 33, No. 71, Apr. 1, 1968.

Administering Agency: Bureau of Narcotics and Dangerous Drugs, Department of Justice.

NARCOTIC ADDICT—CLINICAL CENTERS

Nature and Purpose of Program: The Clinical Research Centers at Lexington, Ky., and Fort Worth, Tex., are authorized to treat voluntary patients who are addicted to narcotic drugs and who are committed under the Narcotic Addict Rehabilitation Act.

The term "addict" means any person who habitually uses any habit-forming narcotic drug, the sale of which may be covered by executive order or Presidential, proclamation, under the Harrison Narcotic Act.

Users of barbiturates, alcohol, and other drugs are not eligible for acceptance by the centers unless they are also addicted to a narcotic drug cited in the Federal narcotics laws.

Who Can Apply and How To Apply: Those eligible are narcotic addicts who are committed by Federal courts. Application should be made to the U.S. Attorney in the Judicial District in which the addict resides.

For Information Contact: Chief, Narcotic Addict Rehabilitation Branch, National Institute of Mental Health, 5454 Wisconsin Avenue, Chevy Chase, Md. 20203.

Printed Information Available: *Narcotic Addict Rehabilitation Act of 1966; Community-Based Treatment Programs for Narcotic Addiction.*

Authorizing Legislation: 42 U.S.C. 341.

Administering Agency: Public Health Service, Health Services and Mental Health Administration, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare.

NARCOTIC ADDICTION REHABILITATION FACILITIES

Nature and Purpose of Program: This program provides for the civil commitment of narcotic addicts for treatment and rehabilitation. It gives the Federal government, for the first time, responsibility for providing aftercare for addicts. Addicts may be committed to treatment under Title I, II and III. Titles I and III are administered by the National Institute of Mental Health; Title II, which provides for the treatment of addicts convicted of a Federal crime, is administered by the Attorney General's Office.

Title I authorizes civil commitment in lieu of prosecution: addicts charged with but not yet convicted of a Federal crime may elect civil commitment in lieu of prosecution. Title III permits addicts to request commitment to inpatient treatment if State or other local treatment facilities are not available. Under Title IV, construction and staffing grants on a shared basis can be made to public or nonprofit private agencies for treatment facilities for narcotic addicts. Training and evaluation grants are also available.

Who Can Apply and How To Apply: Title I—Narcotic addicts charged with, but not yet convicted of a Federal crime. Apply through a court petition.

Title III—Persons who are, according to law, narcotic addicts. Before applying through court petition under this Title, it must be determined that State or other treatment facilities are not available.

Title IV—Community Mental Health Centers or organizations able to affiliate with such centers. Apply to the address shown below.

For Information Contact: Narcotic Addict Rehabilitation Branch, National Institute of Mental Health, 5454 Wisconsin Avenue, Chevy Chase, Md. 20203, or DHEW Regional Offices, or The local U.S. Attorney's Office.

Printed Information Available: *Community-Based Treatment Programs for Narcotic Addiction; Narcotic Addict Rehabilitation Act of 1966.*

Authorizing Legislation: 28 U.S.C. 2901–2906; 42 U.S.C. 291 et seq., Narcotic Addict Rehabilitation Act.

Administering Agency: Public Health Service, Health Services and Mental Health Administration, Department of Health, Education and Welfare.

NARCOTICS AND DRUG ABUSE—RESEARCH AND TRAINING

Nature and Purpose of Program: Grants and contracts are awarded for research into various aspects of the narcotic and dangerous drug problem under this program.

It is anticipated that through basic research, clinical investigations, surveys, *demonstrations,* and carefully monitored *treatment trials,* improved methods of dealing with these problems will emerge. Funds for the establishment of nonresearch treatment facilities are not available. Training support is offered universities, community mental health centers and other organizations engaged in this effort.

Who Can Apply and How To Apply: Individuals or agencies connected with teaching institutions or appropriate foundations engaged in this effort may apply to the address shown below.

For Information Contact: National Institute of Mental Health, Public Health Service, 5454 Wisconsin Avenue, Chevy Chase, Md. 20203.

Printed Information Available: *NIMH Support Programs,* PHS No. 1700.

Authorizing Legislation: 42 U.S.C. 241, 242, 242a.

Administering Agency: Public Health Service, Health Services and Mental Health Administration, Department of Health, Education and Welfare.

CATHOLIC PUPILS EXCEL IN BASIC SKILLS

HON. JOSHUA EILBERG

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 28, 1969

Mr. EILBERG. Mr. Speaker, I rise today in recognition and praise of the Catholic school children in Philadelphia. These children scored 1½ to 2 years above the national average in a recent series of tests administered to 20,000 students. At a time when pressures and competition are great and educational accomplishment is of increasing importance, this is indeed a commendable achievement.

The archdiocesan schools, which educate 275,000 children in the Philadelphia area, have been striving to perfect their system through the reduction in class sizes and the introduction of new instructional techniques. These efforts have, indeed, been reflected in the performance of the students.

I applaud the accomplishments of these children, as well as the dedicated efforts of their instructors. For the RECORD I insert an account of their achievements from the Philadelphia Inquirer of July 24, 1969:

TWO YEARS ABOVE U.S. NORMS: CATHOLIC PUPILS EXCEL IN BASIC SKILLS

(By John P. Corr)

Catholic school children in this area score, on the average, up to two years above the national norms in basic skills, according to standardized tests given to 20,000 students this year.

The average child in Philadephia's Catholic school is doing better than 60 percent of the school children in America, and his progress is improving.

The average child in the archdiocesan school system has an I.Q. rating of 109.2. The national average is about 100.

The system-wide testing also revealed a direct relationship between economic status of children and their test scores, with children in inner-city, poverty area schools scoring lowest.

The same income relationship was found in similar testing conducted by the public school system in Philadelphia, which is slightly larger than the Catholic school system in terms of enrollment.

However, while Catholic schools score 1½-to-2 years above national norms, the public school system has been scoring 1½-to-2 years below.

There are a number of reasons for the disparity.

First, public schools must accept nearly all children applying to them, regardless of ability. Secondly, Catholic schools may—if they chose—get rid of children who are discipline problems.

Also, the fact that parents will undertake the extra expense to send their children to Catholic schools indicates a home environment in which children are urged to succeed in school.

Experts are virtually unanimous in pointing out that parental motivation is a key factor in the scholastic success of students—particularly at the elementary level.

In addition, the archdiocese has many schools in suburbs where they do not have to deal with the enervating effects of poverty. All public schools are in the city with its heavy concentrations of poverty-stricken families.

Catholic school children scored above average in every grade and in every subject tested.

The pattern of achievement through the grades appears to be the opposite of that of the public schools.

Public school children tend to slip further behind the national average as they progress through the grades. Catholic school children pull further ahead.

For example, in reading, first graders in the Catholic schools score 2-3 as compared to the national average of 1.8. In seventh grade, however, the average is 8.9 compared to the national score of 7.8.

First graders in the Catholic school system here are in the 67th percentile in reading nationally, second graders in the 73rd percentile and third graders in the 77th percentile.

Children registered dramatic gains in science, which is attributed to a new science curriculum introduced this year after children scored in the 46th percentile in national testing last year. This year, they rose to the 56th percentile.

MATH RANK DROPS

Although scores remain about the same, children in Catholic schools dropped 10 percentile points in mathematics, from the 71st percentile to the 61st.

School authorities attributed this to adoption of the "new math" by an increasing number of school systems during recent months. Catholic schools here have used "new math" for years. Drop in percentile level, however, does not indicate a lowering of achievement levels.

Some children were tested in each of the more than 300 elementary schools in the five-county archdiocese—which educates about 275,000 children.

AREAS INCLUDED

Children were tested in the areas of reading, language, arts, modern mathematics, social studies and science.

School officials did not express complete satisfaction with the results which, they say, indicate that the schools are doing a good job of educating the average child but need to do more for slow learners and exceptionally bright children.

The tests will be administered each year and a gradual improvement is hoped for in the near future. The principal reason for this optimism is the school system's campaign to reduce class sizes.

During the last eight years, the system has reduced its average class size from 50 to 39.

SOVIET HUMANISM

HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 28, 1969

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, the State Department announcement that the Bolsheviks of Russia are going to serve as a clearinghouse for gift packages to the American prisoners of war in Vietnam should surprise no one.

After all, to Moscow it creates little inconvenience because they can load the gifts going to our imprisoned servicemen in the same transport vehicles which carry munitions and weapons to the Communist enemy responsible for capturing our boys in the first place.

If our State Department is desirous of giving the Russian Communists a humanitarian image they could just ask that the Russians cease arming and supplying Hanoi. The American people know that without Russian support the war would end in short order without an American offensive in which case the American prisoners of war would be free before the gifts arrive.

Mr. Speaker, I include a news clipping following my remarks:

HANOI POW'S WILL GET GIFTS VIA MOSCOW

The United States has arranged to send packages to American prisoners of war in North Vietnam by way of Moscow, the State Department announced yesterday.

In a statement, the department appealed to North Vietnam to deliver the packages to the men even if they were received in Hanoi after Aug. 15—a cutoff date announced by North Vietnam on Wednesday.

The State Department said the original declaration permitting POW packages did not specify any cutoff date.

Furthermore, the department said that while 1,400 men, including civilians, are "missing or captured in Southeast Asia" many families are uncertain about sending gifts because the names of those held have never been released—nor has the total number been given by Hanoi.

"Families of missing and captured men," the statement said, "have received mailing information from the military services and arrangements have been made by the U.S. Post Office to get the packages to Hanoi by way of Moscow as quickly as possible.

"We would certainly hope, however, that packages received after Aug. 15 would not be turned back."

Hanoi said on July 3 that gifts for POWs would be accepted. At the same time it announced that it would release three U.S. pilots. They have not been freed and press officer Carl Bartch said they have not been identified.

A POSTAL WORKER'S VIEW OF THE POST OFFICE PROBLEM

HON. THADDEUS J. DULSKI

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 28, 1969

Mr. DULSKI. Mr. Speaker, a former postal worker has put an interesting focus on the problems of the postal service in an article which she wrote for the July 27 edition of This Week magazine.

Mrs. Yetta Horn Jay, worked for the post office, as a mail sorter at intervals over more than 4 years and has received several departmental awards for her suggestions on improving the service.

Our Post Office and Civil Service Committee is completing 3 months of intensive full committee hearings this Thursday on postal reform. We have several reorganization plans before the committee, including my own H.R. 4 which was the basis for my starting the hearings last April 22.

Mrs. Jay looks at the postal problems from the more practical side of the ways in which the individual mail users ignore the practical rules of the game and then blame delays and mail losses on the Department. It is worthwhile reading. Following is the text of the article in This Week:

YOU ARE RUINING OUR POSTAL SERVICE

(By Yetta Horn Jay)

America's postal system is headed toward a mammoth breakdown, due not so much to the glut of mail as to the negligence and sloppiness of those who mail it.

True, our mail volume is staggering: every day our Post Office handles more than one piece of mail for every man, woman, and child in our 50 states, moving twice as much mail as all the rest of the world postal systems combined.

But unlike private industry, the Post Office must take on all comers; it can't reject or control the growing demands made upon it. It is confronting this crisis head-on, using modern technology to help speed 83 billion pieces of mail annually, up from 38 billion in 1945. Postmaster General Winton M. Blount is planning a complete structural reorganization so our Post Office will serve us most effectively.

But our mailing habits are failing to keep pace with these changes—they are often inadequate, sloppy, and downright incorrect. Huge corporations and Joe Smiths alike constantly make the same errors. A conservative estimate is that *one out of every two First-Class letters mailed today is mailed incorrectly*. Yet when a letter arrives too late or not at all, we shrilly play the national game called "Blame it on the Post Office."

Each of the following cases illustrates at least one major mailing error committed daily by thousands of Americans.

CASE I. "BUNDLING'S GREAT"

One of this country's major mailers sent a number of highly important letters clearly marked "Airmail" and "Special Delivery" and correctly metered. Yet all arrived from 24 to 48 hours too late.

Blame it on the Post Office?

No. The facts are these: Like most large firms, this one bundles its mail into canvas sacks, directly dispatching them to the Post Office. In this case, its mailroom clerks bundled in reverse: they put the Airmail Specials in first, then the regular First Class mail, and finally Third Class advertising matter which filled the sack's top two-thirds. On opening the sack, the postal worker assumed that it contained all Third Class mail. Since First Class mail is always handled first, some time elapsed before the contents were processed and the error discovered.

Moral: No matter how large or small your mailing, *always bundle the most important letters on top*. Specials are always processed first, followed by Airmail and then First Class mail. Completely separate your First Class mail from other classes. Table workers at the Post Office toss bundled mail into the different bins in split seconds. They judge by the top letter. No one has the time to rifle through bundles.

CASE II. "OUNCES AND CENTS"

A non-profit club mailed several hundred routine monthly meeting reminders. The surprised local members got theirs Special Delivery, and the out-of-towners' were Airmailed.

Was the Post Office playing Santa Claus?

Hardly. A common metered mail snafu. The meter's prior setting had been for 48 cents. Failing to check, the club's mailer ran these reminders through at the same amount. He then threw the letters untied into the mailbox. The loose letters were dispersed into numerous trays worked by various clerks. Where the mailer's intention is not stated and the mailing is small, the Post Office matches service to postage. Had this mailing been bundled, the Post Office would have phoned the mailer to make sure of its intention. A postage refund could have been arranged. Instead, the club lost over $100.

Moral: *Watch your postage*. American mailers, large and small, are losing money by overpaid mail and losing good will by underpaid mail. Underpaid mail is sent directly to the mailee, who pays on receipt. Overpayments occur mostly in metered mail—and more than half of all First Class letters are metered. The meter operator forgets to check the setting or reverses the number. The routine First Class 0.06 zooms to 0.60, or the Airmail 0.10 skyrockets to 1.00.

One of the greatest underpayment culprits is the First Class heavy letter weighing over an ounce. Some senders just naturally put 6 cents on everything. Another culprit is the foreign Airmail letter whose sender forgets that these rates are in *half ounces*.

CASE III. "DEAD OR ALIVE?"

A woman invited her niece, who was visiting a cousin in a nearby city, to visit her. Her niece failed to get the invitation and soon returned to her far-off home. A family feud erupted with the aunt accusing the cousin of withholding the letter. Angrily, the cousin retorted she never saw it.

Letter lost in the Post Office?

No. The letter was sent from a suburban private home to a big city high-rise apartment house. The aunt sent her letter directly to the niece, whose name differed from the cousin's. She also failed to include her own return address. Marked "Undeliverable," the letter was sent to the Regional Dead Letter office where it was opened for a possible clue to the sender or mailee. (*Note*: this is the *sole* exception to the rule forbidding the Post Office to open First Class mail.) The letter bore no clues, and was destroyed.

Moral: *Never omit your return address*. It's a vital part of your letter, and keeps it "alive." In order for a dead letter to become deliverable these steps are required: (1) letter returned to local Post Office; (2) letter sent to regional Dead Letter office; (3) letter opened; (4) clue searched for; (5) letter readdressed; (6) letter completely reprocessed. And all this for a mere 6 cents an ounce!

CASE IV. "DOUGH RE MI"

A loving grandmother mailed her grandson a gift of money. Eventually he got an envelope marked "Damaged in Handling" containing no money.

Wails the grandmother, *"It must've been stolen in the Post Office."*

It wasn't. Grandma sent several dollars in loose coins. Not caught in time, the envelope jammed up the stamp-canceling machine; coins flew in all directions, and her letter plus several others got mangled. A machinist had to repair the disabled canceler, the mangled mail had to be mended, the loose money (which letter did it come from?) wound up at the U.S. Treasury after endless paper work. All told, grandma's letter cost the Post Office considerably more than it contained.

Moral: *Never send loose coins in the mails*. This constant Post Office warning falls on many deaf ears.

Related is another moral: *Mark your slugs*. A slug is a bulky letter. You should print "Hand Stamp" on the front and back of the envelope in large red letters. The table worker will then immediately toss it into the slug bin. Unmarked slugs aren't always readily seen. Our Post Office constantly contends with unmarked mail containing lipsticks and other cosmetics, pens, pencils, calendars, material swatches, combs, bottle caps, razor blades. *Always tie your slugs together* to reduce the number of table-to-bin tosses.

CASE V. "TIME IS MONEY"

A rising firm sent a large national mailing announcing a new merchandise line. All the letters were delivered in A-1 condition within 24 to 48 hours. That same day a competing firm in the same city put out a similar mailing, which arrived from one to three days after its rival's, and in poor condition.

Post Office efficient in one case, inefficient in another?

Hardly. The first firm mailed its properly bundled letters early in the day. All its letters were Zip Coded.

The second firm committed almost every possible error. It sent its loosely tied mail out after 5 p.m. To attract attention, it used outsized envelopes, and these were poorly sealed. To save time and money, this firm used a window-type envelope. But since the letters were sloppily inserted, the last line of each address wasn't visible. Finally, not one letter was Zip Coded.

The first mailing arrived when the Post Office could give it maximum care, the second at a peak period. Harassed clerks had to tear apart many letters which were glued together; then they had to shake each letter to see the address. Many had to be returned to their sender for better addressing. With no Zip Code, the mailable letters had to be sorted one by one. And the outsized envelopes got bent as the clerks tried to fit them into the pigeon holes.

Morals: *Mail early in the day*. Avoid the avalanche. *Seal your mail right*. Un-sealed, partially sealed, and oversealed wet envelopes (which stick together) constantly eat up time and manpower. *Use standard envelopes*. Using today's mass methods and equipment—canceling machines, mail trays, pigeon holes—the Post Office is geared to standard-size mail. Thus undersized mail may get lost, while the outsized get bent and tattered. *Zip it!* No letter is correctly mailed without a Zip Code.

The Zip Code is the most radical change in Post Office history. It's the major solution to our mail deluge and our major hope for speedier delivery.

ZIP MAIL IS FASTER

Zipping means mail will get faster transportation.

The word Zip stands for Zone Improvement Plan which is the extension, on national lines, of the local zoning idea. Each number in the Zip Code is vital. The first digit stands for one of our country's ten major geographical areas. The second and third digits narrow it down to a sectional center. The fourth and fifth digits pinpoint your local Post Office. Thus a Zip Code for Washington, D.C. is 20037: 2 is the specific geographical region, 00 means it's inside Washington, 37 is the local station that delivers the mail.

The Zip Code plus mechanization will bring speedy delivery. Fantastic new machines—handling 36,000 letters an hour—are gradually replacing present outmoded hand-sorting methods. But these machines can work best only with correctly Zip Coded mail. The machines can't read the Zip Code that isn't there, or appears in the wrong place (it should be on the last line, two to six spaces after the state name).

Unless we drastically reform our mailing habits today, we'll find our Post Office in trouble tomorrow—even with mechanization. For as helpful as our new machines are, they can't decipher illegible or incomplete addresses, or look through an envelope to see if its contents are fragile, or separate stuck-together mail, or rescue lost contents.

The solution is simple: let's start helping our Post Office now. We aren't doing all we can when one out of every five First Class letters mailed has no Zip Code, and 30,000,000 letters end up in the Dead Letter Office every year. Let's weigh, mark, and bundle our mail carefully, correctly, and *early*, to allow the mechanical improvements to speed mail safely.

Let's stop playing "Blame it on the Post Office," and start playing by the rules.

THE CORRUPTERS

HON. ANDREW JACOBS, JR.

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 28, 1969

Mr. JACOBS. Mr. Speaker, I insert an editorial from the Indianapolis News of July 26, 1969, at this point:

THE CORRUPTERS

It should by now be apparent, even to zealous advocates of expanded welfarism, that the notion of remaking society through handouts is not working.

Latest evidence of this fact is a dispatch from New Haven, Conn., which reveals that by 1971 this New England city will be blessed with a bumper crop of illegitimate babies—greater than the number of children born in wedlock.

This astounding projection is supplied by the city's public health director, Dr. John B. Atwater. The doctor made his prediction after a survey showing illegitimate births increasing rapidly in New Haven with the total birth rate declining. The survey disclosed, among other things, that a total of 100 women in New Haven had, over a five-year period given birth to no less than 340 illegitimate children.

Those results could, all too easily, be duplicated and even surpassed in other large American cities. Surveys in New York, Washington, D.C., and Los Angeles show administration of Aid to Dependent Children programs has put a premium on births out of wedlock. The more illegitimate children a woman has, the greater the subsidy.

The result of this is to insure that in many cases these women do not get married or, if they are married, that their husbands "get lost" in order to qualify the family for welfare. Sen. Robert Byrd discovered countless subterfuges being employed in Washington, D.C., to qualify for ADC, and the McCone Commission in Los Angeles found that "the unemployed male often finds it to his family's advantage to drift away and leave the family to fend for itself."

Under these circumstances, it is not surprising that in the past decade ADC rolls have more than doubled—some 2 million new recipients being added to the relief rosters. We are in effect manufacturing a welfare population, replete with squadrons of illegitimate children, through the ministrations of the social-planners and handout artists who tell us they are going to abolish poverty in America.

The handout philosophy, in this instance, has clearly become an influence for corruption rather than improvement. It has created a system of incentives which makes it more profitable not to work than to work, more desirable to be irresponsible than to stand on one's own two feet, more seemly to exist on government checks than to labor for a living.

The purposes of relief programs, supposedly, is to help transform dependent citizens into useful ones; the real effect, as the above-cited figures indicate, is precisely the reverse. When the workings of welfare can bring a major American city to the point where it anticipates more illegitimate children than legitimate ones, we are in serious trouble.

SENATE—*Tuesday, July 29, 1969*

The Senate met at 11 o'clock a.m. and was called to order by the Vice President.

The Chaplain, the Reverend Edward L. R. Elson, D.D., offered the following prayer:

O God, our Father, giver of grace and wisdom, we lift our tangled lives and jaded spirits into the light of Thy presence, beseeching Thee to make the work this day acceptable in Thy sight. Deliver us from any coldness of heart or callousness of spirit that would shut Thee out. Deliver us, too, from all weakness of will; from the indecision which cannot make up its mind; from the irresolution which cannot abide by a decision once it is made; from giving up or giving in too soon; from being too easily discouraged; from allowing any task to defeat us however difficult. Grant us the will to say "Yes" or to say "No" as conscience commands. May we walk and work with Thee this day with a clear mind, a gentle spirit, and a pure purpose.

Through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

THE JOURNAL

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the reading of the Journal of the proceedings of Monday, July 28, 1969, be dispensed with.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, it is so ordered.

MESSAGE FROM THE HOUSE

A message from the House of Representatives, by Mr. Hackney, one of its reading clerks, announced that the House had agreed to the amendments of the Senate to the bill (H.R. 10946) to promote health and safety in the building trades and construction industry in all Federal and federally financed or federally assisted construction projects.

The message also announced that the House had passed a bill (H.R. 13079) to continue for a temporary period the existing interest equalization tax, in which it requested the concurrence of the Senate.

COMMITTEE MEETINGS DURING SENATE SESSION

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, with the approval of the distinguished Senator from New Hampshire (Mr. COTTON) who will be recognized shortly, I ask unanimous consent that all committees be authorized to meet during the session of the Senate today.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, it is so ordered.

ADJUSTMENT OF LEGISLATIVE JURISDICTION OVER LANDS—ETHAN ALLEN AND UNDERHILL, VT.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate proceed to the consideration of Calendar No. 328, S. 59.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The bill will be stated by title.

The ASSISTANT LEGISLATIVE CLERK. A bill (S. 59) to authorize the Secretary of the Army to adjust the legislative jurisdiction exercised by the United States over lands within the Army National Guard Facility, Ethan Allen, and the U.S. Army Materiel Command Firing Range, Underhill, Vt.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Is there objection to the present consideration of the bill?

There being no objection, the bill was considered, ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, read the third time, and passed, as follows:

S. 59

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That, notwithstanding any other provisions of law, the Secretary of the Army may, at such times as he may deem desirable, relinquish to the State of Vermont all, or such portion as he may deem desirable for relinquishment, of the jurisdiction heretofore acquired by the United States over any land within the Army National Guard Facility, Ethan Allen, and the United States Army Materiel Command Firing Range, Chittenden County, Vermont, reserving to the United States such concurrent or partial jurisdiction as he may deem necessary. Relinquishment of jurisdiction under authority of this Act may be made by filing with the Governor of the State of Vermont a notice of such relinquishment, which shall take effect upon acceptance thereof by the State of Vermont in such manner as its laws may prescribe.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD an excerpt from the report (No. 91-335), explaining the purposes of the bill.

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

PURPOSE OF THE BILL

The purpose of S. 59 is, as stated in the title, to authorize the Secretary of the Army to adjust the legislative jurisdiction exercised by the United States over lands within the Army National Guard Facility, Ethan Allen, and the U.S. Army Materiel Command Firing Range, Underhill, Vt.

EXPLANATION OF THE BILL

This measure, if enacted into law, will grant general authority to the Secretary of the Army to retrocede such legislative jurisdiction as he deems necessary within the two Government-owned military resevations described above and over which the United States is now vested with exclusive legislative jurisdiction. This will permit the local authorities to afford these areas adequate police protection which is now lacking. This measure is identical with previous enactments on the subject with respect to other military reservations and is in keeping with the position of the Interdepartmental Committee for the Study of Jurisdiction Over Federal Areas Within the States.

BACKGROUND OF THE BILL

The two military reservations referred to in this bill are located about 12 miles apart in Chittenden County, Vt. Both are presently under the control of the Department of the Army and are licensed to the Vermont National Guard. Since over the years these installations have been alternatively used under various designations by the Army and the Air Force, a brief history of each may be helpful.

(*a*) The Army National Guard Facility, Ethan Allen, is situated in the towns of Colchester and Essex, County of Chittenden, Vt. It was originally established by the Department of the Army in 1892 as the Fort Ethan Allen Military Reservation on 600 acres of land, acquired in fee by the United States and was expanded by additional land acquisitions in 1896, 1918, and 1942 to a total of 1,203 acres. In 1952, the reservation was transferred to the Department of the Air Force for use as a cantonment and housing area and designated Fort Ethan Allen Air Force Base. In 1960, the airbase was inactivated, determined excess to Air Force requirements, following which, in 1964, the Army reacquired 822 acres by transfer for joint use by the Vermont National Guard and Army Reserve components. The remaining lands were disposed of by the Air Force and the General Services Administration. The reservation, now known as the Army National Guard Facility, Ethan Allen, currently comprises 822 acres of land and improvements, and is under license to the Vermont National Guard.

(*b*) The U.S. Army Materiel Command Firing Range, Underhill, Vt., is located in the towns of Bolten, Jericho, and Underhill, County of Chittenden, Vt. It was originally established by the Department of the Army in 1926 as the Fort Ethan Allen Artillery Range on 6,025.97 acres of land acquired in fee by the United States. In 1941, it was expanded by the acquisition of an additional 5,192.73 acres, making a total land holding of 11,218.70 acres. The installation was transferred to the Department of the Air Force in 1952 and redesignated Air Force Plant No. 55. In 1965, it was again transferred to the Army and assigned to the U.S. Army Materiel Command. Now known as the USAMC Firing Range, Underhill, it is licensed to the Vermont National Guard which uses the reservation jointly with Reserve components of the Armed Forces for training and testing purposes. Additionally, approximately 2,175 acres are used on a joint basis by the General Electric Corp. in conduct of testing activities for weapons and armament systems under contracts with the Army and Air Force.

The United States is vested with exclu-