

## EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

## JONES T. BOND SPEAKS TO LION'S CONVENTION

## HON. ROBERT G. STEPHENS, JR.

OF GEORGIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 28, 1969

Mr. STEPHENS. Mr. Speaker, on June 3, 1969, the Georgia State Lion's Convention of District 18F met in Augusta, Ga. My Good friend, Mr. Jones T. Bond, of Greensboro, Ga., delivered the main address entitled "Lionism in Action."

I think this speech will be of interest to all of the Members of Congress. I submit it, therefore, for insertion in the RECORD:

## ADDRESS BY MR. BOND

Ladies, Lion District Governors, international counselors, fellow Lions, first, I want to thank District Governor Newby for allowing me to come before you and talk on this occasion of the Lion's Convention of District 18F breakfast meeting here in Augusta, Georgia at the Town and Country Motel on this morning of June 3rd, 1969.

Should I choose a subject to talk on, it would be "Lionism in Action."

The same principles of success that apply to life, to a nation, or to any business, must also apply to a Lion's Club.

The first fundamental is finances: We must have finances in order to run our club. Every club has a fixed overhead, just like a government, or business and we must not contract for more than our income.

The second fundamental is membership. We must have membership if the club is to exist.

The third fundamental is business methods: our club must be managed on a sound business basis; or like any business it will fall into the hands of receivers—dues must be collected and properly spent—it is not how much money we have but how we spend it that counts.

The fourth fundamental is attendance. Of course, we must meet in order to have a club. We have to get together in order to know each other, in order to keep up the members' interest, to get the other fellows point of view, to broaden and develop ourselves.

The fifth fundamental is co-operation. It is team work that counts.

The sixth fundamental is "enthusiasm," the greatest asset in the world—it surpasses money, power and influence—let us stress "enthusiasm" in our clubs—it means joy, pleasure and satisfaction, as well as success.

The fruits of these fundamentals is a good fellowship, which is one of man's inherent qualities.

"A minute's success pays the failures of years," said the poet Robert Browning.

When success comes, it is sweet enough to offset the failures of the past, and history bears this theory out. It can be applied to the lives of great men and it can be as well applied to every life.

One of our greatest Presidents had a life of failures preceding his years of success. His business failed in 1831, he was defeated for the State legislature in 1832; and failed again in 1833. He had a nervous breakdown in 1836 following the death of his sweetheart in 1835 and was defeated for speaker of the House in 1838.

He was defeated for Congress in 1843 and 1848. Was defeated for the Senate in 1855, for the Vice-President in 1856 and for the Senate in 1858. Of course, this great failure

was Abraham Lincoln and he was elected President in 1860. Ask any American to name our greatest President and Lincoln's name will be on the list.

George Bernard Shaw said, "the people who get along in this world are the people who get up and look for circumstances they want and if they can't find them; make them." This pretty well describes the type of person Lincoln was, and this isn't reserved for people with political aspirations. Anybody can make his own in almost any situation.

In our Lion's Club we can obtain success through our work, not individually but as a club, by carrying out our goals and projects which we have set up.

Throughout our success we obtain our rewards of Lionism by what we can do for the unfortunate, the "down on their luck" people throughout our community and the world.

It is an eye operation for a child and the smile that breaks across his face after the bandage is removed and the eye blinks the great gift of sight to an anxious mother—it's a library to the school of our community; it's a food order to tide a family over and many, many more works of love. And our own personal rewards—rewards money can't touch—are the many great friendships made in our club and the wonderful feeling that comes from actually seeing those good deeds done—this—I think, is success.

Now, I wish to, at this time, pay a special tribute to the late great international secretary, Lion Melvin Jones whom I had the pleasure to know personally and visit in his home club in Chicago, Ill., which was most inspiring.

Lion's Club International is one of the few civic clubs which has survived the buffeting and trials of wars and depression.

Lion's International has passed its 50th birthday and I am proud to be able to say I attended this great convention in Chicago as a delegate from the Greensboro Lions Club of Georgia—I have been a charter member of the Greensboro Club for 35 years—and I hope we will pass the one million membership soon.

What is Lionism? Prognosticating is a risky business—founder Jones whose birthday was this past January 13th knew this. When he was asked for a prediction he would answer, "I hope there will always be a land of beyond for Lion's International!! A goal that will keep growing larger and larger as we approach it, yet will keep out of reach, challenging us to run faster, work harder, think bigger, and give more."

I wish to close with this thought and quote from the Bible, in which "Christ promiseth comfort." "Peace! I leave with you (not as the world giveth, gave I unto you) let not your heart be troubled, neither let it be afraid."

It is an honor to be here as a delegate from the Greensboro Lions Club and to speak to you and in the language of Tiny Tim I say "God bless us every one"—Thanks.

POEM BY W. SPENCER McCALL, OF GREENVILLE, S.C.

## HON. STROM THURMOND

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, July 29, 1969

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, the admiration and devotion Americans had

for General Eisenhower has been felt in the months following his death. This is but a reflection of the high esteem which they held for this great American. A poem expressing this feeling was sent to me by a fellow South Carolinian.

I ask unanimous consent that the poem, entitled "President Eisenhower," written by W. Spencer McCall, of Greenville, S.C., be printed in the Extensions of Remarks.

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

## PRESIDENT EISENHOWER

(By W. Spencer McCall)

He was both soldier and statesman,  
And he wielded great power,  
He was a great American,  
And his name was Eisenhower.

From the heart of the land he came,  
And though his beginning was small,  
In war and peace he won great fame,  
Always answering duty's call.

Across the ocean he did go,  
To defend liberty and right,  
Loved by friend and feared by foe,  
Loving peace, but ready to fight.

He fought—and tyranny was crushed,  
And there was peace for which we yearned,  
At last the cannon's voice was hushed,  
Then to the homeland he returned.

Again to him the call went forth:  
Would he the nation's leader be?  
And this man of proven worth  
Heard his fellow countrymen's plea.

He then agreed to their request  
By piloting the ship of state,  
And, as history will attest,  
He was just and considerate.

Valiant soldier and wise statesman!  
We now honor his memory.  
Injustice he sought to ban,  
He served the cause of liberty.

## WASHINGTON WORKSHOPS GIVES STUDENTS AND CONGRESS RARE OPPORTUNITY

## HON. JOSEPH M. McDADE

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 29, 1969

Mr. McDADE. Mr. Speaker, I would like to commend to the attention of my colleagues a most unique and worthwhile study program on this Congress for the country's young people. The program is sponsored by the Washington Workshops, a private nonprofit educational foundation founded and directed by Mr. Leo S. Tonkin, and its purpose is to offer on-the-scene study of our American Government in action and to encourage a much-needed dialog between the Nation's leaders and its young people.

Nearly 150 high school youngsters, most of them about ready to enter college, are here in Washington right now. They have journeyed here to their Nation's Capital from every background and part of the country. Every day they

made their way about Capitol Hill—sitting in on committee hearings, discussing with the Members of this Congress the issues most critical to them and the country, and meeting with their own Representatives. They are also holding sessions with Cabinet members and key officials from the executive branch as well as the judiciary—including the Supreme Court. What is more, several foreign embassies are hosting receptions for the students to offer an experience in international education and friendship.

In addition to the regular Washington Workshops congressional seminars, 65 of last year's outstanding workshop students are here again this summer participating in an advanced workshop on the Congress. These students are here for 4 weeks to do 2 weeks of intensive independent study and research and to serve a 2-week voluntary congressional office assignment. By the time they have completed the workshop, they will know more than just the legislative process and the critical issues that confront our Nation. They will have experienced what kind of work must be done, day in and day out, if this Congress is to meet these challenges head on.

By the end of this summer some 1,000 young Americans will have had the opportunity to hear and be heard here on Capitol Hill. I know many of my colleagues in this House and in the Senate—Democrats and Republicans of every political persuasion—have joined me in meeting with these young Americans, and I am hopeful that both the students and my colleagues have found this experience as educational, stimulating, and encouraging as I have. It is vitally important that the country's young people and leaders share their thoughts, hopes, and goals with one another. The Washington Workshops are giving us just that opportunity.

#### CHEYENNE FRONTIER DAYS, THE "GRANDDADDY OF EM ALL"

#### HON. JOHN WOLD

OF WYOMING

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 29, 1969

Mr. WOLD. Mr. Speaker, the Apollo 11 moon landing was undoubtedly the most exciting event of the past week. The second most exciting had to be the 73d annual celebration of Cheyenne's Frontier Days.

The greatness of the United States has resulted from many factors. Surely, among the most important has been the ability of our people to change—to be innovative—to adapt to new realities. But the foundation upon which all this rests are the fundamental symbols and values that go from our Star Spangled Banner to the Constitution and beyond.

Frontier Days—"The Granddaddy of Em All" as it is affectionately known to rodeo fans—is a living symbol of the spirit that made our Nation and keeps it continuing.

It is made possible—just as was the Apollo program—by the ingredient that secured our frontier 100 years ago—by

the willful cooperation of individual human beings.

It was this "let's work together" spirit that settled Wyoming and the West; it was the spirit that brought our Forefathers to the New World—and it was the spirit that made possible the footprint of man on the moon.

The spirit is especially evident during Frontier Days.

The whole shebang is put together by literally hundreds and thousands of people. They however, are given direction by the Greater Cheyenne Chamber of Commerce and a nine-man directing committee. The occupational range of the committee reflects the diversity of the citizens who make Frontier Days possible every year—a high school track coach, an attorney, a CPA, a dairy operator, an insurance representative, and so forth.

Even a rodeo requires special action, however. Livestock have to be collected, fed, dispersed, events have to be timed; a million and one chores have to be done.

A heel is ordinarily thought of as a not so nice person. But during Frontier Days it is the Heels that handle the specialized chores of the arena. As are everyone else, they are volunteers—in this case, men.

But the women of the community are not to be outdone. They are organized as Wheels to keep the 3-day parade rolling. In fact, most of the citizens of Cheyenne help out with everything from cooking up free flapjacks to timing bucking horse rides.

The population of Cheyenne triples during Frontier Days—and it is easy to see why. First of all, there is the world's greatest rodeo. It is a tradition among cowboys that a man is not a champion until he has won at the "granddaddy of 'em all."

For the visitor who wants to see the West as it really was, Frontier Days has authenticity that is impossible to duplicate. The town really goes Western with displays ranging from the world's largest collection of horse-drawn vehicles to the out-and-out cowboy.

Besides all the rodeos, visitors are kept entertained by evening shows, Indian dances, a carnival, and parades.

The heart of the rodeo is still the struggle between man and nature, between the cowboy and the bronco.

In a sense, the rodeo is a microcosm of the world in which we live and it shows pretty clearly that victory goes to the courageous and to the bold.

So to all of you who have never made it to Frontier Days, Cheyenne, Wyo., I extend an invitation for next year's rip-snorter so you can see Frontier Days for yourself.

#### IN DEFENSE OF THE INDEFENSIBLE

#### HON. WILLIAM L. HUNGATE

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 29, 1969

Mr. HUNGATE. Mr. Speaker, I would like to say a few words in defense of the indefensible. Our Nation has a lifetime subscription to the Puritan ethic. Yet we spend more on liquor than libraries,

more on cigarettes than schools. Great industrial and agricultural States like New Jersey—and until lately Illinois—rest their fiscal hopes on horseplayers, rather than the graduated income tax.

No Roman emperor was more aristocratic than Gen. Douglas MacArthur. Yet, we may owe our freedom to his military genius and leadership.

Gen. George Patton's purple language made a Marine drill sergeant sound like a Boy Scout applying for a God and Country Award. Yet one cause of our Vietnamese failure is our failure to find a general—a Patton—for that war, one who grasps those tactics and has the egotism and courage to pursue a victorious course, despite intraservice obstacles and critical winds at home. Under pressure, Patton's personal conduct toward his troops was indefensible. But those who overrode him left East Germany a 20-year supply of Russian troops.

Our White House has seen men who fell victim to a moral lapse. One fine President's illegitimate parenthood was so well known it gave rise to a campaign jingle:

There's your ma.  
Where's your pa?  
Gone to the White House.  
Ha, Ha, Ha!

The mansion has seen generals as President whose private lives are described as infinitely more colorful—and in some cases more productive—than their public careers.

We all want to live in the house by the side of the road, but our heroes are the men on the moon.

A leader who prefers Edgar A. Guest to Edgar Allan Poe, and a President who prefers Guy Lombardo to Jose Feliciano probably will not get you into trouble. Indeed he probably will not get you anywhere.

#### ON LOSING OUR NERVE

#### HON. PAGE BELCHER

OF OKLAHOMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 29, 1969

Mr. BELCHER. Mr. Speaker, recently I had the privilege of attending a luncheon of the National Press Club and hearing the new president of the National Chamber of Commerce, Jenkin Lloyd Jones, who is, incidentally, the editor, and publisher of my hometown newspaper, the Tulsa Tribune, deliver an address entitled "On Losing Our Nerve." I feel this is a very frank, challenging, and optimistic statement on the present state of this Union. I include the material at this point in the RECORD:

#### ON LOSING OUR NERVE

(By Jenkin Lloyd Jones)

One of the functions of a good reporter is to keep his editor from coming to stupid conclusions. I have been rescued many times from making editorial gaffes by the boy from our state capitol bureau or the city hall who who begins a sentence, politely, "But you overlook—"

One of the greatest hazards in the newspaper business is obsolete information. We sometimes fail to learn quickly enough of the new trend, of the sudden damming of one



stream of history and the hurling of the waters into a new channel.

My fellow Oklahoman, Will Rogers, once said, "Ignorance ain't the trouble in this world. Everybody knows plenty. It's what they know that ain't so that's the trouble."

It has been a quarter of a century since Wendell Willkie, seeing a rosy future beyond the most horrible of all wars, wrote his book, "One World." It all seemed so simple. With fascist tyranny and Japanese militarism swept away what could have been more logical than a drawing together of the peoples of the world, first by their common cause in war, and secondly by the dynamics of ever-easier travel and communication?

The only trouble is, Willkie knew a lot that wasn't so. We have seen, not One World, but an unprecedented era of splittings. The majority of the votes in the UN are now cast by nations that have less population than Chicago.

With the removal of the disciplines imposed by colonial powers India has divided into warring Hindu and Moslem nations, Nigeria into an unstable compound of Ibos, Yorubas and Hausas, and much of the rest of Africa into tribal states.

Scottish nationalists drew cheers for swiping the Stone of Scone, and I note that the lunatic fringe among my brother Welshmen is threatening to spoil the investiture of Bonnie Prince Charlie the Third with some sort of rhuabarb.

It would be dangerous to say that Wendell Willkie will be wrong forever. We may eventually get One World. Indeed, it could be imposed upon us by one victorious superpower that could arrogate to itself and keep a monopoly on cataclysmic weapons. Whether you like the prospect or not depends, of course, on who gets the monopoly.

But Wendell Willkie's optimistic forecast has been wrong up to now because he underestimated centrifugal forces. And editors like me who bought Willkie's promise were wrong, too.

I have the temerity to stand before you today as an expert on everything because I have just completed my third trip around the world. I don't have to warn you that travel is dangerous for newspapermen because it feeds our delusions of omniscience—a disease that afflicts even those of our brethren who rarely get out of the county.

But it is difficult to travel widely without seeing new vistas from new perspectives. And I would like to unload upon you a few fast conclusions.

I believe that in some areas the age of ideology is beginning to fade and the ancient forces of good, old geopolitics are winning out again. C. L. Sulzberger of The New York Times, certainly a better-traveled man than I, has a theory that the basis of the Russo-Chinese hatreds is Mao's conviction that no white nation can be tolerated as a co-savior of humanity as outlined in the Communist dogma.

I would disagree. I think the imbroglios along the Ussuri River would be conjured up by governmental systems of any kind that find themselves in deep internal trouble. The Chinese and the Russians, being of different races and holding contiguous territory, make far more believable enemies for each other than the distant Americans. The more an authoritarian government falls short of delivering on its promises the more necessary an external peril becomes. Such governments cannot be turned out of office by elections, but they are always in danger of revolt. Nothing dampens revolt like the prospect of a common enemy.

Some distinguished optimists have suggested that our efforts to achieve a detente, i.e., an understanding, a lessening of tensions, with the Communist world should be increased now that there are serious divisions among the Reds, themselves.

I see no hunger among Communist leaders for a detente with the West based on anything less than unilateral concessions and surrenders by the West. With prospects brightening for a total American defeat in Southeast Asia, and with internal problems apparently becoming more serious in both Russia's European empire and Red China, I would think a lessening of external tensions would be the last thing the Communist leaders, however much they may hate each other, would want.

I suppose the best chance of world peace would be provided by a communist system that worked. If such a system delivered the dream of Marx—prosperity for all, total justice, a flowering of the humanities, the greatest leisure—then all the nations of the world, like ripe apples, would fall into communism's lap and there would be nothing left to fight about.

Unfortunately, this system has yet to be discovered, even though the SDS seems to think it knows how to discover it. What we have seen for half a century, instead, is a system that has failed most spectacularly in achieving human values. And, whether in the jailing of Russian poets or the seizure of peasants' grain by Chinese troops, more and more we see the outlines of old and traditional tyrannies that have nothing to do with revolutionary ideology.

The trouble is, old tyrannies can be pretty effective tyrannies, given the techniques of modern propaganda. As an example, the constant drumming by Moscow and Peking on the thesis that the Americans are engaged in a cruel, reckless and selfish imperialist war in Southeast Asia has been amazingly successful, not only among our traditional friends, but among ourselves, as well.

It is sad enough that our old pals, the Swedes, have apparently bought in to the idea that Lyndon Johnson was a Genghis Khan and that our sleaziest deserters are heroes in the fight for human freedom. But it is even more remarkable that Harvard can burst into tears at the sight of a Vietnamese baby burned by American napalm while ignoring completely the windrows of Vietnamese bodies left after the Viet Cong's departure from Hue.

We are becoming pariahs in the world. Some of it, as our British friends wryly remind us, is the historic fate of front-running nations. Some of it is more apparent in the headlines and on the TV news than in fact. A small disciplined minority properly positioned for maximum exposure can give the impression that an entire community or even a nation has exploded in disgust at the Americans.

But we have seen an American President cancel a trip to Japan because the radical young Zengakuren threatened to stain the streets with blood. We have seen one secretary of state spirited away from a New York City speech through an adjoining garage to avoid a well-led chorus of hatred. We have seen other cabinet officers shouted down by riotous claquees in college audiences. Our present President a few years ago was nearly killed in Colombia and we have recently observed the governor of New York, first, literally driven from South America, and then return to hold a second meeting, not in the national capital where it was scheduled, but in a small and well-policed resort.

The American people read these headlines. The American people know that we have poured more than a quarter of a trillion dollars into foreign aid and that our defense commitments gobble up one-tenth of our gross national product. The American people are hurt by taxes. So it is not remarkable that there is a rising spirit of neo-isolationism, led, oddly, by some able and articulate senators who, only yesterday, were our most eloquent internationalists.

President Nixon has now been drawn into a distressing numbers game. With the Paris

peace talks getting nowhere he is pressured on every hand to announce ever-larger withdrawals of American troops, and whatever number he announces is sure to be denounced as "tokenism" by his opponents.

Does anyone wonder why the Viet Cong and North Vietnam see no sense at this point on talking peace in any terms except their total victory?

Two weeks ago in San Francisco I sat in on a meeting on Japanese-U.S. trade problems which was attended by some of Japan's leading industrialists and exporters. And they were full of rosy expectations of booming trade opportunities in Southeast Asia as soon as the Vietnam war was "settled," as they put it.

It is not cricket at such a meeting to mention politics, but I quit the cricket game briefly to suggest that how the war was settled might have a lot to do with the trade opportunities of Japan or any other noncommunist nation.

It is my understanding that Walt Rostow's "domino theory" is in general disrepute, not only among the distinguished guessers on our faculties of political science, but among Washington intellectuals, as well.

The counter-theory is that all Southeast Asian states are highly nationalistic and will gravitate toward political solutions that suit their own people, regardless of what may happen in Vietnam.

This certainly provides a comfortable rationale for an American bug-out from an intolerable situation. But, at the risk of being thought a troglodyte, may I say that I am still a domino man. I think if all the friends of the Saigon government and all the supporters of the Americans wind up with their throats cut it may have more than a little effect upon the rest of Southeast Asia.

I believe most influential Southeast Asians will not let abstract principle interfere with the more urgent business of keeping their heads on his shoulders. I believe the spreading of terror and chaos by the systematic assassination of village chiefs—a technique brought to a high polish by the Viet Cong—will work equally well in Laos, Cambodia, Thailand, Burma, Malaysia—yea, and Indonesia, too.

As a matter of fact, this technique is now a clear and present danger in northeast Thailand, and who can say that it is purely coincidental that the Huks are stirring again in the Philippines, that Red terrorists are showing up once more in Malaysia, that that most Quixotic king of Cambodia, who only yesterday was denouncing Americans for their "aggressions," is now yelling for their help.

It is argued that even if these nations eventually succumb to leftist coups there will be no real change in the power balance of the East because the people of these nations have always looked upon the Chinese with suspicion and distaste.

I can only say that with the British out of the area, with the Japanese disarmed, and with the Americans gone it would take some imagination to imagine that a treasurehouse of oil, rice and minerals would be ignored by a state of 800 million people that has a huge standing army and is short of everything.

This has sounded like a lugubrious speech. I do not mean it so. I think we are approaching a crisis because so many good things are happening. I feel that the reason why there is so much pressure upon the American people now to make foolish and short-sighted decisions is because our enemies, themselves, are pressed.

Here, let me hasten to point out that intelligent gentlemen of undoubted loyalty to this country have arrived at opposite conclusions to mine. I refer to the sincere purveyors of the doctrine that we can depart from Southeast Asia under any or no terms without hazard to ourselves or the so-called "Free World." I point no fingers at brilliant

American statesmen who say that we can watch Russia build all by itself an antiballistic missile system without any qualms because, in the first place, it won't work, and, in the second place, if we built one it would be provocative.

One of the troubles with being a newspaper editorial writer in the late Twentieth Century is that he is increasingly called upon to reach definite conclusions on matters about which he has little ability to judge.

If you would ask me whether a soldier should be equipped with a muzzle-loader or a breech-loader I could give you a pretty wise opinion. If you should ask me whether percussion caps should replace flintlocks I'd be pretty smart. But that's the wrong century.

As one who does not yet completely understand the crawling lawn sprinkler I have no way of knowing whether an ABM will work or not. I do know that some presumably intelligent gentlemen in Russia seem to think it is worth a try.

I do believe that a balance of terror is better than an imbalance of terror, that the peace of the world might be in very great jeopardy if our friends in Moscow ever arrived at a position where they could inflict unacceptable casualties on us while risking only acceptable casualties on themselves. We would then be in the same position we would have been in if Josef Stalin had ever found himself the exclusive possessor of the atom bomb.

There are those who say that the age of raw aggression has passed. If so, it has passed recently for I was in Czechoslovakia last summer.

There are those who say that atomic holocaust is "unthinkable." But atomic blackmail may not be. If I were a Western European I would worry about the day when the Americans, if they ever lost their ability for a devastating counter-strike, would have to decide whether to watch the immolation of our cities or let Western Europe go.

I am interested in the program of the so-called New Left. Let's tick it over:

End military research by American universities.

End the training of officers in the ROTC. Pull out of Vietnam now—period.

Take the ABM money and put it into more generous social services.

Encourage desertion and dissension in the American armed services.

Dismantle the so-called "industrial-military complex."

I don't believe all this was spontaneous inspiration of idealistic young collegians. I detect a sort of professional flavor that rings a bell or two as I review the history of the past half century.

Gentlemen, I think we're in trouble because Marxism is in trouble. I think that as we enter the eighth decade of the Twentieth Century we are under increasing attack because collectivist theories are not working out, and because those who are dedicated to them are fearful.

I think we are seeing an ably managed effort to tip a military balance in favor of a system that has steadily lost hope of winning by example.

Your committee invited me here, today, not because I'm a prairie editor and an old member of this club, but because for a brief period I am president of the Chamber of Commerce of the United States. Therefore, let me get in my commercial.

Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels thought they had a formula for licking 19th Century capitalism. Perhaps they did. For that was the capitalism of monopoly and cartel, of little social conscience and less taxes, of ever-greater concentrations of land-holdings and of wealth, and a perpetual war on workers. Some of this capitalism still survives, particularly in Latin America.

What Marx and Engels didn't know about was something not yet invented—a people's

capitalism in which equity ownership was widespread, even among labor, itself. People's capitalism is heavily taxed for the commonweal and is subject to the disciplines of the marketplace, which is another way of saying the approval of the consumer.

Among its freedoms is the freedom to go broke. Unlike enterprises operating under government ownership and enjoying monopoly this new capitalism must respond to demand or perish. It must meet not only competition in price and quality, but competition in wages that it pays.

This is what is frightening the communist world, for it is becoming increasingly apparent that communist dogma is obsolete and out of touch with reality, that it is overdue for revision, and that no revision which can come close to meeting the rising demands of the people will be achieved by anything short of the dismantling of centralized controls and a lessening of the power of a self-perpetuating elite.

The communist leadership does not wage war against the people out of choice, but desperation. The Berlin Wall was humiliating. Sending the tanks to Budapest was, no doubt, the result of an agonized appraisal. Calling out the Red Guards, then trying to call them back, then exiling them to the country, then sending the soldiers out to overawe both the Guards and peasants were not, I am sure, the way Mao and Lin would like to run China. And the flattening of Czechoslovakia, with all the damage to the Russian image that it entails, represented the lesser of two fears.

Gentleman, I don't know the solution to Vietnam. I have ridden the patrol boats and the helicopters. I've seen the corruption and the agony. I've looked upon the oblong boxes under the flags crowding the warehouses at the Saigon airport. It's not the kind of war I'd choose, even for my enemies.

But I think we should understand why at this moment we are under such pressure to let go, why all the powers of propaganda on a worldwide scale are concentrated on alienating our former allies, making us disbelieve in ourselves, and euchering us into a position where we may some day have to accept the choice between surrender or destruction.

We are in this peril, not because the institutions of economic freedom have failed, but because they have been so successful. Our enemies threaten and rampage, not because their philosophies have been successful, but because they have so uniformly failed.

I would say that this is a ridiculous move to lose our nerve.

QUESTION AND ANSWER PROGRAM, MR. JENKIN LLOYD JONES, NATIONAL PRESS CLUB LUNCHEON, THURSDAY, JUNE 26, 1969

MR. HEFFERNAN. The range of questions I have here, Mr. Jones, suggest that the audience does not take your strictures to heart, about you're not being an expert and not being able to answer the questions because they persist in bringing them up. The first question is "As president of the United States Chamber of Commerce what is your prediction as to the U.S. economic situation? Are we headed for inflation, or depression, or both?"

MR. JONES. I don't know about a depression. Of course, we are told that we have now machinery for adjusting government expenditures, and so forth, that would make a depression out of the question. But I do think there is no prosperity such as we have known it that can survive a ten-cent dollar.

I do believe that we have reached a point in which, I think it was Tennyson who spoke of vaulting ambition that overleaps itself.

We have a vaulting economy that overleaps itself and that even months after the very high discount rate has gone on and the very high interest rates spread throughout

the country, we are seeing still an increase in the pressure to buy, and the pressure to build and, of course, the wage settlements recently have been highly inflationary.

We, in the Chamber of Commerce, take the position, that nothing good can happen to the business community, to labor, to domestic peace and tranquility, to the government itself if we ever get in a situation where all persons are swept away, where all insurance policies become valueless, where people acting together can no longer float bond issues for the commonweal, where you begin to get a headlong flight into things like gold and land, and so forth, and we repeat the history of Germany in the 20's.

We think we are close enough to the runaway point, so that we as a Chamber of Commerce are going to have to recommend some things we hate to recommend, such as an extension of the surtax, such as the crunch that may over-slow business as the brakes, instead of being applied slowly, suddenly grab. We are more frightened at the prospect of inflation than anything else facing this country right now and the attitude of the Chamber's Board of Directors is to take some risks with a high level of prosperity in an effort to save the dollar.

MR. HEFFERNAN. Your eloquent words on Vietnam anticipated many of these questions, but I think we should go over them again if you don't mind. Perhaps I can lump them together. "Can the United States tiptoe out of Vietnam, safely, without having all that part of the world becoming Communist?" "What do you think is the ultimate solution in Vietnam?"

MR. JONES. Well, of course, I have already said that I don't think we can tiptoe out, or rush out, without creating a power vacuum in which I think the power that remains closest to that point would take over.

I would say that unless our military has been lying to us utterly, the Viet Cong have been very badly hurt, the North Koreans have been very badly hurt and you can't say that the Chinese economy is booming.

I would think that we should look at the fact that there is an awful lot of things that a de-escalation of the war in Vietnam could do for the relief of pretty desperate conditions among our enemies.

We find that they are having great recruiting problems and certainly the casualties, although our casualties are very substantial, they have never gotten down to a ratio where I have ever thought that they can continue accepting the casualties, at the rate they are suffering them, indefinitely.

I would say simply this, that I think we have got to show determination, to pursue this very bloody, desperate, horrible war for some time longer. Because I think that if we show that determination and if it looks as though those casualties are going to be inflicted upon our enemies for some time in the future, then there will begin to be some progress in Paris.

But the way so many Americans are talking, and the way the TV commentators have sounded and the great number of my brother editorial writers have sounded, I think that the Viet Cong, the North Vietnamese and the Communist Chinese are utterly convinced that we are ready to surrender outright, and I don't see why they should move as long as they are convinced.

MR. HEFFERNAN. Going back to the economic situation, where does the Chamber stand on the 10% surtax and what is the Chamber doing about one of our most serious problems—our communities?

MR. JONES. On the surtax, the Chamber of Commerce firmly believes that we are not going to get inflation under control until we have some solid and long range cuts in government spending. A great deal of government spending is nonproductive. It has gotten away from us, that substantial cuts can be made without doing violence to any



essential government or social services, and we would like to see the 10% surtax dependent upon previous cuts and expenditures.

But I think the Chamber of Commerce is realistic. You can't redo the whole federal budget while we are up against a deadline on the surtax problem and I think the Chamber of Commerce is going to be willing to, as I said, see that businessmen pay an awful lot of taxes which some of us don't think are entirely necessary, if this is going to slow down this floating down Niagara River, which is where we are right now, in the opinion of most of the Chamber board.

Now, as to what we are doing about the problem in the communities. The Chamber of Commerce of the United States, composed of about 2700 individual chambers of commerce, about 1100 trade and professional associations, and we have felt that a great number of government programs, particularly some of those hastily conceived, and hastily put together on the poverty war, did not do a job. We see no reason why it should cost \$9,000 to train a chambermaid down in Florida.

But, a job is essential. So we feel that much more good can come out of programs initiated by Chamber of Commerce members, businessmen, industrialists and so forth in which solid, serious, definite programs with training the hard core and bringing the young people, who are now out of school, into the labor force, can be spread from community to community.

And we feel that we are in an unusually good position to spread the word on workable programs. What did Wilkes-Barre do? What did Yuma do? What did Spokane do?

What specifically was done in specific communities to meet a social ill?

We are not only engaged, as many government agencies are engaged, in abstract studies in the so-called problem of the city, but we are very heavily engaged in spreading the word about what we consider our pragmatic action programs, in which some good was actually done.

We do have the feeling that businessmen by their natures are pragmatic people, they have to be, if you are not pragmatic you do go broke and out of business. We feel that there is much the business community can do to solve these social ailments if we spread the word about the workable programs and this is one of our chief functions.

Mr. HEFFERNAN. This one seems to come from someone who is not a member of the U.S. Chamber of Commerce. "Would you deny that our business practices constitute a gyp economy, false labels, fake packaging, rigged bids, military industrial deceptions, income tax dishonesty contracts rigged for special benefits to business, pharmaceutical fakes and profiteering on the poor and sick and indigent, outrageous advertising frauds, conglomerate Wall Street scandals. Is the United States Chamber of Commerce the apologist for this massive corruption and are you its chief prophet?"

Mr. JONES. I would deny it, and I don't have to apologize for what I have denied.

Mr. HEFFERNAN. I was despairing of ever getting a question on the students. There is one now. "What would you do about the SDS?"

Mr. JONES. That is a very interesting thing. I was brought up, as I have said, I am the only president of the Chamber of Commerce who cast his first vote for Norman Thomas.

I was brought up a young radical, and one of my roommates, John Scott, son of Scott Nearing, the head of the Communist party of the United States at that time, who went over to Russia as a Stakhanovite and married a beautiful Russian girl and gradually got cured. Then they wouldn't let his wife out and so then he got very cured. He is now one of the assistants to the publishers of *Time* magazine and one of the great experts on the Russian system.

But nevertheless, we were all young radicals

and I cut my teeth on the Manifesto and Das Capital and I read a great deal of the League for Industrial Democracy literature at that time.

About three years, I was back at my old alma mater the University of Wisconsin and I dropped into a little hole-in-the-wall bookstore and I pick up something called the New Left Notes, and the fascinating thing about it was this was straight Marxism all over again, the Marxist Action Program, the League for Industrial Democracy program, this was the sabotage program, it was the infiltration program, it was the Molotov cocktail program (which hadn't been heard of when I was a kid in college but is only an extension of other devices).

So I wrote a piece about the Red plan for colleges, and this was three years ago. No faculty paid any attention to it.

There was some yahoo editor from Oklahoma suffering from a fright syndrome about the Communist. And yet everything that was written in the New Left Notes was worked out first on the Berkeley campus and then, of course it spread East.

I would say that we have to recognize that the SDS is a subversive organization.

The very interesting thing about this was, I thought that you newspapermen would be interested, I was down at the IAPA meeting in Dorado Beach, Puerto Rico, almost two years ago, Dr. Jaime Benitez, the president of the University of Puerto Rico came over and made his speech to us and said: "I have been reading the news from Berkeley." He said: "The thing that amazes me is that you American editors haven't the foggiest idea what's about to happen to you." Then he went on back to the history of the thing. He said that the University of Cordoba in Argentina in 1918, shortly after the Third International was established, erupted in a student program in which the president was thrown out of his office; the files were all seized; the administration building was captured, and it was dictated that the university could not be reopened except with permission of a student committee that would pass on the qualifications not only of the professors, but also of the courses to be taught.

He said this was the business of turning the university from a producer of a stable middle class, which is the last thing the Communist dialecticians wanted, into a cadre for revolution. And, he said this thing spreads first to the University of Santiago, then the University of Lima, then to the University of Caracas, it began to spread all over Latin America and the conservative professors were driven out of their jobs. Left Wing activists, regardless of how poor the academic qualifications were, were installed. It was decreed that the military should not appear on the campus regardless of the provocation.

He said the result was the ruination of the South American university system and I noticed the President got himself in real hot water when he mentioned that, a couple of months ago.

Well, Jaime Benitez said, look this has been two years ago, he said "I'll make you a prediction that within nine months a great eastern American university will be seized according to this formula." That was six months before Columbia.

And the utterly ridiculous situation is the fact that we have faculties who keep trying to carry on meaningful dialogues with young men who have spelled out the program for hanging 'em.

Well, as one of the professors of political science down at the University of Chicago said, and I thought was quite interesting, "You know the interesting thing about the average college faculty member, he regards himself as a liberal. He has excellent defenses against the right. Let him be attacked by the John Birchers or the DAR or the American Legion, he knows exactly what to do. He has no defenses against the left,

because the moment he is attacked by the left, he fears that he has not been liberal enough."

And, as Dr. Hayakawa says, they are all like the defenses of Singapore, all the guns point in the wrong direction.

Mr. HEFFERNAN. This one came up a little late for the previous economic question; I'll go through it. "Do you think wage and price controls are necessary to control or contain inflation?"

Mr. JONES. Well, we found out that it is very difficult to run a war, an all-out war, where there is this tremendous demand and an extreme shortage of goods, without wage and price controls. This really does cause runaway inflation, and causes the type of profiteering that was so apparent in the Civil War.

Now, how big a crunch do you have to get before you resort to this very strong medicine? Remember, when you go into wage and price controls you leave the free economy and you go to the managed economy.

And this then is where somebody in Washington, with the best intentions in the world, but with the inadequate information, just like the bureaucrat in Moscow, must try to decide what something is worth both in terms of the commodity labor, which is required in wages, and the commodity, the physical commodity, which of course, is paid for in money.

We feel that if it ever gets to the point where you have to leave the free economy to save us from one runaway inflation, this a confession of stupidity, that you never should have got into this condition, even with a gnawing Vietnam war and with the other problems we have had.

We feel that this must be avoided at all costs, because once you get wage and price controls down you have set your economy in reinforced concrete. The imbalance is started one second after you enact the law and it is a long, long way to recover from this.

I remember, I was in Germany in 1947, and we had a lot of young government officials over there, and we were giving Germany and France all kinds of advice of how you recover. We went into France and said now look, you have got a shortage of everything and so forth, so you keep on those wage controls and you keep on those rent controls, and you keep on those price controls, and let's not let this economy get away from you.

And we went over to Germany and we said the same thing and the Germans said the hell with you. We are going free right now. And they did. And because half the housing in the country was ruined, immediately the price of housing went skyhigh. A hall room closet cost as much as the week's wages. It was a terrible crunch, but because there was such demand, everybody and his brother got in the business of building houses. And the result is, Germany recovered in three years from a housing crunch that France is still in. So we do go on the theory that if we have to ever go to wage and price controls it is because we have been stupid about other things in our economy and we don't think this is necessary—at least not in the foreseeable future.

Mr. HEFFERNAN. A question about your column on Japan recently: "The Japanese gravy-train is at the end of its run." Can you explain this observation and a similar question, "What role should Japan take in Far Eastern affairs to stabilize that area?"

Mr. JONES. Japan has become a great big powerful boy, who would like to have bottles of warm milk delivered as usual, every two hours. Japan has grown up. Japan is one of the world's greatest success stories. And it is a success partly because the Americans endowed the flattened Japanese industry with the latest machinery that we had; the latest techniques that we had. Many American industries that couldn't afford, under our tax system, to modernize completely found

themselves in competition with Japanese factories where the entire plant had been built by the Americans. But, it was a smart thing that we did, because these are an industrial people; they are a very able people; they are a very hard working people, and we couldn't have done better than set them back on their feet.

Now the next question is why is the gravy-train at the end of its run? It's at the end of its run because the American Congress is not going to accept very much longer unilateral situations in which the Japanese can invest in anything that they want in Alaska, wholly-owned corporations all there for taking. We can't invest substantially in anything in Japan, we are held out. The Japanese flood the American market with their automobiles, you can't put an American automobile into Japan at any price.

They have all sorts of artificial restrictions. They are perfectly willing to let us import to Japan anything that they don't make. That's not very much, because they are very clever people and they cover the industrial spectrum very well.

Well, we are simply trying to make the point that unless we get more quid pro quo treatment out of the Japanese, Congress is, probably out of resentment, going to start imposing stringent import quotas on Japanese goods and maybe retaliatory tariffs and the bias of the Chamber is for the freest trade possible consistent with the avoidance of the crunch that you get when you dump a lot of cheaply-made products, such as the textile situation.

If the Japanese don't meet us—won't meet the realities of their new strength—we are afraid that these very cordial relations are going to be less cordial.

Mr. HEFFERNAN. As a modern day philosopher, do you think we will ever see the day when one, Presidents get along with Congress; two, Oklahoma gets along with Texas; three, business gets along with labor; and four, the Cowboys get along with Indians?

Mr. JONES. The reason that Oklahoma doesn't get along too well with Texas is because there is no profit in getting along well with Texas, because the United States government wouldn't let Texas conquer us. If it weren't for the United States Army we would get along with Texas very well.

Mr. HEFFERNAN. How do you think Nixon is doing?

Mr. JONES. Well, it has been said of course, up to now the President has attempted to achieve a very low silhouette because he is up against a Democratic Congress. Because the less partisan he can make his program look, the better. The more Democratic holds over he can manage to keep in government, the more pleasant his relations with Congress may become and so forth, and I think there is a great deal of truth in that.

I think that the time is now coming where the President is going to have to take some positions that are probably going to be unpopular with Congress, and take some positions that will probably be unpopular with the people.

I'm not privy in Mr. Nixon's plans. Mr. Nixon's plan so far has been to cool it.

He has sensed some popular ground-swells, discussed the conditions in the street, discussed the position of law and order. I'm sure he believes sincerely in law and order. I think he has capitalized on that, because that has something to do with his popularity.

They said three months ago that it is too early to say how Mr. Nixon is doing. I would say that at the present moment that it is still too early to see, because he hasn't come to grips with Congress on the major issues where I think they may be a cross purpose. He has only got a limited time for this honeymoon which is running out pretty fast.

Mr. HEFFERNAN. Before I ask the last question, Mr. Jones, I would like to present to you this certificate of appreciation from the Na-

tional Press Club, awarded in recognition of meritorious service to correspondents.

Mr. JONES. Thank you very much.

Mr. HEFFERNAN. To go along with it, a handsome addition of the National Press Club tie.

Mr. JONES. Thank you very much.

Mr. HEFFERNAN. And now the final question: "How did one of our boys, a reporter and editorial writer ever get to be president of the United States Chamber of Commerce?"

Mr. JONES. As I say one of your boys, Spike Canham, preceded me as president of the United States Chamber of Commerce so the thing is not unprecedented and I thank you gentlemen very much.

#### URBAN BROADCASTING WORKSHOP

#### HON. CHARLES C. DIGGS, JR.

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 29, 1969

Mr. DIGGS. Mr. Speaker, in the essentially negative atmosphere which surrounds so much of our existence these days, it is truly refreshing, and I think, noteworthy to stop and mark an event of something extremely positive in character.

I am referring to the beginning of the Third Annual Urban Broadcasting Workshop for high school students from the Washington area. A joint university-industry sponsored project for the benefit of promising high school juniors selected by school counselors, NAACP, Urban League, and others, the program is designed to provide a tuition-free 1-month summer workshop in broadcasting.

Beyond the experience gained in the classroom and from visits to actual operating installations, the program is concerned with the future growth and development of these students. Scholarship assistance and loans for college studies, summer broadcast employment and job placement upon graduation are included.

The idea for the program originated with Dr. Roger Penn, former station manager of WAMU-FM and associate professor of communications at the American University here in Washington. Victor Sussman, a producer for WAMU-FM and currently a member of the English faculty there assisted Dr. Penn. Money was raised from local commercial radio and television stations.

This year the workshop has also received a grant from the Corporation for Public Broadcasting.

The implications of programs like this are apparent. Providing an opportunity to learn about a career in the communications industry and then being the recipient of continuing attention through school and into the beginnings of a professional career will certainly benefit the individuals participating.

It also offers the broadcast industry potential personnel who otherwise would probably not become interested in the field.

Mr. Speaker, I believe these sponsors of the current session of the workshop ought to be singled out for recognition. They include:

WAMU-FM, the American University.  
WGMS-AM-FM, RKO General, Inc.  
WRC-AM-FM-TV, National Broadcasting Co.

WTOP-AM-FM-TV, Post-Newsweek Stations.

WTTG-FM-TV, Metromedia, Inc.

WWDC-AM-FM, AVCO Broadcasting Corp.

WOL-AM, WMOD-FM, Sonderling Broadcasting Corp.

Corporation for Public Broadcasting.  
Association for Professional Broadcasting Education.

National Association of Broadcasters.  
National Association of Educational Broadcasters.

The American University, Washington, D.C.

#### THE ABM

#### HON. HOWARD W. POLLOCK

OF ALASKA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 29, 1969

Mr. POLLOCK. Mr. Speaker, the enclosed information from the special ABM Subcommittee of the American Security Council was brought to my attention recently. I think it is a very good article and therefore I include it in today's RECORD.

#### TEXT OF SUBCOMMITTEE REPORT

Make no mistake. At this very moment the Soviet Union already is well ahead of the U.S. in overall strategic missile strength. The most urgent matter before the Congress and the American people today is deciding what to do about it.

The American Security Council urges that all of the facts be given careful consideration . . . and believes that a carefully reasoned evaluation of those facts leads to a single, irresistible conclusion: America needs to begin building a Safeguard ABM missile defense system at once.

#### COMPARISON OF STRATEGIC MILITARY TRENDS

Although the American gross national product is almost twice that of the Soviet Union, the USSR has for years been spending up to 3 times more than we have in strategic military forces. The current trends warns us that the Russians will have spent up to \$100 billion more than us on strategic weapons between now and 1975.

At this moment the total of Soviet strategic missiles is estimated at 2,750 compared with our own 1,710 (including ICBMs, intermediate and medium range missiles and sub-launched missiles). We're not building any more missiles. They are!

But that's not the whole story. By 1975 the Soviets will, at the present rate, have deployed close to 500 mammoth SS-9 nuclear rockets with 20 to 25 megaton warheads. Each missile will be about 25 times more powerful than our own present Minuteman missiles—each will be about 1,000 more powerful than the Hiroshima bomb.

The Soviet Union has a missile defense. We do not!

#### THE SOVIET UNION'S MOTIVES

It no longer is necessary to "suppose" that the Russians are aiming for strategic military superiority. We now know that their objective is clear strategic superiority because they have already passed the balance point and are still building at a rate that suggests an all-out war economy. In both word and deed, the Russians have shown that they regard the world struggle as a fight to the



finish—a fight that the Soviets intend to win at any cost. Not a single political or military authority has been able to offer any reasonable explanation for the current Russian buildup of staggering destructive power, except in terms of deliberate, coldly calculated aggressive intentions . . .

Like the Soviet intentions and what followed in Czechoslovakia . . . Cuba . . . Vietnam . . . the Berlin Wall . . . Hungary . . . Poland!

The facts about this threat to our security have been carefully studied by a special Committee of distinguished Americans appointed by the American Security Council. Members of the Committee are outstanding experts in their respective fields. They include two Nobel prize winning scientists; the developer of the H-bomb; the developer of over-the-horizon radar; a former chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff; the general who headed the development of our own ICBM forces; the present head of the A.E.C.'s weapons division at Los Alamos; a former commander of the Strategic Air Command; a former chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission; a former commander of the Polaris Submarine fleet and 20 other such authorities whose combined credentials clearly establish them as the most qualified independent group ever to study this complex problem. None of them are "armchair strategists." They know what they are talking about. We believe their collective voice should be heard by every American!

#### THE ASC COMMITTEE'S RECOMMENDATION

The Committee has presented its findings and conclusions in the form of a highly readable 72-page book which, summed up, tells us this:

"An American ABM system is the soundest insurance for peace—and AGAINST war—that the United States can buy in 1969 for its security and protection in the 1970's.

The Committee urges that a dependable Safeguard ABM system can and MUST be built at once. Their report observes, "far from being an offensive weapon, the ABM is, in reality, insurance against war. It may well be, in fact, the single most important step the United States can take toward a real and lasting peace at this moment in history." . . . and they further emphasize that ABM has become a symbol of our determination to keep America strong. All major defense decisions in the next decade will probably be affected by the acceptance or rejection of ABM on Capitol Hill in the next few weeks!

Can anything stop us from building a workable Safeguard ABM System? Just one thing: A LACK OF NATIONAL RESOLVE. It is ironic that—not technology . . . not "hardware" . . . not money . . . but our failure to pull together for a strong America might be the single factor responsible for our downfall.

As a matter of plain common sense, the Russians will have us either by violence or by blackmailing us with the threat of violence, if we allow them to increase their nuclear superiority. History does not reassure us with a single instance of an aggressor nation that restrained itself, once that nation believed it could start a war and win!

#### SPECIAL ABM SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE AMERICAN SECURITY COUNCIL Cochairmen

Dr. Willard F. Libby, Director, Institute of Geophysics and Planetary Physics, UCLA.

Dr. William J. Thaler, Chairman, Physics Department, Georgetown University.

Gen. Nathan F. Twining, USAF (Ret.), Former Chairman, Joint Chiefs of Staff.

#### Members

Gen. Paul D. Adams, USA (Ret.), Former Commander-in-Chief, U.S. Strike Command.

Dr. Harold M. Agnew, University of California—Los Alamos Scientific Lab.

Dr. James D. Atkinson, Professor of Government, Georgetown University.

G. Duncan Bauman, Publisher, St. Louis Globe Democrat.

Peter Bruce Clark, President and Publisher, The Detroit News.

Adm. Robert L. Dennison, USN (Ret.), Former Supreme Allied Commander, Atlantic.

Hon. Elbridge Durbrow, Retired Career Ambassador.

Adm. H. D. Felt, USN (Ret.), Former Commander-in-Chief, Pacific.

Robert W. Galvin, Chairman of the Board, Motorola, Inc.

Vice Adm. Elton W. Grenfell, USN (Ret.), Former Commander, Atlantic Submarine Fleet.

Dr. Montgomery Johnson, Chief Scientist, Philco-Ford Corp.

Vice Adm. Fitzhugh Lee, USN (Ret.), Former Commander, National War College.

Vice Adm. R. E. Libby, USN (Ret.), Former Deputy Chief of Naval Operations.

Dr. Nicholas Nyaradi, Director, School of International Studies, Bradley University.

Dr. Stefan T. Possony, Director of International Studies, Hoover Institute—Stanford University.

Gen. Thomas S. Power, USAF (Ret.), Former Commander, Strategic Air Command.

Brig. Gen. Robert C. Richardson, USAF (Ret.), B. A. Schriever Associates, Inc.

Ira G. Ross, President, American Ordnance Assn.

Vice Adm. W. A. Schoech, USN (Ret.), Former Chief of Naval Materiel.

Gen. Bernard A. Schriever, USAF (Ret.), Former Commanding General, Air Force Systems Command.

Adm. Lewis L. Strauss, USN (Ret.), Former Chairman, U.S. Atomic Energy Commission.

Dr. Kenneth Street, Jr., Professor of Chemistry, University of California (Berkeley).

Dr. A. D. Suttle, Research Scientist.

Dr. Edward Teller, Nuclear Scientist.

Rear Adm. Chester C. Ward, USN (Ret.), Former Judge Advocate General, USN.

Dr. Kenneth Watson, Professor of Physics, University of California (Berkeley).

Gen. Albert C. Wedemeyer, USA (Ret.), Chief U.S. Strategist, World War II.

Dr. Eugene P. Wigner, Physicist, Princeton University.

#### GRATITUDE FOR MEN AND WOMEN IN NATIONAL SPACE PROGRAM

#### HON. ROBERT E. JONES

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 24, 1969

Mr. JONES of Alabama. Mr. Speaker, I enthusiastically support House Resolution 487 which recognizes the splendid effort of the men and women involved in our Nation's magnificent space program.

The design, manufacture, and assembly of the hundreds of thousands of individual components into the single, though complex, space vehicle called Apollo 11 is a tribute to the vast knowledge, skills, and techniques of the men and women who worked so carefully and accurately in the space effort.

I am particularly proud that the powerful launch vehicle, the Saturn V, was a result of the work of the citizens of Huntsville, Ala., in the district I represent.

Beyond that, the basic concepts of Dr. Werner von Braun, Director of the Marshall Space Flight Center in Huntsville,

are widely acknowledged to have been a most significant factor in the realization of our national goal to have man explore the moon and return to earth successfully.

Every citizen of my State is justly proud of the work Dr. von Braun and his dedicated teammates have accomplished for science and the advancement of mankind in this, the world's greatest rocket development.

We stand on the threshold of interplanetary explorations which can bring new dimensions to all mankind and which offer such great promise for improvement of man's earthly problems.

The accomplishments of the past few days border on the miraculous. Especially impressive has been the technology which allowed us all to be participants at this, the beginning of a new age in history through the open and public broadcasting of this epic journey.

Again, I salute the dedication of the entire NASA team to the perfection which made this journey a reality.

#### CAPTIVE NATIONS WEEK

#### HON. CHARLES W. SANDMAN

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 29, 1969

Mr. SANDMAN. Mr. Speaker, in 1959, the Congress designated the third week of July as Captive Nations Week in remembrance and tribute to those living behind the Iron Curtain under totalitarian governments. It has been 11 years since Congress began observance of this week. During these years, the people of the United States have continued living in freedom. Americans have continued to exercise their rights to think, to speak, and to act as individuals.

A "captive nation" is defined as one existing under Communist domination, one in which there is no freedom of personal expression, one which serves as a solemn reminder to the American people of the freedoms which we possess, and one whose people deserve our sympathy and support for the struggle that constitutes their way of life.

On August 23, 1939, the infamous Nazi-Soviet Pact—Ribbentrop-Molotov Pact—between Hitler's Germany and Stalin's Russia was signed. The "non-aggression" pact paved the way for Soviet aggression against the Baltic States of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania as well as the Russian-German division of Poland. Since that day, twenty-five more nations have become Communist controlled.

As a free nation, America cannot forget those which are no longer free. We must support the right of all nations to a free choice of government, and we must preserve their hopes of freedom.

This goal can be accomplished by the Congress in a practical and effective way through enactment of legislation which I introduced early in the 91st Congress.

House Resolution 182 would establish a nonpartisan committee, the Special Committee on the Captive Nations, which would conduct a study of all the

captive non-Russian nations. These nations include many in the Soviet Union, Asia, and Eastern Europe. This study would make special reference to the moral and legal status of Red totalitarian control over these nations, facts concerning conditions in the countries, and most importantly, means by which the United States can assist them by peaceful processes to alleviate their present plight and aid in their aspirations to regain national and individual freedoms.

I urge consideration of this resolution as a further positive expression of our dedication to the cause of freedom for all peoples. I am privileged to join with my distinguished colleagues in reaffirming sympathy and support for the struggling peoples of the captive nations, hoping the injustices forced upon them may be quickly and peacefully rectified.

#### THE EAGLES MERE PLAYHOUSE

### HON. JOSEPH M. McDADE

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 29, 1969

Mr. McDADE. Mr. Speaker, my State is justly proud of its varied cultural achievements which include some of the foremost theaters in the country. One of these fine playhouses is located in my congressional district at the lovely resort area of Eagles Mere in the beautiful Endless Mountains of Sullivan County.

The Eagles Mere Playhouse is a landmark in the history of central Pennsylvania. First used for Chautauqua, it was established as a professional theater about half a century ago. The first producers, Thomas R. Long and Bernard Moss, now in their 5th year of operation, have continued the traditions and the standards which have made the playhouse one of the leading attractions in central Pennsylvania, earning a reputation as one of the outstanding summer theaters in the Eastern United States.

I was delighted to have one of these producers, Mr. Moss, visiting in my office just this morning.

In presenting the finest of theatrical productions, including special performances designed for young people, and in bringing to Eagles Mere well-known personalities from the Broadway stage and television, the Eagles Mere Playhouse fills a vital role in the cultural and economic development of central Pennsylvania.

The contribution of the Playhouse to the continuing progress of the Endless Mountains area has been acknowledged by the Sullivan County Chamber of Commerce, the Eagles Mere Resort Bureau, and leading public officials. Former Governor Scranton wrote to the playhouse in 1965 as follows:

The group has my wholehearted support and encouragement in its efforts to bring professional theatre to Sullivan County and to Central Pennsylvania.

I join wholeheartedly in these sentiments and express my best wishes to all associated with the Eagles Mere Playhouse.

#### THE VAST WASTELAND

### HON. ARNOLD OLSEN

OF MONTANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 29, 1969

Mr. OLSEN. Mr. Speaker, television holds the potential of being a vital media combining education, entertainment, and information. Yet more and more all of us hear it referred to as a "vast wasteland," and, as the three major networks announce the programs to be presented in the new season, I predict still harsher criticism of the television fare.

There is growing evidence that our major networks are, at best, inconsistent in applying their rules of censorship, program control, or taste. A general rule which the networks constantly refer to insists that prime time entertainment programs should not include editorial or news comment. Yet all of us have seen examples in which this rule has been ignored including the obvious exception which is made each year to broadcast the Bob Hope editorial/comedy hour on Vietnam.

I do not criticize the networks for broadcasting the Bob Hope show. Although I have misgivings regarding our involvement in Vietnam, I believe, personally, that we should give our boys fighting there our complete support as long as they must remain.

Rather, I criticize the networks for censoring statements or entertainment material made on television by performers speaking for a significant number of sincere critics of this Nation's involvement in Vietnam. I use this only as an example. The network control over programming has extended much further to include the blocking of healthy satirical skits or songs dealing with contemporary problems.

Recently I had the opportunity to join with a number of my colleagues in viewing selected passages which had been censored from a popular, prime time television program. I was shocked—not at the content of the material, but at the fact that material of such an innocuous nature would be censored.

A significant reason why this Nation has become and remained strong has been a jealous and cautious protection of the individual's freedom of thought and expression. We have thrived on a diversity of views and encouraged thoughtful debate on the major issues and problems of the day.

It is inconsistent with our efforts to preserve and protect free expression for our major networks to take it upon themselves to impose their criteria of "taste" or censorship on all Americans.

We hear more and more about the generation gap. I submit our networks are contributing to this gap by ignoring it. Our educational institutions are doing a better job than ever before in stimulating our young people to consider and accept the challenges of today. It seems to me that the networks are performing a disservice to young people and the Nation if they insist upon eliminating material of a contemporary, stimulating nature from entertainment programming.

Mr. Speaker, I want to call the attention of all of our colleagues to an excellent letter dealing with this problem which was written by my distinguished colleague ANDREW JACOBS of Indiana. Representative JACOBS' statement is just one example of a growing concern in the Congress about the threat corporate censorship poses for our democratic way of life. I am hopeful this concern will blossom into a thorough study of the roles of television and television networks in America today.

The letter follows:

MAY 7, 1969.

Mr. ERNEST F. ANDREWS,  
Editor, RTNDA Bulletin, TV-Radio Department,  
Syracuse University, Syracuse,  
N.Y.

DEAR Mr. ANDREWS: Please forgive my delay in responding to your letter which, because of my travels has only just caught up with me.

Unfortunately, the UPI story to which you referred did not adequately reflect my remarks on the occasion to which it referred.

As was indicated by the story, a tape of the rejected Smothers Brothers Show was played in a Washington studio for Members of Congress and others.

Following the program a UPI reporter asked my opinion of the action taken by CBS in canceling both this specific show and the Smothers Brothers contract altogether. My response was far closer to what follows than what was reported:

Q. What is your purpose in being here?

A. Truth.

Q. Well, all right. But what is your opinion of the CBS action in cutting off this program and canceling the Smothers Brothers contract altogether?

A. It was really pretty awful. In this program I saw no "sex" and I saw no "violence," only music and comedy which included current events topical humor. Topical humor is an art form least deserving of censorship in a free society. It is forbidden usually in societies which are not free or are in the process of losing their freedom. There was no controversial humor under the Soviet Communists. In fact, Alexander Dubcek was canceled yesterday. (4-21-69).

Following the showing of the CBS proscribed material, people present looked at one another and shrugged, "Where's the obscenity?" There was none.

This whole episode is reminiscent of an incident which occurred during my law school days when I was a police officer. Our Department was called upon by a private censorship group to confiscate literature the group had listed and arrest those found selling it.

Included on the list was Mad Magazine. When asked how this satirical magazine found its way onto a list of obscene literature, a member of the censorship group promptly explained that the magazine was Communist inspired because it made fun of America's great leaders.

Comedy has to be about something. And while there are those in our society who have an appetite for bland comedy about trivia, the success of comedians like Bob Hope indicates there are many in our society who favor topical humor about current events. A truly free society eschews holy cows. And whether it is Hope's humor about Humphrey or Smothers' humor about Pastore, or Will Rogers' humor about the inheritance tax, it all seems natural enough to me living as I do in what is generally a free society.

Suppression of such humor conjures up chilling visions of repressive authorities insecure in their own beliefs. Churchill described the powerful potentate, surrounded on all sides by his armed forces with bayonets at the ready, who nonetheless would shrink in terror at the appearance of a tiny mouse of an idea.



Error of opinion and reasonable opinion are matters of viewpoint, but part of the dream of Jefferson was that in America, "... error of opinion can be tolerated when contract marks the first time ever that a reason is left free to combat it."

The cancellation of the Smothers Brothers' network stopped a show whose ratings were good and for which advertising was secure.

The Smothers Brothers Show was clearly not in the position of the stuttering radio announcer who was sure he had been turned down for radio employment because of his beliefs.

The Smothers were not turned down for employment. They were already working for CBS. They had produced no pornography. And their show was a profitable venture for the network. So what is left? Thought control.

America is supposed to be a place where it is safe to be unpopular. Apparently some of the liberal political humor on the Smothers Brothers Comedy Hour has been unpopular with some people. The same can be said of the political humor of Bob Hope and Red Skelton, which more often runs along conservative lines. In my judgment neither brand of humor should be silenced. Both should be aired as responsive to each other in order that each individual television viewer might decide for himself which is error and which is reason. We call this "giving both sides." It is a concept which seems as applicable to the performing arts as to the more formal and direct areas of news commentary.

President Kennedy said that part of the work carried on by artists is building bridges of understanding among people. That understanding can never be accomplished if the bridges are permitted to touch only one side. If I believe one way and you another, each of us must hear the other out in order to accomplish the understanding necessary to resolve our differences peacefully. And the essence of art is the illustration of deeply felt ideas. It was true of Michelangelo and of Aristophanes and Dickens and Shakespeare and all the others whose special talents enabled them to express with beauty the deepest and sometimes most controversial thoughts of their patrons.

Should these principles, when applied to television and radio be the subject of legislation? Should there be an Equal Time For Art Law? I don't know. But so important a question probably deserves congressional hearings and debate.

The questions with which you suggest analogy between the electronic and printed media are certainly thought provoking. On the one hand we have the First Amendment guarantee of freedom of the press. Yet, on the other, we have the reality that the vital affairs of the nation are governed to some extent by the information which is disseminated by the wire services as news.

Obviously, the wire services are physically incapable of carrying all materials or opinions made available to them. A judgment must be made. And the ultimate question is whether the responsibility for that judgment should be restricted to the corporate limits of the wire services themselves. Government censorship has an odious ring. Yet corporate censorship in the case of printed media can be just as deadly damaging to the public interest. This dilemma deserves the most serious study by all of us who deeply wish to ensure the survival of freedom.

In answer to your question concerning whether a newspaper should be required to carry every column of a syndicated writer whose rights it buys, I would suggest that the deletion of words within a column the paper does run is more clearly objectionable than the failure altogether to run a given column. I should think the most serious offense against open discussion would be represented by the failure to print a column

because of strong disagreement with it, rather than need for its space on a given day.

I have read H.R. 9566, but I do not expect fully to form my opinion concerning it until I have had the benefit of congressional hearings. At first blush it seems like a rather stringent regulation, which has yet to be justified to my satisfaction.

When one considers the apparent fact that the NBC Today Show is programmed by NBC News, he cannot be glib on the question of whether news programming holds "some position different from general entertainment on radio and TV." Surely the difference between the two suggested categories is not so great that a little entertainment should never be found on a news program and a little news should never be found on an entertainment program.

In any case, has history not taught that there is far less danger in rules which require that a person be allowed to say what he thinks than those which forbid him to do so?

With best wishes and appreciation for the trouble you took to write,

Sincerely,

/s/ ANDREW JACOBS, JR.

#### A BILL TO CORRECT SHORTCOMING IN OUR SOCIAL SECURITY PROGRAM

#### HON. SAM GIBBONS

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 29, 1969

Mr. GIBBONS. Mr. Speaker, today I am introducing a bill to correct a serious shortcoming in our social security program which discourages widows who get social security benefits from remarrying.

Under present law, a widow who remarries may receive a serious reduction in her income. The law now provides a widow with a benefit which ranges from 71½ percent to 82½ percent of her deceased husband's benefit amount, depending on how old she is when she comes on the social security benefit rolls. If she remarries, however, her widow's benefit is cut to 50 percent of her former husband's benefit amount. For a widow who was drawing the full benefit of 82½ percent, this means that she experiences a 39-percent reduction in benefits.

Presently, a widow who remarries can get a wife's benefit equal to 50 percent of her new husband's benefit amount, if the wife's benefit is higher, but often it is not. In many cases, under these provisions of law, a widow's remarriage substantially reduces her income. A number of widows who would like to remarry do not do so because they cannot afford to.

Under my bill, an aged widow who remarries could continue getting the widow's benefit she had been getting. However, the total payment to her and her new husband together could not be more than the amount she and her former husband would have been paid as a couple. The widow could, of course, get a wife's benefit equal to 50 percent of her new husband's benefit amount if higher payments would result, just as she can now do under present law.

A similar provision for aged dependent widowers who remarry is included in my bill.

Mr. Speaker, the change this bill seeks to make may seem like a small matter, but to those persons who are directly involved—and there are many such persons in my district—this is an important matter. I therefore intend to do all in my power to see that this amendment receives early and full consideration.

#### HELICOPTER AMBULANCES FOR USE IN THE HIGHWAY WAR ZONE OF THE UNITED STATES

#### HON. LAWRENCE J. HOGAN

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 29, 1969

Mr. HOGAN. Mr. Speaker, pertinent to the Ambulance Service Corps bill which I recently introduced, I insert an article which appeared in the Government Executive magazine of May 1969. I am sure that my colleagues will find it very informative. This article points out some facts concerning the use of helicopters as ambulances. I am sure all are familiar with their effectiveness as demonstrated by military use in combat. The article also sets forth some glaring problems attached to emergency services when such a vehicle is applied to civilian use. I think this clearly demonstrates the great need, not only to consider favorably a separate ambulance service corps, as contained in my bill, H.R. 12552, but that such an organization as envisioned by the legislation, can only reach maximum effectiveness by the use of the latest rescue techniques and equipment. The latter should include helicopters. To have the very best of emergency services would result in a reduction of the timelag from notification to treatment and the helicopter has proved itself to be the instrument for such a reduction in certain cases.

Aside from the discussion of equipment, the article substantiates the need for a well-trained and separate ambulance service corps dedicated completely to the singular purpose of giving victims the optimum chance for survival.

The article follows:

#### THE REAL WAR ZONE

Young men who demonstrate bitterly against going to war in Vietnam might be a little less vociferous if they knew they'd be safer there than on their own country's highways. According to the National Center of Health Statistics in Washington, 48,000 males, 15 to 24 years old, were killed in highway accidents in 1966 through 1968 (approximately 12,000 more U.S. men than have been killed in all the years of the war added together).

From reports so far, that tragic track record will get no better in 1969. One thing that might, however, be the saving of people's lives after they've gotten into an accident. The way: applying a lesson learned in Vietnam, i.e. the use of helicopter ambulances to the highway war zone in the U.S. An expert in one company (Fairchild Hiller Marketing Corp.) actively pushing the program, estimates: "If applying military medical transportation techniques to highway accidents makes just a one-eighth improvement, we could save 5,000 lives and about \$200 million in damage claims a year."

In Vietnam, using helicopter ambulance ships manned by trained medics to transport

the wounded to base hospitals, rough rule of thumb already is that if a medic can keep the wounded man alive for just five minutes after he's reached, his life probably will be saved. But getting the same helicopter techniques installed on the Nation's highways faces a mountain of problems. Among them:

Just about every conceivable form of state, city and local government jurisdiction is used around the country to provide ambulance service—and most of the officials in them, jealously guarding their entrenched traditions, have no knowledge of nor appreciation for helicopters.

No statistics are kept anywhere on how many people die in an accident and how many really die on their way to or at the hospitals later. So, in cold-blooded terms, no specific measure exists to gauge a helicopter's worth—except by extrapolation of the military experience and a few isolated cases in the U.S. where a helicopter has been used to transport the sick and injured.

In addition to the Government jurisdictional snarl, making it extremely difficult for the helicopter industry to find the man with authority to sign a contract, Government owns another built-in roadblock. The only Federal requirement of an ambulance driver is that he have a chauffeur's license. (Helicopter-borne military medics have had at least advanced first aid training.) Result, verified in Highway Safety Bureau films, is often appalling treatment of highway accident victims by ambulance personnel. Again, however, no one has studied how much this adds to the death toll.

Real point, however, at least to Fairchild Hiller, is that a potentially invaluable answer to the mounting highway death rate exists—and isn't even being checked out.

#### CAB'S FARE CRISIS—TOO MANY FLIGHTS

**HON. AUGUSTUS F. HAWKINS**  
OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES  
Tuesday, July 29, 1969

Mr. HAWKINS. Mr. Speaker, 20 Members of Congress, including myself, have petitioned the Civil Aeronautics Board to institute a general rate investigation. As a part of that investigation the Members have suggested the Board give consideration to the revenue-hour approach as a way to improve the consistency in the level of airline earnings.

Recently a very interesting pamphlet prepared by the Air Transport Association of America was brought to my attention. It is entitled "Too Many Flights?"

In reviewing this booklet I could not help but note that the association discussed its members' expenditures and, therefore, revenue needs in terms only of revenue-hours:

When an airline establishes a schedule it commits the capital investment of a jet costing up to \$7 million—equivalent to the cost of a large industrial factory—and the associated operating expense of at least \$1,200 an hour or more. (Page 5.)

Considering the minimum \$1,200 per hour operating expense, airlines expect to operate a schedule for at least six months and usually well beyond that. (Page 7.)

In view of the amounts involved, it seems rather a shame that we do not have similar traffic and revenue data on this basis. It might be useful.

In our petition, the Members also pointed out to the Board that:

One of the key factors which has historically been recognized in determining the future earning potential, unit cost-of-service, and "just and reasonableness" of a rate is load factor. The relationship between cost, price, and load factor underlies the whole area of airline profitability.

We then went on to note that the Board's staff itself had recognized this relationship in its own study:

It seems equally clear, however, that the fare level affects the volume of service offered by the several carriers in the market and that a fare set well above costs, based on a reasonable load factor, may contribute to the operation of excessive capacity and resulting inefficient use of resources.

As a result, I could not help observing the extremely low occupancy of the flights in figure 4 of the ATA's pamphlet departing at 7 a.m. and 10:30 p.m.

I have been told that a trip on the Dallas-Chicago route is something in the neighborhood of 2 hours, so that the minimum revenue required by the airline to just break even would be around \$2,400 per day. If this is true, then three of the nine trips are losing money, four are just making a reasonable return, and the remaining two are making up the loss of the first three. Consequently, I cannot help wondering if the Board has in this case given sufficient consideration to the relationship between cost, price, and load factors in approving these fares; if the present fare schedule is not contributing in some way to the operation of excess capacity, especially at nonpeak times; and if a different rate schedule based upon reasonably obtainable overall load factor guidelines might not bring about a more efficient use of the airlines' financial resources. For example, higher load factor standards might encourage the airline to reduce its cash operating costs by combining the 8:35 p.m. and 10:30 p.m. flights into one service.

Airline scheduling is admittedly a complex subject about which we all need a little more information, hence the full text of the pamphlet follows:

#### TOO MANY FLIGHTS?

In a real sense, it is the public that schedules an airline. For it is the traveler who demands good connections and departures at the magic hours—requirements that contribute to "peaking," that overworked and almost totally misunderstood synonym for airport congestion.

The demand for airline service does peak quite heavily around certain afternoon hours, flights catering largely to "get-me-there and back-the-same-day" businessmen. The largest number of passengers are in fact traveling on short or medium-haul trips, and for business reasons. Peaking of customer demand in this situation is as inevitable as the morning and evening rush hour peaks on the New Haven Railroad, Hollywood Freeway or any other big-city commuter artery.

#### CHAOS OR SERVICE

Some basic facts must be understood: Airline schedules are tied to public demand.

The financial stakes, soaring into the billions, are too high for airlines to indiscriminately reschedule those peak-hour flights dictated by increasing public demand.

Airlines do not deliberately peak service. Such limited peaking as does occur is normally involuntary due to geography and time zones beyond the carrier's control.

While an airline does not deliberately hold planes idle awaiting the peak period, neither can it afford to hold planes idle during the peak period when the public most wants to travel.

Wholesale schedule adjustments would result in chaos and disruption.

#### THE GOLDEN THREADS

Between 1968 and 1971, the nation's scheduled airlines will invest well over \$10 billion in new passenger and cargo aircraft, in new terminals, in personnel training and for such ground equipment as computerized reservations systems and mechanized baggage handling facilities. This massive investment is based on the forecast that passenger traffic will triple by the 1970's when the huge Boeing 747, scheduled to enter service late this year, and supersonic transports still under development promise to launch a new era of luxury and efficiency in commercial aviation.

Still, schedules are the golden threads in the fabric of air transportation. Schedules tie the system together and determine how well it works—efficiently for customers; economically for the airlines.

Schedule juggling is not the simple panacea for curbing the present increase in air traffic congestions over major airports.

Demand for air transportation should not be stifled in order to compensate for a lack of airport and airways capacity. The reason most frequently given for this lack of capacity is that public acceptance of jet travel grew so fast that it outstripped forecasts by even the most optimistic experts.

Conservative forecasts, however, are symptoms—not causes. The true cause of our undercapacity today is that for many years government expenditures for new facilities, for air traffic controllers, and for research and development in air traffic control have actually declined. This decline was in the face of actual and predicted rising demand. There is no more effective way to produce undercapacity than to cut back on modernization, new equipment and manpower in the face of rising demand.

#### THE CHAIN REACTION

Whatever the cause of peaking, a logical question would be: Why don't the airlines readjust schedules anyway, so as to adjust periods of sustained high level peaking, wherever they occur?

It is here that public service and economic factors come into play. It would be economic suicide for an airline, for example, to force a plane arriving at 4 p.m. to sit unproductively during the period of greatest passenger demand until 9 or 10 p.m. in order to deliberately avoid the peak period. And since passengers do have their travel preferences, such action would not only cause serious inconvenience to many travelers, it would also force enormous penalties on the airlines in loss of dollars and good will.

For example, take a 5:45 p.m. flight out of congested New York to Dallas and Mexico City. In these three cities, Flight 25 receives connecting traffic from, or delivers connecting traffic to, a total of 100 other flights. This, significantly, adds up to 15,000 passengers yearly and \$1.2 million in New York-Dallas revenue for the carrier.

Any schedule change would result in a disastrous chain reaction, disrupting service for 15,000 passengers, a million dollar-plus loss to the airline and the fouling of service on subsequent legs not even involved in the New York congestion problem.

Why? Well, the 5:45 p.m. flight out of New York becomes, at Dallas, the 8:45 p.m. departure for Mexico City with an arrival at 10 p.m. If the plane were held idle in New York for a 9 or 10 p.m. departure, the shift would mean a 1 or 2 a.m. arrival in Mexico—so unattractive to the public that the carrier would probably be forced to cancel outright the Dallas-Mexico City portion of the flight.



## BUT THE CHAIN GOES ON

But the chain reaction still isn't over. When the original flight arrives in Mexico City, its equipment overnights there and goes out the next morning as Flight 58 to San Antonio, Dallas and Washington. If it were cancelled because of the 1 or 2 a.m. arrival, there would be no plane available the next morning for Flight 58, so that would have to be cancelled too. And the chain reaction, including the frayed tempers of disgruntled customers, rumbles on.

By way of further illustration, a combined 1,800 schedules a day serve Chicago's O'Hare International and Midway Airports. They serve more than 85,000 people a day and link Chicago with 203 points, including 17 foreign countries. Schedule changes would obviously have an adverse chain reaction impact all over the nation and overseas.

When an airline establishes a schedule it commits the capital investment of a jet costing up to \$7 million—equivalent to the cost of a large industrial factory—and the associated operating expense of at least \$1,200 an hour or more. Consider the Dallas-Chicago route where the demand for a 5:30 p.m. flight is nearly twice as great as the trip that leaves three hours later at 8:35 p.m. (Figure 4) In a year, the revenue earned by the peak-hour 5:30 p.m. flight is \$700,000 greater than the one departing three hours later.

DALLAS-CHICAGO FLIGHT LOADS AND REVENUE VALUES

Departure time	Average passengers June 1968	Daily passenger revenue	Annual revenue
7:00 a.m.	40	\$1,540	\$523,000
8:30 a.m.	61	2,340	797,000
10:20 a.m.	72	2,770	942,000
12:00 noon	78	3,000	1,200,000
1:20 p.m.	78	3,000	1,200,000
3:00 p.m.	116	4,460	1,517,000
5:30 p.m.	121	4,650	1,582,000
8:30 p.m.	65	2,500	850,000
10:30 p.m.	25	960	327,000

An airline cannot ignore this enormous economic leverage. It cannot lightly absorb the impact of deferring flights to avoid congestion, the chain reaction spill-over affecting other routes and, equally important, the sometimes permanent loss of regular customers to another carrier.

Economics and customer demand aside, there are a multitude of factors that must be taken into account every time any single schedule is changed:

The departure time out of one airport determines when an aircraft will be available for another flight out of the next airport.

Aircraft schedules are the basis for flight crew schedules which, in turn, must conform to rigid federal requirements for rest periods and layover times.

A schedule operating into a maintenance base must conform to the ground time requirement for safety inspection, cabin cleaning and other ground maintenance functions.

One schedule must integrate with other schedules in occupancy of available gate space and in the flow of connecting traffic from one to the other.

Schedules are not developed on whim, caprice or just for a few days' operation. Considering the minimum \$1,200 per hour operating expense, airlines expect to operate a schedule for at least six months and usually well beyond that.

## PEAKING AND CONGESTION: FACT OR MYTH

In the ten years since the introduction of jets, the air travel market has expanded at a phenomenal pace for good reason—the public's steadily increasing demand for service. During this decade, the nation's population

has expanded by 14 per cent and the Gross National Product by 50 per cent. But air travel has surged ahead by 170 per cent.

The airlines have invested heavily—\$3 billion for 600 planes in the past three years alone—to meet this growing demand. They have also cut fares for wives, children, military and youth passengers; spent additional millions to improve meals, develop speedier reservations systems, attractive departure lounges, baggage systems and other improvements.

Significantly, however, the carriers have not increased schedule frequency as rapidly as the market has grown. Since the advent of large jets, New York area passenger volume has increased by nearly 150 per cent; but schedule frequency has increased only one-third as fast.

The larger jets of the 70s will further accommodate rapid travel growth, with less-than-proportionate increases in schedules.

Yet, the impression widely exists that the airlines deliberately bunch flights at a few peak hours and that airport congestion could be materially eased if schedules were spread out. This misconception is understandable. Anybody going to an airport around 4 or 5 p.m. would see large numbers of passengers together with their baggage, taxis, friends and relatives. This horde would logically create the impression that there must surely be a corresponding peaking of flights.

Why don't the airlines step up the tempo during peak periods? Quite simply, for economic reasons. To intensify schedule activity for a few hours each day, they would need extra planes, gates, flight and ground crews over and above the levels needed for the rest of the day. They could not afford the luxury of having \$7 million planes sitting around idle for most of the day awaiting a few hours of peak assignment.

Figure 5 (not printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD) shows a typical routing of an airliner throughout the day. In the peak period, this plane flies a 5 p.m. trip from New York to Buffalo. But it does not sit idle all day. It previously performed a 7:15 a.m. mission from New York to Syracuse, a 9 a.m. flight back from Syracuse to New York, a 10:30 a.m. trip from New York to Washington and so on. This aircraft started its day's work close to 7 a.m., and didn't finish until 10 p.m. Day-long utilization is an economic necessity in the airline industry, and necessarily prevents any airline from holding planes idle awaiting the peak periods when passenger demand is heaviest.

## THE TIME-ZONE PROBLEM

However, there are situations in which an involuntary peaking occurs because of geography or other factors beyond airline control. This is principally a function of long-haul service, involving destinations separated by several time zones. When we looked at the routing of a plane on short-haul service, we observed that these short hops brought the plane in and out of New York airports all day long.

Now, let's see what happens when an airline operates planes on a long-haul, transcontinental route. The flights are started as early as the public will travel on this kind of route—8 or 8:30 a.m. out of California. The five-hour time-zone loss, from west to east, means a late afternoon arrival in New York—usually about 4:30 p.m. After normal servicing, loading and unloading, the plane takes off again at 6 p.m. for the return to California.

This again, is consistent with the doctrine of getting full, day-long utilization of the plane. It just doesn't get into the New York area until late afternoon—which happens to be the congested period.

And at Kennedy International, the carriers must not only consider the effect of domestic

transcontinental time zones, but also the time zone effect of transatlantic services. With the five hours lost going from New York to London, many departure times are impractical because of inconvenient arrival times in Europe.

For example, a mid-afternoon departure from New York—say 2 p.m.—would mean a 1:40 a.m. arrival in London. This is scarcely the hour at which a traveler would like to cope with customs, immigration, currency exchange, hotel check-in and so forth. So international departures peak in the evening—the busiest part of the day at most airports—so that they will arrive first thing the next morning.

Thus, an airline's total schedule represents a tightly woven, highly interrelated pattern governed not only by public demand, but by economics, time zones, maintenance and crew requirements. Moreover, almost every schedule is tied in with other schedules because of connecting flights, equipment routing or other factors.

## WHAT MUST BE DONE

These comments do not suggest that the airlines are totally powerless to make any scheduling adjustments to help alleviate congestion. Indeed, some steps have already been taken, particularly in shifting flights to less congested airports. Other adjustments are possible, and some are in progress.

The Federal Aviation Administration late in 1968 announced a rule imposing specific limits on the number of flights per hour at airports in New York, Washington and Chicago. A scheduling committee, composed of all domestic, foreign and supplemental airlines serving these airports met for almost two months during early 1969 to arrange their schedules in such a way as to accommodate these artificial restraints while minimizing the effect on air travelers.

Some flights were discontinued and many others reshuffled at the five airports involved in order to keep total flight operations within allocations established by the government. The effect is a reduction in planned air carrier service this summer at the five airports.

With aircraft movements rationed, the convenience of jet travel could begin to evaporate. The businessman who once enjoyed the convenience of hourly flights between cities may now find them scheduled less frequently. Vacation travelers will also feel the pinch.

Relief of congestion through schedule adjustment and government-imposed flight restrictions is not the answer. Undue reliance on this source of relief can have drastic consequences on the service rendered the public, and on the future growth of the air transport industry in this country.

## MORE AIRPORTS—BETTER AIRWAYS

The real answer lies in improving our national airport and airways system. Airport facilities and air traffic control systems—radar, control centers and air traffic controllers—simply are not keeping pace with the rapid expansion of air transportation. The recent delays experienced at some airports due to traffic congestion will seem minute to what the industry and travelers face in the future if massive corrective measures are not taken.

Congress must appropriate more funds for the Federal Aviation Administration, approximately an additional \$150 million a year, to fully automate air navigational and control systems and to train more controllers. An estimated \$6 billion capital improvement program is needed to expand and modernize the nation's airports, especially runways and passenger facilities, between now and 1975.

All of these things must be done, coinciding with the massive investment already programmed by the nation's airlines, to make air travel safe and efficient in the supersonic seventies.

# OUR NATION'S PASSENGER TRAINS: WAITING FOR THE FUNERAL?

**HON. THOMAS M. PELLY**

OF WASHINGTON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 29, 1969

Mr. PELLY. Mr. Speaker, the Interstate Commerce Commission has urged Congress to launch a study aimed at formulating a national policy on rail passenger service and whether the Federal Government should subsidize such service.

But there is much more that needs to be done, as well appointed out in a recent Washington Star editorial entitled, "Waiting for the Funeral?"

It is being clearly demonstrated in the use of passenger train service between Washington and New York City that the traveling public wants and will use good clean, dependable train service, and it is our responsibility to see to it that such service is provided.

For the information of my colleagues, I include the editorial at this point in the RECORD:

## WAITING FOR THE FUNERAL?

The Interstate Commerce Commission recently completed a nine-month investigation into the costs of operating passenger trains. The well-documented report clearly shows that while the railroads, using the ICC's own accounting methods, have for years been vastly over-stating losses incurred from operating passenger trains, the fact is that these trains do run at a big deficit. The eight railroads studied could have saved perhaps \$118 million in 1968 had they not run any passenger trains.

At the same time the ICC has urged Congress—now that the costs of running passenger trains are known—to launch a study aimed at formulating a national policy on rail passenger service. It would determine what type of service is necessary, and whether the federal government should help subsidize it.

Having said that, the ICC goes back to its usual slumber—handling the tricky-track of minuscule trucking operating rights cases—content that it has done its job by telling Congress what to do.

But the ICC hasn't done its job. The commission has for more than a year been sitting on top of the most important railroad passenger case ever before it—a case in which one of its examiners has urged the ICC to assert that it does indeed have the power to protect the traveling public, and require at least a bare minimum civilized services aboard trains—such as sleeping and eating facilities.

The examiner, John S. Messer, issued his historic report in April 1968 in a case that has been at the ICC since 1966. The commission heard arguments on it last September—and for 10 months since has dawdled over the matter while train after train has been discontinued, and while services aboard those remaining have dwindled.

There is no doubt Congress must set forth some national policy on rail passenger service. But Congress also is busy with such pressing matters as inflation, taxes and the war. Congressional action on rail passengers could take years. And while Congress deliberates, and the ICC waits, more trains make their final trips, and those still running are downgraded. Eventually, as things are going, the railroads will kill all of their remaining service.

Then, of course, there will be no need to rule in the Messer case because there will be

no more trains. But the ICC could always say, "well, we tried—we told Congress it ought to act."

## FEDERAL BUDGET RESULTS, FISCAL YEAR 1969

**HON. GEORGE H. MAHON**

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 29, 1969

Mr. MAHON. Mr. Speaker, on yesterday the Secretary of the Treasury and the Director of the Budget released a preliminary statement of Federal budget results for the fiscal year 1969 which ended on June 30 last. For the information of Members and others, I am inserting the full text of their joint statement summarizing the results.

Budget receipts were \$1.8 billion higher than had been projected in the budget last January by President Johnson and in the April 15 budget revision of President Nixon.

Budget receipts in fiscal 1969 were some \$34.2 billion above those for fiscal 1968.

Budget outlays—expenditures and net lending—were \$1.1 billion higher than had been projected in the budget last January by President Johnson. They were \$132 million below the April 15 revised budget projection of President Nixon.

The budget surplus for 1969 is reported at \$3.1 billion, or some \$700 million higher than the \$2.4 billion surplus projected in the January budget by President Johnson. The \$700 million improvement over the January budget derives from the increased receipts of \$1.8 billion offset in part by the \$1.1 billion of higher expenditures.

In comparison to the preceding fiscal year 1968 budget results, receipts in fiscal 1969 were \$34.2 billion higher. Budget outlays were \$5.9 billion higher. Thus there was a turnaround of \$28.3 billion from a budget deficit of \$25.2 billion in 1968 to a budget surplus of \$3.1 billion. Increased revenues flowing from continued high economic activity of a growing economy and enactment of the 10-percent surtax last year made the difference.

Mr. Speaker, the joint statement also includes a report on the expenditure cut-back provision in last year's tax bill, directing a cut of at least \$6 billion in nonexempted areas of the 1969 budget. There was \$8.2 billion cut from the non-exempt areas, but this was partially offset by overruns of \$6.9 billion in exempted areas, with the result of a net cut of \$1.3 billion from the original budget expenditure projection for fiscal 1969.

The joint statement follows:

JULY 28, 1969.

JOINT STATEMENT OF DAVID M. KENNEDY, SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY, AND ROBERT P. MAYO, DIRECTOR OF THE BUREAU OF THE BUDGET, ON BUDGET RESULTS FOR FISCAL YEAR 1969

## SUMMARY

The June Monthly Statement of Receipts and Expenditures of the United States Government released today provides preliminary

budget totals for fiscal year 1969. It shows receipts of \$187.8 billion and outlays of \$184.8 billion for the fiscal year 1969, which ended on June 30. The budget surplus was \$3.1 billion.

Receipts were \$1.8 billion above the estimate made by the President on April 15, reflecting higher than expected levels of individual income tax receipts.

Outlays were \$1 billion below the April 15 estimate.

The budget surplus was \$1.9 billion higher than estimated in April, primarily because of the increase in tax receipts.

## FEDERAL FINANCES, FISCAL YEAR 1969

(Billions of dollars)

Description	Apr. 15 estimate	Actual	Change from Apr. 15 estimate
Budget receipts, expenditures, and lending:			
Expenditure account:			
Receipts.....	186.1	187.8	+1.8
Expenditures.....	183.5	183.3	— .2
Expenditure surplus.....	2.6	4.6	+2.0
Loan account: Net lending.....	1.4	1.5	+ .1
Total budget:			
Receipts.....	186.1	187.8	+1.8
Outlays.....	184.9	184.8	— .1
Budget surplus.....	1.2	3.1	+1.9
Means of financing:			
Borrowing from the public.....	(1)	—11.1	(1)
Reduction of cash and monetary assets, increase (—).....	(1)	—1.8	(1)
Other means.....	(1)	9.8	(1)
Total budget financing.....	—1.2	—3.1	—1.9

<sup>1</sup> Means not available because the data were not compiled on Apr. 15.

Note: Detail will not necessarily add to totals because of rounding.

## RECEIPTS

Budget receipts in the fiscal year 1969 were \$1,751 million greater than the April 15 estimate (which was the same as the January budget estimate). Revised estimates showing receipts to be about \$400 million above the April figures were issued on May 20, after the tax returns filed in April had been analyzed.

Income tax receipts provided most of the excess of actual receipts over the April estimate, but individual and corporate income tax receipts showed contrasting results. Receipts from individual income taxes were \$2,826 million above the estimate, while corporation receipts were \$1,404 million below.

Approximately \$600 million of the higher individual income taxes resulted from book-keeping adjustments between the income tax account and employment tax trust funds, and do not affect overall receipts totals. Another \$300 million reflected lower refunds than were anticipated. The remaining \$1,900 million excess represented payments of final taxes on calendar year 1968 liabilities and declaration payments on 1969 incomes substantially above the amounts estimated.

About \$400 million of the \$1.4 billion decline from the April estimate of corporation taxes was due to larger-than-expected refunds. The remaining \$1.0 billion reflected shortfalls in final payments of 1968 liabilities and declaration payments of 1969 liabilities that were below the amounts estimated earlier.

Employment taxes were almost \$600 million less than estimated because of the reallocation to the individual income tax account, mentioned above. Excise taxes exceeded estimates by \$413 million, reflecting high levels of economic activity. Estate and gift tax receipts contributed \$278 million and



miscellaneous receipts \$207 million to the overall receipts excess.

## OUTLAYS

Total outlays in fiscal year 1969 were \$184.8 billion, \$0.1 billion lower than was estimated April 15, 1969. This change was the net result of a number of increases and decreases.

The principal increases:

*Department of Health, Education, and Welfare* outlays were \$333 million above the April 15 estimate, due principally to unanticipated increases in the cost of the Medicare program.

Payments of interest on the public debt were \$313 million above the April budget estimate, accounting for most of the \$358 million increase in *Treasury Department* outlays.

Net outlays of the *Department of Agriculture*, excluding the *Commodity Credit Corporation*, were \$295 million higher than estimated, primarily because tight money conditions prevented the planned sale of some insured loans of the *Farmers Home Administration*.

Outlays for the *Military functions of the Department of Defense and Military Assistance* exceeded the April estimate by \$276 million. Approximately two-thirds of this increase was in the military assistance program.

Net outlays of the *Export-Import Bank* were \$81 million above the April estimate, resulting from lower-than-anticipated sales of loans from the Bank's portfolio.

The principal decreases:

*Department of Housing and Urban Development* outlays were \$480 million under the April estimate as conversion of urban renewal projects to annual programs resulted in deferrals of progress payments, as lower foreclosures of Federal Housing Administration insured mortgages resulted in fewer insurance claim payments, and as fewer than anticipated project completions resulted in reduced disbursements in such programs as college housing loans and Government National Mortgage Association special assistance mortgage purchasers.

*Department of Agriculture Commodity Credit Corporation* net outlays were \$273 million below the April estimate, reflecting in part lower international food shipments under P.L. 480.

Net outlays of the *Department of Transportation* were \$242 million under the April 15 estimate, mainly because of reduced spending for the Supersonic Transport program and the stretchout of several major equipment acquisitions within the Federal Aviation Agency and the Coast Guard.

Foreign economic assistance outlays were \$130 million below the April 15 estimate, reflecting a lower rate of spending for Vietnam, Alliance for Progress loans, and development loans.

## IMPACT OF REVENUE AND EXPENDITURE CONTROL ACT IN FISCAL YEAR 1969

Section 202 of the Revenue and Expenditure Control Act of 1968 (P.L. 90-364) established a ceiling on 1969 outlays which limited outlays to \$6 billion below the amounts recommended in the 1969 budget document (which was sent to the Congress in January 1968). However, in setting this limitation, the Congress excepted certain programs from the required reductions and subsequently added other exceptions. These exceptions, which are shown in the following table, amount to over one-half of total 1969 outlays.

The preliminary 1969 year-end results show that total outlays were \$184.8 billion, \$1.3 billion below the original January 1968 estimate. This decrease is the net result of:

An increase of \$6.9 billion in programs excepted from the P.L. 90-364 limitation, and

A decrease of \$8.2 billion in programs covered by the P.L. 90-364 limitation—\$2.2 billion more than the reduction required by the law.

## BUDGET OUTLAYS IN FISCAL YEAR 1969—RELATIONSHIP TO PUBLIC LAW 90-364

[In billions]

Description	January 1968 estimate	Actual	Change
Programs excepted from Public Law 90-364 limitation:			
Special support of Vietnam operations.....	\$26.3	\$29.1	+\$2.9
Interest.....	14.4	15.9	+1.5
Veterans benefits and services.....	7.3	7.7	+.4
Social Security Act trust funds.....	36.0	36.7	+.6
Old-age and survivors insurance.....	(24.6)	(24.7)	(+.1)
Disability insurance.....	(2.6)	(2.6)	(—)
Health insurance.....	(5.8)	(6.6)	(+.8)
Unemployment insurance.....	(3.1)	(2.8)	(-.3)
Tennessee Valley Authority (portion financed from power proceeds and borrowing).....	.1	.1	(+)
Commodity Credit Corporation (price support and related programs).....	2.8	3.7	+.9
Public assistance grants to States (including Medicaid).....	5.7	6.2	+.6
Aid to schools in federally impacted areas (special 1968 supplemental payments made in 1969).....		.1	+.1
Subtotal, excepted programs.....	92.6	99.5	+6.9
Remainder covered by Public Law 90-364 limitation.....	93.5	85.3	-8.2
Total.....	186.1	184.8	-1.3

<sup>1</sup> Less than \$500,000,000.

Note: Detail will not necessarily add to totals because of rounding.

## BUDGET RECEIPTS AND OUTLAYS

[Fiscal years—In millions of dollars]

	1969				Change from Apr. 15 estimate
Description	1968 actual <sup>1</sup>	January budget	Apr. 15 estimate	Actual	
RECEIPTS BY SOURCE					
Individual income taxes.....	68,726	84,400	84,400	87,226	2,826
Corporation income taxes.....	28,665	38,100	38,100	36,696	-1,404
Social insurance taxes and contributions:					
Employment taxes and contributions.....	29,224	34,842	34,842	34,245	-597
Unemployment insurance.....	3,346	3,300	3,300	3,325	25
Contributions for other insurance and retirement.....	2,051	2,366	2,366	2,350	-16
Excise taxes.....	14,079	14,800	14,800	15,213	413
Estate and gift taxes.....	3,051	3,200	3,200	3,478	278
Customs.....	2,038	2,300	2,300	2,319	19
Miscellaneous.....	2,493	2,784	2,784	2,991	207
Total receipts.....	153,671	186,092	186,092	187,843	1,751
OUTLAYS BY MAJOR AGENCY					
Legislative branch and the judiciary.....	346	401	402	386	-16
Executive Office of the President.....	28	33	33	31	-2
Funds appropriated to the President:					
Appalachian regional development programs.....	111	231	181	161	-20
International financial institutions.....	201	140	140	121	-19
Military assistance.....	654	610	610	783	173
Economic assistance.....	1,844	1,925	1,925	1,795	-130
Office of Economic Opportunity.....	1,888	1,914	1,880	1,801	-79
Other.....	214	334	334	299	-35
Agriculture:					
Commodity Credit Corporation.....	4,509	4,809	5,492	5,219	-273
Other.....	2,799	2,841	2,917	3,212	295
Commerce.....	807	872	872	854	-18
Defense:					
Military.....	77,373	77,790	77,790	77,893	103
Civil.....	1,300	1,247	1,247	1,268	21
Health, Education, and Welfare.....	40,576	46,259	46,259	46,592	333
Housing and Urban Development.....	4,140	2,017	2,017	1,537	-480
Interior.....	235	541	889	834	-55
Justice.....	430	516	517	520	3
Labor.....	3,271	3,688	3,503	3,475	-28
Post Office.....	1,080	929	929	987	58
State.....	424	434	434	435	1
Transportation.....	5,732	6,011	6,211	5,969	-242
Treasury:					
Interest on the public debt.....	14,573	16,000	16,300	16,613	313
Other.....	82	272	303	348	45
Atomic Energy Commission.....	2,466	2,451	2,451	2,450	-1
General Services Administration.....	413	453	413	430	17
National Aeronautics and Space Administration.....	4,721	4,247	4,247	4,247	—
Veterans' Administration.....	6,858	7,719	7,719	7,670	-49
Civil Service Commission.....	2,704	1,724	1,705	1,754	49
Export-Import Bank.....	790	165	165	246	81
Railroad Retirement Board.....	1,333	1,489	1,489	1,491	2
Small Business Administration.....	284	66	100	111	11
U.S. Information Agency.....	186	191	190	183	-7
Other independent agencies.....	1,032	387	342	244	-98
Allowances, undistributed.....		100			
Undistributed adjustments:					
Federal employer contributions to retirement funds.....	-1,896	-2,105	-2,105	-2,091	14
Interest credited to certain Government accounts.....	-2,674	-3,000	-3,000	-3,099	-99
Total outlays.....	178,834	183,701	184,901	184,769	-132
Budget surplus (+) or deficit (-).....	-25,162	+2,391	+1,191	+3,074	+1,883

<sup>1</sup> Amounts for 1968 differ slightly from those shown in the 1970 budget document released Jan. 15, 1969. The additional time since January has permitted greater precision in making the accounting changes recommended by the President's Commission on Budget Concepts.

Note: Detail will not necessarily add to totals because of rounding.

## NEW JERSEY'S DEAD IN VIETNAM

**HON. HENRY HELSTOSKI**

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, July 29, 1969*

Mr. HELSTOSKI. Mr. Speaker, with your permission, sir, I would like to insert into the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the names of 141 young men who gave their lives in the conflict in Vietnam. These names show the grim results of war, a war that we should not have been in at all.

These young men who died on the field of battle between the dates of January 1, 1969, and May 31, 1969, are American boys who left their homes, jobs, schools

to fight in an area far remote from our shores.

They are irreplaceable, to their families, their communities, and their Nation. They have had their life cut short in a war that I feel has no intelligent purpose and without any long-term accomplishment.

The individual potential of each of these men is not known to us, but collectively they could have contributed much to the spiritual, economic, and intellectual well-being of this Nation. But these 141 men will never be able to do so, for they are far beyond our reach to recruit them into our endeavors to make our Nation a better place to live in. They have made their greatest sacrifice in a job that is not yet finished and no one knows when it will be. I hope that the

day will soon come when we do not have to release these casualty lists.

Even if this immoral war should end today, the results of it will be with us forever—in the hospitals, in seeing men without arms, without legs, and with other reminders of the Vietnam conflict. What can we say to them who shall suffer throughout the remaining years of their lives? Just how far will this Nation go to repay them for their sacrifices? We must plan now for what we desire to do for them later. This Nation has always been the first to aid other nations, but when it comes to taking care of our own, we minimize our efforts to go forward toward a better American for all of our citizens.

Mr. Speaker, following is the list of New Jersey casualties of the conflict in Vietnam:

## NEW JERSEY—LIST OF CASUALTIES INCURRED BY U.S. MILITARY PERSONNEL IN CONNECTION WITH THE CONFLICT IN VIETNAM, JAN. 1—MAY 31, 1969

Name and grade	Date of casualty	Home of record	Name and grade	Date of casualty	Home of record
DEATHS RESULTING FROM HOSTILE ACTION			DEATHS RESULTING FROM HOSTILE ACTION		
ARMY			ARMY—Con.		
Baker, George Arthur, Sp4	Jan. 29, 1969	Little Ferry.	McCants, Joseph, Jr., Sgt.	May 17, 1969	Trenton.
Bastian, Michael Francis, Sgt.	Jan. 2, 1969	Sewell.	Myers, Thomas Wayne, Pfc.	May 27, 1969	Middlesex.
Bell, William Brent, 1Lt.	Mar. 27, 1969	Essex Fells.	Nelson, Paul Vincent, Cpl.	May 31, 1969	Belleville.
Biddle, Joseph Lenord, Sgt.	Mar. 2, 1969	Berlin.	Walters, Michael Arthur, Pfc.	May 11, 1969	Gloucester City.
Biesantz, Howard Stanley, Pvt.	Feb. 23, 1969	Newton.			
Boyce, James Franklin, Pfc.	Jan. 20, 1969	Plainfield.			
Brunn, Richard Conrad, 1Lt.	Feb. 25, 1969	Westfield.			
Callan, George Allan, 1Lt.	Mar. 5, 1969	Pennsville.			
Carough, George Gerald, Cpl.	Jan. 22, 1969	Pompton Lakes.			
Coll, Dennis Joseph, Sp4	Mar. 3, 1969	Springfield.			
D'Adamo, Albert L., Jr., Sp4	Mar. 28, 1969	Wanamassa.			
Dancheltz, Lester, Pfc.	Mar. 9, 1969	Rahway.			
Davis, Charles Henry, Pfc.	Jan. 12, 1969	Camden.			
Farwell, George Thomas, Pfc.	Mar. 18, 1969	Linden.			
Faiberty, Paul James, Pfc.	Jan. 7, 1969	Gloucester City.			
Foulks, Charles, Jr., Pfc.	Feb. 19, 1969	Browns Mills.			
Francisco, James Leonard, Pfc.	Feb. 5, 1969	Laurence Harbor.			
Francisco, William, Jr., Sp4	Jan. 10, 1969	Summit.			
Gaines, James, Jr., Pfc.	Feb. 2, 1969	Jersey City.			
Grover, Thomas Roy, Sp4	do.	Trenton.			
Hanlon, James Paul, Sgt.	Feb. 27, 1969	Irrington.			
Jackson, William, Pvt.	Mar. 15, 1969	Bayonne.			
Johnson, Guy Frederick, WO	Mar. 26, 1969	Chatham.			
Johnson, Ralph Edward, Sp4	Jan. 25, 1969	East Orange.			
Joynes, Frank Dennis, Jr., Sp4	Mar. 6, 1969	Newark.			
Kulbatski, Francis Kenneth, Cpl.	Feb. 15, 1969	Jersey City.			
Laird, Jerry Proctor, Maj.	Jan. 22, 1969	Allentown.			
Lopez, Jose Lius, Pfc.	Jan. 6, 1969	Passaic.			
Markovich, Douglas Joseph, Sp4	Mar. 1, 1969	Madison.			
Marshall, Willie, Jr., Sp4	Jan. 13, 1969	Newark.			
McCallum, Peter John, Jr., Cp.	Mar. 30, 1969	Passaic.			
Mendez, John William, Sgt.	Feb. 13, 1969	Maywood.			
Miller, Robert Theodore, Sgt.	Jan. 19, 1969	Westfield.			
Moon, Theodore Edward, Jr., Pfc.	Mar. 28, 1969	South Orange.			
Moore, Leon David, Sp4	Jan. 27, 1969	Summit.			
Moran, Vincent, Sgt.	Mar. 28, 1969	Iselin.			
Morris, Robert John, Sp4	Jan. 2, 1969	Collingswood.			
Nofford, Clarence, Sp4	Mar. 9, 1969	Newark.			
O'Shaughnessy, James John, Cpl.	Mar. 25, 1969	Closter.			
Oliphant, Joseph B., Jr., Pfc.	Feb. 25, 1969	Ventnor City.			
Peterson, John B., Jr., Sp4	Mar. 10, 1969	Dover.			
Price, John William, Sp5	Mar. 15, 1969	Westfield.			
Pryor, William Jackie, Cpl.	Feb. 5, 1969	Paterson.			
Reed, Stanley Majure, Sp 5	Feb. 23, 1969	Teaneck.			
Rivera, Euclides, Sgt.	Jan. 27, 1969	Irrington.			
Ross, Roger Alan, WO	Dec. 24, 1968	Morrestown.			
Smith, Joseph John, 1st Lt.	Feb. 4, 1969	Bogota.			
Spence, Roger James, Sgt.	Mar. 7, 1969	Roselle Park.			
Tully, Walter Busill, Jr., Maj.	Mar. 2, 1969	Madison.			
Van Winkle, Harold, J. Jr., Sp 4	Feb. 16, 1969	Paterson.			
Warnett, Ronald Leonard, 1st Lt.	Mar. 5, 1969	Linden.			
West, John Hayden, Pfc.	Mar. 7, 1969	North Bergen.			
Brenner, Richard Irving, Cpl.	Apr. 13, 1969	Teaneck.			
Cama, Dennis Rocco Sp 4	Apr. 19, 1969	Hazlet.			
Derbyshire, James Wilbert, Pfc.	Apr. 15, 1969	Bridgeton.			
Mahurter, Lawrence William, Pfc.	Apr. 27, 1969	Fair Lawn.			
Morgan, Jerry Jr., Cpl.	Apr. 21, 1969	Long Branch.			
Palma, Gerard Vincent, Capt.	Apr. 19, 1969	Hammononton.			
Rasmussen, Peter Terence, Sp4	Apr. 15, 1969	Paramus.			
Romero, Ricardo Ibrahim, Sp4	Apr. 13, 1969	Jersey City.			
Van Houten, Nelson Omar, Pfc.	do.	Paterson.			
Atkinson, Franklin G., Jr., Sp4	May 2, 1969	Hurffville.			
Barnes, Alfred, LTC.	May 12, 1969	Montclair.			
Cerrato, Nicholas Frank, Sp4	May 10, 1969	Paterson.			
Deitman, Edward, Sgt.	May 17, 1969	Clifton.			
Eggenberger, William Gary, Sp4	May 13, 1969	Lyndhurst.			
Folger, John Vincent, Pfc.	do.	Bayonne.			
Ga Nun, Paul Huntington, Cpl.	May 18, 1969	Asbury Park.			
Hinson, Alvin Crawford, SSGT	May 12, 1969	Westville.			
Klaniecki, Edward Matthew, Sp4	May 9, 1969	Fanwood.			
Lawson, Birden Jerome, Cpl.	May 18, 1969	Newark.			
MARINE CORPS			MARINE CORPS		
Beaumont, Herbert Michael, LCpl.	Mar. 17, 1969	Trenton.	Beaumont, Herbert Michael, LCpl.	Mar. 17, 1969	Trenton.
Burke, William Gregory, Pfc.	Mar. 31, 1969	Saddle River.	Burke, William Gregory, Pfc.	Mar. 31, 1969	Saddle River.
Carlton, Randall Mark, Pfc.	Feb. 21, 1969	Harrington Park.	Carlton, Randall Mark, Pfc.	Feb. 21, 1969	Harrington Park.
Davis Richard Wayne, LCpl.	Jan. 4, 1969	Vineland.	Davis Richard Wayne, LCpl.	Jan. 4, 1969	Vineland.
Grassia, Joseph, Jr., Pfc.	Mar. 9, 1969	Paterson.	Grassia, Joseph, Jr., Pfc.	Mar. 9, 1969	Paterson.
Green Otis, LCpl.	Feb. 4, 1969	Bridgeton.	Green Otis, LCpl.	Feb. 4, 1969	Bridgeton.
Hayes, Michael John, Jr., Pfc.	Mar. 14, 1969	Bound Brook.	Hayes, Michael John, Jr., Pfc.	Mar. 14, 1969	Bound Brook.
Kurtz, Charles John, Pfc.	Feb. 26, 1969	Absecon.	Kurtz, Charles John, Pfc.	Feb. 26, 1969	Absecon.
Lamanna, John Michael, Pfc.	Feb. 1, 1969	Fair Lawn.	Lamanna, John Michael, Pfc.	Feb. 1, 1969	Fair Lawn.
Lunapiena, Nathan Charles, Sgt.	Feb. 22, 1969	Hoboken.	Lunapiena, Nathan Charles, Sgt.	Feb. 22, 1969	Hoboken.
Mokuau, Kenneth William, Jr., LCpl.	Jan. 22, 1969	Wenonah.	Mokuau, Kenneth William, Jr., LCpl.	Jan. 22, 1969	Wenonah.
O'Shea, William II, LCpl.	Feb. 19, 1969	Newark.	O'Shea, William II, LCpl.	Feb. 19, 1969	Newark.
Presley, Avey, Pfc.	Mar. 25, 1969	Elizabeth.	Presley, Avey, Pfc.	Mar. 25, 1969	Elizabeth.
Sargent, Gordon Leroy, Jr., Pfc.	Mar. 2, 1969	Newark.	Sargent, Gordon Leroy, Jr., Pfc.	Mar. 2, 1969	Newark.
Satterfield, William Hurlie, LCpl.	Feb. 23, 1969	Orange.	Satterfield, William Hurlie, LCpl.	Feb. 23, 1969	Orange.
Selitto, Michael Joseph, LCpl.	Mar. 26, 1969	Towaco.	Selitto, Michael Joseph, LCpl.	Mar. 26, 1969	Towaco.
Sincavage, Richard, Cpl.	Dec. 14, 1968	Elizabeth.	Sincavage, Richard, Cpl.	Dec. 14, 1968	Elizabeth.
Burr, Stewart Samuel, Pfc.	Apr. 23, 1969	Passaic.	Burr, Stewart Samuel, Pfc.	Apr. 23, 1969	Passaic.
Byrne, John Patrick, Pfc.	Apr. 30, 1969	Sayreville.	Byrne, John Patrick, Pfc.	Apr. 30, 1969	Sayreville.
Christiansen, Bernhard M., LCpl.	Apr. 12, 1969	Willingboro.	Christiansen, Bernhard M., LCpl.	Apr. 12, 1969	Willingboro.
Crane, Dennis, Cpl.	Jun. 15, 1968	Spotswood.	Crane, Dennis, Cpl.	Jun. 15, 1968	Spotswood.
Giordano, Daniel J., III, Pfc.	May 10, 1969	Hi Nella.	Giordano, Daniel J., III, Pfc.	May 10, 1969	Hi Nella.
Jarmolinski, Chester, Jr., LCpl.	Apr. 16, 1969	Jersey City.	Jarmolinski, Chester, Jr., LCpl.	Apr. 16, 1969	Jersey City.
Melnyk, Mikolaw, LCpl.	Apr. 5, 1969	Linden.	Melnyk, Mikolaw, LCpl.	Apr. 5, 1969	Linden.
Quarles, Wayne Robert, LCpl.	Apr. 15, 1969	Camden.	Quarles, Wayne Robert, LCpl.	Apr. 15, 1969	Camden.
Romaine, Thomas Gilbert	Apr. 13, 1969	Saddle Brook.	Romaine, Thomas Gilbert	Apr. 13, 1969	Saddle Brook.
Tulp, Guyler Neil, L. Cpl.	Apr. 30, 1969	Clifton.	Tulp, Guyler Neil, L. Cpl.	Apr. 30, 1969	Clifton.
Williams, Fred Thomas, Pvt.	do.	Paterson.	Williams, Fred Thomas, Pvt.	do.	Paterson.
Blevins, Thomas Lee, Jr., Cpl.	May 31, 1969	Middletown.	Blevins, Thomas Lee, Jr., Cpl.	May 31, 1969	Middletown.
De Lorenzo, Ronald, Pfc.	May 12, 1969	Trenton.	De Lorenzo, Ronald, Pfc.	May 12, 1969	Trenton.
Hoffmann, Thomas Martin, L. Cpl.	May 19, 1969	Palmyra.	Hoffmann, Thomas Martin, L. Cpl.	May 19, 1969	Palmyra.
Newton, Barrie Myron, L. Cpl.	May 5, 1969	Cherry Hill.	Newton, Barrie Myron, L. Cpl.	May 5, 1969	Cherry Hill.
Ryan, William Cornelius, Jr., 1st Lt.	May 11, 1969	Bogota.	Ryan, William Cornelius, Jr., 1st Lt.	May 11, 1969	Bogota.
Winters, John, L. Cpl.	May 25, 1969	Clark.	Winters, John, L. Cpl.	May 25, 1969	Clark.
AIR FORCE			AIR FORCE		
Alexander, Calvin Eugene, S. Sgt.	Mar. 1, 1969	Newark.	Alexander, Calvin Eugene, S. Sgt.	Mar. 1, 1969	Newark.
Baumann, Ludwig, Maj.	Jan. 30, 1969	Plainfield.	Baumann, Ludwig, Maj.	Jan. 30, 1969	Plainfield.
Dinan, David Thomas, III, 1st Lt.	May 17, 1969	Nutley.	Dinan, David Thomas, III, 1st Lt.	May 17, 1969	Nutley.
McCollum, James Patrick, Capt.	May 23, 1969	Pleasantville.	McCollum, James Patrick, Capt.	May 23, 1969	Pleasantville.
Rios, Noel Luis, SSgt.	Mar. 7, 1969	Newark.	Rios, Noel Luis, SSgt.	Mar. 7, 1969	Newark.
NAVY			NAVY		
Bauer, Alfred, FN.	Jan. 16, 1969	Keansburg.	Bauer, Alfred, FN.	Jan. 16, 1969	Keansburg.
Mc Fadyen, Bruce Searight, Lt.	Jan. 17, 1969	Montclair.	Mc Fadyen, Bruce Searight, Lt.	Jan. 17, 1969	Montclair.
Melady, Richard Raphael, TM1.	do.	Dumont.	Melady, Richard Raphael, TM1.	do.	Dumont.
Pawlowski, Edward Wesley, LTJG.	Mar. 23, 1969	Union.	Pawlowski, Edward Wesley, LTJG.	Mar. 23, 1969	Union.
Pearce, Henry Ellwood, II, HN.	Jan. 23, 1969	Stamhope.	Pearce, Henry Ellwood, II, HN.	Jan. 23, 1969	Stamhope.
Gillies, Robert Knell, HM3.	Apr. 21, 1969	Mantua.	Gillies, Robert Knell, HM3.	Apr. 21, 1969	Mantua.
Russell, Peter Fransson, Lt.	May 23, 1969	Wharton.	Russell, Peter Fransson, Lt.	May 23, 1969	Wharton.
Menter, Jerome, HM3.	May 12, 1969	Englewood.	Menter, Jerome, HM3.	May 12, 1969	Englewood.
DEATHS RESULTING FROM OTHER CAUSES			DEATHS RESULTING FROM OTHER CAUSES		
ARMY			ARMY		
Colasurdo, Joseph Peter, Sp4	Jan. 3, 1969	Edison.	Colasurdo, Joseph Peter, Sp4	Jan. 3, 1969	Edison.
Engedal, John, Sgt.	Mar. 21, 1969	Matawan.	Engedal, John, Sgt.	Mar. 21, 1969	Matawan.
Harbienko, Andrew, Sp4	Feb. 10, 1969	Elizabeth.	Harbienko, Andrew, Sp4	Feb. 10, 1969	Elizabeth.
Johnson, Lester, Jr., Sp4	Feb. 3, 1969	Hightstown.	Johnson, Lester, Jr., Sp4	Feb. 3, 1969	Hightstown.



NEW JERSEY—LIST OF CASUALTIES INCURRED BY U.S. MILITARY PERSONNEL IN CONNECTION WITH THE CONFLICT IN VIETNAM, JAN. 1-MAY 31, 1969—Continued

Name and grade	Date of casualty	Home of record	Name and grade	Date of casualty	Home of record
DEATHS RESULTING FROM OTHER CAUSES—Continued			DEATHS RESULTING FROM OTHER CAUSES—Continued		
ARMY—Continued			MARINE CORPS		
Lang, James L., Sgt.	Nov. 17, 1968	Neptune.	Cancelliere, Frank Anthony, Cpl.	Mar. 15, 1969	Belleville.
Melendez, Rafael, Plc.	Feb. 6, 1969	Hammonton.	Leary, John Dennis, LCpl.	Apr. 27, 1969	Collingswood.
Newman, Thomas McKnett, 1LT.	Mar. 21, 1969	Saddle River.	Snyder, Thomas Wayne, Plc.	Apr. 16, 1969	Millville.
Pierson, Robert Emmett, Plc.	do.	Chatham.	Nichols, Daniel Clement, 1LT.	May 13, 1969	Westfield.
Russell, Wayne Howard, Sp4	Mar. 31, 1969	Rutherford.			
Tipton, John Edward, Sp4	Mar. 1, 1969	Pennsauken.	NAVY		
Zichino, Darrow Frederick, Sp4	Jan. 28, 1969	Carlstadt.			
Haver, Dale Harry, 1LT.	Apr. 11, 1969	Whitehouse.	Frank, William Thomas, EO3.	Feb. 2, 1969	Williamstown.
Wemple, Earl Scott, SMaj.	Apr. 21, 1969	Netcong.			
Wilson, Elroy, SP4.	Apr. 12, 1969	Jersey City.			

## FIFTY CONGRESSMEN SIGN BIPARTISAN STATEMENT CRITICAL OF GREEK JUNTA

### HON. DON EDWARDS

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 29, 1969

Mr. EDWARDS of California. Mr. Speaker, 50 Members of the U.S. Congress have joined in writing Secretary of State William Rogers a bipartisan letter expressing their deep concern over the situation in Greece.

These Members of Congress, including three U.S. Senators and 47 Members of the House of Representatives, have joined in calling for "clearer signs of U.S. moral and political disapproval of the dictatorship—in Greece—be given and sustained."

Mr. Speaker, I will include the letter in the RECORD.

In addition the situation in Greece has been detailed in a series of newspaper articles published in recent days. These articles describe the concern of my fellow Members of Congress and I, including the rape of the Greek judiciary and the destruction of the educational system. I will also include them in the RECORD.

The material follows:

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES,  
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,  
Washington, D.C., July 30, 1969.

The Honorable WILLIAM P. ROGERS,  
Secretary of State,  
Department of State,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. SECRETARY: We are writing to you because of our deep concern over the situation in Greece, the only European nation in the Western Alliance in the post World War II period to fall to a military coup.

Authoritative reports indicate that in junta-led Greece the economy is in decline, fundamental civil liberties are suppressed, and people continue to be arrested and jailed without charge. What's more, anti-Americanism is reportedly on the increase because our long-time friends believe the United States is the principal support of a military dictatorship which has no popular base.

Our policy of occasional, tepid expressions of "hope" that the junta will return to democracy stands in rather hollow contrast to the repeated instances of high-ranking American military figures being pictured and quoted in the controlled Athens press lavishing generous comments on the junta.

Thus we find ourselves in a situation where at a time of moral and political crisis in Greece, our traditional friends of liberal, centrist, and conservative persuasion believe with bitterness that the United States sup-

ports the dictatorship and the dictatorship, on the other hand, boasts about it. In the short term, and in the long term, we are in danger of reaping the whirlwind of anti-Americanism, especially when the junta falls, as it inevitably must.

America's attitude is critical to the survivability of the junta. The sooner the junta falls, the greater the prospect that a responsible, democratic, western-oriented successor government will emerge to bind the economic and political wounds. The longer the junta lasts, the grimmer the prospect of political polarization, turmoil, bloodshed, and unpredictable consequences to Greece and our own political, moral, and military interests.

Accordingly, we respectfully urge your consideration of the following action:

1. Since the post of U.S. Ambassador to Greece, presently vacant, has taken on a growing symbolic and practical value, that it be filled by an experienced, civilian-oriented diplomat of superior credentials and not be treated as a political reward or routine promotion.
2. That a clearer sign of U.S. moral and political disapproval of the dictatorship be given and sustained.
3. That U.S. military aid to Greece should not be increased, and indeed, should be curtailed.

Sincerely,

Hon. Joseph P. Addabbo, Hon. Glenn M. Anderson, Hon. Jonathan B. Bingham, Hon. John Brademas, Hon. George E. Brown, Jr., Hon. Phillip Burton, Hon. Daniel E. Button, Hon. Shirley Chisholm, Hon. Jeffery Cohelan, Hon. John Conyers, Jr., Hon. James C. Corman, Hon. R. Lawrence Coughlin, Hon. Charles C. Diggs, Jr., Hon. Don Edwards, Hon. Joshua Ellberg, Hon. Donald M. Fraser, Hon. Jacob H. Gilbert, Hon. Seymour Halpern, Hon. Augustus F. Hawkins, Hon. Henry Helstoski, Hon. Floyd V. Hicks, Hon. Daniel K. Inouye, Hon. Charles S. Joelson, Hon. Robert W. Kastenmeier, Hon. Edward I. Koch, Hon. Robert L. Leggett, Hon. Allard K. Lowenstein, Hon. Abner J. Mikva, Hon. Patsy T. Mink, Hon. William S. Moorhead, Hon. John E. Moss, Hon. Lucien N. Nedzi, Hon. Gaylord Nelson, Hon. Robert N. C. Nix, Hon. Richard L. Ottinger, Hon. Bertram L. Podell, Hon. Adam C. Powell, Hon. Thomas M. Rees, Hon. Ogden R. Reid, Hon. Henry S. Reuss, Hon. Peter W. Rodino, Jr., Hon. Benjamin S. Rosenthal, Hon. Edward R. Roybal, Hon. William F. Ryan, Hon. William L. St. Onge, Hon. James H. Scheuer, Hon. Louis Stokes, Hon. Frank Thompson, Jr., Hon. Jerome R. Waldie, and Hon. Stephen M. Young.

#### WHY CLING TO THE ATHENS JUNTA?

(By Clayton Fritchey)

The Council of Europe, which includes most of the NATO countries, has warned the Greek military dictatorship to restore basic human rights by December or face

expulsion from the 18-nation body. But the junta is not impressed.

There is only one nation (the U.S.) which has decisive influence with the colonels; and as long as the U.S. does not show any signs of reacting like the Europeans, the junta can afford to snub the council's threat.

Instead of organizing or even going along with outside pressure on the colonels to reinstate democratic government in Greece, the U.S. has resumed much of the military aid it has been pouring into Greece for over 20 years. Our tanks were supposed to be used by the Greek army to contain communism, but mostly they have been used to contain the Greek people.

Many European military observers have doubts as to how much help the Greek army would be in a showdown between the NATO and Warsaw pact forces, for the junta has been purging the armed forces of some of its best officers, many trained at enormous U.S. expense. The test of an officer is no longer ability, but political reliability.

As a putative ally, Greece has also been weakened by the obvious incompetence of the colonels in managing the economy. Since the military coup two years ago, the gross national product has been slipping steadily. Theoretically, Greece is NATO's southern anchor, but in practice it is more like a soft underbelly.

If the free democratic countries of Europe can afford to cast off the junta, why does the U.S. need to cling to this tyrannical government? The old anti-Communist justification no longer has any validity. After all, the junta overthrew not a leftist, but a conservative government.

It is a tragic conclusion of the brave effort launched in 1947 by President Truman to save democratic government in the cradle of democracy. After being a virtual satellite of the U.S. for two decades, the country succumbed to military dictatorship without a struggle. It was hardly a tribute to the spirit of democracy that the U.S. was supposedly fostering in Greece all those years.

Even the situation in nearby Czechoslovakia is better than that. About the time the U.S. moved into Greece, the Russians moved into Czechoslovakia, but after 20 years of Soviet domination the passion for freedom was still so ardent that the Czechs openly defied their masters. Not even the return of Russian troops has altogether quelled it.

Leaders of the Greek resistance feel their cause is hopeless as long as the U.S. cooperates with the junta. Washington's response is confined to vacuous assertions of interest in the "full restoration of civil liberties" and the "achievement of representative government in Greece."

These pious statements do not trouble the leaders of the junta. The Deputy Premier, Stylianos Patakos, recently met with President Nixon while on a visit to Washington. Upon returning to Athens he said no American officials had raised with him any questions about Greece's internal affairs.

More importantly, Patakos, since his Washington trip has openly dashed any hopes for

a return to constitutional government. The junta had been encouraging hopes that the dictatorship would be lifted in the near future, but now Patakos says he and his fellow officers are going to stay in power indefinitely.

"There are serious grounds for being disturbed by U.S. policy toward Greece," says Elias Demetracopoulos, the exiled editor of a conservative Athens newspaper now closed down. He thinks the grounds require "a basic and urgent review of the U.S. position by the Nixon administration, which is in the advantageous position of having no responsibility for the events and policies of the last few years."

#### TIMID GREEK JUDGE SUFFERS FOR UPHOLDING PRINCIPLES

(By Alfred Friendly)

ATHENS, July 24.—Harassment of Greece's highest judge, who recently ruled against the government and refused its demands to resign, has reached the point where his physician was apparently pressured to declare him able to face an inquisition when, in fact, he had just suffered a heart attack.

The judge is Michael Stasinopoulos, president of the Greek Council of State. His illness is thought to be the result of the ordeal he was subjected to after he ordered the reinstatement of 11 Supreme Court judges fired by the junta. His physician is dependent on the government's favor for keeping his job in the state medical care system.

The 67-year-old jurist, subjected to attempted intimidation by a police officer who accused him of faking illness, has, so far avoided the command to appear before the junta's No. 2 personage, the deputy prime minister. Another doctor, engaged only in private practice and accordingly not subject to official intimidation, was called in by Stasinopoulos and has declared that he is indeed seriously ill.

The history of the continuing ordeal of the judge was disclosed in circumstantial detail by a thoroughly informed source. The story that emerges is of a timid, conservative, ultra-cautious man forced to become a hero in spite of himself, when there was no escape from putting his legal principles on the line.

The chronicle begins more than a year ago when the government purged some 60 judges, getting around the provision that they had permanent status by suspending the constitution, by official decree, for three days.

#### MORAL CALIBER

Among those ousted were 11 judges of the Supreme Court, the highest appeals tribunal for all cases in which the state itself is not a party. The principal grounds were that the incumbent either had been identified with a political party in a way that rendered him unfit to serve, or was not of the requisite "moral caliber." Those purged were also disqualified.

The jurists appealed to the Council of State, the highest appeals court for matters in which the state is directly involved. They won their case on rescinding the disbarment, only to have the government overrule it by decree the next day. Thus they remain forbidden to practice.

In a different case, based on provisions of the new constitution that the junta itself prepared and had confirmed in a national referendum last September, the judges appealed their ouster on grounds that the constitution provided them lifetime tenure.

Stasinopoulos realized the dilemma the case would present him and his 22-judge court. A small, fragile man, chosen for the presidency of the council by the colonels themselves, he had no stomach for a fight. A deep-dyed conservative, he is distinguished, if at all, as the author of rather mediocre poetry and as someone who has tried throughout his tenure to keep his court from coming into conflict with the regime.

His thesis has been that the Council of State, an institution created in 1930, does not have the Marbury v. Madison tradition of enacting acts and will only get into trouble—especially with the present dictatorship—if it tries.

#### CASE STALLED

For a year, Stasinopoulos tried to duck the case, stalling it, urging the appellants to withdraw, arguing that whatever the outcome, both they and the court would lose. He did not heed the warnings, which he got anyway, from his first cousin, Gen. Hadjipetros, head of the Greek equivalent of the FBI, to "be careful."

But in the end, the case was not to be avoided. In June Stasinopoulos summoned a public session of the full court. The case had been thoroughly debated and the president may or may not have known how the vote would go. He made a short speech, bidding his colleagues to take into account the position of the state but also to reflect on the requirements of their honor as judges.

Under the usual procedure, an open vote was taken, with each member, beginning with the most junior, announcing his vote and the reasons for it. By the time the tally reached the president, it was 10 to 10 (there was one absentee). Stasinopoulos voted to sustain the appeal.

He chose the narrowest possible of the six grounds on which the appeal was based, due process. He ruled that the judges could not be dismissed without first having been formally presented with reasons and charges, and having the opportunity to answer them, and being given a proper legal finding.

For the first time since it took power more than two years ago, the hitherto cool regime publicly lost its composure. It has been proceeding ever since from one flagrant action to another.

#### JUDGE SUMMONED

Premier Georges Papadopoulos immediately summoned Stasinopoulos to his office and, in a rage, demanded his resignation.

At 9 the next morning, the judge presented a letter to the Ministry of Interior refusing, on grounds of the self-respect of the judiciary, to resign merely because the Premier told him to. An hour later, the official gazette published a governmental decree "accepting the resignation of the President of the Council of State" and naming his successor.

Whereupon, the 10 members of the council who had voted with Stasinopoulos submitted their resignations, also as a matter of self-respect. The chief judge's successor, meanwhile, showed himself to be a good lawyer too. He pointed out that he was not the legal President of the council until the incumbent had formally resigned, and that until then a litigant could impeach any decision on grounds that the court was illegally constituted.

The pressure on Stasinopoulos to submit a predated resignation was now immense. He was chivvied and argued with. His phone was cut off and police were placed in front of his dwelling to challenge all visitors and examine their papers.

The heart attack ensued. Shortly thereafter, about three weeks ago, Stylianos Patakos, the deputy prime minister phoned the judge—it turned out that the phone could be put back into operation when it suited the regime's convenience—and ordered him to present himself at Patakos's office. He replied that he was in no condition to leave his bed.

Next day, Stasinopoulos' physician made his morning call and without examining his patient told him he looked fine. The sick man protested that he felt terrible. At this point, the commandant of the regional police station pushed his way into the sick room and engaged in muttered conversation with the doctor. It was clear that some collusion was afoot. In a few moments, the doctor

turned back to the judge and declared loudly: "You are now in good health."

#### FAKE ILLNESS

"So," said the police officer to the judge, "you've been faking illness. The doctor says you are well and therefore at 9 next Monday morning"—two days hence—"you will be in Gen. Patakos' office."

The judge's wife called in a physician in private practice. He has succeeded so far in forestalling Patakos's demand for Stasinopoulos' appearance.

Frustrated and all thumbs, the regime went Andrew Jackson one better, declaring that the court's ruling was not only unenforceable but unfounded because the subject matter was "excluded from its jurisdiction."

Also, it immediately disbarred and ordered one year banishment to a small island and to two remote hamlets for the three lawyers who had argued the Supreme Court justices' case.

George Christopoulos, Greece's ambassador to Paris, a former undersecretary of state and the Junta's nominee, reported the nature of European reaction. According to those who have seen it, the gist of his message was that Greece could not expect to remain in the Council of Europe, which is considering ousting it, unless it chooses to abide by the conventional legal and moral standards of other member governments, otherwise, it should resign from the council before it is kicked out.

The regime's response was to fire Christopoulos and replace him in Paris with a general.

#### GREEK COLONELS NURTURE UNREST BY CRUSHING SCHOOL FREEDOM

(By Alfred Friendly)

ATHENS.—The young professor at the University of Athens teaching penal law was a runaway favorite. After all, he wasn't 70 years old and he spoke to the students on their own terms, lecturing as if he cared about his subject and his listeners.

But he was the cousin of, and had the same name as, the Athens lawyer George Mangakis, who had defended many targets of the regime and who is now disbarred and banished for his pains. The young professor also doubtless indulged in some extracurricular political activity himself.

So in due course it was last March he was dismissed. He chose to make something a little special of his last class and spoke, therefore, on his own conception of the role of justice and the role of law in today's world. And he disclosed, of course, that he had been sacked by a process and for reasons that mocked those principles.

When he finished, a student leaped to his feet and called for getting up a petition urging the government to rescind the dismissal. Another student—a boy from the island of Crete, whose inhabitants, the novelists tell us, wear their passions on their sleeves—upped the ante, proposing that the students take to the streets in a demonstration.

At that moment, three members of the class got to their feet simultaneously, lunged at the speaker, pinioned him, and, after a scuffle, dragged him off to arrest, along with the first student, the petition-urder. They obviously had authority for their act.

"That's what bothers most of the students: not knowing who is sitting next to you, a student like yourself or a government informer," said the young man, himself a fourth-year law student, who told me the story. "It's that, probably more than the other interventions the government has made into the—how shall I say—intellectual life of the university."

Those other "interventions" have been, principally:

The wholesale sacking of professors who were known to look without favor on the dictatorship that took power in Greece in April, 1967.



"It's worst in the political science and economics faculties," the young student explained. "You begin a semester thinking you'll have three good professors in the course, and you find only one left."

The recent installation in every institution of higher learning of a military officer, a governor or commissioner—commisar would be the right word—from the regime. He sits in on faculty meetings, reviews every act, and presumably has veto power over the officials of each school. He determines what lectures shall be given, what courses shall be taught and what the contents should be.

But the class stoolies—the knowledge of their existence but not of their identity (except, as in the story above, when they blow their covers)—makes the sour taste in the students' mouths, a taste that grows steadily more rancid. (In Greek Universities, it should be explained, middle-aged bona fide students are commonplace, so that the appearance of an older person in a class is not an automatic revelation of an interloper.)

There is an ironic aspect to the regime's corrosion of its own educational institutions. One of the colonel's announced aims was "to create a new generation of Greeks"—by implication a generation that would be properly contemptuous of degenerate institutions like democracy, free choice and open criticism.

But what the commissar in the classroom seems to be doing is injecting a political fire into the students and awareness and loathing of Big Brother at a considerably earlier age than in the past.

Most students in Greek universities and other institutions of higher education are from the villages, from middle-class or even peasant families. (The upper crust, with money and a background of educational and especially linguistic attainments, send their children to Europe for their education.) To these young people of relatively humble origins, the university degree is the passport for escape from the primitiveness and poverty that was their parents' lot. In Greece, one's whole future depends on the university degree. Accordingly, not since Byron's day have the students been the young firebrands by whom revolutions are made, and they still are not.

Nevertheless, Greek undergraduates are not born devoid of a sense of outrage, and a recognition of it when they see it. They are not utterly quarantined from the viruses—and the vitamins—affecting students elsewhere. The guess here is that in a year or two the Greek students will begin to organize in earnest for political action. The embryos of future groupings are beginning to be seen and, as might be expected, the most developed is one with heavy Communist influence.

At the moment, the Communist Party is so badly battered, with a thousand or two of its activists in the junta's prison camps, that it lies low. But extremes breed extremes. If the Greek students are, like their parents, denied democratic organizations in which to operate openly and effectively, and if they remain subjected to the academic repression the junta has now decreed, it is not hard to visualize what kind of a "new generation of Greeks" will be created.

#### INDIANA DUNES

### HON. EARL F. LANDGREBE

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 29, 1969

Mr. LANDGREBE. Mr. Speaker, I wish to direct my remarks toward the statements in the RECORD of July 22, by the gentleman from Indiana (Mr. BRADEMAs) on the subject of the Indiana Dunes Na-

tional Lakeshore, and the amendment I introduced to H.R. 12781, the 1970 appropriations for the Department of the Interior and related agencies. I make these comments in order to clarify a number of false statements and implications which have been raised regarding my intention in introducing such an amendment.

The amendment I introduced would have prohibited funds to be "used to enter into contracts to extend boundaries of the Indiana Dunes National Lakeshore beyond the boundaries set forth in H.R. 11084 of the 91st Congress." This bill which I introduced on May 8, 1969 (H.R. 11084) specifically defines, in legal terms, the boundaries of this national park in northwest Indiana. The boundaries of this park, a park created by an act of Congress in 1966, were only vaguely outlined on a map drawn by the National Park Service. The act creating the park never defined the specific boundaries. It only gave the Secretary of the Interior the authority to buy land within a general outlined area. This area included more than 6,000 acres of land. Within its borders lie more than 500 private homes and businesses, bus and railroad lines, highways, and public utility lines and services.

The Park Service has been engaged in buying land since 1966. As of this date they have spent \$12½ million and bought 1,038 acres of land, in addition to 383 acres presently under condemnation. Because the boundaries of this park are indefinite, and more importantly, because so many private homes and businesses will be destroyed and residents forced to move to other areas, I introduced this bill to specifically define the boundaries of this Federal park and to exclude the highly developed areas of the region from acquisition by the Park Service. The effect of my bill is to reduce the size of the approximate acreage which the Park Service has been authorized to purchase. However, the areas encompassed in my bill approximate 3 square miles, including almost 2 miles of Lake Michigan shoreline.

In this regard, the comments of my colleague from Indiana, Mr. BRADEMAs, bear some revision and correction in a number of instances. He states on page 20330 that—

The bill would have affected, some persons advised me, up to 90% of the land authorized for this park.

On the next page he states—

This legislation would not define the boundaries of this national park, but would properly reduce the size of the lakeshore by over three-fourths (or 75%) of its presently authorized size.

As anyone can see, his own statements are in conflict and neither is factual. The bill I have introduced, if the gentleman would care to read it, does, in fact, define in legal terms the boundaries of the national lakeshore. Its effect is, as I have said, to reduce the size of the original authorization by a little more than 60 percent. As I have explained, I have taken this action in response to urgent requests of the residents of this area and I believe it to be necessary and imperative in order to protect the many

homes and businesses from destruction and confiscation. In this action I have been supported by hundreds of residents in this area, by resolutions from the town boards of Ogden Dunes and Dune Acres and by the full support of all the county commissioners of Porter County, in which the national lakeshore lies.

Second, there are a number of acres of land which have already been purchased by the Park Service which lie outside the boundaries defined in my bill. Mr. BRADEMAs says rightly that—

Never in the history of the National Park Service have lands authorized for a national park and purchased under such authorization been subsequently removed from any park.

But I do not believe that we need to be intimidated by such past policy. I believe the situation is important enough to warrant the action I have taken and, therefore, if the Congress approves the bill I have proposed, then we will provide the National Park Service with the appropriate authorization to resell the land at the purchase price. Mr. BRADEMAs asserts in his statement that under the present law the land would have to be sold by the General Services Administration. This, in fact, is not the case, as the Federal Property and Administrative Services Act does not permit the disposal of park land by the GSA. I, therefore, intend to make provision for the disposal of this land by an amendment to my original bill.

Mr. Speaker, I would like to conclude by saying that I completely support the idea of the Indiana Dunes National Lakeshore and of the need and value of conservation as well as providing areas of recreation and esthetic enjoyment. But I believe that the present plans of the Park Service to condemn and purchase land which is highly developed and in one of the fastest growing communities in our Nation is an unwarranted and excessive intrusion of the Federal Government into the private lives of the residents of this area, particularly when many homes and businesses will be destroyed for the sake of recreation. I can only support conservation and recreation when it does not involve the destruction and disruption of vast areas and people.

I realize full well, as I am sure my colleague does, the need for a recreational area in this section of our Nation, a rapidly growing area of people and economic activity. I need not remind my colleague of the existing 2,100-acre Dunes State Park in this area. My proposal for the Indiana Dunes National Lakeshore doubles the present area available for recreation; but I cannot support the plans of the Federal Government to destroy homes and businesses in order to replace them with a Federal park. The idea is outrageous and unreasonable and the costs are excessive.

This is the explanation of my position and the reasons that prompted my action, not only in introducing the amendment to the appropriation bill, but also in introducing the original bill, H.R. 11084, defining the boundaries. I urge my colleague from Indiana and all Members of the House to give this matter their closest attention and support.

# KENTUCKY'S LONG-LOST COM- POSER OF A WORLD-FAMOUS MELODY

## HON. TIM LEE CARTER

OF KENTUCKY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 29, 1969

Mr. CARTER. Mr. Speaker, the mysteries concerning the life of a noteworthy native son of Kentucky have been the subject of the research of a distinguished Ohio jurist, who has written a very fascinating account of his findings.

Judge Earl R. Hoover, former judge of the court of common pleas in Cleveland, Ohio, and an authority on early American music, went to great lengths to unfold the unknown details of the life of the author of some of our best loved native music.

Jonathan E. Spilman, born in Maysville, Ky., and the composed of the melody we know so well in association with the words to "Flow Gently Sweet Afton" and "Away in a Manger," was the subject of this interesting study by Judge Hoover.

As a contribution to the history of American music, and as an attribute to this talented son of Kentucky, I will place in the RECORD this article by Judge Hoover which appeared in the Register, a leading historical quarterly in my State:

J. E. SPILMAN, KENTUCKY'S LONG-LOST COM-  
POSER OF A WORLD-FAMOUS MELODY REDIS-  
COVERED

(By Earl R. Hoover)

Accidentally I found a lost world celebrity—a native Kentucky song writer—J. E. Spilman. I did not set out to find him. I did not even know he was lost. When suddenly I awakened to that fact, it took me years to prove that the Spilman I discovered was the real Spilman for whom the authorities were searching. The life I turned up turned out unbelievably fantastic.

I first bumped into Spilman about a half century after he was dead. It was around 1943 in an antique shop in Harrodsburg, Kentucky. Ohio's Civil War song writer Benjamin R. Hanby, who wrote the history-making song, "Darling Nelly Gray" (about "the old Kentucky shore"), and the child's Christmas song, "Up On the House Top," had long enslaved me as a hobby, and I really was trying to find something pertaining to him—old song books containing his songs. I had never heard of Spilman.

The antique shop's proprietor was James P. Spilman. When he learned that I was interested in song writer Hanby, he had to drag out his own song writer. He did not realize he was handing me double trouble (a hobby is just that) by volunteering that his great-uncle had been a song writer, too—Rev. J. E. Spilman—who had composed the music to the old favorite, "Flow Gently Sweet Afton."

That fact alone would not have aroused me. It was the story he told me that did. He said that Spilman had married a niece of President Zachary Taylor; that he was a Presbyterian minister at Maysville, Kentucky; that his parsonage overlooked the Ohio River; that his wife was drowned when she was a passenger on an Ohio River steamer, the *Magnolia*, and its boiler blew up and it was destroyed as it sailed past parsonage right in front of her family's eyes; and that shortly thereafter, in grief, the Reverend composed the music to "Flow Gently Sweet Afton."

The great-nephew was not able to cite anything ever written about his great-uncle. He did not know any dates. As research later proved, he knew very little about the song writer, and much of it was inaccurate. Nevertheless it bore the earmarks of a story so exciting that there was incentive to give it chase.

Back home in our great Cleveland Public Library, I thought I could immediately verify the whole story that I heard in Harrodsburg, but for years stone walls stopped me—encyclopedias, musical and biographical dictionaries, treatises, histories, magazines. If the Empire State Building were to disappear it would be no less baffling.

The great-nephew's erroneous designation of the steamer as the *Magnolia* helped to deflect me from the scent because I did find a steamer *Magnolia* whose boilers exploded near Cincinnati on March 18, 1868, killing about eighty people, but no Mrs. Spilman was listed among the dead.

I was to learn that the identity of J. E. Spilman had been puzzling, even fooling leading music historians. Putting a few facts together this seemed impossible. In song books I did find the name "J. E. Spilman" printed over the music to "Flow Gently Sweet Afton." This tied Spilman up with a world immortal because the words to that song were written by Scotland's Robert Burns. Too, it is obvious that this same melody of Spilman's is also one of the most popular ones set to another famous song, "Away In A Manger." The authorship of the words to the Christmas carol, though disputed, has been frequently attributed to another world immortal, Martin Luther, and has often been called "Luther's Cradle Hymn." How can you lose a man tied up with Robert Burns and Martin Luther!

J. E. Spilman married President Zachary Taylor's niece, Eliza Taylor, daughter of Hancock Taylor. That means that Spilman's wife was a cousin to Zachary Taylor's daughter, Sarah, who married Jefferson Davis. That made Spilman's lost identity even more baffling. How could a man just drop out of sight who was tied up with four such famous people—a great poet—a great theologian—a president of the United States—and the president of the Confederacy? A man who, more than a century before, had written a melody still known the world over, even to children? A man who created something immortal—a tune sung to two world famous lyrics? A man whose name appeared over his melody in millions of old favorite song books, a copy of which was in almost every home? A man, as shall later be revealed, who was tied up with other well known figures?

On checking, I found that the late John Tasker Howard, then head of the American Music Division of the New York Public Library, said nothing about Spilman in his monumental, 841-page *Our American Music*. Other treatise writers were also helpless in penetrating the mystery.

In his equally monumental, 729-page *A History of Popular Music in America*, the late Sigmund Spaeth lavished just two sentences on Spilman, and used up two words to call him "a Philadelphian" which later proved to be entirely erroneous. I wrote the authoritative Mr. Spaeth asking for his authority for this. He replied, "I am not sure that I can give you the exact source of my information... but I know that this has been printed several times in the past and is generally accepted as the truth."

I wrote to the late Elliott Shapiro, of the music publishing firm, Shapiro, Bernstein & Co., Inc., of New York City, who was co-author of the book *Early American Sheet Music*. He suggested that I write to Richard S. Hill, Music Division, Library of Congress, saying "Spilman seems to be a fairly unknown proposition."

I wrote the late Richard Hill, thinking that surely in his great library, of thirty-six acres

of floor space and hundreds of miles of book shelves, he had an instant, conclusive Spilman clue. He replied, "I am delighted that you have chosen J. E. Spilman as your next hobby. He is so complete an enigma that I would not be surprised if you could make him into your life work." "Besides," he added, "were I to hand you all the answers on a silver salver, it would completely ruin your fun."

Hill had already been on the Spilman hunt; and that "Philadelphia" red herring had harassed him too, for he wrote me, "I had a brief fling at trying to find a few answers to questions about him (Spilman). . . . The only intriguing lead is that family of Spilman's in Philadelphia. The name is spelled so many different ways in the different entries that you can almost hear the accent—I would guess that the name is really Spielman—that the family arrived in this country from Germany not long before their first appearance in the Philadelphia directories in 1837, and that some of the children were born abroad. This must have been true of 'J. E.' if my guesses are correct, since 'Flow Gently' was first published in 1838. A good deal of hard digging, however, is going to be needed to establish even this much about the family—particularly since I am by no means certain that 'J. E.' was one of the barber's sons or relatives."

In my hunt, two irksome things were those initials "J. E." For what did they stand? In the original sheet music and in most song books they were just "J. E." To add to the annoyance, I found one song book giving it "James E." and another giving it "Jonathan E." The forces that lost Spilman seemed purposely to be throwing up confusion to keep him lost. I met another "err-itation"—Spilman spelled with two i's. In my bewilderment I had good company. Richard Hill wrote me, "I have a hunch that you will find that 'Jonathan' and 'James' are nothing better than surmises. I would be hard put to say why, but it would not surprise me in the least if it turned out that J. E. stood for Jane Eliza. At any rate, I am quite certain that it would be thoroughly unwise to shut out one's mind to the possibility that J. E. was a lady."

When I wrote Hill that I believed Spilman was a preacher, he cautioned me, "If you look over these titles (meaning Spilman's seven songs in the Library of Congress) . . . you will agree that the editor who added 'Rev.' to his name was making a . . . wild guess. . . . None of the songs refer to him as a 'Reverend.'"

With such noted music historians stumped, I may have been up a tree if the Harrodsburg antique dealer had not placed in my hands some leads that the historians apparently did not have. He had said that the song writer was a Presbyterian minister at Maysville, Kentucky. Surely the Commonwealth of Kentucky and Presbyterianism had the answer.

I wrote to the Kentucky Historical Society with headquarters in the Old State House at Frankfort. It replied, "We find very little information about Spilman," but it did identify him as "a Philadelphian." I wrote back and asked for its authority for this statement. It replied, "A *History of Popular Music in America* by Sigmund Spaeth." Apparently it had borrowed the mistake that Sigmund Spaeth had borrowed from Richard Hill.

This was the most baffling of all. One can imagine some states that might lose such a son, but not history-conscious Kentucky, because as we shall see, Spilman was born in Kentucky and lived there about fifty years. Yet I found no leading Kentucky history that credited him with his world-resounding achievement. At Bardstown, the Commonwealth of Kentucky has gone all out to honor a native Pennsylvania song writer, Stephen Foster, but it has done little, if anything, to



honor its own son. Significantly, in a letter to me, Richard Hill rated Spilman favorably with Foster in one respect. Referring to the above list of Spilman's seven songs, he commented, "It would be surprising indeed had he managed to turn out more than one song in seven that would live for a century. Stephen Foster's average was no better."

To make it more astounding I was to find that Spilman wrote his immortal song in Kentucky—in the part steeped in tradition—in the Blue Grass Country—right at the core of that country—Lexington; yet today the Blue Grass is not conscious of Spilman or of the fact that while living there he did something immortal that was destined to become known to more people than any single piece of horseflesh ever bred in the Blue Grass.

In fact, another lead was to prove that Spilman attended historic Transylvania College at Lexington, oldest college west of the Allegheny Mountains. It is said to have had the first library, first football team, first medical school and first law school in the West. Spilman graduated from that law school. Among its famous sons, Transylvania boasts of George Rogers Clark, Stephen F. Austin, Jefferson Davis and John C. Breckinridge. Perhaps no one of them created any one thing that has been known and loved over so long a period by so many men, women and children here and beyond the seas, as has Spilman. He even wrote his world-famous melody on the campus while a student, but Transylvania is not aware of his achievement today.

Pursuing the Presbyterian lead, I did find a book entitled *Ministerial Directory of the Presbyterian Church, U.S. 1861-1941*, compiled by Rev. E. C. Scott and published in Austin, Texas, in 1942. Though listing a "Jonathan E. Spilman," it did not mention that he was a song writer or wrote an indelible melody. It did, however, raise some hope. It indicated that Spilman had held a pastorate at Maysville, Kentucky. I wrote to the directory's compiler, but he advised me that he wasn't able to find anything about this Spilman being the composer of the melody to "Flow Gently Sweet Afton." So did The Presbyterian Historical Society.

I mention these things in no critical sense, but only to show how completely the song writer had been lost. We no longer have to guess Spilman's name or sex. I corralled conclusive authority—his own statement, contemporary publications, his granddaughter, his obituary and his tombstone. He is a he, and he is Jonathan. By his middle name you can determine for yourself after whom he was named. In full, he is Jonathan Edwards Spilman. There is a reason why "Reverend" does not appear on the original sheet music. He was not a preacher—yet.

Space does not permit detailing the many letters written and received. The mystery was cracked and a dramatic life story obtained mainly through three sources: The First Presbyterian Church, of Maysville, Kentucky; Illinois College, at Jacksonville, Illinois; and the song writer's granddaughter, Mrs. O. C. (Jeanne) Anderson, of Xenia, Illinois. I shall not attempt to spell out the particular information supplied by each of these, but shall tell how I made these contacts, then relate the colorful Spilman life story and buttress it with the citations of authority gathered.

I wrote to the late Rev. Robert Von Thurn, pastor of the Maysville church, and was somewhat taken back by this reply:

"Some people have endless nerve in what they ask others to do for them. To collect all the data you have asked for would require several full days of work. I have no time for that. Your letter has been turned over to Miss Mary Wilson, 8 West 4th Street, Maysville. Miss Wilson is capable of doing this work for you, and a very reasonable charge, for all that, would be \$10.00. And when you write to Miss Wilson, won't you enclose an addressed and stamped envelope? Down in this country, gentlemen do that."

I never spent \$10.00 more productively or had more helpful assistance from a more delightful person than the late Miss Mary Wilson. Later, at Maysville, I met her and Mr. Von Thurn.

Another equally helpful contact came from an article I stumbled onto, written in 1909, which, though having some blatant errors, indicated that Spilman graduated from Illinois College, at Jacksonville, Illinois. I wrote to the college president, H. Gary Hudson, who supplied a wealth of material.

Much later, almost by accident, personally I was to meet Spilman's granddaughter, Jeanne Anderson, in Xenia, Illinois, who supplied valuable pictures and family records. Somehow Spilman's thrilling life has missed the main stream of history, and had to be rediscovered and recovered on the back streams of local history.

The story begins with pirates and, as suspected by Richard Hill, a change of name. The song writer's first paternal ancestor to step on America was his great grandfather, Henry Spilman. He came from England and he really wasn't a Spilman, but a Spelman. At sea, pirates murdered his father, also a Henry. Young Henry settled safely in Westmoreland County, Virginia. Due probably to his extreme youth, he started misspelling the name with an "i". Henry's son, James, lived in Culpeper County, Virginia. Among James' eight children was Benjamin Spilman, the song writer's father, who in 1790 married Nancy Rice. Immediately they plunged to Kentucky. Benjamin was just twenty-three. The song writer was born on April 15, 1812, at Greenville, seat of Muhlenberg County, Kentucky, the twelfth of their thirteen children. James Madison was president. The War of 1812 was about to start. Lincoln was three years old.

The hardships of pioneer travel from Virginia to Kentucky did not quell the restless Benjamin Spilman. About 1818, the year young Jonathan became six and Illinois was admitted to the Union, the Spilmans plunged westward again, settling in White County on the plains of Illinois. There Jonathan grew up.

In 1831 Jonathan entered Illinois College at Jacksonville, whose president was Rev. Edward Beecher, the brother of Henry Ward Beecher and Harriet Beecher Stowe. Their father, Lyman Beecher, later an eminent Cincinnati preacher and president of Cincinnati's Lane Theological Seminary, has been called the "father of more brains than any other man in America."

In time, Illinois College would count among its sons, orator William Jennings Bryan and Lincoln's law partner, William H. Herndon, but now it was so shiny new that Spilman was a member of its first graduating class (1835). He had the honor, too, of being valedictorian. Of course, the class had only two graduates, but do not underestimate the competition. Today just a handful of statues stand on the grounds of the Illinois State Capitol. One is that of Kentucky-born Abraham Lincoln. Another is that of Richard Yates, the Kentucky-born, Civil War governor of Illinois, United States senator and Spilman's classmate.

There could be only one valedictorian, but generous Jonathan Spilman eased the disappointed Yates by allowing Yates to become the first person to receive an Illinois College diploma.

Referring to the commencement, Yates later humorously said, "I am referred to as the first graduate of Illinois College. Now, for the honor of being the first graduate, I have always contended; but candor compels me to say, that it is a question which admits of some controversy. At the time I graduated I was not the only graduate and most certainly, I did not receive the first honors of the institution. The valedictory was very properly awarded to a generous and noble classmate, now an eminent barrister in the State of Kentucky. But I was not so far

behind as you might suppose, for I received next to the highest honors of the institution. I was second best. I confess, I was somewhat in the condition of the boy at school, who boasted to his mother that he was 'next to head' which was all very well till the hopeful youth was interrogated as to the number of his classmates and he had to reply 'there was only two of us.' In this way I received too the highest honors of Alma Mater, 'for there were only two of us.'"

"Well, my classmate being a liberal fellow, in consideration that he walked off with the valedictory, out of the plenteousness of his compassion and generosity, agreed that I should receive the first diploma. Having received the first diploma—a beautiful sheepskin with blue ribbons and big Latin, I made my bow to the President and Faculty, and walked off the stand the 'First Graduate.' And if I ever entertained any feeling of envy toward my friend Spilman on account of his valedictory, it has always had ample revenge in the fact that I was the 'first graduate.'"

Spilman now reversed his life plan. Twenty years later he would reverse his reversal and resume his original plan. If he had not shelved his original purpose he might never have written his immortal melody because the stray circumstance that inspired it might never have discovered him elsewhere. Spilman had entered Illinois College to prepare for the ministry. As graduation neared he wavered, doubted his call and tabled it for later consideration.

In the fall of 1836 Spilman and his classmate, Richard Yates, entered Transylvania's law school. There the warm friendship that had grown between them at Illinois College became more firmly cemented. Spilman graduated in 1837, but returned the next year for an extra course of lectures as a resident graduate. After Transylvania the paths of the two classmates separated forever except for one brief moment. Yates, though a native of Kentucky, returned to Illinois for the big role that destiny was saving for him. Spilman remained in Kentucky. They met but once again, for an hour's conversation in Springfield when Yates was Governor.

There in his native Kentucky, destiny singled out Jonathan Spilman to be one of the fortunate few who create something that will live. As the hour approached for him to write a deathless song he was young—only about twenty-five. It was a beautiful 1837 summer day. The young law student was taking advantage of it, too, as he sat in the shade of a tree on the Transylvania campus enjoying a book of Robert Burns' poems.

Musically inclined, he turned over in his mind, one by one, the tunes he knew to which various poems of Burns had been set. He came to those lines to Mary and a river. To his surprise he could think of no music to them. He must be mistaken. That just cannot be. So he read the lines over, then over, then over again. Somewhere there must be music for such words. And suddenly there was! Under the spell of immortal poetry, from some unknown somewhere, there came to Jonathan Spilman the strains of an immortal melody—strains that neither he nor anyone had ever heard—strains that fit into the company and do honor to the lines of a Robert Burns. And Jonathan Spilman, student of law who had tabled a call to the ministry, jotted them down there that day under a black locust, Transylvania campus tree.

At the house, piano in hand, he worked out the accompaniment. He did not realize what he had created. How could he? He took a copy to his sweetheart. She sang it to friends. They suggested publication. He laughed. They continued urging him. He mailed it to an Eastern publisher frankly admitting that such a thing was out of his line, but saying that if the publisher thought the song worthy he could publish it. Spilman emphasized that he took no responsibility. To

his elation he received a laudatory reply and twenty-five printed copies.

This is how it happened that, in 1838, one of the 19th Century's leading publishers, George Willig, of Philadelphia, issued a new song in sheet music by Kentucky's J. E. Spilman entitled "Flow Gently Sweet Afton":

"Flow gently sweet Afton, among thy green braes,  
Flow gently I'll sing thee a song in thy praise;  
My Mary's asleep by thy murmuring stream,  
Flow gently, sweet Afton, disturb not her dream."  
It sold many editions.

You recognize immediately that Spilman's tune is also sung to the words of another old favorite—one of the most loved Christmas songs—sometimes called "Away In a Manger" and sometimes called "Luther's Cradle Hymn":

"Away in a manger, no crib for his bed,  
The little Lord Jesus lay down his sweet head,  
The stars in the heavens look down where he lay,  
The little Lord Jesus asleep on the hay."

After Transylvania Law School, Spilman practiced law for eighteen grueling years in Kentucky—at Nicholasville from 1838 to 1849, then at Covington until 1856. He was a law partner of Judge Samuel M. Moore, later of Chicago, and of Judge John W. Menzies, later a Congressman.

Grueling years turned into crushing years when Spilman's partner entered politics saddling him with extra heavy legal loads. He broke down. Fearing permanent injury, he sold at great sacrifice. A little place in the country restored him. There he had time to reconsider the matter he had tabled more than twenty years. In 1858, he returned to work and to his original life plan—a Christian minister. He was forty-six years old. For thirty-eight years he preached—mostly in small towns—Covington, Nicholasville and Maysville in Kentucky; Canton in Mississippi; Carmi and Flora in Illinois.

There was romance and heartbreak along the way. In 1840, when almost twenty-eight, at Nicholasville he married Mary B. J. Menefee, daughter of Major John Menefee, of Jessamine County. She died three years later, three days after the birth of their only child. The baby died just nine months later. In 1845, now thirty-three, he married Eliza Sarah Taylor, daughter of Hancock Taylor, of Jefferson County, Kentucky—brother of Zachary Taylor. They had ten children.

The great heartbreak in the Rev. J. E. Spilman's life, I discovered, came when he held the pastorate at Maysville, Kentucky—an almost unbelievable story. On the night of Tuesday, August 7, 1866, tragedy stalked the Presbyterian manse as the clergyman and his wife, Eliza Taylor Spilman, retired for the last time.

The manse perched on a picturesque panorama. The Spilmans had lived there about two years. And what a scene on which to live! Nostalgic steamboating days were plowing their deepest wakes on the Ohio River. The Spilman house was a loge. The Ohio River was a stage. The hills of Ohio were a backdrop. Below, the giant actors puffed and paddled—wheeled their cues.

Tonight Eliza Spilman was particularly excited because tomorrow she would leave her spectator's seat to become an actress in the river's thrilling drama. If she could scan the script tonight she would turn back her part, for in this very theater the curtain would roll up on tragedy and she was cast as tragedienne.

Yes, taking a steamer on this shimmering Ohio-way, tomorrow she will visit down river in Covington and Louisville after first meeting her son, Charles Spilman, in Cincinnati.

The boat will be the Cincinnati-Ports-

mouth packet, the elegant, new *Bostona No. 3*, built at Jeffersonville, Indiana, and owned by David Gibson ( $\frac{1}{2}$ ), Preston Lodwick ( $\frac{1}{4}$ ), both of Cincinnati, and W. E. Z. Moore ( $\frac{1}{4}$ ), of Portsmouth. The boat's master was Cincinnati, Preston Lodwick.

This last night the family planned a unique, gala "bon voyage" for Eliza Spilman. The manse was downstream from the town wharf. They will put her on the *Bostona No. 3*, rush home, take their stations, and, as the steamer passes the manse, all will wave handkerchiefs in farewell.

The next day, Wednesday, August 8th, these plans are faithfully executed. It was twilight as the great ship pulled away from the Maysville pier and pointed toward Cincinnati. It was weighted down with passengers and freight including a few hundred gentle creatures from which ordinarily one could expect no harm—sheep. A violent storm was gathering.

As the majestic *Bostona No. 3* approached the Spilman home, the family saw Eliza at the ship's rail and she saw them. From ship to shore and from shore to ship happy handkerchiefs shouted "goodby," but now something injected itself that wasn't planned. As they waved suddenly the family became aware of a danger of which Eliza was not aware.

Something horrid had happened during the short interval between the boat's leaving dock and its arrival near the Spilman home. The night watchman had gone back to the locker underneath the ladies' cabin to fill his lamp with coal oil, and startled sheep had knocked the lamp out of his hand. Immediately the rear of the boat was wrapped in flames.

Terrified, the family suddenly realized that there, in front of her home, a mother and wife was sailing on a blazing inferno unaware of her peril.

A moment later the fire alarm shrieked. Word flashed throughout the boat. Passengers were exhorted to save themselves. Panic gripped the ship, but a steel-nerved pilot stayed at his wheel. Fortunately, not too far away, there was a sand bar near the Ohio shore, and he rammed the bow into the bar. Passengers rushed to the bow and scrambled down to the bar. Most were saved.

Attempting to escape, Eliza Spilman ran into a broken steam pipe and was severely scalded. She reached the hurricane deck and there sank, exhausted and unable to move. People came to her aid, either carrying her from the burning vessel or throwing her into the river. In a drenching rain they rowed her across the Ohio on a skiff. She hobbled up the steep hill to her home. In excruciating pain, she died two days later, Friday morning, August 10, 1866, and was buried in the Maysville Cemetery. The splendid *Bostona No. 3* was totally destroyed—loss \$160,000.

Spilman was fifty-four; Eliza, forty-four. They had been married twenty-one years. About half of their ten children were living including Charles, the oldest, who was nineteen, and Lewis Hopkins, the youngest, who was only six. One daughter, Mrs. Julia Byrd Dewey, of Palm Beach, Florida, a writer, was recognized in *Who's Who in America*. The son, Lewis Hopkins Spilman, a lawyer of Knoxville, Tennessee, was also a writer who made *Who's Who*. Spilman lived thirty more years but never remarried. What irony that he should gain fame imploring a river to be gentle! His is the drama of a man in whose life two rivers play—two that flow thousands of miles apart in different hemispheres. One that he never saw, brought immortality; the other, flowing beneath his home, death.

Up the Ohio River about 170 miles from Louisville and 65 from Cincinnati—Maysville is still one of the nation's picturesque river towns. Rising from the shore into scrouging hills that help him it between land and

water and decorated with enough colonial homes to make New England green-eyed, it is a delight. It was the home of Stanley Reed, Justice of the United States Supreme Court; and it is the birthplace both of singer Rosemary Clooney and of the late John R. Marsh, the husband of the late Margaret Mitchell who wrote the best-seller, *Civil War novel Gone With The Wind*.

Though J. E. Spilman is forgotten in Maysville today, downtown there still stands the stately First Presbyterian Church where he preached in the 1860's. Forgotten too, though once the focus of a tragedy that rocked the whole valley, there still stands on the west side of town not far from the river, the house where the Spilmans lived.

In my quest there were years of correspondence to New York, Pennsylvania, District of Columbia, Kentucky, Georgia, Mississippi, Texas, Illinois and California. I made field trips to Kentucky and Illinois. At Maysville, I beheld the manse from which helpless loved ones once saw Eliza Spilman in distress. The story unfolded in dramatic detail, and I had authority for everything—well, except for one thing.

I was hunting that last link on July 6, 1951, when Mrs. Hoover and I entered the little town of Flora in Southeastern Illinois—population 5250. Knocking on the door of the Presbyterian parsonage, I asked hospitable Rev. F. D. McMartin if he could give me some information about a Rev. J. E. Spilman who wrote "Flow Gently Sweet Afton" and who, I understood, was once the pastor of his church.

He had never heard of Spilman, but he kindly telephoned Arthur Holt, a church official who had the church's old records. Holt had never heard of Spilman either, but he invited me to go to his home where his wife would show me the records. Gracious Mrs. Holt was waiting for me. Neither had she heard, but soon we were scouring the old "Minutes of the Session of the Presbyterian Church of Flora, Clay County, Illinois." And sure enough, there in these more than a half-century old, handwritten minutes for April 2, 1893, we discovered that "Rev. Jonathan E. Spilman, D.D., was engaged to supply the Pulpit on the Sabbath days when Rev. J. F. Flint would be absent at Odin or elsewhere, which was extended after Mr. Flint's departure."

But was this "Spilman" the "Spilman" who wrote "Flow Gently Sweet Afton"? The minutes did not say. At this anxious moment we found preserved in the old minute book, a printed program of the 85th anniversary celebration of this church. I perused it and beamed. Eureka! There, in a list of the church's pastors was "J. E. Spilman"; and after mentioning that he preached there until 1895 when physical infirmities compelled him to resign, it continued: "It is with pride that we can inform you that Rev. Spilman was the composer of the music to the beloved ballad, 'Flow Gently Sweet Afton.'" Yes, this was the right man, and I was near the end of the trail in the search for that last link.

I asked Mrs. Holt if there were any residents old enough to have known Spilman. Yes, there was—a Miss Grace Hundley. Mrs. Holt telephoned her. Miss Hundley had not only known Spilman, they had been near neighbors. That called for the big question—and Mrs. Holt asked it over the telephone—was this last link located in Flora? Yes, it was; and Miss Hundley told her where it was.

By now Mrs. Holt sensed that we were in search of something of historical significance. I did not have to ask her; she volunteered to guide me to it. We drove across town, entered a beautifully landscaped terrain, started hunting—and we found it!

There, in the heart of these United States, in Elmwood Cemetery, on the edge of this little community that did not know he was there, not only lost to Flora but lost to the world, we looked upon the grave of the man



who among the world's countless billions had done something immortal—the man whose name is associated with Robert Burns and Martin Luther.

The humble shaft gave no inkling of what he had done, or that here lay buried a world figure. It simply said, "Jonathan E. Spilman, April 15, 1812. May 23, 1896. That they may rest from their labours, And their works do follow them."

Yes, the man of two rivers and two professions who attained fame with his hobby even before starting to work, died in Flora at the age of 84.

We drove to the home of Miss Hundley on the west side of Flora. She still lived in the same house at #333 W. North Ave., where she lived in the 1890's when Jonathan Spilman lived diagonally across the street and to the left at #418. There the song writer spent his last years. In 1892, at the age of eighty and while preaching at Carmi, Illinois, he was, at his request, retired from active work because of his advancing years and because he wanted to be near relatives. He moved to Flora to be close to his daughter, Clara Lee Spilman Andrews (Mrs. George W.), the mother of Jeanne Andrews Anderson.

He built the little cottage that still stood across from Miss Hundley, and became supply pastor of the Flora church. There he lived with his maiden daughter, Anna Louise, just four feet eleven inches tall, and affectionately known as "Aunt Tantie." The Andrews also lived diagonally across the street from Miss Hundley but a little to the right. So Miss Hundley's eagle eye guarded the short highway path from Jonathan Spilman's to the Andrews'.

Fifty-five years had gone since Miss Hundley had seen Jonathan Spilman on that path. It had grown from a village street to a bustling transcontinental highway. Pointing to the Spilman cottage, she said, "Just as if it were yesterday, I can see him walking up the road from his house to the Andrews'." He was tall, handsome, kindly and slightly stooped, with long white hair and beard, but he looked like an aristocrat. He died at the Andrews' house. When he became sick, the Andrews brought him to their home so they could take care of him. Fire swallowed up the Andrews' home in 1948. On its historic site the Moose had built a building.

Mrs. Holt was perplexed that Miss Hundley knew all this, and Flora did not.

Then Mrs. Holt and Miss Hundley took me to the old church building in which Jonathan Spilman had held his last pastorate. To make way for a new church building, it had been moved from its original site at the corner of Second and Locust Streets; and then stood on East Second Street. Neither sermon nor hymn had echoed therein for many years, for it had been devoted to something else—something colorful but definitely a part of the vanishing scene. Through its weather-beaten emaciation still beamed the attractive lines of an old, frame, New England meeting house. Inside all was chaos and clutter. Miss Hundley pointed out the places where once the choir sat and the pulpit stood. Here, where long ago Miss Hundley had heard the voice of Jonathan Spilman, now we heard the voices of the anvil and forge of Ray Winter's blacksmith shop.

I left Flora happy that I had found Jonathan Spilman, but puzzled that a world could lose such a man. Perhaps Illinois will make amends. Flora is on Route 50 connecting Washington, D.C., and San Francisco. Spilman's cottage is too. Just as it did for another adopted Kentucky son, Abraham Lincoln, perhaps Illinois will enshrine Jonathan Spilman's grave and home so that a neglectful world may come and pay its overdue homage.

# CONGRESSMAN JAMES A. BURKE: RECIPIENT OF THE NEWEL PERRY AWARD FOR HIS EFFORTS ON BE- HALF OF THE BLIND

## HON. EDWARD P. BOLAND

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 29, 1969

Mr. BOLAND. Mr. Speaker, Congressman JAMES A. BURKE of Massachusetts was the guest of honor of Mr. Kenneth Jernigan, the president of the National Federation of the Blind on July 3, 1969, in Columbia, S.C. At that time Congressman BURKE received the Newel Perry Award. The nature of this award can best be revealed by reading Mr. Jernigan's remarks as he presented the award to Congressman BURKE.

The remarks follow:

### NEWEL PERRY AWARD

Like the Nobel Peace Prize, the Newel Perry Award is granted only as often as distinguished accomplishment merits it. It is given to those who have made outstanding contributions toward the progress and independence of the blind. It is, therefore, a great honor and pleasure to present this award, last bestowed in 1966, to the Honorable—James A. Burke, renowned statesman and Congressman from Massachusetts.

Nationally recognized as a leader in the Democratic Party, Congressman Burke has been acclaimed by Democrats and Republicans alike as one of the ablest members of the House of Representatives. He has been elected and reelected from the Eleventh District of Massachusetts since 1958. He is a legislator of the highest caliber, guided always by principle rather than expediency, with the courage, the independence and the determination to fight for his beliefs.

We of the National Federation of the Blind have much cause to know and appreciate Congressman Burke's qualities. All Federationists have become familiar with his name as he has labored in the 91st Congress to secure enactment of our long-time supported bill to liberalize Federal disability insurance for the blind. Congressman Burke is a staunch supporter of Federation's corner stone concept: he shares with us the belief that the blind have the same right as others to band together for the purpose of striving toward economic independence and social equality. He supports our conviction that the blind themselves should chiefly determine the direction of programs designed to assist them. His support is evidenced by his vigorous efforts to transform disability insurance under the Social Security system into an insurance against the economic disadvantages of blindness inherent in a predominantly sighted society.

Tonight we of the National Federation of the Blind honor Congressman Burke for his legislative labors on our behalf, and though this labor has been great, we honor him for much more: we honor Congressman Burke for his attitude toward us and our aspirations, for his understanding of our goals and our objectives.

Congressman Burke is not like so many who wish us well, promise us much, and then promptly forget us; who profess deep sympathy for our problems, and then act with cavalier indifference toward them. He is much more than a willing but remote friend—he is a member of our crusade, a coworker who joins with us in our struggle to gain independence and dignity. He joins with us to change dreams into reality, and he asserts with us that all men, whether blind or

sighted, have the right and the need to function to their fullest capacities.

Congressman Burke, this is why we honor you tonight. We want you to know—we want all to know—that we thank you for joining with us in our cause. We thank you for the strength you have added to our movement. Above all, we thank and honor you for your understanding and recognition of our goal: the complete integration of the blind into society on equal terms with others.

Mr. BURKE joined a most distinguished list of recipients, which include:

Governor Edward Johnson of Colorado;

Donald Overbeay, superintendent of Overlook School for the Blind in Philadelphia;

Senator VANCE HARTKE of Indiana;

Kenneth Jernigan, distinguished president of the National Federation for the Blind;

Perry Sunquist, former director of works in California;

John Mungovan, director, Commission of the Blind, from my own State of Massachusetts;

Former Vice President Humphrey; and

Congressman THOMAS CURTIS of Missouri.

Mr. BURKE received this award for introducing H.R. 3782, a bill to amend title II of the Social Security Act in order to liberalize the conditions governing eligibility of blind persons to receive disability insurance payments. That night, Mr. BURKE said:

I would do all I could to secure the enactment of H.R. 3782 in the 91st Congress. My purpose has not changed. I am as zealous as ever and will prove to be unalterable in my course. Even though, H.R. 3782 has a greater number of congressmen committed to it than any other bill now pending before the House, it will need even a greater show of support if the members of the Ways and Means committee are to be convinced that they should approve H.R. 3782.

The increased amount of insurance a blind citizen would be entitled to would not be just coins tossed in a tin cup. It would extend the benefits a blind citizen could receive thus enabling him to be, in many cases, completely self-sufficient. This is an important feeling to have whether you are young or old, black or white, blind or with sight.

To be an individual, and what is more important, to feel that you are an individual, is a right inherent in every democracy. Since blind people are citizens, unfortunately afflicted with a physical defect, they deserve our assistance towards realizing their full rights. This is not a plea for pity, because they do not want pity, only recognition and help towards reaching their full potential.

The formation of the National Federation of the Blind proves the unwillingness of a great number of blind citizens to be useless people. I commend them for forming this organization. I commend them for not sitting back, but rather exerting their right of self-expression, for it is not enough to just have rights but it is the duty of every citizen to actually exert them. The members of the National Federation of the Blind have done just this.

The attitudes of the National Federation of the Blind can best be described by reading the following portion from Mr. Jernigan's article entitled "Blindness: New Insights on Old Outlooks."

# BLINDNESS: NEW INSIGHTS ON OLD OUTLOOKS (By Kenneth Jernigan)

We are accustomed, in our day, to talk and hear about revolutions: revolutions past and revolutions present; revolutions violent and revolutions nonviolent; revolutions political, economic, technological, racial, social, cultural, and generational. They are of many varieties, these revolutions; but they have at least one thing in common—namely, their historical reality. Either they happened in the past, or they have happened in our own time.

I wish to speak to you, however, about a revolution that has just begun to happen—a revolution of the future as well as of the present. This revolution is one that should have run its course already; and it is one that will, irresistibly, come to fruition and make good its promise in the years ahead. Moreover, it is a revolution which I intend to stir, foment, and agitate; and I hope to solicit your active support in fanning the flames. In fact, if we can get enough people to join us on the barricades, we will not only have set the revolution on its course, but we will have won it.

For the revolution that has just begun to happen is a revolution in the public mind—in the minds of us all—a revolution in our attitudes and assumptions, our deepest premises and prejudices, concerning blindness. It is a revolution to replace old outlooks with new insights.

In a world of many revolutions—of constant novelty and change, of experiment and originality, of new thoughts and fresh ideas—in such a world it is astonishing that we can still be ruled, in any sphere, by superstitions that date to the caveman and images more appropriate to the ice age than the space age. Yet that is still in simple fact the state of our thinking (and, therefore, of our teaching, planning, and programming) about the blind.

This is not to say that there has been no progress. On the contrary, the revolution is well begun; it is on the right track; and it is steadily gathering force and gaining ground. Ever since the National Federation of the Blind came on the scene a generation ago, bringing with it the nerve of independence and the shock of recognition, there has been a shaking of the foundations throughout the field of work with the blind—and in the world beyond. But in view of the immensity of the task before us—even in its preliminary phase of ground-breaking, mind-clearing, and institutional renewal—it is clear that the revolution has barely been launched. To paraphrase Winston Churchill, it is not yet the beginning of the end; it is not even the end of the beginning; but it is the beginning of the beginning. Our revolution is under way. It cannot now be stopped or pacified until it has achieved its goal of overthrowing the graven image which looms as a stumbling block in the path of the blind—that image of their nature and limitations which is graven in stone upon the public mind, stamped upon the yellowing pages of the statute books, and nestled in the dusty corners of custodial institutions.

What then are the outlines and features of this graven image? First, it is an image of *helplessness*—not just of visual disability but of total inability. Second, it is an image of *abnormality*—not just loss of sight but loss of mental and emotional stability. (The blind man, in short, is thought to be not just affected in the eyes but touched in the head.) Third, it is a *"broken image"*—an image of impairment, of imbalance, and disharmony rather than of wholeness and symmetry—an image that calls attention to what is missing rather than what is present, to lacks and losses rather than strengths and talents. Helplessness, abnormality, incompleteness: these are the essential ingredients of a bitter and explosive brew—thoroughly aged and definitely sour—which flows like

bile through the veins and capillaries of the body politic.

And what does all of this mean? What is the significance of these acts and attitudes on the part of government officials and workers with the blind? It is not merely that these several isolated incidents occurred. It is not even that they are symptomatic of a broader pattern of thought and deed, and therefore not isolated at all. It is rather that they bespeak the dominant theme of public and official opinion which everywhere characterizes the image of blindness.

That is the dark and threatening significance of the events which I have laid before you. But such events as these, however common, however destructive, no longer stand alone. Of still greater significance is the positive fact that we have come to recognize these sordid myths and misconceptions for the lies which they are; that we have organized; that we have mobilized ourselves into a powerful movement to change the total landscape of the country of the blind; that we have not only won friends and influenced people in our cause but have won battles and influenced the course of public policy.

It is significant, too, that more and more professionals in the field of work with the blind—in the private agencies, in government, in the foundations and universities—are receiving our message and rallying to our cause. It is significant that more and more blind persons are employed, in better and better careers. It is significant, most of all, that despite the heritage of old outlooks, despite the deep hold of the graven image upon their minds, the general public is beginning to show itself ready to listen to learn, and to understand.

The challenge is ours, and the time is now. Our revolution will not wait, and it will succeed—but only if we take the lead and take the risks. It is for us to persuade, to participate, to persevere—and to prevail—and prevail we will!

The words of Abraham Lincoln, spoken a hundred years ago, are no less applicable to us today: "We cannot escape history. No personal significance or insignificance will spare one or another of us. This fiery trial through which we pass will light us down in honor or dishonor to the last generation. We, even we here, hold the power and bear the responsibility."

The time is now, and the challenge is real. I ask you, with all that the question implies: will you join me on the barricades?

Mr. Speaker, their revolution started on a national level in 1940 when Jacobus Tenbroek, with the help of Dr. Newel Perry and Perry Sunquist, formed the National Federation of the Blind. The prototype of this organization was the California Council of the Blind, which Perry and Sunquist started in 1934. Here is a section from a letter written by Newel Perry on May 29, 1946, explaining why a national organization for the blind should be formed:

## NEWEL PERRY LETTER

A conviction almost universally entertained by the blind to the effect that they are frequently unjustly treated by the Social Workers is allowed to go unexpressed, due to fear. Membership in an organization of the blind, for the blind, and by the blind, will help to remove this fear, and frank and bold criticism would reach the ears of legislators and would help greatly by enabling your Congressman and the members of your legislature to understand your needs. Be assured these men do not now understand your problem. However, much of your dissatisfaction now vented on your social workers—is misdirected. For example, your bitterness over the fact that your meager earnings are taken away from you through reductions in your

aid, is not to be blamed on your social worker. On the contrary, the fault rests with your Congressmen. Congress has forbidden the State authorities to permit you to retain any of your earnings. To whom, then, shall we address our complaints? The answer is clear. We must complain to our Congressmen in Washington. Through what vehicle, then, shall I communicate my wants and my criticism to the Congressmen in Washington? The answer is not a State organization, of the blind. Remember, Congress legislates—not for a particular State—but for all the States. If, therefore, we wish to petition Congress, we must look to Washington for relief, it follows that we must communicate with these Federal legislators through a nationwide organization which speaks, not for the blind of a particular State only—but for the combined blind of the whole country.

We have every reason to be very proud of the achievements of the N.F. of B. Practically every Congressman has already become aware of our national organization and regards it with respect. We must not return to our follies of former years. We must not make the mistake of sending forty-eight separate groups to explain our needs to Congress. Such a procedure would inevitably result only in giving Congress the impression that the blind do not know what they want, and as a natural consequence it would decline to take any immediate action.

To impress Congress, we must send to Washington our most able and best trained representatives. Fortunately, under the energetic administration of our President, we have done just that. Our campaign in Washington has been intensive and carried on by men who possess ability, industry, zeal, and understanding of the present needs of the blind. Let us continue to present a united front in Washington.

Kindly convey my greetings to your State Convention, particularly to the pleasant persons I met at Des Moines and other gatherings. I hope it will be my good luck to meet both you and them in St. Louis.

Cordially yours,

DR. NEWEL PERRY,  
President, California Council for the Blind.

In conclusion, Mr. Speaker, we must never become so involved with the many that we forget the few. We represent all the people which infers that we are responsible for all their needs. Let us not forget these few who need our help.

## POLISH-AMERICAN ADDRESS

### HON. ROMAN C. PUCINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 29, 1969

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, last weekend the Polish-American Congress held its 25th anniversary banquet here in Washington. The energetic and highly respected president of the Polish National Alliance, who also serves as president of the PAC, delivered the following address which I place in the RECORD today. Mr. Mazewski today speaks for more than 15 million Americans of Polish descent. His inspiring address follows:

AN ADDRESS OF ALOYSIUS A. MAZEWSKI, PRESIDENT OF THE POLISH-AMERICAN CONGRESS, DELIVERED AT THE ORGANIZATION'S 25TH ANNIVERSARY BANQUET AT THE SHOREHAM HOTEL, WASHINGTON, D.C., ON SATURDAY EVENING, JULY 26, 1969

Twenty five years ago, Americans of Polish origin were deeply disturbed by the events



that were unfolding in the diplomatic area of history.

World War Two was drawing to a close. They had a vitally important stake in its outcome both as American patriots and as an ethnic entity, conscious of spiritual, cultural and historic ties with its ancestral home—Poland.

They were concerned with saving Eastern Europe for Europeans—for Poles, Czechs, Slovaks, Hungarians, Rumanians, the Baltic peoples, and with restoring to them their right to full freedom and independence.

They rightfully appraised Poland as the keystone to East and Central European peace and stability, and, consequently, a vital factor in American security.

Because these historically proven concepts were endangered, and the fruits of victory gained with considerable contributions of these peoples were being dissipated, the Polish American Congress came into being on June 1, 1944 in Buffalo.

Among its founders were religious dignitaries of such stature as the late Bishop Stanislaus Bona, the late Bishop Leon Grochowski, a host of Monsignores and priests. Lay leadership of Polonia was represented by Charles Rozmarek, Honorata Wolowska, John Olejniczak, Ignatius Nurkiewicz, Valentine Poranski, Zygmunt Stefanowicz and 2,000 delegates representing Polonia from 32 states.

Although the question of a free and independent Poland had been the rallying cry for this Convocation in Buffalo, the founders of the Polish American Congress fully realized that the time had arrived for redefinition and renovation of the sociological, cultural, economic and political structure of ten million Americans of Polish ancestry.

They were giving the full measure of devotion and sacrifices to America's war effort. Approximately one million of their sons and daughters served in the United States Armed Forces, according to statistics published in 1941 in Washington. And they claimed their right to express their opinion, advice and criticism in the crucial area of post-war settlements.

Thus, at the very inception of the Polish American Congress, two objectives were merged:—that of true Americanism as it is demonstrated in our pluralist society; and that of an ethnic group whose more intimate knowledge of East European history moved it to the forefront in the struggle against communist conspiracy and Soviet imperialism.

War-time and post-war exigencies took a turn different from that advocated by the Polish American Congress, and the problems that were not resolved with foresight and boldness in 1945, are still with us today.

The sudden and foreboding glare of the Atomic Age, and the awe-inspiring attainments of the Space Age which we had witnessed last Sunday, did not and will not alleviate the fundamental needs and longings of people subjugated against their will, to Soviet imperialism and communist tyranny. The struggle for their freedom and independence—in justice, security and economic well-being goes on, not on battlefields, but in the area of ideology.

Thus, at this solemn occasion, when we pay tribute to founders and first leaders and activists of the Polish American Congress, we re-dedicate to these principles which we hold to be of primary importance:

We shall continue in our efforts to help the Polish people regain their freedom and independence, in a state secured within the boundary of the Odra Nysa Rivers in the West and the Riga Treaty line in the East;

We shall continue to support economic assistance from the United States to the

Polish nation, based principally on the most favored status in trade, and meaningful extension of cultural exchanges between the American and the Polish people;

We shall support the psychological resistance of the Polish nation against communism and Soviet aggrandizement by all means available within the context of America's enlightened self-interest.

For ten million Americans of Polish ancestry, we pledge concerted, carefully planned activities to help them attain well deserved positions of responsibility and influence in education, in cultural activities, in economics and politics:

We pledge to our younger generations more opportunities for higher education;

We pledge continued researching of Polish American history in order to correct the faults of omission in the past and to present to our young generations a true picture of the contribution of our forebears to the growth, development and defense of the United States;

And we pledge to implement the wide spectrum of proposals, purposes and objectives presented recently to the Polish American Congress by a convocation of American intellectuals of Polish origin, held at Alliance College in Cambridge Springs, Pa., firmly believing that the appraisals and projections for Polonia's future, submitted by men of bold vision and high academic stature, offers splendid opportunities for our ethnic group in the mainstream of American life.

I would be lacking in candor, however, if, at this moment, I did not touch upon the current political realities and their abrasive effect on a considerable number of Americans of Polish origin.

We have men and women eminently successful in all walks of American life; people experienced in serving the public; people occupying positions of trust and responsibility.

However, we have not yet received proper recognition in politics on all levels—municipal, state, and especially federal.

This lack of recognition is glaringly apparent nowadays.

I do not wish to put blame for this state of affairs on any one. Certainly not on President Nixon.

I feel, though, that the time has come to remind the young and often brash White House functionaries, that ours is a pluralist society, deriving its strength and unity from the rich and diversified mosaic of ethnic backgrounds that contributed so much to richness, stamina and beauty of the American Way of Life.

Neglecting them or slighting them through political inexperience or whimsy, could in time, result in the corrosion of the political cohesiveness of our land.

In this area of Polonia's perspectives, we feel hurt, slighted and angered. These emotions could have far reaching consequences in many sectors of our national politics.

In conclusion I wish to state, that with this anniversary banquet we close one era of Polish American history.

The torch of idealism, of the love of freedom, of national and international justice, peace and security has been passed into the hands of another generation.

We revere the past, its attainments and its leaders.

And from this vantage point of history, we scan horizons searching for the promise and fulfillment of a better future of American Polonia.

We know the measure of efforts and sacrifices that are required of us. We are ready for them, inspired by the past achievements and goals of the Polish American Congress.

Indeed, it has been rightly stated in ancient Greece—that the Past is a Prologue.

## FOREIGN AID

### HON. SILVIO O. CONTE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 29, 1969

Mr. CONTE. Mr. Speaker, I have worked closely with the subject of foreign aid during my 11 years on the Foreign Operations Subcommittee of the House Appropriations Committee. During that time, foreign aid has come under attack from all sides.

I have on numerous occasions expressed my support for the basic concept of foreign aid. However, I have never maintained, nor do I intend to now, that the foreign aid program is perfect. The fact of the matter is that it is not perfect, and this has resulted in a lot of constructive criticism. Unfortunately, it has also given fuel to those who oppose the entire concept of foreign aid.

I was very interested to read an article in the Washington Post on July 27, 1969, to the effect that foreign aid has strong support throughout the country. The most surprising finding in the poll, referred to in the Post article and conducted by the University of Michigan, is that there is support for aid even though a majority of those interviewed had a highly exaggerated idea of its cost.

Because of the importance of the subject and the effect that this poll may have upon it, I include the article in the RECORD at this time:

#### FOREIGN AID SCORES IN NEW POLL

(By Carroll Kilpatrick)

With foreign aid programs extremely unpopular in Congress, a new opinion poll shows wide public support for this country's foreign assistance efforts.

A study by the Institute for Social Research of the University of Michigan shows not only strong support for aid but an overwhelming opposition to a go-it-alone foreign policy.

Perhaps the most surprising finding is that there is support for aid even though a majority of those interviewed had a highly exaggerated idea of its cost.

About half of those interviewed guessed that foreign aid spending amounted to between 15 and 40 per cent of the Federal budget. Some thought it cost even more.

Only 3 per cent said that it was about 2 per cent of the Federal budget, which it is, exclusive of Vietnam military aid costs.

Even with this exaggerated notion of the cost (and interviewees were not told what the correct figure was), 46 per cent said they supported the aid programs, 32 per cent said no and 22 per cent expressed varying degrees of support and opposition.

The strongest support was found in the Northeast (49 per cent) and the weakest support was found in the West (40 per cent). College-educated persons favored aid by 58 per cent to 18 per cent, with 24 per cent expressing reservations.

Democrats generally support aid programs more vigorously than Republicans. Among those interviewed who considered themselves strong Democrats, 52 per cent said the United States should continue to give aid to other countries. Among those who considered themselves strong Republicans, 42 per cent favored the aid programs.

On the question of whether the United States would be better off to stay at home and not concern itself with the problems of other parts of the world, 76 per cent said no. Only 24 per cent approved the proposition that we should not concern ourselves with the rest of the world.

Among those with a college education, the opposition to an isolationist role was 88 per cent. Of those with a grade-school education, the opposition was 60 per cent.

These figures would indicate stronger support for President Nixon's controversial speech last month at the Air Force Academy in which he attacked the new isolationists than the outcry from some members of Congress would suggest.

The figures also would indicate much stronger support for aid than the critics in Congress would have anyone believe.

## NOISOME NOISES

### HON. DON EDWARDS

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 29, 1969

Mr. EDWARDS of California. Mr. Speaker, I wonder if any other Members of Congress woke up today with a headache, at least with a headache not caused by the pleasures of the night before.

I may have picked the most inappropriate place in the universe to make my complaint, but and briefly, I would like to suggest that we need a program to abate noise, to eliminate noise pollution. And for those who are annoyed by the noises that sometimes rise from this floor, tone, content, or lack of content, let me remind the Members, and the public, that there are many more noisome noises than the voice of Congress. At least I hope so.

On my way to work this morning I heard one. It practically lifted me out of the seat of my car as one of those jets headed for National Airport. But I cannot claim that my experience was unique. I would have faced the same noise, only worse, if I had been driving down Highway 17 in San Jose across from the Municipal Airport. Those jets fly so low California highway patrolmen have threatened to cite them for speeding and failure to obey the muffler laws.

We also are graced by the sound of concrete mixers, autos, trucks, motorcycles, jackhammers, telephone, people, machines, televisions, rock music, transistor radios, and political candidates of the opposition party. For a change I would like to hear a bird sing, quietly, without interruption and to completion. It does not seem possible that such simple sounds will be heard by any of us much longer. We are building new jets to make more noise, including such happy bangs as sonic booms. As a result we will, I fear, soon have new business, akin to the hearing aid business, but providing the opposite in services.

The public is not altogether pleased by this kind of noisy progress. Again to be parochial, some of the residents of my district in California have sounded off—excuse the phrase, please—against a proposed new airport backing up to their homes. I sympathize. I do not even like

National Airport from my sounding board on Capitol Hill.

In the interest of noise abatement I will end my remarks here and merely ask that an article by Donald F. Anthrop, "Environmental Noise Pollution: A New Threat to Sanity," published in *Science and Public Affairs* in May of 1969 be reprinted in the *RECORD*. I recommend it to my fellow Members of Congress for a few moments of quiet reading, hopefully followed by silent contemplation and action.

The article follows:

#### ENVIRONMENTAL NOISE POLLUTION: A NEW THREAT TO SANITY

(By Donald F. Anthrop)

(NOTE.—Standards developed by the U.S. Air Force (the largest employer in the country with a very noisy environment) have led to a recommendation that ear "defenders" be worn if the noise levels exceed 85 decibels. What is not generally recognized is that the level of "ordinary" noise in a community frequently exceeds the 85 decibel level—which has been found injurious in industry. And the end is not even in sight. Just over aviation's horizon is the supersonic transport airplane and its sonic boom. Dr. Anthrop is a research chemist at Lawrence Radiation Laboratory, Berkeley, California. He is a conservationist, and is doing research in noise abatement.)

The sources of noise today seem almost limitless. From the kitchen in the modern home comes a cacophony that would require ear defenders in industry to prevent hearing loss. In a series of measurements made in one kitchen, a dishwasher raised the noise level in the center of the kitchen from 56 to 85 decibels, while the garbage disposal raised it to more than 90 decibels. A food blender produces about 93 decibels. Power lawn mowers and leaf rakers, outside air conditioners, and power tools such as saws contribute to the noise in the home. But for most Americans, construction and transportation sources, particularly trucks, motorcycles, sports cars, private airplanes and helicopters as well as commercial jets and military aircraft, are the most serious offenders.

#### CONSTRUCTION NOISE

Particularly in large cities, construction noise is a very substantial and seemingly continuous nuisance. This noise can be substantially reduced with existing technology and without great cost. In December 1967, Citizens for a Quieter City in New York demonstrated a muffled air compressor developed in Great Britain and used there for the past five years which reduced the noise level from 86 to 79 decibels at a distance of 25 feet. The compressor is enclosed in a plastic housing lined with foam plastic. This organization also demonstrated a muffled jack hammer which produced significantly fewer decibels. Tests at the British Building Research Station have shown that jack hammer noise can be muffled considerably without any great impairment of performance. Many European cities are already using muffled jack hammers and air compressors equipped with sound attenuating devices. Some of the techniques that can be employed were illustrated by the Diesel Construction Company in the construction of a 52-story office building in lower Manhattan. Foundation blasting was muffled with special steel wire mesh blankets, demolition was done during late hours and weekends when few people were in the area, and steel beams were welded rather than riveted together.

#### MOTOR VEHICLE NOISE

Transportation constitutes the principal source of noise in most American cities. There are now 81 million privately-owned

passenger cars in the United States compared with 25.5 million at the end of World War II. Each year seven million of these wear out or are junked, but in the past few years an average of 10 million new ones have been produced or imported each year. Thus, the number of automobiles is increasing at the rate of nearly four per cent a year. As if 81 million automobiles didn't create enough congestion and noise, there are also 2.4 million motorcycles and 16.6 million trucks.

Motor vehicle noise has been primarily an urban problem. In a recent study of noise in Boston schools, a mean reading of 78 decibels was recorded in a school playground in downtown Boston. In Wellesley, a suburb of Boston, the noise level in the school playground was only 58. Thus, children in the city school were exposed to a noise intensity 100 times greater than the suburban Wellesley children. But the rapid increase in the number of motor vehicles, the production of larger and noisier trucks, the construction of the interstate highway system, and the exodus of people from city to suburb has increasingly brought noise pollution to suburban areas and the countryside.

One of the most comprehensive noise surveys ever made was the London survey in 1961. Noise measurements were made at 540 locations in central London, and 1,400 residents at those locations were interviewed. At 84 per cent of the points traffic noise predominated. About one-third of the people specifically mentioned motor vehicle noise as a major irritant. Furthermore, traffic noise appeared to be as important an annoyance as all other noises together.

A number of surveys have established beyond doubt that the noise problem near high-speed highways arises principally from trucks, motorcycles, and sport cars. In 1964 the California Highway Patrol conducted a series of tests along California highways in which noise levels of 25,351 passenger cars, 4,656 gasoline trucks, and 5,838 diesel trucks were measured. Noise levels of the passenger cars, measured 50 feet from the road, varied between 65 and 86 decibels with the average falling at about 76. On the other hand, noise levels for diesel trucks ranged from 68 to 99 decibels with the average at about 87.

#### ANTI-NOISE LAWS

The results of these various surveys demonstrate quite clearly that in order to achieve quieter living conditions, cities must reduce motor vehicle noise. Yet governments at all levels have thus far failed to achieve any meaningful reductions. In 1965 the State of New York enacted a law limiting the noise a motor vehicle can produce at a distance of 50 feet to 88 decibels while traveling 35 miles per hour. In 1967 California enacted legislation which sets a limit of 92 decibels for motorcycles and trucks of three tons gross or more, traveling at speeds above 35 miles per hour. All other motor vehicles are limited to 86 decibels. That these limits are much too high is suggested by the fact that in 1961 California hired an acoustical consulting firm to make a survey of motor vehicle noise and to recommend limits consistent with existing technology and currently available noise measuring techniques. The firm recommended maximum limits of 87 decibels for trucks and motorcycles and 77 for other motor vehicles.

Even these lower limits were deemed to be easily attainable with existing technology. Furthermore, no valid argument has been advanced to justify higher noise limits for motorcycles than for passenger cars. There is no reason why a 50-horsepower motorcycle should be allowed to make as much noise as four 300-horsepower Cadillacs. Yet the new California noise law permits precisely this situation. Worse yet, the law is not being enforced, particularly with respect to motorcycles, which have become a real threat to sanity in city and back-country alike.



A substantial fraction of the motorcycles being operated in California today have altered mufflers or no mufflers at all, and many bear no registration plates. All such motorcycles are being operated in violation of the state motor vehicle code irrespective of any noise laws. The unwillingness of some local governments to use the tools already at their disposal to achieve quieter communities is a hindrance to the enactment of more effective noise control legislation.

The future of our cities depends in no small measure on how successful we are in reducing traffic noise and congestion. Three approaches are open to us: (1) reduce the noise of the source; (2) eliminate the source through the use of quiet, underground mass transit systems; (3) reduce the noise near freeways by depressing the roadway or constructing a sound barrier along the right-of-way.

While highway design features can greatly reduce the noise nuisance in communities near freeways, motor vehicle noise in our existing cities can only be reduced by quieting or eliminating the source. The origins of noise in motor vehicles are primarily direct radiation from the exhaust, inlet, engine, transmission and tires, and complex vibrations of the outer surfaces of the vehicle. The exhaust is the predominant source of noise in an unsilenced internal combustion engine. It has been demonstrated that complete silencing of the exhaust of a 10-ton diesel truck by means of a series of large mufflers reduces the noise 10 to 15 decibels in the low frequency range. Silencing of the engine inlet produces a smaller noise reduction but over a wider frequency range.

Control of noise produced by the engine structure is somewhat more difficult. One approach has been to build an acoustically-lined enclosure around the engine. In any case, the noise level of nearly all motor vehicles could be reduced by 10 to 15 decibels in the near future at small cost.

Finally, substitution of electrically or steam-powered vehicles for the internal combustion engine would not only result in a major reduction of urban air pollution, but would enormously reduce traffic noise. The brightest hope for the future clearly lies in such vehicles coupled with underground systems for the movement of goods.

#### AIRCRAFT NOISE

Since there are now nearly 1,200 jet airliners, about an equal number of piston aircraft, and more than 100,000 private airplanes in service in the United States, the aircraft noise problem has become very widespread. Today millions of Americans are affected by this aural assault: Congressmen Benjamin Rosenthal and Herbert Tenzer whose Long Island communities lie under the flight paths for La Guardia and Kennedy have warned that the mood of their constituents has become one of desperation, not just unhappiness.

The courts have held that insofar as the operation of aircraft is concerned, the federal government has preempted the field. A 1963 ordinance of Hempstead, Long Island which regulated the altitude and flight path of aircraft while over the city was ruled invalid in a 1967 court suit. Ordinances such as the recent one passed by the city of Santa Barbara banning supersonic flights over the city also would probably be declared invalid in a court test.

Noise levels in some communities near our major airports have become so intolerable that many residents cannot continue to live in those communities. Lawsuits totalling \$200 million are pending in the courts. A few people have been awarded damages where it was shown that property values had declined or where some directly measurable economic penalty had been incurred. But generally, the private citizen has been able to get little compensation for the abuse he has suffered. Recently the airport operators, who consider the reduction of aircraft noise to be primarily

the responsibility of the manufacturers, charged the airlines and manufacturers with smokescreen tactics on the noise abatement problem and withdrew from the industry-wide National Aircraft Noise Abatement Council.

One does not have to be directly under the flight path of a large jet on take-off in order to receive an ear-splitting roar. When a 707-320B jet is four miles from the point of brake release at the end of the runway it has attained an altitude of about 800 feet and the noise level on the ground one-half mile on either side of the flight path is approximately 85 decibels.

#### FEDERAL EFFORTS

Federal officials should not be surprised by the magnitude of the present problem. In 1952 President Truman received a report, "The Airport and Its Neighbors," from his Airport Commission. The Commission said greater consideration should have been given residents living in an area when airports were first built and that civil and military officials should make much greater efforts to reduce take-off noise over residential areas.

But federal officials are just now beginning to do something about the problem. In August 1968, President Johnson signed into law a measure requiring the Federal Aviation Administration to undertake control and abatement of aircraft noise. The FAA was not particularly eager to have this responsibility, for the law appears to make the FAA liable for damage suits arising from aircraft noise.

The FAA has initiated noise control procedures at some airports, but until quieter engines are built, there is not a great deal it can do with regard to jet transport noise. The noise control procedures that have been implemented are directed almost solely at reducing the noise level in communities lying directly under the flight path while the plane is at low altitude. While reductions have been achieved in such communities, the result has often been to spread the noise around to other communities. This is precisely what has occurred at the Washington, D.C. National Airport where the FAA requires departing aircraft to climb as quickly as possible to 1,500 feet and then cut back the power and follow the Potomac River northward. Flights over the White House, the Capitol, the Washington Monument, and the U.S. Naval Observatory are prohibited. But since Washington National Airport is just across the Potomac River from the Lincoln Memorial, central Washington is still bombarded by the constant roar of jets, and communities such as Georgetown are now directly under the flight path. Why should residents of Georgetown be subjected to the noise while congressmen on Capitol Hill are protected from the din? If the congressional office buildings rather than residential communities were under the flight path, Congress would long ago have taken steps to end the nuisance.

The solution to the aircraft noise problem in the District of Columbia is to close Washington National Airport. Few people presently use Dulles because it is so far from the city, but it would be much more attractive if a rapid transit system connected the airport with downtown Washington. Furthermore, a substantial percentage of the traffic at Washington National Airport consists of Washington-New York and Washington-Boston commuter service. If high-speed rail service were available between these points this traffic could be almost eliminated.

#### GETTING AT THE SOURCE

While flight procedures can bring relief to some communities, the only solution to the aircraft noise problem lies in quieting or eliminating the source. NASA is financing research and development to develop a new "quiet engine." Preliminary tests indicate the

new quiet engine will reduce take-off noise by 15 decibels. In static test with a Pratt and Whitney J-57 engine, Boeing claims to have obtained a noise reduction of nearly 40 decibels by use of acoustical linings in the engine. There are reports that the proposed European Airbus will use advanced engines which will produce a 75 decibel noise level on take-off. For comparison, the Boeing 707-320B in normal operation (that is, in the absence of FAA noise control procedures) produces about 107 decibels on take-off. Clearly, then, the manufacturers can build quieter aircraft if they are forced to do so. When can we expect some relief? Manufacturers say the giant Boeing 747, scheduled for late 1969, is already in production and cannot be fitted with new engines even if they were available. The 747 is expected to produce a 100 decibel noise level on take-off. The airlines argue that to retro-fit existing turbojets with the new quiet engine would cost \$6 million per plane and that they cannot afford it. Thus, if the present trend continues, we cannot expect any relief before the late 1970s. But by that time any noise reduction will be partly offset by the doubling of air traffic expected between now and 1975. The fact is that the present exasperating noise problem exists because the aircraft manufacturers and the airlines have operated on the basis of their own short-range economic interests and have failed to devote the efforts and resources needed to solve it.

If the already grave situation is not to become worse, some bold steps will have to be taken:

1. The federal government should provide a greatly increased funding level for quiet engine research so that take-off noise will be reduced by 40, not 20 decibels.

2. Whenever a substantially quieter engine is developed, the FAA should require existing aircraft to be retro-fitted with the new engine. If the airlines cannot afford the cost without increasing fares, then fares should be increased. The small percentage of the population that uses the airlines should be required to assume part of the burden for providing a livable environment for the millions of people who suffer from the noise but derive no economic benefit from it.

3. Particularly in densely populated areas such as the Northeast Corridor, the Chicago-Pittsburgh region, and the San Diego-San Francisco corridor, high-speed rail transportation could substantially reduce air traffic.

4. Future airports should be planned according to the principles used at Dulles International Airport and the new one now being planned for Dallas where 18,000 acres are being purchased to prevent encroachment of residential dwellings.

5. New airports should be located 20 or 30 miles from the metropolitan area, as Dulles International Airport is, and serviced by high-speed surface transportation.

#### FAA AUTHORITY

When Congress passed the Aircraft Noise Abatement Act, the FAA was clearly given authority to regulate noise from private planes. Yet the FAA has so far done nothing about this growing menace and has indicated little interest in doing anything. The light planes of today are more powerful and far noisier than they were a decade ago. Worse, there are a lot more of them. One can reasonably ask why a single businessman in an executive plane should be allowed to create a noise nuisance that irritates literally thousands of people in the communities along his flight path? Furthermore, noise from private planes is becoming a frequent intruder into the solitude of national parks and wilderness areas.

The present noise levels produced by light aircraft are quite unnecessary. The FAA should prohibit private planes from flying below 8,000 feet over populated areas and should require that all private planes be

equipped with mufflers and acoustical materials to reduce engine noise.

While a feeble first step has been taken to reduce the noise produced by civilian aircraft, the deafening roar of military planes continues unabated, for the FAA does not have jurisdiction over military planes or flight operations. The Department of Defense has made no effort to develop quieter jet aircraft, claiming that it cannot afford the weight penalty that quieter engines would impose. Instead of making a serious effort to reduce noise levels in communities near military installations, Defense has embarked upon a public relations campaign to convince the American public that they should not only tolerate but welcome this assault on their eardrums because the military establishment is defending them. This country's military brass seems quite willing to destroy our environment in the name of defending it.

A case in point is the Alameda Naval Air Station which lies adjacent to the city of Oakland, California in the very heart of a metropolitan area. Over 1.75 million people live within 12 miles of the runway. Berkeley and Oakland residents frequently find themselves rudely awakened early Sunday morning by jets streaking over the East Bay hills with afterburners blazing. If an aroused public demands the closure of some of these poorly situated installations, perhaps the Defense Department will be motivated to develop quieter aircraft.

#### SONIC BOOM AND THE SST

The worst is yet to come when—and if—Boeing's supersonic transport (SST), built with federal financing, goes into service in the 1970's. Whenever a plane flies faster than the speed of sound (about 344 meters per second) it generates shock waves which trail out behind the plane on both sides of its path. When these shock waves intercept the earth, they produce the thunderclap we call "sonic boom." Typically the boom is felt along a belt that extends 40 miles on each side of the plane's flight path. The severity of the boom depends on the plane's size and altitude, but there is no known way to eliminate the boom itself. There exists a common misconception that this sonic boom is produced only once when the plane first exceeds the speed of sound. In fact, it is produced continuously along the plane's path while it is in supersonic flight.

The whole SST program places in serious question the commitment of the FAA, the Department of Transportation and Congress to noise reduction. Thus far, Congress has appropriated \$653 million for SST. Worse yet, on July 11, 1968 the Senate defeated an amendment to the Aircraft Noise Abatement Act which would have prohibited the SST from flying at supersonic speeds across continental America. The proponents of SST in Congress argued that prohibition of overland flights was unnecessary because the FAA probably would not permit such flights anyway. But the very fact that Congress was unwilling to legislate against sonic boom indicates overland flights by the SST are anticipated. And since the FAA is the agency responsible for the direction and funding of the entire SST development program, asking it to regulate sonic boom is like putting the fox in the chicken coop. The attitude of the Department of Transportation on the sonic boom issue is illustrated in a statement made by Major General Jewell C. Maxwell, the chief of the SST program: "We believe that people in time will come to accept the sonic boom as they have the rather unpleasant side effects which have accompanied other advances in transportation."

This is a myth which so far has survived scientific evidence to the contrary. Aircraft noise studies have shown that people become

more intolerant of jet aircraft as the number of fly-overs or the duration of each fly-over is increased.

In order to assess public acceptance of sonic boom, the FAA conducted tests in Oklahoma City in 1964. During a six month period, 1,253 supersonic flights were made over the city. Oklahoma City was one of the most favorable locations the FAA could have chosen to get public acceptance of sonic boom since nearly one-third of the city's residents depend on the aviation industry for their living. Furthermore, no sonic booms were made at night—the really critical test. Yet 27 per cent of the people said they could never learn to live with the sonic boom and over 4,900 residents filed damage claims against the FAA. Most people found the booms more irritating at the end of the tests than at the beginning.

Operation of the SST over continental United States would not only shatter the solitude of nearly every park and wilderness area in the country, but could do extensive damage to some of these places as well. Between August 11 and December 22, 1966 some 83 sonic booms, several of which caused extensive damage, were recorded in Canyon de Chelly National Monument, Arizona. One of these booms loosened an estimated 80 tons of rock which fell on ancient Indian cliff dwellings and caused irreparable damage. Damage has also been reported in Bryce Canyon National Park, Utah.

Canada has already banned the operation of supersonic aircraft over its provinces. Both Switzerland and West Germany have indicated they will prohibit supersonic flights within their borders if their citizens complain.

#### BOONDOGGLE PROGRAM

The whole SST program is an economic boondoggle, the prime beneficiary of which is the aircraft manufacturing industry. The FAA has committed \$1.3 billion or about 83 per cent of the estimated development cost and Congress has already appropriated half this amount. But low cost estimates and delays in the program now indicate the cost to the federal government will be at least \$3.5 billion before the first plane is sold. The FAA talks glowingly of estimated sales between \$20 and \$48 billion, but not long ago the Institute of Defense Analysis issued a report which indicated that if supersonic travel were restricted to overwater flights, there would be a market for only 279 planes and the whole project would become an economic disaster.

Even if the SST is initially operated at supersonic speeds only on overwater flights, mounting economic pressures to expand the market for the plane will almost certainly result in overland routes across the United States. Former Transportation Secretary Alan Boyd has said: "I think it will be entirely possible to operate a route over the Plains area and possibly across the Canadian border without discomfort or inconvenience to people on the ground."

The operation of such a route would reduce the flying time between Chicago and San Francisco only about 30 minutes. If supersonic flight on overland routes is not restricted, 150 SST's may be in domestic operation by 1990. Must 50 million people be subjected to perhaps 30 booms a day so that a few can reduce their travel time by 30 minutes?

While the abatement of much of the noise that presently plagues our society is in part a technical problem, both the impetus and the money for solving it must come from the political arena, and the sonic boom problem is entirely political. A quieter society will only be achieved when a concerned public demands a new system of priorities from the politicians.

#### NEEDLING UNEMPLOYMENT

HON. LESTER L. WOLFF

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 29, 1969

Mr. WOLFF. Mr. Speaker, the issues of our times can frequently be compared to the maxim about the weather: Everyone always talks about it, but no one ever does anything about it.

I am pleased to say, however, that I have had the opportunity of knowing certain persons who believe the armchair approach to domestic issues. One fine example is Mr. Richard Cerbone of Port Jefferson, N.Y., whom I have known for a number of years and who has never ceased to amaze me with his capacity to put ideas into action in the most facile way.

Moreover, I am certain that I am not the only one who will vouch for his talents. Both the International Ladies Garment Workers Union and a group of Long Island underprivileged high school students would certainly add their chorus of praise for Mr. Cerbone. For without his help they might never have developed the mutually beneficial program that they now have, one which virtually needles unemployment.

Recently the Long Island Press ran a story telling how Mr. Cerbone brought these two groups together. I would, therefore, like to extend my remarks to include this worthwhile and interesting article in the RECORD:

ILGWU AIDE SOLVES LABOR LOGISTICS POSER

(By Austin H. Perlow)

Putting two and two together isn't nearly as simple as it sounds. But Richard Cerbone of Port Jefferson did when he was confronted with poverty and a critical shortage of skills in the needle trades.

Cerbone, the business manager of Locals 57-77, International Ladies Garment Workers Union, AFL-CIO, in Jamaica, went to the underprivileged high school students of Long Island to find the operators needed for the sewing machines of the needle trades.

It wasn't easy, because with the exception of Queens Dist. Atty. Thomas J. Mackell and Nassau County Executive Eugene H. Nickerson, the community wouldn't listen to Cerbone. With their help, he has started a training program for high school girls leading to well-paid jobs in the needle trades.

The Queens program has already produced its first graduates and the projected Nassau program is about to get under way.

"The idea behind it," Cerbone said, "is to allow the girls to complete their high school educations. But they get time off every day from their classes to learn the trade in the shop."

The program covers the senior year in high school, plus three additional months of training in the shop following graduation. Through the intercession of Mackell, Jamaica Vocational High School has joined the program with the enthusiastic cooperation of Samuel Stein, placement counselor.

Two graduates are already at work at Howard Uniforms, Woodside, where they are sewing nurses' uniforms. Following the current "slow" season, there'll be six graduates working there.

In Nassau, where employers are desperate for help, the program appears to be headed for even bigger things. Glen Cove Manufac-



turing had indicated it was willing to set up a school in its plant. Cerbone and Nassau Labor Commissioner Robert W. MacGregor have been conferring with Out Islander Sportswear in East Rockaway, Grove Dress in Freeport, Ben Mark Dress, Westbury, D.V.S. Dress, Elmont, and Preferred Foundations, Freeport, on taking apprentices into their shops.

"It all started," Cerbone said, "when the ILGWU mapped out a program to alleviate the hardship of the poor."

"There are many girls who leave high school unable to go to college or even to find a job. At the same time, our needle trade shops in Queens and Nassau are desperate for help. All we did was put two and two together."

The first "graduates" are Margot Johnson and Laverne Lantt, both of South Ozone Park, Theresa Stanzola of New Hyde Park and Leezella Lawrence of Brooklyn.

Graduates can earn from \$75 to \$150 a week operating sewing machines on a 35-hour-a-week schedule under a union contract. There's only a nominal charge being made for an ILGWU card.

#### THE ABM ISSUE

### HON. JAMES A. McCLURE

OF IDAHO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 29, 1969

Mr. McCLURE. Mr. Speaker, as the ABM issue becomes more clearly focused it is healthy to see the ground swell of public opinion in favor of the proposal.

Radio station KFXD is an outstanding broadcasting organization located in my district, the First of Idaho. General Manager Wayne Cornils recently aired a series of four editorials on the subject of ABM. These were clear, concise, and remarkable in impact. Here, I would like to insert the third of these statements which was aired on Friday, July 11, 1969 from the station in Nampa, Idaho:

We believe that a strong America is a safe America. One of the three major objections offered to the ABM System is the cost. Current estimates are from six to ten billion dollars over a period of six years or approximately \$5.00 per person per year. The argument is that the defensive Anti Missile System costs too much and that those billions of dollars should be spent on urban problems. In our opinion, common sense tells us, that if we build the ABM System and never use it, we have gambled and lost six to ten billion dollars. Conversely if we do not build ABM and are attacked we have gambled and lost 200,000,000 Americans lives and won't have to worry about urban problems. The question must be asked—Is your life worth \$5.00 per year?

The U.S. Senate will decide the fate of the ABM sometime in the next three weeks. The House has already voted its approval. One Idaho Senator has publicly stated he will vote against ABM. The second is thus far uncommitted. The KFXD All Americans urge you to write, wire or phone your two Idaho Senators today and urge them to vote in favor of the President's ABM Defensive System.

Someone must work to enlighten our people with regard to the critical issues of the day. This should be the function of media in order to prevent hasty and unwise decisions. This is the excellent role which has been played by station KFXD in regard to ABM.

I would also like to point out that the orientation of Mr. Cornils and his staff toward public affairs and the reflection of this idea in programing has caused their ratings to climb. This is difficult in the highly competitive Boise Valley radio market.

I hope that all of our media will become conscious of the strong necessity for spirited public discussion and look to the example of KFXD in Nampa, Idaho.

#### ISRAEL AND THE MIDDLE EAST

### HON. RICHARD L. OTTINGER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 29, 1969

Mr. OTTINGER. Mr. Speaker, earlier this month a fine article, written by Mr. Ben Wattenburg, on the increasingly important role Israel has assumed in the Middle East appeared in the Washington Sunday Star.

I believe our colleagues may find this article to be of interest and I am pleased to insert it herewith for inclusion in the RECORD:

[From the Washington (D.C.) Star,  
July 6, 1969]

MID-EAST'S AGE-OLD CLICHES RESENTED BY  
MODERN ISRAELI

(By Ben J. Wattenburg)

TEL AVIV.—My grandfather was S. Ben-Zion, a Hebrew poet and teacher who, in 1910, moved his family to a plot of vacant sand dunes in the Palestinian desert just north of the city of Jaffa. Today on that same site rises the 34-story Shalom Tower—the tallest building between Milan and Tokyo—and around it sprawls Greater Tel Aviv, now a city of 700,000.

If one says—as some do—that modern Israel can be dated from the founding of its major metropolis, then Israel will be 60 years old next year.

But David Ben-Gurion, a little man with a voice like thunder, still spry, visionary and opinionated in his 83rd year, will have none of that. For Ben-Gurion, a nation starts with land and farmers, not cities and writers.

His blue eyes flashing, his brow curled in reminiscence, Ben-Gurion insists that modern Israel dates back to 1870—a hundred years ago. That was when Mikveh Israel, the first agricultural school in Palestine, was established. Ben-Gurion came to Palestine from Russia in 1906 and he says that what his generation did as farmers on the desert land and on the swamp land was not a beginning but a continuation of what began at the Mikveh Israel agricultural school.

But to many others, modern Israel is regarded neither as 100 years old nor 60 years old. The standard cliché now afloat around the world goes something like this: "Israel is a tiny, 20-year old state established by the United Nations and the conscience of the world because of what Hitler did to the Jews in Europe." To which the Arabs add that the Jews in Israel are an artificial, Westernized, neocolonial foreign body surrounded by a sea of 100 million Arabs. The Arab position has its allies. At a cocktail party recently one middle-level American diplomat who had spent most of his career in the Arab states described Israel as a "monster state."

Artificial. Tiny. New. Surrounded. These are the words that send Israelis up the walls and they are the words that confound most

of the attempts to see the Middle Eastern situation for what it is.

#### MANY NATIVES

There is first the matter of "artificiality." It is perhaps a bit too easy to note that Ben-Gurion has lived in Israel far longer than Nasser has lived in Egypt. But there is a seed of an important truth there. For when one looks at the Israeli demography one does not see a group of European newcomers set down in the Middle Eastern desert. Of the Jews in Israel today:

42 percent were born in Israel.  
29 percent were born elsewhere in the Middle East (mostly Algeria, Morocco, Egypt, Iraq and Yemen).

10 percent were born in Western countries but immigrated to Israel before World War II.

Only 19 percent are "non-Middle Eastern, relatively recent immigrants" (within the last 30 years).

The official Arab position is that they hold no grudge against the 29 percent of the Jews born in Arab lands—not, conceivably, even their children, who comprise a good portion of the 42 percent "born in Israel."

There is no reciprocity to this kindly view. While many Israelis of European origin display a love-hate fascination with Arabs, the Jews from Arab lands feel little but contempt for the Arabs. They have lived under Arab rule for centuries and their attitude is simple: "They have their countries, we have our country. Let the Arabs stay in their own countries and we'll stay in ours."

So, the Israelis don't feel artificial. More than half are from the Middle East; eight in 10 are native-born, Middle Eastern or residents of Israel since before most of the Arab guerrillas were born.

Israel is habitually described as "tiny." Today, there are 2.5 million Jews in Israel, compared to the 80,000 when my grandfather built his house on the first street of Tel Aviv. Since the Six-Day War the birth rate has risen slightly and the immigration rate has risen substantially.

#### EXPANDING MARKET

Each year, between birth and immigration, about 60,000 new Jews are added to the net population. Two and a half million is a small population by the standards of India or the United States but is more than that of Jordan or Lebanon or Libya. There are more Israelis in Israel than there are Irish in Ireland or Uruguayans in Uruguay. There are, in fact, enough Israelis so that Israeli economists now begin to talk of "a domestic economy of scale," which suggests that there are now enough people to provide a domestic market large enough to profitably produce certain goods that require large set-up costs.

Chaim Sharrett is the son of the late Israeli Prime Minister Moshe Sharrett, and his parents grew up in early Tel Aviv on the same street as my grandfather, childhood friends of my mother. Chaim Sharrett lives now on a kibbutz near the Jordanian border (where his children sleep in underground bomb shelters). Each morning he commutes to a small factory in Haifa where he directs a small new enterprise that manufacturers fiberglass sailboats of a new design. The basic market for the boats will be Israel—the 2½ million Jews, none of whom live very far from the Mediterranean Sea. In the last 10 years, Israel's population has grown by more than 35 percent and per capita income went from \$740 to \$1,350. Before that economic and demographic surge, a fullscale domestic market for products like sailboats did not really exist. Most new industry had to be predicated on an always risky export market. Now Chaim Sharrett still has his eye on exports to be sure, but he sees that his business can survive on a domestic market.

What is small? As measured by dollars of gross national product, Israel produces more

than Portugal, more than Taiwan, more than Guinea, Ghana, Senegal and the Ivory Coast combined, more than Peru or Algeria or Iraq or Saudi Arabia and not very much less than Egypt with her 32 million population.

What is small? With the current boundaries, Israel is roughly the same size as Hungary or Austria. It is 350 miles from the Northern tip of the Golan Heights to Sharm el Sheikh at the Southern tip of the Sinai. Even with the old boundaries and adding in Jerusalem and Golan the area of Israel is not much different from that of Holland or Belgium.

#### "SEA OF ARABS"

"Surrounded by a sea of Arabs" is also misleading. If one puts the point of a compass on Tel Aviv and inscribes a 2,000-mile arc around the nations of the Middle East the resultant population breakdown works out something like this: 88 million Arabs (all the Arab nations except Morocco and Algeria, each more than 2,000 miles away) and 92 million non-Arabs (Israel, Turkey, Iran and Ethiopia). Israel has friendly and productive relations with the non-Arab nations and these non-Arab states are quite anxious to see to it that Nasser's dreams of Pan-Arabism for the entire Middle East do not reach fruition, particularly not Pan-Arabism sponsored by Moscow. In short, Israel, like most of the nations of the world, has neighbors of different kinds—some friendly, some not. Like many other nations of the world the Israelis live in an "un-defused" situation; not dissimilar to the U.S. and Russia, or Russia and China, or North and South Korea, or India and Pakistan. Have you ever spoken to a Hungarian about what he thinks of Romania? Such "un-defused" situations have been known to last for generations, even centuries.

The point is a simple one. Israel is not a freak state. Not artificial, not tiny, not new, not really surrounded, Israel has come of age. The time for clucking over the precocious infant is past—and the Israelis realize this today better than anyone else.

As a successful non-freak national entity, Israel and her leaders and people can be expected to behave in normal national ways. As a state confronted by enemies, that means, firstly, that Israel will do what it must do to remain secure. And that means that international pressure is not going to push the Israelis to do what they feel is detrimental to their own national interests. They are prepared to do it all themselves if they have to. Some of the military ramifications are fascinating.

#### THE GENERAL

Gen. Ezer Weizman, tall, dashing and candid, is 45, and was born in Tel Aviv. He was formerly the Commander of the Israeli Air Force and is now deputy chief of Staff of the Israeli armed forces. He has fought in four wars, starting as a Spitfire pilot with the R.A.F. in World War II.

Before the Six-Day War, when he was still Commander of the Air Force, he told a skeptical Israeli columnist that if war came, his fliers would destroy the Arab air forces in three hours. On June 5th 1967, an aide of Weizman's called the columnist and said: "Ezer said to tell you he miscalculated. It only took two hours and 55 minutes."

Today, Weizman believes that the Egyptians may try war again in the future and knows that the Israelis will win again if they do. Flying over Sinai with Weizman and several other Israeli officers, one is inclined to accept their word. At an air-base in the Sinai one sees the sleek jet fighters on quick-alert leaning forward in their hangars as if on a short leash, only about 10 minutes flying time from Cairo. At one such base in Sinai stands a former Egyptian Officers Club, where in May of 1967, Gamel Nasser toasted his pilots: "If Rabin wants a war, we'll give it to him." That remark is remembered by

Israeli military men when the rhetoric of Egyptian power floats across the Nile.

To Ezer Weizman, native-born Israeli and professional military man, Israel today is in good shape.

The Suez Canal is constructed as if it were designed to be the world's best anti-tank ditch. The Sinai desert is Orchard Beach as far as the eye can see, apparently designed by a God of History as the perfect buffer zone, with a wealth of oil thrown in for good measure.

As one travels through this vast expanse of desert (15,000 square miles crossed only by a few roads), the wonder of it all is how the Egyptians were able to evacuate it so quickly. Weizman, a former air general, says: "With air power we could hold this territory against any force on earth," and one of his tank commanders mutters in Hebrew: "Also without air power."

#### SINAI THE KEY

Militarily, the Sinai would seem to be the key to the Middle East situation. The Egyptians are the only Arab force that are even in the same league with the Israelis. To wage war, they must make a complex amphibious or airborne landing, only to get to an open, invulnerable desert—a highly dubious proposition. For this reason, many Israelis see no serious territorial war in the immediate future. The Arabs can't; the Israelis won't.

(That, at least is the rational way of looking at it. But there is that potent old story about the scorpion and the camel that haunts any rational approach. It seems that the scorpion wanted to cross the Nile and, not being able to swim, asked a nearby camel for a lift. "Scorpion," said the camel, "I am not crazy; if I give you a ride across the Nile you'll sting me and I'll die." The scorpion considered that for a moment and countered, "Camel, this is nonsense. If I sting you while we are crossing the Nile together, we'll both drown." The camel was convinced, and the two set out to cross the Nile. Midway across the river—wham!—the scorpion stings the camel and soon the camel is floundering. It is apparent that both camel and scorpion will soon meet a watery grave. The camel talks: "Scorpion, idiot, why did you do it? Now we'll both die." The scorpion pauses thoughtfully as the water inches up to his neck and then says quietly, "Camel, you forgot one thing. This is the Middle East.")

Middle-Eastern irrationality aside, most Israeli military men regard the Arab guerrillas as no real threat. They are thought of as killers, not fighters, who will squeal on their brothers and are vastly overpublicized and overrated, only a few thousand in number drawn from a pool of millions of Arabs and capable only of nuisance value within the borders of Israel.

(That Israel is secure within her own borders can be verified by Wattenberg's First Law of Human Behavior, which states, "If there is something to be nervous about, Wattenberg will be nervous about it." And to a traveler in Israel these days the feeling is not one of nervousness despite the roadblocks leading into major cities and the Uzzi machineguns slung on the shoulders of young soldiers who are just in from the front. There are many Israelis who also claim they are not nervous when traveling through the Arab towns on the occupied West Bank of Jordan—but they are crazy. I found Wattenberg's Law clearly applicable in Jenin, Nablus and other West Bank Arab communities.)

#### EARNED CURRENCY

To Ezer Weizman, Israel's current military security and her economic, psychological and demographic booms are not providential gifts from the Six-Day War. They are earned currency accumulated by Israelis by many years of back-breaking work, by many dead soldiers, by boys today who volunteer for para-

troop training, and by mothers who in a classic reversal of the Jewish Mother story now plead with the generals to get their boys in the paratroops so that there will be peace in the house.

Weizman's view of recent Jewish history has variations in emphasis from Ben-Gurion's. Of course, like Ben-Gurion, Weizman likes to remind a visitor that there have been Jews in their land for 4,000 consecutive years, but he also notes that if Israelis ever have to cross the Suez Canal they will find pyramids built by Jewish slave labor in the time of the Pharaohs. He remembers that the Sinai is not historically a part of Egypt but only an uninhabited region that has been tacked on to that country for the last 50 years. He remembers that in his boyhood there was a great national celebration each time the Jewish National Fund was able to purchase land from the Arabs, and he sees lots of purchasable land in the West Bank territory that would be ideal for Jewish settlement. He remembers that the Palestine of the 1917 Balfour Declaration included both sides of the Jordan River (as did Biblical Israel) and that if there is an "artificial" state in the Middle East it is Jordan.

As Weizman flies a military plane from base to base around Israel, he often observes: "It's a big country now," and it is clear that he wants it to stay big even if this means that the present deadlock will have to continue. If shells must fall, better they fall in Suez and Sinai than on Tel Aviv and Jerusalem. And that seems to be the mood throughout the rest of the country, unless some real peace can be guaranteed.

If Weizman is regarded as somewhat of a hawk, Israel's Ambassador-At-Large, Michael Comay, former U.N. Ambassador for Israel, is certainly not a hawk in any man's aviary. Yet, in London earlier this year he described in blunt terms what would be the results of any imposed solution regarding the Middle East. "If you dictate a solution that Israel does not accept," he said, "you must be prepared to see it become a worthless scrap of paper or else mount an invasion of Israel. Are you prepared for that?"

#### DOOMSDAY TALK

The same question can be asked of the U.S., of France—and of Russia.

When the hour is late and the drinks are low and Israeli military men gather, the doomsday possibilities surface, as they do with military men all over the world. Because the Arabs pose no real military threat in the foreseeable future the military guessing game turns to what the Russians might or could do.

The ultimate questions are asked. Question: "Could the Russians invade?" Answer: "Very doubtful militarily. It would make Vietnam look like a tea party." Question: "Suppose the Russians attacked Israel with missiles?" The retort is quick: "Nuclear-tipped or conventional warhead?" And the breakdown is that the idea of Russians using nuclear missiles on the Israelis is most far-fetched, that conventional missiles hurt no worse than bombers, and that Tel Aviv could survive bombing from Egyptian or from Russians if it ever came down to it.

Political and economic pressures are another matter, and they could most effectively be wielded by the United States. The Israelis are deeply friendly to the United States, by kinship and by ideology. They are grateful for past help and understand that good relations in the future are crucial. But they know that the first order of national business is survival, and they are aware that no pressure that the U.S. can bring to bear could make them risk that survival. Israel's survival, they know, is ultimately in Israel's hands.

So Israel today is settled down for the long pull.



David Ben-Gurion looks to the future and says the Arabs could conceivably win a fifth or sixth or seventh war and what Israel needs for long-term survival is more Jews. He says that if Hitler had not killed the European Jews the current population of Israel might be 5 million or 7 million instead of 2½ million. Still, there are 14 million Jews in the world, 11½ million not living in Israel. Ben-Gurion is hopeful that many Russian Jews and some American Jews will one day find their way to Israel. He also hopes the Jewish birth rate in Israel will rise, and to this end supports plans for new and larger forms of housing, for creating part-time jobs for working mothers, for nursery schools. In Israel these days one also hears talk about making abortions much more difficult to obtain.

#### A FEW

Ben-Gurion views Jewish history as an eternal struggle of quality versus quantity. Moses said the Jewish nation would be "a few among people." This has proven to be true, but Ben-Gurion and most other Israelis are casting about for ways to boost the quantity in order to preserve the quality for the generations ahead.

In the meanwhile, the quality is still there. My grandfather's family has flourished and prospered. In their number today are a leading artist, a bulldozer driver, an agronomist, a micro-biologist, several English teachers, and my beautiful young cousin whose mother didn't let her compete in the Miss Israel contest (she would have won.)

Two years ago one of the great-grandsons of my writer grandfather was in the Israeli Army force that stormed the Golan Heights. A slight young man with horn-rimmed glasses, he was creased by a bullet that came within an inch of his heart. He continued up the Heights and boarded a half-track that pursued the Syrians across the plains. The half-track hit a mine and shrapnel pierced his legs. He climbed aboard another half-track, which also hit a mine and sent additional shrapnel into his legs. He was on his way to a third half-track when he fainted from loss of blood.

Today, he is fine and preparing to take entrance exams for the Hebrew University. The shrapnel is still working its way out of his legs.

He is a fourth generation Israeli. He does not feel that he is in a new, or tiny, or artificial, or surrounded nation. He is there to stay.

He is the young man to remember while the dance of the diplomats continues in the capitals of the world.

### THE 25TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE POLISH-AMERICAN CONGRESS

**HON. ROMAN C. PUCINSKI**

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, July 29, 1969*

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, the 25th anniversary of the founding of the Polish-American Congress was fittingly honored here in Washington this past weekend during a 3-day meeting of this very worthwhile organization's officers and executive board, headed by Mr. Aloysius A. Mazewski, president of the Polish-National Alliance who also serves as president of the Polish American Congress.

The Polish-American Congress was organized in 1944 when it became quite apparent that the heroic people of Poland would not be able to negotiate for them-

selves at the peace table a future of freedom for which they so gallantly fought in World War II.

It became abundantly clear to outstanding Americans of Polish descent and Americans not necessarily of Polish descent that representatives of the free Polish Government would not be permitted a full voice in negotiations for postwar Europe. These negotiations were dominated by representatives of the Soviet Union, Great Britain, and the United States, and the Communists were cleverly beguiling both the American representative and the British spokesman into accepting for postwar Europe a cordon sanitaire of Soviet-dominated East European captive nations which to this day keeps 180 million people in Communist bondage.

The people of Poland were helpless at the peace table despite their heroic and gallant contributions toward the victory won by the Allies in World War II.

The 25th anniversary of the Polish-American Congress makes it crystal clear that the goals of demanding justice and freedom from Communist oppression for the people of Poland, which were established by the Polish-American Congress in 1944, are just as valid today as they were 25 years ago. For Poland continues to remain in the grip of a Marxist-Communist group of self-styled leaders who have the same contempt for human dignity today as their Stalinist predecessors had 25 years ago.

Very little has changed in Poland in the past quarter century and her people continue to be the victims of Soviet deceit and chicanery.

During the weekend here in Washington we had an opportunity to see outstanding Americans of Polish descent from all over the United States assemble to rededicate their determination that the work of the Polish-American Congress shall continue to be necessary until that glorious day when the people of Poland will again rejoin the family of free nations.

It gives me great pleasure to place in the RECORD today the resolution adopted by the board of directors of the Polish-American Congress.

Let this document serve notice both on the Communist leaders of Poland and the leaders of the Soviet Union that America's vast Polish-American community will not rest in its efforts to "secure freedom and independence for Poland."

The Polish-American Congress resolution follows:

RESOLUTION ADOPTED BY THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS OF THE POLISH-AMERICAN CONGRESS AT A MEETING HELD ON JULY 26, 1969 IN WASHINGTON, D.C.

1. As we gather to celebrate the 25th Anniversary of the Polish American Congress, we pause to pay tribute and take inspiration from man's epic achievement—landing of American astronauts on the moon, thus culminating the revolutionary concept of universe advanced by the Polish astronomer Mikolaj Kopernik (Copernicus) over 400 years ago. Indeed, this unique feat, combining unsurpassed technological superiority with the magnificent spirit of free man, represents, to quote Neil A. Armstrong's historic phrase "one giant leap for mankind".

More than ever before we are proud to be Americans. And as we look back to 350 years

of Polish American participation in the development and growth of our nation, we salute the Polish pioneers of Jamestown, Va., and legions of those who in the succeeding years came to these shores from far-away Poland and who gave freely of their skills, talents, loyalty and perseverance, to help make this country the great leader of freedom the world over.

As we stand awed by this dramatic display of the seemingly unlimited technological capabilities of man, let us echo the words spoken to Neil A. Armstrong and Edwin E. Aldrin by President Nixon: "as you talk to us from the Sea of Tranquility it inspires us to redouble our efforts to bring peace and tranquility to Earth"; let us re-dedicate ourselves to use this vast potential to eradicate from the surface of the Earth mankind's scourges; hunger, disease, hatred and oppression, so that all the nations may enjoy the benefits of our civilization in peace and freedom.

2. The Polish American Congress was organized 25 years ago with the express purpose of continuing Polish nation's fight for freedom, independence and the integrity of its frontiers, at the time when as a result of unjustified concessions granted Soviet Russia by the Western Allies during World War Two and its aftermath, they were being subjugated by Russian tyranny.

We pay tribute to those of our leaders who had the foresight and vision to lead the Polish American community in this just and solemn cause, and to thousands of men and women, who supported their efforts with sacrifice and zeal.

Then, as now, our position reflects the conviction, that peace based on the supremacy of Soviet Russia over the nations of East-Central Europe is contrary to the principles of freedom, democracy and self-determination cherished by the American people.

Then, as now, we espouse the principle, that freedom—the right of each nation to choose its own path of economic, cultural and political development, while safeguarding individual dignity of man, is the only guarantee of durable peace.

Events of the past few decades proved the soundness of our judgment.

The nations of East-Central Europe have never accepted their enforced status of Russia's satellites. Rumania maintains a sustained, though limited defiance of Russia's omnipotence; Czechoslovakian experiment in progressive economy, and humanization of Communism had to be suppressed by brute force; similar reform movements in Poland, as well as the open revolt in Hungary in 1956, have been rolled back in the successive years by subservient to Moscow Communist governments of Poland and Hungary; yet, the free spirit of Poland demonstrated itself again in the spring of 1968.

East-Central Europe remains tense and apprehensive, leaving open the possibility of sudden conflagrations which may constitute a real threat to peace in Europe.

On our home front, America's involvement in two major wars, in Korea and now in Viet Nam, presence of Communist power 90 miles from the shores of this country in Cuba and the enormous cost of our defense budget, which annually drains our national resources of some 80 billion dollars, urgently needed to combat the evils, which threaten the continued progress and well-being of this nation, are direct consequences of world tensions resulting from Russia's imperialistic policies after World War Two.

3. The atomic age precludes the possibility of liberation of nations now dominated by Russia through an armed conflict. Instead we must pursue these goals in hard bargaining with Soviets.

True, there is no reason to believe, that the Kremlin leaders are inclined to relinquish willingly their absolute rule over the

nations of East-Central Europe. Indeed, it is clearly apparent, that what they aim at is the confirmation of the status quo in Europe and the acceptance by the Western Allies of the principle of non-intervention in the affairs of the Soviet-bloc nations.

This is the meaning of the so-called Brezhnev doctrine, which proclaims Russia's right to intervene militarily in order to reimpose the Moscow oriented brand of communism, which she unilaterally considers to have been undermined by the so-called "forces of imperialism".

The said doctrine having been promulgated by Brezhnev in Warsaw, emphasizes the key position of Poland in the Soviet satellite system of East Central Europe.

The Brezhnev doctrine and its enforcement in Czechoslovakia, the overthrow of Dubcek's reform regime indicates that Russia intends to exercise complete control over the satellite countries. It serves notice, that to this end Russia will tolerate within these countries only regimes completely subservient to its will.

Yet, there are developments in the world political situation, which provide an opportunity for a determined western diplomatic offensive.

There is a widespread discontent with the communist rule in East-Central Europe.

Chinese threat to Soviet Asiatic empire looms over any future decisions, which affect security and stability of Russia's western frontier.

Evidence is mounting of growing unrest within Russia itself. Young intellectuals and technocrats are beginning to question ideological infallibility of the orthodox old-guard, while the Soviet-bloc economy fails to sustain a reasonable rate of growth and is unable to meet the ever expanding demands of frustrated populace.

Clearly, there are stressed within the Russian monolith which may force its rulers to be amenable to resolute Western insistence of relaxation of rigid controls over its satellites.

Thus, for the first time since 1945 there appears a possibility for the United States to influence developments in East-Central Europe in the direction of open societies, national independence and economic cooperation, creating conditions favorable to eventual establishment of peace based on freedom and democracy.

However, in order to succeed our government must approach negotiations with Soviet Russia with these goals clearly and forcefully formulated, supported by a nation determined to use its unmatched potential to realize an American dream of freedom and peace for all.

4. We regret that Polish American participation in the political, economic and intellectual life of this country is not fully recognized and does not reflect the potential of our community.

Accordingly, the Polish American Congress will continue and expand its efforts to increase our effective participation at all levels of the governmental civic, educational, cultural and economic areas of American life.

We condemn the unwarranted actions aimed to defame the Polish nation and the American Polonia.

We dedicate ourselves to project in the American society an objective image of Poland and of Polonia and the many contributions of our people to the development of world culture and the growth of this country.

5. As we celebrate the 25th Anniversary of the Polish American Congress, which coincides with the 30th Anniversary of the savage invasion of Poland by Germany and Soviet Russia, we pledge to continue our efforts to secure freedom and independence for Poland, and to support our government in its efforts towards this ultimate goal, realization of which will add another glorious chapter to the history of the American people.

## FINE TEACHING AND RESEARCH PROGRAM OF HADASSAH

### HON. JAMES G. FULTON

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 29, 1969

Mr. FULTON of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, it is a pleasure to place in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the excellent remarks of Mrs. Max Schenk, national president of Hadassah, the Women's Zionist Organization of America, Inc.

These remarks were made before the Foreign Affairs Committee of the House of Representatives and I am glad to place them in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD for the consideration of my colleagues.

The remarks follow:

TESTIMONY PRESENTED JULY 29, 1969 TO COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS BY MRS. MAX SCHENK, NATIONAL PRESIDENT, HADASSAH, THE WOMEN'S ZIONIST ORGANIZATION OF AMERICA, INC.

The name is Mrs. Max Schenk (Faye). I am the President of Hadassah, an American voluntary organization, incorporated under the laws of the State of New York as the Hadassah Medical Relief Association, Inc. My appearance today is to request an amendment to the Foreign Assistance Act that will provide for part of the dollars required for the expansion of Hadassah's teaching and research program, as will be outlined hereafter.

The estimated cost of this program, which we hope to implement over the next five years, is approximately 66.7 million Israeli pounds, or about 19 million dollars. Of this about 23 million Israeli pounds or 6.5 million dollars represent foreign exchange requirements. The balance represents local expenditures, that is, Israeli pounds. A breakdown of these expenditures is submitted for the record. (Table I)

It is expected that practically all of the foreign exchange component will be spent in the United States for items such as elevators, air conditioning and related building needs, as well as medical, communication and transport equipment. It is in this area—the United States purchases—that Hadassah requests inclusion in the section of the Foreign Assistance Act dealing with Aid to American Schools and Hospitals Abroad. Specifically, our request is for a 5 million dollar grant for a five-year period.

Hadassah was founded in 1912 by Henrietta Szold, an American woman, and has grown over the 57 years of its existence into an organization of 318,000 members working as volunteers through 1320 chapters and groups in every state of the United States and Puerto Rico. We are registered with the President's Advisory Committee on Voluntary Foreign Aid, under the aegis of the Department of State.

Hadassah's work is carried out in the United States and Israel. In each respect, it has been instrumental in developing ties between the people of the United States and the peoples of Israel. The impact of our programs reaches hundreds of thousands of families in the United States through our membership and our widely circulated publications. The result of our efforts is evident in our work in Israel, affecting the lives of many throughout the country. The goodwill and friendship which is developed through this has importance in the public image of the United States in Israel. It is another tie between two democratic nations with common interests and mutual goals.

#### WORK IN THE UNITED STATES

An objective, non-partisan program, identified as American Affairs, enables our members to understand, protect, and strengthen the role of democracy as a force for freedom

and peace abroad. Its thrust is to stimulate interest in major issues by providing factual information. Our members cooperate as volunteers in civic affairs, participating in communal programs and those of the Federal Government, especially those directed towards the disadvantaged and deprived.

Hadassah supports the United Nations. We are recognized as a non-governmental organization. Our chapters participate in such activities as United Nations Day and sale of UNICEF materials.

Our Education Program provides study, discussion and book review groups, courses in Bible and Hebrew language, seminars and institutes. These are designed to equip our members for creative Jewish living and to help them understand their Jewish heritage as inherent in the development and enrichment of their lives as Jews and as Americans.

A dynamic youth program is supported, including summer camps in the U.S. directed to Jewish education, with additional programs to give opportunities for study and work in Israel.

#### ISRAEL PROGRAMS

In Israel the programs are: Medical Services; Youth Aliyah; Vocational and Educational Schools; Land Reclamation and Afforestation.

Although this presentation is directed towards our Medical Services, which I shall discuss in greater detail later, I would like to include a brief statement of our other projects, each important in and of itself.

#### YOUTH ALIYAH

Since its founding in 1933, thousands of young people coming from 72 lands have been settled and trained to assume a vital role in the agricultural, industrial and cultural development of Israel. Special schools are maintained for the rehabilitation of those disturbed or retarded. Hadassah is the official representative in the United States of Youth Aliyah under the auspices of the Jewish Agency for Israel.

#### VOCATIONAL AND EDUCATIONAL SCHOOLS

We maintain the Hadassah Israel Educational Services, which comprise the Louis D. Brandeis Center and the Alice Seligsberg Vocational School. These schools are designed to train youth for the expanding economy of Israel. They provide a range of technical and home economic courses, such as precision mechanics, printing, instrument making, nutrition, fashion, as well as training for secretaries and laboratory technicians.

In addition, a vocational guidance bureau is maintained to service the Jerusalem area as well as other parts of Israel. In cooperation with Government and public institutions, it engages in follow-up, training and research work.

#### LAND RECLAMATION AND AFFORESTATION

In cooperation with the Jewish National Fund, Hadassah participates in this important work in Israel, opening up new areas for colonization, restoring the land, and planting hundreds of thousands of trees.

Before developing the basis of the request for a grant under the Foreign Assistance Act, Hadassah records deep appreciation and heartfelt gratitude for the 1 million dollar grant provided through the Foreign Assistance Act of 1967 and for the cooperation given by the Agency for International Development in its implementation. This grant, received in Israeli pounds, has been used for building, equipping, and furnishing a physicians' residence in the John F. Kennedy Memorial Building attached to our Medical Center, adding and equipping a fourth floor to the existing Henrietta Szold School of Nursing, adding and equipping a second floor to the existing building for the Division of Social Medicine and Public Health, and extending the Kiryat HaYovel Family and Community Health Center (Public Health). These buildings have now been completed and equipped, and are being used to maxi-



num advantage. They have materially increased opportunities for teaching and training for Israeli students and those students coming from foreign countries (especially from Africa and Asia), as well as broadened service for patients.

In addition, operating assistance was provided by the 1967 grant for additional professional personnel responsible for medical, nursing, public health, dental training and education.

Coming now to the main purpose of this presentation, our *Medical Services*, I would like to outline them as they have developed over the years and indicate the increased needs for which assistance is sought through the present grant request. I resist the temptation, in the interests of brevity, to give the long history of Hadassah's medical work, first in Palestine and now in Israel, and I shall concentrate upon the immediate past and future plans.

Our work is centered in Jerusalem. It is carried out through the Hadassah Medical Organization. It consists of a wide range of medical services emanating from the Hadassah-Hebrew University Medical Center at Ein Karem, located on the Judean hills outside Jerusalem. It services the entire population of Jerusalem and outlying areas and, since the Six-Day War in June 1967, many of the inhabitants of the Israel-administered areas of the West Bank. It was originally designed as a 500-bed hospital and to serve as clinical facilities for the Hadassah-Hebrew University Medical School. There has been a steady growth in the need for services due to the constantly rising number of patients, the increased number of medical and dental students, the added disciplines to the services performed, the inclusion of foreign students, principally from African and Asian countries, the expansion of the public health facilities, and the emphasis placed on training and research. These increased needs at Ein Karem can be divided under the following headings and for the reasons outlined:

#### 1. Services

The annual volume of services in the Medical Center divided into general hospital categories is:

Outpatient	288,000
Inpatient	18,000
Emergency	80,000

for a total of 386,000. This heavy load is the result of:

- (a) service to a population increased by 30 percent;
- (b) changes in the content of medical care for a people whose pathology of disease is undergoing continuous change;
- (c) change in knowledge of the medical sciences and their application to medical care; and
- (d) change in the overall administrative set-up of health service in Israel and its application to Hadassah's clinical facilities.

#### 2. Teaching

The Hadassah-Hebrew University Medical Center has a total teaching load of approximately 2700 comprising undergraduate, graduate, and post-graduate students. The number of students in the various medical disciplines ranges from 683 in the School of Nursing, 551 in the Medical School to 4 in Clinical Psychology.

The urgently needed increase in the number of students to be admitted to the Medical School (up to 120 from 80) will necessitate an increase in clinical material for teaching purposes in both the outpatient clinics and the inpatient services. Ten beds are required per student for providing adequate clinical material. There is a serious shortage of young physicians, especially in outlying areas and smaller hospitals. Accordingly, there is a demand for more doctors and nurses.

To the added number of medical students (which includes Arabs), we must provide for an increased intake of nursing students,

enlarging the present average of 50 to 75. Additionally, seminars, and short refresher courses are held for doctors from East Jerusalem to provide opportunities for presenting the growing knowledge and developments in the medical sciences as practiced in the Hadassah-Hebrew University Medical Center.

#### 3. Research

Over 600 physicians and scientists are engaged in research. Each department has its own research program carried out in 39 types of laboratories. In 1967, 248 separate research reports were published in world-wide medical literature by staff of the center. This is a constantly expanding area, demanding additional facilities and personnel to meet the needs for clinical work and to provide background for teaching and training.

#### 4. Outpatient department

It is noteworthy that the original functional program of the outpatient clinics was based on a maximum annual intake of 200,000 patients distributed over 30 specialized services. Today, the total intake has reached 288,000 patients spread over some 60 departments and units.

#### 5. Emergency

The Emergency Department in the original functional program called for 6 beds to serve 5000 patients annually. Shortly after opening the Medical Center in 1961, this had to be increased to 16 beds serving 20,000 emergency patients and 50,000 emergency treatments. Today, with the added Israel-administered area population coming to the Medical Center for emergency service, and the unfortunate increase in traffic accidents, the Emergency Department must be enlarged, not only for service, but to provide teaching and training in meeting emergency needs.

#### 6. Inpatient facilities

Inpatient needs have become such that additional beds have been required, bringing the present total to 660. With the completion of the Institute of Oncology, now projected, 60 more beds will be added, bringing the total number to 720—all required for clinical teaching and training purposes. In addition, 10 beds will be needed for a Burns Unit with specialized facilities for skin grafting and related services, making the grand total of beds at Ein Karem 730.

With the expansion of the student body, as heretofore pointed out, 10 beds are required for optimum teaching purposes. Accordingly, with a projected increased student body, it is apparent that at least 1000 beds are required in the immediate future.

#### 7. Diagnostic laboratories

In view of the increased patient load and added bed capacity, there is obvious need for increase in the facilities for diagnostic laboratories. The laboratory load is made even heavier by the quality and type of laboratory examinations. These are constantly increasing in variety and number as medical knowledge spreads. For example, since 1961, biochemical tests have risen by 130%; microbiological tests by 50%; pathological examinations by 66%; hematology laboratory examinations by 300%. As the work done in diagnostic laboratories is an essential part of teaching and training, it is urgent that new areas and equipment for these facilities be made available for the increased incoming student body.

Further, recent advances in genetics and physics demand that additional facilities be provided for a genetics laboratory and a medical physics department. The latter will serve all departments with its specialized knowledge and its application to medicine.

#### 8. X-ray department

The increased patient load necessitates added space and equipment for the x-ray department. This department is a major need in the care of the patient and is of growing

importance in view of the variety and complexity of x-ray examinations. The number of examinations has increased by 50% since 1961 and will be further increased as the number of patients grows. The part of x-ray in teaching and training is so well established that the needs for this department require no further elaboration.

What has been outlined with reference to increases in facilities applies as well to space and equipment for operating theatres, post-operative recovery rooms, acute care units, pharmacy services, the occupational and physiotherapy departments, the central sterile supply department, laundry, kitchen and dietary services, and stores. For example, consider that 5000 major operations were performed in 1961, while in 1968 the number was 7200. Prescriptions issued in 1961 amounted to 254,299, while in 1968 the number was 466,223. In 1961, the central sterile supply department supplied 365,000 items; in 1968 it supplied 910,000. Expanded facilities for meeting these needs must be provided, as present facilities are overtaxed.

It must be emphasized that all the services which I have discussed are essential in maintaining the high standard clinical facilities required for teaching and training provided by Hadassah.

Inherent in the enlargement of the areas described, provision must be made in the Medical Center complex for added lines of communication, such as elevators, both passenger and freight, and enlargement of the telephone exchange with provision for added inter-communication equipment.

It is evident that space must be provided for administrative personnel required to meet the enlarged services which have been described in broad outline.

Over and above the teaching and training responsibilities which Hadassah has for the Medical School, there are responsibilities for providing for additional students of the Dental School; The School of Nursing; The School of Occupational Therapy; The School of Postgraduate Education; and the Graduate Residency Training.

In the case of the Dental School, it is anticipated that the annual student intake will rise from 25 to 65 requiring added space and equipment. The Nursing School intake is to be enlarged to 75 from the present annual student intake of 50. It will require additional housing for these students, as well as more living quarters for graduate nurses. Also, facilities will be needed for 10 additional students in the School of Occupational Therapy, the present 20 students to be increased to 30. Physicians taking courses in the School of Postgraduate Education, usually in residence while studying, require living quarters during their training period. The number of such physicians runs into several hundred registrants, from which as many as possible are selected. Presently, there are 300, with anticipated needs indicated as 1000. This School of Postgraduate Education also requires one 150 and two 50 seat lecture rooms for in-service training programs for interns, resident physicians and lay staff. There is special need for physicians undergoing specialized resident training. Of our 250 physicians, 30 are involved in this program which extends over a period of four to six years, according to the specialty concerned.

During this time, a large part of their time is spent within the hospital where they undergo practical as well as theoretical instruction. Living quarters for these physicians is badly needed, as due to their limited tenure of office and reduced income while training, they cannot afford to provide their own living accommodations.

Even at the risk of repetition, the need for the added facilities and equipment in the various schools and department which has been outlined, cannot be over-emphasized. This need must be met to assure the maintenance of the high level and standard of

teaching and training for which Hadassah is known to provide for the increased student body of Israelis, Arabs and those coming from abroad, for undergraduate work and for post-graduate or refresher courses. As shown in Table I, the Ein Karem expansion is estimated to cost about 28 million Israeli pounds, of which almost 7 million Israeli pounds—or \$2 million—are hard currency needs. Table II indicates these needs by broad categories.

The complex of the Hadassah-Hebrew University Medical Center is to include the Moshe Sharett Institute of Oncology. Hadassah recognizes the increasing role of cancer as a cause of death and invalidism. We are concerned that in the developed countries, there are as many as 2000 new cases of cancer per million of population each year, and that cancer has become the second most common cause of death in those countries, reaching 1511 deaths per million of population annually. Cancer in Israel is not dissimilar to cancer in Western countries. The incidence of the disease amounts to 1920 per million, while mortality reaches 1119 per million of population—the second most common cause of death after cardio-vascular diseases. Recognizing this, Hadassah has undertaken to extend its existing Department of Oncology by establishing a Center for the care of patients suffering from cancer and allied diseases. This Center will provide not only patient care, but also basic and clinical research facilities which will contribute, we hope, to the etiology of cancer and its prevention, its early detection, diagnosis and treatment, as well as early rehabilitation of patients. Apart from this, it is to be a focal point for teaching and training undergraduates, graduate and postgraduate students of the medical and para-medical professions in all areas relating to cancer and allied diseases.

The projected Institute of Oncology will service, it is estimated, approximately 2,500 patients, being about one-half of the cancer victims in Israel. It is estimated that one-half of this 2,500 will need radiotherapy and one-half hospitalization. In addition to meeting these patients' needs, the Center will serve for epidemiological and clinical research studies. Clinical, diagnostic, therapeutic, rehabilitative facilities will be required, as well as nursing care in the hospital, at home, and for follow-up.

The Institute of Oncology will provide the most advanced equipment for diagnosis, treatment and research, such as isotope laboratory facilities, deep x-ray therapy, chemotherapy, hormone therapy, a betatron, radiation equipment (cobalt for irradiation), and a cyclotron. It will serve to teach students, train specialists, and offer possibilities for conducting basic and clinical research in the fields of cancer and allied diseases. Even before the completion of the Institute, Hadassah, in its present Oncology Department, is providing treatment, through a special program, for cancer victims in the Israel-administered areas, cooperating with the World Health Organization under an agreement providing for this service.

Total costs for the Institute of Oncology are estimated at 14.7 million IL. Of this, over half will be required in hard currency expenditures. Table III shows a general breakdown of the \$2.3 million required.

With the return to Hadassah of its buildings located on Mt. Scopus, Hadassah has undertaken to rehabilitate the hospital there as a general hospital to serve the Jewish and Arab populations of Jerusalem, the West Bank and Gaza area, and even patients from across the Jordan. It should be recognized that although forcibly isolated, Mt. Scopus has always been a geographic part of Israel and so recognized by the United Nations. Our hospital there was unavailable to Hadassah from 1948 to 1967 and stood unused following an Arab attack on a Hadassah

convoy in which 78 medical and other personnel were killed. When restored, the hospital will function as an extension of the Medical Center at Ein Karem, with departments linked with their opposite numbers. It is planned that the medical personnel is to include Arab doctors and nurses, both as staff and for training. The 230 beds in this hospital will provide for this and, related as they are to the services at the Medical Center, will offer possibilities for teaching and training. It is planned to include facilities for rehabilitation in the set-up of this hospital, especially for the disabling and degenerative diseases, such as cardiac cases, cancer, brain injury, arthritis, and paraplegics. The Mt. Scopus renovation, estimated to cost 24 million IL, will require about \$2.2 million in hard currency purchases. Table IV gives a general category breakdown of these expenditures.

This is a general outline of Hadassah's work and plans for the coming five years. Necessarily, this statement is only in outline form in regard to all of Hadassah's programs.

I shall be delighted, of course, to answer questions, and to provide the Committee with further information, together with such documentation as may be required. An important item in this presentation cannot be overlooked. It is that Hadassah holds itself responsible for the continued maintenance and support of the Hadassah Hospital and related facilities and is dedicated to their development and growth. We believe that the Medical Center is a personal link with Israel for our 318,000 Hadassah members. We are glad that we have helped to build bridges with leading medical centers throughout the world, and that we are able to provide teaching and training for nurses and doctors in Israel and in developing countries. This, together with carrying out medical programs in these countries, has helped to forge links of friendship throughout the world and especially in parts of Africa and Asia. In a world beset with many problems, where there is so much emphasis on destructive forces, we dare to believe that in some way our work for people of all races and creeds will help to build that better and peaceful world which all of us seek.

TABLE I.—SUMMARY OF COST ESTIMATES, HADASSAH DEVELOPMENT PROGRAM SHOWING TOTAL AND FOREIGN EXCHANGE REQUIREMENT

Purpose	Total requirement (in thousands of Israeli pounds)	Foreign exchange requirement	
		Amount (in thousands of Israeli pounds)	Amount (in thousands of dollars equivalent)
Oncology Institute (new).....	14,650	8,050	12,300
Ein Karem expansion.....	28,000	6,965	2,000
Mount Scopus renovation.....	24,000	7,890	2,231
Total.....	66,650	22,905	16,531

<sup>1</sup> Includes \$700,000 for cyclotron, gift.

<sup>2</sup> Equal to \$19,042,000.

<sup>3</sup> Exact equivalents lost in rounding.

TABLE II.—Ein Karem: Foreign exchange estimates for planned expansion

Clinical analysis and research:	
Diagnostic laboratories and X-ray .....	\$300,000
Operating theaters and post-operative rooms.....	75,000
Occupational and physiotherapy departments .....	50,000
Central sterile supply and laundry <sup>1</sup> .....	300,000
Kitchen equipment.....	50,000
Elevators (freight).....	150,000

<sup>1</sup> To also service Mount Scopus.

TABLE II.—Ein Karem: Foreign exchange estimates for planned expansion—Con.

Clinical analysis and research:	
Internal communications—telephone .....	\$50,000
Outpatient departments, including medical emergency department .....	125,000
Inpatient department .....	100,000
Standby facilities: air conditioning and mechanical equipment .....	200,000
Dental school.....	600,000
Total.....	2,000,000

TABLE III.—Institute of Oncology: Foreign exchange estimates

Scientific equipment list (see appendix A) .....		\$760,000
Elevators—2 passenger, 1 freight .....		120,000
Air-conditioning equipment.....		350,000
Mechanical equipment, water, steam, sanitary, plumbing.....		220,000
Electricity and telecommunication .....		100,000
Generators and transformers....		70,000
Cyclotron .....		1700,000
Total .....		\$2,300,000

<sup>1</sup> To be received as gift from individual donor.

TABLE IV.—Mt. Scopus renovation foreign exchange requirements

Clinical equipment—270-bed facility including:	
All medical equipment, x-ray, operating theaters, diagnostic laboratories, beds, mattresses, etc.....	\$900,000
Engineering:	
Elevators (7) .....	243,000
Boiler plant equipment.....	143,000
Kitchen equipment.....	100,000
Generators .....	43,000
Air-conditioning material and equipment .....	171,000
Water, steam, sanitary (pipes and plumbing equipment) ..	
Incinerators .....	29,000
Electricity and telecommunication .....	130,000
Laboratories .....	143,000
Transport—ambulances, etc.....	43,000
Total .....	\$2,231,000

# RESOLUTION OF THE COUNCIL OF THE CITY OF BOWIE, MD., URGING THE IMMEDIATE RELEASE OF SUBWAY CONSTRUCTION FUNDS

HON. LAWRENCE J. HOGAN

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 29, 1969

Mr. HOGAN. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to call attention of my distinguished colleagues to a resolution adopted by the City Council of the City of Bowie, Md., which is in my district. This resolution points out quite emphatically the great concern and the note of urgency for action now for the release of subway construction funds for Metropolitan Washington.

By bringing this problem to the attention of Congress, this community emphasizes the needs of all the communities surrounding the District of Columbia. These communities want—and need—this service to be initiated as soon



as possible in order to be able to cope with a chaotic transportation situation.

The city fathers of Bowie are well aware of the serious effect that this delay in funding is causing them and they have seen fit to call it to our attention by passing this resolution. I commend them for their community interest, an interest which includes the entire Greater Washington area. I hereby place that resolution in the RECORD so that my colleagues may know the feelings of one of the many communities which are to be served by the projected subway system. While I support a balanced transportation system which includes adequate freeways and buses as well as subways, I urge that the funds be made available now so that construction of the subway system can begin.

The resolution follows:

**RESOLUTION OF THE COUNCIL OF THE CITY OF BOWIE, MD., URGING THE IMMEDIATE RELEASE OF SUBWAY CONSTRUCTION FUNDS**

Whereas, after many years of planning a regional rapid rail transit system has been adopted by the Washington Metropolitan Area Transit Commission and all of the participating jurisdictions; and

Whereas, most of the participating jurisdictions have expended large sums of money for administrative and planning purposes in preparation for construction of the adopted regional rapid rail transit system; and

Whereas, an immediate start in the construction of the rapid transit system is in the public interest, benefitting the citizens of Bowie and every part of the Metropolitan Washington area and the nation as a whole by improving transportation in the Nation's Capital;

Now, therefore, be it resolved by the Council of the City of Bowie, Maryland, that the Executive and Legislative branches of the Federal government be urged to take immediate steps to release subway construction funds to permit construction to begin at the earliest possible date; and

Be it further resolved that copies of this resolution be sent to the President of the United States, all United States Senators and Congressmen from Maryland, all members of the District of Columbia Appropriations Committees and Public Works Committees, the Secretary of the Department of Transportation and the Chairman of the Metropolitan Washington Council of Governments.

Introduced and passed by the Council of the City of Bowie, Maryland at a Regular Meeting on —

LEO E. GREEN,  
Mayor.

Attest:

EDITH MAYLACK,  
City Clerk.

**THE NIXON APPROACH TO THE DRUG PROBLEM: A LACK OF SENSITIVITY AND UNDERSTANDING?**

**HON. CHARLES H. WILSON**

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 29, 1969

Mr. CHARLES H. WILSON. Mr. Speaker, increasing criticism is being leveled at the administration's approach to the narcotic addiction and drug abuse problem. This criticism emanates from all parts of the political spectrum and apparently voices are being raised in opposition to the President's "off with their

heads" attitude within the administration itself.

William Robbins reporting in the New York Times yesterday stated that "a confidential memorandum urging the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare to oppose the bill in its present form, composed by one of the agency's top health officials, drew strong support last week, but it was turned down at the highest echelon in the Department." Later in the same article, Mr. Robbins quotes an HEW official who considered Mr. Nixon's proposal "regressive legislation."

As sponsor of the proposed "Comprehensive Narcotic Addiction and Drug Abuse Care and Control Act of 1969," I and 22 cosponsors have sought to provide a realistic approach to the problem, an approach that will get to the root causes of drug abuse as well as eliminate its outward and apparent manifestations. The Nixon treatment of this area, in my opinion, will not bring about solutions and will not provide the help desperately needed by those who have fallen prey to the sickness that narcotic addiction and drug abuse is. I had thought that the days of bedlam would be only a matter of historical interest in these "enlightened" times. Should the President's proposal be promulgated, as it now stands, we shall have witnessed a most unfortunate and regressive day that will set back the many efforts being made to solve the drug problem that we face today. The reemergence of a bedlam-type approach to our problems is the last thing our Nation needs at this time.

For my colleagues' information, I now include into the RECORD the full text of the Robbins article:

**DISPUTE IN ADMINISTRATION ON NIXON BILL TO STIFFEN DRUG PENALTIES MAY BREAK INTO OPEN**

(By William Robbins)

WASHINGTON, July 27.—Disagreement within the Administration over the stiffened penalties in President Nixon's drug abuse bill is threatening to break into open conflict.

A confidential memorandum urging the Department of Health, Education and Welfare to oppose the bill in its present form, composed by one of the agency's top health officials, drew strong support last week, but it was turned down at the highest echelon in the department.

It was understood, however, that there would be no pressure to prevent experts in the health agencies from stating their professional reservations about the bill when called on to testify in Congress.

The opposition has focused on the general law enforcement emphasis of the bill, the penalties on users, and certain administrative prerogatives that would be given to the Justice Department.

The bill would establish a minimum of two years' imprisonment for possession or use of such substances as marijuana and LSD, although it proposed possible probation for first offenders. It would provide higher penalties for distribution or possession with intent to distribute.

**DRUGS WOULD BE GRADED**

The bill would also classify substances and grade them as to the degree of danger their use might involve as well as the penalties provided. It would give the Attorney General the authority, in consultation with health advisers, to make some changes in the classifications as well as add new substances to the list.

It also charges the Justice Department with the responsibility for research into the problems involved.

The ferment brewing among the mental health and drug experts of the Health, Education, and Welfare Department could break into the open tomorrow when two high officials, who are known to oppose the stiffening of penalties for drug possession and use, are scheduled to appear before a Congressional subcommittee.

They are Dr. Joseph T. English, administrator of the Health Services and Mental Health Administration, and Dr. Stanley F. Yolles, director of the National Institute of Mental Health. They will appear before a Senate Labor and Public Welfare Subcommittee that is considering extension of the Community Mental Health Centers Act.

**EGERBERG'S TESTIMONY**

The subject of the drug bill could arise naturally, observers say, because of such sentiments as one expressed recently by Dr. Roger O. Egeberg, Assistant Secretary for Health and Scientific Affairs. Dr. Egeberg, the Administration's top health official, said in Senate testimony leading to his confirmation that the law enforcement approach to drug problems would require "building stockades" because so many people were involved.

In any case, these observers say, it is likely that Senator Ralph W. Yarborough, Democrat of Texas, will try to draw out the opinions of the two drug experts. Senator Yarborough is the author of one of several bills that seek to curb drug abuse through education and research. He is also the sponsor of a mental health center bill.

The confidential memorandum calling for opposition to the Administration bill, it is understood, was submitted last week during conferences attended by Dr. Egeberg and Secretary Robert H. Finch.

If it had been adopted, it would have produced the unusual circumstance of two Administration departments taking conflicting public stances on a Presidential program.

At the end of the week, however, Creed C. Black, Assistant Secretary for Legislation, said that the Health, Education, and Welfare Department would not oppose the Administration bill. But he added, "We certainly are not going to ask any professional people to take a position that is contrary to their professional beliefs."

Health officials questioned were unanimous in their opposition to the bill in its present form, although only one, Dr. Sidney Cohen, would speak for attribution. Dr. Cohen is director of the Division of Narcotics Addiction and Drug Abuse of the Institute of Mental Health.

Dr. Cohen said: "This isn't the way to solve the problem. I am not concerned with the penalties for the pushers, but I am concerned about the young person who might be caught with a marijuana cigarette and thrown into jail for a long period of time. I would hope that we could find a more sensible approach."

The approach that Dr. Cohen and most other experts have urged has been that of research leading to education that would discourage abuse as well as to new forms of treatment of addicts.

"This is regressive legislation," said another official. "If I am called upon, I will have to say so."

**CALLS BILL DETRIMENTAL**

A top health official in the department who is an authority on drugs remarked: "This bill is more detrimental than helpful."

A "hair-raising" provision of the measure, he said, is that it will make simple possession of marijuana a felony. He added:

"The hooker in it is that possession with intent to distribute would bring a minimum of five years in jail with no probation or parole. That means that a student who had some marijuana intending to give it to another, could be thrown in jail for years."

"And if a college senior 21 years old gives a freshman under 18 a marijuana cigarette, the penalty can be doubled. It gets into the realm of the ridiculous."

"There's nobody here [in the department's health agencies] who wouldn't come out strong against that."

The official reserved some of his strongest comments for the provisions placing responsibility for research in the Justice Department.

"It's like having the police, judge and jury in the same identity," he said.

The department's top authorities on drug abuse were not consulted on the penalties, he said, and they were not able to see a final draft of the proposed legislation. He added that "some of the people at Justice are just sick, too, about those penalties."

It was understood that much of the pressure for increased penalties had come from White House aides.

"It's all part of the law-and-order theme," one official said.

## DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA—DEMA-GOGS IN THE URBAN JUNGLE

### HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 29, 1969

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, again I call attention to the shocking condition of our Nation's Capital—the constitutional responsibility of the Congress.

The District Democratic chairman, attacking the honest, loyal, working, tax-paying Americans who are the backbone of this Nation—calling them "all the nice white middle-class people opposing tax increases"—issues a thinly veiled call for racial violence.

The 27th murder of the month occurs. Among the weekend rapes is the mother of a wounded Vietnam veteran, gang-raped when she left Walter Reed Army Hospital after visiting her son.

The police forces request buildup to three regiment size.

Another bank robbery, downtown in broad daylight.

Special security measures at the U.S. courthouse to stop the molestation of secretaries and the theft of typewriters.

Twenty armed robberies and another rape on Monday.

Left-wing "protesters" on the Capitol steps.

Mass again interrupted at St. Matthew's Cathedral.

I include local news clippings:

[From (D.C.) Washington Daily News, July 26, 1969]

#### MOTHER OF VIETNAM VET ROBBED, RAPED

The mother of a wounded Vietnam veteran was gang raped last night just after she had visited her son at Walter Reed Army Hospital, District police said.

Police said the 42-year-old resident of Ohio, who is white was walking north on Georgia-av near the hospital when a Negro man threw a sweater over her head, forced her into a car and drove her to an unknown location, where he and five friends robbed her of \$120 and raped her.

She was treated at D.C. General Hospital and released.

Police earlier said a Southeast woman, 20, Negro was attacked while getting her laun-

dry out of the washing machine in the basement of her apartment.

She told police a Negro man put a sharp object to her neck, pushed her into a boiler room, raped her, and took her gold wedding band.

On leaving, he said, "I'm sorry."

[From the (D.C.) Washington Daily News, July 28, 1969]

A 33-year old Glover Park woman was raped early today by two teenagers, police said.

They said the woman, returning from her job at Maryland nursing home, was grabbed by two Negroes in their late teens as she was entering the front door of her apartment building.

The woman, white, was robbed of \$3 and a ring and forced to a parking lot behind the building where both men raped her.

[From the Washington (D.C.) Evening Star, July 28, 1969]

#### TERRIS SUGGESTS DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA ACT BOLDLY ON SELF-RULE

The District's Democratic chairman yesterday suggested from the pulpit that if Washington residents want self-rule they will have to act as drastically as American colonists did.

In a sermon at All Souls' Unitarian Church, 16th and Harvard Streets NW, Bruce J. Terris recommended a boycott of banking institutions that refuse loans to inner-city homeowners. He also suggested an increased effort by churches to support housing programs.

Terris suggested a taxpayers' revolt. "If the answer to our forefathers was to dump tea in Boston Harbor," he said, "maybe we will have to take similar action to prevent the collection of taxes in this colony."

"If tyranny justifies the taking of life, maybe it at least justifies continuous picketing of the homes of congressmen who act as arbitrarily over the District as King George did over the colonies."

He criticized "all the nice white middle-class people opposing tax increases" that apply to them, but remain silent on revenue proposals for social needs.

The contemporary prophets act rather than just talk, Terris said.

He mentioned as examples Reginald H. Booker, chairman of the Emergency Committee on the Transportation Crisis, and Sammie A. Abbott, the group's publicity director, "who breaks up meetings to stop freeways from being driven through black neighborhoods."

"The great sin of our blacks and of our young people," Terris said, "is that they are neither so cynical nor complacent that they have ceased to take our proclaimed values seriously."

Patience, he indicated, is not entirely virtuous.

"It is wrong to demand change at a rate which is impossible, which destroys more than it accomplishes," he said.

"But it is even more wrong to hide behind the need for patience when we can easily do far more to remedy the gross evils of our society."

#### POLICEMAN, SHOT IN EYE, WILL RETIRE

Capt. John F. Reynolds, the 48-year-old police official who lost the sight of his left eye during a wild shootout in February in which three private citizens were killed and seven officers injured, will be granted a disability retirement effective Friday.

Reynolds, an official in the Traffic Division, was hit on the left side of the face by a shotgun blast during the Feb. 21 gunfight. A shotgun pellet damaged the optic nerve, leaving him permanently blind in that eye.

The shootout took place at 1420 Madison St. NW., a rooming house owned by Mrs. Lela M.

Bannister. When two policemen answered a call that a woman had been shot inside the house, they were hit by a shotgun blast as soon as they stepped from their squad car.

#### MAN FATALLY STABBED IN NORTHWEST ARGUMENT

A Northwest Washington man was fatally stabbed Saturday night during an altercation with an unidentified assailant in front of an apartment house in the 300 block of Sheridan Street NW, police reported.

Police said Louis Reed, of the Sheridan Street address, was found about 9:45 p.m. with a wound in his chest. He was pronounced dead at Washington Hospital Center.

#### POLICE FORCES SEEKING BEEFUP—TO THREE REGIMENTS

(By Ronald Sarro)

The Nation's Capital will have enough policemen to fill the ranks of more than three Army combat regiments if all pending requests for additional men are filled.

The latest force to request an increase is the 250-member White House Police, which initially wants to more than triple its size and assume major responsibility for protecting foreign embassies here.

After increasing its strength to 850 men immediately, the force probably go up to 1,000 in a couple of years, Secret Service officials told Congress last week.

The size of the Metropolitan Police Department was increased last year from an authorized strength of 3,100 men to 4,100 men, and the department has been working on filling these 1,000 vacancies.

An appropriation request now before Congress with strong conservative backing, would increase the authorized strength of the city department by another 1,000 men—to 5,100 men during the next year.

This second 1,000-member increase has a good chance of passing Congress despite the fact that no one will be able to measure the impact of the first 1,000 additional men on crime until they are hired and go on the street to fight it.

In addition to the total of 3,000 more men the Washington and White House police seek for the future, smaller police departments with jurisdiction in the nation's capital also are seeking more men.

The U.S. Park Police here have an authorized strength of 363 men, and have a budget request pending to add 35 more. But the department says it really needs a total force of 450.

Another force is the U.S. Capitol Police, which protects the congressional homestead. It has a strength of 600 men, but has held off asking for any additional help by the fact that it has run out of locker space.

Even the 26-member National Zoological Park Police, who protect the zoo and its animals, say they could use two or three more men.

If all of these aforementioned requests were filled, there would be more than 7,150 policemen active in the city. A combat regiment, ranges between 1,500 and 2,400 men, not counting headquarters personnel.

That 7,150 figure does not count a number of smaller police forces, hundreds of federal building guards, FBI agents, Secret Service or CIA agents in Washington.

#### THE METRO SCENE—SONGFEST AT CAPITOL PROTESTS ABM, WAR

The week-long vigil on the Capitol steps against the controversial anti-ballistic missile system erupted yesterday afternoon into an anti-war and anti-ABM songfest, complete with accordion accompaniment.

For about an hour and a half, tourists were treated to such homemade ditties as "O Beautiful for ABM" and "Hymn to the Pentagon Monster."



The informal chorus of about 16 voices was lead by Carlos Van Leer, 62, local member of Veterans for Peace in Vietnam. Van Leer said he fitted the new words to the well-known tunes "because satire is the best sermon for today."

Capitol police reported no trouble with the group, although they said they warned the protesters to keep their signs and posters out of view.

An informal coalition of Washington area opponents of the ABM has conducted the continuous vigil since July 20, and a spokesman for the group said they plan to continue their protest until the Senate votes, possibly this week, on the measure.

#### NEW PROTEST INTERRUPTS MASS AT ST. MATTHEW'S

(By William Willoughby)

Two 12:30 services were held at St. Matthew's Cathedral yesterday after the pastor, the Rev. John Kuhn, ordered about 200 protesting Catholics out of the church when they refused to be seated during the reading of the Epistle, as is customary.

As Kuhn continued the interrupted mass in the sanctuary, an impromptu service was conducted by the Rev. George Malzone, a priest disciplined last year by Patrick Cardinal O'Boyle for resisting him on the birth control encyclical.

The outdoor service, on the center section of the steps, took on many of the forms of a combined fundamentalist street meeting and a freedom rally.

Kuhn interrupted the lay reader of the Epistle after all but the protesters had sat down. He read from a prepared statement, obviously anticipating that some kind of disruption would take place. This marked the 10th time a "teach-in" was attempted at the seat of the archdiocese.

He began his statement by telling the congregation of the events that led to the arrest last week, in the sanctuary, and during the services, of James Gibbons, a leader in the Center for Christian Renewal, which sponsors the teach-ins.

"I can only interpret the actions of the group from the so-called Center for Christian Renewal again today as a disregard for the law of this land," Kuhn said, "as they have repeatedly disregarded the rights of St. Matthew's parishioners upon whom they choose to force their aggressive and uninvited presence and their unwarranted opinions."

Although the particular portion of his statement was not read yesterday, one paragraph made it clear he was ready to press for additional arrests if the provocations became serious enough.

This was the biggest show of strength the protesting group, which is contending that "racism" is practiced in the archdiocese, had made to date.

Once outside the church, Gibbons challenged the followers to "fight from within . . . We must show them we're not just a movement of kookie people . . . that we're not trying to tear down anything." Charges against Gibbons following last week's arrest have been dropped, but he was warned he would be prosecuted if he was again arrested.

When he asked the group what counteraction they wanted to take, the initial suggestion was to go as a group for communion. Soon the reaction had simmered down and the decision to hold a service outdoors "as a witness" prevailed.

When the parishioners—only a small number of protesters belong to St. Matthew's—came out, most stayed clear but many muttered in disgust. "What the hell is this world coming to?" one man said.

After the service, Kuhn renewed charges against the protesters that their attack on racism is not legitimate. "They're only trying to keep us from doing what we might be doing."

[From the Washington (D.C.) Post, July 29, 1969]

#### HIDDEN CAMERA FILMS SUSPECT—DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA BANK ROBBED OF \$2,000

A robber fled with more than \$2,000 in cash yesterday morning from a crowded downtown bank.

"Don't be alarmed. Don't look up. Just fill this brown paper bag," the bandit had written on a deposit slip that he handed to teller June E. Quarles, 23, in The First National Bank of Washington, 509 7th st. nw., police reported.

They said Miss Quarles stuffed the money in the bag as directed. The robber was last seen walking out of the bank into the rain.

Most of the bank employees and customers, who were waiting in long lines to be served, were unaware a robbery had taken place until police and FBI agents arrived at the bank shortly after the holdup at 11:33 a.m., police said.

The FBI later released a sequence of six photographs of the robbery suspect that agents said had been taken as he walked "almost directly" toward a concealed surveillance camera.

#### OWNER IS FOUND SLAIN IN NORTHWEST LUNCHEONETTE

The owner of a Northwest Washington luncheonette was found bound and gagged and savagely beaten to death yesterday morning.

Police said the body of Pantelis Scarvelakis, 63, was found about 6 a.m. in the Arcade Luncheonette, at 3308 Georgia ave. nw., by one of his regular customers and a waitress after they found the front door locked but the back door open.

Scarvelakis was lying face down on the floor, according to police, who said his hands and feet were bound, his eyes blindfolded and his mouth gagged with strips of white cloth.

The proprietor was pronounced dead of head injuries at the scene by Deputy Coroner William Brownlee.

Police said no weapon was found. They said the slaying apparently took place after Scarvelakis surprised someone inside the luncheonette or was followed inside when he started to open for the day's business.

Scarvelakis, whose home address was listed by police as 5512 13th st. nw., had owned the luncheonette for the past 11 years, police said.

His death was the 153d District homicide this year, compared with 104 homicides at the end of July last year.

#### YOUTH ARRESTED IN FATHER'S MURDER

A Northwest youth was arrested by police yesterday in the stabbing death of his father during an argument Saturday night.

Police said they have charged Lawrence Reed, 19, of 1709 Lamont st. nw., with second-degree murder. His father, Louis Reed Jr., 57, of 530 Sheridan st. nw., was stabbed in the chest about 10 p.m. Saturday in front of his home, and died shortly after at the Washington Hospital Center.

#### CITY LIFE—U.S. COURTHOUSE SECURITY TIGHTENED

In the latest in a series of measures to combat an outbreak of petty crime at the U.S. Courthouse, security locks have been installed on all self-service elevators in the building.

Complaints ranging from the molestation of secretaries to the theft of typewriters led to the precautions taken during the past month by the building's guard force.

Use of the self-service elevators in the courthouse at 4th Street and Constitution Avenue nw. is now limited to persons equipped with elevator keys issued by the guards. Others must use the public elevators, which are manually operated by Government

employees and do not run at night or on weekends.

Entry into the courthouse during non-business hours is now limited to persons carrying a night, weekend and holiday pass signed by Maj. Howard McGonigal, chief of the security guards.

And only those persons carrying a separate pass authorizing the removal of property are permitted to take any equipment out of the building, which is directly across the street from police headquarters.

#### THREE WOUNDED POLICE STUDY RETIREMENT (By Alfred E. Lewis)

Three Metropolitan policemen, each of whom was wounded last February in the left eye during a shooting siege that left three civilians dead are expected to terminate their service with the force.

Capt. John F. Reynolds, 48, of the Traffic Division, who lost the sight in his eye, said yesterday he is retiring as of Thursday. He has served 22 years with the Police Department.

Sgt. Robert Householder, 36, of the Sixth Precinct, a veteran of 10 years on the force, appeared before the police board of surgeons on July 15 and expects to be retired, it was learned.

Police said that while he has not lost the sight of his eye, Householder suffered other injuries at the time of the shootings.

The third policeman, Officer Ronald Bennett, 39, said that he had never regained full vision in his left eye after he was shot. He said that while he has not asked for retirement, he is considering it. On the force for three years, Bennett was attached to the Sixth Precinct at the time of the shooting.

None of the officers has returned to duty since the shooting.

Thomas Walton, 36, a construction laborer, shot and killed his landlady, Lela Bannister, 65, at her home at 1420 Madison st. nw., also killed her maid, Ethel White, 66, and then shot himself to death after he had held some 75 policemen at bay with a shotgun the morning of Feb. 21.

Two other tenants in the house scrambled to safety after the building was set on fire, apparently by a tear gas shell containing incendiary fragments.

#### TWO BEATEN IN HOLDUP OF RESTAURANT

Two men robbed a Northwest Washington restaurant of an undetermined sum of money Sunday after a fight with the manager and a customer, police reported.

Arthur L. Seabolt, manager of the Little Tavern at 5100 Georgia ave., told police that two men, one armed with a gun, entered about 3 p.m. demanding money. He said the gunman hit him in the face with a raw hamburger and pulled the trigger of the gun, but it failed to fire.

According to police, one of the men then struck Seabolt over the head and knocked him to the ground. The other man floored a customer, Max Steinmetz.

Seabolt told police the assailants then took the money from the cash register and ran out the front door where they were joined by a third man.

Seabolt was treated at Washington Hospital Center and released, police said.

In other serious crimes reported by area police up to 6 p.m. yesterday:

#### ROBBED

William Boyd, of Washington, was robbed of \$70 at about 5:45 a.m. Sunday by two men who approached him while he was sitting with a friend in his car in the 2000 block of Benning Road ne.

Willie Boones, of Washington, was treated at Rogers Memorial Hospital for injuries he suffered at about 6:25 a.m. when he was beaten to the ground at 8th Street and Massachusetts Avenue ne, by several men who took \$8 from his pocket.

Charlie Goodman, of Washington, was robbed of \$25 at about 12:30 a.m. by three men, one armed with a gun, who approached him at 4th and V Streets nw.

Frank J. Hollis, of Washington, was beaten to the ground as he was getting out of his car in the 5500 block of 14th Street nw., by several men who escaped with his keys and wallet at about 9:55 p.m. Sunday.

Frazer Daniels, of Washington, was robbed of \$6 and a watch by two youths who beat him to the ground at about 2 a.m. in the 500 block of Rhode Island Avenue nw.

Esso Gas Station, 900 11th st. se., was robbed of \$50 at about 3:05 a.m. by four men who attacked the night manager while he was in the grease pit and took the money from his pocket.

High's Dairy Store, 3518 Georgia ave. nw., was robbed of an undetermined amount of money at about 10:55 p.m. Sunday by a man who appeared to have a gun.

High's Dairy Store, 5002 1st. nw., was held up by two gunmen who obtained an undetermined amount of money at about 5:45 p.m. Sunday.

High's Dairy Store, 8th and Upshur Streets nw., was robbed of an undetermined amount of money at about 4:25 p.m. Sunday by two men, one armed with a hand gun.

Buddy Norwood, of Washington, was treated at D.C. General Hospital for wounds he suffered when two men, one wielding a knife attacked him at about 3:30 p.m. Sunday at the underpass at 7th Street and Virginia Avenue se. One of the men cut Norwood on the hand and chest and the other man took \$100 from his pocket.

James E. Livingston, 49, of Washington was attacked at about 10:55 p.m. Sunday at the corner of 12th and H Streets ne., by three men who took \$26 from his pocket.

Janice Thomas, 22 of Washington, was treated at Rogers Memorial Hospital for injuries she suffered when a man grabbed her at 12th Street and Maryland Avenue ne., and beat her in the face and head with a revolver, at about 11:30 p.m. Sunday.

James A. Lincoln, 42, of Washington, was admitted to Rogers Memorial Hospital with a gunshot wound in the thigh. Lincoln told police he was sitting at the corner of 5th and D Streets ne., at about 8 p.m. Sunday when he was approached by three men one of whom fired a shot at him.

Carl M. Smith, 18, was treated at Rogers Memorial Hospital for stab wounds in the back which he received when a man armed with a knife attacked him in the 600 block of H Street ne., at about 7:45 p.m. Sunday.

Jack F. White, 19, of Kentland, Md., was treated at Prince George's Hospital for stab wounds he suffered during an argument at about 1:30 a.m. at 73d Avenue and Forest Road, Kentland, in which White was stabbed in the chest and cheek by a youth armed with a pocket knife.

Joseph A. Gibbs was robbed of \$150 by a man armed with a revolver who jumped into his car when he stopped at 18th and Church Streets nw. Gibbs was forced to drive to an alley in the 1300 block of Riggs Street nw., where the theft occurred.

Unico Wine and Liquor Company, 2645 Connecticut ave. nw., was robbed of an undetermined amount of money at about 1:20 p.m. by a man armed with a pistol who ordered the manager to turn over the money from the cash register. The man then demanded more money and followed the manager, Irving Levin, into a back room where he struck him on the head several times with the gun. A witness told police he saw the bandit enter a drug store, walk out the rear door and drive away in a waiting car.

The Adelphi Terrace Pharmacy, 9107 Riggs rd., Adelphi, was robbed by two armed men of \$436 yesterday at 9:30 a.m.

Samuel Brookbank, a truck driver for the Central Distributing Co., was robbed by two men, one armed with a gun, yesterday at 2

p.m. in a parking lot next to 1701 Kenilworth ave., Beaver Heights. They took \$2 in coins and Brookbank's watch.

#### ASSAULTED

A 33-year-old Washington nurse was raped and robbed at about 2:30 a.m., by two youths who approached her as she was entering her Northwest apartment building. The woman told police they took a ring and \$3 from her and then both of them raped her in a parking lot near the building.

### LOWERING THE VOTING AGE TO 18

#### HON. SHIRLEY CHISHOLM

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 29, 1969

Mrs. CHISHOLM. Mr. Speaker, our young Americans will one day inherit the management and maintenance of our political system. In order for our system of government to work at its best it must produce the greatest good for the greatest number of people while it continues to protect the basic rights and liberties of each individual.

At a time when there is a great amount of talk and interest throughout the country about the rights and welfare of minority groups and at a time when we have just finished celebrating the basic holiday of our democracy—July 4—I would like to enter a plea for what is estimated to be either the first or second largest minority group in our country. That minority group is the youth between the ages of 16 and 21.

The U.S. Bureau of Census in July 1968 estimated the size of that age group at 21,679,000—close to 10 percent of the population of the country. The size of that figure alone would seem to warrant their occasional refusal to participate in the war in Vietnam and other salient activities and aspects of our society on the basis that they have no direct representation.

The reason that I quote the statistics for the age bracket between 16 and 21 is very simple. If we wait 2 years to pass a bill lowering the voting age, approximately 200,000 youths will have joined the ranks of that unrepresented minority group.

In the war the average age of those who fight and die are under 21. In fact in Brooklyn, where my home district is, there was a recently reported case of a young marine who, at only 15, acquired the distinction of being our youngest fatality in Vietnam.

Many youths are now politically involved and have a deep concern for the complex social problems that now plague the country. At present there are about 5,000 VISTA volunteers on active duty in this country and there have been more than 16,000 since inception. The overwhelming majority have been youths between 18 and 21.

In this past election many young men and women were actively involved in political campaigns, but there were also many who were not. Those who were not were youths who have been discouraged from participating in the political sys-

tem for various reasons. One of these reasons was to be found in the response of the general electorate in the last election involving the late Robert Kennedy, Senator EUGENE MCCARTHY and the recent primary mayoralty election in New York City.

At the age of 18 young Americans must bear arms if called upon, and are considered adults in civil and criminal courts of law. The age of 18 is and has been considered the age of maturity in America.

Opinion polls have shown that 64 percent of the American voting public favors a lowering of the voting age to 18.

Young people, because of educational emphasis in the high schools on politics and our particular life—style, are generally more aware politically than their parents.

They are well-steeped in the belief that the right to vote is the fundamental requirement for citizen participation in our democracy. They are as aware as we are that this country came into being because American colonists would not stand for taxation without representation. They are aware of the close parallels between their present situation and the position of earlier Americans. They are also aware of the close parallels between their situation and the struggle of black Americans for political freedom in this country because many of them are black.

We cannot, in good faith, continue to deny these young adults the rights and privileges of adulthood while calling upon them to exercise their restraint and responsibilities.

House Joint Resolution 18 follows:

H.J. RES. 18

Joint resolution proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States to provide that the right to vote shall not be denied on account of age to persons who are eighteen years of age or older

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled (two-thirds of each House concurring therein), That the following article is proposed as an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, to be valid if ratified by the legislatures of three-fourths of the several States within seven years from the date of its submission to the States by the Congress:

"ARTICLE —

"SECTION 1. No citizen of the United States who is eighteen years of age or older shall be denied the right to vote by reason of age.

"SEC. 2. The Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation."

#### GARBAGE BY ANY NAME

#### HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 29, 1969

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, it was with great interest that I noted a light-hearted editorial commentary in the Chicago Heights, Ill., Star, Sunday, July 20, discussing present-day political debate phraseology.

In view of the fact that the editorial carries some practical suggestions that



might be pondered here in Washington, I hereby insert it into the RECORD:

#### GARBAGE BY ANY NAME

Not too long ago, in a suburban municipal election campaign a candidate referred to an opponent's material as "hogwash." Even at that level, it seemed that the term was lacking in class. And in the particular case, we weren't sure a well-bred hog would "buy" the stuff, much less eat it.

Under the circumstances, we were a little surprised more recently to note that Illinois Senator Charles Percy classified as "hogwash" some of President Nixon's remarks concerning the anti-ballistic missile system.

For our part, we are among the thinning ranks of non-experts who are neither dogmatically opposed nor unreservedly in favor of the BM, although if an error is to be made, we should prefer to have it made on the side of self-defense rather than self-neglect. But irrespective of the junior senator's position, it is somewhat disappointing—having supported him for governor and for his present post—to see him employ a somewhat tasteless word in referring to a fellow Republican.

Perhaps we can take comfort in the suspicion that Senator Percy was attempting to reintroduce a down-to-earth quality in the American dialogue. The tendency has been toward bandwagon adoption of new words and phrases. And although "mainstream," for example has almost run its course downstream, "thrust" and the like might be with us for a long time.

And on television, anyway, one no longer talks about a question or subject; he talks to it, resting assured that it cannot talk back. Not only that, but the lexicographers have at length caved in, and "host" is a verb in fact as well as in misdeed.

But "hogwash"? The junior senator might do better to mend his political fences and build upon the good start he made in the Senate with his low-income housing plan.

senger trains are known—to launch a study aimed at formulating a national policy on rail passenger service. It would determine what type of service is necessary, and whether the federal government should help subsidize it.

Having said that, the ICC goes back to its usual slumber—handling the tricky-track of minuscule trucking operating rights cases—content that it has done its job by telling Congress what to do.

But the ICC hasn't done its job. The commission has for more than a year been sitting on top of the most important railroad passenger case ever before it—a case in which one of its examiners has urged the ICC to assert that it does indeed have the power to protect the traveling public, and require at least bare minimum civilized services aboard trains—such as sleeping and eating facilities.

The examiner, John S. Messer, issued his historic report in April 1968 in a case that has been at the ICC since 1966. The commission heard arguments on it last September—and for 10 months since has dawdled over the matter while train after train has been discontinued, and while services aboard those remaining have dwindled.

There is no doubt Congress must set forth some national policy on rail passenger service. But Congress also is busy with such pressing matter as inflation, taxes and the war. Congressional action on rail passengers could take years. And while Congress deliberates, and the ICC waits, more trains make their final trips, and those still running are downgraded. Eventually, as things are going, the railroads will kill all of their remaining service.

Then, of course, there will be no need to rule in the Messer case because there will be no more trains. But the ICC could always say, "well, we tried—we told Congress it ought to act."

It is important to support them. For this reason, I have again introduced legislation to establish a special House committee on the captive nations. This committee would maintain a constant surveillance of the captive nations. It would periodically summarize its findings concerning the totalitarian control of these unfortunate nations and publish them on behalf of the legislative branch of the Government. The knowledge that such a committee in the U.S. Congress was at work would hearten the people of the captive nations. Its reports of tyrannical behavior by the Communist overlords would help to embarrass the Communists in the eyes of world opinion.

There are some overt indications on the part of the Soviet Union of a softening in its view of the West. Past history gives us no reason to consider this attitude as anything more than temporary—probably due to internal troubles and divisions within the Soviet Union. The regime will, as always, defend itself. As with Czechoslovakia, it will strike down any deviations toward liberty. It will do so with whatever ruthless force is necessary, even accepting the risk of war with the West in the process.

In this atmosphere, which promises to cloud our affairs for years yet to come, I strongly believe that the American Congress should equip itself with a Select Committee on Captive Nations. We are the leading legislative assembly in the world. All which threatens freedom is of deep concern to us.

I strongly urge the House to adopt House Resolution 349, my bill to establish a Select Committee on the Captive Nations.

#### WAITING FOR THE FUNERAL?

### HON. HOWARD W. ROBISON

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 29, 1969

Mr. ROBISON. Mr. Speaker, in my address to the House, Tuesday, July 22, 1969, on the subject "Let Us Go Down To The Station And Watch America's Last Passenger Train Come In," I tried to focus attention on the growing problem of the decline of railway passenger service as one of the greatest examples of legislative and administrative neglect that I could think of. In this regard, I was most interested in the following editorial from yesterday's Evening Star which takes the Interstate Commerce Commission to task for inaction in this area, and I recommend its message to my colleagues:

#### WAITING FOR THE FUNERAL?

The Interstate Commerce Commission recently completed a nine-month investigation into the costs of operating passenger trains. The well-documented report clearly shows that while the railroads, using the ICC's own accounting methods, have for years been vastly over-stating losses incurred from operating passenger trains, the fact is that these trains do run at a big deficit. The eight railroads studied could have saved perhaps \$118 million in 1968 had they not run any passenger trains.

At the same time the ICC has urged Congress—now that the costs of running pas-

#### CAPTIVE NATIONS—CLEVELAND URGES SPECIAL HOUSE COMMITTEE

### HON. JAMES C. CLEVELAND

OF NEW HAMPSHIRE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 29, 1969

Mr. CLEVELAND. Mr. Speaker, last week marked the 11th annual observance of Captive Nations Week, first proclaimed in 1959 by President Eisenhower.

The plight of the countries made captive by the Communist empire greatly concerns our freedom-loving Nation. For the past 11 years, our nationwide observances of Captive Nations Week in July have demonstrated the determination with which the American people support the hopes of freedom-loving people everywhere.

For us, this is not an idle exercise. Our Nation is rooted in the hatred of tyranny which drove our forefathers to the stark shores of the New World. Many thousands of our citizens today are refugees from European lands submerged beneath the tides of Red oppression. Many thousands more have kinfolk in those oppressed lands. All look to America as the bulwark—the last remaining bulwark of liberty.

Each year thousands of persons flee or attempt to flee to the West from the Communist world. At the risk of life and limb, these refugees vote with their feet and they vote for freedom.

#### DELBERT WRIGHT

### HON. JAMES A. McCLURE

OF IDAHO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 29, 1969

Mr. McCLURE. Mr. Speaker, at this time I would like to commend some outstanding Job Corps people from my State of Idaho.

Delbert Wright, corpsman and editor of the Snake River News which is the newspaper of the Marsing, Idaho, Job Corps Civilian Conservation Center, received a gold first-place trophy in the recent newspaper competition sponsored by the Corpsman, official Job Corps newspaper.

Also honored with a certificate of recognition was Mrs. Helen Branson, editorial coordinator for the newspaper.

I think it is significant that Editor Delbert is an Idaho corpsman. He has lived in Arizona and California but now his family is in Burley, Idaho.

The contest which he helped so much to win was among Job Corps Center newspapers and was sponsored by the Corpsman, with the cooperation of the American Newspaper Guild. The judging was conducted by Robert Asher, city bureau chief of the Washington Post, Mrs. Walter Swanston, the Washington Star, and Michael Bernstein, the Daily News. I am terrifically proud of the

Snake River News and the award they have won in this national competition.

I also think that a word of praise is in order for Cleve Bolingbroke who is the director of the Marsing camp. The boys and organization under his direction have brought a lot of credit to the Job Corps concept through their work in the area. The Lake Lowell project and Caldwell municipal golf course work are only two examples of helpful projects undertaken by the Marsing Center.

Delbert, Mrs. Branson, Cleve, and all others associated with the camp have a lot to be proud of. They are an example for others to follow.

#### CHINESE AMERICANS IN SAN FRANCISCO

### HON. PHILLIP BURTON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 29, 1969

Mr. BURTON of California. Mr. Speaker, at least one-quarter of the 300,000 Chinese Americans in the United States reside in the city of San Francisco where they are highly respected by their fellow citizens as patriotic, constructive, hard-working members of the community.

The San Francisco Chronicle of July 6, 1969, printed an editorial which clearly points to the unfortunate—and I certainly hope unintended—conclusions drawn from testimony before a subcommittee of this House. The editorial in the San Francisco Chronicle stated:

In the course of drumming up more men and more money for his FBI, Director J. Edgar Hoover has been warning Congress again about the Communist menace—but now it is the Chinese Communist menace in place of the traditional Muscovite.

On the evidence of the "blatant, belligerent and illogical statements" of some Red Chinese spokesmen, Director Hoover has concluded that the United States is beyond doubt Red China's "No. 1 enemy." The opinion clashes with recent events on the banks of the Ussuri, and with the respected testimony of numerous Sinologists, but the director is entitled to it.

On the other hand, when he speaks of Red Chinese infiltration and cites the fact that there are "300,000 Chinese in the United States, some of whom might be susceptible to recruitment," he oversteps the bounds. He is irresponsibly slurring a large substantial segment of American citizens and he ought not to do it.

Mr. Speaker, the testimony referred to by this eminent newspaper was made by Mr. Hoover before a subcommittee of the Committee on Appropriations of the House of Representatives. Mr. Hoover stated:

We are being confronted with a growing amount of work in being alert for Chinese Americans and others in this country who would assist Red China in supplying needed material or promoting Red Chinese propaganda. For one thing, Red China has been flooding the country with its propaganda and there are over 300,000 Chinese in the United States, some of whom could be susceptible to recruitment either through ethnic ties or hostage situations because of relatives in Communist China.

Mr. Hoover further testified:

In addition, up to 20,000 Chinese immigrants come into the United States each year and this provides means to send illegal agents into our Nation.

The inference invited by his testimony denies the basic heritage of our Nation, that we all have roots from other countries. We or our forebears settled in this land to build a better life, bringing the cultural diversity which has made this Nation great.

George Washington appointed our first Ambassador to China in 1786, Maj. Samuel Shaw, and the impact of Chinese art and culture on colonial and early American life can be seen even today by those who visit historic shrines like Mount Vernon, Monticello, or Williamsburg where intricate objects of jade, ivory, and porcelain are to be found.

The transcontinental railroad, whose centennial is marked this year, would have been impossible without the effort of the forebears of today's Chinese Americans.

Chinese-American citizens have lived in California since before she was a State. Thousands have fought and died in our Nation's wars. Their contribution to the arts and sciences, to the advancement of freedom and the development of this Nation and its history are too well known to belabor.

I am sure that all thoughtful Americans regret the unfortunate connotations which may be drawn from Mr. Hoover's poorly conceived comments.

#### POWER SHORTAGE AGAIN

### HON. THADDEUS J. DULSKI

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 29, 1969

Mr. DULSKI. Mr. Speaker, the shortage of electric power which threatened a large section of the Eastern United States last week is one more example of the need for legislative action to give the Federal Power Commission authority and responsibility to oversee the adequacy of all major transmission lines, interconnections, and capacities.

I introduced enabling legislation last February.

Except for prompt action on the part of power companies and the cooperation of consumers, notably the Federal Government, there could have been another catastrophic breakdown in power service at the height of a summer heat wave last weekend.

The Washington, D.C., Evening Star carried a perceptive editorial on this matter on July 28, as follows:

#### POWER SHORTAGE

The recent power shortage throughout the middle Atlantic states should have come as no surprise to anybody—especially anyone who follows matters at the Federal Power Commission.

The FPC's outgoing chairman, Lee C. White, has been warning for years that unless the utilities increased their plant capacity—and fast—we could face the disaster of massive blackouts or power shortages.

Instead of moving quickly enough, however, the utilities dawdled—but all the time telling us to increase our electricity consumption. How ironic. During the winter some utility companies tell us to buy air conditioners so we won't swelter during the summer. Then summer comes, and they tell us—during the hottest days of a heat spell—to shut off our air conditioners because they haven't enough electricity available.

It's not only electric utilities, however. The FPC warns us that we face a potential shortage of natural gas unless the producing companies expend more effort on exploration. And in New York City especially—though elsewhere as well—telephone users have complained bitterly that their calls are not going through because the telephone company hasn't expanded its facilities to meet needs.

Obviously, we cannot tolerate a telephone plant inadequate for our needs any more than we can power shortages during the heat of summer—or a potential gas shortage hitting some winter.

At the same time, however, the utilities are caught in a squeeze. They realize they must modernize to meet ever-increasing demands for more service caused by an increasingly affluent population. But in order to build new facilities they must borrow at current exorbitant interest rates being demanded by bankers. If they opt to pay these high rates, the additional money will come from utility users or from stockholders' dividends. They also face public opposition to nuclear-fueled power plants.

Locally, Potomac Electric Power Co. has decided that for the first time in 65 years it will omit its cash dividend for two quarters and instead give shareholders more stock in the company. By doing this it is saving \$10.5 million. PEPCO contends it has taken the step because of lower earnings and continuing construction needs.

PEPCO apparently has found at least a temporary way to keep pace with growth. But the ultimate solution lies in a change of basic philosophy by all utility companies. While the public must realize the stockholders who own these companies are entitled to a fair return on their investment, the utilities must realize that as long as they are granted virtual monopoly franchises, in their respective fields, service to the public must come first.

#### ECONOMY IN THE DEFENSE DEPARTMENT—WHERE?

### HON. GLENN M. ANDERSON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 29, 1969

Mr. ANDERSON of California. Mr. Speaker, several weeks ago I protested to the Department of Defense two proposals for centralized supply procurement. Although the Defense Department has replied, I do not consider their reply either responsive, realistic, or in the interest of economy. I have, therefore, felt it necessary to report to the people of my district with respect to the Department of Defense proposal. A copy of my report follows:

#### REPORT BY HON. GLENN M. ANDERSON

One of the most frequent concerns mentioned in letters from the people of the 17th Congressional District is for increased economy in government. It is a concern that I share fully with my constituents, but I am equally concerned by two recent proposals of the Department of Defense which I strongly oppose as false economy.



Both of the Department of Defense suggestions for, in their opinion, improved government efficiency involve the transfer of supply procurement personnel into centralized purchasing and procurement offices for perishable and nonperishable food supplies. Nonperishable commodity procurement would be centralized in Philadelphia and branch offices in California would be shut down. For perishable items, a West Coast office would be retained but the district offices in Los Angeles and Seattle would be concentrated into one central office in Oakland.

Considering the Defense Department's sizable activity and involvement in the western part of the United States and the level of military activity in the Pacific theater, it does not appear consistent nor in the realm of efficient planning to consolidate and centralize procurement activities on the eastern seaboard.

To the contrary, business is discovering that the most efficient method of operation is to centralize its data processing equipment but decentralize the personnel who deal with suppliers and customers. With modern communications methods, these personnel scattered throughout the nation can remain in instant contact with a centralized office while remaining physically near the sources of supply.

People are not like bricks. There is no need to dismantle the Defense Supply Agency's offices throughout the nation and expand the concentration of government personnel on the eastern seaboard where they are less responsive to the citizens they serve in other parts of the nation.

The Department of Defense argues that centralizing procurement offices will reduce costs, but an examination of some statistics supplied by the Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce graphically illustrates the effect closing the Los Angeles office will have on procurement costs.

During the 1968 fiscal year, the Defense Supply Agency office in Los Angeles accounted for the purchase of \$59.6 million worth of meat and dairy supplies compared to \$28.8 million for Oakland and \$13.5 million for Seattle. The proportions remained the same for all perishable commodities with the Los Angeles office doing more business than the other two combined. D.S.A. deals with more than 600 suppliers in the Los Angeles area, more than double the number for Oakland.

Thus the relocation of the D.S.A. procurement offices to Oakland—and to Philadelphia for nonperishable items—is a highly unrealistic policy for two reasons: (1) On those items with a limited number of suppliers, cost to the government will rise because of higher liaison costs. (2) On those items with many competitive bidders, those bidders whose operations are near the procurement office may either enjoy an advantage in bidding or make a higher profit while remaining competitive with more distant bidders.

In either case, there appears to be no advantage to the government and there seems to be an increase rather than a decrease in costs.

## HOUSE REPUBLICAN TASK FORCE ACTIVITIES

### HON. GEORGE BUSH

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 29, 1969

Mr. BUSH. Mr. Speaker, during the past 2 weeks the House Republican research committee task force on earth resources and population, of which I am

chairman, has heard from Gen. William H. Draper, Jr., national chairman, Population Crisis Committee, Mr. J. Steele Culbertson, director, National Fishmeal and Oil Association, and Dr. William Moran, president, Population Reference Bureau.

In order to keep the Members informed of the program of the task force activities, I offer the highlights of these hearings for the RECORD:

#### HEARING HIGHLIGHTS OF THE POPULATION CRISIS COMMITTEE, JULY 15, 1969

Gen. William H. Draper, Jr., National Chairman, Population Crisis Committee.

Members Present: Bush, Gubser, Horton, McCloskey, MacGregor, Henry Smith, Taft, Wold.

Special Guest: Frank Borman.

General Draper claimed that because decisions on the population problem do not face federal officials every day, the problem is like a rising tide. We don't realize the full implications until we are up to our necks.

Despite political promises of prosperity, economic growth in the underdeveloped nations has been neutralized by the population explosion. In India and Pakistan, public frustration is beginning to show in political, economic and social breakdowns.

General Draper stated, "Our strivings for the individual good will become a scourge to the community unless we use our God-given brain power to bring back a balance between the birth rate and the death rate."

The governments of Latin American countries realize the significance of their own population growth rates, but cannot politically support family planning programs due to the opposition of the Roman Catholic Church.

General Draper stated that he would like to see the number of people assigned to population control in AID increased from the present 67 to approximately 400.

General Draper pointed to three areas which are related to population control, which have not been adequately covered:

(1) the 1970 and 1971 censuses should be supported on a world-wide basis.

(2) contraceptive research should be accelerated both here and abroad.

(3) the World Health Organization should step up its proposed international programs.

Referring to a possible trend to liberalize abortion laws, General Draper pointed out that the Executive Committee of Planned Parenthood World Population has adopted a policy resolution claiming that abortion is not a legal matter, but rather one for the husband, wife and doctor to decide without the help of the state.

Col. Frank Borman added that he personally couldn't see any hope for a meaningful life on earth, "living in a cubical apartment with a bowling alley in the basement."

#### HEARING HIGHLIGHTS OF THE NATIONAL FISHERIES INSTITUTE, JULY 17, 1969

Mr. J. Steele Culbertson, Director, National Fishmeal and Oil Association.

Members Present: Bush, Frey, Horton, Lukens, McCloskey, Pettis.

In order to negotiate beneficial fishing treaties with the Russians, we need an expanded research program in the United States. Mr. Culbertson explained that very little is known about the migratory patterns of our Atlantic specie and that by negotiating we are "taking a broad step in the dark."

According to Mr. Culbertson, the death of the California sardine fisheries can be attributed to a lack of research. In the 1930's those fisheries were producing 1.5 billion pounds of fish annually, until the fish began to inexplicably disappear. Research projects were begun too late to save the industry.

The meat-feed ratio for poultry is approximately 1 pound of meat for 2 pounds of feed.

Producing 1 pound of catfish meat requires only 1.6 pounds of feed. Ten pounds of catfish can be produced on 17 cents of fishmeal feed.

Mr. Culbertson claimed that harmful marine pollution can be prevented by careful plant processes analysis. In Alaska pulp mills are allowed only if they use a magnesium process which does not endanger the salmon industry.

Our national fish production has decreased from 23 pounds per person to 10 pounds per person in the last 10 years. Mr. Culbertson predicted that without federal action that in five years we would be producing only 5 pounds per person.

#### HEARING HIGHLIGHTS OF THE POPULATION REFERENCE BUREAU, JULY 24, 1969

Dr. William Moran, President, Population Reference Bureau.

Members present: Bush, Horton, McCloskey, Pollock, Smith, Taft, Wold.

Dr. Moran, President of the Population Reference Bureau expressed considerable concern over projected resource consumption rates. In 1900 the United States used 40.9 billion gallons of water. In 1960 that amount had increased to 322 billion gallons of water annually. Furthermore, these growing consumption rates apply to almost all of our resources.

One of the major problems the United States has in resource management is attitudinal. Dr. Moran feels that we have adopted a "frontiersman" attitude and seem to believe that there will always be new resources available. The fact is that we are already failing to replenish some of our most essential resources. For instance, in the Southwestern United States we are tapping fossil water, or water left from the last ice age.

In this country today we produce only 60% of the oxygen we consume. We have introduced into our atmosphere more carbon dioxide than our plants can absorb and convert to meet our oxygen requirements.

We have in the United States, 6% of the world's population, but we are presently using  $\frac{1}{4}$  to  $\frac{1}{2}$  of the world's resources. If the world is to someday manage its resources better, the U.S. must assume an important leadership role.

Dr. Moran believes that our efforts should be spent convincing young couples that their family will be happier and that their children will have a better chance for an education if family planning is practiced. Finding a way to convince and motivate the general public should be our first priority.

The Population Reference Bureau concentrates a great deal of its resources in both Latin and South America. Dr. Moran explained that the influence Catholicism has over national family planning programs varies with each country. Nationalism in countries like Brazil also limits the extent to which family planning services may be introduced. Brazil allows only 15% of those women who are considered fertile to receive any family planning services or information.

## SCHOOL PROJECTS ARE GUILLOTINED

### HON. SILVIO O. CONTE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 29, 1969

Mr. CONTE. Mr. Speaker, we are currently debating appropriations for Labor, Health, Education, and Welfare, and related agencies. The extent to which funds have been cut back has been pointed out time and time again. The

effect that these cuts will have upon our educational system has also been mentioned on numerous occasions.

I read a most interesting article on the extent to which schools would be affected by these cuts in the Sunday Star on July 20, 1969. The article is entitled "School Projects Are Guillotined" and is by Sylvia Porter.

I think the Star article is especially good reading and, therefore, I include it in the RECORD at this point:

**SCHOOL PROJECTS ARE GUILLOTINED**  
(By Sylvia Porter)

A House Appropriations subcommittee is about to complete a bill to provide cash for the national education budget during the 12 months ending July 1970. In the form prepared by the Nixon administration, this bill would downgrade education to a very low place on the list of national priorities. It would, in fact, erase several education advances achieved under the three previous administrations of Eisenhower, Kennedy and Johnson. Specifically, in its Nixon administration form, this bill would:

Reduce the total Office of Education budget from \$4.1 billion in fiscal 1968, to \$3.2 billion in fiscal 1970, a reduction of 25 percent at a time when more and better education is a must;

Reduce to zero funds for school library materials under the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965;

Reduce to zero matching funds for materials and equipment for elementary and secondary schools under the National Defense Education Act of 1958;

Reduce to zero funds for guidance and counseling services, also under the NDEA, passed during Eisenhower's administration;

Cut in half funds for college library materials, under the Higher Education Act of 1965;

Cut in half matching funds for public library programs and materials under the Library Services & Construction Act of 1956, another Eisenhower education law.

In summary, eliminate entirely three education-library programs and emasculate another two and shrink to less than 1½ percent of the federal budget the total for education-libraries.

The fact that this is a very real threat and may well happen is just starting to penetrate education circles; until now, educators could not believe that the Nixon administration would adopt such policies of retreat on education in a period of explosive social unrest.

They are fighting back. A National Citizens Committee to Save Education & Library Funds (SELF) under the chairmanship of Detlev W. Bronk, president emeritus of the Rockefeller University, is publicizing the crisis.

On July 9, 150 trustees of libraries from 33 states marched on Washington to obtain pledges of votes for restoration of the funds from 100 lawmakers.

A fight on the House floor seems a certainty.

No one denies the need for curbing federal spending now; this is imperative to dampen inflationary psychology and control the price-wage spiral. But what is swelling the federal budget are such items as military spending in general, the Vietnam war in particular, skyrocketing interest on the national debt. As one comparison, Texas Democratic Senator Yarborough cites the fact that we are spending \$21,666 per American for ammunition to fight the Vietnam war—against 25¢ per American for libraries and teaching materials. As another, while our national education budget is threatened with mutilation to the \$3 billion a year range, interest going to owners of the U.S. debt is soaring above an annual \$17 billion.

These cutbacks would wipe out libraries in areas where the need is greatest; for instance, many bookmobiles would disappear in regions of New Mexico where the Indian pueblos and Spanish-American migrants live. Thousands of children would suffer; the key cause of failure in school is inability to read.

In the words of New York GOP Senator Javits: "Guillotining the education budget is not responsible fiscal belt tightening." Or even more to the point, as Yarborough asks in obvious disgust:

"What kind of priorities do we have in this country?"

**MASS TRANSPORTATION TRUST FUND**

**HON. WILLIAM S. MOORHEAD**

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 29, 1969

Mr. MOORHEAD. Mr. Speaker, on May 28, in my CONGRESSIONAL RECORD comments, "Money for Mass Transit—Let Us Get Moving," I said that "the gravity of the transportation situation in our cities demands prompt Federal action to help cities and States build modern mass transportation systems to meet tomorrow's needs." I further stated that those of us in the Banking and Currency Committee who have been advocating money for mass transit would welcome the support of Secretary Volpe who has stated that this is top priority. But we are still waiting for the administration's message.

Meanwhile, our colleague, the gentleman from New York (Mr. Koch) has shown great perception of the problem since coming to the Congress, and I would like to insert at this point in the RECORD his very fine testimony of July 23—urging the trust fund approach—before the Housing and Urban Affairs Subcommittee of the Senate Banking and Currency Committee, for the thoughtful attention of my colleagues.

The testimony follows:

TESTIMONY OF HON. EDWARD I. KOCH OF NEW YORK BEFORE THE HOUSING AND URBAN AFFAIRS SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE SENATE BANKING AND CURRENCY COMMITTEE ON THE MATTER OF THE MASS TRANSPORTATION TRUST FUND, JULY 23, 1969

Mr. Chairman, I am pleased to appear before your Committee today, and I must say that I feel something like Paul Revere in coming over here to tell your Committee of the forces marshaling in the House for a mass transportation trust fund and of the support that I have found all over the country for such a program. In getting here, however, I rode not a horse, but the House subway costing \$7.7 million and the Senate subway costing yet another \$2.4 million. A total of \$10.1 million for 1,728 feet while only \$175 million was appropriated for all of the nation's mass transportation needs in Fiscal Year 1969. Mass transit is expensive, the facilities in most cities are antique and grossly inadequate, and the municipalities, overburdened by other urban problems, cannot support the expenditures for capital improvements.

On February 18th I introduced a bill in the House to provide \$10 billion over the next four years for capital improvement grants to mass transportation. The bill, H.R. 9661, is identical to S. 2656 introduced by Senator

Alan Cranston of California now before your Committee; and it is similar to Senator Williams' bill with, however, some major exceptions. Briefly, the bill provides for the establishment of a trust fund, financing by the existing 7% automobile manufacturer's excise tax—and provision for the excise tax's continuation at this level, a change in the present mass transportation program's 2/3 federal share to 90%, and the elimination of the 12½% limitation on funds going to any one state.

Since February, 95 Members of the House of Representatives have joined in sponsoring the bill.

In addition to gaining support for the trust fund in the House, I have established an action alliance, ZOOMass Transit, to organize the interest that exists all over the country for an increased federal financial program for mass transit. I have written over 1,000 letters to mayors, city and state legislators, local chambers of commerce and transit authorities across the country, giving particular attention to the 25 largest cities.

These 25 metropolitan areas present a vivid picture of the desperate situation of urban areas in not being able to provide adequate public transportation. Highways simply do not meet the needs of our cities. They demand too much space. 20 lanes of highway are needed to carry the traffic supported by one set of railroad tracks. As a result, cities like Los Angeles find more than 50% of their land area covered by ribbons of concrete and asphalt.

In my own City of New York two highways had been mandated by the City's administration, namely the Brooklyn Clearview Expressway and the Lower Manhattan Expressway. Fortunately, because of the ever continuing pressures and demonstrable outrage of the community, the present administration of the City of New York has finally seen the light and killed those particular highways.

The responses which I have received from a number of mayors and city legislators have overwhelmingly affirmed the need for more federal funds for mass transit. At this time 70% of our population lives in urban America. Unfortunately, their mass transit needs until this day have never received adequate attention.

It is my understanding that there have been some in the Administration who suggest that we need more time to plan and have questioned whether an amount of \$10 billion could be committed in the next four years if indeed it were made available. The information which I have received indicates that it surely can. Plans have already been made by a number of our cities and are ready to be executed once the funds are available. Mass transit like highways require advance planning. The plans are there; unfortunately, the money has been wanting.

There also have been members of the Administration who take the position that while they support an expenditure of \$10 billion over the next four years or perhaps over the next 10 years on public transportation, the money should be made available out of the general treasury and through annual Congressional appropriations. If we were to do that and set a goal of \$10 billion over the next four or more years and simply provide that it shall be annually appropriated, then we here in Congress would be perpetrating a hoax upon the American public. I believe it is most unlikely that Congress will annually appropriate the funds necessary to do the job. To confirm my feeling in this area, one only need look at the goals set forth in the Housing Act of 1968 which contemplated 26 million new units of housing over the next ten years. The funding to start toward that goal would have required at least \$4 billion this fiscal year. Instead, the House has appropriated \$1.7 billion.

Our cities, aware of the unreliability of the



annual appropriation method and already faced with enormous demands on their limited revenues, cannot commit their own share of funds necessary for the kind of long range planning and construction required by mass transit without knowing in advance that the federal funds will be available at the time they are needed so that contracts can in fact be entered into.

To substantiate my assertion that cities are able to go forward with construction based on sound plans already developed, I should like to bring to the Committee's attention information on some of the projected costs I have received from transit authorities across the country.

In Atlanta, Georgia, the Metropolitan Atlanta Rapid Transit Authority was organized in 1965 and has spent over one and a half million dollars on planning. The plans for mass transit capital improvements and expansion call for a total of \$751 million over the next nine years (\$235 million in the next five years); but, just recently the execution of these plans was thwarted by the public's defeat of a \$500 million bond issue. According to Mr. W. P. Maynard, President of the Atlanta Transit System, the bond issue referendum was "defeated by a vote of 57% to 43%, primarily because there was no substantial long range federal help in view." Mr. Maynard continued, "Even though the urgent need for a rapid transit system was recognized by voters, there was a strong feeling that this was such a large financial undertaking that the total financing could not be borne locally."

In Seattle, a bond issue was similarly defeated and the effects of that can best be testified to before this Committee by the Honorable James D. Braman, Assistant Secretary of the Department of Transportation and former Mayor of Seattle.

Once again, in New York City with which I am most conversant, the Metropolitan Transportation Authority estimates that the metropolitan regional needs for the next seven years will be in the order of magnitude of some \$2.1 billion. Dr. William Ronan, Chairman of that authority stated in a letter to me that "the missing ingredient is federal funds in sufficient amount and timely enough to help bring this whole program into realization. Time is of the essence as construction costs mount daily, making all such programs increasingly expensive."

To give you just a couple more project cost estimates, may I briefly note that the Chicago Transit Authority has plans for a capital program of 1.5 billion dollars in the next five years and part of its \$2.4 billion ten year program, and in Washington, D.C., execution of the Regional Rapid Rail Transit Plan and Program will require an expenditure of at least \$2.5 billion.

For the record, Mr. Chairman, I would like to submit some of the letters which I have received from the mayors of several of the larger cities. These letters explain further the urgent need for a mass transportation trust fund and an expanded program of federal financing. I would like to submit a list of the Members of Congress who are co-sponsors of H.R. 9661 and city and state legislators who have responded to my letters setting forth the mass transit trust fund concept and telling them of the founding of ZOOMass Transit.

In closing, I wish to pay particular respect to Senator Harrison A. Williams, Jr. of New Jersey as being the leader in the field of mass transit. I know that we are indebted to him for the enactment of the 1964 Urban Mass Transportation Act, and he has been the standard bearer for all the Congress in recent years as the program has developed. I know that when I first came to Washington in January and expressed my interest in mass transit, everyone responded, "Pete Williams has been the leader of the

fight for years. Support him." Gentlemen, I am—along with over a hundred other Congressmen who have joined together in support of the mass transportation trust fund and adequate funding now.

#### AN OPEN INVITATION TO THE ALLENTOWN FAIR

**HON. FRED B. ROONEY**

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 29, 1969

Mr. ROONEY of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, on Friday of this week one of the Nation's oldest and best known fairs will open its 114th exposition, in Allentown, Pa.

The great Allentown Fair, sponsored by the Lehigh County Agricultural Society which was formed in 1852—117 years ago—was unable to stage its annual exposition only three times in its history. One year during the Civil War the fairgrounds were occupied by an encampment of a Pennsylvania militia unit. And for 2 years during World War I, the fairgrounds were utilized as a training site for the U.S. Army Ambulance Corps.

I am pleased to call the attention of my colleagues to the great Allentown Fair of 1969, which opens August 1 and closes August 9. I extend to each of you an invitation to visit the fair and to enjoy the countless exhibits and activities, the huge midway and the star-studded afternoon and evening programs and shows on the fairgrounds' track-side stage.

Lehigh County has long been an agricultural area, and even today, as its economic base grows more diversified industrially, the traditions of agriculture and the agricultural industry continue to play an important role. The fair, in turn, helps to maintain these traditions with outstanding competitions and exhibits of livestock and agricultural products.

And the fair does more. In the belief that a fair is an excellent showcase of a community, the great Allentown Fair works hand in hand with local government, local industries, and civic organizations to promote goods and services of the broad Lehigh Valley. The fair annually draws more than a half million visitors, a great percentage of which are from outside the immediate area. Through the hundreds of exhibits and displays, they have the opportunity to view the progress of a hard-working people and a growing area. The fair also provides free space for a large number of exhibits from the agencies of the Federal Government and from the embassies of foreign countries.

The fair opens each year with Government Day. Leaders from Federal, State, and local governments are invited, as are members of the clergy, industrial and civic leaders, and the press and veterans organizations. The program opens with a veterans memorial service and includes a salute to all men and women in Government service. This year, the U.S. Army Field Band and the Soldiers Chorus will

take part in this opening program. The U.S. Navy Sea Chanters will take part in the fair Saturday and Sunday, August 2 and 3.

Stage shows will begin August 1 and 2 with Lawrence Welk and his orchestra. Johnny Cash, with June Carter, the Statler brothers, Carl Perkins, and the Tennessee Three will be on stage August 4 and 5. The Harlem Globetrotters, making their first fair appearance, will be on stage August 6 and 7, and Merv Griffin, John Davidson and the Doodletown Pipers will close out the week with shows on the 8th and 9th.

Afternoon events will include harness racing August 2 and 3 with TV's Gentle Ben, the lovable bear, on stage between the races; a demolition derby, the famed Tamburitians from Duquesne University and Dan Fleenor's Hurricane Hell Drivers.

#### APOLLO 11 SUCCESS

**HON. JOHN O. MARSH, JR.**

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 29, 1969

Mr. MARSH. Mr. Speaker, all Americans can take pride in the success of Apollo 11. I think the following editorial is very timely when we examine the achievements of the space program:

[From the Staunton (Va.) Leader, July 23]

#### NOW IT'S A MIRACLE

Only yesterday, there were those in Congress and other high places who tried to make the term military-industrial complex a dirty word. Today, speaking of the voyage of Apollo 11 to man's first moon landing, the tune has changed. Now it is a miracle of industry-government teamwork.

There were 17,000 companies that supplied the component parts of the Apollo series, including 9,000 that made substantial contributions and 20 that developed highly important parts. Also there was the group of companies who built the rocket, the engines, and the rest. With the precision assembly the final touch of another industrial cooperation, so it is this same teamwork that has kept the United States in the forefront in defense.

The military-industrial complex, to call it by the no-longer dirty word appellation, includes most of the top names of American industry. Theirs has been the dedication, the scientific know-how, the technology that put the hardware together for the whole space program from its inception to the moon launch.

It is time we recognized this industrial-government teamwork for what it is, the first line of defense behind which the world's most prosperous nation, and the world's people with the highest standards of living have been protected from the Communist world that covets our hard-earned wealth and well-being.

Although President Eisenhower inadvertently mentioned its power, he nonetheless called upon it to keep our defenses strong. John F. Kennedy, a Democrat, called on this massive industrial-military complex to put a man on the moon before 1970. Lyndon B. Johnson, another Democrat, rode hard on the team and saw it begin to produce astonishing results. Richard M. Nixon, another Republican, carries on this tremendous teamwork for its climatic event.

It has been a nonpartisan job. Politics has only shown its head recently when some challenged the top priority of the task. As for ourselves, we say well done, and let's put an end to questioning the worth of the great military-industrial complex which made it all possible and kept us all free.

OPPORTUNITY FOR CREATIVE  
WORK NEEDED IN OUR COUN-  
TRY'S EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM

HON. WILLIAM S. MOORHEAD

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 29, 1969

Mr. MOORHEAD. Mr. Speaker, a few weeks ago I was delighted to bring to the attention of my colleague an editorial from the Washington Post praising one of my constituents, Fred Rogers, for his outstanding children's television program, "Mister Rogers' Neighborhood."

Speaking to a group of the Nation's school administrators recently, this expert on working with our younger people made the point that since all children are unique, it is the opportunity to reach this uniqueness in the individual and nurture the creative self-expressions which is the real challenge of our educational system today.

I include his very perceptive and interesting remarks before the Advanced Administrative Institute at Harvard on July 18 for the attention of my colleagues:

ADDRESS BY FRED M. ROGERS

What you are about to hear is an old story. Oh, the characters may have different names and the walls have different colors, but the plot is the same. The drama has been going on ever since a group of children was first herded into a classroom, told to sit down and be nice and quiet, not to look at each other's papers or to ask each other any questions or to wiggle in their seats or to let their minds wander anywhere beyond the walls of that classroom. This story is as old and as new as a teacher confessing to fellow teachers, "I spend 75% of my time with discipline."

My question to you is a simple one. Why is the story such an old one? Why has it gone on so long?

I am not an educational historian so I'm not qualified to answer that question. I am, however, a creative artist who has chosen to work with children, so it is with this identity that I look at the revolutions of youth today.

I know a 12-year-old girl who finally had to give up studying piano because she had too much homework. I know two high school seniors who spent every evening for two months preparing a one-act play for an English class because it was the only assignment in four years in which they were really interested. (These two children said that the course was so crammed that you could hardly get a seat.) I know fourth graders who have three and four hours of homework every night and during the summer vacation don't want to even look at a book, and you know hundreds more children than I do just like these: different names, but the plot's the same.

It is my conviction that the Youth who are in revolt today are being revolted by our failure to know who they really are. They are tired of being enrolled, assigned, programmed, graded and molded from without. They are weary of the passive verbs of edu-

cation and they want to work at their own developmental level of becoming who they really are.

Compare a child in a healthy nursery school, building highways and skyscrapers with wooden blocks, trying on big hats and shoes and making pies out of mud and deciding which song to sing when his turn comes—compare that child with that same child 12 years later. Somewhere along the way everything that was important to that alert, curious young person, everything that he felt he was creating was somewhere, somehow labeled extra-curricular. The child's own growth tasks, his own inner ways of coping with his environment, as well as his feelings, were all labeled as unimportant and the business of memorizing somebody else's book and doing what he's told became the only way to PASS. What happened to the highways and skyscrapers, the grown-up hats and shoes and food and songs and choices? How did they turn into alleys and cellars and nudity and pot—monotone and copout?

Why do nursery school children who are so ready to identify with the grown-up graduate from high school already revolting against what they once dreamed of becoming?

Why? Because we, their parents and teachers, have taught them that their dreams of becoming like us were of no value, that the creative work of growing from within, of using and appreciating each unique endowment was not the way to succeed. By our stifling opportunities for creative expression, we have blown up their highways and skyscrapers which were miniatures of ours, we have ripped off the hats and shoes which were just like our own, we have withheld the food and the music and the choices which they always wanted to make, and we have told them that that kind of world was no good, that the things of great value were letters, numbers, lesson plans, homework (never home-run) and examinations. And so they have taken the assignments that we've given them and little by little they have given up wondering whether some day they might be asked to do something which they felt was important. It is we who have done the violence—not they. Why should they want to become like us. Why should they want to become people who limit opportunities for creative expression?

My thesis, therefore, is that *Creative work is absolutely essential to the healthy growth and development of the human personality. It is the mode by which new solutions for every field evolve, and therefore the opportunities for creative work must be greatly expanded in our country's educational system.*

A few weeks ago I had the opportunity of spending a fortnight in Britain. Besides reviewing some excellent television work, I was privileged to assist in several sessions at the Hampstead Nursery School and Clinic with its director, Anna Freud. Incidentally, this nursery school is for children within the normal range of development: a demonstration center for all those working in pathology to use as a place where they can keep in constant touch with the norm! After the presentation of developmental material of one of the nursery school children (a four-year-old girl by the name of Maria whose earlier years were filled with the uncertainties of moving a large family two at a time from Italy to England), after hearing the latest observations of this little girl, Miss Freud leaned back in her chair and with her beautiful Viennese accent said so simply, "What fascinates me about this child is that with all the difficulties in her young life how she turns out to be such a normal little girl. This is what we must constantly search for what we must constantly build upon." This spirit pervades that place and I learned again what my earlier work at our Arsenal Family and Children's Center in Pittsburgh had helped

me discover that respect of persons breeds respect of persons. But I've found this also beyond the halls of psychoanalytic centers.

By now, most people who are the least bit interested in education have heard of the work of some of the Leicesters schools in Great Britain. On the chance that I could see some of this expression of primary education firsthand I called for an appointment. To make a long search story short, I discovered that these poor schools have been so swamped by American visitors that they simply are refusing most people who request a time to come. One inspector said to me, "It seems that every American who buys an airplane ticket to England thinks he should be able to observe in our schools. We just can't begin to handle them all." Well, to tell you the truth, I'm glad my request was refused because otherwise I might not have discovered the John Hamden Junior School of Thame, a tiny town 17½ kilometers London side of Oxford. It was a cool morning when I drove there and the school from the front didn't look much different from any old school building, but what went on inside surely was. Gordon Cumming, teacher of nine and ten year olds greeted me and showed me to the headmaster's office. Vernon Hale is the headmaster and his office consists of three armchairs, a round coffee table, a bookshelf, a telephone, and children's original paintings on the walls. This is a state school (a public school in our terms). It's the public school of a very small town. Well, Vernon talked about his views of education, of that school's policies of allowing the children to create their own work from within and I was impressed with his own excitement about his own work.

I know that this kind of work is beginning in this country and the main thing which holds it back is the old tyranny of college entrance exams. Well, when examinations are revised and the ways of administering them are civilized, then we needn't fear the adoption of creative innovation in education. Then teachers won't have to be tested every month to see if their kids have delivered what they have been told to have them deliver.

Every week day I make a television visit to millions of children throughout the United States. The object of these visits is to remind children that each one of them is unique and that each one has something special to bring to any relationship. I help them to discover that people's feelings are mentionable as well as manageable and that each one of us has endowments of which we can be proud. I let them know in very certain terms that *I need them* in order to be who I am. In fact the very beginning of a new recording entitled "You Are Special" which I just made goes like this:

"You really are special to me. Do you know why? Well, you see, I'm a man who likes to talk and sing with children so I need someone like you who likes to listen to a man like me. After all, it's you who make your Dad a father and it's you who make your Mom a mother and it's really you who make me your special friend. I need you. See why you're so special to me?"

And then we go on to talk and sing about such things as the assets of being small, and age-appropriate worries like just what does the barber cut off with his scissors and just what does go down the bathtub drain and just what is it like to have an injection and just what is the difference between thinking of something and doing it.

Oh, to be sure there are lots of times that we play with letters and numbers and weights and measures and poetry and science and opera and machines for they are all part of the world about which children are so naturally curious. But the child's real triumphs are reflected in his abilities to cope with his own feelings to make the most of his own unique endowment and those are the tri-



umphs which I applaud. Those are the triumphs which must not pass unnoticed. It is a person's creativity which allows him to make something of himself. It is this natural human creativity for which I have such deep respect. It is this creativity which must be fostered far beyond the five-year-olds.

How do we go about encouraging creative expression in young people (which of course means also how do we go about encouraging young people to bring about change constructively rather than destructively)?

Well, first I think that just by our being here we admit that our present system needs revision. You have ways of bringing about constructive change of which I couldn't even dream and I trust you to use all your resources for that change. Being a producer in a medium such as television I'm used to problems, but I'm also used to finding solutions to problems. After having observed children's development for a good many years, I'd like to make just one specific suggestion today and that is that all of us should turn our attention to creative adults of all kinds: such people as designers, dancers, writers, painters, sculptors, musicians, mechanics, printers, carpenters, actors, basket-makers, dress-makers, shoemakers, cooks—anyone who uses his craft as a creative mode of expression and finds deep satisfaction in it—and that we should woo these people into the educational fiber of our country so that our children have as many contacts as possible with these creative adults.

There was a sculptor once at our Center who loved his work. He didn't teach clay to the children; he delighted in it. The children have never used clay so freely as they did when that man sculptured in their midst.

When a pianist and puppeteer came to our staff, dusty pianos and unused puppets began to have great appeal for our children. They dramatized and sang about intimate themes of growing, of coping with age-appropriate tasks.

We must make available this kind of opportunity if we are to expect our children to be able to develop their own constructive modes of expression. There are creative adults in all fields who already care deeply about children who will welcome the invitation to become something other than extra-curricular. They will welcome the opportunity of reinstituting the age of Apprenticeship; and who knows, some of the almost-forgotten hand-crafts of the past may not have to die but rather may gain new dignity in the hands of the young. And what's more, our children will be exposed daily to images of constructive change in the adult world—they will be in touch with the adults who actually design the highways and build the skyscrapers, adults who sew the clothes and make the shoes, adults who cook the pies and write the songs and make the decisions because they've found their way of expressing who they are. And then the children will find their way, too—along the route of lifelong learning with the magnificent sense of being truly worthwhile.

#### SPACE AND MAN'S FUTURE

**HON. OLIN E. TEAGUE**

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 29, 1969

Mr. TEAGUE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, Dr. Thomas O. Paine, Administrator of the National Aeronautics and Space Administration, thoughtfully discusses the future of our national space effort in the

August 1969 issue of *Pace* magazine. Dr. Paine points out, "Man's future in space is limitless." Because of the significance of Dr. Paine's remarks and the urgent need for decisions in our national space effort I am including this article in the RECORD:

#### SPACE AND MAN'S FUTURE

(By Dr. Thomas O. Paine, Administrator, National Aeronautics and Space Administration)

Space exploration is to me the greatest adventure of the human mind and spirit. In the last decade space travel has opened up an entirely new destiny for man—and, indeed, for terrestrial life. We who are alive today are taking part in a fundamental new step in the evolution of life, perhaps as significant as the ancient emergence onto land of primitive organisms from the sea. We are providing the most exciting possible answer to the age-old question: Can life exist on the moon and other planets? The answer is, Yes!

With advancing science and technology, men of vision and spirit, working together, can send forth life, upward and outward into limitless new frontiers beyond its original home on the blue planet Earth.

This exciting prospect has been sensed by thoughtful people around the world who view the American Apollo program as a venture of, and for, all mankind. The global satellite-communications network has been born in the human drama of space travel. At Christmas, television screens in Moscow brought into Russian living rooms that awesome close-up view of the lunar surface from Apollo 8, with the crew's voices reading clearly across 240,000 miles the opening verses of Genesis. More than a hundred million Europeans watched Apollo 10's beautiful color-TV pictures from the moon.

If our Mariner probes to Mars perform well this summer, TV viewers everywhere will learn more about the red planet's surface in a few hours than generations of astronomers have learned with earth-bound telescopes. Two spacecraft from Russia recently plunged into the cloud-shrouded atmosphere of Venus, radioing back new data on that white planet. The age of space travel by piloted and automated spacecraft is advancing rapidly in full view of all mankind.

As with all bold new movements, however, dissident voices are being raised. Doubters ask whether space holds any practical economic promise, and couldn't we better work on projects here on earth, or shouldn't the world's social ills be cured before we proceed further? These are reasonable questions that deserve thoughtful answers.

Space does have substantial practical economic benefits, direct and indirect. Global satellite communications and worldwide weather forecasting via meteorological satellites are two major direct benefits already realized in the first decade of space. You can buy stock on Wall Street in the Com-Sat Corporation; it is a going venture of sound economic worth.

Savings from weather satellites may run into the billions; TIROS III's spotting of Hurricane Carla made possible the evacuation of 350,000 people from the Texas coast with a great saving of human life.

Beyond this, we foresee navigation satellites, geodetic satellites, TV broadcast satellites, data link satellites, and earth resources satellites of major future economic value. The potential of earth resources satellites alone, in mineral surveys, petroleum prospecting, agriculture, forestry, oceanography, hydrology and other fields may be sufficient in the long run to pay for our entire space program.

The indirect values of space exploration are more difficult to assess. To get to the

moon, we have had to advance U.S. technology on an extremely broad front, with many breakthroughs spinning off new techniques into other fields. Space has challenged our universities and our industry—and they have met the challenge magnificently. We cannot yet say precisely what new economic developments will emerge; the lead time is often a decade. History tells us, however, that from the challenge of World War II emerged a number of new multibillion-dollar industries that today play a major role in our economy: computers, jet transports, synthetic materials, antibiotics, nuclear power, microwave communications and others.

Space-age advances will undoubtedly create similar new wealth in the 1970s and 1980s. This is an important reason why we should proceed vigorously with our space program. This work is, of course, all done down here on earth: the benefits accrue to all people.

To improve conditions in our society we need to create more wealth through greater productivity based on new technology. We should be restless and dissatisfied with our slowness in overcoming social ills, and I hope that the space program will continue to spur us onward here. If we can go to the moon, why can't we build great and shining cities? Why can't we eliminate ignorance, crime and poverty? If our space program highlights such questions and helps form a national commitment to find new solutions, it will have served the nation well.

Our space advances should embolden the nation to proceed forward with increased confidence in these other areas. Our Apollo program has demonstrated anew what Americans can accomplish given a national commitment, capable leadership and adequate resources.

Man's future in space is limitless. We have embarked on a new stage of evolution that will engage all future generations of men. We face the unknown in countless areas: What are the effects of sustained zero and artificial gravity? Of time-extending flight at nearly the velocity of light? Of societies genetically selected for extraterrestrial living?

We must find the answers. We must move vigorously forward in space. The practical benefits alone justify this venture, but there are many other compelling human reasons. Progress in space should continue to spur us onward to find new solutions to our age-old problems here on Spaceship Earth. We must make the blue planet Earth a home base, worthy of the men who will set forth one day on journeys to the stars.

#### THEY COME UNNOTICED FROM WAR

**HON. WILLIAM L. DICKINSON**

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 29, 1969

Mr. DICKINSON. Mr. Speaker, today we live in an age of computers, space technology, and rapid communications. It is an age where the pace is so fast that we often fail to remember our heroes—the soldiers who live, fight, and much too frequently, die alone and forgotten.

Patriotism and Americanism are two words that are becoming extinct from our vocabulary. It is indeed unfortunate that this is now more the rule than the exception.

Recently, I was privileged to read an excellent article in the Montgomery Independent by Joe Azbell. It is a very well-written, succinct statement of his frustrations, and I believe this article well reflects the feelings of the average American.

I was so impressed with the article, Mr. Speaker, that I would like to incorporate it into the Record at this point and share its contents with the Members of the House:

[From the Montgomery (Ala.) Independent, July 29, 1969]

I'M SORRY I DIDN'T SAY THANKS—THEY COME UNNOTICED FROM WAR  
(By Joe Azbell)

You're back home.  
Here on a railway platform.  
I didn't say "thank you, soldier."  
I'm sorry, fellow.  
I should have.  
No excuses.  
Maybe I can make up for it a little now.  
Maybe you will understand.  
I know you never expected to come home in this casket box.

All alone. Here on a cart on a railway platform with all the hissing brakes and steaming engines and clanging noises and people passing.

None of the people know who you are.  
That you died for them.  
I wouldn't have known myself. A porter told me. He said it like a bulletin: "He's one who didn't make it." He explained with one word: "Vietnam."

I never saw your face. I didn't know you. Or maybe I did. You were young. All your life in front of you. Full of plans and ideas. A whole world to conquer. All kinds of dreams of fun, excitement and joys you will never know.

All that is left is the lifeless shot up corpse in this casket box.

And I didn't say "thank you."  
And I'm sorry.

Your mother and father raised you and loved you and took care of you when you were hurt and did the best they could by you and never intended that you die 12,000 miles from home shot to pieces by a Viet Cong.

And that young girl you married and with whom you hunted up second-hand furniture and installment payment appliances to outfit a little apartment and the baby whose picture you carried but whose chubby little hands you never touched or loving smile you never knew—they'll miss you too.

And I didn't say "thank you."  
And I'm sorry.

Your mother didn't believe the telegram. A mother never does. Any minute now she thinks you'll walk in the door and throw your big arms around her and say "Hi, Mom." But you won't. Never again.

Your wife and baby will know you are gone most. A young girl in an apartment with a job to make ends meet and a baby left with a maid. A girl too young to be a widow. A baby boy who should have a father to teach him to fish and box and to pin to the floor and look up to tall.

Your wife will re-read your letters and touch the gifts you sent her and re-read your letters again.

The government will send her your medals. She'll frame them and put them up on a wall. But they will be little comfort on lonely nights when she'll remember all about how it could have been if the bullet from a sniper's rifle of a yellow skinned man in black pajamas hadn't hit you.

People will keep reminding her. It will tear at her. Certainly she's proud of what you did. But it hurts. She is like you, fellow. She

doesn't really understand why you had to die in a little sweatshop of a jungle country 12,000 miles from home. She keeps saying to herself, "Why?" and holds your baby close to her.

You didn't understand either. Not really. They said it was for freedom and liberty and to preserve America and it was hard to understand. You went with a lot of courage and a lot of fear and a lot of doubt about what it was all about. But you went there where you didn't understand the language or the people or the war. You went because they said you were needed. And you came back in a casket box.

And I didn't say "thank you."  
And I'm sorry.

I probably saw you on the street. Or a thousand others like you.

Soldiers. Men in uniform. You figure "so they're soldiers."

In World War II, you would have been a hero in a military outfit to everybody.

People would have stopped you on the street, slapped you on the back. And said "give 'em hell, buddy."

They would have let you know you were doing something for your country and them. But not today.

Today there are too many like me. We see a uniform and we don't ask a soldier if we can do anything for him. We don't say a word.

There's no Sunday dinner for the boy away from home. No free phone calls home. No pat on the back.

There's no picking up the meal check to let the boy know somebody cares and appreciates.

There's no signs in the windows that say "We're Proud Of You" or flags waving or parades or people seeing soldiers off.

You go away unheralded and some of you come back in a casket box. And the funeral crowd is small and the service is brief.

And yet you go. You go with a brave face and a tight heart and fight in the most fearsome war in the history of our country 12,000 miles away.

We never say "thank you."  
Not me. Not anybody else.

It's like we expect you to die for us without a word of appreciation.

It's wrong. I'm sorry. I'm one of them.

And how brave you fight. How brave you live. Just being in that jungle country with a strange language and a strange people where the next second could end your life with a booby trap or a mine or a sniper's bullet takes guts.

And what gutsy men you are. Sure you're the young generation. But there's no generation gap when it comes to your guts and loyalty.

When others are trying to burn America down with a torch in the streets you are trying to keep our communist enemies from burning America down by fighting them in Vietnam.

And I never said "thank you."  
And I'm sorry.

I know you didn't understand all the headlines. Assassinations. Riots. College kids protests. Demands to the college board. I know how you felt.

You read about college kids protesting and said to yourself, "Boy, have they got gripes! They ought to be over here. They ought to wake up in a jungle camp in steaming heat not knowing if a bullet from a tree sniper will get you before you get coffee. They ought to be here where your every step could explode a hidden mine. Then they'd have something to protest about."

And you shook your head and threw down the paper from home and laughed at the burns on the campus with their phony protests. Then you picked up a rifle and went on patrol and never knew if you would get back.

You didn't protest.  
You didn't make up a list of demands you wanted "or else."

You went into battle for your country. You never really understood what it was all about. But you didn't protest.

And I never said "thank you."  
And I'm sorry.

And when you read about people burning down cities and rioting and killing people you wondered if it was all worth your being over there.

Maybe you talked about it. Maybe you wondered about it. But you picked up your rifle and did your job anyway. Why? Because you loved this land, your home. You loved freedom. You loved the right to worship God and own a mortgaged home of your own and say your piece about things and work hard to get ahead and to raise your family decently. And you were willing to fight for it.

And I never said "thank you."  
And I'm sorry.

Now you're home. You came home in this casket box. They draped a flag over your casket. There'll be a little notice in the newspaper about a funeral.

But there will be too many like me.

They'll read the newspaper notice and it'll be a statistic. They'll read it and say "it's a stinking war." Then they'll finish their morning coffee and go to work and forget until they read another statistic. Then they'll say again "it's a stinking war." And forget to attend the funeral. Too much trouble.

You can't hear me now, soldier.  
You are dead. Killed. Gone.

You won't see your loved ones ever again. A bullet voided your sweet taste of life on this earth.

The clock stopped forever.

You can't hear me now in this casket box. You can't hear me say "thank you."

But I'm going to say it anyway. Maybe somehow you'll know.

Thank you for dying for my freedoms.

Thank you for dying for my country.

Thank you for dying for my children.

Thank you for dying for my rights.

Thank you for dying for me.

I'm sorry I didn't say "thank you" sooner. I should have.

Everybody should have.

#### MINORITY AID

#### HON. JOSEPH G. MINISH

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 29, 1969

Mr. MINISH. Mr. Speaker, none of us can be satisfied with our rate of progress in providing equal opportunity to all our citizens, but it is a heartening fact that many ambitious men and women are being given the chance to establish profitable business enterprises, especially in ghetto areas.

Following the Newark riots of 1967 the Graduate School of Business Administration of Rutgers University dedicated itself to a program of working with minority group entrepreneurs. There have already been very real achievements and now with a Ford Foundation grant of \$65,400 and a contribution from E. I. du Pont de Nemours & Co., Dean Horace J. De Podwin and his dedicated faculty will be able to accelerate and expand the program.

The news clippings reporting these grants follow below. The nine business-



men who have been helped under the program are forging out satisfying, profitable careers. Their success will inspire others to take advantage of the new opportunities for participation in our free enterprise business system. I commend these fine citizens and the graduate business school for their excellent work. The articles follow:

[From the Sunday Star Ledger, Newark (N.J.) July 13, 1969]

#### BLACK CAPITALISTS FIND IT REWARDING IN NEW PROGRAM

(By William Harvey)

Black capitalism is beginning to take root in Newark, largely due to the foresight and imagination of a Rutgers University business professor and a desire by black citizens to improve their lot in life.

Within the past two years, Professor Louis German has helped to establish 11 black-owned business concerns in the greater Newark area, and six more applications for loans are on file with the Small Business Administration.

This year, with the aid of a \$65,400 grant from the Ford Foundation, to the Rutgers Graduate Business School in Newark, Prof. German plans to initiate an expanded program to assist 25 minority group members in opening their own businesses.

The program is the outgrowth of work started after the Newark riots in 1967 by Prof. German and Dr. Horace J. De Podwin, dean of the graduate business school. They worked closely with the Interracial Council for Business Opportunity and the SBA.

#### SEMINARS SERIES

Prof. German gave a series of 10 seminars to minority group people to give them a grounding in the rudiments of profitable small business operations and accounting. To encourage participation, a certificate of attendance was offered to those persons who were present at eight of the ten meetings.

In addition, he helped some promising students to get special training, assistance and financing to start or expand businesses. None of the applicants had adequate financial resources and some of them were flat broke.

Nevertheless, local banks and the SBA made loans available on little more than the borrower's display of ambition to go into business and some indications of ability to make a go of it.

#### GOOD RESULTS

With the help of Prof. German, and a financial base of support, the new businessmen began their operations. "Not everyone was an overnight sensation, but the high degree of success is extremely gratifying," said Prof. German.

"We give the guys a chance if they have the incentive and a little gumption to do something on their own," he added. "More than that, we give them encouragement and show them there is a void they can fill."

Prof. German views black-owned shops and markets as "the way to get real progress in the inner city."

Among some of the successful graduates of Prof. German's lecture series are a factory worker who, trained as a mortician, converted the first floor of his house into a funeral chapel; an upholsterer who formerly worked as a stevedore, and a drycleaner who was burned out during the 1967 riots, but now has three stores.

After their first year of graduate school, Rutgers business students are permitted to work with black entrepreneurs through the school's minority group business program to get first-hand experience concerning the problems of a black or Puerto Rican businessman.

"The students see if they can help the business to increase sales by putting into

operation certain business techniques they have learned," Prof. German said.

"We want the student to benefit himself and the merchant he is working with, and we also want them to see how poor people live and how things are in the real world."

"With the Ford Foundation grant," he continued, "we can make some studies and improve our operations. Also we can ask some of our former students to come back and join our board of directors where they can make suggestions and contribute their ideas."

In addition to the Ford Foundation grant, a \$5,000 grant has come from E. I. duPont de Nemours & Company to support the same program. Additional aid from industry is in prospect, Dean De Podwin said.

"These grants will permit Rutgers University to work more effectively toward the solution of the most critical problem facing the nation—helping minority group members break out of an economic cycle which generates so much misery and despair," concluded Dean De Podwin.

[From the Camden, (N.J.) Courier-Post July 11, 1969]

#### FORD FOUNDATION GIVES GRANT TO RUTGERS

NEWARK, N.J.—The Ford Foundation yesterday granted \$65,400 to Rutgers University's Graduate Business School in Newark to expand its program of helping minority group persons to go into business and be profitable.

The grant will support a comprehensive program at the business school that links minority group businesses with students and faculty, according to Dr. Horace J. De Podwin, dean of the school.

The program, he said, has already helped ambitious persons with small businesses including a laundromat, a television repair service, a fish market, a funeral home, a meat store, an upholstery shop and a dry cleaning chain.

#### MANAGEMENT ADVICE

The objective for 1969-1970 is to help establish 25 new minority group businesses.

The grant will allow the school to expand its program of management advice and technical assistance to minority businessmen in Newark, Camden, and Paterson.

Faculty members of the Graduate School of Business will offer courses in these cities, supplemented by technical assistance to new and existing enterprises. The school will work closely with the Newark Chapter of the Interracial Council for Business Opportunity and the Small Business Administration.

#### A \$5,000 GRANT

A \$5,000 grant has come from E. I. duPont de Nemours & Company to support the same program. Additional aid from industry is in prospect, De Podwin said.

"These grants will permit Rutgers University to work more effectively toward the solution of the most critical problem facing the nation—helping minority group members break out of an economic cycle which generates so much misery and despair," he said.

[From the Newark (N.J.) Evening News, July 10, 1969]

#### MINORITY AID—\$65,400 TO RUTGERS

The Rutgers University Graduate School of Business has been awarded a \$65,400 grant from the Ford Foundation to expand its program of helping minority group persons get into business, it was announced today.

The funds will be used to help establish 25 new minority group businesses, according to Dr. Horace J. De Podwin, dean of the school.

Under the program which was started in 1967 after the Newark riots, the university offers management advice and technical assistance to minority businessmen in Newark, Camden and Paterson.

The original program was developed by

Dean De Podwin and Prof. Louis T. German in conjunction with the Interracial Council for Business Opportunity and the Small Business Administration.

The new grant is in addition to a \$5,000 grant recently from the E. I. duPont de Nemours & Co. to support the same program.

[From the Newark (N.J.) Sunday News, July 20, 1969]

#### BLACK-OWNED BUSINESSES NO LONGER JUST

#### A DREAM

(By Chester L. Coleman)

To be black and own a business in the Greater Newark area is no longer just a dream. Such a vision has become a reality for nine aspiring minority group entrepreneurs.

The potential of black capitalism is at hand and its growth is, in some cases, due to the foresight of the Rutgers Graduate Business School.

Rutgers hopes to establish a minimum of 25 minority group businesses each year for the next three years, at an annual cost of \$50,000, according to Dr. Horace J. DePodwin, dean.

Last week the school was awarded a \$65,400 grant from the Ford Foundation to expand its program of aiding black and other minority group members to go into business. E. I. duPont de Nemours and Co., recently gave a \$5,000 grant to support the same program.

The original program was developed by De Podwin and Prof. Louis T. German two years ago in conjunction with the Interracial Council for Business Opportunity and the Small Business Administration.

#### SEMINARS HELD

The program is the outgrowth of work started after the Newark riots in 1967, German started a series of seminars for minority groups where the rudiments of operating a small business and accounting were discussed.

Among those who have already established businesses, some in areas where the rioting occurred, is Willie Pool, 40, and Wilbur Richardson, 31, partners of the Sky-View Radio and TV Co., 708 Springfield Ave., Newark.

Pool said he was inspired to go into business 12 years ago when he could not get a "break" while employed at a factory in Lancaster, Pa. "I was limited," says Pool, "but in my own business I can push myself and if I fail it's my own fault."

Pool and Richardson, who is married and the father of two children, repair television and radio sets and electrical appliances. They also buy sets in need of repair, recondition them and offer the sets for sale as used equipment.

#### HELPED WITH LOAN

The two men attended the Rutgers seminar on small business and worked with German in September, 1968. The next month the school helped them obtain a bank loan for \$2,500. Together, they applied for a \$20,000 Small Business Administration loan and now gross \$45,000 a year, after being in business 20 months.

In another case, a man who had a persevering, though unsuccessful record operating small window washing and porter service, was drawing unemployment insurance, but also had his eye on a grocery business.

The man, William O. Wright, an Air Force veteran, attended the Graduate Business School's seminar, and in October of last year he became the proprietor of a grocery delicatessen at 537 South Orange Ave., Newark.

"I just couldn't get ahead," Wright said, "and I never had money to save for those rainy days."

German estimates that in the first year Wright's income will be approximately \$10,000. Wright, 31, said that the food stamp

program recently started in Newark, is a "great asset" to his business.

Benjamin Joseph, a 32-year-old Newark fireman, said he had dreamed of owning a small business for years so he decided to attend the lectures.

Joseph was able to purchase a laundromat at 139 Belmont Ave., Newark, for \$20,000 in July of last year entirely on borrowed money.

"I just walked up to the owner one day and made him an offer for the business . . . I didn't have a dime in my pocket at the time," Joseph explained.

#### SUCCESSFUL LAUNDROMAT

Today he estimates that his business will produce a net income of \$25,000 in its second year. The coin-operated enterprise is described as the largest in the city, with 46 washers and 15 dryers. The firefighter supervises the operation, when he is off duty. He employs one other person.

A highly-motivated entrepreneur had started several small businesses, but saw them go up in smoke in the Newark riots of 1967.

This serious-minded person is John Mitchell, 32, of South Orange.

However, following German's counselling, Mitchell was granted a loan and started a cleaning business at 120 W. South Orange Ave., South Orange. He now has two other stores, one in Newark and another in Westfield.

Mitchell said that by attending the lectures he was taught how to make money and how to spend it wisely. "I was given the strength to help myself and others too," explained Mitchell.

He employs 10 persons and operates the only black-owned business in the South Orange shopping center.

LeRoy Brickus, a trained mortician, had once been a factory worker. He now operates his own funeral chapel at 183 Littleton Ave., Newark.

Brickus, 40, said that by attending German's course, he obtained knowledge that was the "key" to his success. "It had been but a dream so long," Brickus admitted, "but I had the desire to have something of my own."

He received his training at the American Academy in New York and has been in business since April, 1968. His wife, Marie, who is active in civic and social organizations, said, "It's hard work, but the benefits are rewarding."

Another Newark resident who has established his own business under the Rutgers program, is Freeman Thomas, a skilled refrigerator and appliance repairman who obtained a loan to expand his operation at 504 Springfield Ave., Newark.

He received bank financing that helped him provide storage facilities for some 3,000 refrigerators, air conditioners, stoves and washing machines.

#### WASN'T MAKING IT

Norris Knott, a Montclair fish merchant, had been in business for a little over a year but "wasn't making it."

He was ready to close his shop at 154 Bloomfield Ave., and seek employment, but instead Knott decided to attend the Rutgers course and he gained advice on better management and purchasing policies.

Knott had purchased the business in November, 1967, and his volume was approximately \$200 a week. German said his prices were too high and his volume too small because he purchased fish from a wholesaler who would make deliveries and carry the accounts receivable week-to-week.

Knott needed a truck, but he did not have the cash. It would have enabled him to go to New York to buy fish more cheaply.

German assisted Knott in getting a small business loan for \$8,000 and with this money he purchased a truck. The professor said it is

estimated that Knott's income will now be approximately \$10,000 per year.

John Cheatem, father of 10, was referred to Rutgers by Knott. Cheatem is an assistant shop steward with a stevedoring company and had been doing upholstery work from his home, 579 Orange St., Newark, on a part-time basis.

He received a \$1,000 loan from a Newark bank with the assistance of the school and has opened a small upholstery store in Newark.

German said that a program to offer classes for minority group persons who are interested in learning "how they can help themselves" is now under way in Paterson, Camden, New Brunswick and Newark.

Associate Dean David W. Blakeslee said, "We want them to learn how they can help themselves in the approach to government agencies and banks, and ways and methods to improve their businesses."

Benjamin Zwierling, a consultant to the Rutgers business school, said: "This is a program whereby black people with no assets except their initiative and drive, can build a business and eventually hire workers of their own race."

#### RARICK ON FREEDOM OF CHOICE— LET MY PEOPLE GO

#### HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 29, 1969

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, last week I addressed my constituency on the controversial decision of the U.S. Court of Appeals of the Fifth Circuit, which has denied freedom of choice to my people and, in effect, made every child in my district hostage.

I include the text of my televised address to my people:

TELEVISION SPEECH BY JOHN R. RARICK, JULY 27, 1969

Hello, I'm John Rarick, your representative in Washington. I'm happy for this opportunity to visit with you on another important issue in government—one which I feel will touch almost every family in our District.

I want to talk to you today on the crisis facing education in our State . . . a crisis which has been forced upon you parents and your children as a result of the tragic decision by the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals which has outlawed freedom of choice and forbidden a child to attend a school of theirs or their parents' preference.

What these appointed judges have done is to outlaw freedom of choice because you, the people, as a free people did not choose to change to a radical social order that you did not ask for merely to satisfy some federal bureaucrats' whims.

By their ruling, the federal judges have, in effect, convicted every parent and child in the affected school districts of a new kind of crime against their government . . . that crime being that you acted like free people who exercise your freedom to choose, to accept and to reject. Your crime is then that as free people you did not voluntarily cooperate with the federal bureaucrats to overthrow your existing society and change your entire way of life.

In courts of law, in any civilized country, a prejudiced judge or a judge who has passed on the case before the trial, is universally held to be disqualified and unfit to sit in judgment on the case. There has never been a greater showing of judicial prejudice . . . to the point of outright tyr-

anny . . . than that exhibited by the Fifth Circuit against the freedom of our individual citizens. It is obvious that the judges have collaborated with the litigants who oppose our people. That they counseled with HEW and the Justice Department in unprecedented non-judicial activity.

These extremist judges have made a mockery out of the very purpose for which federal courts were established by Congress. That is, to protect the individual in his God-given, Constitutionally secured rights from the ever-present threat of tyranny from big government . . . and that includes unelected bureaucrats. I say they have defeated their purpose because who now can have faith in appointed justice where they have misused their trust and revealed themselves as veritable rubber stamps—"judgment signers"—under the influence of HEW and the Justice Department who blatantly notify the judges in advance of hearings or trials . . . without regards to the facts, or the law . . . what the court's ruling must be.

There is no bona fide trial or hearing in the American sense of the term when the conclusion is foregone. There is no justice when a case is prejudged. The dignity of impartial justice is then reduced to a sham—a kangaroo court.

Let no scalawag confuse you into thinking that some law has made freedom illegal in our country. In our state and in most other civilized countries, law is considered a solemn expression of legislative will except where the legislature has exceeded constitutional limitations. The Fifth Circuit cites no law or authority to support its decision. Its decision was based only on its own previous misguided utterances. In fact, the laws enacted by the U.S. Congress and the Bill of Rights of the U.S. Constitution are not silent on the subject. Rather, they are expressly worded to prohibit exactly what the court has here set out to do.

The Fifth Circuit ruling far exceeds desegregation or even any concocted theory of a compulsory use of education to bring about integration as a so-called national goal. Never before in America has the shadow of tyranny fallen so darkly over our people.

The philosophy and social ideology is foreign and alien to our people and many seek the cause of provocation. Americans who have known tyranny fully realize that public acceptance of this edict can only be followed by more severe restrictions in the future. The so-called national goals are extra-constitutional and for political propaganda purposes only. Certainly you people never voted on or set any such goals. Nor are they authorized under any of our basic laws.

The Fifth Circuit ruling cannot be made any sensible outgrowth of *Brown vs Topeka* handed down by the Warren court in 1954. The *Brown* case only held that no child could be denied admittance at a public, tax supported school solely because of his race. Racial percentages of students and teachers, bussing, pairing, dual schools, and bi-racial committees weren't even mentioned . . . and guidelines hadn't even been heard of.

Even federal judges must find difficulty in maneuvering the *Brown* case—which called freedom of choice the ultimate in justice—to any justification of the Fifth Circuit decision which would deny freedom of choice to all the people.

I've talked with many of our people and my office has been swamped with letters and phone calls from concerned people and local officials asking what can be done for our little children and to save our schools.

I can't tell you what to do with your children—but then, neither can the federal government, federal judges, HEW or the Justice Department. They're your children and the decision belongs to you and you alone. It's your duty to rear them, to guide them, and take care of them as you know you must.



There's no one to whom you can delegate your responsibility as a parent.

Because of the tremendous frustration and increased tensions this court's decision has wrought upon our people, I have—with other members of the state delegation—met with the U.S. Attorney General, members of the Justice Department and H.E.W. in exerting every effort to point out the inequities and illegality of this high-handed court action. But to no apparent avail.

Determined to exhaust every available avenue as your voice in Washington, with other members of our delegation, we were able to gain a personal audience with the President of the United States.

This unnecessary crisis facing you parents was discussed in detail and your fears were presented firsthand. In all fairness, the President was most attentive and indicated genuine surprise over the extreme measures being undertaken against our children. President Nixon's interest seemed to lie in securing quality education for all and maintaining our public school system.

It was made clear by those of us who had asked for the audience that we felt it our duty, as representatives of our people, to report firsthand to the President the seriousness of the school situation as it now exists and our grave concern for the consequences if no relief is forthcoming.

On leaving the meeting, I was somewhat encouraged that the people in control are fully advised and understand the crisis facing our educational system. But I was also disappointed because I fear there can be no material help to ease the pressures of our problem before school opens this Fall.

I might add here that it was truly frightening to see the powers of government concentrated in the hands of a few men who are so far removed and so well insulated by a complex bureaucracy that they seldom are made personally aware of conditions in various parts of the country. Indeed, our fears of impersonal and unrealistic rule by a centralized government are well justified.

In some instances, of course, the court rulings may eventually be appealed and the guidelines altered or the judgments modified.

It grieves me no end to tell you as a parent you should anticipate no easy or early let-up through the court. If you expect to fight for your schools, you should start considering using the existing legal channels for remedy.

You are the descendants of a free people—you have known freedom as no other individuals. What will you do to preserve it? You, as parents, are the front line in the defense of your children. Your children are the future of our country. Tyranny disguised as progress and reform which would take your child knocks at your front door.

What can you do? I am deeply concerned by talk repeated in the streets, and shops, and business places indicating a mood of mass retaliation suggestive of a form of direct violent response. I do not suggest, nor do I encourage violence or rash action. Why should we have to take to the streets? The children are in your homes and in your custody. The ultimate decision of whether you send them or where you send them is yours. If the federal governments demands to take your children from you forcefully, then let it be the government who is the aggressor . . . without provocation on your part. If those of the party in power are so desperate as to chance a police state reaction by exerting overwhelming powers . . . then let it be the decision-makers in government who become violent.

Freedom of choice is not the real issue—it has been made the present issue because it was forced upon our people by the same federal judges who now would discard it because they do not trust freedom to attain prescribed social goals as rapidly as they would like. The real issue is, and has been, where does the power of government reside? With

the people, the parents of children, or with a bunch of emotionally confused bureaucrats—some of whom don't even fully understand the crisis they have created and the tyrannical course they are pursuing.

Nor is race an issue—although it is discussed and exploited to silence opposition. We do not accept the meaningless cliché advanced by a few agitators that freedom is racism. It may be, or it may not be. But doesn't freedom also grant the right to choose or to refuse—the right to discriminate or not. Racism in its emotional current usage can only be eliminated if all freedom is destroyed. To realize the deep significance of the ruling toward making us all puppets, let's see what would happen if we carried the guidelines to a logical conclusion.

The judges, in a manner of speaking, would put us all in a box, shake it up, redivide us and relocate us at their pleasure.

Having regrouped us, the question arises—how will the judges keep us from relocating or redividing—I think the term is "re-segregating."

We all know that free people act like free people. They don't stay put and unless they are chained can be expected immediately to start moving and relocating themselves to seek their own associations—and better school facilities. Can we expect these judges, H.E.W., and the Department of Justice to sit idly by and permit the people to re-segregate their schools? Or isn't it more likely they would assume the function of a court of housing control. Can we not expect that judges who have been so extreme as to outlaw freedom will utilize every power at their disposal to perpetuate their created social order? And wouldn't this include denying parents the right to move? Even refusing employment transfers—unless the parents first appear before a judge to get permission to move. And we can assume permission would depend on a showing that moving or a new job was not intended to escape the ordered school program? Every unconstitutional usurpation of power necessitates an endless chain of additional usurpations.

These judges have already ruled you don't own your business—aren't in control of your labor union—don't know what is best for your child—that your home ownership is subject to their caprice. Don't think they can't develop their wishy-washy thinking to rule that you can't move.

Our schools in Louisiana were not the product of any socialistic federal program, nor were they built overnight. Our Louisiana public school system had been achieved over many years through the sacrifices and dedicated efforts of thousands of sincere parents and conscientious educators and paid for by Louisiana taxpayers.

As a parent, you are the God-appointed guardian of a tender life and soul, and until your child matures, you and you alone bear the awesome responsibility for his guidance.

#### THE CRISIS IN EDUCATION

#### HON. SEYMOUR HALPERN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 29, 1969

Mr. HALPERN. Mr. Speaker, America's hopes and aspirations are tied to the education of its children. For the quality of American life depends largely on whether each generation can learn to govern itself and expand democracy's horizons. Indeed, the Nation continues to grow because we have invented a marvelous weapon to fuel our freedom—education.

And yet, today we are being asked to

slash away at the growing Federal commitment to education. Instead of giving to education the same kind of urgency we imbued the space program with, we are reducing, not increasing, appropriations.

Congress is being asked to reduce total Federal spending for education by 25 percent. And what does all this financial aid to public schools, colleges, libraries, and students equal? Less than 1½ percent of the total Federal budget.

Even if the full authorization set for educational programs was appropriated, it would still be less than that spent on getting a man on the moon. The sad fact is though, we have never appropriated over 50 percent of the money Congress has authorized for the major educational program, the Elementary and Secondary Education Act.

Something is dreadfully wrong when Congress is asked to emasculate funds for school and college library materials; in effect, practically eliminating major national library programs.

Something is dreadfully wrong when Congress refuses to increase its aid for building more and better college classrooms and libraries and cuts back on aid to guidance and counseling services.

Something is dreadfully wrong when Congress puts the squeeze on today's youth, refusing to vote needed funds to enable students to borrow money to attend college.

Indeed, something is dreadfully wrong when Congress is asked to help the Nation's ghetto children and responds by appropriating \$1 billion less than that authorized.

It seems to me that if we want the same kind of results from our schools as we expected from the space program—then we better infuse it with the same sense of national urgency and priority spending.

For schools are where we prepare our young for life. Education is at the heart of the learning process. Education must be the front line of innovation, the creator of ideas and the test-tube of experimentation.

Yet our school system seems to limp from one crisis to another. Although public education is at the top of the Nation's priorities, its problems seem almost insoluble. It started over a decade ago with Sputnik. Where did American education go wrong? New ideas abounded, curricula and teaching methods were revised and new equipment was purchased. Then James Conant of Harvard warned us of the "social dynamite" created by the deep gap between urban and suburban schools, the affluent and the poor. The Nation was told segregation stymies Negro children's ability to learn. Honest efforts at school integration were often obstructed. However, textbooks were changed to reflect city life, instead of the cows and chickens most children never see. And teachers taught that prejudice hurts.

But the reforms were not sufficient. Schools didn't change fast enough; school budgets weren't adequate for burgeoning suburban populations; and decaying urban schools offered little to black youth yearning to escape poverty.

Crisis overtook the schools as stagnation set in again. Underpaid teachers started striking; dissatisfied parents demanded more control of their children's future, and student behavior reflected a new era of youth questioning the older generation's wisdom.

As demands are intensified today, public schools totter on the brink of disaster. Children spend only 30 hours a week in school—less than a fifth of their time—yet parents expect formal education to outweigh the home and family influences. Studies indicate the greatest differences in children relate to factors schools do not influence. If we expect more from education, then perhaps schools should be equipped to do more.

Some 43 million children across America need better education. Teachers and students are victims of outdated classroom procedures, antiquated equipment, and a shortage of resources. Schools must learn to involve ghetto parents in the learning process. The curriculum must reflect Negro history and the life-style of minority groups more accurately. And most of all, greater effort must be made to integrate schools and halt the shameful miseducation of another generation of black children.

Although Negroes are fast becoming majorities in many large cities, school integration plans have succeeded in hundreds of smaller communities. Experts respond to taunts that integration is a failure by observing that generally, it has not been tried. Studies also prove that most homeowners flee cities because they seek better lives for their families. Very few actually "fear" the onslaught of lower-class minorities.

Integration, of course, is no panacea for a decaying urban school system. White children need new classrooms as badly as black and Spanish-speaking children. But the educational gap between the races must be reduced. Conclusive evidence proves that Negro children do better in integrated schools than they do in segregated schools, while not adversely affecting white children's learning ability. Indeed, educators have found that black children in integrated schools perform as much as 2 years better than their counterparts in ghetto schools.

To get around the reality of large urban Negro and Spanish-speaking masses creating a de facto form of segregation in cities, new educational concepts are being proposed. In cities, like Boston, Washington, and Philadelphia, educators are experimenting with ways of altering artificial school boundaries and isolated schools that inhibit children from learning to live and play together.

But some educators believe school problems are so vast that the educational system itself must change. Negro educator Dr. Kenneth Clark says:

There's been a massive breakdown in the education program, so massive I think it requires massive restructuring. The Federal or State governments should literally take over the schools and reorganize them.

Public education traditionally is a local prerogative in America and it is doubtful whether parents would allow the Federal Government to "control" schools. But parents and local communities cannot continue to finance public

education on their own. Last year public education cost the Nation \$28.3 billion, and it will more than double within a decade.

Who pays the bill? Last year, State and local governments paid 92 percent of the cost for public education, the Federal Government only 8 percent. The revenue comes from income taxes, sales levies, and corporate taxes. But over 50 percent comes from one source—local property taxes, the escalating assessments that create havoc with the budgets of American homeowners.

What can be done? The distinguished economist, Leon Keyserling, recently issued a 10-year blueprint for nationwide educational excellence that will insure all children an opportunity for quality schooling, while alleviating the pressure on property taxes. Commissioned by the American Federation of Teachers, Keyserling's study indicates that by 1977 we must spend \$70.1 billion annually for education—a yearly increase of 9.5 percent. The Federal Government would pay almost 40 percent of the cost, \$27 billion.

The minimum standards of excellence would include raising per pupil outlays in 1977 to \$1,534, compared to a nationwide average of \$660 in 1967. The ratio of accredited teachers to enrollment should be 1 to 20; it is now 1 to 24 (rising to 1 to 35 in ghetto schools). And the number of classrooms should rise from 1.7 million to 2.3 million in a decade. This means building 123,000 new classrooms annually.

Can we afford such a multibillion-dollar education program? Economists feel it is well within our financial capabilities in a prosperous economy. The question is, can we afford not to spend billions on our children's education?

Quality education means spending enormous sums. Massive Federal aid, emphasizing the needs of decaying cities is imperative. Existing programs like Headstart, the Teacher Corps, the Elementary and Secondary Education Act, and the growing Federal sponsorship of teacher-training must expand.

And there can be no compromising on the question of school integration. The 14th amendment to the Constitution and most State constitutions guarantee equal education for all children. The U.S. Supreme Court has unequivocally stated that in a multiracial society such as ours, "equal" means integrated.

Aiding the growth of education then, must be one of the Nation's first priorities. Anything less will not suffice, for education is democracy's greatest weapon.

#### AN INDONESIAN PERSPECTIVE ON SOUTHEAST ASIA: PARTS I AND II

HON. CLEMENT J. ZABLOCKI

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 29, 1969

Mr. ZABLOCKI. Mr. Speaker, the Indonesian Ambassador to the United States, His Excellency Soedjatmoko, recently delivered two outstanding addresses as part of the Dillingham Dis-

tinguished Lecture Series at the East-West Center in Honolulu, Hawaii.

Ambassador Soedjatmoko, one of Indonesia's outstanding intellectuals, provides some interesting and relevant insights into the problems and prospects for Southeast Asia in his lectures.

With President Nixon's trip to Southeast Asia indicating a review of U.S. policies for that part of the world his ideas should prove particularly pertinent.

I am, therefore, pleased to insert into the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the text of both lectures. The first address, given May 12, is titled "The Re-Emergence of Southeast Asia: An Indonesian Perspective"; the second address, delivered May 14, is titled "Southeast Asia in World Politics." I urge my colleagues to give both speeches their close attention.

The speeches follow:

#### THE RE-EMERGENCE OF SOUTHEAST ASIA: AN INDONESIAN PERSPECTIVE

Adlai Stevenson is reported to have said that the job of an ambassador consists of one-third protocol, one-third alcohol and one-third Geritol. Although lately I have been made uncomfortably aware of its basic truth, this job description makes no reference to one redeeming feature, namely the opportunity to travel and to meet interesting, as well as interested people. I am, therefore, very glad to be here in your midst.

The subject I am going to discuss with you today deals with the re-emergence of a region of many cultures, inhabited by many races. To be able to do so on this beautiful island, with its own history of racial and cultural interpenetration, very significantly adds to this pleasure. Because of the cultural sensitivity that must have developed from your history, and the resulting awareness of the opportunities that cross-cultural relations provide, Hawaii has a good chance to develop into a real center of a distinct Pacific community. Given its geographic location, it will entirely depend on the intellectual strength and creativity as well as on the commercial vigor and resourcefulness of its people, whether the state of Hawaii can play this role. The institution of the Dillingham Distinguished Lecture Series certainly demonstrates the presence of both these qualities, and I deem it an exceptional honor to have been asked to open this series. That the East-West Center is sponsoring this endeavor, only lends substance to its reputation of imaginative intellectual leadership.

The region I am going to discuss with you today is a constituent element of that Pacific community. At the same time it is also part of another group of countries bordering the Indian Ocean. The history of this area has been very much determined by its geographic location, and by its function as a link between these two great ocean basins. By the same token, this region has felt the contradictory pulls that these two basins have exerted upon it, one towards the Pacific, one towards the Indian Ocean. This is still very much the situation today.

It has been one of the ironic corollaries of independence that in breaking through to a new future the nations of Southeast Asia have been much more deeply and much more forcefully made aware of their history and its continuing impact into the present. During the struggle for freedom almost all of us only looked forward toward a future of freedom, toward the creation of new societies. There was in the nationalist movements of that period generally a radical rejection of the past, of traditions and the institutions that went with it. There was an openness for new ideas, a feverish and bold experimentation; many of us struck out in new directions. It was from that period that in many countries of the region a new literature



began, new pictorial styles developed, new genres in music and dance, new attitudes towards religion, and new political beliefs.

Independence, however, also brought the need for self-identification, for defining the national self in relation to the outside world. The requirement to build political organizations of mass support and participation, the need to make people share in the new freedom and modern political concepts in terms that made sense to them, likewise compelled a renewed emphasis on the particular and the traditional in our cultures. After the attainment of independence, moreover, all the new nations found themselves saddled with a number of intractable problems that could only be overcome on the basis of a clear understanding of their historical roots. It is the awareness of their history that is to many of these nations the source of their strength and their weakness. It is in their history that their pride and their sense of identity is rooted. To understand present day Southeast Asia, therefore, its problems as well as the motivational forces that determine the thrust of its movement, one inevitably has to start by turning, however briefly, to the history of the area.

Southeast Asia's early history, from roughly the fourth to the thirteenth or fourteenth century, was shaped by the confluence of the cultural and commercial currents emanating from the two great centers of culture and power of the time, India and China. Each of them left, rather unevenly, its mark in different areas and in different ways. In these areas, indigenous popular systems of beliefs, closely tied to a developing system of wet rice cultivation, were re-formulated and integrated into the higher religions that came from these centers. It should be noted, however, that these higher religions changed as well in the process. It was this syncretic adaptation of the higher religions which in many important ways influenced social organization. In those areas where more elaborate power structures developed into inland kingdoms like Khmer and Mataram, they shaped the concepts of power, of kingship and of the state.

The shift of communications on the Asian mainland from land routes to the sea subsequently promoted the growth of a number of trading principalities and even empires, side by side, and very soon, in competition with the older inland kingdoms. Of these, one of the greatest was the Kingdom of Ciriwldjaja near Palembang on the southern east coast of Sumatra. Up to the eighth century it exercised predominant control over the trade between China and Indonesia and between Indonesia and India. The struggle for hegemony over the important waterway of the Straits of Malacca has dominated much of Indonesian history. And when in the early part of the sixteenth century the Portuguese, the Spaniards, and a little later the Dutch, arrived to participate in the spice trade, they too became involved in the struggle for control of this vital artery.

It was through this trade route that both Islam and Christianity were introduced, spreading quickly throughout the insular part of Southeast Asia. From that time onwards, much of the history of Southeast Asia has been a history of multicornered rivalries, sometimes under the banner of different religions, skillfully exploited by the Europeans to increase their own power. The sequence of trade-religion-political control became in this way the standard pattern in the development of colonial rule. It was only after the industrial revolution in Europe, however, and the building of iron ships, that the definitive change in the balance of forces occurred. Until then, Europe had only been one of the many forces in the area, operating more or less on an equal footing.

If we now make a cross-cut through Southeast Asian history, the picture that emerges is one that resembles a layer cake with layer

upon layer of cultural-religious sediment, some of them thick in some places while thin or entirely absent in others. Depending on the area under observation, one commonly finds an indigenous animist layer, a subsequent layer of Hindu or Buddhist sedimentation, or Hindu with an overlay of Buddhism in its Indian or Chinese variety. On top of this comes Islam or Christianity, either Catholic or Protestant, or both. In the political field, primitive beliefs in magical powers, covered by a layer of more sophisticated concepts of statehood and kingly power, related to concepts of the cosmic order. On top of that, more or less modern notions about state, society and politics.

Like all similes, the analogy of the layer cake does not, of course, convey the full picture. Elements of the earlier layers continue to be present in the superseding ones, up to the very top, even to this day. And more important than the origin of the various influences on the region is the fact that none of these influences retained their original identity. Whether they came from India, China, Arabia or from modern western Europe, all of these influences were changed in the process of their absorption and integration, however incomplete sometimes, into the previous cultures of the region.

It would seem to me that the capacity of the peoples of Southeast Asia to digest and adapt these influences according to their own genius does represent the most striking element in this acculturation process. As a result, the cultures of Southeast Asia emerge with an autochthony quite distinct from the sources which have helped shape them. Viewed in this light, there are sufficient grounds to assume that in developing their answers to the problems of the post-independence era, and to those which accompany their transition into the twentieth century, the nations of Southeast Asia will eventually come up with responses, structures and institutions that are once again very much their own, differing from those prevailing in either the liberal-capitalistic or communist models.

Another set of factors should be borne in mind when we look at present-day Southeast Asia from this perspective of history. The first is the cultural and political heterogeneity in the Southeast Asian region as a whole; the wide variety of historical experience and response; and thirdly, the existence in many nations of deep religious, ethnic or racial cleavages, here and there reinforced by the remnants of traditional conflicts of a dynastical nature.

The consolidation of colonial rule in Southeast Asia, as of the middle of the nineteenth century, further complicated the situation. Many of the boundaries along which Southeast Asia was balkanized by the colonizing powers were drawn quite arbitrarily, sometimes by the whim of the local colonial administrator, sometimes on the basis of erroneous assumptions, sometimes formulated in Europe as part of the effort to establish a new balance of power in the post-Napoleonic period. Colonial boundaries often cut across populations of the same ethnic origin. In several instances the colonial ruler used one ethnic group preferentially above others for purposes of administration or to facilitate and protect colonial rule in certain areas.

It was not surprising, therefore, that when the decolonization process set in, the old tensions, rivalries and conflicts, and many of the problems that had remained frozen in the general social stagnation that is characteristic of colonial rule, came to the fore again. What was more, they became heavily intertwined with the new problems of independent statehood: serious political discontent in one form or another because of neglect, sluggish economic growth, uneven distribution of wealth, population pressures

or sometimes plain managerial inability on the part of the new government.

One further observation should be made. While on the one hand colonialism has led to social stagnation, stunting the natural growth of our societies, it also upset the traditional social fabric of these societies, starting from within the modern economic enclaves. In doing so, it released new creative forces from which the modern nationalist movements for independence eventually sprang.

With the attainment of independence, then, the new nations were faced with three different sets of problems. The first revolves around the very obvious question of how to run their country as a free nation: how to build the political and social institutions that would serve to inculcate among the population at large a sense of nationhood and shared responsibility; how to integrate the often disparate groups, at various levels of political development, and of various ethnic or racial origin, into a single political system that would enable the country effectively to deal with the need for rapid economic development; how to break out of the lopsided colonial economy they have inherited. The second set of problems arises out of the arbitrariness of colonial boundaries, the inequalities and injustices resulting from colonial favor and privilege. The third concerns the deepest motivational forces for social action that are rooted in the religious substratum of the traditional societies of Southeast Asia.

As all-encompassing systems of integration, the great religions have in the past determined the manner in which man sees reality and relates to it. They have helped shape social organization and have defined the terms in which man perceives the meaning of his life as an individual, his relations to his fellow man as well as his relations to the Divine. Colonial rule as well as modernity in general has wrought radical changes in this state of affairs, by setting in motion a largely autonomous process of rapid social development in a new direction.

Once the religiously determined system of values and attitudes, which was attuned to relatively simple, static agricultural societies, had broken down, the traditional religions in all these nations faced the problem of perceiving the new social realities and of developing a relevant relationship to them. Many of the intractable political problems that the new nations have to cope with are rooted in the crisis in which these traditional religions are now finding themselves. The depth of the religious and cultural crisis that these nations face, therefore, shows how deep the roots of political instability go and how superficial the categories of communism, anti-communism or socialism are, either as a means to understand the social and political processes that are going on, the dynamics of political choice, or the shape and structure of society toward which these nations are moving.

It should also be clear by now that the real dynamics of economic development are only partially reflected and can only be partially measured by external, quantifiable indices such as growth rates, per capita incomes, export rates and the like. When we speak of development, we speak of movement, of goals, of values, of motivation. We are essentially concerned with developing a new sense of direction for society, and with the deepest, often moral, motivations for social action. When we speak of development, we are really speaking about the modernization of the soul.

It is only when the goals of economic development and the need for social and cultural change can be shown to make sense in terms of traditionally accepted, religiously determined values and purposes, or can be shown to make sense in terms of newly acceptable structures of meaning, that the full

mobilization of the motivational forces especially within the traditional sectors of these societies become possible. Addressing themselves to this problem is for the new nations almost as important as questions of savings and investments.

No wonder then that before new value systems have crystallized we are beset by such deep emotions, of fear, insecurity, but also of hope. The emotional upheavals, the political convulsions and the instability of these countries in general should, therefore, be seen as a reflection of these deeply rooted problems that are inescapably part of the process of modernization.

Against the magnitude of these problems the importance of nationalism as an integrative and constructive force becomes obvious. Nationalism is essentially the expression of a nation's will to reassert its own authenticity. In turn, it has the capacity to release other creative forces, for freedom is the essential condition for creativity and the blossoming of all human faculties. Nationalism is in the early stages the only force of sufficient cohesive strength to consummate the process of nation building and to set into motion the process of economic, social and political development. It is inevitably accompanied by the drive for social justice as well.

It should also be stressed that the many problems I have mentioned above will remain insoluble as long as the present level of poverty in the area persists. The absence of hope for a better future reinforces the inclination to cling in desperation to traditional and familiar institutions, attitudes and concepts. Or, to the tactics of violence and destruction. It is only at a higher level of economic life, when the most pressing problems of material want have been reduced in intensity that these tremendous problems will lend themselves to solution.

The first prerequisite facing all these governments, therefore, is rapid economic development. It goes without saying that economic development in the final analysis rests on the peoples of the Southeast Asian region themselves. It will very much depend on their will and their determination to pursue this path, on their capacity to create a political system that will make possible the fullest mobilization of all internal resources. It requires in short, the reorganization of these nations for development purposes and the capacity to harness the desire for a better life that exists among the people in general.

The role of foreign assistance is crucial in the development effort, however small it may be in relation to the magnitude of the national effort that is required. It is important for the transfer of capital or skills that are nonexistent or in short supply, thereby speeding up the development process, and as a vehicle for the transfer of developmental values and the ethos of work, efficiency and progress that is necessary to make economic growth a self-sustaining process. Even more important, it can alleviate the burden to be carried by the indigenous population, thereby reducing the need for coercion in the mobilization for development. Foreign assistance in the economic development of the new nations, therefore, will help determine in a crucial fashion what kind of societies will eventually emerge in the Southeast Asian area. Will they be open or closed societies, increasingly free or increasingly repressive, friendly or hostile to the West? It will be an important factor in determining whether nationalism in Southeast Asia will turn towards the world its aggressive, xenophobic face or its constructive and cooperative aspect.

For we should not forget that post-colonial nationalism also has its pathological sides. By now we are all familiar with the deep suspicion, the potential xenophobia, the irrationality, the egocentricity or ethnocentricity and intolerance of which it is capable.

The question, therefore, of what kind of societies will emerge in Southeast Asia, open or closed, is a question that is important not only in terms of the immediate future. It is of even greater importance when we think in terms of 30 or 50 years from now, at which time we will have moved into the 21st century. One thing seems certain to me, and that is that Southeast Asia will progress economically, will industrialize and will develop the degree of national power that will enable it to hold its own in the future. If we look at the changes that have taken place in the last ten years, however slow they may seem in our day-to-day observations, the strides that have been made in developing modern technologically oriented economies have been truly impressive.

In looking at Southeast Asia, therefore, we should not merely be obsessed by its difficulties and its instability. Against the background of the history and the motivational forces that I have tried to present to you, the dominant feature that emerges is that the whole region of Southeast Asia is still in the process of philosophical and ideological re-orientation, and of political formation and consolidation. Of very few countries in the area can it be said that their political systems have yet found their final expression. In almost all, the search for a viable and adequate system is still going on. In almost all, some degree of political reform is bound to take place before their systems will be able to accommodate the cultural and political pluralism of their societies; absorb the social tensions that inevitably accompany rapid social and cultural change; integrate racial or religious minorities; and absorb into their political elites ever wider groups demanding political participation and responsibility.

As I have stressed before, the political systems should, above all, make possible the pursuit of rapid economic development, the harnessing of the creative energies of the people, and the mobilization of the financial resources needed to this end. At the same time, they should be able to withstand the stresses that arise out of demands for greater social justice, out of the discrepancy between the heightened expectations which political consciousness brings and the limited growth capacity of developing economies.

The depth and magnitude of the cultural re-orientation process that is part and parcel of modernization, should also make us aware of the depth of the emotions that are involved. Hope, uncertainty, fear, despair and even hatred will be the constant companions of the change, revolutionary growth and development through which the peoples of Southeast Asia are going at present. In a few other new nations outside Southeast Asia too we have seen some terrible expressions of the pathology of fear and despair. In a way, the attraction which Mao's type of communism still holds in some areas is very much a function of this despair, with an admixture of age-old chiliastic expectations.

Be that as it may, there is no doubt that it will be some time before the countries of Southeast Asia will have worked out their own, viable political systems. Nor should we be frightened by the likelihood that in this process the viability of some of these countries as nation-states will be severely tested. What we will need is time and the opportunity to work out these problems ourselves. Already a number of developments are taking place that have made it possible for us to look at the future with a greater degree of confidence.

First, there is the so-called Green Revolution. The development and increasing utilization of the new miracle strains of rice and wheat have already dramatically changed the outlook on the future. For the problem of hunger now seems, in principle at least, to be soluble. But it is also beginning to dawn on us how vast and revolutionary the conse-

quences will be that arise out of the systematic utilization of these new strains and the new technology that they require. For it is bound to lead to fundamental social changes in the villages, the emergence of new types of economic and technologically-oriented local leadership, an increased demand for storage, transportation, and marketing facilities, for irrigation works large and small, all serving as an incentive to the development of agriculture-supporting industries. And the end may yet not be in sight.

Secondly, there is the fact that besides the already industrially developed countries of Japan and Australia, some of the new nations in the Western Pacific recently moved into their industrial phase. South Korea, Taiwan and of course China fall within this category. This has opened the perspective of new intra-regional trade patterns, which will further accelerate the development of the Southeast Asian region as a whole, and possibly the emergence of a new regional identity. In fact, this process has already set in. To the west of the region, India's entry as an exporter of manufactured goods will, in time, likewise affect the trade patterns across the Indian Ocean basin. An increased exchange here will no doubt provide a powerful pull in this direction again.

Thirdly, I should point to what may very well be the most important event in Southeast Asia, namely the emergence of the first post-independence, post-revolutionary generation in positions of power. This generation grew up, or was born in a free Southeast Asia. Their souls have not been scarred or twisted by the pain and humiliation of the colonial experience. More self-confident, less bothered by the sense of inferiority with which their elders were afflicted, they are also, perhaps helped by changing world conditions, less afraid of the specter of imperialism. Though no less patriotic than their parents, they are therefore less ideologically inclined, more pragmatic, less suspicious and more open to the outside world. They are no longer inclined to blame colonial rule or outside forces for their present difficulties and are quite willing and ready to face up to these problems themselves. But even more important than these attitudes is their acceptance of and their familiarity with science and technology. It is almost impossible to exaggerate the crucial importance of these new attitudes. In general, this generation realizes that the rate of economic development is not determined by the ideological orientation of the country, but rather by the size of investment, the application of technology and science, managerial effectiveness and efficiency and sustained commitment to the priority of development. It would be a mistake, however, to look at them only as a generation of technocrats. They themselves are too deeply aware of the structural changes in society that are required before modern techniques, skills and technology can be effectively applied. They themselves are too deeply conscious of the need to relate developmental goals, i.e., goals that pertain to the improvement of material life, to other purposes that give meaning to man's life in this world. Social justice for instance is one of these. This generation does not speak of crisis, but of challenge, and they are determined to succeed.

It is essential, therefore, that the advanced countries respond positively to the emergence of these new creative forces by helping to provide them with the means to succeed. In doing so, the forms and the manner in which assistance and cooperation is given will be of decisive importance.

For all its differences in orientation, this generation is no less nationalistic than its predecessors. History since World War II has shown that if fears of neo-colonialism and capitalist exploitation are to be avoided, economic assistance and cooperation will have to be based on new concepts and instrumen-



talities. This requires a search for new forms of cooperative endeavor, which will break with the unequal relationships of the past and effect the closer integration of foreign investment into the purposes and patterns of national development. It also means that in developing trade and investment, deliberate efforts should be made to accelerate the growth of an indigenous commercial and entrepreneurial middle class. Here the traditional American inventiveness and ingenuity could make an important contribution. On the whole, without denying their essential nature as profitmaking organizations, the creative role that private foreign business could play not only in speeding up the process of economic and social development, but also in fostering regional economic cooperation, should not be underestimated.

Beyond this, it should be realized that without foreign aid at adequate levels, private foreign investment could not play the creative role envisaged here. In a number of Southeast Asian countries, private foreign investment could only operate profitably and socially effectively after the infra-structure has been sufficiently developed. For this the continuation of government-to-government aid at adequate levels is essential. American business, therefore, also has a stake in the continuation of United States aid to these countries. To think that private foreign investment could take over the function of foreign aid is an illusion.

In the political field, an understanding of the developing nations on which economic cooperation could be based would require an awareness of the necessity as well as the inevitability of social and political change and a degree of instability resulting therefrom. Hence, a measure of political instability, should not be seen as a condition to be removed before economic development can be started. Rather stability should be seen as the end result of economic development begun under conditions of relative political instability. To be sure, certain elementary preconditions are necessary, as for instance a commitment to economic development on the part of the political elite, within as well as outside the government of the day. Also required is an openness towards private economic enterprise. But beyond this, the insistence on political stability as prior condition for economic development and for international support of economic development is both unrealistic and self-defeating. And it is even more important to understand the basic creative drives that underlie the complex situations in the new nations and to relate to them.

Within this framework we will then be able to understand that the problems these countries face and the developments they go through are inherent in their condition of underdevelopment, and that their efforts at building political and social institutions that can effectively cope with the problems of poverty and backwardness are rooted in the underlying search for a new meaning of life.

In this first lecture I have deliberately avoided speaking about the concrete political problems that the Southeast Asian nations face, the threats to their security, or the impact of external forces on them. These aspects I intend to discuss with you in my second lecture. My purpose in doing so has been to first bring out as clearly as is possible within this brief compass some of the basic problems with which we are wrestling some of the motivating forces inherent in the region that, over and beyond the short term vagaries of international politics, constitute the region's essential dynamic thrust.

Hopefully this has also made clear the importance of the continuation of the United States' role in Southeast Asia in supporting the developmental impulses that exist in the region. It may have a crucial bearing on the way in which we will solve our problems

and the manner in which consolidation will take place. In the further development of the relationship between the United States and Southeast Asia it is not only the statesmen and politicians, but the intellectuals and businessmen as well who will have to play an active role.

Inevitably this problem is bound up with the process of re-examination of basic values and purposes of American society and the re-ordering of its national priorities through which the United States is going at this juncture of its history. The developing nations of Southeast Asia can only hope that the American people, throughout their own process of transition and re-definition of their identity as a nation, will remain true to their traditional universalistic vision of mankind that has been the source of their strength, their generosity and their world leadership.

#### SOUTHEAST ASIA IN WORLD POLITICS

Having given you in my previous lecture, with very rough brush strokes, a picture of the history and of the motivational forces that account for much of Southeast Asia's problems and internal dynamics, let us now turn to the international realities of the situation and try to make some projections about the future. For the political animal that is man, it is the vision of the future that guides his actions in the present.

I must warn you, though, that I have left my crystal ball at my Embassy in Washington, D.C. Do not, therefore, expect any predictions from me. What is possible, however, is to identify the elements that will in all probability go into making up the constellation of forces in the post-Vietnam period.

From the outset, it is important for the clarity of our vision to free ourselves from the obsession that all of us inevitably have with the Vietnam war and the manner of its resolution. After all, the future of the Southeast Asian region will not be determined solely by the outcome of that war. Firstly, the population of Vietnam, or even of the whole of erstwhile Indochina together, constitutes less than one-third of the total population of Southeast Asia. On the other hand, Indonesia's population alone accounts for almost half of that total. In keeping the Vietnam war in its proper proportions, it is important to realize that if Indonesia had become a communist country, any military gains in the Vietnam war would have been nullified.

The other point that should be made here concerns the so-called "domino theory." One pertinent aspect which I have tried to bring out in my previous lecture is the largely autochthonous origin of the problems that underlie the political instability in the area. I tried not only to show the magnitude of these problems, but also to convey the long period of time that will be needed to develop the stable political structure capable of coping effectively with the requirements of national integration and economic development simultaneously. What I have tried to say was largely a plea to see and to accept that many of the problems of Southeast Asia are problems in their own right. Whether a country starts off from a liberal-democratic, a traditional, a militaristic, or a communist base, the pressure of its historical problems is bound in due course to give the political structures that emerge a complexion very much their own. This holds especially true, inasmuch as the communist tide that at one time threatened to engulf the third world seems to have largely dissipated its expansive force. It is, therefore, not the political color of a regime that counts in the end, but its capacity for nation-building and development. More important than the question whether a country will turn towards communism—however important that may be to the country concerned—is the question whether in doing so it will become a satellite of outside forces or not. For underlying my

whole argument is the conviction that in the present world situation no outside power can for long force any Southeast Asian country to do its bidding. The Southeast Asian nations do not constitute lifeless entities that automatically fall one way or the other, depending on which way their neighbor falls. History does not operate that way. What matters is the will, the political will, the determination of a nation to preserve its own identity. Out of our own national experience, we in Indonesia more than ever believe that this is the crucial element in the equation. Without such a will and determination, the infusion of external power will fail to make much difference. The domino theory, therefore, is to us rather a gross over-simplification of the nature of the historical processes that go in the area. It obscures and distorts rather than illuminates our understanding and offers no guide-lines for realistic policy.

Having thus cleared the obstructions from our angle of vision on the future, one observation inescapably emerges: the *multipolarity* of the new constellation of forces in the post-Vietnam era. The actual configuration of forces is inevitably still unclear at this point, for very much will depend on some fundamental decisions which, before too long, have to be made in Moscow, in Tokyo, in Peking, as well as in Washington, D.C.

One new element in this constellation of forces is going to be the continued presence of Soviet power in Southeast Asia. One of the ironic features of the Vietnam war is that, more than anything else, it has helped to solidify the Soviet Union's direct interest in the region. It seems quite unlikely that the end of the Vietnam war will see a reduction of this presence.

The level as well as the direction of Soviet interest in the area will in the first place be determined by the question whether the world is going to move towards an East-West *detente* or towards an intensification of the cold war. Much will depend also on the balance the Soviet Union will manage to strike between her responsibilities as the other super-power and her need to retain the ideological leadership of the communist movement in the world in the face of Chinese competition. Thirdly, it will be influenced by the development of Soviet interests in the Indian Ocean basin, and finally, by the manner in which both China and the United States will react to her presence in the Southeast Asian region.

The second element in our equation is Japan. Because of her tremendous industrial growth, her need for raw materials from the Southeast Asian area, her investments in resource development, and her support of Southeast Asia's developmental programs, Japan at present is already deeply involved in the affairs of the region.

Having reached the stage of now being the third industrial power of the world, she is becoming increasingly conscious of her accomplishments and potentialities and of the need accordingly to redefine her national purposes and the place and role she ought to assume in the present international order.

Specifically with regard to Southeast Asia, or more broadly, the Western Pacific region, Japan is approaching the point where she has to make a fundamental choice, affecting her own future security policies as well as the security of the area as a whole. The options available to her in this respect appear to run between two basic courses: either continue to emphasize and enlarge the predominantly economic role she is playing now, or assume a direct political and military role.

The first course offers her the convenience of not having to carry the full load of expanded defense expenditures. At the same time it provides her with the opportunity to enlarge her contribution to the development efforts of the Southeast Asian region, thus speeding up the region's own security capability. But its weakness is that it will place

her in a position of continued dependence in security matters on the United States. How long this course could be maintained, in the face of the growing assertiveness of Japan's newly-found national pride and self-respect, however, remains to be seen.

On the other hand, if Japan decides to assume a military role, the mere existence of China's nuclear capability will make it impossible for her not to go nuclear as well. This in turn will compel her to move out from under the American defense system and to assume a political and defense posture of her own. Japan's implicit desire not to tangle with Communist China and simple calculations of warranted risks as against national interest, will in all likelihood propel her in this direction.

One sometimes has the impression that those in the United States who are eager to see Japan shoulder part of the military burden in the Pacific do not all fully realize the far-reaching implications of such a proposition. While it is possible to argue that Japan's assumption of an enlarged military role may conceivably add to the security of the region as a whole, this may very well mean a reduction of United States control. The manner in which this dilemma between security and control will be resolved in the coming years will have an important bearing on the constellation of forces that will constitute the environment in which Southeast Asia will have to find its place.

It should be said, that in Japan itself at the moment there is still strong psychological resistance against such a military role. Still, when the time comes to make the decision, it may very well be psychological factors, more than anything else, that will tip the scale.

To an important degree, these factors relate to some specific aspects of Japanese-American relations. Of these, the Okinawa question and the impending review of the U.S.-Japan Security Treaty in general, appear to present themselves as the first crucial tests of the direction in which things will move.

Moreover, as Japan's life depends on her trade and her access to markets in developed countries, a development towards protectionism in the United States would inevitably affect the manner in which Japan will position herself in relation to the countries of the Western Pacific, including the Asian part of the Soviet Union, mainland China as well as Southeast Asia. An abandonment on the part of the United States of its vision of the world as a single economic unit by withdrawing into a protectionist isolationism, will clearly open the door towards the development all over the world of closed systems of economic spheres of influence. I think it would be folly to minimize the fear that within these spheres, the price for progress that the underdeveloped nations would have to pay might well be the acceptance of a neo-colonial relationship.

The configuration of forces of which I am speaking will further be influenced by China's stance and where she moves once the Vietnam war is over. The crucial question that will soon come up before her is whether she should persist in a hostile isolation or break out of it. The prospect of a global understanding between the United States and the Soviet Union and the consolidation of a new balance of power in the Southeast Asian and Western Pacific region may make it advisable for China to break out of her isolation. As to whether, within the context of her own domestic balance of forces, China will have the capacity to do so, is of course a different matter. Here again, the manner in which the United States conducts its search into the possibilities of a Chinese rapprochement will to a large extent condition China's initiatives and reactions in the years to come.

Two more elements, I think, should be briefly mentioned to complete the picture at this stage. First, Australia's decisions regarding her defense strategy and her relationship to Southeast Asia; the choice she has to make between concepts of forward defense or a "fortress Australia" posture, and her defense relations with the United States. Secondly, the development of strategic significance in and around the Indian Ocean, to which I have referred earlier.

It appears possible then at this juncture to draw a few tentative conclusions.

First and foremost, one is struck by the tremendous extent of interaction and the far-reaching implications of the decisions that will have to be taken by the countries I have just mentioned. It is obvious also how greatly the manner of this interaction is going to affect the scope within which the nations of Southeast Asia themselves will have to work out their own destiny. Thus, for example, political decisions taken by the United States in the context of her global policies vis-a-vis the Soviet Union, Japan and others, as well as her economic decisions related to her balance of payments difficulties will inescapably affect the Southeast Asian environment.

The second conclusion that logically presents itself is that as long as Southeast Asia is unable to fill the power vacuum left in the wake of decolonization by its own indigenous strength, or in other words, without a Southeast Asian indigenous component, the constellation of forces in the Western Pacific will remain unstable.

Lastly, it appears valid to assume that it is against the interest of Southeast Asia to see any single force within this constellation emerge in a position of paramount power. If my reading of American history is correct, this conforms also to the traditional position the United States has taken in the past with regard to her interests in the Pacific.

This brings us to the question of the relationship between Southeast Asian security and the re-definition of the American defense posture after Vietnam. The importance of the power umbrella provided by the nuclear guarantee and naval presence of the United States is beyond question and needs no elaboration. It seems to me, that in further defining the American military role in Southeast Asia, the new logistical deployment capabilities which have been developed could be an important element in giving greater flexibility to the United States defense strategy. But beyond this, I would imagine that it will also very much depend on the way in which the Southeast Asian nations themselves see their security problem, and on their readiness to assume responsibility in meeting that problem.

Let us, therefore, first have a look at the nature of the threat to the security of the Southeast Asian area. Provided that the present stability of mutual nuclear deterrence remains, I think it is realistic to assume that the danger of massive open military aggression against this region is very small. China's capacity to project its military strength outside its boundaries is for a long time going to be quite limited. While her growing nuclear capability undoubtedly will give her some diplomatic and political leverage, the rationale for a nuclear threat or for nuclear blackmail against any of the Southeast Asian countries seems rather distant, if not absent. The threat to the security of Southeast Asia, therefore, lies not in China's military capacity, but rather in the fact that China constitutes a political and ideological high-pressure area, that is bound to exert an influence on the shape and direction of political discontent within the Southeast Asian countries. The primary threat, therefore, is one of internal subversion and insurgency.

It is not primarily a nation's military capability that will determine its capacity

to overcome these threats to internal security, but rather the cohesion of its political system, the viability and the effectiveness of its government in dealing with the problems of poverty, social inequalities and injustices, in bringing about economic development and in continually expanding its base for popular participation. Here again it is not only factors of economic growth, but beyond that the elements of will and determination that are decisive, as well as the people's loyalty to the government and faith in its purposes. As Indonesian Foreign Minister Adam Malik once remarked: "In dealing with the defense against insurgency it does not suffice for the people to make verbal expressions of loyalty. It requires a government for whom they are willing to die."

In this light, therefore, military alliances will add little if anything to a nation's capacity to cope with the problems of insurgency. One might even say that at this stage of political formation and consolidation through which Southeast Asian nations are going, the infusion of external military power runs the risk of becoming a destabilizing factor, leading to a false polarization of forces in the country or giving its leaders a false sense of security and a corresponding unwillingness to engage in necessary political and social reform.

Recently, President Soeharto of Indonesia reiterated this viewpoint in unambiguous terms. When asked by the press how he viewed probable developments in Southeast Asia after an end to the Vietnam war, he said: "I do realize that the general situation in the area after Vietnam will give the communists a bigger scope for infiltration and subversion in the countries of the region. The main threat, however, will not derive from communist military strength but rather finds its source in ideological fanaticism. This threat should not be met by military pacts or military power, but by strengthening these countries' national will and capacity to resist, through international and regional cooperation in the fields of economic development, culture and ideology. The strengthened will and capacity to resist in the countries of the region will form the strongest defense against this infiltration and subversion."

It is important, therefore, to see ASEAN, the Association of Southeast Asian Nations, not as a prelude to a military alliance, but very definitely as an attempt to speed up the economic development and political viability of the region as a whole, as well as that of the individual member countries. ASEAN is an expression of the will and determination that exist among its member nations to shape their own future and to work out their problems of stability and economic development in freedom.

We of course realize that to transform potential into reality, much more is needed than pious intentions. Even at this moment, unresolved tension and conflict among ourselves, such as manifested by the dispute over Sabah, threaten to disrupt the fragile structure of our preliminary efforts. But if we understand the nature and basic causes of instability in the region, then we will understand that problems like these will continue to crop up, as the unavoidable agonies in a process of growth.

It does, however, point to the need for Southeast Asia's leaders to bring up the kind of statesmanship capable of preventing the deterioration of this conflict into a state of self-destructive armed hostilities. It also reveals the necessity for ASEAN to develop as quickly as possible the organizational machinery for peaceful conflict-resolution in the area. As for Indonesia, we remain confident that within the context and in the true spirit of ASEAN, the current tensions over Sabah can and will be overcome in due course.



It should be noted that ASEAN, in its present composition of Thailand, the Philippines, Malaysia, Singapore and Indonesia, was from its inception only seen as a beginning. I do not think that its members have relinquished the hope that eventually ASEAN will include all other nations in Southeast Asia. The possibility of a neutralized Indochina emerging from a peaceful settlement of the Vietnam war would open new possibilities along these lines.

Let me now recapitulate very briefly the major internal requirements that will have to be met if Southeast Asian regional cooperation is to become a reality. *First*, there should be a continuing top-priority commitment to economic development on the part of the political leadership in each of these countries. *Secondly*, these countries should be able to develop a mechanism for regional conflict resolution which would obviate the need or compulsion to arm against each other and to seek solutions by force of arms. *Thirdly*, plan harmonization; though given the strength of narrow nationalist feelings, this will take some time, they must gradually develop the willingness to agree on the most suitable location of certain industries in terms of their overall regional impact. This means a willingness to sacrifice short-term national interests. *Fourthly*, increased intra-regional trade, common endeavors in the field of price stabilization of primary commodities, joint marketing operations and eventually, after all the countries of the area have developed a sufficient manufacturing capability, a regional common market. This may still take a very long time, but it is the direction in which we have to move. *Fifthly*, effective population control.

The nations of Southeast Asia must be able to develop these capabilities if regional cooperation is to mean anything in the immediate foreseeable future. Above all, there is an urgent need for clarity of vision as to the community of destiny in which their future is bound up; the realization that there is no future for each of them, unless they jointly work together to secure their common future.

The awareness of the historic opportunity that has opened, and the will to move in that direction, should inspire not only the statesmen of Southeast Asia, but its intellectuals, scientists and businessmen as well. These are the internal requirements.

There are, of course, certain external requirements, the most important of which is the continued willingness of countries like the United States, Japan, Australia, Europe, and hopefully the Soviet Union and the Eastern European countries in continuing foreign assistance at adequate levels to the countries in this region.

The recent announcement by the Japanese Government of its intention to allocate aid at substantially higher levels was therefore welcome news indeed. In a way it further emphasizes the crucial importance for us in Southeast Asia of the decision that the United States will have to make regarding the level of her aid program in coming years as well as the new concepts underlying it. More than anything else the United States could do in relation to Southeast Asia, the continuance at adequate levels of her aid program would significantly bolster political morale, accelerate the indigenous capacity for development, and commensurately the indigenous capacity of these nations to deal with their own security problems. Without it the U.S. military role in the security of the Southeast Asian area would become politically meaningless.

One other aspect should be mentioned here. One of the side effects of the Vietnam war has been an annual outflow in recent years of close to two billion dollars from the United States to East Asia for expenditures that were related to the war. Many of the countries in this area have benefited

considerably from this transfer of resources. I think that Indonesia may be the only country which did not derive any benefits from this. It would be a sad commentary indeed on the quality of the present international order if peace in Vietnam, for which we are still hoping, would also come to mean the cessation of a transfer of resources of this order of magnitude, which would give rise to a serious depression in this general area. It would seem to me that economic cooperation of a stable and mutually beneficial nature would require the development of a capacity for the continuation of the transfer of such resources *without* war.

The search for new and more effective concepts of aid is, of course, a legitimate and needed endeavor. The increasing attention that is being paid to multilateral aid, whether through international organizations like the United Nations, the World Bank, IDA, ADB, or through formal or informal arrangements between a number of countries, is an important development in this connection. It makes possible better coordination, more objective assessments of requirements, a more integrated development strategy by the receiving country, at a lower political cost. The multilateral emphasis tends to reduce the fear of undue influence or political domination by a single donor nation. It also reduces the possibility of bilateral aid programs being too closely tied to specific private investment projects from the donor nation concerned, which would give rise to fears of the development of economic neo-colonialist enclaves in the receiving country.

As an interesting side effect of this new emphasis it should be noted that it has at the same time made it possible for bilateral aid to operate more effectively and at a lower political cost as well, for both the donor and the receiver nation.

A review of aid strategies for development in Southeast Asia could not ignore the importance of price stabilization for primary commodities. This, as well as putting a stop to the worsening terms of trade for these primary products, would significantly reduce the need for much higher levels of aid input. It would have additional beneficial effects as well. Very little really has been achieved in the way of increasing trade rather than aid, and the failures of both the UNCTAD I and UNCTAD II conferences is a matter of great concern to most of the countries in Southwest Asia.

The failure of these conferences, like the failure of the UN Development Decade to reach its targets, has made it obvious that unless there are fundamental changes in the state of the world, in its present divisions, its preoccupations, and its levels of tension and conflict, there is little hope for a major redirection of world resources to effectively cope with the problem of international poverty. Still, international stability and security at the subnuclear level will largely depend on this. At the same time it is only one of the problems that mankind is facing today.

For too long already has the fear engendered by the cold war, and the corresponding flight for security into a blind reliance on military hardware, made it impossible for many nations, rich as well as poor, adequately to respond to new and pressing needs resulting from major social and cultural changes, in their own societies as well as in the world at large. For too long has man been locked into frozen postures, attitudes and concepts that made sense in the fifties, but are inadequate to our understanding of the problems that have emerged in the meantime.

It has been the unrest of youth that has now made us realize that for the continuation of civilized life on this globe the mere avoidance of nuclear extinction is not enough, and that it will be necessary to come to grips with problems like the de-

personalizing effects of modern life and its institutions, the destruction of human ecology, the problem of race, the problems of the cities, the population explosion, and domestic and international poverty. These are the problems that will really determine the shape and the quality of life in the decades ushering in the twenty-first century—if we ever make it.

The reorientation of our thinking, the development of new and more appropriate concepts, and especially concepts of security that allow for social change, imply a reordering of our priorities and a redirection of our resources; to do these things however, is only possible at a lower level of international tension.

The attainment of strategic parity between the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. provides a new, unique—and maybe the last—opportunity mankind has to make the effort at developing a new world order that is more responsive to the new and crying needs of man, poor as well as rich; a world order, more morally satisfying, based not only on power and the calculus of power, but also on trust and compassion, motivated by a clearer and stronger universal vision of man, of human solidarity and a sense of international social justice.

Southeast Asia's future is certainly bound up with the success of this endeavor.

#### RENEWING OUR FAITH

HON. JOHN D. DINGELL

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 29, 1969

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, on July 4, 1969, Dr. Lee A. DuBridge, the distinguished and able science adviser to the President of the United States, made a powerful and moving speech to a large audience at Greenfield Village in Dearborn, Mich., at the celebration by that great museum of the founding of this Nation.

Because of the outstanding character and ability of Dr. DuBridge, and the very appropriate nature of his remarks, I am proud to insert this excellent speech in the RECORD:

#### RENEWING OUR FAITH

(Address by Dr. Lee A. DuBridge, science adviser to the President, at Greenfield Village, Detroit, Mich., July 4, 1969)

I regard it as a great privilege to be able to participate in this glorious 4th of July celebration. It is inspiring indeed to see so many people here to commemorate the founding of our nation, to pay tribute to those far sighted men and women who risked their lives and fortunes to make this country free and to reassert our faith in the ideals of freedom and justice and hope on which our nation was founded, and toward which we have striven for almost two hundred years.

We are here today because we are patriotic, because we love our country and believe in it. We believe in its present—we believe in its future. We have already pledged allegiance to the symbol of our nation and we reassert our faith in the theme of this occasion "Let Freedom Ring".

It is inspiring also to know that in addition to the many people gathered here today, there are similar gatherings throughout the country where in thousands upon thousands, hopefully millions, of our fellow citizens, are setting aside their time on this date to renew with us our pledge of allegiance to a great and free nation.

And yet, I must sadly remind you that there are other millions of people, especially young people, who will refuse to join with us in our pledge of allegiance, who would even denounce our assertions of faith and loyalty, who have indeed lost all faith in our nation's ideals, in its government, in the very foundations of our society.

I feel sorry for those people. It is a tragic thing to lose faith—whether it be faith in God, faith in our country, faith in our fellow men, and specially faith in ourselves. For without faith there is no hope and life itself loses its meaning.

Now we all recognize some of the reasons why young people have lost this faith. We cannot claim that our society or our nation is perfect. We cannot claim that we have achieved the ideals which we often proclaim. We cannot assert that we, as a nation, have done all we could do to insure freedom and justice to all our people, to assure opportunity for every person to live a decent and a fruitful life. We have fallen short of our ideals. But can anyone name a nation that has done better?

We know too that these are dangerous times. We know of nations in the world that are not friendly to our democratic ideals, who do not believe in the kind of free society which we have built on this continent and who would gladly, if they could, or if they thought they could, undermine and even destroy the civilization which we have built. We are vastly distressed and frustrated by this situation. We all dislike the nuclear arms race. We would all like to see an end to the tragic loss of many American lives in a far distant place. We would like to see an end to all wars and threats of wars. We would like, in other words, to see the time soon arrive when we could live in peace, tranquillity, friendship with all peoples.

That time has not arrived and many of our fellow citizens are so angry with the nature of the world in which they live that they want to withdraw from it, to denounce it, possibly even to undermine and destroy the institutions which they find nearest at hand on which to vent their anger—their schools, their colleges, their universities and their government.

We do not cure the ills of our society by destroying it or even losing faith in it. We do not cure the ills of all the world by weakening a great nation which strives for freedom and justice and peace. Our nation has faced grave dangers before and it has surmounted them. We can surmount them again, if we loyally and energetically unite to seek out our dangers and our defects and remedy them one by one.

The troubles of recent years, at home and abroad, have emphasized and sometimes exaggerated the things which make us unhappy. Let us see what we can do about them and let us look at what we are doing.

First let us look at our colleges and universities which have been under attack and under severe strain. Our system of higher education has been denounced from within and berated from without. But is our system all that bad? I think a case can be laid for the thesis that in this country our system of higher education is the victim of its own success. If our system were not such a success, why would so many millions of students flock to our colleges and universities? There were seven million enrolled during the year just ended. Some 50% of our high school graduates now seek to enter a college or university. To them and their parents higher education surely must seem to be a pathway to a better life.

Within my own lifetime there has been a vast change. A college education was once a privilege reserved for the very few. In the early years of this century only 5% of our young people ever thought about going to college or even believed that it had great value. It was all right for those who wanted

to be doctors or lawyers or engineers, but it was hardly a prerequisite for life in business, agriculture or the service trades. But year by year Americans began to realize that a college education really prepared young people for a better life. Also the nature of our society was changing and there was more and more demand for educated men and women. A large number of educated citizens became a necessity for our business, agricultural, industrial, educational and governmental systems. So our colleges grew—and indeed grew much too rapidly for their own good. Hence they became short of money, short of building space, short of good teachers, short of adequate libraries and laboratory equipment.

And yet students continued to flock to our colleges and universities and after graduation went out into successful careers. The colleges saw no need to change their ways of doing things. They were doing fine. The professors and administrators were so busy with their daily chores that they had no time to ask the question of whether the rapid changes in the world around them required changes in the academic policies of the institutions themselves. They were so devoted to the ideal of providing educational opportunities to a larger and larger fraction of our young people that they did not give adequate attention to the question of whether the kind of education they were providing these young people was adequately fitted to the world into which they would be going.

Today, however, our colleges and universities are no longer complacent. Though in certain institutions violent uprisings have left wounds that will take a long time to heal, in many other universities a peaceful self-examination is going rapidly forward. Curricular policies are being revised, administrative structures altered, relations between students, faculty and administration are undergoing healthy changes. A spirit of unity is being revived and new approaches to problems of higher education are being invented.

I cannot claim that all of our problems in higher education will be quickly solved or that our colleges and universities will overnight become new centers of excellence in a changing world. But there is reason for faith, there is reason for hope, there is reason for greater and more concerted effort. Our universities have been in the past great fountains of freedom, of learning, of understanding, of innovation and progress. They can be, and I am confident they will be, even greater assets to our society in the years to come. But not without more perceptive public understanding, patience and support.

Let us turn to another major institution of the American society, our Federal government. In our democratic system the Federal government is not supposed to do everything, in spite of what some people seem to believe. But it can and must do some things and let us inquire as to some of the things that are now going on which give hope for the future.

First, of course, we all know that President Nixon is making an energetic attempt to bring to an end the American involvement in Vietnam. This is not an easy task, even though there are plenty of people who think they know easy solutions. But the determination to find the right way out is there and days and nights of determined effort are being directed to this task. We need no longer be hopeless nor lose faith.

The Federal government is aware of the grave dangers and potential disasters in the nuclear arms race. The President and the National Security Council and a large number of people in many departments of government with the help of many private citizens are working long and earnestly trying to develop proposals to make to the Soviet Union to bring this race under control. There is a real expectation that next month

will see the beginning of serious talks with representatives of the Soviet Union and serious proposals will be presented by the United States for practical first steps in de-escalating this fruitless and costly enterprise. I personally believe there is hope that the Soviet Union is anxious to end this race too, and while we should not expect sudden miracles, there is reason for faith and reason for hope.

Within our own country we face grave problems. Poverty and hunger and racial conflict still exist in this affluent land. Our cities are decaying and we are desperately seeking ways to stop the decay and make them better places to live. We continue to degrade our environment, polluting our air, our water and strewing waste products around our land.

But again these crises are now recognized. Mechanisms have been established within the government to provide Federal leadership and to provide Federal cooperation with states and cities to analyze their problems and take measures to solve them. The Urban Affairs Council and the Environment Quality Council, both under the active leadership of the President himself, are mobilizing the talents in our government to seek these solutions. Solutions will not be found overnight but the problems are now recognized and are no longer neglected. There is reason for faith, there is reason for hope.

But, as President Nixon has frequently said, while a nation must examine its own internal problems and give them energetic attention, it must, even in times of troubles, look outward, upward and forward. A nation must search for new knowledge, must search for enlightenment, must seek beauty and inspiration, must foster idealism and encourage great achievements. "We stand at a crossroad in our history" the President has said. "We shall reaffirm our destiny for greatness or we shall choose instead to withdraw into ourselves."

One week from next Wednesday three astronauts will take off from Cape Kennedy headed for the first manned landing on the moon. Four days later, we all hope, their spacecraft will rest on the moon and two human beings will step on the surface of the moon for the first time in all history. Hundreds of millions of people all over the earth will watch this event on their television screens, will hear about it on their radios, will read about it in their newspapers; and hundreds of millions of human beings will rejoice in a great new human adventure and a great human achievement. All over the world that night people will look at the moon with a new sense of awe and wonder, knowing that two human beings are there. And they will be inspired at the power of the human intellect and of the human spirit. And for a time, at least, the troubles of the world will be forgotten as the great potential of man is so visibly displayed.

On this point also President Nixon has expressed his views eloquently. "The journey of the astronauts is more than a technical achievement," he said. "It is a reaching out of the human spirit. It lifts our sights. It demonstrates that magnificent concepts can be made real. (It) inspires us and at the same time teaches us true humility."

For untold millions of years the human animal was chained to the surface of the earth. Sixty years ago he found a way of soaring into its atmosphere. Ten years ago he learned to break the chains of gravity and to soar out into space. This month the first man will set foot on another world. Later this month two spacecraft will reach Mars and send back new information about that Planet. Americans will have no reason to be ashamed of their nation on those days. Is it worth while? Is it worth while to lift the spirits of millions of human beings? If not, what else is worth while?



There are, of course, those who ask why, if we can land on the moon, we can't clean up our cities? Well, we can. Of course, we can. And we will. But I must emphasize the point which is often forgotten—namely that developing the technology of landing on the moon was relatively easy. The laws of nature which made it possible have been well known for a long time. The engineering skills required to put the spacecraft together were available and were brilliantly organized. Hundreds of thousands of Americans worked together to make this dream come true. They had faith and they had hope.

The problems of our cities and the other social problems which beset us are not all that easy. In this area human beings are not working together but are in conflict. We find that we do not yet know the cause of these troubles nor do we yet have the mechanisms for curing them. Hence we must study, we must experiment, we must try and we will often fail.

We have learned how to discover and use the laws of inanimate nature. We do not understand and thus cannot use the laws governing human nature. This challenge is still ahead. It will be a far more difficult task to understand the human mind and the human heart than it is to understand the physical universe. It is the easy problems that always can be solved first. The tougher ones still lie before us. But they constitute our great challenge.

And yet we are beginning to learn something about human behavior, about social behavior. We are developing some of the tools required to enable the human intellect to address itself more effectively to the problems of our society. We are a long way from their solution. But there is reason for faith; there is reason for hope.

If we were not a democratic society we might solve our problems more easily. An authoritarian state can order people who live in the cities to move back to the farms. It can force people to accept menial jobs whether they want to or not. It can fail to make enough automobiles to cause traffic congestion. It can fail to provide consumer goods for people to buy so all the productivity of the nation may be used for the purposes of the state. It can control the press so the people only learn of those things that the state wishes them to know about. A ruthless military machine can maintain law and order. A dictator can do many things, except the one all important thing. He cannot provide freedom to his people. He cannot adopt the motto "let freedom ring". He cannot grant freedom of religion or freedom to learn. He cannot allow faith. He cannot allow hope. He can only dictate. Is that what we want?

Free men, of course, face many problems. They face the problem of earning their freedom, of preserving it and making it worth while for themselves and all their fellow men.

But the power of the free human mind and of the unfettered human spirit is endless. It may face frustrations and tragedies, as has happened so often since man came to this earth. But these frustrations and tragedies only challenge men to greater efforts and higher achievements. Man never solved any of his problems overnight. To solve problems requires study, imagination, energy, devotion and sacrifice. Men have learned that before they can act effectively they must try to understand what they are doing and to invent effective methods of doing it. This often takes time and in this rapidly changing and very dangerous world, time is getting short. But panic will not solve the problems faster. It may only lead to fruitless actions which make the problems worse. We are often tempted to attack symptoms because we cannot find, do not understand, or do not know how to attack causes. We must frequently admit that we have

failed and then seek to do better. And we shall learn from our failures.

Human beings, we must admit, are still ignorant. They are not as ignorant as they were a thousand years ago, or even ten years ago. They are slowly but surely learning how to learn. And even though learning seems to come sometimes with agonizing slowness, we still see that our capacity to learn is without visible limits.

Providing the opportunity and the encouragement for learning is one of the great achievements and great assets of a free society. We encourage and support our schools and colleges. (And let us not fail to do this!) We support science and new technology—because we know that the discovery and application of knowledge has been our mainstay of past progress and is a major hope for the future. We encourage research in social science, economics, political science and urban problems—because we are not chained to a fixed ideology which is inflexible and unadaptable to new insights and new understanding. We encourage the humanities and the fine arts because they can elevate the human spirit, and because free human beings have always yearned to do something more than just satisfying their daily physical needs. "Man achieves his own greatness," President Nixon said, "by reaching out beyond himself. And so it is with nations."

Our nation is at a time of testing, a time of challenge. And in a time of testing we must not abandon but must renew our faith; not abandon but renew our hope; not abandon but renew our determination, renew our energies, reaffirm our unity, rededicate ourselves to our highest ideals.

## ROSES, RIVERS, AND ELEPHANTS

### HON. EDITH GREEN

OF OREGON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 29, 1969

Mrs. GREEN of Oregon. Mr. Speaker, recently *Ford Times* magazine carried a delightful story by Oregon freelance writer Ellis Lucia about Portland, Oreg., the elephant capital of the United States and pride of the Oregon country.

Mr. Lucia, well known on the west coast for his tales of the Oregon country and its inhabitants, is also the author of an exciting account of the great 1962 windstorm and a popular book full of advice and admonitions to visitors to our State entitled "Don't Call It Oregon." "Gawn."

The *Ford Times* article contains many interesting and relatively unknown bits of Portland history which I would like to share with my colleagues.

#### ROSES, RIVERS AND ELEPHANTS

(By Ellis Lucia)

About seven years ago, the eyes of the world of zoos were turned on Portland, Oregon, because of a blessed event: Belle, the great gray lady of the Portland Zoo, was elephanticipating.

News media in the City of Roses issued daily bulletins on Belle's condition. Stores featured pachyderm toys, books and pictures. School children drew elephants in their art classes. Portland had completely flipped over an elephant.

There was good reason. Since the first elephant landed in this country in 1796, only six had been born here, and four did not survive. There had been no birth in nearly half a century. No one was sure what

would happen—nor when. Facts were very sketchy about elephant births, occurring as they usually did in the privacy of remote jungles.

At long last, on April 14, 1962, the youngster arrived and was gently nudged to his feet by his apparently amazed mother. Packy was popeyed, very hairy and 41 inches long.

He also sported an oversized schnozzle over which he constantly tripped. Next day, when zoo attendants managed to weigh him, Packy checked in at 225 pounds. He soon became a celebrity throughout the land.

Since then, the City of Roses has also gained a reputation as the City of Elephants. Six more calves have been born since Packy, who now weighs over two tons. More are believed on the way. Portland has become a world center for the scientific study of elephants and their breeding habits.

Other zoos hopefully ship their female pachyderms to Portland for mating with Thonglaw, a swaggering young 12,000-pound bull. Until Packy was born, Thonglaw was the only bull in captivity that could be handled. But when he strangely showed only scant interest in one pair of visiting females, it was discovered that, after dark, ladies of his harem were jealously bumping the newcomers into the moat.

The zoological gardens in the city's West Hills are one of Portland's most popular attractions—part of a major educational-recreational development of the past two decades. The zoo's inhabitants range from South Pole emperor penguins to giant Russian bears, obtained in a secret trade for Oregon beaver at the Brussels Fair. The area also contains a rapidly growing Oregon Museum of Science and Industry. A new Forestry Building is to be built nearby, replacing the giant log cabin of the 1905 Lewis and Clark World's Fair which burned to the ground a few years ago.

#### PORTLAND'S GREEN BELT

The West Hills of tall timber, large parks and magnificent old homes with beautiful gardens provide a green belt setting visible throughout the city. Council Crest, where Indian tribes once gathered, affords a sweeping view of Oregon's largest metropolis, the broad rivers and the snowy peaks. The 140-acre Hoyt Arboretum contains 500 trees.

Included too are the international rose test gardens and the new Japanese Gardens of Washington Park, one of the largest and oldest of Portland's 125 parks and playgrounds. There's a bird refuge, the municipally-owned Pittock mansion for public viewing, and 3,535-acre Forest Park with its deep-woods trails, the largest wilderness area inside any American city, a spectrum of color in the fall.

The Portland Zoo Railroad maintains half a dozen narrow-gauge trains. Built by local hobbyists, the railroad is adult-sized, radio-controlled. The trains twist, turn and snake through the woods, overlooking awesome ravines. They are of various vintages, ranging from 19th century to modern streamliner. Most popular, however, is a diamond stack live steam locomotive, styled like its forebears of the 1880s, which puffs up steep grades as did Oregon logging trains of yesteryear.

Portland's interest in all kinds of railroads is long-lived. Railroads and river boats actually built the community, as many historical markers attest. Today it is one of a few cities served by five major lines.

It came close to not being a city at all, though. Many pioneers were unimpressed with the site, and favored instead Oregon City, 13 miles up the Willamette River.

#### "BLUE RUIN" ARRIVES

However, in 1842, a buckskinned trapper, Bill Johnson, built a log cabin a few miles from where the Willamette joins the mighty Columbia. Johnson started brewing a con-

coction called "Blue Ruin" and his place became mighty popular until the Provisional Government closed him down in Oregon's first vice rail.

But "Blue Ruin" indirectly attracted attention to the thickly timbered area. Eventually two New Englanders staked out a village that went nameless because each partner favored his home town (one was Boston, Massachusetts, and the other was Portland, Maine). The flip of an 1835 copper cent settled the matter. Even so, originally folks called it "Stump Town" because of the rooted tree butts everywhere. Settlers splashed them with whitewash for after-dark visibility.

The city's name troubles were not to end quickly. A century later, local author Stewart Holbrook suggested it be changed to Multnomah or to Willamette to avoid mail confusion. The resulting cries of anguish shook Mount Hood, 60 miles away.

Portland life is keyed to its rivers, for this is a major west coast seaport. An average of 1,700 ships annually, one every five hours and flying the world's flags, ply the 125 miles up the Columbia to Portland's harbor. Lumber, wood chips, grain, livestock, agricultural and manufactured goods arrive by river barge, truck and rail from the vast inland Pacific Northwest. An enticing Import Plaza displays the goods of the world. Local dry-docks are a major repair station for private vessels and even those of the U.S. Navy.

Colorful sternwheelers once piled these waterways. Only one is left, used for maneuvering big ships past the city's many gaily-colored bridges. The *Portland* puts on quite a show with her great thrashing paddlewheel. She is best watched from aboard the *River Queen*, the former San Francisco ferryboat, that is now a swank waterfront restaurant.

In lumbering's heyday, the old North End loggers and mariners found the docks as wild and dangerous as San Francisco's famed Barbary Coast. Many a celebrating lumberjack wound up on the high seas. Often he had been the shanghaied guest of Bunco Kelly, who got \$50 a head for these unwilling crew members. It is told he once smuggled a cigar store Indian aboard an outbound ship to fill the desired quota.

The air of robust color and romance of the 1800s is retained by Harvey Dick's Hoyt Hotel and its Barbary Coast restaurant—nightery, an entire block surrounded by gas lights. Everything there is genuine—an amazing collection from bullet-scarred mahogany bars and a tinny rinky-tink player piano to crystal chandeliers, gold-framed paintings, statuary and plush trappings of the early days when Klondike Kate was a familiar figure on Portland's streets.

#### CITY'S FACE HAS CHANGED

Portlanders respect their heritage but never let it hold them back. Thirsty pedestrians may quaff the water from bubbling brass fountains, the long-ago gift of a wealthy lumberman who hoped his loggers might decide to patronize them instead of the saloons. But freeways, high rise apartments, a new coliseum and remodeled auditorium have changed the face of the city and—along with top grade eateries—make it a lively and exciting convention town.

Sprawling Lloyd Center best exemplifies the new and modern Portland. Built on land of stagecoach mogul Ben Holladay that long lay idle, it's really a city within a city. There are 120 acres of cool malls, flowered walkways, over 100 shops, hotels, motels, apartments, offices, an auditorium, parking space for 8,000 cars and an ice rink larger than that of Rockefeller Center. Lloyd Center, with its gay atmosphere even on rainy days, is a setting for everything from political rallies to top entertainers, from strolling minstrels to balloon races.

#### IN SPRING . . . ROSES

Everything in Portland reaches a feverish pitch in late spring when lawns and parks of the tree-lined residential streets are fes-

tooned with bright azaleas, rhododendrons and roses. Portland was paying homage to the rose long before there were hippies. No one dares reside here long without at least one rose bush. They even grow in parking lots. Business men wear roses in their lapels. Police display the rose on their patrol cars. The public transit system is called "Rosy"; so is the zoo's first elephant. And the international test gardens of 900 varieties and 14,000 bushes are a sight to behold during Rose Festival time in June.

Even the elephants enjoy the roses. Presented a bouquet for his birthday, Packy will eat the blooms right along with the peanuts.

#### DESALTING PLANT IN ISRAEL

### HON. BENJAMIN S. ROSENTHAL

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 29, 1969

Mr. ROSENTHAL. Mr. Speaker, today I offered a statement to the Foreign Affairs Committee in support of an amendment to the Foreign Assistance Act which provides for a U.S.-Israel partnership in the construction, operation, and maintenance of a prototype desalting plant in Israel. Congressman Frelinghuysen has cosponsored this amendment with me.

The United States would greatly benefit from the desalting technology derived from the operation of this plant, for there are many areas in this country which suffer from a lack of water. The same technology could be applied for agricultural purposes to help feed hungry people throughout the world.

The fact is that for years the United States has been committed to advancing desalting processes as a way of solving our own water problem. In working with Israel on this venture, the United States would be engaging a partner with the experience, the environmental conditions, the trained personnel, and the commitment to participate in a large-scale experiment that could offer a valuable contribution to mankind.

My statement, and a related editorial by C. L. Sulzberger which appeared in the New York Times on July 27, 1969, follow:

STATEMENT OF REPRESENTATIVE BENJAMIN S. ROSENTHAL OF NEW YORK, BEFORE THE HOUSE COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS, July 29, 1969.

Mr. Chairman: I appreciate this opportunity to testify in support of United States assistance for the cooperative construction of a dual-purpose desalting and power plant in Israel.

I personally believe that the proposed amendment to the Foreign Assistance Act, sponsored by Representative Frelinghuysen and myself, would give us a unique opportunity to attack a problem of alarming dimensions. Staggering water shortages offer a challenge that few countries are willing to confront. But pressing water needs throughout the world can no longer be ignored.

Israel is the only country with the commitment and technical capability to effect a breakthrough in converting usable salt water into fresh water. By assisting Israel in the construction of a prototype desalting plant we can develop a process which will insure the survival and growth of vast regions and whole countries which today face aridity and economic desolation from lack

of water. This project represents, therefore, a real contribution to peace in the Middle East and the world.

It would be difficult to exaggerate the world-wide need to immediately develop new sources of fresh water. In some sections of the United States, water shortages already threaten to turn flourishing communities into insignificant back lands. The Commission on Marine Science, Engineering and Resources reported to the President in January of this year, "As increasing numbers of people move to the Pacific Coast, the problem of providing additional increments of water will become acute."

Our country faces a rapidly growing population, an expanding percentage of which will live in arid and semiarid lands. Progressive industrialization, a rising standard of living, and the further development of irrigation agriculture has made the availability of water a matter of grave concern.

Currently, the United States is using fresh water at the rate of approximately 360 billion gallons a day—almost three times the rate of 30 years ago. In 20 years, our requirements are expected to triple. Indeed, as I speak here, the water use in the United States increases at the rate of 25,000 gallons per minute.

The problem, as grave as it is in the United States, is even more acute in other areas of the world. According to a recent survey of the World Health Organization, "About 450 million urban people in 75 countries of Latin America, Asia and Africa will need new or extended supplies of water by 1977." As the population of these regions expands, the demand for fresh water will mount. Further economic growth—in some places even survival—urgently awaits the development of new water sources.

This problem exists in Israel to an alarming degree. The last of Israel's meager natural water resources will have been fully utilized by the 1970's. Over 95 percent of the available water has been already tapped. The remaining natural waters in the south will probably be completely exploited in the next few years.

Israel now has 2,775,00 inhabitants. Planners estimate 1,600,000 more by 1981. Unless 36 million additional gallons of water daily can be produced by that time, these people will face severe problems. Israel's already densely-populated areas will swell in size if the arid land in the south cannot be cultivated, and economic development will soon have to be drastically curtailed.

Desalination holds the greatest promise as a long-range method of coping with water shortage. Almost 75 percent of the earth's surface is covered with water. Most of it, however, contains about 3½ percent salt, making it unsuitable for human use or consumption. Until recently, methods of lowering this salt content on a large-scale were technically unfeasible. Ocean-going ships carried distillation plants for this purpose but more extensive projects were far too costly.

The depletion of natural sources and the advancement in desalting techniques offers dramatic new opportunities. Small-scale desalination plants exist in some 20 countries. Israel, herself, has one in Ellat with the capacity of 1.5 million gallons a day. In the United States a plant was opened in Key West, Florida in 1967 capable of providing 2.2 million gallons per day with excellent water quality. The cost of the water provided by these plants has exceeded \$1 per 1,000 gallons. With larger plants and better technology the costs will significantly decline.

The Office of Saline Water of the Department of the Interior estimates that a 100 million gallon per day desalination plant can operate at less than 25¢ per 1,000 gallons. This competes favorably with the cost of today's chemically purified water and should make the water available for agricultural use.

Desalination permits the location of plants in the areas of greatest need. It also affords



the production of electricity, another critical requirement for these arid regions. Finally, the desalination process may be used to purify polluted and brackish water as well as sea water and hence can play a major role in conservation. It is no wonder that the Marine Science Commission in January recommended that the United States initiate "an aggressive and diversified desalination research program, with increased emphasis on very large-scale applications."

The plant which this Act will help to construct is an essential step—a crucial prototype for this larger enterprise. To the maximum of \$40 million over a five year period which the United States would contribute, Israel would add about \$100 million.

With American assistance the cost would be about 35¢ per 1,000 gallons. In the absence of this plant, the cost would soar to about 60¢, probably making the construction of a large-scale plant financially prohibitive.

The completed plant would produce almost 40 million gallons per day or 10 times the currently largest yield from existing desalination plants. In addition, the plant will generate 450 megawatts of electricity.

For the Ashdod region in which the plant will probably be built, this can mean intensive irrigation of approximately 25,000 acres of land and dispersion of electricity to the nearby Gaza area where increasingly parched soil threatens the citrus industry of the 350,000 Arab residents and refugees. It can also be piped to the south to provide energy and permit irrigation for the development of the Negev desert.

The people of Jordan also badly need new water supplies. The development of a desalination technology may pave the way for the construction of such plants in Jordan and in other countries of the Middle East. This would provide jobs for refugees, irrigate the desert, and establish a broad base for cooperation in agricultural ventures between the Arab world and the Israelis.

Israel provides a unique opportunity and location for the development of a prototype plant. Its urgent need for water makes Israel willing to accept the great financial burden which construction of this plant would entail. Having the most knowledgeable scientists and technicians in the field of desalting, Israel can also easily assume the great responsibilities of constructing and running the plant, collecting data, making reports, and performing all the other myriad maintenance duties.

Israel has also developed the methods necessary for utilizing expensive water. For the past five years, Israel has experimented with environmental agriculture to permit increasing the yield of crop acreage under adverse conditions. By varying the inputs of humidity, fertilizer, sunlight, and chemicals, Israel is able to utilize to its fullest every drop of water.

Representative Frelinghuysen and I are not the first to recognize the great needs and unique capacities of Israel in the field of desalting. The idea of a larger-scale U.S.-Israel desalting project has been gaining legislative steam and bipartisan support since 1964. On February 3 of that year, President Johnson announced that the United States and Israel had "begun discussions on cooperative research in using nuclear energy to turn salt water into fresh water." In July 1965, the American-Israel Desalting Board reported that a plant producing 100 million gallons of water and generating 200 megawatts of electricity was feasible. They projected that it could be completed by 1972 at a cost of \$200 million.

The next major consideration of the project came from former President Eisenhower and the former Chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission, Lewis L. Strauss. They recommended a regional plan to attack simultaneously the water and the refugee problems. Their proposal envisioned three

plants with a combined capacity of about one billion gallons to be constructed on the Mediterranean and the Gulf of Aqaba. This proposal, while commendable for its recognition of the water needs of the area, is not feasible because of the political climate and technological obstacles to the undertaking. Desalting complexes of the size envisioned would require the prior testing of equipment and techniques. This would only be accomplished through the development of a prototype of more limited capacities. The amendment offered by Congressman Frelinghuysen and myself provides for that prototype.

In August 1967, Senator Baker introduced a resolution embodying the principles of the Eisenhower-Strauss Plan. Thirty-two Republican and twenty Democratic Senators cosponsored the proposal. Former Secretary of Interior Udall supported the measure and it was adopted by the Senate. No action was taken on the resolution in the House. Through the efforts of Representative Frelinghuysen and others of the Republican Coordinating Committee, it appeared as a recommendation of the 1968 Republican platform.

Gradually, however, Members of Congress and of the Executive Branch had come to recognize that this regional plan for desalination was not practical.

In 1968 the Johnson Administration supported a proposal that the United States participate in the "construction of a dual-purpose electric power and desalting plant in Israel." This measure set a limit of \$40 million as the United States share in costs. It had the merit of recognizing the immediacy of the water problem while not requiring, as did the Eisenhower-Strauss Plan, that a solution await the cessation of all hostilities.

By developing a desalting technology that could be used by all countries of the Middle East, the desalting plant could actually strengthen the possibility of a permanent peace in that region. As President Nixon said after his 1967 trip to the Middle East, "There is within the United States an increased recognition that, for any peace settlement to become permanent, a solution must be found, with Western assistance, to two underlying *casus belli* of the Middle East—the problems of water and refugees."

I am also reminded of a particularly relevant statement President Kennedy made in 1961:

"No water resources program is of greater long-range importance—for relief not only of our shortages, but for arid nations the world over—than our efforts to find an effective and economical way to convert water from the world's greatest, cheapest natural resources—our oceans—into water fit for consumption in the home and by industry. Such a breakthrough would end bitter struggles between neighbors, states, and nations—and bring new hope for millions who live out their lives in dire shortage of usable water and all its physical and economical blessings, though living on the edge of a great body of water throughout that parched lifetime."

Those words are even more compelling today.

#### FOREIGN AFFAIRS: WATER AND WAR (By C. L. Sulzberger)

PARIS.—The last foreign policy initiative of the Johnson Administration was to pledge American help in constructing a water desalting plant in Israel. The test of continuity in U.S. policy is about to come as Congressional hearings on the project start.

Johnson's scheme is tangentially related to that of former President Eisenhower, who proposed two or more nuclear-powered desalination installations (with American aid) on both the Arab and Israeli sides of the disputed frontier, thus abetting the

cause of peace by offering water, irrigation and power to the disputants and providing the basis for refugee settlements.

#### JOHNSON'S FORMULA

The Johnson formula is more modest and differs in three major respects. (1)—It concerns Israel alone. (2)—It would not necessarily involve atomic energy. (3)—It eschews any connection with the diplomatic and political problems of peace making.

Johnson first charged Ellsworth Bunker with investigating water-producing and water-sharing prospects. After Bunker's assignment as Ambassador to Saigon, his previous task was allotted to George Woods, former head of the World Bank.

On Jan. 17, 1969, just before leaving the White House, Johnson called the late Premier Eshkol of Israel: "I have accepted Mr. Woods's recommendation for United States participation in the construction of desalting plant in Israel which could produce forty million gallons of desalted water per day. . . . Accordingly, as one of my last official acts, I have included request for authorization of a maximum of \$40 million for this project in the legislative program which I am recommending to the Congress for our fiscal year 1970."

Woods's team of experts envision distillation processes powered either by fossil fuel or atomic energy. The Israelis would prefer to depend on petroleum or gas for energy. Jerusalem is especially eager to get the project started soon and inexpensively because it recognizes that Israel faces a serious water shortage in the nineteen seventies.

An Israeli report forecasts: "Israel's water economy must rely, as of the middle of the next decade, on the large-scale sea water desalination that will form, from then onwards, an integral part of its national water-supply system." The report claims Israel is unequaled in "inventory of water resources" or "water management practices."

The report also foresees a shrinkage of per capita growth rate in the national product and predicts that "the country's population towards the end of the century is likely to reach the figure of five million or more." The present population figure is under three million.

What is carefully omitted is any definition of the final frontiers within which the proposed new water supply would be disseminated or the population would dwell. These borders are now one of the most contentious subjects of the current international scene and the source of steadily increasing military pressures.

Gen. Efraim Ben Arzi, Israel's principal negotiator for the project, specifically assures that the water is envisioned for use within Israel's borders as they existed prior to the Six-Day War and that the desalting plant would be erected between Tel Aviv and Ashkelon.

#### NONPOLITICAL SCHEME

Ben Arzi, the personal representative of his Premier says, the present scheme "is based on our previous frontiers and therefore has no political significance." The suggested new water source would be linked to Israel's existing national pipeline grid.

It is obvious, nevertheless, that despite efforts to isolate water from frontiers and refugees, it will be difficult to separate this long-time peace project from war's immediate fury. Anything the United States does to assist Israel economically will be seen by the Arabs as developing its war potential.

The fact remains that continuing conflict cannot be allowed to stultify economic development. An American-assisted water supply is an approximate Israeli equivalent, on a smaller scale, to the Russian-assisted Aswan Dam program in Egypt.

#### UNACCEPTABLE ALTERNATIVE

In each case living standards are improved, thereby strengthening the country involved;

but the alternative of allowing people to decline, starve or die of thirst between rounds of ceaseless battle is too grim and too idiotic to contemplate.

One may hope economic development will not only persevere but that some day its benefits may exert a calming atmosphere on the passionately emotional Middle East. If that day ever arrives it could perhaps prove possible to go ahead on the grand scale of water power, prosperity and peace envisioned for both Arabs and Jews by Eisenhower in the last great dream before his death.

## THE FITZHUGH-LEE HOUSE—HISTORY OPENS ITS DOORS IN ALEXANDRIA

**HON. FRED B. ROONEY**

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 29, 1969

Mr. ROONEY of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, during this month in which we observed not only the anniversary of the birth of our Nation but also the successful completion of our Nation's greatest technological achievement—albeit the most daring feat ever undertaken by man—it seems fitting that we take time to recall and to revere the memory of those great men who on that day 193 years ago placed their signatures on the document that founded our Nation.

It is fitting too that we preserve as much as is practical of the setting and physical surroundings in which these and other great men of our history lived and moved. Fortunately, the greatest historic shrine in the United States, Independence Hall at Philadelphia, where the Declaration of Independence was signed and our Federal Constitution written, has been preserved through the years. Much effort, time and money have been expended by the Department of the Interior in recent years to refurbish this monumental building and protect it against any future physical decline. This is a great accomplishment. But there are many other buildings of historic and architectural interest which have housed or been frequented by the great men and women in American history which also deserve preservation. I think it is appropriate as we approach Independence Day, our greatest national holiday, that we direct our attention and bend some efforts toward further preservation of such buildings wherever they may be located in the United States.

Right here in the greater Washington area there are such buildings. And one in particular, in our National Capital's sister city of Alexandria, Va. For some time, I maintained my own Washington area residence in Alexandria, and during that period there was opened to the public for the first time a historic mansion which deserves the attention of all of us in Congress and of the visiting public from around the Nation.

Known for decades as the Fitzhugh-Lee House, and standing near the heart of Alexandria's historic Old Town section, the building was well known to George Washington. For he was a dinner guest there many times—the last time

being as late as November 1799, only weeks before his death. The house was known also to the Marquis de Lafayette, who visited there in 1824. And it was the boyhood home of Gen. Robert E. Lee, who spent 9 of his first 18 years there, leaving the house to enter the U.S. Military Academy in 1825. Lee had been brought to the house first at the age of five by his father, Gen. Henry "Light Horse Harry" Lee, one of Washington's most trusted generals and who as a Member of Congress first described the Father of Our Country as "First in war, first in peace, and first in the hearts of his countrymen."

The Fitzhugh-Lee House was built in 1795 by a Pennsylvanian, John Potts Jr., another friend of Washington. Potts was a member of the family that built historic "Potts Grove" and gave its name to the city of Pottstown, Pa.

Through the efforts of another native Pennsylvanian, Jay W. Johns, who became a Virginian some 40 years ago, the Fitzhugh-Lee House was taken over by a historic preservation society and opened to the public 2 years ago. Mr. Johns, a resident of Charlottesville, Va., since 1930, is one of the remarkable men of our time. Eighty years old, and sightless, he has worked to preserve for posterity a number of historic houses in old Virginia. He was born at Uniontown, Pa.

The singular story of Mr. Johns' altruistic activities and the fascinating history of the Fitzhugh-Lee House has been compiled by John Koenig, Jr., and published in recent issues of the New York Times and the Washington Post. Mr. Koenig, now a resident of Alexandria, is a native Philadelphian and former reporter and writer for the Associated Press bureaus in Washington and at the Pennsylvania State capital at Harrisburg.

I offer for insertion in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD a copy of each of these stories drawing attention to a valuable historic shrine. Visitors to our National Capital could well profit from a side trip to Alexandria and the Lee boyhood home. It should be of interest to them also that Alexandria from the 1790's until 1846 formed a part of the District of Columbia—so it's not a long trip from downtown Washington. The articles follow:

[From the New York Times, Feb. 2, 1969]

### OPENING HISTORIC DOORS IN VIRGINIA

(By John Koenig Jr.)

ALEXANDRIA, VA.—A handsome, red-brick structure that served as the boyhood home of Robert E. Lee, and which is believed to be the last house in which George Washington dined as a guest, is becoming a leading tourist attraction here.

The house stands at 607 Oronoco Street, near the heart of Alexandria's "Old Town" section. The section, a little more than a mile square, includes one of the best-preserved, but still inhabited, 18th-century neighborhoods in America. As a result of all this development, Alexandria as a whole is gaining ground as a major target for visitors to the Greater Washington area.

It was in this house that young Lee spent nine of the first 18 years of his life; he left in 1825 to attend the United States Military Academy. The home also has associations beyond the young Lee and the elder Washington.

In 1824, Lee's mother, Mrs. Henry Lee, entertained the Marquis de Lafayette, who

had come to pay his respects to her as the widow of Gen. Henry Lee, his comrade-in-arms in the Revolutionary War. The general was better known as Light Horse Harry Lee.

### OPENED LAST YEAR

The house, which was opened to the public in 1967, was constructed in 1795. Its acquisition by a historical preservation society, Stonewall Jackson Memorial, Inc., and the assurance of its continued existence can be attributed to the foresight of a blind man, Jay W. Johns of Charlottesville, Va.

Indeed, the 80-year-old Mr. Johns, founder and head of Stonewall Jackson Memorial, Inc., has saved a half-dozen other historic homes and tracts in Virginia for posterity. He never actually has seen any of them, having lost his sight some years ago. Despite his handicap, he travels continually around Virginia and elsewhere to handle business pertaining to the historic properties.

In the case of the Lee boyhood home, the owner indicated that he was planning to keep the house, but parcel off the extensive garden into small, separate lots for the construction of new, luxury town houses. This plan was opposed vigorously by some of Alexandria's history-minded citizens, who feared that the old house itself might suffer a similar fate.

### BIRTHDAY ANNOUNCEMENT

Into this breach stepped Mr. Johns. Realizing the historic, architectural and romantic value of the Georgian mansion, he made the necessary arrangements for its purchase. The acquisition was announced on Jan. 19, 1967, the 160th anniversary of the birth of Lee.

Since that time, the ubiquitous Mr. Johns has been busy rounding up funds to meet the \$180,000 cost of the house. He has also bought or borrowed rare and beautiful period furniture to fill its rooms, and has enlisted the aid of Alexandria women to act as hostesses for visitors.

The city of Alexandria provided \$10,000 toward the purchase of the house, and the Commonwealth of Virginia, through Mr. Johns' effort, has provided additional funds. Mr. Johns is hopeful of attracting 20,000 or more visitors a year, whose admission payments will help further.

"The beauty of the house and its strategic location should draw more and more people as time goes by," he says.

### NEAR WASHINGTON

The building, about six miles from the White House, is just off Washington Street, Alexandria's main thoroughfare.

The house was built by John Potts Jr., a friend and business colleague of George Washington and a member of the family that gave its name to Pottstown, Pa. It was purchased four years later, in 1799, by Col. William Fitzhugh, a relative of the Lees and another friend of Washington. The Lees first came here to live in 1812, when Robert E. was 5 years old.

As one enters the Lee house through its high-stepped front doorway, he finds himself in a spacious center hall containing an elegant turning stairway. The paneled woodwork is in the manner of James Adams, one of the two brothers who were architect-designers to King George III and whose woodwork appeared in many Virginia manor houses.

Opening from the center hall on each side is a large family room. One of these is known as the Lafayette Room, since it is believed to be the room in which Mrs. Lee entertained the visiting French dignitary in 1824. Upstairs are two massive front bedrooms. Other living quarters are contained in an "ell," a wing extending to the rear.

### SUNKEN DINING ROOM

Bedrooms line the second floor of the ell. The first floor includes a kitchen, pantry and sunken dining room.

It is believed that this dining room was the scene of Washington's last meal away from home. On Nov. 17, 1799, about a month



before he died, Washington recorded in his diary that he "went to church in Alexandria and dined with Mr. Fitzhugh."

A later visitor to the Fitzhugh house was George Washington Parke Custis, grandson of Martha Washington and adopted son of the President, who was courting Colonel Fitzhugh's daughter, Mary Lee Fitzhugh. The two were married in this house on July 7, 1804, and went to live at "Arlington," now known as the Custis-Lee House, in what is now Arlington National Cemetery.

#### LEE'S WIFE

There was one daughter born to this union, and she became the wife of Robert E. Lee after his graduation from West Point.

Stonewall Jackson Memorial, Inc., is a nonprofit organization that now maintains seven properties in Virginia, including the home of Gen. Thomas (Stonewall) Jackson in Lexington and Jackson's military headquarters in Winchester.

[From the Washington (D.C.) Post, May 4, 1969]

#### HISTORY ON TOUR: THE LEE HOME

(By John Koenig Jr.)

It took foresight of a blind man to open to the public one of the most historic and architecturally interesting houses in the National Capital Area.

Due to the efforts of Jay W. Johns, the boyhood home of Gen. Robert E. Lee in Alexandria, which also has important associations with George Washington and the Marquis de Lafayette, can now be visited any day of the week. A drive is under way to make it an important tourist attraction.

The Lee House, a red-brick, Georgian-type structure nearly filled with valuable period furniture, is a "natural" as a tourist site but the project has had its problems. For one thing, the preservation organization headed by the 80-year-old Johns assumed a sizable debt in acquiring the house for purely altruistic reasons. Secondly, the house has not yet been synthesized into the group of "name" shrines the visitor to Washington and Alexandria is usually familiar with and wants to see.

Johns, who spends much of his time traveling around Virginia by plane, train and even bus to handle the business of historic houses, has obtained financial support for the Lee House project and has sought to have it added to the list of stops of the organized tours.

The house, at 607 Oronoco st. in Alexandria's "Old Town" section, was purchased from a private owner in the name of the Stonewall Jackson Memorial, Inc., on Jan. 19, 1967, the 160th anniversary of Lee's birth. This price for the old mansion and its garden was \$180,000. The city of Alexandria contributed \$10,000 and has posted signs to direct visitors.

Since then, private contributors have helped reduce the debt substantially, and the Virginia Legislature pledged \$30,000 to be made available when the debt can be paid off. Money still will be needed, however, for additional furnishings.

As for making the site better known, Johns has received a promise of cooperation from the Virginia State Conservation Commission, which advertises the State's attractions, and from the Metropolitan Washington Board of Trade, which provides information for planning visits to this area. A \$1 admission charge will help maintain the property.

Johns has had considerable experience in preserving historic homes. In 1930, he bought Ash Lawn, the Charlottesville, Va., home of President James Monroe. He used the house as his own residence for a while and then dedicated it to history lovers by opening it to the public.

Some years later, he formed the Stonewall Jackson Memorial, Inc., a nonprofit organization, which now maintains seven properties in Virginia, including the home of Con-

federate Gen. Thomas (Stonewall) Jackson at Lexington and Jackson's military headquarters at Winchester. Some are battlefield sites that Johns has slated for future development. Ironically, he lost his sight 16 years ago and has never seen some of the properties.

The Lee House has become his favorite. Built in 1795 by John Potts Jr., a friend and business colleague of George Washington, the house is a prime example of the brick classical construction of the day. It was sold in 1799 to Col. William Fitzhugh, a relative of the Lee family and another friend of the first President, who as a resident of nearby Mount Vernon and property owner in downtown Alexandria, was a frequent visitor to the house.

In one of the last recordings in his diary, Washington wrote that he "went to Church in Alexandria and dined with Mr. Fitzhugh." That was on Nov. 17, 1799.

Gen. Henry Lee, one of Washington's dependables in the Revolutionary War and better known as "Light Horse Harry," moved with his family into the Fitzhugh house in 1812, when one of the sons, Robert was five years old. Here young Lee spent nine of his first 18 years and left for the U.S. Military Academy in 1825. Just the year before, his widowed mother entertained the Marquis de Lafayette at the house on the occasion of Lafayette's last visit to the United States.

The rooms of the house now feature furniture pieces of the late 18th and early 19th century, much of it on loan from old Virginia families and collectors. Col. Fitzhugh's daughter, Mary Lee Fitzhugh, was married at this house in such a setting on July 7, 1804, to George Washington Parke Custis, grandson of Martha Washington and adopted son of George Washington. The couple then went to live at "Arlington," now known as the Custis-Lee House in a part of what has become Arlington National Cemetery. There was one daughter to this union, and she became the wife of Robert E. Lee after his graduation from West Point.

It is easy to get to the Lee Boyhood Home from downtown Washington. One of historic house preserver Jay Johns' laments is that too many visitors drive right by on their way to Mount Vernon. Instead of continuing on through Alexandria, he declares, some of these sightseers should turn left from Washington Street (part of the George Washington Memorial Parkway) into Oronoco st. and go one block east. There the house stands—at the corner of Oronoco and St. Asaph streets.

The Lee House actually is a twin, with the next door dwelling having been occupied by Benjamin Hallowell, a Quaker schoolmaster who tutored young Lee in mathematics to prepare him for West Point.

Few people are aware of it now, but when Gen. Light Horse Harry Lee, a three-time Governor of Virginia, took his family to live in Alexandria, the city was not Virginia territory. During the entire Lee family tenure there, Alexandria actually was part of the District of Columbia, having been ceded to the Federal government upon ratification of the U.S. Constitution. It was not retroceded until 1846.

#### COLLEGES MOVE ON STUDENT UNREST

HON. MARVIN L. ESCH

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 29, 1969

Mr. ESCH. Mr. Speaker, inherent in today's debate on the appropriations provisions dealing with student dissent is the implication that the colleges and

universities of the Nation have failed to take any action to deal with this problem on their own. The implication is that the Federal Government must step in because the institutions of higher education themselves have failed to take appropriate action to meet the problem.

This simply is not true. Both on an individual basis, and through their associations, the colleges and universities of this Nation have begun to deal with the problems of dissent and have taken action to quell future disorders.

First, they have taken strong action against individual students who have been involved in violence. Although the press has given the strong university disciplinary action little attention in its headlines, in school after school, campus administrators have taken strict disciplinary action against those who have disobeyed the law. The Los Angeles Times recently cataloged some of the actions taken by individual campuses.

Of the eight colleges surveyed, some 75 students had been expelled for their part in the disorder. 265 students were suspended. 346 students were placed on probation and many more were warned about further disruption. As the Times points out:

Expulsion, dismissal or suspension may seem minor to angry citizens. But to the student who may lose his 2-S draft status or financial support, or who may fail to graduate, these are not small matters.

Under unanimous consent, I submit the article by John Kendall and George Kannar for inclusion in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, as follows:

[From the Los Angeles Times, June 23, 1969]

DISCIPLINING ON CAMPUS TOUGHER THAN BELIEVED—COLLEGES HAVE BEEN FAR FROM SOFT IN DEALINGS WITH 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 this 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 272 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.

#### SUSPEND 42 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 take-over 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 university'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.

#### BECOME 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 COLLAPSES

"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 trappings 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 Senate 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 ex-

ecutive or prosecuting functions and to create judicial and rulemaking 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.

At the same time, I think it is well to point out that student unrest and concern need not necessarily deteriorate into violence and disruption. Although the headlines and the television screens focus attention on the violent disruptions which have occurred throughout the Nation, the hundreds of college campuses which have dealt with the problem in an amicable and cooperative fashion have been ignored. The Association of American Colleges has furnished me with reports on the way in which eight colleges and universities throughout the Nation handled their student dissent problems successfully, avoiding violence, meeting those legitimate concerns which moderate students were expressing and



avoiding capitulation to the demands of the radicals. I submit the reports of those colleges, the University of Delaware, Colby College, Franklin and Marshall College, Mundein College, Ohio Wesleyan University, Southern Methodist University, Wesleyan University and the University of Pennsylvania for inclusion in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, as follows:

#### UNIVERSITY OF DELAWARE

Land-grant university, located in Newark, Delaware; coeducational—12,000 students.

The action taken by the University over the past two years is summarized in the following extract from a letter from the Dean of Men.

#### TWO YEARS OF CHALLENGE

1. Early in the spring of 1967, prior to any problem, Vice President Hocutt asked the Student Government Association to consider the issue of disorders on campus and to suggest a policy. The result was a brief statement expressing the right to dissent provided the rights of others were not infringed upon. We have reiterated this basic premise (orally and in print) on which there was agreement by all and it now appears firmly established.

2. In the fall of 1967 a protest against ROTC gave us an opportunity to apply the policy making clear to the campus that the University intended to enforce it. Specifically, seven students who disrupted an ROTC class were suspended.

3. Continuing and intensive discussion of the policy and the suspensions by all segments of the community led to a high degree of consensus before the year was out. Of course, the Columbia tragedy helped, too.

4. Large amounts of patience, talk, flexibility and firmness have been key ingredients in dealing with the provocations and confrontations of recent years. Hand in hand with this approach has been the acceleration of student involvement in the governance of the University via increased participation on faculty committee and an enlargement of the role of student government.

5. During the past year student, faculty and staff committees through many hours of work together have reached consensus on a statement of student rights and responsibilities, a new Student Government constitution and a revised judicial system. These significant steps have reduced the need for confrontation and demonstration and have kept the majority of students separated from the activists.

6. A challenge to our policy and practice came via an attempted building takeover in December 1968. Patience, persuasion and firmness caused the effort to be aborted without the need for outside assistance. This event appears to have established a widespread awareness that the University means to manage its affairs and protect the rights of all members of the community.

7. Continued success appears to hinge on working out a structure which will permit easy and regular communication between all segments of the campus and the resolution of issues by persuasion and compromise.

#### COLBY COLLEGE

Liberal arts college located in Waterville, Maine—Independent, coeducational—1500 students.

The action taken by the College in response to a student sit-in is described in the following extracts from a letter from the president.

"In late February the Student Government presented me with a list of nine 'demands,' accompanied by a somewhat peremptory letter, and evidently they had succeeded in working the campus up to quite a pitch of excitement over what everyone regarded as

an assertion of student rights. I won't trouble you with what ensued other than to say there were times when it was quite unpleasant. The administration succeeded in convincing the students that reasonable proposals were more appropriate than 'demands' and we went on from there on that basis.

There was for a period of two and a half weeks a somewhat distasteful occupation of the college Chapel, a sort of extended live-in, teach-in, and love-in, but we managed to avoid panic and by dint of not forcing the students out but rather mostly ignoring them we avoided the polarizing of the campus that often takes place under such circumstances. Spring vacation finally got them out of the Chapel and we did not let them return. Committees with equal representation of students on the one hand and faculty and administration on the other were established by mutual consent of the administration and Student Government to discuss at length the nine proposals. Not all these issues have been resolved as yet but some good results have emerged.

Meanwhile student representation had been going on for two years, on all major faculty committees. I thought this was a healthy move, and with only a few exceptions the students demonstrated both insight and a constructive purpose.

Toward the end of April we had a special meeting in Boston of about a dozen trustees, about a dozen students, and six of us from the faculty and staff to discuss openly and frankly the difficulties of the spring term. It was agreed by everyone there that we should establish some sort of mechanism to deal rationally and intelligently with proposals in the future without having to go through quite as much trauma as we had this spring. The upshot of the Boston meeting was a recommendation, enthusiastically endorsed later by the Board of Trustees in full assembly, that early in the fall we have a "Constitutional Convention," the purpose of which will be to re-examine the governmental structure of the institution and to make suggestions for constructive change. A planning committee has been established which will meet for overnight sessions on three occasions during the summer here in Waterville, and again two or three more times in September. This planning committee will lay the ground work, prepare the agenda, prepare position papers, and generally establish the modus operandi for the "Constitutional Convention," which will take place in October.

On the planning committee there are ten students representing among them all three of next year's upper classes, two members of the senior class just graduated, about eight trustees, three members of the administrative staff (the President, the Dean of the Faculty, and the Dean of Students), six faculty members chosen from among the three different academic divisions by the elected division chairmen, five alumni chosen by the Alumni Council, and three or four parents chosen by the Parents Association. This seems a representative group, and the composition is endorsed with enthusiasm by the students, the faculty, and the trustees along with one alumni representative who formed a steering committee to set up the planning committee during the month of May.

It seems to me that what has been accomplished here is a clear recognition of the proper role of students in the decision-making process. There will surely be some discussion of the appropriate role the students should play in academic policy and in the social framework of the college. I am sure that the lines of communication among all our constituencies will be improved by this planned conclave in the fall, and I am confident that as an institution we will be strong enough thereafter, if the Board of Trustees sees fit to accept the recommendations of the Convention, to withstand most

of the kinds of attack on peace and order that have become commonplace in academic communities. To be sure, there are always a small minority of dissident students, and sometimes faculty, whose purposes may not be entirely constructive, but I think our best protection against the kind of influence such groups might have is the establishment of a realistic governmental structure with which the students themselves will feel some identity and for which they will be willing to take some responsibility.

I probably am making this all sound easier and simpler than it is, but at least we think we have found a way not only to set our own house in order but to provide safeguards to preserve that order through future generations of students and the changing times."

#### FRANKLIN AND MARSHALL COLLEGE

Liberal arts college for men, located in Lancaster, Pennsylvania—Independent—2300 students.

The action taken by the college after two disruptive incidents occurring in the spring of 1969 is summarized in the following extracts from a statement addressed to the College Community by the president on May 25th.

"For years, Franklin and Marshall has been second to none among colleges and universities in affording freedom to its faculty and students, and in defending that freedom against the forces of erosion. This has been a healthy freedom. The College has been justified in placing its confidence in the belief that the members of the College would use freedom responsibly. With only rare exceptions, they have done so, and in those exceptions, the strong disapproval of the responsible majority has brought the remedy.

The absence of repression and labyrinthine regulations, the preoccupation with affording equity, mutual respect and unhampered communication among the members of the College, the whole concept of collegiality—all these things stem from the College's dedication to providing an atmosphere of freedom in which learning can best take place.

Twice within the last year, these values have been put in jeopardy by the actions of small groups. The strains resulting—not from violence because no violence has been perpetrated, but from the threat of violence—have shown how deeply everyone within the College must cherish the concept of freedom indivisible for all.

We must learn all we can from the incidents we have faced. The subtle shadows they cast have demonstrated the natural history of disruptive confrontation. Without ever having matured into full-scale disruption, happily, they have nonetheless revealed the vulnerability of a college to the threat of violence, reaction, polarization and escalation. They have shown how quickly a trigger issue can get lost in other emotional-laden concerns. We have seen how rapidly and surrealistically two or more logically unrelated events or issues can become one morass of confusions and discontents. We have learned that the academic process cannot operate in a climate of crisis. We have learned that in every incident, we are limited by human frailty and the myopia of the moment.

Now I am advised, correctly, I am sure, that it is no longer sufficient simply to depend upon the spirit of the College and our sense of common purpose. Some greater specificity is required to guide those who may, unknowingly or by intent, with valid cause or evil design, seek to express their dissatisfaction in ways that exceed the limits considered tolerable by the College. We must make clear our expectations of the members of the College.

While a college operates in democratic mode, with high regard for individual dignity and individual desires, and while it attempts

to give students leverage and influence in the decisions affecting them, it cannot operate on a balance-of-power basis. An overriding obligation rests with the faculty and other educators to exercise carefully reasoned professional judgments in the maintenance of the academic integrity of the institution.

There can be no compromise with our belief that violent disruption or forcible interference with the orderly activity of Franklin and Marshall is intolerable. Where it occurs, we must be in a position to deal with it promptly, with firmness and fairness.

It is not tolerable for anyone to use means involving real or threatened physical restraint, intimidation, or coercion of others.

It is not tolerable for any of the college community or guests of the College to be denied ingress or egress to offices, classrooms or other facilities of the College by force or the threat of force.

It is not tolerable for anyone to disrupt the activities or the orderly conduct of the academic processes of the college by any intimidatory means.

If despite all that has been said, a use of force in disruption of the College's activities were to occur, our response would be prompt and firm. Our first concern, of course, would be with the imminence of restraint or harm to persons, or the danger of serious property damage. In any steps taken, we would hope to exhaust the resources of the College before calling upon civil authority, unless the extremity of the circumstances dictated otherwise, in which case our action would be swift and purposeful. In most such cases, conditions permitting, I would hope to employ the judicial injunctive process. Where time permitted and the urgency of circumstances allowed, if police assistance were to be requested, I would hope to be joined by faculty observers. I would request also that concerned students assist by keeping curious spectators and others away from the scene, by establishing a rumor control center and by helping to keep the campus cool.

In the event of a disruption impending or in process of settlement, time and information are our most valuable commodities. I earnestly call upon all members of the College to inform the officers of the College promptly when they see a crisis in being or in process of development.

It is neither wise nor possible to publish a script for every succeeding step to be taken. In the first stages of a disruption, however, I would be inclined to invite a meeting with the disrupters or their chosen spokesman at a stated time and place where, with such officers and members of the faculty as I might find it appropriate to assemble, their concerns could be freely discussed without interruption of the activities of the College.

If that invitation were not accepted, I would be inclined to remind the disrupters that their actions were in violation of College policy, remind them of the possible consequences of their action, and give them a reasonable brief time to cease the disruption and repair from the scene.

If they then did not cease, I would inform them that if they did not stop their disruptive actions before a reasonable deadline in the near future, they would be subject to immediate suspension.

It might be at this point, then, if not required earlier, that I would seek an injunction, after due warning, which would, when served, inform them that if they did not desist, they would be in violation of a law and subject to the actions of civil authority. There are of course other resorts to civil authority, and those would be chosen which provided the most appropriate means of assuring order and free movement of individuals, and of restoring College facilities to normal use.

If the suspension were invoked, it would of course be in effect until, through the instrumentalities providing due process, it

were confirmed, revoked or amended. After due consideration, the suspension might, of course, result in expulsion.

I see no other way to provide for the swift decisions necessary to deal with a violent disruption. Whenever possible, consultation is desirable, but that the responsibility for action rests with the President of the College in urgent circumstances is clear.

The approach above has the virtue that it provides for the prompt response and decisive action necessary to preserve the order and integrity of the institution while at the same time assuring individuals protection from injustice. Firm administrative action can be used to prevent violence, cool tempers, avoid escalations. The due process of hearing and review of those decisions made in the swift flow of events assures fair treatment of individuals.

But again I would emphasize that all members of the College can best find their remedies in reasoned discussion.

#### MUNDELEIN COLLEGE

Liberal arts college for women, located in Chicago, Illinois—Independent but historically-related to the Roman Catholic Church—1500 students.

The College's responses to the recommendations contained in the Association of American Colleges statement of July 1968 on *Student Unrest* are as follows:

Statement (1): "to accord students, as members of the academic community, an appropriate share in the determination of institutional policies in respect to both the instructional program and its social framework."

At Mundelein such matters as Curriculum, concert-lecture programs, Academic Affairs, etc. are discussed at Committees made up of students, faculty and administration.

A College Council of College Administration and Student Officers meets regularly to discuss problems and creative projects at the college. Students and faculty are on some trustee committees and have attended and participated in trustee meetings.

Statement (2) "to involve the several components of the academic community in the determination of such rules for the conduct of its members as may be necessary for effective realization of institutional policies."

The Student Dormitory Council studies student needs and makes recommendations in regard to policy to the Administrative Council. For example, this year they requested a new no-hours policy for sophomores as well as juniors and seniors and the removal of a dress code for class attendance. Each floor of the dormitories has a student resident-assistant who is in charge of the floor and implements policy.

Statement (3): "to make it known that these rules, representing the common will of the community, will be enforced through procedures that include a guarantee of the due process to anyone accused of breaking the rules."

At the regular meetings of the College Council any difficulty in interpretation of policy or rules is discussed. Such meetings are open to all students if the agenda is important enough to attract them. Due process, as established by the student congress, is described in the Student Handbook.

Statement (4): "to establish recognized lines of communication among all parts of the community."

In a small school, the student finds it possible to communicate easily with the administrator in question. The president and other administrative officers have made special efforts this year to be frequently and informally available for exchange of ideas.

Statement (5): "to make definite plans, including both academic sanctions and resort to civil authorities, for countering any

wilful attack on the peace and order of the academic community."

It is the opinion of faculty, students and administration of this campus that the open exchange of ideas should be such that a major difference of opinion could not go undetected very long. Readiness to listen and frequent opportunities for meaningful exchange, open faculty meetings—with students free to speak, and regular committee discussions are the present means used to make attacks on peace and order unnecessary. Campus discussions of nation-wide problems have helped to focus attention on the need to keep our own house in order.

Such meaningful statements as those of the Association of American Colleges and the American Council on Education have been distributed to faculty and student leaders and discussed by them.

#### OHIO WESLEYAN UNIVERSITY

Liberal arts college, located in Delaware, Ohio, related to Methodist Church, coeducational—2500 students, 65 per cent out-of-state, 84 per cent white American Protestant, 1.2 per cent American Negro.

Council on Student Affairs, with Student majority, has full authority for all non-academic regulations.

Student newspaper is completely unsupervised and uncensored.

Choice of visiting speakers is unrestricted. Students have voting representation on all faculty standing committees except faculty personnel committee.

Typical black student demands (1967-68) were met by intensified recruitment program, appointment of black admissions counselor, enlarged academic program in African culture and Afro-American programs, and provision of social center for primary but not exclusive use by black students.

Single incident of drug use and sale (1967) was dealt with through established disciplinary procedures: thirteen students were suspended without unfavorable reaction from student body.

Current tensions—Vietnam, the draft, race and poverty—all felt on campus. SDS chapter has existed and has conducted orderly demonstrations. But disruptive violence has been avoided as a result of constructive reforms, open communication and clear disciplinary procedures.

Student morale shown by record contribution in June 1969 to Senior class gift fund—over \$18,000 from graduating class of 545.

#### SOUTHERN METHODIST UNIVERSITY

Privately controlled university located in Dallas, Texas—related to the Methodist Church; offering bachelor's, master's and doctoral programs; coeducational—9300 students.

In the spring of 1969 the president was presented with a document containing a number of demands formulated by a recognized student organization called the Black League of Afro-American and African College Students. After giving a chronological summary of the events of April 25-May 2, the University newsletter *SMU Today* concludes as follows:

"At no time during the president's meetings with the black students did these students cause any disruption or destruction. They were present in the president's office by appointment."

SMU has made very clear, both to white students and to students from minority groups, that this University will not allow disruption of the University's normal functioning. There has been no disruption.

The University has made it very clear that it will fulfill all of its commitments to all of its students, faculty, and staff.

The University has made it clear that admission to SMU will continue to be per-



mitted on the basis of a student's ability to do the work expected by SMU.

The University has made it clear that financial aid will continue to be given to any admitted student on the basis of need, as far as available resources permit.

The due process followed by the president during his meetings with the black students has assured the University that duly authorized groups are expected to carry their appropriate responsibilities. The duly constituted authority of the faculty over its areas of responsibility was honored. The responsibility of students was honored. The administration, charged with a wide variety of responsibilities—including the peaceful, normal functioning of SMU—made clear by its actions, restraints, and preparations, that SMU will function normally, to the interest of all the members of the University community.

The president's handling of his conversations with the black students was given the unanimous approval of SMU's Faculty Senate, a prolonged applause from the 400 members of SMU's General Faculty, and a standing vote of approval and appreciation from the University's Board of Trustees.

Three student leaders bearing concerns that the majority view of students might not be represented in the University's actions on the BLAACS' document met for an hour in the president's office May 16th with the president and other members of the administration and later issued statements—in behalf of a larger group of student leaders—supporting the University's actions.

SMU intends to live through these difficult days of unrest with a clear understanding of its particular purpose, and under the leadership of an administration and a faculty which will seek to be wise, firm and compassionate. They are encouraged in this effort by a student body which has clearly indicated that the students of SMU want their University to stay a university committed to its primary objective of teaching and learning.

#### WESLEYAN UNIVERSITY

Liberal arts college for men, primarily undergraduate but offering a number of doctoral programs; located in Middletown, Connecticut; independent—1700 students.

What follows is an extract from a letter addressed by the president in May 1969 to the Joint Education Committee of the Connecticut Legislature in response to a request from the chairman of the committee.

#### "ATTITUDES TOWARD CAMPUS DISRUPTIONS"

"The fundamental conditions of university life are rationality, civility, integrity, humanity, mutual respect and cooperation. Any significant erosion in these conditions tends to jeopardize academic and social freedom and, at some extreme, to demoralize the institution. For these reasons, the objectives we share are as follows:

"(1) The university must maintain order and equity in the conduct of its affairs;

"(2) Every individual in the university must be free of intimidation and of harassment;

"(3) Peaceful, non-obstructive forms of protest (including demonstrations, picketing, etc.) are rights to be protected;

"(4) Protest methods which violate and subvert principles of freedom of expression, academic freedom, and freedom of movement—or any of those—are not rights to be protected in our society or on our campuses; and

"(5) Any protest which deprives any person of the right to speak or be heard, or which involves disruption of educational or related processes, or which inhibits the freedom of movement or the legitimate privacy of any person, is contrary to basic principles of civil liberties and is incompatible with the purposes of a university.

"The confrontation technique—in some cases an effort to produce instant change or instant capitulation by establishing or threatening an inconvenience—has been embraced by some as a quick and sure method for producing change. And change has resulted in many places. But this type of confrontation substitutes coercion for persuasion. It is based on conflict, not on participation; it is negative, not affirmative; it leads to hit-and-miss change which may not be genuine improvement.

"This type of confrontation provokes resistance and slows the pace of considered reform by turning administrators and others into keepers of the peace. It is an illegitimate and self-defeating extension of the type of peaceful protest and dissent available to those who object to policies and who have exhausted traditional remedies through use of established channels of communication.

"Confrontation based on coercion ultimately forces a choice between freedom and peace: freedom lost as a result of the actions of those who use coercion, or peace lost through the use of counter-force by or on behalf of the university.

"The need for reform is recognized at Wesleyan and at every other reputable university. At Wesleyan, academic policies are being reoriented; institutional structures and decision-making procedures are being redesigned; methods of self-governance are under review; and restraint has been exercised in dealing with both individuals and group challenges during a year when every university has experienced some degree of unusual pressure.

"It is obvious that crisis, confrontation, confusion and coercion are unacceptable as norms of university life. But flexibility has been and remains important. Colleges and universities must be permitted to deal with questions of order and discipline just as they are entrusted with other responsibilities. Campus officials must retain the right to determine when (if ever) the support of public authorities is needed, and what (if any) discipline may be warranted. Legislation designed to prod campus officials into particular patterns of response to events which cannot be pre-defined would not be in the public interest.

#### "CODES AND PROCEDURES FOR SELF-GOVERNANCE"

"At Wesleyan University, disciplinary authority is delegated by the Board of Trustees to the president, who is technically accountable to the Board and morally accountable to the entire University.

"Students live under principles set forth in a University Code and by procedures set forth in a Constitution. Each document was adopted and may be amended by students, subject to concurrence by the faculty and the president.

"A Student Judicial Board (of students) has initial jurisdiction over questions of student discipline. Its findings and penalties are subject (on appeal) to review by a faculty-student committee and (in any case) to review by the president, who may reduce or enlarge penalties. Severe penalties (probations, suspensions, expulsions) are meted out from time to time.

"An elected faculty committee is available—in accordance with procedures recommended by the American Association of University Professors—to consider questions of faculty conduct which may be raised by the president. The president may initiate a dismissal proceeding in a case of serious misconduct and the Board of Trustees is the ultimate decision-making body.

"We have not had a riot or other calamity at Wesleyan. But we have had difficulties and tensions which prompted the creation, this year, of a faculty-student Review Panel to find the facts and make comments

to the president if there should be a disruption.

#### "Actions in response to conflicts"

"Wesleyan University attempts to keep channels of communications open and to maintain the atmosphere of mutual trust and commitment to reason so essential to civilized academic life. This year, the administrative apparatus was supplemented by the election (by students, from a faculty-nominated slate) of three faculty Ombudsmen, prepared to help students and others get appropriate attention to policy questions raised but not resolved. The faculty has, in addition, been responsive to students in establishing new programs (e.g., a Center for the Humanities, an Afro-American Institute, an Experimental College) and in reconsidering the extent of student participation in decision-making processes.

"If there should be a disruption in spite of the attempt to remain open and responsive to student and faculty interests, the reaction would be guided by the following initial and immediate objectives:

"(a) to avoid violence and to protect persons from injury and the threat of injury;

"(b) to protect property;

"(c) to protect freedom of movement and expression for all, including demonstrators;

"(d) to avoid interruption of normal processes, such as classes, research, public events, and administrative functions; and

"(e) in the event of such interruptions, to respond so as to effect de-escalation as promptly as possible.

"It is well to remember that a university is not a collection of bricks and mortar: it is a place of learning. A disruption—however severely the conduct may be judged on review—may not in itself imperil the life of the institution or call for any particular action such as an immediate confrontation or police intervention.

"If there were an acute difficulty threatening or involving injury, serious property damage or major disorder, we would be conscious of the fact that an academic institution may turn to public authorities for help. We are aware of court procedures which can be invoked: the restraining order in the event of an identified threat; the injunction in the case of an established difficulty. When a university uses such procedures, it removes itself from the business of law enforcement. It should do so if it has reason to believe its own mechanisms for self-governance will not be effective. Wesleyan would make this decision if necessary.

"A university can, without turning to public authority, establish its own conditions: it can find equivalent facilities for those who are inconvenienced; it can warn disrupters that they are, by their own actions, setting themselves apart from the university; and it can recognize that fact through suspensions which can be continued or made permanent after judicial review. I advised the Wesleyan community of these possibilities in a written statement this winter."

#### UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA

State-supported Ivy League university, located in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania; coeducational—22,000 students.

The following extract from a letter from the Vice-Provost for Student Affairs explains the origin and development of the *Guidelines on Open Expression* which have been adopted by the university and of which a copy is annexed.

"The Guidelines arose out of an earlier demonstration about 18 months ago at which time it became apparent that we did not have a proper mechanism or manner of response to the confrontation tactics being utilized with recruiting officers on campus. The President appointed a committee of stu-

dents and faculty as a result of that demonstration who held hearings and after about four months of work came up with a document which is the core of the document which is attached. The document which they first brought forward was subjected to conversation in open meetings of the student body, in the Faculty Senate, and in various parts of the administration. It was modified by the Senate (which is the formal body of the University Faculty), and the Forum (which attempts to bring students, faculty, and administrators together in open conversation) and finally was approved at the highest level of decision making in the University, the University Council. It was then put out for student referendum and received a sufficient majority to now be considered in effect.

In the demonstration that we had in February of this year, the Guidelines had not yet been adopted so that we took them to the demonstrators and suggested that they might be approved by them and by the administration in the situation in which we found ourselves. Inasmuch as the thinking had been going around the campus for about 12 months there was a certain background of acceptability of utilizing those Guidelines at that time. I do want to reiterate however that they were adopted by both parties in the midst of the demonstration and were not in effect previous to that demonstration.

This brings me to a third and rather sensitive point and that is the whole background of how decisions are made on a university campus is probably key in this whole area under discussion. Earlier conversation and lines of communication become a base upon which you can build in times of duress and if they are not present in those moments of duress, I have the feeling they must be virtually impossible to create at that particular time. Thus the Guidelines are in and of themselves important and the process by which those Guidelines are arrived at which brought persons from the several sectors of the University together to draw up the Guidelines is also important. At the same time if other informal networks of communication are not being carried forward and easily available, then in the midst of times of utmost urgency these will be impossible to construct.

#### UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA GUIDELINES ON OPEN EXPRESSION

(Draft approved by the University Council on April 9, 1969)

##### I. PRINCIPLES

A. The University of Pennsylvania, as a community of scholars, affirms, supports, and cherishes the concepts of freedom of thought, inquiry, speech and lawful assembly. The freedom to experiment, to present and to examine alternative data and theories; the freedom to hear, to express, and to debate various views; and the freedom to voice criticism of existing practices and values are fundamental rights which must be upheld and practiced by the University in a free society.

B. Recognizing that the educational processes can include demonstrations and other forms of collective expression, the University affirms the right of individuals and groups to assemble and to demonstrate on campus within the limits of these Guidelines. The University also affirms the right of others to pursue their normal activities within the University and to be protected from physical injury or property damage.

C. The University should be vigilant to ensure the continuing openness and effectiveness of channels of communication among members of the University on questions of common interest. To further this purpose, a Committee on Open Expression is hereby established as a standing committee of the

University Council. The Committee on Open Expression has as its major tasks: monitoring the communication processes to prevent conflicts that might emerge from failure of communication, recommending policies and procedures for improvement of all levels of communication, advising administrative officers where appropriate, and participating in evaluation and resolution of conflicts that may arise from incidents or disturbances on campus.

##### II. COMMITTEE ON OPEN EXPRESSION

###### A. Composition

1. The Committee on Open Expression consists of twelve members: five students, five faculty members and two representatives of the administration.

2. Members of the Committee are appointed by the Steering Committee in the following manner:

a. Student members shall be nominated from undergraduate students, graduate students and graduate-professional students by a means arrived at by representative student groups. If the students are unable to agree upon such a procedure, and instead propose several different procedures, the Steering Committee shall make an interim choice between the student proposals. Students selected by an interim process shall serve only until their peers have established a permanent selection process.

b. Faculty members shall be nominated by the Senate Advisory Committee. The administration members shall be nominated by the President.

c. Each member shall be selected for one year. Any individual may not serve for more than two consecutive terms.

3. The Chairman of the Committee shall be selected by the Steering Committee from among the members of the Committee on Open Expression.

###### B. Jurisdiction

The Committee shall have competence to act in all issues and controversies involving open expression under these Guidelines. The Committee's functions include, but are not limited to, the following:

1. Giving advisory opinions interpreting the Guidelines at the request of an interested member of the University. If the Committee does not give a requested opinion, it should indicate its reasons for not doing so.

2. Reviewing administrative decisions taken under these Guidelines, without prior consultation with the Committee.

3. Issuing rules for interpreting or implementing the Guidelines. Before adopting a rule, the Committee should hold an open hearing on the text of the proposed rule and receive the views of interested individuals or groups. An affirmative vote of eight members is required for any such rule to be effective.

4. Recommending to the University Council any proposals to amend or repeal the Guidelines. An affirmative vote of seven members is required to make such recommendations.

5. Publishing an annual report to the Council and the University on the status of the Committee's work.

6. Advising administrative officials with responsibilities affecting freedom of expression and communication, including particularly the use of University facilities for meetings and the utilization of force to terminate a demonstration.

7. Mediating in situations that threaten to give rise to incidents that may possibly violate the Guidelines.

8. Evaluating and characterizing incidents that have occurred, both to determine whether the conduct of any group, considered as a whole, has violated the Guidelines, and to attempt to discover and remedy any failures in communication that may have caused or contributed to the incident. The Committee does not act as a disciplinary

body to try charges against individual students and impose punishment, but its interpretation of the Guidelines shall be conclusive in any disciplinary proceeding that may ensue.

9. Adopting procedures for the functioning of the Committee, varied to suit its several functions consistent with these Guidelines. Procedures that are not wholly matters of internal Committee practice shall be published in advance of implementation.

###### C. Procedures

1. Seven members of the Committee constitute a quorum. No member may participate in the consideration or decision of an issue in which he is or may become involved.

2. The Committee can authorize subcommittees, selected from its own members, to act for the Committee in any matter except the issuance of rules interpreting or implementing the Guidelines, or the making of recommendations to amend or repeal the Guidelines.

##### III. STANDARDS

A. The right of individuals and groups peaceably to assemble and to demonstrate shall not be infringed.

B. The substance or the nature of the views expressed is not an appropriate basis for any restriction upon or encouragement of an assembly or a demonstration.

C. The University should permit members of the University, upon suitable request, to use any available facility or meeting room for purposes of open or private discussion.

1. The responsibility for determination of the policies and procedures for assigning University facilities should be lodged specifically in the office of the President or his delegates.

2. The Committee on Open Expression should be consulted in the determination of the substance of the policies and procedures and the manner of their publication to the University.

3. Specific attention should be given in the policies and procedures to the groups of organizations, other than recognized student, faculty or administration organizations, entitled to request use of University facilities.

4. Before a request of a University group to use any facility is rejected, for reasons other than the prior commitment of the facility or the like, the President or his delegate should consult with the committee on Open Expression to obtain the advice and recommendation of that body.

D. Groups or individuals, including faculty, students, administrators, and other University personnel, planning or participating in demonstrations should restrain their activities in accordance with the following standards:

1. Conduct that causes injury to persons or damage to property, or which threatens to cause such injury or damage, is impermissible.

a. Demonstrations should not be held inside laboratories, museums, computer facilities, libraries, or the like, because of the risk of loss, damage or destruction of rare or irreplaceable documents, collections or equipment.

b. Demonstrations should not be held in places where a significant hazard of fire or building collapse or falling objects is presented.

c. Demonstrations should not interfere with the operation of hospitals, emergency facilities, communication systems, utilities, etc.

2. Demonstrations should be conducted in a manner that keeps within reasonable bounds any interference with or disturbance of the activities of other persons. The reasonableness of conduct may be determined by such factors as the time and place of the demonstration and the general tenor of conduct.

a. Demonstrations should not be held inside libraries or private offices, or inside class-



rooms or seminar rooms in which meetings or classes are being held or are immediately scheduled.

b. Demonstrations should not interfere with free and unimpeded movement in and out of buildings and rooms and through all passageways. This will generally be satisfied if at least one-half of each entrance, exit, or passageway is free from obstruction of any kind.

c. Noise level is not of itself a sufficient ground for making a demonstration improper, but may possibly, in particular circumstances, interfere and disrupt the activities of others in an impermissible way.

3. The refusal of persons participating in a demonstration to follow the instructions of the Vice-Provost for Student Affairs or his delegate to modify or terminate the demonstration is a violation of these Guidelines. The Committee on Open Expression plays a vital role in such situations, either in an advisory capacity or in immediately reviewing the instructions.

4. When the Vice-Provost for Student Affairs or his delegate considers that an individual or a group has violated the Guidelines, he may request to examine their matriculation cards or other University identification. Failure to comply with this request is a violation of the Guidelines.

E. Supervision of demonstrations, where necessary, is the task of the Vice-Provost for Student Affairs and his assistants.

1. In carrying out this responsibility, the Vice-Provost obtains the advice and recommendation of the Committee on Open Expression whenever feasible, but it is recognized that he is the responsible administrative official who may have to act in emergency situations without prior consultation.

2. All members of the University are expected to comply with the instructions of the Vice-Provost or his delegate at the scene of a demonstration which he finds violative of the Guidelines, the fire laws and other laws, ordinances or regulations relating to occupancy of the University's buildings. Such compliance is a defense to any disciplinary proceedings under these Guidelines for the immediate conduct to which the instructions are responsive, unless the violators are found to have caused or consciously threatened injury to persons or damage to property or to have demonstrated wilfully in a protected area, as defined in D1 and D2 above.

3. Terminating a demonstration by force is a most serious step. It is frequently a mistake to terminate a demonstration by force, as this may exacerbate existing tensions and lead to personal injury and property damage.

a. Avoidance of injury to persons by the continuation of the demonstration is a key factor in determining whether it should be forcibly terminated. Property damage and significant interference with educational processes are also factors to be considered, and may be of sufficient magnitude to warrant forcible termination.

b. Whenever possible, the Vice-Provost should consult with the Committee on Open Expression before seeking a court injunction against the demonstrators or calling for police action.

c. The Vice-Provost or his delegate should attempt to inform demonstrators that he intends to seek an injunction or call for police intervention before he does so.

4. When a demonstration is forcibly terminated, a full statement of the circumstances leading to the event should be published by the Vice-Provost within the University.

e. Attendance at demonstrations of unarmed campus police is a normal and useful aid to the Vice-Provost and his assistants.

I am convinced that such instances are not rare. Indeed, I am confident that every Member here today can point to similar instances where student dissent

has been dealt with successfully within their own districts. Certainly this is true in my own district in Michigan where both the University of Michigan and Eastern Michigan dealt promptly, firmly, and rationally with student problems. These campuses and others such as Adrian College have dealt with the issues successfully because the lines of communication between faculty, administrators and students were truly open so that problems and questions could be dealt with in a frank and open basis.

The success of many colleges in dealing with the problem of student dissent is something which can be capitalized on by other schools. Although no two schools are identical, the experience of one school can be most helpful to administrators in other schools in reacting to similar problems at their university. The advantages of shared experiences are obvious and I therefore wrote to the major associations of colleges and universities early this summer suggesting that national and regional conferences be convened to discuss means of dealing effectively with campus dissent. The reaction has been overwhelmingly favorable. In several instances, conferences have already begun, or are being planned. There is clearly a widespread and deep interest and concern on the part of college and university officials in meeting their responsibilities in this area. As evidence of that concern I submit my letter, plus a number of the replies that I received, for inclusion in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, as follows:

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES,  
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,  
Washington, D.C., June 11, 1969.

DEAR \_\_\_\_\_: I write to you, a leader in the higher education community, urging you to take immediate action which might contribute constructively to the problems associated with the present unrest on our college campuses.

Having served on the Education and Labor Committee and having visited college campuses during the past two months and having constant contact with the public constituency, I believe the time is fast approaching when every representative organization must reappraise its efforts in responding to student unrest. The problem on the campuses is more structured and of greater potential intensity than many of us are aware. The results of continuing disorders and the resultant publicity are finding a restive audience in the American people.

For some time politicians, columnists, the news media, professional observers, and government officials have been berating, commenting or praising the motives and actions of our campus youth. If nothing else, this inconsistency is creating a demanding and an active majority in the American people who want to know what is or is not acceptable behavior in their society. In time, if allowed to continue in this manner, campus disorders may well result in the appearance of restrictive state or federal legislation which will have the ultimate effect of controlling the operating procedures of our colleges and universities. Further, as evidence has shown, the public reaction will curb the expenditures of local, state, and federal funds used to support the finest educational system in the world.

I will not support, nor will I vote for repressive legislation nor do I believe that the majority of students should be penalized by the cutting back of operating funds in order to punish a few.

Currently under consideration before our Education and Labor Committee is H.R. 11941. While I believe that the role of this bill is laudable in that it attacks the major problems inherent in our college campuses today, I am nonetheless concerned that it may set an unhealthy precedent.

Therefore, at this time I am calling upon your Association and urging that you join with others and convene a series of national and regional conferences of college and university administrators. Such meetings can have a positive effect upon this growing crisis. They would help to create better communication and understanding on the part of the American people, aid administrators in developing practices regarding discipline and conduct of students and faculty, and establish new means of communication with students. The interface which could be obtained by such a meeting would be most valuable to college leaders in providing an experience base for dealing with student problems. It would provide suggestion for solidifying the support of the large silent majority on our campuses and ideas for isolating the behavior and motives of militant reactionaries.

In general their purpose would be to develop concepts which would replace the current atmosphere of disruption and disorder on our campuses with a new positive force of creative interchange. I do not envision the conferences to establish standard regulations or practices as each college and university community is diverse and unique and must be governed by the factors within its environment. The independent operating integrity of each institution must be protected. Voluntary efforts on the part of the educational community must begin now.

I also recognize the limitations of such a conference and that there is no panacea for today's unrest.

The leadership your Association has shown in developing informal and overt actions in regard to this problem is most assuredly recognized. However, the urgency of this crisis requires the efforts of a massive coordinated breakthrough to bring about positive results.

It is my opinion that the National Administration is concerned about protecting the operational autonomy of our colleges and universities and they will be willing to participate cooperatively in any voluntary effort toward this end. I have written the President and members of his staff requesting this support.

I urge your consideration of my proposal and await your urgent response.

Sincerely,

MARVIN L. ESCH,  
Member of Congress.

THE ASSOCIATION OF  
AMERICAN UNIVERSITIES,  
Washington, D.C., June 16, 1969.

HON. MARVIN L. ESCH,  
U.S. House of Representatives,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR REPRESENTATIVE ESCH: I wish to acknowledge with appreciation your letter of June 11, 1969 in which you express concern about current campus disorders and particularly for your desire to have order restored without resort to federal or state legislation which conceivably might be repressive.

With reference to your specific request that the Association of American Universities join with others in convening a series of national and regional conferences of college and university administrators, I shall refer this question to our Association's Executive Committee for consideration. You are aware, I am sure, that some conferences have been held already and it is my guess that if additional meetings are needed, the American Council on Education should take the initiative in convening them. I may say that in the case of the Association of American Universities, which meets semi-annually and is an organization of university presidents,

I cannot recall a single meeting of the Association since October, 1964 when a great deal of consideration has not been given to these very matters which are of concern to you. These discussions and exchanges have been helpful to all of our members and will doubtless continue in the future, but I believe most if not all of our members firmly believe that remedial action can and should be taken at each institution by its own trustees, administrators, faculty and students. We are already encouraged to believe some institutions are proving the efficacy of this procedure. . . .

Sincerely yours,

CHARLES P. MCCURDY, JR.

AMERICAN COUNCIL ON EDUCATION,  
Washington, D.C., June 30, 1969.

HON. CARL PERKINS,  
U.S. House of Representatives,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. CHAIRMAN: I should like to bring you up to date on the activities of the American Council on Education as we plan this summer to undertake an action program on the causes and prevention of campus disruption. As the principal coordinating agency for all of higher education we feel a particular responsibility to address ourselves to this problem and to try to come up with constructive proposals for educational institutions prior to the opening of the next academic year.

In retrospect it is easy to see that the academic community was ill-prepared to cope with the revolutionary tactics of a very small but admittedly very militant minority of students and faculty. It is equally apparent that communication lines between large numbers of moderate students and their counterparts in the facilities and administrations had broken down to an extent we had not realized.

As a result, we announced last week and are moving immediately to appoint and put to work a Special Committee on Campus Disruption. We shall involve administrators, faculty, students, trustees, and lay leaders in the work of this Committee. We hope very much that through workshops, seminars, and a collection and analysis of existing information to have ready for the new academic year in September some practical guidelines to offer our institutions.

We know that at the same time the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare is studying the implications and the implementation of Section 504 of the Higher Education Amendments of 1968. This legislation was enacted by the Congress in an effort to provide to institutions tools that might be useful in the settling of campus disputes. Assertions have been made that this legislation has not been used. This may or may not be the case. The higher education community has consistently maintained that once it understood the nature of its problems, it had adequate machinery to deal with them. We are now getting closer to such an understanding and are in the process of putting our machinery to use.

For these reasons, it would seem to us wise for the Congress to await a report on how existing legislation has been utilized before moving to still additional legislation. It would also be our hope that the Congress would give the higher education community generally and the ACE specifically time to put its own planning into effect rather than forcing us to adjust to a whole new set of problems that would be raised by new legislation in this area.

Sincerely yours,

LOGAN WILSON.

[A news release from the American Council on Education]

WASHINGTON—The American Council on Education today (June 16) announced establishment of a Special Committee on

Campus Disruption which will propose ways to strengthen procedures of self-regulation by colleges and universities.

In announcing the board action, Council President Logan Wilson said the committee "will focus on more effective decision-making, appropriate means of presenting grievances and proposing changes, clarification of due process and the use of campus and civil authority in response to disorder, and improved communication both within the academic community and between it and the public."

The action was taken by the Council's Board of Directors at its regular June meeting. As the nation's major coordinating agency for higher education, the Council has a membership of 1,538 colleges, universities, and education associations.

President Wilson said he is proceeding at once to name the chairman and members of the special committee in consultation with leaders of representative higher education associations.

A specific objective of the committee will be to formulate ways to deal effectively with campus disruption while protecting the academic or constitutional rights of members of the academic community and avoiding resort to repression or counter-violence.

The special committee will be asked to begin its work as soon as it is appointed and to report its findings to the Council's president and board at the earliest feasible date.

Establishment of the committee is one of a number of actions initiated within recent months by the Council in its concern about campus disorders and its historic interest in critical problems of campus governance.

In May 1968 the Council, acting jointly with the University of Denver Law School, sponsored, and distributed the proceedings of, a national conference on "Legal Aspects of Student-Institutional Relationships." The Council's Office of Research is conducting extensive research into the causes of campus unrest. In April the Council issued "A Declaration on Campus Unrest," a statement formulated by prominent educational administrators, trustees, and foundation officers. Most recently the Council published and distributed to its members the June 9 statement on campus disorder issued by the National Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Violence. In October the Council's Annual Meeting, in Washington, will focus on "The Campus and the Racial Crisis."

#### A DECLARATION ON CAMPUS UNREST

(NOTE.—This statement was formulated by a group of educational administrators, trustees, and foundation officers who met April 4-5, 1969 in Chicago under Council auspices. Those present were three Council officers—President Logan Wilson, Vice-President Kenneth D. Roose, and David C. Nichols II, assistant to President Wilson—and the following:

(Louis T. Benezet, president, Claremont Graduate Center; Landrum R. Bolling, president, Earlham College; Herman R. Bronson, president, Central State University; Robert D. Clark, president, San Jose State College; Fairfax M. Cone, trustee, University of Chicago; Thomas H. Elliot, chancellor, Washington University; Robben W. Fleming, president, University of Michigan; David D. Henry, president, University of Illinois; Theodore M. Hesburgh, C.S.C., president, University of Notre Dame; James M. Hester, president, New York University; Ralph Hetzel, trustee, Pennsylvania State University; Roger W. Heyns, chancellor, University of California, Berkeley; Joseph F. Kauffman, president, Rhode Island College; William R. Keast, president, Wayne State University; Malcolm Moos, president, University of Minnesota; Mrs. Henry Owen, trustee, Washington State University; Harvey Picker, trustee, Colgate University; Alan Pifer, president, Carnegie Corporation of New York; Wesley

Posvar, chancellor, University of Pittsburgh; Nathan M. Pusey, president, Harvard University; John Ritchie, dean, Law School, Northwestern University; John S. Toll, president, State University of New York at Stony Brook; Edmund A. Stephan, trustee, University of Notre Dame; F. Champion Ward, vice-president, The Ford Foundation; Herman B. Wells, chancellor, Indiana University; Charles E. Young, chancellor, University of California, Los Angeles; and Edwin Young, chancellor, University of Wisconsin, Madison Campus.

(The statement was subsequently approved by the Council's Board of Directors, comprised of the following individuals:

(Mason W. Gross, president of Rutgers—The State University, chairman; Anne G. Pannell, president of Sweet Briar College, vice-chairman; Gustave O. Arlt, president of the Council of Graduate Schools in the U.S., secretary; Fred Harvey Harrington, president, University of Wisconsin; Grayson Kirk, president emeritus, Columbia University; Frederic W. Ness, president, Fresno State College; Alan Simpson, president, Vassar College; Thomas A. Spragens, president, Centre College of Kentucky; Sharvy G. Umbeck, president, Knox College; Kingman Brewster, Jr., president, Yale University; G. Homer Durham, president, Arizona State University; Samuel B. Gould, chancellor, State University of New York at Albany; Darrell Holmes, president, Colorado State College; Kenneth S. Pitzer, president, Stanford University; Edgar F. Shannon, Jr., president, University of Virginia; Joseph P. Cosand, president, Junior College District of St. Louis; Theodore M. Hesburgh, C.S.C., president, University of Notre Dame; Roger W. Heyns, chancellor, University of California, Berkeley; Martha E. Peterson, president, Barnard College; Calvin H. Plimpton, president, Amherst College; and Willis M. Tate, president, Southern Methodist University.)

The unprecedented, comprehensive, and often unpredictable changes that are taking place in this age both disturb and alarm large segments of our society. Most of the changes and attendant alarms affect the operations of our institutions of higher learning. They are also related to the values, concerns, and behavior of our young people. In coming to grips with the compelling issues, all who would think seriously about them must recognize that present-day society—in America and in many foreign lands—is in serious trouble on many fronts. We see around us racial conflict, continued poverty, and malnutrition midst unparalleled prosperity and seemingly unlimited promise. We are confronted by pollution of our environment, decay of our cities, the continuation of wars and the threat of war and everywhere a vague but widespread discontent with the general quality of life.

These problems affect all of society not the university alone or the young alone. We must all be concerned to deal intelligently and responsibly with these problems that are neither the exclusive discovery nor the sole responsibility of the young. Yet the depth of feeling among young people in many countries today about the issues, their general dissatisfaction with the slow-moving ways of society, and the extreme behavior of a small minority of students are evidence of the profound crisis that involves our entire society and, specifically, the university community.

The university itself has often become the immediate target of student discontent, sometimes couched as legitimate complaints about the deficiencies of the universities, sometimes devised as a softening-up exercise for assault on the wider society.

How to deal with campus crises arising from the widespread protests has become a major public issue and the cause of confused and angry debate. That there should be deep anxiety about the course of the con-



flict and its possible outcome is understandable. No social, racial, or age group that perceives itself and its values to be seriously threatened will fail to strike back. Increasingly there are backlash temptations to enact strong, often ill-considered, and largely futile measures to cope with a youth rebellion that none of us fully comprehends, not even the youth themselves.

Certain balanced judgments are proper to make, however, as we search for understanding and solutions:

1. It is important for the public to understand that, despite the nationwide publicity given to student disorders, the great majority of American campuses have remained peaceful. On campuses where conspicuous disorders have occurred, educational programs generally have gone along their normal ways. Most students and faculty have continued to carry on their regular work. In the main, good teaching and good research, as traditionally defined, have been uninterrupted.

2. On the undisturbed campuses and among the majority of orderly students, however, there are widely shared discontents which extremists are at times able to manipulate to destructive ends. Moreover, even in the absence of violence, there has developed among some of the young a cult of irrationality and incivility which severely strains attempts to maintain sensible and decent human communication. Within this cult there is a minute group of destroyers who have abandoned hope in today's society, in today's university, and in the processes of orderly discussion and negotiation to secure significant change. Students and faculty are increasingly aware of the true nature of this group and are moving to deal with its destructive tactics. The necessity to deal with extremists, however, is placing an extraordinary burden upon the whole educational enterprise and upon those who man it. Consequently, universities are having to divert their energies and resources from central educational tasks in order to deal with student unrest in its various forms.

3. The spectacular events precipitated by the extremists should not be allowed to obscure the recent accomplishments of those students, faculty, and administrators who have serious interest in constructive changes in society and in the university. They have broadened the curriculum and improved teaching. They have moved toward a more open and participating pattern for university governance. And they have begun to make the work of universities more meaningful in dealing with the problems of society. Those efforts must continue. Reform and self-renewal in higher education are ongoing imperatives.

4. Meanwhile, the speed and scale of social change have imposed many kinds of demands upon educational institutions for which their programs, their capabilities, and their funding are not always adequate. Moreover, universities are increasingly asked to perform functions for society, particularly in reshaping the behavior, values, and lifestyles of the young, on which the family and other social institutions have already had major influence—or lack of influence. Some of society's expectations for universities are quite unrealistic. Insofar as these expectations can be dealt with, they involve a sharing of responsibilities among diverse social institutions. Many of society's demands require new resources and fresh approaches to old and new problems.

5. Recognizing the right of and even the necessity for constructive dissent—and allowing for inevitable arguments over what is in fact constructive—certain axioms must be accepted as basic to the operation of any university:

a. Disruption and violence have no place on any campus. The academic community has the responsibility to deal promptly and

directly with disruptions. If universities will not govern themselves, they will be governed by others. This elementary reality is increasingly becoming understood by all components of the university community. Student and faculty groups, including the American Association of University Professors and the National Student Association, have recently joined in efforts to improve disciplinary procedures and to formulate clear and realistic codes for dealing with misconduct, and more particularly with violence and disruption. Also, by involving students and faculty effectively in the governance of the university, it can be demonstrated that there are better ways of getting views considered and decisions made than by disruption.

b. The historic concern of the university community with academic freedom needs to be restated, reaffirmed, and vigorously defended against all, within or without the university, who would obstruct the right of scholars to investigate, teachers to teach, or students to learn. This reiteration is not to claim for the university special privileges that put it above the law or that free it from critical public appraisal—rather it affirms that the university must maintain a basic institutional integrity to function as a university.

c. Violations of criminal law must be dealt with through the ordinary processes of the law—and universities must attempt to deal with disruptive situations firmly before they reach the stage of police action. Governmental attempts to deal with these problems through special, punitive legislation will almost certainly be counterproductive. Meanwhile, students and faculty whose consciences demand that they express dissent through law violation must be prepared to accept the due processes and the penalties of the law. They should not be encouraged to expect amnesty from the effects of the law. Such an expectation would be the ultimate use of the *in loco parentis* concept against which many young activists passionately protest. Nor should they expect amnesty from academic discipline, which is the most effective sanction in disruptive incidents.

6. The education community needs to undertake a far more comprehensive effort than ever before attempted to study the underlying bases of youthful discontent and alienation and the broad social problems to which they are related. As social critic, the university must help society understand and solve such problems.

7. All universities should give particular attention to a continuing search for ways, including new social inventions, by which the life of rationality and civility, shared concern, and mutual respect may be supported and strengthened within the university community. The survival of the university and its long-term contribution to society depend upon the ability of the institutions to make their everyday life reflect that spirit and pattern.

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT,  
June 23, 1969.

HON. MARVIN L. ESCH,  
Cannon House Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN ESCH: Thank you for your recent letter regarding campus disorders and seeking ways to stop them. I agree completely with your point that these disorders should be stopped by changing the causes rather than by punitive and repressive treatment of the symptoms.

I am enclosing a copy of the position taken by the NEA Legislative Commission at a meeting last month. It is, of course, a statement of principle with specific reference to pieces of legislation that had been proposed at that time. It did not take into account the range of proposals that have been made lately, such as H.R. 11941.

In addition to this statement, the Legisla-

tive Commission has been directed by the Executive Committee to make a thorough study of the matter of student unrest and develop a statement of NEA's position on related legislation. If such a statement is approved by the Executive Committee, it will become official NEA policy. I shall, of course, let you know the outcome of this process.

Meanwhile, NEA would be more than willing to cooperate with other groups in setting up conferences with higher education personnel as you suggest. Any improvement in communication must result in an improvement in the situation on our campuses. NEA recognizes its responsibility as the leader in the educational field to make every effort to secure peace and the rights of all individuals on campuses.

I look forward to working with you and others toward these goals.

Sincerely,  
GEORGE D. FISCHER,  
President, National Education  
Association.

#### POSITION OF N.E.A. LEGISLATIVE COMMISSION

The National Education Association reaffirms its support of peaceful dissent on college and university campuses but abhors the violence so frequently connected with protest. NEA is concerned, however, with the rights of individuals who may suffer injustice as a result of such dissent. Federal legislation, in Section 504 of the Higher Education Amendments of 1968, provides recourse to institutions in dealing with disruptive individuals and should be retained. In addition to Section 504, NEA recommends enactment of legislation to create a mediation service to mediate disputes among students, faculty, and administrators of colleges and universities.

AMERICAN ASSOCIATION OF  
JUNIOR COLLEGES,  
Washington, D.C., June 25, 1969.

HON. MARVIN L. ESCH,  
U.S. House of Representatives,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. ESCH: Dr. Gleazer is on vacation so I am taking the liberty of responding in his behalf to your letter of June 11.

We see great merit in your idea of a series of regional conferences among college administrators and other concerned leaders which would examine the issues behind campus disorders. I am confident that such conferences, given broad sponsorship including White House support, would attract most of our two-year college presidents. We would like to work with you as your plans develop.

Personally, I share your deep distress over the way the campus disorders have been sensationalized, particularly in Congress. Unfortunately, most of the hearings have brought out only one side of the issue. They have presented a distorted picture of the searching change which is occurring in campus life. By stressing only the bizarre, they have given a carnival image to a reformation that has a very positive side.

The college campus is a much more open society today than it ever was in the past. The student bodies are much more heterogeneous. For every agitator on the average campus, there are at least a hundred disadvantaged youth who are quietly trying to make the most of the crack at college they would never have had in an earlier generation. Of course, we have only just begun to move toward equality of opportunity in higher education. We still have a long way to go to correct the old inequities. Perhaps the conferences you propose would help us chart a clearer course. Surely, they would help develop a fuller, more balanced picture of campus change.

Certainly we are pleased that you see the folly of repressive legislation. Such legislation can only injure the programs that Congress has worked so hard in the last decade

to develop. Congress must face up to the fact that it has contributed to the campus unrest. The disorders in deeper significance reflect the rising expectations that Congress helped to foster through the imaginative programs it has recently enacted for education. Congress has delivered only a fraction of the resources and opportunities promised in these programs. Perhaps the conferences you are promoting can help the Congress, as well as the public and the colleges, see more clearly the need for a new order of national priorities.

Thank you again for sharing your concerns and your plans with us.

Sincerely yours,  
FRANK MENDEL, Director,  
Governmental and Urban Affairs.

ASSOCIATION OF AMERICAN COLLEGES,  
Washington, D.C., June 19, 1969.

Hon. MARVIN L. ESCH,  
U.S. House of Representatives,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MARVIN: Since receiving your letter of June 11th, members of our staff have been in touch with you and your office several times concerning information at least partially responsive to your inquiry and suggestions. Because of the urgency of affairs in the Committee on Education and Labor, we have all wanted to act as quickly as possible in any and all ways that might be helpful to you and other Committee members.

Meanwhile our giving attention to these matters has delayed this more formal response in writing to your letter itself. We are grateful for your constructive posture and ideas on the very complex questions of student unrest and related legislation. More specifically, your idea of timely conferences strikes a very responsive chord. It would be inappropriate and inefficient for us to proceed alone on this, and my understanding is that several other national associations are also giving active consideration to the idea. A number of us are meeting together this afternoon, and I believe the proposed conferences are one of the principal topics on our agenda. None of us wants to delay any action that promises to be of any assistance to the colleges.

With all good wishes,  
Sincerely yours,  
RICHARD H. SULLIVAN,  
President.

THE COUNCIL FOR THE ADVANCE-  
MENT OF SMALL COLLEGES,  
Washington, D.C., July 2, 1969.

Hon. MARVIN L. ESCH,  
U.S. House of Representatives,  
Washington, D.C.

MY DEAR MR. ESCH: We wanted to answer your letter in detail and thus I am sending you more information about what it is we are doing during the first week in August at Michigan State University in cooperation with their Department of Administration and Higher Education.

First, let me say how pleased and encouraged we are that there are some members of Congress, including yourself, who are expressing a more enlightened view toward the current campus and student unrest. We are deeply concerned about some of the restrictive state and federal legislation which has been introduced in recent months. We are further disturbed to know that some of this legislation at the state level is evidently going to pass. However, we are hopeful that men such as yourself will not support nor vote for any kind of repressive legislation which, as you indicate in your letter, would penalize the majority of students by cutting back operating funds in order to punish a few.

CASC is beginning a program this summer entitled "In-Service Training of Top-Level Administrators and Members of Boards of Trustees of Small Colleges." This is a three-phase program and will involve a national

level summer program to be held on the campus of Michigan State University from August 3-8. The second phase will take place during the 1969-70 school year and provide for up to six regional institutes with as many trustees as possible attending from each institution. The third phase will also be conducted during the 1969-70 academic year and will include consultant service and visitations to those member colleges requesting such consultation with their boards of trustees. On the second day of our summer institute the program will be devoted partially to "Today's College Student." Dr. Richard Gross, Dean of Gordon College, and Dr. Eldon Nonnameker, Professor of Higher Education and Associate Dean of Students at Michigan State University, will be the major speakers for that particular session. It is during this time that we can well devote some time to the topic of the current student unrest on our campuses. Later that same day we are having a panel discussion devoted to the topic "Who's in Charge?" We expect that student representatives will be present for both the earlier sessions and to take part in this particular panel. By providing for student participation in this program we are attempting in a small way to "establish new means of communication with students" as you have called for in your letter.

Once again thank you for the support which you have indicated in your letter, and although we are unable to convene a special conference of college administrators and faculty members, we do hope that our special program for trustees with its feed-in of student participation will add to the atmosphere of increasing communication between students and administrators. Thank you for your educational leadership in these very trying times for our society and for our institutions of higher learning.

Sincerely yours,  
RICHARD M. WITTER,  
Assistant Executive Director.

AMERICAN ASSOCIATION OF STATE  
COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES,  
Washington, D.C., June 16, 1969.

Hon. MARVIN L. ESCH,  
U.S. House of Representatives,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. ESCH: In response to your letter of June 13th and in anticipation of the House hearings this morning before the Committee on Education and Labor, I have taken the liberty of doing two things over the weekend.

Firstly, the American Association of State Colleges and Universities has asked Chairman Perkins if a member of our Board of Directors, Dr. Darrell Holmes, President of Colorado State College, might be allowed to testify this morning about the concerns of your letter. Secondly, I have prepared, along with President Holmes, a statement which he will present if given the floor by Chairman Perkins. I enclose a copy of that statement along with material which the statement alludes to.

I trust this strategy on our part is adequate in terms of the intent of your letter, Mr. Esch. If I may be of further assistance at any time in the future, please call on me.

Best regards,  
Sincerely yours,  
JAMES E. CIPRIANO,  
Executive Assistant.

TESTIMONY BEFORE THE HOUSE COMMITTEE ON  
EDUCATION AND LABOR, ON BEHALF OF  
THE AMERICAN ASSOCIATION OF STATE  
COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES ON H.R. 11941:  
BY DARRELL HOLMES, PRESIDENT, COLORADO  
STATE COLLEGE, GREELEY, COLO.

Mr. Chairman: members of the Committee: My name is Darrell Holmes. I am President of Colorado State College in Greeley, Colorado and a member of the Board of Directors

of the American Association of State Colleges and Universities. AASCU consists of 254 institutions and 14 statewide systems of state colleges located in 45 states, the District of Columbia, the Island of Guam and the Virgin Islands. Approximately 1.6 million students—or over one out of five college students in the United States attend the type of institution represented by the Association. The institutions are the fastest growing degree-granting institutions in the nation.

With this overview in mind, I should like to point out in explicit, unequivocal terms that AASCU member institutions are doing much about the present unrest on our college campuses. First, in connection with campus disorders, we must not confuse dissent with genuine concern on the part of students about problems which we have not been able to solve . . . we must not confuse dissent and genuine concern with violence. We must not confuse orderly activism with disruptive and irresponsible actions. In the latter, I know of no president in our Association who has turned his back on the law. Every president, I know has administered the law as it was meant to be.

Our Association has been active for several years in considering student dissent. Let me list some of our activities:

1. The theme of our annual meeting was "Who's in Charge Here?" I should like to place on file with you the proceedings of that meeting. A variety of means for involving students in institutional policy matters was explored. It was clear that the governing board of the institution is responsible for campus policies and that the college or university president is the board's chief executive officer and is held accountable for all activities on the campus.

2. A statement of due process as it relates to student discipline will soon be published by AASCU. We see the need for students to be accorded their due rights, and actions are being taken on our member campuses around the country to guarantee them.

3. In cooperation with the Association of Student Governments, our Association is presently exploring the possibility of a joint and voluntary mediation service to help resolve campus disturbances.

4. We have published a statement on student rights and responsibilities. A copy is hereby placed on file.

5. AASCU also has in operation a Consulting Service which assists member institutions meet and solve campus difficulties. Consultants with a backlog of experience in state colleges and universities are available to visit, study, and make reports and suggestions in areas where member institutions may wish for objective advice.

6. We are planning a statement about alternative responses to different kinds of campus disorders. We believe that a simple plan cannot be developed that covers all possible disorders. Rather workable alternatives must be ready for immediate use for a given kind of problem.

7. Student participation in program and policy consideration is being broadened around the country. For example, most of the Association's institutional committees contain student representation—yet it is clear that the faculty continues to be held accountable for academic affairs. In at least one instance, students sit with the Board of Trustees and in another, students sit on a statewide policy committee which is advisory to a council of presidents.

8. We have asked presidents of our 254 member institutions to give serious consideration to joining with other higher education associations in convening a series of national and/or regional conferences of college and university administrators. The general purposes of such conferences would be to pursue and create better communication and understanding on the part of American people, aid administrators in developing practices regarding discipline and conduct



of members of the campus community, and to establish and maintain effective means of communication with students.

9. We favor the passage of legislation only when it is in the national interest to do so, and only when state and local laws are inadequate. For example, legislation prohibiting the interstate transfer of fire arms from being carried, displayed or used on campuses illustrates a possible needed federal law. The problem of fire arms is most serious. On the other hand, it is our firm conviction that the Congress should be very careful about getting into the management of the internal affairs of the college and determining in advance an approved administrative course of action for a situation that might occur at some future date. We can and have administered our institutions in accordance with laws which govern all people. We should not be confronted with a law which dictates methods of compliance. In connection with the administration of the Civil Rights Act, you did not require us to explain how we intend to implement the law. The Federal Administration does, as you know, run a compliance review. This is a much more reasonable approach than passing laws which dictate method of compliance which is suggested in HR 11941.

You may rest assured that our institutions are firmly committed to the maintenance of the rights of every student to free inquiry, study, and expression in the academic community. Laws which preserve these freedoms are most welcome.

The Federal Government, too, has started constructive action to coordinate college efforts to deal with dissent. The Office of Education has been involved in informal conversations with college administrators, members of college faculties, and college trustees. An informal conference between leading representatives of the higher education community and the Office of Education was held on July 12.

It is my understanding that this conference resulted in the recognition that the Office of Education can assume great leadership as the advocate of change and relevance in higher education. The Office of Education can and must play an important role as a national spokesman, a coordinator and the interested, but neutral third party.

As a result of the conference, the Office of Education has under consideration at the present time the possibility of a National Conference on Higher Education.

Mr. Speaker, I strongly support this role for the Federal Government not as an all-knowing overseer and/or as a national policeman but as a coordinating and encouraging force to bring about orderly change in the campus community. The Nixon administration has pledged its support of such a Federal role and I hope that the Congress today will not override that Federal commitment.

MSGR. JOHN A. CASS

HON. ALLARD K. LOWENSTEIN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 29, 1969

Mr. LOWENSTEIN. Mr. Speaker, I want to pay tribute to a good and honorable man, Msgr. John A. Cass, who died recently in the city of Long Beach, N.Y., at the age of 79, still young in outlook

and vigorous in spirit, working until the end for the well-being of the people of his parish, his community, and the Nation.

Monsignor Cass was the founder of St. Ignatius Martyr Church in Long Beach and its pastor for almost half a century, emerging during that time as the leading citizen of the town and as one of the few men genuinely beloved by all its sections and factions. He did everything anyone could do to tend to those in need, spiritual or material, and managed somehow to remain a simple, unpretentious, cheerful man despite all the burdens of the years and of his own increasingly fragile health. He knew no bounds of race or caste, and took the world as it came, making it a better place for those whose lives he touched.

Monsignor Cass was for 55 years a priest of the poor and the unfortunate, a priest for the lonely and for those without hope. He was often ahead of his time in his dreams and ideas, as he was always a vital part of it in his works. He will be deeply missed by all who came in contact with him, and by large numbers of people as well who never knew him but who sensed and benefited from his presence and his leadership in troubled times. He brought great credit to his church, his profession, and his hometown, and we are grateful for the privilege of having passed his way.

I include in the RECORD at this point the memorial address delivered by Monsignor Cass' successor, Msgr. Edgar P. McCarren, and a remarkable and elegant prayer for unity and justice offered recently by Monsignor McCarren. It is good to know, as we struggle to make do without Monsignor Cass, that his successor is a man of similar spirit and energy, and of equal commitment to help all who are in need. The material follows:

RT. REV. MSGR. JOHN A. CASS

For most of his life—fifty-five years as a priest—Monsignor John A. Cass, founder of St. Ignatius parish, Long Beach, and pastor for forty-one years, began each morning at Mass. He prayed, in the words of the sacred psalmist, to the God who gave joy to his youth. And he died a young man, although he would have been eighty next November 17. He had young blood and a young mind to the end.

The spirit of the pioneer was in his veins. He delighted in talking about his parents traveling in a covered wagon out west to the prairies of Kansas where he was born and where he began his initiation into the eternal priesthood by baptism into Christ Jesus. All his life he had an open and venturesome mind. His gaze was always toward the future, toward the improvement of the human condition.

In many and varied ways he was a man far ahead of his time. He was interested a generation ago—long before anyone dreamed of Vatican Council II—in the ecumenical dialogue among Christians, and between Christians and Jews. In the prime of his life he was already passionately committed to social reform and the activation of Christian social principles.

In the last decade of his life he was the man with the vision to see the need and to create (with the help of Cardinal Cushing) the Pope John XXIII Seminary for older men to study for the priesthood.

One who knew Monsignor Cass as a young priest has said that he could excel at almost anything to which he put his mind. He was

an unusually talented man, specially gifted by God. His shy and quiet manner could be very deceptive.

He walked with the easy natural grace which betrayed the born athlete he was. His reflexes were faster than men twenty-five years younger (by their own testimony). His intense competitive spirit was revealed in his abiding interest in sporting events of all kinds: football, baseball, prize-fighting, horse-racing, basketball, hockey—you name it. His loyalty to his favorite teams was undying.

In his own activities he made everything look easy and effortless. In his youth he was a fine second baseman and later a crack shot with a rifle. Still later he was to become a budding architect, an author of many writings, a musician, and a musical composer.

All of these accomplishments of his were a reflection of his deep appreciation of human achievement in all its many and varied facets. A long forward pass, a fast double-play, a knock-out punch: these and other physical attainments fascinated him along with an admiration for the great masters of spiritual effort in art, music, and literature.

He had impeccable taste and his response to beauty in any form was immediate.

Everything human interested him. This accounts for his love of place. He loved not only Long Beach and New York, but the great historic cities of Paris and Rome. He had a real feeling for the history of a place and the people down through the ages who had made the place what it was.

In a word, he loved life—he loved people in all their variety—people of all colors and all creeds—people of East and of West—people old and young. This man who was so loved (with good reason) by the poor, was never ill-at-ease with the rich and powerful. The innate courtesy of the country boy from the Kansas cornfields had grown into a man of urbanity, poise, charm and sophistication. But he never lost the common touch.

He was humane to his finger tips. He not only looked distinguished; he *was* distinguished.

But the real man was much more. He was a genuine intellectual. He loved good books and he reveled in the world of ideas. He was as interested in ideas as he was in people—which is saying a great deal. He enjoyed nothing more than stimulating and lively conversation about the great issues of the day—political, economic, social, philosophical and theological. He had an alert and enquiring mind to the very end of an advanced age. He was always a great listener. He was a scholar in the most authentic sense.

The moral character of Monsignor Cass was shaped (in the providence of the God he loved so much) by unusual suffering. For most of his life he battled frail health. As a young priest he was disabled for four years by a serious lung ailment. His great fear at this time was that he would not be able to return to active duty as a priest. Perhaps at this time he developed the patience and outer serenity so characteristic of him.

His priesthood was threatened by an even worse kind of suffering. He was viciously accused before ecclesiastical authorities with lie and calumny. These very serious charges had a superficial plausibility. His accuser was one of that strange and dangerous breed of trouble-maker who specializes in the half-truth—who would never think of telling an outright lie—who loses all reverence for truth as he spreads half-lies everywhere he goes.

This kind of suffering was worse for John Cass than physical illness—to have his reputation as a priest placed in jeopardy. But this priest of God, ever young, never quitting, never giving up, survived a deadly sickness, overcame calumny, and struggled on to serve the people of God for more than half a century.

This was a man of faith, of prayer, of hope, of Christian optimism. It was no accident that his great heart always went out so swiftly and so compassionately to anyone who had a problem. Suffering was more than a word for him—it was a way of life.

He was proud of the beautiful buildings of the parish plant, but he once said that for every brick there was a tear. His own tears and the tears of his people.

Monsignor Cass was, above all, a priest of God. It was his whole life. He loved the priesthood. This man of faith, who spent so many hours of prayer before the Blessed Sacrament, loved both God and man who was made in God's image. After fifty years of service, he insisted that from a human point of view the life of the parish priest was the perfect life.

When he was almost eighty years of age he still delighted in bringing God to men and men to God: in hearing confessions and counseling the weak, going on sick calls, distributing Holy Communion on Sunday at one Mass after another, preaching and teaching his favorite themes of the mercy and love of God. Christ was his light and his life.

His love of the poor and the disadvantaged has become a legend. The alcoholic, the narcotic, the broken in spirit sought him out with a sure instinct. He was an easy mark for a touch. It was not that anyone fooled him. He was too intelligent for that. It was just the conviction by his Christian faith that Christ was present especially in the poor and unfortunate. Before anyone ever heard of the Poverty Program, he had a program of his own thirty years ago.

Only God knows how many lives he helped to rebuild by his compassion, his charity, his generosity, his forgiveness of human weakness.

Good priests come in all shapes, all kinds, all temperaments. This man had the heart of a great priest. He was a complex and many-sided man. Widely admired, he was rarely fully understood and certainly never fully appreciated.

He appeared to most to be a gentle, kindly man (and he was that) but he had more than a heart of feeling. He had a heart of great courage. He could be tough as well as tender. He could be very angry when there was good reason.

He was a man of passionate convictions. Behind the soft-spoken voice was a strong will and steel in his backbone. He had the incredible endurance of a man of the frontier. His erect carriage almost to the end proclaimed that here was a man!

With it all, the twinkle in his bright blue eyes was a signal to those with discernment of his ever-present sense of humor and hinted at the flexibility of a man who never took himself too seriously.

The inner turmoil and tension of this man who lived life to the full was disciplined by an outer serenity, a self-control won at great cost. Because of his presence, a sense of peace pervaded the rectory like a sweet and pleasant odor. He was a strong support to countless priests who, like all humans, are often in need of help.

Hospitality was his middle name. He loved the priesthood of Jesus Christ and he loved priests. When he died—typically—he left everything he possessed to the Church and the missions.

His retirement from the active ministry was a great cross which he accepted with faith and obedience to the voice of the Church in Vatican Council II.

This was a real man, a good Christian, and a great priest—truly another Christ. St. Ignatius parish was privileged to have him as its shepherd and pastor for two generations. He served this parish more by what he was than by what he did, and he did much.

Priests come and priests go—the priesthood of Christ is eternal—but the people of

Long Beach should never forget John Cass. If he could speak now he would beg for continuing prayers. He cared so much for us; we should care that much for him.

Once again ahead of his time, he wrote a book in 1950, "The Quest of Certainty," in which he said, prophetically, that loss of the certainties of life had "made men of today restless, unhappy and even desperate."

It was his conviction that the basic truths are attainable. He hoped that his argument for his position would encourage others to "recognize that where they see shadows there is also substance; where it is cold, there is warmth; and in spite of the apparent darkness, there is light."

#### A PRAYER FOR UNITY AND JUSTICE

God of Abraham, of Isaac, and of Jacob.  
God of black, of white, of red, of yellow, and of brown.

Unknown God of those who honor the human ideal.

God of us all.

God of Infinite Intelligence and Love without limit in whose image of intelligence and love we are all made.

God who fashioned the mystery deep in the heart of things.

God who designed each of us in beauty with tender and loving care each of us unique—set apart; isolated; alone in a crowd—unique.

God who shaped us, each in our basically incommunicable person yet members of the one family of man.

God who made all of us with an eternal destiny; a destiny of intimate love with you; a destiny which begins its journey, step by step, as we learn to love one another.

O God, pity and help us all.

Help us to remember always: That our similarities are far greater than our differences; that man is one, even though religions and cultures and civilizations may be many; that diversity is opposed to uniformity, not to unity.

Help us to remember always: That it may be more cruel to deny a man freedom than to deny him bread; that the first freedom is freedom of worship—or non-worship—in the Sudan and Biafra as well as in Israel and northern Ireland, on the sidewalks of New York as well as in the valleys of eastern Europe.

Help us to remember always: That the right to human life is even more sacred than the right to the better life; that reverence for human life must extend to all human life no matter how old, or how young, no matter how maimed or how handicapped; that genocide begins with discrimination, grows into persecution, and explodes into extermination.

Help us to remember always: That most of our pains and most of our joys come from one another; that the root of war is simple hostility between individuals and small groups; that violence (real or metaphorical) is the mark of Cain; that a knife point (real or metaphorical) pressed against the skin—no matter what its color—causes red blood to flow from the wound just like our own.

Help us to remember always: That peace cannot be created out of nothing by mere words; that the enemy of man is not war, but injustice (the cause of war); that there is no peace without justice; that one hungry man is one too many.

Help us to remember always: To keep trying; life is not television, in which every human problem is solved in one hour; to keep being patient, but not too patient; to keep reaching out to one another; to keep clasping our hands not only in prayer but in the friendship of our common humanity; to keep loving justice and hating evil.

For to love justice is to love you, O God. Amen.

#### RADIATION STUDY FINDINGS

### HON. ROBERT W. KASTENMEIER

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 29, 1969

Mr. KASTENMEIER. Mr. Speaker, full-page advertisements in the New York Times and Washington Post today have called the public's attention to the publication soon of some rather startling findings by Dr. Ernest Sternglass. While limited attention has been given Dr. Sternglass' earlier revelations on the correlation of infant mortality with nuclear testing, this latest extension of his thesis to ABM defense is particularly cogent now and deserving of the most serious consideration. Briefly stated, Dr. Sternglass believes that given the relatively low level of radiation necessary to cause genetic and fetal damage, any future "successful" use of an anti-ballistic missile system against incoming warheads could threaten the very existence of the entire next generation of children.

Mr. Speaker, while I am not a scientist, I appreciate the compelling logic of the conclusions reached by Dr. Sternglass on the basis of his data—particularly the charts in the April Bulletin of Atomic Scientists—clearly showing the relationship between infant mortality and nuclear testing in the atmosphere. I am afraid that I find rebuttals of the Sternglass thesis by Government scientists unassuring and unscientific. The gist of their rebuttal is that Dr. Sternglass is unduly alarming the public—and very well he might.

I believe that Dr. Sternglass' findings can be dismissed out of hand only at our peril. Certainly, Atomic Energy Commission spokesmen cannot claim to be disinterested parties in judging the validity of his allegations, given their direct involvement in nuclear testing.

I believe that each one of us owes it to ourselves, our loved ones, the American people, and to all of mankind to see to it that this subject is most thoroughly and honestly investigated, and that a full report is presented to the Congress and the American people.

Mr. Speaker, what we are dealing with here is not merely the expenditure of billions of dollars for an ABM system, or which strategy to assume in arms control negotiations, but the very existence of human life on this planet. I, for one, am not satisfied with the very general statements by administration officials to date, and think that it is incumbent that Dr. Sternglass' thesis be painstakingly examined by our Government.

I include Dr. Sternglass' letter to me on this subject, and the New York Times July 28 account of the Government scientists' rebuttals in the RECORD:

SCHOOL OF MEDICINE,  
UNIVERSITY OF PITTSBURGH,  
Pittsburgh, Pa., July 11, 1969.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN KASTENMEIER: The current argument for an ABM system is that it is required to prevent the destruction of our deterrent forces by a massive first-strike of Russian SS-9 missiles carrying thousands of multiple warheads.



However, in view of new evidence on the totally unexpected action of Strontium-90 on the human reproductive cells, the threat of such an attack loses all credibility since the vast amounts of long-lived Strontium-90 necessarily released into the rapidly circulating world's atmosphere would lead to the death of all Russian infants born in the next generation, thus ending the existence of the Russian people together with that of all mankind.

The unanticipated genetic effect of Strontium-90, presented at the June meeting of the Health Physics Society, follows both from an increase of infant mortality along the path of the fallout cloud from the first atomic test in New Mexico in 1945, and from a detailed correspondence of state-by-state infant mortality excesses with yearly changes of Strontium-90 levels in the milk.

The computer-calculated infant mortality was found to have reached close to 1 excess deaths in the U.S. per 100 live births due to the release of only 200 megatons of fission energy by 1965. This indicates that a release of some 20,000 megatons anywhere in the world, needed in offensive warheads for an effective first strike or in the thousands of defensive ABM warheads required to insure interception, would lead to essentially no infants surviving to produce another generation.

This conclusion would not be significantly altered by the development of "cleaner" hydrogen bombs, since even the cleanest weapons detonated so far still produce more than one-third as much Strontium-90 per megaton as the early hydrogen weapons, aside from the genetically damaging long-lived Carbon-14 generated even by an ideally pure hydrogen bomb containing no fission trigger at all.

Since ABM systems, whether effective or not, force an escalation of the total number of warheads, their net effect would be to seal the biological doom of mankind that much more firmly if the resulting unstabilized deterrence should ever fail.

ERNEST J. STERNGLASS,  
Director of Radiation Physics, Professor of Radiology.

#### PHYSICIST'S THEORY THAT FALLOUT KILLED MANY BABIES IS DISPUTED

WASHINGTON.—A University of Pittsburgh radiation physicist suggests that radioactive fallout from nuclear tests may have caused the death of more than 400,000 babies in the United States since 1950. Government scientists vigorously challenge his theory.

One Atomic Energy Commission scientist described the stated theory of Dr. Ernest J. Sternglass as "potentially dangerous and unnecessarily frightening to the public."

Dr. Sternglass says he has acquired "totally unexpected" statistical evidence suggesting a serious potential genetic hazard from fallout that he says has hitherto been unrecognized. The evidence, he says, is backed by animal research in Sweden.

Dr. Sternglass, who has been challenged in the past on other concepts regarding fallout, suggests in his latest one that the alleged genetic hazard persists even though atmospheric tests by most nuclear powers have ceased since 1963.

He further suggests that there is a potential genetic hazard from underground nuclear blasts designed for peaceful purposes, such as carving out canals.

He expressed such views in a recent article in *The Bulletin of Atomic Scientists*, in remarks attributed to him in an article in *The London Observer* newspaper, in a seminar arranged by some Congressmen on Capitol Hill last week, and in an appearance on the National Broadcasting Company "Today" show on Thursday.

His theory includes the following points:  
Genetic damage has been caused to many

parents by fallout radiation, and this has been responsible for a leveling off, since around 1950, in the previously sharply declining infant mortality rate in the United States.

One per cent more baby deaths, both in the infant and fetal stage, than otherwise would have been expected have occurred in the United States alone as a result of fallout from "200 megatons of testing" of nuclear weapons by the United States and other nations since the initial American test in New Mexico in 1945. A megaton is the equivalent of one million tons of TNT.

Evidence, in recent years, of increased numbers of prematurely born babies in the United States is linked with fallout.

The Government scientists—who challenged his theory in separate interviews—were: Dr. William Bibb of the Atomic Energy Commission's Division of Biology and Medicine; Dr. Arthur Wolfe of the Health, Education and Welfare Department's Consumer Protection and Environmental Health Service, and Dr. Frank Falkner of the Public Health Service's National Institute of Child Health and Human Development.

Representative Chet Hollifield, Democrat of California, chairman of the Joint Senate-House Atomic Committee, said that Dr. Sternglass' theories had already "been sharply criticized by a number of knowledgeable people who say his conclusions are based on mistaken use of data."

#### NO SUPPORT FOUND

Dr. Bibb said:

"The A.E.C. for many years has supported long-term, intensive studies of fallout, including measurements of actual fallout rates, and of low-level radiation effects. The results of these studies, and those of others not connected with the A.E.C. simply do not support Dr. Sternglass' thesis. Dr. Sternglass has based his theory on what we consider to be incomplete and inaccurate data.

"We are convinced that such statements as Dr. Sternglass' are potentially dangerous and unnecessarily frightening to the public and should not be allowed to stand unchallenged."

Dr. Falkner said there was evidence suggesting that in recent years, the birth rate of premature babies had increased in the United States and conceivably in other countries. He said that "increased effects of poverty" appeared to be a more likely explanation than the Sternglass theory.

Dr. Wolfe said:

"While Dr. Sternglass may have statistical correlations between fallout rates and infant mortality rates, scientific evidence does not support his conclusions.

"The Swedish studies with mice to which he refers in support of his theory involved radiation doses several orders of magnitude higher than those possible from fallout."

#### BISHOP ZIELINSKI OF BUFFALO IS FIRST AMERICAN-BORN BISHOP TO HEAD POLISH NATIONAL CHURCH

HON. THADDEUS J. DULSKI

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 29, 1969

Mr. DULSKI. Mr. Speaker, the Right Reverend Thaddeus F. Zielinski, D.D., bishop of the Buffalo-Pittsburgh Diocese of the Polish National Catholic Church is the first American-born bishop to become bishop-primate of the church.

He ascended to the top administrative position in the church upon the death

in Poland on July 15 of the Most Reverend Leon Grochowski, 82, primate of the church.

This is not the first "first" for Bishop Zielinski in his church life. He was the first American to be named a bishop of the church, the first Polish Catholic bishop to ordain priests and deacons for another church, the Episcopal Church, and the first to participate in the consecration of a new cathedral for the Independent Church of the Philippines in that country.

Indeed, this is a well-deserved promotion for Bishop Zielinski and I am certain that he will be a great credit to his church in his new responsibility.

Mr. Speaker, as a part of my remarks I am including an article on his elevation, an article on the bishop's frequent "firsts," and two editorials:

[From the Buffalo (N.Y.) Evening News, July 18, 1969]

#### BISHOP ZIELINSKI TO HEAD POLISH NATIONAL CATHOLICS

Bishop Thaddeus F. Zielinski of the Buffalo-Pittsburgh Diocese of the Polish National Catholic Church will be installed as presiding bishop of the church in America and Canada within the next 90 days.

His succession to the office of prime bishop follows the death in Poland Tuesday of the Most Rev. Leon Grochowski, 82, who suffered a heart attack while preparing for a conference of bishops in Warsaw.

Bishop Zielinski had been chosen to succeed Bishop Grochowski at a 1967 synod in Manchester, N.H.

Until his formal installation in St. Stanislaus Cathedral, Scranton, Pa., Bishop Zielinski will be the administrator of the Polish National Catholic Church and remain in Buffalo at Holy Mother of the Rosary Cathedral.

#### ORDAINED IN 1927

As primate of the church he will administer a religious jurisdiction comprising 172 parishes in the U.S. and 18 in Canada. There are three dioceses in Poland: Warsaw, Cracow and Wroclaw.

The church was established there after World War I by missionaries from the church in America. The church in Poland has been autonomous since after World War II.

Bishop Zielinski, 65, is a native of Wilkes-Barre, Pa., was ordained to the priesthood in November of 1927 after graduating from Savanrola Seminary in Scranton. He came here from Dickson City, Pa., as administrator of the Cathedral, was elected bishop in August of 1954 and consecrated in Buffalo the following September.

His present diocese includes 32 churches, extending from Rochester to Pittsburgh. Four are in western New York: The Cathedral, All Saints in Grant St.; Holy Trinity, Lackawanna and St. Michael's, Niagara Falls.

#### TO CALL COUNCIL MEETING

The elevation of Bishop Zielinski will give him the title of most reverend; he has had the title of right reverend.

The funeral for Bishop Grochowski will be in Scranton, Pa., central diocese of the church and the place where it was founded in 1897. However, a date cannot be set because of problems concerning the return of the body from Poland.

Bishop Zielinski said he will call a meeting of the church's Supreme Council in Scranton after the funeral. This session will concern itself with succession and other administrative subjects.

The Polish National Catholic Church separated from the Roman Catholic Church in 1897 as the result of a dispute over church administration.

[From the Buffalo (N.Y.) Courier-Express, July 19, 1969]

**"FIRSTS" FREQUENT FOR BISHOP**  
(By Camille Curro)

The Rt. Rev. Thaddeus F. Zielinski, the new bishop primate of the Polish National Catholic Church who is "looking forward to service as the head of the church with great anticipation," has a history of "firsts" in his life.

The Buffalo-Pittsburgh Diocese bishop, who became the church's administrative head upon the death Thursday of the Most Rev. Leon Grochowski, the former primate, is the first American-born bishop to achieve the position.

He was also the first American to be named a bishop of the church, the first Polish Catholic bishop to ordain priests and deacons for another church, the Episcopal Church, and the first to participate in the consecration of a new cathedral for the Independent Church of the Philippines in that country.

Striving to give "youth a place to speak their own minds," he initiated a three-day youth convocation in 1964. Held annually since then, the convocations give young people an opportunity to study church matters and make known their own thoughts on church problems.

Instrumental in introducing the use of the English language in all aspects of church life, Bishop Zielinski in 1961 celebrated the first Mass in England in his church, Holy Mother of the Rosary Cathedral, 108 Sobieski St.

He translated and published the first English catechism, prayerbook and ritual books and introduced the first translations of church hymns from Polish to English.

On Aug. 3, he expects to present still another first for his church, the administration of Holy Communion in both forms of bread and wine.

"The method of intinction, dipping the bread into consecrated wine, will be practiced for the first time," he said. "This is very important to me and to our church."

This breaking of church tradition so prevalent in his life is paralleled by the institution of the Polish Catholic Church itself, he believes.

"Ours is the only church I know of which originated in the United States and was carried back to the homeland in Poland," he said. "In most cases, it has happened the other way around."

The bishop predicted no great changes in the church's future under his administration, though he expressed a wish to strengthen ecumenical ties with other churches, notably the Old Catholic Church of Europe, the Independent Church of the Philippines and the Orthodox and Episcopal Churches of the U.S.

The elevation, he said, "Took me completely by surprise." Though he had been elected to succeed Bishop Grochowski at the 12th General Synod of the church in 1967, he said:

"I never thought I would fill the post by the next synod in 1971. Bishop Grochowski was on in years, but his health and vigor were good. His death was a complete shock."

In succession procedures instituted in 1949, general synods are held every four years. At this time, a successor to the primate may be elected or reelected. Bishop Zielinski was elected at the last synod, but, he said, another bishop might be chosen in the next synod.

"Bishop primate is not a life-time position," he said. "It is discussed at each synod."

Bishop Zielinski described his predecessor as a man "known for his great religious stability and devotion. He devoted his whole life to the church in America and in Poland. We all feel his loss."

**BISHOP ZIELINSKI TO BE HEAD OF POLISH CHURCH**

The entire Western New York community joins in the prayers and expressions of best wishes extended to the Rt. Rev. Thaddeus F. Zielinski, bishop of the Buffalo-Pittsburgh Diocese of the Polish National Catholic Church, who became administrative head of the church Thursday upon the death of the Most Rev. Leon Grochowski in Poland.

The consecration of Bishop Zielinski as primate of the Polish National Catholic Church in America will take place in Scranton, Pa., within the next few months and it will be a singular honor for the only American-born bishop the church as ever had.

We extend to members of the church our sincere condolences on the passing of Bishop Grochowski as well as our sense of pride in the succession of Bishop Zielinski whose deep sensitivity to the human condition was expressed in a 1968 Eastertime message which said in part that "each human being is infinitely precious in the sight of God, created not for just a time but for eternity."

[From the Buffalo (N.Y.) Am-Pol Eagle, July 24, 1969]

**BISHOP ZIELINSKI RICHLY DESERVING OF ELEVATION**

A lifetime of service devoted to God and to the community was justly rewarded with last week's elevation of the Rt. Rev. Thaddeus F. Zielinski to the position of Bishop primate of the Polish National Catholic Church.

Those who have known Bishop Zielinski since his coming to Buffalo in 1953, have been amazed by the seemingly tireless efforts of the Bishop. Even under the pressures of a very demanding schedule, Bishop Zielinski has always managed to find time to lend his support to a worthwhile cause or project whenever and wherever it is sought. One example of this is his fine efforts as a member of the Broadway-Fillmore Community Corporation, a group of religious and civic leaders working towards revitalization of the upper East side area.

Being named the first American-born Bishop primate of the Polish National Catholic Church marked the second time that Bishop Zielinski has been a pioneer in his church. He was also the first American to be named a bishop in the church when he became the head of the Buffalo-Pittsburgh Diocese sixteen years ago.

We would like to congratulate Bishop Zielinski on his well-deserved elevation. May God be with him in all his future endeavors. Our only regret is that Bishop Zielinski will be leaving Buffalo as a result of his elevation. He will be sorely missed.

**CAPTIVE NATIONS WEEK, 1969**

**HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI**

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 29, 1969

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, as in previous years, Radio Moscow let it be known to the world that the Russian regime and its associated totalitarian members view the annual Captive Nations Week observance with disdain and displeasure, especially since they seek "normalized and harmonious relations" with the United States and the West. In continuous news broadcasts on July 17 and 18, this mouthpiece of the Kremlin portrayed the 1969 observance as "a dinosaur lurking in the cities of the United States" and its "anti-Communist supporters seeking to impede better rela-

tions between the U.S.S.R. and the United States of America." They went on to show how the peaceful spirit of Mr. Andrei Gromyko's address before the Supreme Soviet contrasted sharply with the anti-Communist tone of Captive Nations Week and how our mutual interests as already reflected in "our being wartime allies" and in "the Sputnik leading the way for the Apollo today" emphasize "the dinosaur character of these Captive Nations Week observances."

Now, plainly, all of this and more demonstrates how deep a thorn the Captive Nations Week resolution is in the side of Moscow's policy of Soviet Russian imperio-colonialism and eventual world domination. One of the prime requisites of this policy is the attainment of our acquiescence to the territorial integrity of the Red empire. For well over a decade, Moscow has been endeavoring to realize this objective as an expression of "better relations between the U.S.S.R. and the United States of America." If this were realized, it would mean a tragic loss to us of natural allies from the Danube to the Pacific and over to the Caribbean, and a formidable and much-needed base of security for Moscow and its global plans. As Moscow so well knows, the Captive Nations Week observance annually crystallizes our opposition to its imperio-colonialist rule and influence over all the captive nations, particularly those in the U.S.S.R. itself, and thus serves as a monumental reminder that our people will never acquiesce to the permanent captivity of close to a billion human souls.

From all reports, the 10th anniversary of the Captive Nations Week resolution was a necessary success. As further indications of this success, supplementing those I gave in my address on July 16, are the following:

First. Proclamations by Gov. Nelson A. Rockefeller, of New York; Gov. Edgar D. Whitcomb, of Indiana; Gov. John J. McKeithen, of Louisiana; Mayor John V. Lindsay, of New York; and Mayor Bruno E. Giordano, of Stamford, Conn.

Second. An address by the Honorable John A. Volpe at the 10th anniversary captive nations banquet in Washington, D.C.

Third. Commentaries on Captive Nations Week in the July 18 issue of Korea's Freedom Center News; an article in the July 20 Washington Post on "Captive Nations"; and a resolution passed by the Chicago Captive Nations Committee.

Fourth. An address by Dr. Ku Cheng-kang at the Phoenix Captive Nations rally, along with his biography.

Fifth. A message by President Chiang Kai-shek on the week in the Free China Weekly of July 13, 1969, and messages from Senator Jacob K. Javits and Representative Frank Horton to the 10th anniversary banquet in Washington.

Sixth. A typical program presented by the Captive Nations Week Committee of New York, a brief address delivered by Dr. Austin J. App at the Philadelphia observance, and a commentary on the week in the July 12 issue of the Vietnam Newsletter.

Seventh. The program of the Arizona Captive Nations Week Committee and



characteristic press coverage by the Arizona press.

The above-mentioned material follows:

#### PROCLAMATION, STATE OF NEW YORK

Our commitment and our basic belief as a nation is that all societies should be able to choose the political systems under which they live.

America has provided a haven for the oppressed, and we have benefited from their coming here.

We in New York State are deeply in sympathy with and support the just aspirations for freedom and independence of captive people everywhere.

Now, therefore, I, Nelson A. Rockefeller, Governor of the State of New York, do hereby proclaim July 13-19, 1969, as Captive Nations Week in New York State.

By the Governor:

NELSON A. ROCKEFELLER.

Attest:

ALTON G. MARSHALL,  
Secretary to the Governor.

#### PROCLAMATION, STATE OF INDIANA

For Captive Nations Week, July 16th to July 22nd, 1969, to all to whom these presents may come, greeting:

Whereas, the imperialistic policies of Russian Communists have led, through direct and indirect aggression, to the subjugation and enslavement of the peoples of Poland, Hungary, Lithuania, Ukraine, Czechoslovakia, Latvia, White Ruthenia, Estonia, Rumania, East Germany, Bulgaria, Mainland China, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Georgia, North Korea, Albania, Idel-Ural, Serbia, Croatia, Slovenia, Tibet, Cossackia, Turkistan, North Vietnam, Cuba, and others; and

Whereas, the desire for liberty and independence by the overwhelming majority of peoples in these conquered nations constitutes a powerful deterrent to any ambitions of Communist leaders to initiate a major war; and

Whereas, the freedom-loving peoples of the captive nations look to the United States as the citadel of human freedom and to the people of the United States as leaders in bringing about their freedom and independence; and

Whereas, the Congress of the United States by unanimous vote passed Public Law 86-90 establishing the third week in July each year as Captive Nations Week and inviting the people of the United States to observe such week with appropriate prayers, ceremonies and activities; expressing their sympathy with and support for the just aspirations of captive peoples for freedom and independence;

Now, therefore, I, Edgar D. Whitcomb, Governor of the State of Indiana, do hereby proclaim that the week of July 16th to July 22nd, 1969, be designated Captive Nations Week in Indiana.

By the Governor:

EDGAR D. WHITCOMB,  
Governor of Indiana.

Attest:

WILLIAM N. SALIN,  
Secretary of State.

#### STATE OF LOUISIANA PROCLAMATION

Whereas, the imperialistic policies of Russian Communists have led, through direct and indirect aggression, to the subjugation and enslavement of the peoples of Poland, Hungary, Lithuania, Ukraine, Czechoslovakia, Latvia, Estonia, White Ruthenia, Rumania, East Germany, Bulgaria, Mainland China, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Georgia, North Korea, Albania, Idel-Ural, Serbia, Croatia, Slovenia, Tibet, Cossackia, Turkistan, North Vietnam, Cuba, and others; and

Whereas, the desire for liberty and independence by the overwhelming majority of peoples in these conquered nations con-

stitutes a powerful deterrent to any ambitions of Communist leaders to initiate a major war; and

Whereas, the freedom-loving peoples of the captive nations look to the United States as the citadel of human freedom and to the people of the United States as leaders in bringing about their freedom and independence; and

Whereas, the Congress of the United States by unanimous vote passed Public Law 86-90 establishing the third week in July each year as Captive Nations Week and inviting the people of the United States to observe such week with appropriate prayers, ceremonies and activities; expressing their sympathy with and support for the just aspirations of captive peoples for freedom and independence;

Now, therefore, I, John J. McKeithen, Governor of the State of Louisiana, do hereby proclaim that the week commencing July 13, 1969, be observed as Captive Nations Week in Louisiana, and call upon the citizens of Louisiana to join with others in observing this week by offering prayers and dedicating their efforts for the peaceful liberation of oppressed and subjugated peoples all over the world.

By the Governor:

JOHN J. McKEITHEN,  
Governor of Louisiana.

Attest:

WADE O. MARTIN, Jr.,  
Secretary of State.

#### PROCLAMATION, CITY OF NEW YORK

The Congress of the United States by unanimous vote passed Public Law 86-90 establishing the 3rd week in July of each year as Captive Nations Week and inviting the people of the United States to observe this week with appropriate prayers, ceremonies and activities expressing their sympathy with and support for the just aspirations of captive peoples for freedom and independence; and

Whereas: The people of Eastern and Central Europe as well as those in other parts of the world are being denied fundamental human rights in pursuing their own destiny; and

Whereas: The desire for liberty and independence by the overwhelming majority of peoples in these conquered nations constitutes a powerful deterrent to tyranny and aggression; and

Whereas: The freedom-loving peoples of the captive nations look to the people of the United States for leadership in attaining their freedom and independence.

Now, therefore, I, John V. Lindsay, mayor of the City of New York, do hereby proclaim the week of July 13-19, 1969, "Captive Nations Week" in New York City, and call upon our citizens to observe this week by offering prayers and dedicating their efforts for the peaceful liberation of oppressed and subjugated peoples all over the world.

By the mayor:

JOHN V. LINDSAY.

#### PROCLAMATION, STAMFORD, CONN.

Whereas, the imperialistic policies of Russian Communists have led, through direct and indirect aggression, to the subjugation and enslavement of the peoples of Poland, Hungary, Lithuania, Ukraine, Czechoslovakia, Latvia, Estonia, White Ruthenia, Rumania, East Germany, Bulgaria, Mainland China, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Georgia, North Korea, Albania, Idel-Ural, Serbia, Croatia, Slovenia, Tibet, Cossackia, Turkistan, North Vietnam, Cuba, and others; and

Whereas, the desire for liberty and independence by the overwhelming majority of peoples in these conquered nations constitutes a powerful deterrent to any ambitions of Communist leaders to initiate a major war; and

Whereas, the freedom-loving peoples of the captive nations look to the United States as the citadel of human freedom and to the people of the United States as leaders in bringing about their freedom and independence; and

Whereas, the Congress of the United States by unanimous vote passed Public Law 86-90 establishing the third week in July each year as Captive Nations Week and inviting the people of the United States to observe such week with appropriate prayers, ceremonies and activities; expressing their sympathy with and support for the just aspirations of captive peoples for freedom and independence;

Now, therefore, I, Bruno E. Giordano Mayor of Stamford, Connecticut, do hereby proclaim that the week commencing July 13, 1969, be observed as Captive Nations Week in Stamford, and call upon the citizens of Stamford to join with others in observing this week by offering prayers and dedicating their efforts for the peaceful liberation of oppressed and subjugated peoples all over the world.

JOHN C. PUSARO,  
Acting Mayor.  
BRUNO E. GIORDANO,  
Mayor.

#### REMARKS BY JOHN A. VOLPE AT THE TENTH ANNIVERSARY CAPTIVE NATIONS BANQUET

Thank you for this award. I am truly grateful. To be honored for civic service is a source of great pride, but to be honored by one's old friends for this service is the greatest tribute a man could receive. I promise each and every one of you here tonight I shall do everything in my power to be worthy of it.

As the son of Italian immigrants, I have long felt a close association with the National Captive Nations Committee and I know well the determined spirit and dedication of all of you people here tonight.

It was ten years ago—just ten years ago tomorrow—July 17 that our late beloved President Dwight Eisenhower signed the original Captive Nations Proclamation here in Washington. At that time President Eisenhower said:

"While I am here, America will never concede that there has been a sound, durable or working peace that could be called global until these Nations have the right to express their own convictions, their own opinions and desires about their own fates; and then as far as the United States was concerned, it would never cease to use every peaceable means—and I have always emphasized that word peaceable—to give them such an opportunity."

And I know too, that President Nixon is equally determined to carry out that pledge. As our then-Vice President, he, too, was active in the cause of the captive peoples. And he was the man, of course, who engaged Premier Khrushchev in that famous "kitchen debate."

As you know, my field is not foreign relations; but I have the greatest respect for President Nixon's ability and the ability of my fellow cabinet members whose responsibility it is to deal with such things. I see these men regularly. I work with them and respect them and I know them as dedicated men.

But the job of Government today is not theirs alone. We individual citizens must also join in. We have a job to do.

Our task is to discover, each in his own way, the way in which we can make this Nation better, and we can do it by starting where we are, with what we have, by joining those who, all over America, unknown and not praised, daily turn their backs willingly on the comforts we all love in order to help others and to become better informed and better neighbors and better citizens.

And above all, we must keep alive within ourselves the American dream—the faith that ours is still the land of opportunity—

that a free man regardless of his race, color or background—can work out his own destiny. I had that faith instilled in me early—very forcefully.

That faith has never left me.

I know of another American who also shares that faith—another man who will be helping us with our task of making freedom work.

I speak of our President.

He too has been faced with the choice of comfort and duty. He too has had to choose between political safety and doing battle for what he knows is right.

He has made the hard choice.

He has chosen to settle for nothing less than a just peace in Vietnam. It would be easy, oh so easy, for him to listen to the arguments which so insidiously equate compassion with political shrewdness; it would be easy for him to say: "Everyone wants peace. Let's use this or that gimmick to get peace."

This man wants a just peace. He knows it would be easier for him to adopt some gimmick in order to appear to have achieved a just peace.

It would have been easier for him to say a few months ago: "We don't need an ABM system. We don't need a defense against missile attack." I am aware, of course, that there are those who conscientiously oppose the deployment of the "safeguard" ABM system. But let me say that on this issue I stand solidly in support of the President. I am convinced that his decision is proper and necessary.

President Nixon knows that there is a difference between doing what you want to do—and doing what you *have* to do.

That, in a sentence, is the essential heart of this Administration. When all the arguments have been given, when the purple rhetoric of the vehement critic fades away, when the attempts to obscure, cajole, and goad have been made by those who either don't know or don't care how hard this man has worked for peace and justice and freedom . . . when all this is over, what remains is the undeniable fact:

President Nixon would rather do what he *has* to do than what he would *like* to do. Duty before popularity. Duty before ease. Duty before the natural, human desire for agreement.

And although the critics do not or will not recognize this, the people do. The polls reflect it, congressional mail reflects it, you hear it everywhere. The people know that this is a man who is going to do what is right, not what is easy.

They know that Richard Nixon is a man who will never settle for ease if ease means rejecting duty.

I hope you will continue to give your support to this Administration as it tries to build bridges of understanding at home and abroad. In peace, we can be certain that the captive nations will one day evolve a better form of life. They will regain their dignity, their independence, their identity.

Truth is an irresistible force against which nothing can prevail in the long run. And that is why I have faith that political freedom and personal choice will come again to the lands between the Baltic and the Adriatic. The captive people have given much to the greatness of man—in the arts, in philosophy, in science—and they will find a way to achieve their political greatness too by undermining the foundations of tyranny.

In time—with patience and planning, persistence, and skillful diplomacy on our part—these men and women of the captive nations will enjoy a new birth of freedom.

Again, let me thank you for the honor you have shown me. I am proud of your medal. It has given me new determination. I am deeply appreciative. God bless you all.

[From the Seoul (Korea) Freedom Center News, July 18, 1969]

#### DISPROPORTIONATE WITHDRAWAL LEAD VIETNAM TO THE LIST OF CAPTIVE NATIONS

The National Captive Nations Committee in Washington, D.C. asserted that shifting schemes of coalition government in Vietnam, the ouster of the Thieu leadership, enclave arrangements, disproportionate pullout and the like would in time add the Republic of Vietnam to the long list of captive nations.

Marking the 10th anniversary of the Captive Nations Week Resolution which U.S. Congress passed in July, 1959 and late President Eisenhower signed, Dr. Lev E. Dobriansky, chairman of the National Captive Nations Committee in Washington who is concurrently professor of economics at Georgetown University said Monday that "a real and genuine victory in Vietnam can still be realized if we have the guts not to fear either Moscow or Peking."

The chairman of NCNC also pointed out that the Russian rape of Czechoslovakia has sobered many Americans on the reality of the captive nations. "The long-run importance of the captive nations movement," he observed, "has never been stronger."

A 10th anniversary ceremony was to be held on Wednesday at the University Club in Washington. Prominent senators and congressmen were scheduled to speak. Dr. Ku Cheng-kang, council chairman of the World Anti-Communist League in Seoul, and ten honorables of the U.S. government was to be honored.

[From the Seoul (Korea) Freedom Center News, July 18, 1969]

#### SEOUL CITIZENS OBSERVE CAPTIVE NATIONS WEEK IN A RALLY

A citizens rally, condemning the Communists and pledging to emancipate people under Communist rule, was held Monday at Citizens Hall with about 3,000 citizens attending. The rally, held at the beginning of the third week of July every year under the sponsorship of Korea Chapter of the World Anti-Communist League, adopted a resolution pledging the full-hearted spiritual and material support for people under the Communist yoke.

Culture-Information Minister Shin Bumshik said in a speech read by Vice Minister Yi Chum-song that the Communists are bringing to themselves total collapse with their own self-conflicts and feuds. Participating in the rally were also Eung-joon Lee, chairman of the league's Korea Chapter, Jose Ma. Hernandez, secretary general of the League and Louise Yim, president of Chungang University.

[From the Washington (D.C.) Post, July 20, 1969]

#### CAPTIVE NATIONS: TIMES HAVE CHANGED SINCE CONGRESS PASSED RESOLUTION THAT IRKED KHRUSHCHEV

(By Chalmers M. Roberts)

Ten years ago this coming Thursday, Richard Nixon and Nikita Khrushchev indulged in their famous "kitchen debate" at the American exhibition in Moscow. The two men had gone there from a Kremlin meeting during which Khrushchev had charged the United States with a serious "provocation" in the form of a congressional resolution designating Captive Nations Week.

That resolution, proclaimed by President Eisenhower, asked Americans to pray for liberation of "enslaved peoples" in Eastern Europe.

This past Monday, President Nixon, under the same congressional authorization, again proclaimed Captive Nations Week, which ended yesterday. Mr. Nixon noted in the

proclamation, however, that in the intervening decade "there have been many changes in international affairs."

One was apparent when White House Press Secretary Ronald Ziegler was asked whether Rumania was one of the Captive Nations. He replied that "the proclamation speaks for itself." The proclamation named no nations.

Mr. Nixon, of course, is soon going to Rumania. One of his comments in the proclamation was that one thing that has not changed in the past decade "is the desire for national independence in Eastern Europe," a phrase which fits the Communist regime in Rumania.

But more than Rumania has changed in the decade. The big change, on the Communist side of the world, is the Sino-Soviet split. Compared to that split, Rumania's ability to operate with a degree of independence from Moscow in foreign affairs—though important—is a puny thing indeed.

The Rumanians are engaged in a delicate balancing act, keeping their lines open to both Moscow and Peking. The day after Mr. Nixon flew out of Bucharest, the Rumanian Communist Party Congress is due to open with both Chinese and Soviet observers on hand.

Washington's fascination with the Sino-Soviet split grows as the split gets worse. The Russians have closed the Trans-Siberian railroad to foreigners, which adds credence to reports that Moscow is beefing up its Far East military forces just in case.

There is disbelief here that war, in contrast to past border skirmishes, could really break out between the two Communist giants. Still, officials are beginning to think it is not all that impossible.

As one put it recently, "A year ago I would have ridiculed this and said it was no more than a 2 per cent possibility. Today I would have to say it is about a 10 per cent possibility."

Yet this official and others can see no real gain for either side unless the Soviets engaged in the massive kind of strike necessary to destroy China's nuclear capability. And that, it is felt here, would be counterproductive to the Kremlin's hopes for a post-Mao regime favorable to Moscow; it would rally all dissident elements around Mao and create a lasting hatred of the Russians.

Whether Mr. Nixon or Rumania's Ceausescu will touch on any such delicate issues is doubtful. But that the subjects are on both minds is certain. The official American position, as stated by Secretary of State Rogers, is that the United States does "not intend to exploit any differences that might exist" between Russia and China.

#### RESOLUTION, CHICAGO CAPTIVE NATIONS COMMITTEE

Whereas, the Senate and the House of Representatives have authorized the President of the United States of America to proclaim a Captive Nations Week, and whereas the Russian and Chinese communism continues to build up its vast colonial empire and threatens the peace, security, and independence of the Free World, carrying out subversive conspiracies in Latin America, Africa, and even in our own country, conducting open, aggressive warfare in South Vietnam, neighboring countries of Laos, Cambodia, and Thailand, having made deep inroads into Arab countries, and building up its threatening military power in the area of the Mediterranean;

Now, on the occasion of the 10th anniversary of the Proclamation of Captive Nations Week, we feel a particular urgency and a sacred obligation to speak on behalf of the millions of human beings under the tyranny of the communist colonial empire,

Therefore, be it resolved by the Chicago Captive Nations Week Committee, to urge



the United States to assume the role of leadership by taking a course motivated by the most sacred human obligations; the horrible fact that one-third of mankind is already enslaved by the communist imperialism necessitates a new policy which would encourage the aspirations and movements for self-determination of all enslaved peoples by an expressed and unequivocal commitment of the United States of America to support, by all means possible, such aspirations for national freedom;

Be it further resolved, that in view of the indivisibility of freedom and peace, the restoration of the sacred rights of all the nations based on principles of democracy, self-determination and sovereignty within their respective ethnic boundaries, is of paramount importance to establish freedom, security and stability of the entire world. Consequently this policy is in the best interest of our country for the present and in years to come.

Be it further resolved, that we at this very critical and perhaps fatal moment for the entire free world support unreservedly the United States' resistance to Communist aggression in South Viet-Nam and the building up of forces of freedom in that part of the front of the free world; in this spirit we salute the members of the United States and Allied Armed Forces.

Be it further resolved, that following the anniversary year of the Proclamation of Human Rights and in view of the flagrant violations of these same rights by the Soviet Union through the suppression and occupation of Czechoslovakia during that very year, the United States Ambassador to the United Nations place on the agenda of the United Nations the following demands:

1. the abolishment of slave labor, mass deportations, all concentration camps, and all forms of genocide,
2. to guarantee a free return to their countries all the deported and exiled who survived the communist ordeal,
3. free elections for all enslaved nations under the supervision of the United Nations Organization.

Be it further resolved, that we oppose the admission of the Chinese Communist regime to the United Nations Organization;

Be it further resolved, that we oppose "One-way Bridges" and the opening of a Russian Consulate in Chicago;

Be it further resolved, that since every nation has the right for self-determination this right belongs also to the Biafrans; in the name of humanity we most urgently appeal to the United States government to help the suffering and starving human beings being murdered in masses by the Nigerian aggressors, armed by the Russian barbarians and the British labor government,

Be it further resolved, that special efforts must be made by the United States towards an awakening and strengthening of all moral forces particularly at a time when we are warned by the burning martyrs in the interest of freedom; it is frightening that at this time we are faced by an unparalleled loss of ethical concern and incredible callousness towards the enslaved, abandoned to their ordeal.

Be it further resolved, that the United States government stop building up the communist empire, particularly the Soviet military power by selling it important military equipment.

Be it further resolved, that the United States government stop trading with the communist countries because in so doing, it helps them to tighten their grip on the enslaved; whatever is gained at great risk by the desperate, enslaved men and women through sabotaging Soviet economy is completely destroyed through trading.

Be it further resolved, to appeal to the United States authorities to undertake utmost efforts in the interest of the sacred

values in cultural, social, and educational institutions so vital for the preservation of freedom. It is appalling to see how free men let themselves be used in the portrayal of anarchism, nihilism, defeatism, amorality, pacifism, and atheism in the service of the blood-stained Red Empire.

Be it further resolved, that this Committee reiterates its support for the establishment of the permanent Captive Nations Committee (House Resolution 211) and Freedom Academy; there is a desperate need for a forum in which the free world would have confidence; the U.N. has failed to be such a forum to handle the issues of injustice and crimes against humanity; the recent appeal of 54 citizens of the USSR which has been ignored up to this day speaks for itself; the Unesco's decision to commemorate the centenary of Lenin by peddling this criminal as a humanist is an insult to the civilized world community and reveals the real interests of this organization; by the establishment of a trustworthy forum, the United States will prove to the entire world that it will not cease in its efforts until all the Captive Nations are able to enjoy their God-given rights in their sovereign states.

VIKTORS VIKSNINS,  
General Chairman.

Chairman, Resolution Subcommittee.

ULANA CELEWYCH,  
Secretary.  
(And 13 others).

#### ADDRESS BY DR. KU CHENG-KANG AT PHOENIX RALLY

Coming from Asia where people have suffered the most at the hands of the Communists, I am privileged to attend this rally of great significance. I bring to the people of America the respect and admiration of all the peoples of Asia for your fight for the freedom of all mankind.

The "Captive Nations Week" movement has become a moral support to peoples everywhere who are opposed to Communist slavery. America's advocacy of this movement has further engraved in the hearts of peoples throughout the world her long record of fighting for freedom during the past two hundred years as well as her contribution.

The Declaration of Independence and the Constitution of the U.S.A. clearly state that freedom is the inalienable right of all men. The United States has fought in two World Wars in defense of this right for all men. In both the Korean War and the Vietnam War, the United States has, in upholding the spirit of her founding Fathers, stood side by side with Asia's free peoples.

Since, the initiation of the movement in 1959, however, mankind's struggle for freedom is still beset by serious difficulties. The continued existence of the Iron Curtain is in itself a tragedy of mankind, and its expansion constitutes a serious crisis of our time.

The expansion of Communist influence has not only deepened the agonies of the enslaved peoples but is also endangering the Free World's remaining free. From the Hungarian uprisings of 1956 to Czechoslovakia's liberalization movement last year and the relentless anti-Communist uprisings on the China mainland including the major uprisings in Tibet, countless patriots in Asia, in Europe and in Cuba have laid down their lives for the cause of national freedom and independence.

Unless such gallant struggles receive the support of the world's freedom forces, the world may see the extinguishing of the flame of hope in the hearts of the peoples behind the Iron Curtain who may be forced to become tools of the Communists external and armed expansionism. The dangers are evident to anyone, the Iron Curtain must be destroyed at an early date.

The Communist tyranny will not perish by

itself. The present divisions and chaos within the Communist bloc are not accidental. The awakening of the Free World against Communist aggression, the rising of nationalism, the progress made in the democratic countries including the improvement of social well-being have stopped the Communists' external expansion. In the face of progress achieved by the Free World, the people within the Iron Curtain have continued to struggle for freedom, rendering the Communist domestic rule increasingly difficult and causing international Communism to decline. We freedom-loving and democratic peoples must unite and work harder for the early restoration of freedom for all captive peoples and nations.

As a Chinese who has fought Communism for many years, I wish to point out that the most important thing in our fight for freedom is to actively support the peoples behind the Iron Curtain in their struggle against tyranny. Indeed the situation there as the Communist rulers themselves have admitted, is one which has "major contradictions between the government and the people". These contradictions have led to internal power struggles and a split within the Communist bloc.

However, without the onslaught of freedom forces, the Communist regimes relying on brute force and may bring about still greater troubles for the free world. And faced with the imminent threat of internal revolution, the Communist rulers will also resort to every means of suppression. The tragedies of Hungary and Czechoslovakia and the Chinese Communists' so-called "Cultural Revolution" and "Rebellion of the Red Guards" are concrete examples.

Ten years ago while proclaiming the designation of the Captive Nations Week, President Eisenhower said: "I... urge them to study the plight of the Soviet-dominated nations and to recommit themselves to the support of the just aspirations of those captive nations." Today this appeal is still refreshing and forceful. With the sharp split between Soviet Russia and the Chinese Communists and the utter chaos within the Chinese Communists camp, conditions are highly favorable for the liberation of those nations and peoples.

Hence, we must now unite all the forces of freedom to establish an international front against Communism. In the past, expansion of the Communist tyranny was due to the fact that the freedom forces were scattered. Now is the time for the freedom loving nations to join forces against a splintering and disintegrating Communist world.

Since 1959, the "Captive Nations Week" has become an important link in the international movement for freedom and has received the support of the Asian Peoples' Anti-Communist League (APACL). The World Anti-Communist League (WACL) organized two years ago has advanced the call to struggle for the freedom of mankind. From this common basis, we must work for an international front against Communism and urgently-needed regional security systems.

Ladies and gentlemen, the Declaration of Independence is revered throughout the world because of its lofty ideals and moral courage, embodying the spiritual basis and tradition of the United States. However, I must point out that that spirit and tradition are being subjected to the most serious challenge and trials in your history. Certain mistaken views and compromising statements concerning Communist aggression and especially those views urging the United States to disentangle from world affairs and mind her own business have blurred the image of the United States. Such talks have even shaken the world's confidence in the United States as leader of the democratic nations in defending democracy and freedom. The Com-

munist bloc has been encouraged to move in and intensify infiltrations and subversions to cripple the United States from within.

At this decisive moment for the honor of the United States and the destiny of mankind, I wish to reiterate the words of President Nixon in his speech to the graduates of the United States Air Force Academy. He said, "I believe a resurgence of American idealism can bring about a modern miracle—a world order of peace and justice." I believe that the firm stand of the United States in the peace talks with regard to Vietnam and a firm attitude towards the Chinese Communists, the source of evils in Asia, are the premises for establishing this new world order. I wish to remind you that the Chinese Communist regime is at once the most dangerous aggressor and basically most vulnerable. To shatter the Iron Curtain and eliminate the danger of a nuclear war, we must have the courage to support the liberation struggle of the people on the China mainland to seek the realization of this new world order at an early date.

The paths of history are circuitous and uneven. I believe with you, however, that justice and truth never perish. The people behind the Iron Curtain are longing for liberation, and that task is our unavoidable responsibility. Verily we cannot remain free while our brothers are still slaves. Now is the time for us to extend helping hands to the one billion people behind the Iron Curtain.

In China, the phoenix symbolizes good fortune. It is my hope that our meeting will bring to the enslaved peoples good tidings of liberation from their purgatory.

[From the Chinese Information Service]  
KU CHENG-KANG: A BIOGRAPHY

At the sixth council meeting of the Asian Parliamentarians Union in Manila last June, Ku Cheng-kang headed the Chinese delegation in his capacity as a member of the presidium of China's National Assembly.

When the World Anti-Communist League was inaugurated in Taipei in September, 1967, Mr. Ku was unanimously chosen as president by some 200 delegates and observers from seventy countries and territories. He was later elected chairman of the WACL Council, in recognition of his 13 years of hard work as president of the China Chapter of the Asian Peoples' Anti-Communist League. Many who have attended the annual conference of the APACL and the WACL, regard him actually as "Mr. APACL."

Mr. Ku is concurrently director of the Free China Relief Association, which in the past two decades has sent relief packages to millions of Chinese on the mainland and brought over 76,000 mainland refugees to Taiwan for resettlement. Under his direction, the association has provided assistance to over two million mainland escapees stranded in Hong Kong, Macao and elsewhere in the world.

A veteran Kuomintang leader, Mr. Ku was again elected a member of the standing committee of the party's Central Committee at the Tenth National Congress last April.

His friendship with numerous government and civic leaders of Japan made Mr. Ku chairman on the Chinese side of the Committee for the Promotion of Sino-Japanese Cooperation. The Committee meets annually with its Japanese counterpart, and has been instrumental in solving many knotty problems between the two neighbors.

He is also advisor to President Chiang Kai-shek and his views are eagerly sought after in the highest government circles.

At 68, Mr. Ku is perhaps one of the busiest men in free China. Indeed, any one of his many posts is a herculean job requiring the fullest devotion of time and energy of a man much younger in age. That he has held them simultaneously for so long and with such dynamic drive has surprised many of his acquaintances as well as strangers.

The National Assembly, membership of which now stands at 1,435, exercises on behalf of the people the rights of election, recall, initiative and referendum. It elects the president and vice president of the republic, and approves proposed constitutional amendments submitted by the Legislative Yuan by referendum. It is the only organ invested with the power of amending the Constitution and altering national boundaries. According to an interpretation of the Council of Grand Justices, the National Assembly, together with the Legislative Yuan and the Control Yuan, is equivalent to the parliament or congress of Western democracies. Formed in 1946 and convening once every six years, the National Assembly now has an 85-member presidium, committees on credentials, screening of draft resolutions, discipline and others, and a secretariat. Mr. Ku, a member of the Assembly since its inception, was its secretary-general from 1960 to 1966, and is now a member of its presidium. In this capacity, he has headed the Chinese delegation to the Asian Parliamentarians Union meeting for the past five years and is a vice chairman of APU. He is also vice chairman of the National Assembly's Constitutional Research Committee.

As one of the founders of the Asian Peoples' Anti-Communist League, inaugurated in Chinhae, Korea, in 1954, Mr. Ku has been president of the China Chapter of APACL ever since. It is the only going concern of its nature in the world today. He has been so devoted to the anti-Communist cause that it was only natural that when the World Anti-Communist League was established in 1967 Mr. Ku was elected its first president. He is now honorary president of WACL, which has chapters in 58 countries and areas organized under six regional leagues. To its second conference held in Saigon last December, 28 additional countries and areas sent observers. The third WACL conference is scheduled to take place in Bangkok, Thailand, on December 3-7 this year.

Occupying a major portion of Mr. Ku's time is the job of providing relief to Chinese compatriots suffering on the mainland as well as the millions who escaped to free areas. The Free China Relief Association, established in Taipei in 1950, has provided relief to millions of persons. It has helped a total of 76,772 mainland escapees to resettle in Taiwan. In the early fifties, it sponsored 166 airdrop "mercy missions" over the mainland, supplying 4,648 tons of rice, 693,247 food and medicine parcels, and over 240 million leaflets and letters. As of June, 1968, FCRA provided various assistance to 2,139,464 refugees who fled the Chinese mainland and are now living in Hongkong, Macao, Burma, Vietnam, India and other Asian countries. In the case of those brought to free China for resettlement, FCRA has helped them get job training, employment, and medical care. With an annual budget of a scant US \$1 million, FCRA has done its best to solicit contributions from people at home and abroad.

Born in Kweichow, a mountainous province in southwestern China, in 1901, Ku Cheng-kang received his advanced education at the Berlin University. He was appointed a member of the Legislative Yuan in 1933. When the Constituent National Assembly was inaugurated in 1946, he was elected a delegate from Kweichow, and made president of that body which functioned as the predecessor of the present National Assembly.

During the war years, Mr. Ku served as member of the Supreme National Defense Council (1941-1945), Minister of Social Affairs (1940-1949), and Minister of Interior (1950).

Mr. Ku joined the Kuomintang when he was a student in Germany. He was a member of the KMT Central Executive Committee, 1931-1950, and from 1949-1950 was director

of the Political and Party Affairs Department of the party. From 1950-1952, he was a member of the KMT Central Reform Committee. At present he is one of the 21 members of its Standing Committee.

Mr. Ku is married to the former Miss Meishu Wang. They have five daughters and two sons.

[From the Taipei (Taiwan) Free China Weekly, July 13, 1969]

**PRESIDENT CHIANG: FREE WORLD MUST CONCENTRATE ITS STRENGTH TO STRIKE FINAL BLOW AT PEIPING REGIME**

President Chiang Kai-shek said that the free world must concentrate its strength and dispose of the Mao regime, which he describes as the most evil enemy of humankind.

The President warned that the Communists seek to conquer the whole world and all humankind. The free nations should combine in joint operations against them, he added.

He said, "We are confident that in winning anti-Communist hearts on the mainland and joining with formidable anti-Mao forces, we can deal blows from within and without that will sound the death knell of the Mao regime."

President Chiang made the remarks on July 10 in his message to a rally held in Taipei to observe Captive Nations Week.

Vice President and Prime Minister C. K. Yen also addressed the rally and urged "all freedom-loving countries and people of the world to step up their support to enslaved peoples. Let us arm ourselves and clear away the inky appeasement shadows in a global movement of self-purification. The free world can win the ultimate victory in the anti-Communist revolution through steadfast struggle," Yen said.

Yen pointed out, "From Korea to Vietnam, from Asia to Africa, and from the Middle East to Latin America, virtually not a single place has been spared from the violence incited or instigated by the Maoists. The fall of the China mainland to the Communists, therefore, resulted in the erection of the world's biggest Iron Curtain and has posed a prime threat to world peace."

The Vice President went on to say, "Our righteous call has engendered towering anti-Communist tides on the China mainland and has directly or indirectly prompted schisms in the Chinese Communist Party, violent struggle among Red cadres and demoralization in the ranks of the Red forces."

"With the situation becoming increasingly favorable to us, we feel an urgent need to intensify our political march, hasten the collapse of the Peiping regime and thereby eliminate a major source of all the evils in Asia and the world," Yen added.

The rally was presided over by Ku Cheng-kang, chairman of the Captive Nations Committee in China. Some 2,000 people attended.

Ku left Taiwan two days later to attend commemorative activities for Captive Nations Week in the United States.

American Ambassador Walter P. McCaughy and U.S. Congressman Edward J. Derwinski (Rep.-Ill.) came to Taipei on July 8 for the meeting as the representative of the U.S. Captive Nations Committee.

Captive Nations Week started on July 10 and will continue through July 17 with a series of activities, including the launching of balloons from Kinmen (Quemoy) to the China mainland. The balloons carried leaflets calling on the Chinese people to rise against the Mao regime.

Messages poured in from anti-Communist organizations in many parts of the world to the preparatory committee of civic organizations that are marking Captive Nations Week in free China.

Dr. Lev E. Dobriansky, chairman of the U.S. National Captive Nations Committee, said that the observance of Captive Nations



Week by Chinese civic organizations year after year have served as a model and a tremendous source of inspiration to the free as well as the captive peoples.

Jozef Lettrich, chairman of the Assembly of Captive European Nations, said that the "morale of captive brethren is strengthened when they see that such prominent Asian statesmen, as President Chiang Kai-shek of China, find common cause with the spirit of resistance to Communist oppression."

Robert N. Thompson, member of the Canadian parliament, pointed out that "it becomes imperative that we who understand the cruel and harsh taskmaster that dialectic Communism is, hold the torch of freedom high and rededicate and recommit ourselves to the cause of these captive peoples that they too might share in the hope and liberty of true freedom."

Dr. Alfredo Ferlisi, Italian observer at the First Conference of the World Anti-Communist League held in Taipei in 1967, said that he has no doubt that President Chiang's message to the Taipei mass rally will "heighten the indomitable spirit of the Chinese people against all the oppressors and make the enslaved brothers feel that every possible effort will always be made for their liberation."

#### PRESIDENT CHIANG KAI-SHEK'S MESSAGE TO THE TAIPEI RALLY SUPPORTING CAPTIVE NATIONS WEEK, JULY 10, 1969

Since 1959, the United States has been observing the third week of July as Captive Nations Week to support the aspirations of people all over the world for justice and freedom. This movement has elicited a profound response and has had a far-reaching effect throughout the world. Sympathy and support have been aroused for captive peoples, strong anti-Communist tides have been raised behind the Iron Curtain and lethal blows have been dealt against the dark reign of Communist wickedness.

#### MAO AT ROPE'S END

As I have said before, the Chinese Communist regime is the source of all the evil in Asia and must be destroyed before the evil can be eradicated. This means that the free world must concentrate its strength and finally dispose of the Mao regime, the most evil enemy of humankind within the Communist camp, so that the people can be delivered from slavery. In the last few years Mao Tse-tung has carried out a "cultural revolution" in an attempt to seize power, prolong his personal totalitarian rule and destroy the cultural traditions of the Chinese people. Last spring he brought together a nondescript group for the so-called Ninth National Congress. This represents not the end of the "great cultural revolution" but the beginning of another round in the bloody struggle of power-seizure. The evidence of this is clearly to be seen in the mounting anti-Maoism within the Communist Party and the anti-Communism outside the Party. Now at the end of his rope, Mao Tse-tung can be expected to lash out in a last frenetic struggle and to subject our mainland compatriots to more atrocious persecution and pull tighter the bonds of slavery.

#### NATIONAL SALVATION

We have always felt the suffering of our mainland compatriots as though it were inflicted on us. We have never failed to push forward in our task of preparing for early counterattack to deliver them from their crucible of suffering. The anti-Mao struggle that our mainland compatriots have carried out in diverse ways is now a solid, substantial movement of Mao suppression and national salvation. This assures a new opportunity for our counterattack and guarantees final success. We are confident that in winning anti-Communist hearts on the mainland and joining with formidable anti-Mao forces, we can deal blows from within and without that will sound the death knell of the Mao regime.

#### WORLD PEACE

I have often said that we do not need even one soldier from other countries of the free world in our counteroffensive against the traitors on the mainland. What we do require is the free world's moral support. Anti-Communism is the common responsibility of all free people. The Communists will never limit their aggressive ambitions to one country or one region. They seek to conquer the whole world and all humankind. In their counterattack, the free nations should not fight individually and run the risk that the Communists will defeat them one by one. Adopting a consistent strategy, we should combine together for joint operations. World peace, security and freedom are not divisible. The loss of any one of these anywhere in the world will affect the destiny of all of us.

#### TOTAL VICTORY

Because the root cause of Asian turmoil and insecurity lies in the Maoist usurpation of the Chinese Mainland, we must deliver the Chinese people from Maoist slavery and restore their life of freedom and democracy. Only then can we assure the stability of Asia and the world. All the people of this island bastion of the Republic of China, civilians and military alike, have joined hands with the anti-Mao and anti-Communist freedom fighters on the mainland and have sworn to fight to total victory in this sacred struggle. We pray that the people and countries of the free world will understand that man cannot exist half free and half slave. If they do so, they will surely summon their courage in the cause of justice and make the sacrifices required to rescue those who are enslaved and to assure peace with honor and freedom without qualification for all the people of the earth.

WASHINGTON, D.C.

THE NATIONAL CAPTIVE NATIONS COMMITTEE, Washington, D.C.

Regret unable to attend this evening 10th anniversary banquet. I am pleased to pay tribute to the courageous people of the world who live in captive nations. We must help them maintain their hope for freedom and independence despite fears of suppression. The hope for freedom must be kept alive. Please convey my best wishes to all those present.

JACOB K. JAVITS,  
U.S. Senator.

WASHINGTON, D.C.

WALTER PRETKA,  
Rockville, Md.:

Regret am unable to attend 10th anniversary captive nations week banquet. Please extend congratulations to award recipients and convey my greetings to all present.

FRANK HORTON,  
Member of Congress.

#### TENTH ANNIVERSARY OF CAPTIVE NATIONS WEEK—NEW YORK CITY

"It is easier for us to break the bonds of gravity which God has forged than for us to break the chains of cruelty, prejudice and tyranny that bind many people on Earth."

—Very Rev. S. K. Pastukiv

To those who bear these chains under Communist slavery, today's program is solemnly dedicated.

This Captive Nations day begins with a parade along Fifth Avenue to the Central Park Mall.

#### PROGRAM

Religious Services, Rev. Serhiy K. Pastukiv, Chief Celebrant, Administrator of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church in Exile; plus clergymen of other Captive Nations.

U.S. National Anthem, Miss Valke Turi, Soloist, Miss Frederike Tanner, Pianist. Proclamation of Captive Nations Week, Miss Brigita Zajak.

Hon. Matthew J. Troy, Chairman, Captive Nations Committee of New York.

Byelorussian Singers, Mr. A. Machniuk, Soloist, Mrs. R. Kosciuk, Mrs. L. Machniuk, Mrs. H. Petisch; Mrs. L. Scors, Pianist.

Hon. Jaroslav Stetko, Former Prime Minister of Ukraine, and current World President of the Anti-Bolshevik Block of Nations.

Resolution to free the Captive Nations, Mr. Charles Andreanzy.

Ukrainian Dances, Ukrainian-American Youth Assn. Ensemble "Verchovyni" under direction of Mr. O. Genza.

Benediction, Rumanian Orthodox Priest, Rev. O. Rossi.

Master of Ceremonies, Dr. Ivan Docheff, Chairman of AF-ABN, and Vice Chairman of Captive Nations Committee of N.Y.

Following Central Park Rally, a luncheon at Hotel Commodore for advance ticket holders only.

Nations slowly dying under Communist enslavement include:

Albania, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Bulgaria, Byelorussia, China Mainland, Cossackia, Croatia, Cuba, and Czechia.

East Germany, Estonia, Georgia, Hungary, Idel-Ural, Latvia, Lithuania, Mongolia, North Caucasus, and North Korea.

North Vietnam, Poland, Romania, Serbia, Slovakia, Slovenia, Tibet, Turkestan, Ukraine, and Kurile Islands.

EXCERPTS FROM PUBLIC LAW 86-90 ADOPTED BY THE U.S. CONGRESS IN JULY 1959

Whereas the submerged nations look to the United States, as the citadel of human freedoms, for leadership in bringing about their liberation and independence and in restoring to them the enjoyment of their Christian, Jewish, Moslem, Buddhist, or other religious freedom, and of their individual liberties; and

Whereas it is vital to the national security of the United States that the desire for liberty and independence on the part of the peoples of these conquered nations should be steadfastly kept alive; and

Whereas the desire for liberty and independence by the overwhelming majority of the people of these submerged nations constitute a powerful deterrent to war and one of the best hopes for a just and lasting peace; and

Whereas it is fitting that we clearly manifest to such peoples through an appropriate and official means the historic fact that the people of the United States share with them aspirations for the recovery of their freedom and independence: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the President is authorized and requested to issue a Proclamation designating the third week of July, 1959, as "Captive Nations Week" and inviting the people of the United States to observe such week with appropriate ceremonies and activities. The President is further authorized and requested to issue a similar proclamation each year until such time as freedom and independence shall have been achieved for all captive nations of the world.

#### LIBERATING THE CAPTIVE NATIONS: AMERICA'S DUTY AND CHALLENGE

(By Austin J. App, Ph. D., chairman, Captive Nations Committee of Greater Philadelphia)

Greetings: Master of Ceremonies, Mr. Ignatius Billinsky; Guest of Honor and Main Speaker, Dr. Ku-Cheng-kang, chief delegate of the Republic of China to the Asian Parliamentarians Union; Representative of Governor Raymond P. Shafer; Representative of Mayor James H. J. Tate; Members of the Clergy, ladies and gentlemen:

I thank Mr. Billinsky, editor of the Ukrainian Daily *Amerika* and our Executive Vice-Chairman, for his kind introduction.

As chairman of the Greater Philadelphia Captive Nations Committee, I warmly welcome all of you to our eleventh observance on this 10th Anniversary of the Congressional

Resolution of July 17, 1959. This requests the President annually to proclaim the third week of July "Captive Nations Week . . . until such time as freedom and independence shall have been achieved for all the captive nations of the world." By 1959 the Christian West—England, France, Holland, Belgium—had liberated virtually all their Asian and African colonies, so that the twenty-two nations Congress enumerated were ones enslaved by "communist imperialism" and subjugated "since 1918 by the imperialistic policies of Communist Russia . . . through direct and indirect aggression."

Since 1959 the West has continued its policy of liberation, but Soviet Russia has not liberated one single satellite or captive nation. On the contrary, it has subverted new ones like Cuba, and last August 1968 it ruthlessly invaded Czechoslovakia and with tanks and guns crushed the precious tendrils of liberty that had become manifest.

#### GRATEFUL FOR CHINESE SPEAKER AND OFFICIAL PROCLAMATIONS

I am especially glad to welcome our guest of honor from National China, Dr. Ku-Cheng-kang, as our main speaker. His country is divided and Mainland China a Communist slave-state because from 1945 to 1949 traitors or dupes in our State Department forced Chang Kai-shek to form a coalition with the Reds whom they called well-meaning agrarian reformers, as later they designated Fidel Castro of Cuba!

We are grateful to Governor Shafer and Mayor Tate for issuing proclamations for our Observance and sending representatives to read them. Our Committee is happy, most of all, to see such a fine audience, some in native costumes, some with their national banners, all testifying by their presence to their idealism of liberty for the Captive Nations—the Soviet-Zone Germans, Poles, Hungarians, Ukrainians, Czechs, Slovaks, Lithuanians, Estonians, Latvians, Armenians, Rumanians, Cossacks, Byelorussians, Cubans, Bulgarians, and others.

On July 14, President Nixon proclaimed Captive Nations Week, he more than his predecessors experienced the impact of the 1959 Resolutions on the Soviet Russians. Just when it was first passed, he as Eisenhower's vice-president was visiting Moscow. The Kremlin's reaction to the policy of liberation for the Red enslaved nations was violent and significant. Premier Khrushchev denounced it in a high-pitched voice, frequently pounded the table, said the Resolution "stinks" and spelled out what he meant in earthy four-letter words.

(See Lev. E. Dobriansky, *The Vulnerable Russians*, p. 30).

#### CAPTIVE NATIONS OBSERVANCE PINPOINTS SOVIET-RUSSIAN VULNERABILITY

The Resolution's call for the liberation of the Captive Nations so upset the Kremlin because it exposes the powder-keg upon which the Red dictators sit. The USSR is not a union of peaceful federated states, like the United States of America, nor are its satellites willing ones, but a Soviet Russian tyranny, bounded by a Berlin Wall and an Iron Curtain, over some twenty-two conquered peoples, each with its own language and culture, each yearning for independence, and plotting the overthrow of its Red dictators. In all these captive nations, facsimiles of the East Berlin revolt of 1953, of the Hungarian in 1956, of the Czechoslovak in 1968 are forever in the making, waiting for the signal to rise and throw off the Red-Russian yoke.

And the day when enough of them do it in concert, and confident in the moral, diplomatic, and material support of the Free World, the Soviet Russian Empire will collapse, the Captive Nations will be free—and for the U.S. and the world, the threat of the third world war will have been averted. That is why Khrushchev fumed and ranted

at the Captive Nations Resolution in 1959, and Premier Kossygin again during the Glassboro Summit with President Johnson in June, 1967. The Kremlin dictators know that no empire can permanently suppress the righteous aspiration for independence of civilized captive nations—if the informed public world opinion is aroused in their behalf. The worst tyranny does not have enough guns forever to defy mass public opinion on the side of right and freedom!

That is why our Captive Nations Observance is so important.

#### THE HUMANE AND MORAL DUTY TO SUPPORT LIBERATION OF THE CAPTIVE NATIONS

As a pure matter of humanity and justice the United States and the other Free countries must do what they can morally, diplomatically, and materially, to further the independence of the oppressed Captive Nations.

And the United States has an even more compelling obligation. It was American lend-lease and Unconditional Surrenderism, and the shameful Rooseveltian appeasements at Yalta, which very directly delivered most of Eastern Europe into the Soviet-Russian tyranny. Had America in 1945, which was before Russia had the atom bomb, honored the Atlantic Charter, there would be no Iron Curtain down the middle of Christian Europe, and no Berlin Wall. The enslaved nations now have a claim to American support for a reversal of those sell-outs.

But if "Our purpose is not to overturn other governments," as President Johnson assured the Red Puppet regimes on October 7, 1966, then how, for example, can Germany be reunited and Ulbricht's Zone and Gomulka's Poland be liberated? For fifty years Soviet Russia has clamored for the overthrow of all Western colonial governments. How can we honorably or otherwise then also demand the overthrow of the far more tyrannical Red puppet governments of the Soviet-Russian imperialism? We should as a matter of course proclaim our purpose to want all Red puppet regimes replaced by governments freely elected by the people.

#### LIBERATION OF THE CAPTIVE NATIONS AVERTS THREAT OF A THIRD WORLD WAR

To announce to the world this purpose is not to risk the third world war. It is on the contrary the surest, perhaps the only way of reducing the threat of such a nuclear holocaust. A Soviet Russia, whose Union of Soviet Russian Republics, plus Satellites, is exposed for the sham that it is, whose captive peoples are encouraged to agitate for their independence in the confidence of the world's good will, cannot afford to be a threat to world peace. Such a Soviet Russia will hesitate to supply North Vietnam with its Migs, Castro's Cuba with its missiles, and will call back some of its ships from the Mediterranean and its submarines from Western hemisphere waters.

It is Soviet Russia, while it controls the manpower and know-how of the twenty-two captive nations, that threatens the nuclear peace of the world, not really Red China which still is short of technique. If Soviet Russia has freed its Captive Nations, is brought down to size, it will have no interest in endangering the world, and the Free World will have no more interest in worrying about its internal Communism.

Let us arouse enough public opinion to get the Captive Nations freed—be it by diplomacy or internal revolts—and the threat of a nuclear third world war will have faded. Thank you!

[From the Vietnam Newsletter, July 12, 1969]

#### CAPTIVE NATIONS WEEK TO BE CELEBRATED BY WACL

SAIGON, July 9.—As in previous years, WACL member-units will commemorate the tragic fate of the peoples under Communist

rule by holding a Captive Nations Week from July 13-19, 1969.

The Captive Nations Week was first celebrated in the United States in 1959, by the people who escaped from Communist countries, immediately after the United States Congress passed the Captive Nations Week Resolution and the late President Eisenhower signed it into Public Law 86-90. Since then, the annual observance in symbolic behalf of the captive peoples has steadily grown and expanded among free nations.

From reliable sources, it was learned that the WACL China Chapter will sponsor a mass rally in Taipei on July 10, to be presided over by Dr. Ku Cheng-kang, WACL Honorary Chairman. Similar commemorations will also be held in other capitals of the Free World during the period June 13-19, 1969.

Meanwhile, Dr. Phan Huy Quat, WACL Council Chairman, in a message addressed to WACL member-units, urged them to denounce Communism and to support the fight for human freedom and national independence waged by the peoples behind the Iron Curtain, in compliance with the resolutions adopted at the Second General Conference in Saigon, last December 1968.

#### CAPTIVE NATIONS WEEK, JULY 15, 1969, PHOENIX, ARIZ.

ARIZONA BRANCH, NATIONAL CAPTIVE NATIONS COMMITTEE, SALUTES THE HONORARY PRESIDENT, WORLD ANTI-COMMUNIST LEAGUE, DR. KU CHENG-KANG

I am most proud to know that so many Arizonans have the conviction and perseverance to voice so effectively concern for the lost basic freedoms and human rights of the millions captive by the Communist totalitarians throughout the world.

My thoughts are with you as you observe Captive Nations Week, and may your dedication influence enough world leaders that free peoples might one day unify to break the yoke of totalitarian rule in all captive nations.

SAM STEIGER,  
U.S. Congress,  
Third District, Arizona.

#### PUBLIC LAW 86-90, 86TH CONGRESS, SENATE JOINT RESOLUTION 111, JULY 17, 1959

Joint resolution providing for the designation of the third week of July as "Captive Nations Week"

Whereas the greatness of the United States is in large part attributable to its having been able, through the democratic process, to achieve a harmonious national unity of its people, even though they stem from the most diverse of racial, religious, and ethnic backgrounds; and

Whereas this harmonious unification of the diverse elements of our free society has led the people of the United States to possess a warm understanding and sympathy for the aspirations of peoples everywhere and to recognize the natural interdependency of the peoples and nations of the world; and

Whereas the enslavement of a substantial part of the world's population by Communist imperialism makes a mockery of the idea of peaceful coexistence between nations and constitutes a detriment to the natural bonds of understanding between the people of the United States and other peoples; and

Whereas since 1918 the imperialistic and aggressive policies of Russian communism have resulted in the creation of a vast empire which poses a dire threat to the security of the United States and of all the free peoples of the world; and

Whereas the imperialistic policies of Communist Russia have led, through direct and indirect aggression, to the subjugation of the national independence of Poland, Hungary, Lithuania, Ukraine, Czechoslovakia, Latvia, Estonia, White Ruthenia, Rumania, East Germany, Bulgaria, Mainland China, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Georgia, North Korea, Al-



bania, Idel-Ural, Tibet, Cossackia, Turkestan, North Viet-Nam, and others; and

Whereas these submerged nations look to the United States, as the citadel of human freedom, for leadership in bringing about their liberation and independence and in restoring to them the enjoyment of their Christian, Jewish, Moslem, Buddhist, or other religious freedoms, and of their individual liberties; and

Whereas it is vital to the national security of the United States that the desire for liberty and independence on the part of the peoples of these conquered nations should be steadfastly kept alive; and

Whereas the desire for liberty and independence by the overwhelming majority of the people of these submerged nations constitutes a powerful deterrent to war and one of the best hopes for a just and lasting peace; and

Whereas it is fitting that we clearly manifest to such peoples through an appropriate and official means the historic fact that the people of the United States share with them their aspirations for the recovery of their freedom and independence: Now, therefore, be it

*Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled*, That the President of the United States is authorized and requested to issue a proclamation designating the third week in July 1959 as "Captive Nations Week" and inviting the people of the United States to observe such week with appropriate ceremonies and activities. The President is further authorized and requested to issue a similar proclamation each year until such time as freedom and independence shall have been achieved for all the captive nations of the world.

Approved July 17, 1959.

#### PROCLAMATION: CAPTIVE NATIONS WEEK, 1969

Whereas Americans always have maintained an air of deep compassion for those around the world who enjoy far less than the freedom which is our great heritage; and

Whereas responsible individuals are developing a growing and deep concern for the human rights of those persons who live within the boundaries of the captive nations of the world; and

Whereas an annual observance of Captive Nations Week is conducted by the National Captive Nations Committee, as called for under the terms of Public Law 86-90; and

Whereas Arizonans join in support of the aim of this observance, which is to reaffirm this nation's moral support for those persons who are now under the domination of world Communism, and who seek the freedom which is justly theirs;

Now, therefore, I, Jack Williams, Governor of the State of Arizona, do hereby proclaim the period from July 13 to July 19 to be Captive Nations Week, 1969, and do urge and encourage all Arizonans to honor this observance fully in its spirit and its great goals.

In witness whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and caused to be affixed the Great Seal of the State of Arizona.

Done at the Capitol in Phoenix this 7th day of July in the year of Our Lord One Thousand Nine Hundred and Sixty Nine and of the Independence of the United States the One Hundred and Ninety-fourth.

JACK WILLIAMS,  
Governor.

Attest:

WESLEY BOHN,  
Secretary of State.

#### HONORARY ADVISORY COMMITTEE

Barry Goldwater, Honorary Chairman, U.S. Senator.

Paul Fannin, U.S. Senator.

John J. Rhodes, U.S. Representative.

Sam Steiger, U.S. Representative.

Jack Williams, Governor of Arizona.

Wesley Bolin, Secretary of State.  
Wilson D. Palmer, Clerk of Superior Court.  
Rt. Rev. Msgr. R. J. Donohoe.  
Elwood Driggs, Esq.  
Thomas J. Dunlavey, Esq.  
Lou Grubb, Esq.  
Ned Mullan, Esq.  
Arthur L. Peterson, Ph. D.  
Charles S. Poling, D.D.  
Eugene C. Pulliam, Esq.  
Weldon P. Shofstall, Ph. D.  
Rev. Paul D. Urbano.

#### NATIONAL CAPTIVE NATIONS COMMITTEE, ARIZONA BRANCH

##### Executive committee

Walter Chopiowsky, President.  
Vytas Mozart, Vice President.  
Albert T. Koen, Executive Director.  
Shirley Beckman, Secretary.  
Wayne Wallick, Treasurer.  
Joe Jeziorski, Public Relations.

##### Committee members

Mykola Burda, James F. Crispelle, Burton C. Johnson, Ethel M. Johnson, Emily Josen, Eva A. Krone, Mintauts Kukainis, Janina Rimavicius, Alimpija Velimirovic, Saveta Velimirovic, and Fern Wallick.

#### CAPTIVE NATIONS WEEK OBSERVANCES

(Program, July 15, 1969—Grady Gammage Auditorium, Temple, 8 p.m.)

Scottsdale Boys Band, Concert.  
National and Armed Forces Colors, U.S. Marine Corps, U.S. Air Force, U.S. Navy, Arizona National Guard, Boy Scouts of America.  
Invocation, Rev. Charles S. Poling, D.D.  
Pledge of Allegiance, Mike Sanera, Pres. YAF.

Role Call of Nations, Norman Seeley.  
Welcoming remarks, Walter Chopiowsky, Pres., AB-NCNC.

Band selection, Scottsdale Boys Band.  
Proclamation, Hon. Jack Williams, Governor of Arizona.

Recognition of distinguished guests, Norman Seeley.

Tribute to our fighting men, Albert T. Koen, Lt. Col. USAF (Ret.).

Taps & salute, Scottsdale Boys Band & That Certain Sound.

Keynote address, Dr. Ku Chen-kang, Republic of China.

Songs, That Certain Sound.

Band selection, Scottsdale Boys Band.

Dance group, The International Mia Dancers.

Band selection, Scottsdale Boys Band.

Songs, Impact '69.

Band selection, Scottsdale Boys Band.

Day for decision, That Certain Sound & Combined Group.

Benediction, Rev. James A. Borrer, Th.D.

Dismissal of flags, Norman Seeley.

Stars & Stripes, Scottsdale Boys Band.

Master of Ceremonies, Norman Seeley.

KOOL Radio & T.V.

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Mr. & Mrs. Joe Sesser.  
Mr. James Wilson Smith.  
Mr. Zdravko Tufegdzcic.  
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[From the Phoenix (Ariz.) Republic, July 4, 1969]

#### CAPTIVE NATIONS COMMITTEE SCHEDULES RALLY JULY 11

The Arizona branch of the Captive Nations Committee has announced a rally July 15 in Grady Gammage Auditorium to highlight the 11th annual observance of Captive Nations Week.

Dr. Ku Cheng-kang, deputy foreign minister of Nationalist China, will be the featured guest speaker at the 8 p.m. program.

Entertainment will be provided by the Scottsdale Boys Band, That Certain Sound, and the Impact singers. The international Mia Dancers also will perform folk dances.

Admission is \$1 for adults. Students and children will be admitted free.

[From the Phoenix (Ariz.) Gazette, July 14, 1969]

#### "CAPTIVE" COUNTRIES RALLY SET

The highlight of an 8 p.m. rally tomorrow in Grady Gammage Auditorium under auspices of the Arizona branch of the National Captive Nations Committee will be an address by Dr. Ku Cheng-kang, deputy foreign minister of Nationalist China.

Entertainment will be provided by the Scottsdale Boys Band, That Certain Sound, the Impact Singers and folk dances by the international Mia Dancers.

Admission is \$1 for adults, while students and children will be admitted free.

The rally emphasizes the annual observance of Captive Nations Week, proclaimed by President Nixon and Governor Williams.

[From the Phoenix (Ariz.) Republic,  
July 9, 1969]

#### RALLY SLATED FOR TUESDAY AT TEMPE

The Arizona branch of the Captive Nations Committee will rally at 8 p.m. Tuesday in Grady Gammage auditorium, Tempe.

It will be in observance of Captive Nations Week which begins Sunday.

Dr. Ku Cheng-kang, deputy foreign minister of Nationalist China, will be the featured speaker.

Admission will be \$1 for adults. Students and children will be admitted free.

Entertainment will be provided by the Scottsdale Boys Band, That Certain Sound and the Impact singers. Folk dances will be performed by the international Mia Dancers.

Recently named to the 1969 honorary advisory committee in Arizona were, Sen. Barry Goldwater, honorary chairman; Sen. Paul Fannin, Rep. John J. Rhodes, Rep. Sam Steiger, Gov. Williams, Wesley Bolin and Marshall Humphrey.

Also, Wilson Palmer, Msgr. R. J. Donohoe, The Rev. Charles S. Poling, The Rev. Paul D. Urbano, Elwood Driggs, Eugene C. Pulliam, Thomas Dunlavey, Lou Grubb, Ned Mullan, Arthur L. Peterson and Weldon P. Shofstall.

[From the Phoenix (Ariz.) Republic,  
July 15, 1969]

#### CHIANG AIDE BELITTLES SINO-SOVIET HOSTILITY

Jauntily waving a straw boater, Dr. Ku Cheng-kang, policy adviser to Formosa president Chiang Kai-shek since 1931, arrived at Sky Harbor yesterday and immediately disputed recent public statements by Communist nations.

Dr. Ku, who is in Phoenix to speak at a Captive Nations Rally at Grady Gammage Auditorium in Tempe at 8 p.m. today as part of Captive Nations Week, scoffed at declarations by the Soviet Union and Communist China that each was the "number one enemy" of the other.

"Their conflict is more over leadership than over basic differences," Dr. Ku told the Arizona Republic through an interpreter.

When questioned about a statement by a Chinese Communist spokesman that war with the Soviet Union was imminent, Dr. Ku said, "The statement was made for the purpose of diverging the people's dissatisfaction. Skirmishes, yes. War, no."

Dr. Ku, who at 68 is a youngster compared to his 81-year-old chief, disparaged reports in the American press that arrangements have already been made for Chiang's son to succeed him.

"The vice president is expected to succeed him," Dr. Ku said.

"Recent medical examinations reveal no medical trouble for Chiang," Ku added. "He has the health of a 50-year-old."

Ku also shrugged at reports of internal dissension between mainland Chinese on Taiwan and native Taiwanese. An emigre group in Japan is currently calling for Taiwanese independence from the Chinese who came over with Chiang after the Chinese civil war, but Ku's comment on dissension was:

"We have dissension in the sense of provincial differences—like Arizonans and New Yorkers—but major dissension we do not have because of our common purpose."

[From the Phoenix (Ariz.) Gazette,  
July 15, 1969]

#### CHIANG ADVISER HONORED HERE

The honorary president of the World Anti-Communist League, Dr. Ku Cheng-kang, policy adviser to Formosa President Chiang Kai-shek, today has a new decoration—a blank blue button presented him by Arizona Young Americans for Freedom.

The button has become a symbol of opposition to radical leftist revolutionaries of the nation's school campuses, according to Mike Sanera, AYAF state chairman and an Arizona State University student.

The button is a token of mutual commitment to a freedom offensive. Sanera indicated, as he and other representatives of the group welcomed Dr. Ku to Phoenix.

The 68-year-old Chiang adviser will address a Captive Nations Rally at 8 o'clock tonight in Grady Gammage Memorial Auditorium at ASU.

Earlier, Dr. Ku met with Governor Williams for a Captive Nations Week (this week) proclamation ceremony at the Capitol, and a press conference at Hotel Westward Ho.

The rally at ASU is sponsored by the Arizona Branch, National Captive Nations Committee, whose national chairman, Dr. Lev E. Dobriansky, resides here.

Dr. Ku told newsmen war between Russia and Red China will not occur, a Red Chinese statement that war with Russia was imminent was simply to divert the people's dissatisfaction.

He disparaged reports that arrangements have been made for Chiang's son to succeed the 81-year-old chief of state. The successor would be the vice president, he indicated.

Sanera, presenting the blue button to Dr. Ku, told him that "your dedication to in-

dividual freedom, free enterprise and opposition to totalitarian philosophies such as communism is completely in accord with the Young Americans for Freedom."

[From the Phoenix (Ariz.) Gazette,  
July 2, 1969]

#### CHINA OFFICIAL TO SPEAK HERE

Dr. Ku Cheng-kang, deputy foreign minister of Nationalist China, will be principal speaker at the annual Captive Nations Week rally at 8 p.m. July 15 in Grady Gammage Auditorium in Tempe.

The rally will be the highlight of the week, proclaimed by President Nixon and Governor Williams. Local sponsor is the Arizona Branch of the National Captive Nations Committee, headed by Walter Chopiowsky of Phoenix.

[From the Tempe (Ariz.) Daily News, July 10,  
1969]

#### CHIANG ADVISER RALLY SPEAKER

Dr. Ku Cheng-kang, deputy foreign minister of Nationalist China, will be featured speaker for an open-to-the-public rally marking Captive Nations Week, to be held Tuesday, July 15, at Arizona State University's Gammage auditorium.

The 8 p.m. rally, planned by the Arizona Branch of the Captive Nations Committee, will also feature folk dances by the internationally acclaimed MIA dancers, patriotic and religious music by the Impact '69 singers, Ron Patty's That Certain Sound musical group and Scottsdale Boys' Band.

Chief foreign policy adviser for Nationalist China President Chiang Kai-shek, Dr. Cheng-kang is expected to speak on the plight of captive people behind the Bamboo curtain, in keeping with the purpose of the annual rally—an observance to remind of the many people enslaved in captive nations.

During his Valley stay, Dr. Cheng-kang and members of his party will be escorted by members of the Arizona Young Americans for Freedom organization.

The Tuesday rally is also planned by the Captive Nations Committee to pay tribute to the "silent multitudes of young people" who love and have faith in their country.

The rally, with its accent on youth, will be open to children and students free of charge and to adults at \$1.

It will highlight Valley observance of National Captive Nations Week, July 13-19.

The sponsoring National Captive Nations Committee is an educational organization founded shortly after the passage of the Captive Nations Week Resolution by U.S. Congress in 1959. It is an affiliate of the World Anti-Communist League which sponsors the observance of the annual week.

Among members of the 1969 honorary advisory committee for the Arizona Branch of the Captive Nations Committee are Senator Barry Goldwater, honorary chairman; Sen. Paul Fannin, Reps. John Rhodes and Sam Steiger, Governor Jack Williams, Arizona Secretary of State Wesley Bolin, Rev. Msgr. R. J. Donohue, Rev. Charles Poling, Rev. Paul D. Urbano and Tempean Weldon P. Shofstall.

[From the Tempe (Ariz.) Daily News,  
July 14, 1969]

#### CAPTIVE NATIONS RALLY AT ASU TOMORROW NIGHT

Youth groups and the deputy foreign minister of Nationalist China will join the Arizona branch of the Captive Nations Committee in highlighting the 11th annual observance of Captive Nations Week with a public rally at Gammage Memorial Auditorium here Tuesday (tomorrow) at 8 p.m.

The rally is held annually to remind Americans of the plight of the unfortunate people in the Communists' captive nations.

Featured speaker at this year's rally will be Dr. Ku Cheng-kang, deputy foreign minister of Nationalist China and chief foreign

policy advisor to President Chiang Kai-shek. Cheng-kang will be discussing the plight of captive peoples behind the "Bamboo Curtain."

This year's rally is also planned to pay tribute to the "silent majority" of American young people.

"With the riots and turmoil caused by many college students today, we lose sight of how the majority of our people really feel about this great land of ours," a Captive Nations Committee spokesman said. "Tomorrow, we will have a chance to witness the true spirit of today's youth as some of the 'silent majority' express their love and faith in this country of ours through their participation in the rally program."

Eagle Scouts from various Valley troops will be presenting the flags of the captive nations for the rally. Scottsdale Boys' Band will be providing music.

Other youth groups participating will include Ron Patty's new group, That Certain Sound; the national Impact '69 singers; and the internationally-acclaimed Mia Dancers who will be performing their famous folk dances for the event.

The public is invited to attend the rally. Admission will be \$1 for adults; children and students will be admitted free.

Captive Nations Week was established by resolution of the U.S. Congress in July, 1959, to—in addition to calling attention to the plight of captive peoples in captive nations—symbolize the firm dedication of America to the freedom and independence of captive people.

"More than any event," said a committee spokesman, "it shows the right things about America stand out most when contrasted with the combination of political oppression and rampant economic poverty that exists in the Red Empire, particularly the Soviet Union."

"If we, the people of the United States, through inertia and paralysis of our power to resist, permit the internationally mistaken conspiracy against freedom to engulf us, this is what the follow-up will be in our own beloved land of freedom."

[From the Tempe (Ariz.) Daily News, July 7,  
1969]

#### EMPHASIS ON YOUTH AT CAPTIVE NATIONS RALLY

A tribute to America's "silent majority" of young people is in the offing when the Arizona branch of the Captive Nations Committee stages its 11th annual rally at Grady Gammage Memorial auditorium on the Arizona State University campus, Tuesday, July 15.

The 8 p.m. program, open to the public, will be a Valley highlight of national Captive Nations Week, July 13-19, a week initiated by resolution of the U.S. Congress in 1959 as a time for observances to remind the world of the plight of the people in captive nations of the Red Empire. It also symbolizes, for billions of captive peoples, the dedication of America to their freedom and independence.

The accent will be on youth at the Tuesday rally with participants for the evening to include Ron Patty and his new group, That Certain Sound; the Impact '69 singers; the internationally acclaimed Mia Dancers; Scottsdale Boys' Band and Valley Eagle Scouts who will be presenting the flags of the captive nations.

Featured speaker for the evening will be Dr. Ku Cheng-kang, deputy foreign minister of Nationalist China.

Patriotic and religious songs will be presented by That Certain Sound and Impact '69. The Mia Dancers, who have been seen on the Ed Sullivan television show as well as in appearances throughout the world, will present their colorful folk dances for the program. Scottsdale Boys' Band will provide the instrumental music.



Said the spokesman for the Captive Nations Committee, "With the riots and turmoil caused by many college students today, we lose sight of how the majority of our young people really feel about this great land of ours. On July 15, we will have a chance to witness the true spirit of today's youth . . . as these youth groups join in expressing their love and faith in this country of ours as we remember those peoples who have lost their basic freedoms and human rights—the one billion captive peoples of the captive nations behind the Iron, Bamboo and Sugar Curtains.

Admission for the rally will be \$1 for adults, children and students admitted free.

[From the Phoenix (Ariz.) Republic, July 16, 1969]

#### U.S. IDEALS ON TRIAL, CHINESE SAYS

(By Connie Cobb)

TEMPE.—American ideals "are being subjected to the most serious challenges and trials in your history," the chief policy adviser to Chinese President Chiang Kai-shek said here last night.

Dr. Ku Cheng-kang, speaking at a rally of the Arizona Branch, National Captive Nations Committee, said mistaken views and "compromising statements concerning Communist aggression" have cast doubts on the United States' avowed dedication to freedom for all.

" . . . Especially, those views urging the United States to disentangle from world affairs and mind her own business have blurred the image of the United States," he told about 900 persons in Grady Gammage Auditorium at Arizona State University.

Dr. Ku said these views "have even shaken the world's confidence in the United States as leader of the democratic nations in defending democracy and freedom."

But without the support of "freedom forces," he added, "I am afraid the world may see the extinguishing of the flame of hope in the hearts of the peoples behind the Iron Curtain" and further Communist-inspired "troubles for the free world."

Dr. Ku said the most important factor in the fight for freedom "is to actively support the peoples behind the Iron Curtain in their struggle against tyranny."

"We freedom-loving and democratic peoples must unite and work harder for the early

restoration of freedom for all captive peoples and nations," he added.

Walter Chopiowsky, Arizona committee president, agreed with Dr. Ku that the "more than 1 billion people living in the 28 nations under Communist rule today . . . look to the United States . . . for leadership in bringing about their liberation and independence."

He said observance of Captive Nations Week, through Saturday, serves "as a clear demonstration . . . that the people of this country share with them their aspirations for the recovery of their freedom and independence."

The adult speakers' words were echoed by the youthful patriotic appeals of Impact, That Certain Sound, the International Mia Dancers and the Scottsdale boys' and girls' bands.

#### COMMENDING LYNDON JOHNSON FOR HIS PART IN THE APOLLO PROGRAM

#### HON. CLEMENT J. ZABLOCKI

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 29, 1969

Mr. ZABLOCKI. Mr. Speaker, as we rejoice over and pay tribute particularly to three brave men—Neil Armstrong, "Buzz" Aldrin, and Mike Collins—upon their amazing feat and the successful flight of Apollo 11, we would be remiss if we did not pay special thanks to the man who did more than any other man in America to make this event possible—former President Lyndon B. Johnson.

It is true that the Apollo 11 moon walk was the fulfillment of John F. Kennedy's prophecy that we would put a man on the Moon and return him to Earth within the decade of the 1960's.

However, as in so many things, it remained for Lyndon Johnson to make this dream become a reality.

Undoubtedly, history will record former President Johnson's leadership in our space program as one of his foremost accomplishments.

It was he who insisted on the United States embarking on this program, and who pushed and prodded our Nation into accepting the great challenge of conquering space.

Without his strong and inspiring leadership while serving as Senate majority leader, Vice President, and President, there is every reason to wonder when and even if we would have achieved this goal.

It is my fervent hope that the accomplishments of the Apollo 11 crew will help to lead mankind toward an era of peace and friendship and to solve the common problems of the world.

This would be the truly fitting reward and tribute to President Johnson, Astronauts Armstrong, Aldrin, and Collins, and indeed all their colleagues, associates, and personnel of the National Aeronautics and Space Administration.

A recent Milwaukee Journal editorial, "Lyndon Johnson's Part," succinctly expresses President Johnson's involvement in our space program. It is a pleasure for me to insert the editorial at this point in the RECORD:

[From the Milwaukee Journal, July 22, 1969]

#### LYNDON JOHNSON'S PART

One American who watched the moon flight from the take-off—to which he was invited by President Nixon—to the conclusion must have taken deep personal satisfaction in it. That was former President Lyndon Johnson, who has been out of the limelight and under a self-imposed silence for half a year since retiring.

No one had more to do with our success in space than Lyndon Johnson. He worked hard for it as a senator and majority leader. He was given chief responsibility for space by the late President John Kennedy, who made the commitment to reach the moon by the end of this decade. As president, Johnson continued his deep interest and support.

It was fitting that he was present at the launching. He said little but what he said credited a wide group of people for the successful space program. And those of whom he spoke, who have been dedicating their lives to the project, know that Lyndon Johnson deserves as much credit as anyone.

### SENATE—Wednesday, July 30, 1969

The Senate met at 12 o'clock noon and was called to order by the Vice President.

The Chaplain, the Reverend Edward L. R. Elson, D.D., offered the following prayer:

Eternal Father, who has taught us in Thy word that in quietness and confidence shall be our strength, at this noonday pause in the heat and burden of testing times, strengthen us that we may keep inviolate the sacred altar of our inmost being. Help us, O Lord, not only here where our work is seen and our voice is heard, but also in the solitary place where, in the secret of our hearts, we decide what to do here. Make us conscious of the eternal verities which outlast the deeds of a day. Enable us to bring to our tasks not only our resolute convictions but also the reconciling grace which Thou dost freely give to all who call upon Thee.

Answer in us the prayer of the hymn writer:

"Breathe on me, Breath of God  
Fill me with life anew,  
That I may love what Thou dost love,  
And do what Thou wouldst do."  
EDWIN HATCH, 1886.

In the Redeemer's name we pray.  
Amen.

#### THE JOURNAL

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the reading of the Journal of the proceedings of Tuesday, July 29, 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. Bartlett, one of its

reading clerks, announced that the House had passed the joint resolution (S.J. Res. 85) to provide for the designation of the period from August 26, 1969, through September 1, 1969, as "National Archery Week," with an amendment, in which it requested the concurrence of the Senate.

The message also announced that the House had passed a bill (H.R. 8868) to authorize the District of Columbia to enter into the Interstate Compact on Juveniles, in which it requested the concurrence of the Senate.

#### ENROLLED BILLS SIGNED

The message further announced that the Speaker had affixed his signature to the following enrolled bills, and they were signed by the Vice President:

H.R. 2785. An act to authorize the Secretary of the Interior to convey to the State of Tennessee certain lands within Great