

## EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

EXCELLENT SPEECH GIVEN BY  
JERRY O. TALTON, JR., OF HAMP-  
TON, VA.

**HON. THOMAS N. DOWNING**

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 26, 1970

Mr. DOWNING. Mr. Speaker, several weeks ago it was my privilege to hear a fine young man deliver a very excellent speech before the annual meeting of the Peninsula Chamber of Commerce at Fort Monroe, Va. His name is Jerry O. Talton, Jr., of Hampton, Va., and he is presently serving as a page in the general assembly of Virginia.

This young man won the district award for an oratorical contest sponsored by the American Legion and certainly will be a major contender in the national final competition. In my opinion this young man is a typical example of most of the American youth today and I believe that his remarks might prove of some interest to my colleagues.

I insert his remarks in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD at this point:

SPEECH GIVEN BY JERRY O. TALTON, JR.

Friends, it is my great privilege to announce that you are now free! Perhaps, you misunderstand. I don't mean half free. You are now totally free—to lead your own lives and to direct your own destinies. And you owe this all to an insurgent organization, known as the Federation for the Freedom from Freedom, which has secretly been working toward your emancipation for nearly fifteen years. And at last it has accomplished its goal. You are no longer forced to serve the unjust masters of the United States Government!

I realize this must strike many of you as being evil. A few of you might have even liked the old government; but listen to me, and look to your own consciences for the answer. Take nature. In nature there are hundreds of animals. They don't fight in immoral wars. They don't build nuclear bombs to assert their own strength. Look at the bird; he lives a happy, fulfilling life, yet he needs no government! On the contrary, what would be the worst thing that could happen to that bird? Without a doubt, it would be for someone to grasp him, to thrust him into a cage, to sever his freedom. And that's exactly what's happened to you. For 193 years you and your forefathers have been subjugated; and at the root of your slavery is the United States Constitution!

That document has set up the very government: which has taken America's young men and sent them across the Pacific to die in a useless war; which has confiscated one fourth of your hard-earned money and squandered it for countless, unjustified reasons.

The government, which has placed men, no better than yourselves in a position of supremacy with the power to direct and restrict your lives. The very government, which has done its best to insure the ultimate extinction of the human race!

But at last, we in America have achieved true independence. In fact, within the hour you may have the privilege of witnessing the burning of the United States Constitution on nationwide television. You are now your own masters. There is no one greater than you yourselves. You may live the rest of

your lives in complete, absolute, irrevocable freedom!

That little speech was just a sample of what could conceivably happen in the United States if we the American citizens fail to meet up to our responsibilities. America is being attacked by two strong forces. Now first of all there is communism, seeking literally to make slaves of the American people. But secondly there is anarchy—anarchy, which is attacking America from within. Now we give a tremendous amount of attention to communism. Look at all the money spent in the arms race. Look at our men fighting in Viet Nam right now. But few people give this same attention to anarchy, when anarchy is attacking America directly. Anarchy is what so many members of the hippie movement, the S.D.S., Youth International, as well as many other groups are advocating. Their cries are for "revolution now" and "complete freedom now." They want a new society without government in which, supposedly, peace prevails and all men are united by love. Now if this were practical, indeed, society might be greatly improved. But if this happened, the strong would prey upon the weak, looting and thievery would be rampant, the very highways we now travel on would be at least ten times more dangerous. Order would be replaced by chaos. And in this chaos, the big red bear of communism could easily grasp the American people in its paws. Edmund Burke once said, "Liberty, to be enjoyed, must be limited by law; for where law ends, tyranny begins." So you see, we in America are faced with the threat of too much government—and too little government.

But luckily we have one document which guarantees us the advantages of freedom, while protecting us from the forces which would surely cause the downfall of the American society. And that document is the United States Constitution. Truly, there is none better. What other government has a constitution which guarantees its people so much personal freedom? The American people have freedom of speech, of religion, assembly, of petition, the right to own property, and there are many others. What other government invests so much power in the people? The American people have the power to elect their president, their vice-president, the members of the Senate and the House of Representatives, they have the power to propose bills by the initiative and to recall bills to the public vote by the referendum. And there are many other powers also delegated to the people on the state and local level. But so far I've only mentioned direct powers. Indirectly they affect all executive and legislative decisions, because they have the power of not re-electing officials who don't follow their wishes. The American people are very powerful, but along with this power and this freedom comes responsibility. A good American citizen must respect the law and the officials which uphold it. He must contribute his fair share toward the cost of government. He must vote whenever he has that privilege, and he must do so intelligently. He must keep informed on the public issues.

There are many ways in this country; we have radio, television, newspapers, and magazines. He must serve on a jury when needed, and he must do so willingly. He must conserve our nation's resources—our land, parks, rivers, and forests. He must let the people in public office know how he feels on the issues. He can do this either by writing to them directly, or by participating in public opinion polls. And there are many other duties of an American citizen. In fact, it would take hours just to name a fraction of them.

Being an American citizen takes a lot of work, I'll agree. But out of what we put into our government, we get a system so just and so fair that the American people as a whole could never reject it. Only those in the minority, the radical groups, could be against it. And there you have the true American protection—the millions of people who do support the present system of government and who will not allow any minority group either to impose a different system, or to just do away with government entirely.

In fact, there is only one way that we in America will ever lose our democracy, and that's if we fail to meet up to our responsibilities. Abraham Lincoln once said, "If this nation is ever to be vanquished, it will not be by aggression from without; but from the failure of citizens to do their duty within."

We can't afford to ignore any threat to our government. We can't afford to be ignorant on the public issues. We can't afford not to vote, simply because it's too much trouble to stand in line at an election precinct. If our whole government system is to survive, the will of the majority must be expressed. If the so-called "silent majority" remain silent, then the voices of the clamoring minorities will be magnified many times.

Just recently in West Germany, the German people were to elect the members of their federal legislature, the Bundestag. In this election the Socialists, the minority party, had a relatively high percentage of their voters at the polls; while the Christian Democrats, the majority party, had a very poor showing. As a result, the Socialists were able to gain many seats in the Bundestag and were later on able to appoint Willy Brandt, a fellow Socialist as the West German Chancellor. And things like this can happen in America. America is like a gigantic wall with each American citizen composing a brick. Remove one brick from the wall—you don't affect it very much. Remove two, three—the wall's still strong. But sooner or later you're going to go too far; and that wall's going to topple. Every time you don't vote you're gambling with democracy, and what happens if you lose? Picture a stary eyed radical telling you, "You no longer have to serve the United States Government." Picture the Constitution slowly burning—and burning with it the hopes, freedom, and security of the American people.

## PUBLIC LAND MANAGEMENT

**HON. PAUL J. FANNIN**

OF ARIZONA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, January 26, 1970

Mr. FANNIN. Mr. President, not long ago, Mr. Orme Lewis, Jr., Deputy Assistant Secretary of the Interior for Public Land Management, addressed the George Washington Chapter of the International Land Economics Fraternity of Lambda Alpha.

I have had the pleasure of reading his remarks to that group and have found his cogent analysis of the changing needs of our Nation and the corresponding changes in priorities of the Interior Department to be of great value.

I commend Mr. Lewis for his insight and recommend his comments not only

to those who share our concern for the proper management of our western resources, but also to those of us who are concerned with urban problems and with finding acceptable solutions to these problems.

I ask unanimous consent that Mr. Lewis' remarks be printed in the RECORD.

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

REMARKS BY ORME LEWIS JR., DEPUTY ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF THE INTERIOR FOR PUBLIC LAND MANAGEMENT BEFORE GEORGE WASHINGTON CHAPTER, INTERNATIONAL LAND ECONOMICS FRATERNITY OF LAMBDA ALPHA, IN WASHINGTON, D.C., NOVEMBER 12

#### A WESTERNER LOOKS AT URBAN LAND STRATEGY

Mr. Chairman, Gentlemen: I am delighted to be here to talk about an urban land strategy—as seen through the eyes of a Westerner. Having lived most of my life in Arizona undoubtedly puts a Western cast on my thinking, but the short time I have been in Washington has modified that outlook.

My situation is somewhat analogous to what has happened to the Department of the Interior. A few years back, the Department was known to many people as the "Department of the West." The Department's interests were mostly limited to management of vast acreages of land, administration of mining, grazing and timber harvest on the public domain. And the great bulk of our Indian programs were—and still are—in the West.

The situation began to change in the early postwar years, however, when the economy converted to peacetime production. Our society reached a degree of affluence never before known. Along with more personal wealth and accelerated industrial growth, came two elements that were to thrust Interior into national roles—the demand for recreation and the need for greater consideration of the environment.

Millions of Americans suddenly had the wealth and mobility to get out of town and look for wider vistas of recreation. The demand led to creation of the Bureau of Outdoor Recreation and the Land and Water Conservation Fund. One of the chief functions of this new program is to assist States and, through them, Local communities, to meet their outdoor recreation needs. Thus, the former Department of the West, finds itself directly engaged in recreational programs in every State of the Nation, and in the Territories, as well.

The other element that gave the Department a national mission was growing degradation of the environment. Our unprecedented growth caused severe ecological damage in some places. The principal affliction was the pollution of our rivers and streams. The Interior Department was given the task of grappling with the tremendous task of water clean-up. This assignment placed us very much into each of the States.

These are our primary credentials as a National Department, but there are others, such as our commercial and sport fisheries programs, saline water conversion, mine safety, Geological Survey and National Parks.

Along with broadened responsibilities of the Department to deal with national problems has come increased involvement in helping to meet urban needs. Our water pollution control activities, of course, directly affect the cities. And a growing emphasis is being made by this Administration to direct more of our outdoor recreation resources to urban areas where the need for recreation is the greatest.

Our credentials for urban involvement are well grounded, and the Department of the West has become a Department of Natural

Resources. It has become increasingly responsible for programs intended to halt the erosion of environmental quality in all parts of the Nation.

The growth that will come and should come contains a very real threat to our environment. A projected urban population growth of nearly 3 million people annually, along with needed goods and services, can do enormous detriment to our water, land and air, and—in the process—to wild animals and fisheries.

We must find a more satisfactory relationship between land and people in our national growth. Because there is a continuing concentration of people to urban areas, the essential requirement is for an urban land strategy. The Interior Department, which manages public domain equal to one-fifth the area of the United States, is beginning to awaken to a greater potential role in urban affairs. In essence, we have the ingredient that is hardest to come by in an urban growth strategy—vast acreages that can be made available at reasonable cost. With proper planning, the public domain of the West can serve the whole Nation's interest. The West can provide expansion room not only for existing urban areas but for the creation of new towns—even major new cities.

Today we are confronted with urban deterioration, a mounting exodus of people from rural to urban areas—and even more discouraging, a lack of basic programs to affect major changes over the long run in accord with a national growth strategy.

The changes needed are enormous. In only 30 years we expect to have another 100 million people. The social and physical needs, including environmental and esthetic needs, will require our best planning efforts. Failure to do this planning could be catastrophic. Fortunately, we have begun to equip ourselves with some of the tools needed to do the job.

A Model Cities Program was enacted in 1967 to reshape the total environment of designated areas within our cities, and a new Communities Act was adopted the following year to help develop completely new cities. Both are essential beginnings, but both are insufficient.

In very recent years a handful of people have begun looking to the Western vastness. Perhaps, they thought, the public lands could be utilized and developed to cope with the explosive urbanization of America. This thinking has been slow to materialize or advance because of traditional concepts.

Basically, cities have grown close to sources of raw materials which could be converted to processed or manufactured goods. The employment thus provided created the nucleus of the community. The location of the city also was such that its commodities could reach the market place competitively. The modern community also demands large amounts of water and electrical power. In contrast to these requirements, much of the West has been viewed as remote from many required raw materials, isolated from mass markets and hamstrung by shortages of water and power.

A number of changes have occurred that will allow the West to play a substantial role in our urban land strategy. A revolution in transportation now makes it possible to move raw materials great distances to plants and to transport the finished goods to foreign markets. We have the technology to move water and power virtually to any point we desire. Our developing knowledge in areas of weather modification and desalination will supplement the capability for mass movement of water and power.

With these essentials—land, transportation, water and power, and in many cases, raw materials—we can build viable new communities in the West. Skilled labor will go where the jobs are, and if the area of new

opportunity has better weather and a more desirable social climate, people will go readily.

There is certain to be a large scale continuance of urbanization in America and a growth strategy is imperative. Such a strategy has been called for by the Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations, the National League of Cities and the National Association of Counties. The American Institute of Planners has called for a policy of population dispersal and an ambitious program to build new towns.

The general need for a new model for the Nation's growth evolves from the congestion, pollution and deterioration in cities that are too large and ill-developed. About 130 million Americans now live in big cities or in their suburbs—50 million more than only 20 years ago. About 70 per cent of the Nation's population already is crowded into about 1 per cent of the land. To intensify this, over-crowding obviously will worsen the social and environmental problems of our urban areas.

The alternative to overburdening existing urban areas is to build new towns and cities. This is being done in a number of places in the United States and in Europe, but it is a highly complex undertaking that requires great amounts of capital.

The New Communities Act of 1968 was a constructive step in the right direction to aid in financing, but no more than \$50 million may be guaranteed for a single project, and only \$250 million is available for this purpose nationally. That means only six new towns, if each were to use the maximum Federal aid. Our population growth, however, demands the equivalent of new city of 250,000 population each month.

The Public Land Law Review Commission, now studying the Nation's land laws, has heard proposals for use of public lands for creation of new towns and cities. The Commission will make its recommendations next year, and it is expected to deal with this issue.

An Assistant Secretary of HUD, testifying before the Commission, suggested that the public lands be considered for future urban growth. He saw public domain as the source of large homogeneous tracts of land needed to meet the social, economic, public health and esthetic needs for urban populations.

One of the main drawbacks to large scale city-building is not the lack of capital but the lack of readily available sites of sufficient acreage at reasonable prices. The availability of such land would be a tremendous incentive for builders and home owners to relocate in a totally new urban environment.

Making public lands available for towns and cities is not a new thing. Between 1850 and 1890 more than 400 towns were established on public lands in the 11 Western States. The old laws for the most part are in need of overhaul to meet modern needs, but the precedent for aiding the establishment of new cities on public domain is well established.

I have asked the Department's Solicitor to explore how present laws can be changed to create more flexible use of public land so it can serve the needs of urban growth. One approach could be to make land available to corporate entity, public or private, for comprehensive planning and integrated development, subject to terms and conditions which advance desired national objectives.

Such transfers of land would be contingent upon provision of recreation areas, open space, greenbelt land, and space for public facilities. Conceivably, there could be developed techniques to evaluate the direct social and economic benefits of such urban developments. The value of tangible benefits then could be taken into account in determining the cost of the land to the developer. It would be reasonable to give additional consideration in land costs if the new commu-



nity development entity was of a non-profit nature. Finally, the disposal or transfer of land would proceed only as the developer showed adequate progress in planning, development, organization and administration. Protection of the whole public interest, not only in consideration received for the land but also for proper development, would be the over-riding criterion.

We are just beginning to look seriously at the potential that the West offers as the place for much of our future national growth. I am optimistic about what we can do. With proper planning, 300 million Americans—thirty years from now—can live in less congestion and contamination than 200 million do today.

#### WHY WE NEED NEW SCHOOLING

### HON. ROMAN C. PUCINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 26, 1970

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, for the past several months, the General Subcommittee on Education has conducted hearings on the needs of American elementary and secondary schools for the decade of the 1970's.

Among the exceptionally talented and diverse witnesses who have appeared before my subcommittee to present an evaluation of these needs is John Holt, author of numerous books and articles dealing with the education of children. Mr. Holt is a teacher and has spent many years studying the processes of learning. His voice has been forceful in advocating an expansion of present methods of helping children to learn and providing them with both the opportunity and the motivation to help themselves.

Mr. Holt generates ideas that impel school systems to reevaluate their goals and objectives. His article in *Look* magazine this month reaffirms his devotion to education. I believe it deserves the widest possible discussion among those who have a very real stake in the directions American education will take within the next 10 years.

Mr. Speaker, the article "Why We Need New Schooling" by John Holt follows:

#### WHY WE NEED NEW SCHOOLING

(By John Holt)

Knowledge is increasing so fast, a recent ad said, that the problem of education is to find better ways "to pack it into your heads." This popular belief is wrong, and causes much of what is so wrong with our schools. For years, it is true, learned men used their brains to store and retrieve information. Today, the child who has been taught in school to stuff his head with facts, recipes, this-is-how-you-do-it, is obsolete even before he leaves the building. Anything he can do, or be taught to do, a machine can do, and soon will do, better and cheaper.

What children need, even just to make a living, are qualities that can never be trained into a machine—inventiveness, flexibility, resourcefulness, curiosity and, above all, judgment.

The chief products of schooling these days are not these qualities, not even the knowledge and skills they try to produce, but stupidity, ignorance, incompetence, self-contempt, alienation, apathy, powerlessness, resentment and rage. We can't afford such products any longer. The purpose of education can no longer be to turn out people who know a few facts, a few skills and who will

always believe and do what they are told. We need big changes, and in a hurry. Here, in no particular order, are some things to change:

We must get rid of the notion that education is different and separate from life, something that happens only in school. Everything that happens to us educates us, for good or for bad. To answer "What makes a good education?" we must ask, "What makes a good life?"

Teachers must have, like doctors with patients, the professional freedom to work with their students as they think best. Only the child himself should have more to say than the teacher about what is learned, and when, and how; today, in most places, only the fixed schedules, so many hours a week per subject, prescribed texts, grades, normal curves, censorship, supervisors—the whole deadening, humiliating intimidating regime under which too many teachers have to work.

Children and their parents should not have to submit, for lack of choices, to school experiences that seem degrading, painful or harmful. School is neither jail nor the Army. People should be free to find or make for themselves the kinds of educational experiences they want their children to have. Anything in law that makes this impossible or even very difficult should be changed.

In most of history, children have been educated by the whole community, the whole society they lived in. Nothing else makes any sense. We must get as much as possible of the outside world into our schools, and get the schools and the children into the outside world, as in the Parkway project in Philadelphia, where hundreds of students use the city itself as their classroom.

Abolish compulsory attendance laws. We cannot measure growth and learning by the day or hour. A child, finding out what he wants to find out, fully alive and alert, learns more in an hour than most students learn in school in weeks or months. Schools are only one place, among many, where people can learn about and grow into the world. Let them compete with other educational resources for the time and attention of children.

Abolish all certification requirements for teachers. They don't make teachers better, often make them worse, and keep or drive out of teaching many excellent people. Let the people who run a school use as teachers anyone they think can help the children.

Teachers, or teachers and parents, should run schools, not specialists in school administration. Whoever pays the bills and sees that the floors are swept and the windows washed should be under the teachers, not over them.

Abolish the required curriculum. Children want to learn about the world and grow into it; adults want to help them. Let them get together, and the proper curriculum will grow and want, and what the adults have to give.

Abolish all compulsory testing and grading. If a student wants his teacher to test his knowledge or competence, so that he may know how to improve, fine. All other testing and grading is destructive and inexcusable. Students should organize to refuse to take tests for other people's purposes, and teachers should organize to refuse to give them.

Abolish the required use of so-called intelligence tests and other psychological prying. Such tests should only be given with the consent of parent and child, and the results should belong to them *exclusively*. Establish by law that *any and all* records of what a child does in a school shall go with him, as his exclusive property, when he leaves that school.

In all educational institutions supported by tax money, or enjoying tax-exempt status (with the possible exceptions suggested below), abolish all entrance exams or other selective admissions requirements. An educational institution, like a library, museum, lecture hall, park or theater, should be open

at least until full, to any and all who want to use it. A few exceptions might be made for institutions where performance skill is involved, as in the performing arts, crafts, skilled trades, or in flying, surgery, perhaps some sciences. But even here, the institutions should have to show that selection is really needed, and not just a concession to institutional vanity, or a way, as in some professions and trades today, to keep the cost of services high by limiting the number of people able to provide them.

Abolish all requirements for schools. *Parents and parents alone* should decide whether a school is right for their children; it is no one else's business. Health and safety? Let parents decide. Our cities do not enforce health and safety codes in the homes of the poor. Why should these codes be used to harass poor people's schools, or to prevent people from trying to solve their problems?

Every school charging no tuition and open to all should be considered an independent public school and entitled to tax support per pupil-day on the same basis as state-run schools in its district. Why should the state have a monopoly on public education?

As Peter Marin and others have suggested, we should radically revise all laws that deny children the right to work, travel and live independently. The laws once passed to protect children now oppress more than they protect. We ought not to deny any child the right to take part in society as fully as he wishes and is able.

Students of any age should get academic credit, as some college students now do, for holding down a job. Better yet, schools should get out of the business of granting credentials as the proof, and only proof, of job-worthiness.

As Christopher Jencks and others have suggested, the best way to finance education might be to give every child an education allowance, for him to spend on his education as he chooses. Parents and their children might in many places develop forms of education vastly more efficient than our present schools.

Too many of our schools are too big to be human. Instead, we could have, in any of our giant school buildings, a number of small schools, each independently run and using its own ideas and methods, and all sharing whatever facilities needed to be shared.

Let students, whose time is taxed by the schools, and who really know and care about them vote in school-board elections.

Give more time, money and space in all schools for all the arts and for developing physical fitness, strength and skill. Sports, games, athletics are too important to be for just the varsity.

For part of people's lives, we tell them they can't get out of school, and once they're out, we tell them they can't get back in. Let people, of whatever age, go in and out of school when they see fit, using it when it seems most useful to them. Let the learner direct his own learning.

#### MAN'S INHUMANITY TO MAN— HOW LONG?

### HON. WILLIAM J. SCHERLE

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 26, 1970

Mr. SCHERLE. Mr. Speaker, a child asks: "Where is daddy?" A mother asks: "How is my son?" A wife asks: "Is my husband alive or dead?"

Communist North Vietnam is sadistically practicing spiritual and mental genocide on over 1,400 American prisoners of war and their families. How long?

## HEW APPROPRIATIONS BILL

## HON. DOMINICK V. DANIELS

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 26, 1970

Mr. DANIELS of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, if the President vetoes the appropriations bill for the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, the amount and quality of medical care in this Nation will be severely jeopardized.

I call to the attention of my colleagues a telegram sent to the President by some of the most distinguished medical men in the country regarding their views on the threatened veto:

WASHINGTON, D.C.,  
January 16, 1970.

President RICHARD M. NIXON,  
The White House,  
Washington, D.C.:

The delivery of adequate medical care to the American people in the next decade can be critically jeopardized if you veto now the Health and Education Appropriation Bill. This bill provides for the training of vitally needed physicians and for the support of research promising new life-saving knowledge soon. We do not believe that appropriating funds for manpower training to protect the health and save the lives of countless Americans can be construed as inflationary. Contrarily this should have the highest priority in our national budget.

The Public Health Service has said we need 71,000 more physicians and allied health professionals for teaching, research and health care in 1970, and at least 150,000 more by 1980. Meeting these needs will be impossible unless funds authorized by Congress and now about to be denied are made available.

We most strenuously urge you, in defense of the Nation's best interests, to approve the Health and Education Appropriations Bill and make savings, if necessary, in less critical areas than the defense of the lives of Americans:

Dr. Louis Katz, Emeritus, Michael Reese Hospital, Chicago, Ill.

Dr. Sidney Gellis, Chairman and Professor of Medicine, Department of Pediatrics, Tufts University Medical School, Boston, Mass.

Dr. George A. Wolf, Jr. Dean and Provost, University of Kansas School of Medicine, Kansas City, Kan.

Dr. Myron Wegman, Dean, School of Public Health, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich.

Dr. Victor A. McKusick, Professor of Medicine, Epidemiology and Biology, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md.

Dr. Ancel Keys, Head of Physiological Hygiene, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, Minn.

Dr. Michael DeBakey, President, Baylor University College of Medicine, Houston, Tex.

Dr. Norman Shumway, Professor of Surgery and Chief, Cardiovascular Surgery Division, Stanford University Medical Center, Palo Alto, Cal.

Dr. H. Hugh Fudenberg, Director, Section of Hematology and Immunology and Professor of Medicine, University of California, San Francisco and Professor of Bacteriology and Immunology, University of California, Berkeley, Cal.

Dr. Albert Coons, Professor of Bacteriology and Immunology, Howard Medical School, Boston, Mass.

Dr. E. Hugh Luckey, Vice President Medical Affairs, Cornell University Medical College, New York, N.Y.

Dr. William B. Bean, Chairman and Professor, Department of Medicine, University of Iowa College of Medicine, Iowa City, Io.

## WHOSE BLOODBATH?

## HON. JEROME R. WALDIE

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 26, 1970

Mr. WALDIE. Mr. Speaker, in the continuing discussion about the pace of withdrawal of American forces from South Vietnam, the specter of a "bloodbath" is constantly raised by those who would prefer a slower rate of withdrawal.

In his most recent report to the Nation, President Nixon cautioned against leaving the South Vietnamese people in a vulnerable position for reprisals such as the horror that occurred at Hue during the Tet offensive of 1968.

A recent article in the Nation magazine by former South Vietnamese Government official, Tran Van Dinh, includes some very pertinent comments on the threat of a "bloodbath" in Vietnam. I would urge the Members of the Congress to consider these comments in future discussions of this important matter.

The article follows:

THE FATE OF "OUR" VIETNAMESE AFTER  
WITHDRAWAL: FEAR OF A BLOODBATH  
(By Tran Van Dinh)

The possibility of a "bloodbath" in South Vietnam if U.S. troops were to swiftly withdraw has been worrying both "hawks" and "doves." But the Vietnamese likely to be the most affected by a change of regime in Saigon, or by a Communist take-over—the wealthy and powerful—do not talk much about it: they have been getting ready ever since the Tet offensive of 1968, which brought the war into their cities and their air-conditioned living rooms. A quiet exodus began, mostly to France. The price of exodus is not cheap. An exit visa costs as much as \$5000; a "certificate of French citizenship" costs about \$2000; illegal border crossings into Cambodia cost anywhere from \$800 to \$4000.

Money has been deposited in European banks. According to Alessandro Cassella of *Die Weltwoche* of Zurich a total of between \$1.5 and \$2 billion has left Vietnam in this way. According to the same journalist, President Nguyen Van Thieu has found a home for his children in Rome (where his brother is ambassador), and his wife has just purchased a house in Europe. He estimates that of 1600 Vietnamese who are legally leaving this country each month, half do not return, which means that approximately 10,000 have emigrated since the negotiations started in Paris. My own estimates are a bit higher. Those who cannot afford or who do not wish to leave, have gone through a well-planned process of accommodation with the "other side," an accommodation that reaches the highest echelons of the government. Huynh Van Trong, special assistant to President Thieu, was arrested in July this year with 42 others on charges of having contacts with the Vietcong. They were scheduled for trial November 28. On the provincial level, as Henry A. Kissinger has noted, "tacit accommodations are not unusual in many areas such as the Mekong Delta" (*Foreign Affairs*, January 1969). One wonders who will be left among the prospective victims.

The here-and-now bloodbath is real, however. For the majority of Vietnamese, poor peasants in the defoliated countryside and destitute workers in the city slums, it is what they have been witnessing a long time: the search and destroy missions; the "free zone" strikes; the B52 saturation bombings; the Phoenix operation (which from December 1967 to December 1968 killed 18,393 civilian Vietcong cadres); the Song My ("Pinkville") type of breakfast massacre in which an American infantry unit allegedly shot down some hundreds of men, women and children in a captured village in the early morning of March 16, 1968; the atrocities regularly described in national magazines (*Esquire*, *Look*, *The New Yorker*). To talk about a future massacre against this present background is ironic, to say the least.

For me, a Vietnamese, to discuss this problem is to admit the US has a role to play in the internal affairs of Vietnam after the war. I ask myself if earlier Americans would have been impressed by the reprisal argument, if it had been raised by the British before they left American shores after the War of Independence? Would it have carried much weight if, during the Civil War, a European country had intervened on behalf of either the North or the South, and then refused to leave on the grounds that withdrawal would leave the people of the North (or the South) at the mercy of aggressors?

Nonetheless, the question needs to be discussed, if only because it is raised by many Americans whose compassion for the Vietnamese people and whose opposition to the war I do not doubt. But in doing so, we must examine two underlying myths: the first is that the "Orientals put little value on life and take killing very lightly"; the second is that reprisals are the monopoly of the Communists, whereas anti-Communists are less vengeful. The first is easily dispelled by a reading of Western history: the religious wars, the Inquisition, the lynchings, the World Wars, the American Indian and Civil Wars, Hitler's "final settlement." Anyone who has spent time in Vietnam realizes that the peasant esteems life very highly. The Oriental is no more brutal, no more casual about death than is the Occidental, irrespective of politics. Since 1945, Vietnam has gone through a revolution and revolutions are always bloody, but the blood is on all hands. Mr. Kissinger recognized this when he wrote: "It is beyond imagination that parties that have been murdering and betraying each other for 25 years could work together as a team giving joint instructions to the entire country." The French, whom the US helped to fight against the Viet Minh during the first Indochinese War, murdered a large number of Vietnamese nationalists and Communists alike, in both the North and the South. In November, 1945, French artillery fire and air bombardment killed 6000 fleeing Vietnamese civilians at Haiphong. The brief Japanese occupation of Vietnam was also bloody.

Many Americans believe that the Vietnamese Catholics will be the sure victims of future reprisals. Thus, President Nixon in his address on November 3 mentioned the "million-and-a-half Catholic refugees who fled to South Vietnam when the Communists took over the North." The President's statistics were inflated. According to *Vietnam Past and Present* published in Saigon in 1956 under the patronage of the South Vietnam Department of Education and the National Commission for UNESCO (p. 374) and written by Mr. Thai Van Klem, a Vietnamese diplomat and scholar, the total number of refugees was: 887,895 of whom 85 percent or 754,710 were Catholics. Also, some 100,000 Vietnamese left the South for the North in 1954, several thousands of whom were Catholic. There are now about 800,000 Catholics in North Vietnam. There are



Catholics in the leadership of the National Liberation Front. Those who predict the wholesale murder of Catholics by Communists sound more Catholic (and more anti-Communist) than the most anti-Communist Catholic leader in South Vietnam, Father Hoang Quynh. During the First Indochinese War, Father Hoang Quynh led a guerrilla army against the Viet Minh, and in 1954 he moved south with his faithful. Recently, he said: "If the Communists come, we will try and live and adapt here." (*Newsweek* November 24, 1969) In the last three years, he has worked out a close relationship with Venerable Thich Tri Quang, the militant Buddhist leader whom some in the US consider pro-Communist. Father Hoang Quynh knows very well that security lies in close association with your own people, not with a foreign army. In a communique on January 8, 1968, the Conference of Bishops in Vietnam appealed to "the goodwill of the government of both South and North Vietnam to build peace together; in the name of the Lord, we cry Stop." In early November this year, 93 prominent Vietnamese Catholics from France, West Germany, Canada and in Vietnam called for the immediate withdrawal of US troops. Among the signers of this appeal was Colonel Nguyen Van Chau, for several years (1957-1962) Director of Psychological Warfare of the ARVN (Army of the Republic of South Vietnam). (The colonel recently sent a letter supporting the October and November Moratoriums in the US.)

In recent months Saigon has given wide publicity to "mass executions and mass graves" in Hue, digging up bodies for the press and photographers. Yet, Colonel Ton That Khien, chief of Quang Ngai province ("Pinkville"), where the March 16, 1968 massacre of Vietnamese women and children took place, refused to dig up the bodies of the victims, saying that "they are old bodies" (*Evening Star*, November 17, 1969). Why are the Hue bodies new and the Quang Ngai old, when they were buried at the same time? President Nixon said: "We saw the prelude of what would happen in South Vietnam when the Communists entered the city of Hue last year. During their brief rule there, there was a bloody reign of terror in which 3000 civilians were clubbed, shot to death and buried in mass graves." I was touched by the President's mention of Hue, my home town. The 1968 Tet offensive took two victims in my own family: my younger brother, a noncommissioned officer in the ARVN and a published poet, and my nephew. They were both killed not by the Vietcong but by American bombings. They were buried in a temporary grave for the reason that Hue was under siege; nobody could get out of the area to buy a coffin for decent burial. The first news I received from an official Saigon source was that my relatives were killed by the Vietcong. Only much later, when I got word from my own family, did I learn that they had been killed by the bombings. What happened in Hue is told in an account that appeared in *The Christian Century* of November 5, 1969. The author, Len E. Ackland, now a graduate student at the Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies, worked and lived in Hue in 1967. He returned there after the Tet offensive of 1968 to interview the people (he speaks Vietnamese). He wrote: "When on the first day of the attack, about 20 Vietcong entered Gia Hoi (a precinct of 25,000 residents in Hue) in order to secure the area, they carried with them a list of those who were to be killed immediately as 'enemies of the people.' According to Le Ngan, director of Hue's special police, the list consisted of five names, all those of officers or special police." The Catholic priest in Gia Hoi told him that "none of his clergy or parishioners were harmed by the NLF."

When the 1968 Tet offensive started, I suggested to an acquaintance of mine whom I thought was close to the Saigon policy

makers, that Hue should be declared an open city as was Rome during the Second World War, and for the same reasons. Had that been done, the loss in lives, the damage to historical sites and treasures would have been minimized. Instead of which, the ARVN (which disappeared at the first Vietcong shot) returned in force with the US Marines and planes to "destroy the city in order to save it." Hue authorities never explained why they failed to protect the people. Nor did they reveal the number of people killed by American bombings and artillery.

Few know the Vietcong better than Tran Van Duc, a Vietcong colonel who defected last year. In an interview published by the Joint U.S. Public Affairs Office in Saigon, Tran Van Duc said: "If the Vietcong took over, they would send military officers and former civil servants to concentration camps to be reeducated, in some cases to hard labor until they become submissive. And of course, all those whose social class or former position makes them objects of suspicion would be carefully watched by the authorities. To me, the people of Vietnam and especially the peasants who have been militarily and politically trained in the last two decades by the revolutionaries would not be easily terrorized. They are tougher and much more sophisticated than their apparent apathy seems to indicate. In 1956, two years after the prestigious victory at Dien Bien Phu and the immense popularity of the late President Ho Chi Minh, the peasants in Nghe An, Ho Chi Minh's home province, revolted against the excesses of land reforms. President Ho Chi Minh admitted the mistakes publicly and took over the Secretary Generalship of the party to correct them."

If the reason for continuing the U.S. military presence in South Vietnam is to prevent a bloodbath, then the logical thing to aim for, *right now*, is a broad-based Saigon regime that includes Buddhists, whose nonviolent position has been always clear and consistent, the peace-minded generals such as Duong Van Minh (Big Minh) or Tran Van Don. That would be a negotiating government. The Thieu-Ky-Khien regime is not only an obstacle to negotiations, but polarizes the situation among non-Communist elements as well. "Vietnamization," which attempts to consolidate Thieu's regime, simply increases the likelihood of reprisals.

Those who fear a Vietcong bloodbath ought to consider other possibilities too. What will happen, for example, to thousands of political prisoners (among them Truong Dinh Dzu, the runner-up in the 1967 elections and now condemned to five years at hard labor), if there is no negotiated settlement? Judging from many threats directed against the neutralists and the peace-minded by the Saigon regime, they would be liquidated by Thieu and his friends the day those leaders decided to quit the country. Thieu has already launched a campaign against his political opponents, accusing them of being Communists.

Or consider this: Senator Cranston (D, California), *Newsweek* and *Time* have referred to a Pentagon "contingency plan" to fight the South Vietnamese Army, should negotiations fail. This is not as absurd as it may seem. Anti-American feelings in the South have risen since the Paris talks. The "Vietnamization" program has brought into positions of command young ARVN officers, who, unlike the generals, have never been associated with the French army. They are products of the South Vietnamese military schools since 1954. They are now part of an anti-Communist army, but they are not anti-nationalist; they know what is going on among their leaders, the corruption and the ineffectiveness. I know of several cases where officers of the ARVN have been demoted because of their close connection with their American advisers. General Ky himself has tried to exploit this anti-American sentiment

among young officers. More than once, he has said that if he had to choose again, he "would be on the side of Ho Chi Minh." The young majors and captains do not have money in foreign banks, they are not going to leave en masse after the Americans go home. But to stay with their people, they either have to find the way to accommodate with the "other side," or prove by their actions that they are as patriotic as the Vietcong. The best proof might be to fight the US "residual force." In June of this year, two US military police who had rushed to a bar in response to complaints that a drunken US soldier was making trouble were shot to death by Colonel Nguyen Viet Can, commander of the Vietnamese airborne battalion that guards the Independence Palace. No charge was filed against the colonel. As Mr. Kissinger again rightly notes: "The Vietnamese people have lived under foreign rule for approximately half of their history. They have maintained a remarkable cultural and social cohesion by being finely attuned to the realities of power." To many Vietnamese the realities of power since the Paris talks are shifting. An attack by the ARVN against the US troops would be the final blow.

Finally, President Thieu and the U.S. Embassy in Saigon have claimed that the pacification program has been going extremely well, that the South Vietnamese government controls more than 80 percent of the population. If this were true, then over a million ARVN troops and U.S. residual forces could stage a real bloodbath—against the Vietcong—after the war.

I do not sit in the inner councils of the NLF. I do not know the number of Vietnamese who may be victimized once U.S. forces are withdrawn. But I am not persuaded that a bloodbath would take place if there were no U.S. troops in Vietnam, or if the Vietcong took over. I agree, however, that if only dozens of Vietnamese might be killed in the post-withdrawal period, it is the moral duty of the American people and government to find the way to protect them. In the past, the Chinese invaders always took along with them those Vietnamese who cooperated with them, and provided them with good jobs in China. The French have also been hospitable to their Vietnamese friends. If fears of reprisals are the main concern of the Administration, as President Nixon has indicated, then several steps can be taken.

Adopt Senator Charles E. Goodell's "Vietnam Disengagement Act." This would not only put a limit on the U.S. commitment in Vietnam, but would create "a powerful incentive for that government [of South Vietnam] to mobilize its forces more effectively and to seek the political strength of a broadened popular base," thus reducing the chance of wholesale reprisals.

Support Senator George McGovern's suggestion and provide funds and means to resettle, either in continental America or in Hawaii, those Vietnamese who wish to leave the country at the departure of the U.S. troops. A bipartisan congressional committee could be formed promptly to prepare evacuation plans. Journalists, politicians and others who have expressed concern about a possible bloodbath could be invited to contribute money and effort. The U.S. can argue at the Paris talks (or better, at a reconvened Geneva Conference) for a period of regroupment exceeding the 300 days stipulated in the 1954 Geneva Agreements. As a resident of the U.S., being taxed without being represented, I would suggest that the U.S. should ask its allies to share the burden. Perhaps some Vietnamese would like to settle in Thailand, in the Philippines, in South Korea, in New Zealand. Australia needs manpower, and if Canberra can send troops to fight for the "freedom" of the Vietnamese, the Australian Parliament can change its immigration laws to admit the colored Vietnamese.

Give to the International Control Commission (ICC) temporary command of the last batch of U.S. troops being withdrawn, thus guarding against their being assaulted by ARVN, NLF or Hanoi forces.

Let the U.S. insist on strengthening machinery to implement Article 14C of the 1954 Geneva Accords. 14C said that the parties to the agreement undertook "to refrain from any reprisals or discrimination against persons or organizations on account of their activities during the hostilities, and to guarantee their democratic liberties." These pledges are accepted in paragraph C of point 5 of the NLF 10-point program for the settlement of the war.

MR. PRESIDENT, PLEASE DO NOT FALL INTO A JAPANESE TRAP

HON. GEORGE W. ANDREWS

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 26, 1970

Mr. ANDREWS of Alabama. Mr. Speaker, the growing problem of cheap textile imports flooding this country, principally from Japan, reached the critical stage some time ago. It is time for the President to stop talking and act—act to place limitations on total textile imports, and act now.

To do less will be to kill this valuable industry and throw millions of Americans out of work. Minimum wage earners cannot compete with coolie labor, nor should they be expected to.

The following statement comes from one who knows the textile business and the dangerous situation in which the domestic industry finds itself. J. Craig Smith, president and treasurer of the giant Avondale Mills, headquartered in Sylacauga, Ala., tells it like it is, and I urge the Congress and the President to listen:

MR. PRESIDENT, PLEASE DO NOT FALL INTO A JAPANESE TRAP

President Nixon, during his campaign for the Presidency, sent a telegram to Republican members of the Congress in which he spoke of "the impact of dramatically increasing imports on the 2.4-million people directly employed in the nation's textile and apparel industries and the countless additional thousands involved directly or indirectly in related activity."

In the same telegram, the President also said: "As President, my policy will be to rectify this unfair development and to assure prompt action to effectively administer the existing Long-Term International Cotton Textile Arrangement. Also, I will promptly take the steps necessary to extend the concept of international trade agreements to all other textile articles involving wool, man-made fibers and blends."

Since Mr. Nixon was elected President, he has publicly reaffirmed his intention to deal constructively with the textile import problem. I have complete confidence that he intends to do what he said he would do. During the past year, however, nothing has been done and the situation has worsened.

The imports which are doing the most damage to our industry, and which hold the threat of the most serious future damage, are coming from Japan. The booming Japanese economy has caused a labor shortage. Their rich textile industry is now building textile mills in other low-wage countries of Asia, Africa, and Central and South America. They expect to add a major part of this production to the flood of imports now coming

to this country from their own country. Every yard of these textiles comes to the United States for one reason, and one reason only: They are made by people who are paid a wage which, by a wide margin, is illegal in the United States.

The Japanese completely rebuffed Secretary of Commerce Stans when he asked them to agree to some reasonable restraints. Now, because they are afraid the Congress may take action, the Japanese have indicated that they might be willing to discuss restraints on selected items. If our Government falls into this trap, the result will be worse than nothing. It will be worse than nothing because such an agreement will lead the public to think that the problem has been helped when it hasn't.

Most mills, here and abroad, can manufacture a range of fabrics and yarns. Suppose, for example, the Japanese should agree to restraints on the import of print cloths. They could then proceed to disrupt the sheeting market. American mills making sheeting would be forced off that fabric. The former sheeting mills would try to make something else, maybe print cloths. Whatever they were forced into, the effect on the American industry would continue to be disastrous. Unless limitations on specific textile items also include reasonable limitations on total textile imports, the specific restraints are worthless. They are worse than worthless. They are a snare and a delusion.

YOUR CONGRESSMAN ED ESHLEMAN WANTS YOUR OPINION

HON. EDWIN D. ESHLEMAN

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 26, 1970

Mr. ESHLEMAN. Mr. Speaker, I am soon going to send to my constituents a questionnaire. I am including the contents of that questionnaire in the Record at this point:

DEAR FRIEND: Please excuse my lack of a personal greeting and my use of a postal patron address. However, I wanted everyone in the 16th Congressional District to receive this one mailing, and an effort to personalize the thousands of cards involved would have kept me and my staff from other important legislative and constituent work for a considerable time.

There is a new session of Congress getting underway, and your views on national issues will be of great value to me during the months ahead. This questionnaire represents one way we can work together for a better and stronger America.

I will appreciate your opinions. Kindly follow the instructions on the back, attach postage, and drop this card in the nearest mailbox.

Thank you very much.

1. Do you support President Nixon's Vietnam peace plan? Yes ( ) No ( )
2. Are you favorably impressed with the overall first year performance of the Nixon Administration? Yes ( ) No ( )
3. Do you think more tax dollars should be spent to combat air and water pollution? Yes ( ) No ( )
4. Do you favor returning a percentage of Federal tax money to state and local governments for use as they see it? Yes ( ) No ( )
5. Do you believe that the national news media give you a fair and accurate picture of national events and government activities? Yes ( ) No ( )
6. Do you think that our present welfare system provides enough assurance that those who can work do work? Yes ( ) No ( )

7. Do you believe that the problem of drug abuse is a serious threat in your community? Yes ( ) No ( )

8. Would you favor a requirement for all Federal officials, including Congressmen and Senators, to make public all sources of income? Yes ( ) No ( )

9. Do you agree with the President's assessment that inflation is presently our number one domestic problem? Yes ( ) No ( )

10. Do you believe there must be stiffer regulations to protect consumer interests? Yes ( ) No ( )

THE NIXON YEAR: QUIET PROGRESS

HON. LOUIS FREY, JR.

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 26, 1970

Mr. FREY. Mr. Speaker, President Nixon's first year in office was marked by impressive achievements, both in foreign policy and in domestic affairs. Perhaps the most notable aspect of these achievements is that they have been accomplished quietly, without fanfare, but with a solid determination by the President that the course our Nation had been following in the crucial areas of Vietnam, inflation, and crime had to be changed.

The important changes that have occurred in these areas are clearly outlined in an editorial from the Tampa Tribune, which describes the President's quiet progress in his first year. I am inserting this editorial in the RECORD:

THE NIXON YEAR: QUIET PROGRESS

President Nixon will look back on his first year in office with satisfaction, his critics with frustration.

Mr. Nixon moved into the White House with the main purpose of bringing stability and tranquility to a nation shaken by conflict. He has worked no miracles; but he has made progress.

His great challenge, of course, was what to do about the Vietnam war. Pull out, cooed the doves. Bomb North Vietnam, shrieked the hawks. Mr. Nixon, wisely, did neither. His policy of gradually reducing American forces has protected the security of South Vietnam while defusing the anti-war campaign in this country. This "Vietnamization" program is a solid success for the Nixon Administration.

The second major problem confronting the new President was voracious inflation, gobbling up the citizen's purchasing power at the rate of 5 per cent a year. This is an enemy as tough to conquer as the Viet Cong.

No victory can be reported yet. But the restraints of tight money and continued high taxes appear to be taking effect; there is a definite slowdown in the economy. What Mr. Nixon and his planners must guard against is keeping the brakes on too long, lest the economy grind into a recession. Nobody in Washington wants that—especially not in an election year.

The third most important task for the President, in our judgment, was restoring respect for law in a nation whose old legal principles had become confetti in a high wind of social revolution.

A starting point for this battle was to place upon the Supreme Court men with respect for the Constitution, as well as a knowledge of it. Chief Justice Warren Burger is certainly an improvement over Earl



Warren. Judge Clement F. Haynsworth would have added further balance to a liberal-tilted court, but he fell victim to the combined attack of civil rights groups and labor unions. But the President will offer another appointment this month, and his choice will certainly be another judge or lawyer who believes in interpreting the Constitution, not rewriting it by decree.

At the law enforcement level, the Justice Department has begun a vigorous attack on organized crime, particularly the Mafia mobsters who corrupt both public officials and private business. A Nixon program to strengthen crime-fighting weapons was submitted to Congress six months ago but has been pushed aside. Under the pressure of coming elections, Congress may soon take favorable action.

Tax reform was another major need. The Nixon proposals did not go far enough; the relief granted by Congress went too far. Still, the net result is a fairer distribution of the tax burden.

No major overhaul of the controversial draft law was achieved but it was improved by introduction of a lottery system which enables young men to know with greater certainty when or whether they may expect to be called into service.

None of this represents the kind of clamorous shakeup of the social order by which professional liberals measure the success of a President. This practical approach, however, is in the character of Richard Nixon, who has neither the charisma of a Kennedy nor the father image of an Eisenhower but is a more effective President than either.

And it is, we think, the kind of leadership which in these times suits both the mood and the need of America.

#### FBI DIRECTOR EXPRESSED CONFIDENCE IN AMERICAN YOUTH

### HON. RICHARD H. ICHORD

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 26, 1970

Mr. ICHORD. Mr. Speaker, I noted with interest an article which recently appeared in the St. Louis Globe-Democrat entitled "American Youth Have Booster in J. Edgar Hoover." The article, written by Edward O'Brien, chief of that paper's Washington bureau, thoughtfully presents Mr. Hoover's views on the need to give the youth of our Nation our confidence and support. We are deeply indebted to Mr. Hoover, an eminent authority in the field of youthful criminality, for his abiding faith in the new generation and his dedicated efforts to keep the public informed. History will record him as a towering bulwark against a vast array of lawless and subversive challenges to the stability of our democratic systems. I find this article of great timeliness. His perceptive insights noted by Mr. O'Brien deserve the widest possible dissemination. It follows:

[From the St. Louis Globe-Democrat, Jan. 9, 1970]

AMERICAN YOUTH HAVE BOOSTER IN J. EDGAR HOOVER

(By Edward O'Brien)

WASHINGTON.—American youth, who often feel misunderstood and unappreciated, have a sturdy booster in FBI director J. Edgar Hoover.

"My faith in youth has not been and will not be shaken by current statistics reflecting

the increasing involvement of young people in serious crime," Hoover told a recent board meeting of the Boys' Clubs of America at the White House.

Hoover has often warned of the dangers to the nation in Students For a Democratic Society and other militant new left campus groups, and of various other transgressions of the young.

But the long-time chief of the FBI, who celebrated his 75th birthday Jan. 1 and has come to personify firm law enforcement, has another side that has drawn little general attention.

He has confidence in the vast majority of young people as well as all other Americans of every race, color and creed. His denunciations have been carefully limited to that much smaller number who, as he puts it, "are interested not in the country as a whole but in their immediate selfish interests."

Even the anti-war student movement, which FBI agents have found to be strongly infiltrated by Communists, "contains many sincere, idealistic young people, pacifists, and others who feel the war is wrong," Hoover said in an interview last month.

"They have every right to their opinions." But he goes on to remind students that with their right to hold opinions goes the responsibility to be alert to the true motivation of organizations they join, and to the consequences of their actions.

"They should be careful that they are not exploited and manipulated by subversive groups which are interested only in injuring our country and promoting their own partisan ideological aims," he says.

Even if SDS, the core of the new left movement, should disintegrate as an organization because of its current bitter factionalism, "the problem of revolutionary student extremism would not disappear," Hoover says.

"The extremist minority of young people, who have been involved in riots, the seizure of academic buildings, and kidnappings, detests our free institutions and work for a violent overthrow of our government."

"Many of these individuals are under strong Marxist influence."

"They have become radicalized and believe in direct physical confrontation and disruptive tactics as a technique of attack against the so-called establishment."

Hoover has always believed in facing reality.

In 1968, 4,500,000 serious crimes were reported in the United States. The 1969 rate was 11 per cent higher.

"Certainly among the factors significantly contributing to our prime problem is the increasing involvement of youth in criminal activities," he told a newspaper a few days ago.

"As a group in 1968, young persons under 18 years of age accounted for about one half of all arrests for serious offenses."

"To a very large degree, our crime problem today is a youth problem."

Like most of his countrymen, Hoover sees a bewildering contradiction in this spread of lawlessness and destruction at a time when life for most Americans has become more rich and full.

But he takes the next step and puts the puzzle in the perspective of 45 years as FBI director.

"Forces antagonistic to a free and just society have always existed in America and constitute an inescapable heritage of citizenship," he wrote in a year-end statement for the Associated Press.

"Lawlessness, violence and injustice existed during my youth."

"Corrupt and greedy men of high position violated public trust in their lust for power and wealth."

"Bigotry and prejudice divided our people. Those faithless to the cause of freedom and

democracy sought to subvert and to destroy our nation.

"Then, as now, youth were faced with the imperative to act—positively and tirelessly—to protect the bright promise of America."

Many times in the past, Hoover has sounded the same theme—that for all Americans, of whatever age, the price of enjoyment of our country's privileges is the responsibility to act affirmatively in strengthening and defending them.

"Our approach toward communism must not be negative or defeatist," he wrote 15 years ago in the Harvard Business Review.

"We are against communism but that is not enough."

"We must stand for something—the moral and spiritual forces which make for decency, honesty and understanding."

"These ideals are what give strength to America."

In the current issue of the FBI's widely circulated Law Enforcement Bulletin, Hoover looks the adult generation in the eye. He does not like everything he sees.

"In the fact of current perplexing conditions, many citizens are practically moral cowards," he declares.

"Afraid of being labeled puritanical or 'square,' they tolerate and condone acts and habits which they know are morally wrong but which they do not have the courage to denounce and oppose."

"This is unfortunate, because they fail themselves, their children, and their country."

In another recent statement, bachelor Hoover showed deft insight into contemporary family life.

"In our investigations, we find all too frequently an alienation, a lack of communication between young people and their parents," he said.

"The family may gather around the dinner table or do other things together, but often there is little discussion between the father and mother on the one hand, and the high school or college young persons about the really serious issues of life."

"Yes, they may talk about the purchase of a new car or how the recreation room is to be decorated or where to go on vacation, but when it comes to some of the really serious problems which concern the young person—like the draft, the war in Vietnam, sex, drugs—there is very little, if any, serious discussion."

"The generations really don't know each other."

"Parents should take more time, make more effort to communicate in depth with their children. Nothing can take the place of serious dialog in the home."

"In this way, the young car influence the adult, and the adult the young."

"Perhaps the alienation vacuum, the lack of understanding between generations can be minimized."

"There is today a desperate need for personal communication between parents and children, especially in an age when the home authority is being eroded so seriously."

#### THE 50TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE FOUNDING OF THE JAYCEES

### HON. JOHN WOLD

OF WYOMING

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 26, 1970

Mr. WOLD. Mr. Speaker, I am reminded this week of the numerous contributions which the Jaycee organization has made to the well-being of our Nation. While many organizations search for ways through which to im-

prove our communities, these young men act.

By their actions, they consistently demonstrate by deed rather than word, not only what is needed, but what can be accomplished. They steadily set the finest example, teaching that through dedicated people, anything is possible.

I applaud the accomplishments of Jaycees everywhere, especially the many chapters which have made such notable contributions to Wyoming.

These devoted people have my highest regard and best wishes for continued success in their many worthwhile activities.

**DR. JOHN HARPER HARRIS: A  
COURAGEOUS EDUCATOR**

**HON. ROMAN C. PUCINSKI**

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 26, 1970

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, this Nation has lost a courageous and creative educator in the passing of Dr. John Harper Harris. As superintendent of schools in Peoria and Downers Grove, Ill., in Des Moines, Iowa, and finally in the Metropolitan School District of Nashville, Tenn., Dr. Harris brought to the profession a demand for excellence, a frank and forthright approach to controversial issues, and a vision of fulfilling the promise of the American dream through the vehicle of quality education for all.

A native of Illinois, Dr. Harris was born and educated in Peoria and graduated from Bradley University in his home city. He held master's and doctor's degrees from Columbia University and was also awarded honorary doctorate from three other institutions. In 1960 he studied comparative education in Europe on a Fulbright Fellowship as a representative of the State Department.

Dr. Harris never backed away from a crisis. He faced the hotly debated questions of our time, from school bond issues, early childhood education, and metropolitan government to sex education, desegregation, and teacher unionism. He was committed to vocational education and to education for the handicapped.

His wife, Vera Justus Harris of Peoria, and his son, Dr. John J. Harris, a physician in Chicago, can be proud of the legacy which he has left to the education profession.

The future of American education will rest on the Nation's ability to develop more tough-minded, valiant administration with unique combination of pioneering spirit and management skills of John Harper Harris. As chairman of the Subcommittee on General Education, I take the privilege today of inserting in the RECORD an excellent editorial which appeared in the Nashville Banner, January 3, memorializing Dr. Harris:

DR. JOHN H. HARRIS

Dr. John Harper Harris brought to the duties of Metropolitan School Director—by contract assigned a little more than five years ago—the rare combination of abilities that

were his; and the quality of the public school system here today attests to the vision, the skill, the driving energy of that stewardship.

His untimely passing is Nashville's loss. Not easily will a replacement of comparable stature—in these essential particulars—be found.

School authorities exercised courage, along with good judgment, in deciding as they did—at the end of a long search—to go all the way to Des Moines, Iowa for the administrator deemed best fitted for the job. It was a transition period, the consolidation of two school systems—plant and personnel; with the desire to maintain the best of each. Developments have vindicated their choice of Dr. Harris; and though his tenure, now terminated by death, has been relatively short, the years of it have established standards and benchmarks invaluable as a guideline to any successor, and to the city itself—still concerned for the best school system obtainable.

Dr. Harris was blunt. He didn't bandy words—nor sugarcoat the facts in any school case, either of budget or other matters confronted. Whether he was talking with the Metro Board of Education, Metro Council, the Mayor—a delegation of teachers, taxpayers, or the P.T.A.—he told it as it was. And his hard-headed realism in controversies, including budget showdowns, was a factor in the victories he won for steady advancement—both in quality and size—of the whole school system.

He knew school business because it was his lifetime career—the area of his training and experience; and he brought to the responsibility here that total dedication. He was impatient of the superficial and of professional inferiority. He had no tolerance of political intrusion on, much less domination of, a public school system. He won some victories on that point, clearly justifying the posting of signs that these institutions still are off limits in that particular.

Dr. Harris was not engaged in a popularity contest. He was interested in building a great school system, and in recognition of that fact he gained the genuine support of an overwhelming portion of the aggregate faculty. As an evidence of the community backing, the budget granted for this school year was about \$60 million—an investment in the teaching staff and the plant, requisite to the needs he saw for both.

He measured fully to the responsibilities of good citizen—a tireless worker in civic, humanitarian, and social affairs of his city.

No area of public business is closer to every home than is the school system—and no office more immediately important to it than that of the school director. Dr. Harris' passing brings a feeling of loss along with the shock.

The standards he set supply their own notable example for those who succeed to this role of stewardship, to carry on in what was to him the vital area of unfinished business.

#### PARITY FIGURES, 1969

**HON. JOHN M. ZWACH**

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 26, 1970

Mr. ZWACH. Mr. Speaker, 1 year ago, I inserted the December 1968, parity figure, which was 73 percent.

During the past year parity has risen, slowly but surely. In fact, the December 1969, parity figure is now 76 percent. While I will not be happy until the producer receives a full parity the figure today is better than a year ago.

Mr. Speaker, in accordance with my

usual custom, I hereby insert the December 1969, parity figures:

December 1969, parity figures

Commodity:	Percent
Wheat	47
Corn	63
Cotton	41
Milk	83
Butterfat	75
Wool	41
Barley	62
Flax	61
Oats	61
Sorghum	68
Soybeans	63
Beef	81
Hogs	98
Lamb	88
Chicken	62
Turkeys	78
Eggs	96
Average	76

#### CALIFORNIA PHARMACISTS AND DRUG ABUSE

**HON. JEROME R. WALDIE**

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 26, 1970

Mr. WALDIE. Mr. Speaker, I am sure all the Members of the Congress share my concern regarding the matter of drug abuse in this Nation.

This matter may be the most serious social problem facing the United States today, as its implications and long-range effects on our society are beyond prediction.

As a member of the Select Committee on Crime, I have heard testimony from many young persons whose lives, if not totally destroyed, have been severely altered because of drug abuse.

We on the committee have urged drug manufacturers to tighten their own controls over dangerous drugs and drug ingredients to prevent misuse or face new and stricter Federal controls.

The same can be said for the commercial pharmaceutical industry.

I am thus most pleased to tell of a most hopeful action taken by the California State Board of Pharmacy and reported to me by my good friend and member of the California board, Mr. Bill McDermott.

The board has mailed a "drug list notice" to each of the 14,000 licensed California pharmacies urging strict voluntary controls over projects available across the counter, but capable of misuse.

I consider this to be a most positive step and worthy of high commendation.

The letter and list follows:

#### DRUG LIST NOTICE

DEAR PHARMACIST: The California State Board of Pharmacy has as its primary objective the protection of public health. It has a very important role in preventing drug abuse; and recognizes that this cannot be accomplished by Law enforcement methods alone. It believes that through proper educational means, the problem can be curbed.

Accordingly, it now calls on licensees of the Board to exert cooperative effort; and to mount a strong program which will gain public respect and support for Pharmacy by



joining virtually all segments of our citizenry in a concerted drive to eliminate drug misuse or abuse.

There are many ways in which the pharmacist can assist in this important crusade:

(1) Two-thirds of those arrested for drug offenses are in their teens or twenties—a young group. Increase your efforts to provide such persons with reliable, sound, scientific health information.

(2) Actively direct patrons to other sources for authoritative, factual information which can be supplied by Professional Associations, Civic Councils and Government Agencies.

(3) Voluntarily refrain from the sale of any drug that your specialized training and education warns you has a potential for abuse, or is likely to be misused (a list of such drugs is attached). It is recommended that these drugs and any other over-the-counter drugs be removed from self-service counters and sold only by the pharmacist if they appear to be a problem in your area.

It may be true that many of the drugs (particularly trademarked OTC drugs) may be sold at many non-licensed premises. However, restraint by a pharmacist in the sale of such medications will confirm the professional position he occupies of public trust and confidence. Moreover, if the program is successful it should:

(1) Prevent Government intervention, leading to further mandatory restrictions.

(2) Establish sound date for removal of such drug products from the shelves of non-licensed persons who do not exercise the same degree of care and caution in the sale of drugs which could be abused as does the ethical professional pharmacist.

(3) Help to stem the problem of drug abuse—a problem affecting all of society; or, at the very least, it will curb the creation of new drug abusers.

Your cooperation is solicited.

Very truly yours,  
CALIFORNIA STATE BOARD OF PHARMACY,  
JOSEPH F. BOTTINI,

Executive Secretary.

The following OTC medications have been reported to the Board of Pharmacy by various Law Enforcement Agencies as having been abused:

1. OTC Sleep Compounds that contain Scopolamine and/or Antihistamines, such as: Somnex, Quiet World, Dormarex.

2. Inhalers, such as: Wyamine, Vicks, Page's.

3. Cough Preparations that contain Dextromethorphan and/or Antihistamines, such as: Romilar CP, Nyquil, Vicks Formula 44.

4. Motion-Sickness Medications, such as: Marezine, Dramamine.

5. Cold Preparations that contain Antihistamines, such as: Contac.

6. Stimulants that contain Caffeine, such as: Nodoz, Vitarin.

7. Miscellaneous: Catnip, Asthmador Cigarettes or powder, Amyl Nitrite, Carbon Tetrachloride, Airplane Glue containing Toluene, Morning Glory Seeds.

RAILROAD SAFETY BILL BACKED

HON. EDWARD J. PATTEN

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 26, 1970

Mr. PATTEN. Mr. Speaker, millions of Americans are concerned about a growing threat to public safety—railroad accidents involving volatile chemicals. Accidents of this kind are no longer infrequent and often cause serious injuries

CXVI—76—Part 1

and even death, as well as extensive damage to property.

During the past few years, several serious railroad accidents have taken place throughout the Nation, causing the deaths of scores of persons and inflicting damage amounting to millions of dollars.

Last January, for instance, 15 tank cars of a train were derailed in a southern State. The contents were hazardous and considerable damage resulted: Two persons died, 33 others were hospitalized, 1,350 houses were damaged, and 54 were destroyed. The total damage of just this one incident was \$3 million, not to mention the incalculable loss of human life, which can never be replaced.

Because of accidents like these—and those that could be even worse in the future—Congress has a duty to perform now: To pass comprehensive railroad safety legislation to protect the public against destruction, injury, and death.

A bill has been introduced that would authorize the Secretary of Transportation to prescribe rules, regulations, and performance, and other standards he may find necessary for all areas of railroad safety, and to conduct railroad safety research. It should be enacted at once.

The proposal would establish a technical staff to evaluate the hazardous materials being shipped, maintain a central reporting system for hazardous materials accidents, and furnish advice to law enforcement and firefighting personnel of communities for meeting emergencies connected with shipping hazardous materials.

Mr. Speaker, I hope this important legislation is passed before tragedy strikes again.

WE REMEMBER GEORGE

HON. GARNER E. SHRIVER

OF KANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 26, 1970

Mr. SHRIVER. Mr. Speaker, we in Kansas are especially proud that George M. Stafford, a fellow Kansan, has been named Chairman of the Interstate Commerce Commission by President Nixon, pending a decision on a permanent Chairman.

We believe George Stafford is well qualified to serve as permanent chairman of ICC, and have so informed the President.

A native of Valley Falls, Kans., George Stafford has a valuable background of government experience having served as assistant and adviser to former U.S. Senator Frank Carlson during his tenure as Governor of Kansas and U.S. Senator.

There are many challenging problems facing the Interstate Commerce Commission in the years ahead, and Mr. Stafford is a man who can face up to those problems. Under the leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Topeka Daily Capital which points up the reasons for George Stafford's success.

The editorial follows:

WE REMEMBER GEORGE

George Stafford takes a rich background of political and governmental experience to his new position as acting chairman of the Interstate Commerce Commission, to which President Nixon appointed him.

Former Sen. Frank Carlson would be first to acknowledge that a great deal of his success could be attributed to Stafford, who was Carlson's right hand man for a quarter of a century.

The two worked closely together, with Stafford taking the important background role of administrative assistant during the senator's 21 years in Washington and as executive secretary during his four years as Kansas governor.

As such, Stafford kept Carlson's office functioning smoothly while Carlson himself devoted his time and efforts to being the good public servant he was. But without Stafford's knowledgeable help, Carlson could not have been as successful as he was.

In those 25 years Stafford developed a vast capacity for efficient work and a wide acquaintanceship not only in Washington but throughout the country.

Former President Johnson thought so much of Stafford's ability that he appointed him to a Republican position on the 11-member ICC.

Now President Nixon has elevated him to the acting chairmanship, which has taken on new duties, for since Jan. 1 all administrative functions of the commission are concentrated by law in the chairman's office.

Despite his elevation to one of the most important positions in the federal government, Stafford is the type of man who will always proclaim proudly that he is a native of Valley Falls, Kan.

Throughout his career he has maintained the common touch—which, come to think of it, may be one reason for his success.

HILL POLICE FORCE GROWING STEADILY

HON. JOHN KYL

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 26, 1970

Mr. KYL. Mr. Speaker, the Al Lewis article which follows has information of value for all House Members:

HILL POLICE FORCE GROWING STEADILY  
(By Alfred E. Lewis)

The Capitol police force, at one time mainly composed of congressional patronage appointees, has been growing in strength and has become more professional.

It is one of a number of major police forces in Washington that are expected to have more than doubled in strength in five years by July, 1970, if Congress approves President Richard M. Nixon's request for heavy federal funds to fight crime.

In 1965, the Capitol police force had 250 men, most of them moonlighting students. The force depended on metropolitan police to do the primary work of investigation.

But under the guidance of Capitol Police Chief James M. Powell, who took on the job 4 years ago, the force has been enlarged to 616 men. Powell, who formerly was a metropolitan policeman, has been in police work 20 years.

The Capitol force is run by a board, composed of the sergeants at arms of the Senate and the House and by the architect of the Capitol.

Only about a third of its members are now political appointees. The force has its own

training school, set up with the help of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, and its own pistol range, both in the Rayburn House Office Building.

Most of the other two-thirds are retired noncommissioned officers from the military police who have received extensive military training in crowd control.

Every three years, members of the Capitol force go through a special retraining course. The force still includes metropolitan policemen, 11 detectives detailed to the Senate side and 11 to the House, along with seven members of the metropolitan police canine corps, who police the Capitol and its grounds.

Just as the Capitol police force has grown during the last five years, so have other major police forces in the city.

The White House force, which stood at 200 in 1965, has climbed to 250 and expects to reach 800 by next July.

The metropolitan police department, which had 2,915 persons in 1965, has pledged a concentrated recruitment drive to bring it up to 5,100 by July.

The U.S. park police force also is expanding, from 270 in 1965 to hopefully 413 by July.

The following figures show the expected growth in the number of policemen in the major forces in Washington during a five-year period:

	1965	1967	At present	July 1970
Capitol .....	250	447	616	616
White House .....	200	200	250	800
U.S. Park .....	270	288	363	413
District of Columbia Police .....	2,915	3,100	3,958	5,100
Cadets .....	25	85	250	400
Civilians .....	300	371	650	900
Total .....	3,960	4,491	6,087	8,229

#### DID THE COURTS CHANGE THE RULES?

### HON. DON FUQUA

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 26, 1970

Mr. FUQUA. Mr. Speaker, my office is being flooded with letters from concerned parents in my district relative to the recent order of the Court for desegregation of our schools.

Again, I point out the chaos which has been created by an order which refused to take into account the fact that implementing a decision of this kind would take some time.

We are reaping a whirlwind of destruction and it is the children who are suffering. Did our school districts indeed drag their feet or did the courts change the rules along the way? I think they changed the rules and showed very poor judgment or total disregard for school officials with their order.

Generally, all areas of government recognize that far-reaching changes in our school systems take at least a few months planning. In this case, it was weeks.

The following editorial from the Florida Times-Union of January 18, 1970, makes that point very aptly:

#### HAS IT BEEN "ALMOST 16 YEARS?"

We do not intend to make any editorial comment or indulge in any editorial speculation as to what may be the content of the

U.S. District Court orders implementing the U.S. Supreme Court's decision regarding desegregation of students by Feb. 1. As we have stated before, further comment on that aspect will rightly await the issuance of the decisions themselves.

But the advocates of harsh orders have one wearying argument that should be discussed because we believe it to be an erroneous argument.

Roughly this argument may be summarized as follows: "It has been 16 years since the Supreme Court ordered the schools to be integrated. You have not done so. You have sown the wind in making a mockery of 'deliberate speed' and therefore you should reap the whirlwind of having to do in two weeks what you have failed to do in 16 years."

The question now arises as to whether the South failed to follow the rules or whether the courts changed the rules along the way. It is an important question as it bears on the issue of whether or not the alleged failure of the South to comply with the provisions for "deliberate speed" justifies turning school systems upside down at mid-year.

For that reason let us take a look at what no less a Civil Rights advocate than then-Senator Hubert Humphrey had to say in regard to this matter during the debate on the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

Senator Robert Byrd of West Virginia asked Humphrey who was acting as floor manager for the bill: "Can the Senator from Minnesota assure the Senator from West Virginia that under Title VI school children may not be bused from one end of the community to another end of the community at the taxpayers' expense to relieve so-called racial imbalance in the schools?"

Humphrey replied "I do" and then proceeded to elaborate as follows:

"... the Constitution declares segregation by law to be unconstitutional, but it does not require integration in all situations. I believe this point has been made very well in the courts, and I understand that other senators will cite the particular cases.

"I shall quote from the case of Bell against School City of Gary, Indiana, in which the Federal court of appeals cited the following language from a special three judge district court in Kansas: 'Desegregation does not mean that there must be intermingling of the races in all school districts. It means only that they may not be prevented from intermingling or going to school together because of race or color'—Brown vs. Board of Education, D.C. 139 F Supp. 468, 470.

"In Briggs vs. Elliott (ESDC), 132 Supp. 776, 777, the Court said: 'The Constitution, in other words, does not require integration. It merely forbids discrimination.' In other words, an overt act by law which demands segregation is unconstitutional. That was the ruling of the historic Brown case of 1954."

What the Brown decision of 1954 did was to assert the Constitutional right of children to be assigned to schools without regard to race.

Then a series of decisions over the past 20 months started decreeing that racial considerations must be taken into account in assigning children to schools, specifically in the case of Green vs. New Kent County.

It is the Supreme Court and some of the federal appellate courts which have changed the ground rules during the past two years and the decision now seems to be to punish the South for doing what it was told to do in the Brown decision.

There was foot dragging after the Brown decision but that foot dragging has been eliminated.

And since the Green decision has been final for less than two years, we are talking about that time period instead of the 16-year span so often cited. This is hardly a long enough period to justify mid-year disruption of the schools as a punitive measure.

#### COMING LATE TO THE PARTY

### HON. JEROME R. WALDIE

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 26, 1970

Mr. WALDIE. Mr. Speaker, the surge of public awareness and concept regarding the threats to this Nation's environment and natural resources has been marked with justifiable outcries by citizens for action by Government, at all levels, to correspond to this concern.

We have seen the Congress respond to this mandate with vigor and conviction. We now await action by the administration to see if the executive branch will meet this vigor and conviction by implementing the legislation and the funds approved by the Congress to protect and enhance our environment.

In my own State of California, we are seeing the Reagan State administration giving recognition to the environment as a valid and important political issue.

The Reagan administration which has not been noted for response to the desperate pleadings of conservationists in the past, has made conservation the No. 1 issue in this election year and has prompted those who have followed the previous neglect of environmental considerations by this same administration, to reflect on this curious, but predictable, turn of events.

Richard Rodda, an astute and respected political editor of the Sacramento Bee, has made a most accurate and incisive report on this situation in California and I think it is of sufficient interest to bring it to the attention of my colleagues in the Congress.

The article follows:

COMING LATE TO PARTY

(By Richard Rodda)

CREDIT?

Republicans are encouraging the idea they invented environmental quality, the No. 1 issue before the 1970 session of the legislature. Democrats are called "Johnny-Come-Lately" conservationists.

This is as believable as the notion Herbert Hoover led the country out of the Great Depression.

In a New York's statement, Putnam Livermore of San Francisco, vice chairman of the Republican State Central Committee, pointed with pride to three years of leadership by Gov. Ronald Reagan in such matters as smog control, oil drilling regulations and San Francisco Bay protection.

Livermore has to be kidding. The Reagan most politicians have known since he took office in January, 1967, has been preoccupied with slashing the state budget, increasing taxes, fighting the student dissidents, castigating educators, denouncing pornography, lowering property assessments, and cracking down on drug abuse and crime in the streets. Some of these causes are laudable.

BANDWAGON JOINER

The governor is just now getting on the environmental bandwagon, having devoted most of his state of the state message to this subject and having almost ignored the previous issues so dear to his heart.

Today it is popular to advocate a halt in offshore oil drilling in the Santa Barbara Channel. However, Reagan stopped short of this in his so-called get-tough posture on the



oil spilling problem. Critics called his stand wishy-washy.

Former Democratic Sen. Alvin C. Weingand of Santa Barbara County was urging a ban on drilling in the early 1960s. His was like a voice in the wilderness in those days. Weingand had even predicted the Santa Barbara oil leak which caused millions of dollars in damage and sent legislators scurrying for a seat on the conservation bandwagon.

Former Democratic Sen. Fred Farr of Monterey County is another whose conservation credentials are unimpeachable. Farr was champion of antibillboard legislation and author of the bill which created the state's scenic highway system.

#### SAVE LAKE TAHOE

Assemblyman Edwin L. Z'berg of Sacramento County, another Democrat, has a national reputation as a conservationist. He has led the fight to preserve the natural beauty and environment of Lake Tahoe. In 1969 Z'berg was author of legislation to create an environmental bill of rights. It was killed by the Republican-controlled Assembly.

Sen. Nicholas C. Petris, D-Alameda County, initiated anti-pesticide legislation years ago when he was an assemblyman. He consistently has led the fight for antipollution laws.

Assemblyman John Foran, D-San Francisco, has been identified for years as one of the leading spokesmen in the legislature in the area of vehicular smog control. The first law relating to smog control was passed during the administration of Democratic Gov. Edmund G. Brown.

Democratic Assemblyman Carley V. Porter of Los Angeles County has been in the forefront in the campaign for water quality control, being the author of important legislation in this area.

#### LIPSERVICE

What is Gov. Reagan's record? Last year he gave lipservice but no real political muscle to the legislation designed to save San Francisco Bay from the polluters. In 1967 he vetoed a bill by Sen. George Moscone, D-San Francisco, which would have established a conservation education service in the Department of Education. He signed a similar measure in 1968 but in 1969 a bill to fund the office at a cost of \$125,000 was killed by the Senate Finance Committee, mainly because the Department of Finance opposed the appropriation.

To the governor's credit his appointees in the field of conservation generally have been good. But to portray the Republican Establishment as the savior of the state's environment is a distortion of ecological and political history.

#### BOY SCOUTS' 60TH ANNIVERSARY

### HON. WILLIAM H. NATCHER

OF KENTUCKY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 26, 1970

Mr. NATCHER. Mr. Speaker, the week of February 7 through the 13 will mark the 60th anniversary of the Boy Scouts of America, and it is with tremendous pride and admiration that I take this opportunity to again express my genuine interest in and affection for this outstanding organization.

When scouting came to America 60 years ago, certainly an unprecedented long-range plan for the American boy was born and all down through the years we have witnessed the wonderful accomplishments brought about by the empha-

sis of this organization on community service, tolerance, and world friendship.

Scouting's original foundation was a firm one with a strong framework and currently the more than 5 million fine young boys of our country who, together with their leaders are committed to this program, give ample proof that the basic purpose and goals of this movement have remained unchanged.

In my opinion there is no organization more sympathetic or relevant to the needs of our youth and this in itself makes membership a deeply personal experience for every boy. This, I personally know, because never have I forgotten the enjoyable experiences which were mine as a Boy Scout. In addition to remembering the fun, adventure, and fellowship I recall with appreciation the lessons of citizenship which come early with scouting, and cannot fail but provide a sincere respect for God and country as well as a desire for active minds and bodies so vital in the preparation for our responsibilities as citizens.

The scouting movement in Kentucky has had a steady and significant growth and I am understandably proud of the successful activities of the units in the Second Congressional District. However, despite its tremendous growth, scouting is still endeavoring to reach more than one in four boys because this has simply not been enough. In this era of unrest and mounting problems in which we are witnessing the struggle of so many of our young people for a clear vision of their place in the future, scouting is indeed one of the best proven methods of developing individual character and qualities of leadership.

I am confident that the new long-range plan designated as Boypower '76, which was launched in January 1969, will be carried out with the same dedication of all prior scouting programs and will go far in preparing a whole new generation with the skill and hope needed to master the challenges of our country's future and make certain her continued leadership.

Mr. Speaker, our Boy Scouts are definitely among our greatest assets and with the coming of their 60th anniversary I consider it a high honor to pay them tribute and wish for each of them continued success.

SPEECH BY SENATOR WILLIAM B. SPONG, JR.

### HON. THOMAS N. DOWNING

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 26, 1970

Mr. DOWNING. Mr. Speaker, the Capital District of Kiwanis International held its training conference in Tidewater, Va., over the weekend and was addressed by the distinguished junior Senator from Virginia, Hon. WILLIAM B. SPONG, JR. He presented the conference with some excellent thoughts which I am pleased to include in the RECORD:

SPEECH BY SENATOR WILLIAM B. SPONG, JR., BEFORE THE KIWANIS CAPITAL DISTRICT TRAINING CONFERENCE, NORFOLK, VA., JANUARY 24, 1970

The development of our ocean resources is of the urgent tasks facing this nation in the decade ahead.

For thousands of years, men have harvested the fruits of the sea. But only in the last decades have they come to appreciate the full potential of its vast resources and to develop the scientific knowledge and technology necessary to exploit it.

The time is at hand when those resources will be in critical demand. Thirty years from now, world population will have doubled, bringing with it a desperate search for new sources of food. Industry, with its heavy call on raw materials of all kinds, should expand at even greater rates.

This growth will be beyond anything our land resources alone can support. A turn to the oceans is inevitable, and in some fields, intensive development is already under way.

Most heavily exploited today are oil and gas which account for about 90 percent of the value of all minerals taken from the ocean. Offshore production has grown from 8 percent of the world total in 1960 to 17 percent today. By 1980, it is expected to represent more than a third of all production.

Oil is the leader, but it is by no means the only mineral being taken commercially from the sea.

If you own a magnesium step ladder, the odds are the metal in it was extracted from sea water. That's where the U.S. obtains most of its supply. That is true also of bromine which is used as a gasoline additive. In fact, 70 percent of the world's production of that element is recovered from sea water.

Significant quantities of sand, gravel, oyster shells and sulphur are also being mined off U.S. coasts. Elsewhere in the world, zinc, copper, silver, uranium and diamonds are beginning to be recovered from the sea in important quantities.

As impressive as some of today's ocean mining is, it barely scratches the surface of the ocean's total deposits. No one knows exactly how extensive they are, but some oceanographers and geologists have estimated the oceans may contain as much as 50 quadrillion metric tons of useable minerals.

A sizeable part of that wealth lies on the continental shelf at depths of 200 meters or less, much of it within man's reach even considering the early state of marine engineering. This underwater frontier bordering the United States totals about 930,000 square miles, more territory than was involved in either the Louisiana or Alaska purchase, and perhaps more valuable.

As might be expected, the most plentiful and probably the most valuable potential resource of the sea is water. There are now in operation or under construction today some 680 desalination plants and the number is expected to increase by 25 percent a year over the next ten years. While the cost of desalted water is still too high for general use, improved technology is gradually bringing it down. Today, the price is about 85 cents per 1,000 gallons as compared to the 35 cents per 1,000 gallons for fresh water charged in the U.S.

One of the most exciting uses of sea products today is the manufacture of drugs from marine bioactive substances. For example, a poison secreted by the stonefish was discovered by doctors at the University of Southern California to reduce blood pressure in animals. Experiments are underway to see if the drug can be used to treat hypertension.

A new antibiotic was discovered after researchers in the Antarctic noted that the intestinal tracts of penguins were virtually

free of bacteria. An investigation led to the krill, the penguin's main source of food, and from there to a green algae which is the krill's chief food. The antibiotic synthesized from this substance has killed virus cultures in laboratory experiments.

Another fascinating project concerns the Bonellia, a type of marine worm. Scientists have observed that Bonellia larvae which touch against their mothers are affected by a hormone which immediately stops their growth process. Researchers are investigating possible application of the hormone in the control of cancers.

A vast number of other marine biochemical agents are thought to have possible uses in medicine, so many that one doctor has dubbed the ocean a sea-going drugstore. To date, however, only about one percent of these substances have been tested.

Of all the potential uses of sea products, none is of more immediate importance than the production of food, especially of animal protein which is the most basic need of food-poor countries.

Seafood, of course, is a rich source of such protein and it can be produced inexpensively and in enormous quantity. At the present time, however, only about two percent of the available supply of seafood is harvested each year.

U.S. fishermen account for about four percent of the world catch, a figure that has remained constant for 30 years. That is only a third of what the United States consumes each year, making this country one of the world's largest importers of seafood when it clearly has the potential to be one of its great exporters. Marine authorities estimate that U.S. fishermen harvest only one-tenth of the useable sea species available in its waters.

Aquaculture, or sea farming, could greatly augment the production of traditional fishing and is already the source of most of the world's oysters.

These achievements in marine development point up the tremendous economic potential of that two-thirds of the earth which lies beneath the sea. And it is only a beginning. As land resources continue to decline in relation to demand, more and more industries will find it economically feasible to reach out to the ocean for their raw materials. Ocean-related businesses and industry have one of the most promising growth prospects in the world today, even greater than the space industry.

Unlike the space program, which is essentially a Federal undertaking, the exploration and development of our oceans requires a truly national effort which will mobilize the resources of industry, the scientific community and government at all levels. Private enterprise has a key role to play in this, but it is dependent upon the support and leadership of government and science for the development of the technology and basic research which will make wide-spread commercial exploitation possible.

One of the most pressing needs today is for the development of fundamental technology—such things as producing corrosion-resistant metals, improved lighting systems and communication networks—which have application in a wide range of activities. This kind of work is the essential underpinning of progress, but for the most part it is beyond the resources of private industry to support.

Clearly, government has a role to play as it does in underwriting basic marine research, providing maps and weather services, developing manpower resources and directing projects of national scope. Above all, government must assume the responsibility for safeguarding the resources of ocean and shore from the kind of environmental devastation that accompanied the exploitation of our land resources.

In many areas along our coasts, pollution is already a serious problem. It is estimated,

for instance, that more than a tenth of the 10.7 million square miles of shellfish-producing waters bordering the United States is now unusable because of pollution. In the next decade, the amount of industrial wastes reaching the oceans is expected to increase sevenfold, resulting in the wide-spread destruction of fish and other aquatic life.

Competition among the many, often incompatible uses of the coastal region poses a serious threat to its basic ecology. Thousands of acres of tidal wetlands have already been lost to the advance of housing and industrial developments, dredging operations and garbage and trash dumps.

If we are going to preserve these valuable and perishable resources and avoid the mistakes of our land resource development, it is essential that we establish now a vigorous program for coastal zone management. At the present time, this responsibility is fragmented among 22 different Federal agencies, and more than 1,000 state, regional and local jurisdictions.

The need for a national plan of action is clear. And in the recent report of the Commission on Marine Science, Engineering and Resources, I believe we have a blueprint for making the seventies a decade of ocean development and progress.

While I do not agree with all of the Commissions' recommendations—and there are some 200 of them—I think its proposals will take us a long way toward the kind of sound marine development policy we should have. Here are some of the things it recommends:

Establish a new independent agency to coordinate and guide the national effort. It would be called appropriately the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Agency or NOAA.

Establish six national action projects on which to focus the effort of the program. These include marine test facilities and ranges, a lake restoration project, continental shelf laboratories (for which our own Virginia Institute of Marine Science at Gloucester Point would seem to be the prototype), a submerged nuclear power plant, deep exploration submersible systems and a pilot buoy network.

A concerted attack on coastal zone pollution and encouragement of a coordinated Federal-state-local coastal management policy.

Expenditure of about \$8 billion above current outlays in the decade ahead.

This program is now before the Congress and the President. As a member of the newly created Oceanographic Subcommittee of the Senate Commerce Committee, I expect to have a great deal to do with it and I look forward to the work of the session ahead.

This nation's achievements in space have demonstrated the tremendous striking power of our science and engineering when they are focused on determined objective and infused with a sense of national commitment. To set a foot in the dust of the Sea of Tranquility, we called forth the greatest outpouring of talent and money in our peacetime history. The infinitely greater promise of exploring and developing our earth-bound seas deserves no less.

#### A WORSENING OBSESSION

**HON. GEORGE W. ANDREWS**

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 26, 1970

Mr. ANDREWS of Alabama. Mr. Speaker, the shameful and outrageous spectacle of the all-powerful Federal Government "cracking down" on a 14-year-old boy in Oklahoma City because he wanted to go to his neighborhood

school should be thoroughly sickening to anybody who has an ounce of decency in his heart and a brain in his head.

The absurdity of the situation was never more deftly described than in the following editorial that appeared recently in the Dothan Eagle, one of the most highly respected daily newspapers in my State. It was brought to my attention by a father in my district whose son cannot go to the school right across the street from his home. He must be bused across town to get the right color combination. Ridiculous? Hear the voice of the Dothan Eagle on the subject:

#### A WORSENING OBSESSION

OKLAHOMA CITY.—A 14-year-old school boy was taken into custody by a U.S. marshal today after he defied a Federal judge's order which prohibited him from attending his neighborhood school.

The arrest was made without incident as a group of about 15 supporters and newsmen stood by in nine-degree weather.

What a spectacle! The mighty United States government, operating through and with a Federal judge, cracking down on a 14-year-old boy. All for the purpose of forcing him into an integrated school.

In custody today—in jail tomorrow?

To what depths will the government stoop to carry out the whims and caprices of obsessed mix-masters? Even though it started at the bottom, it descends more each day.

One would think the greatest, the biggest and the most powerful government in the world could better put its resources to defeating enemies, to catching criminals, to rounding up conspirators, to defending the republic from enemies, within and from without. Instead, it's zeroing in on a 14-year-old lad who wants to attend the school in his neighborhood.

How long, O Lord, how long?

#### CRIME IN WASHINGTON, D.C.

**HON. LAWRENCE J. HOGAN**

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 26, 1970

Mr. HOGAN. Mr. Speaker, I will include at the end of my remarks the Crime Index for November 1969, recently released by the Chief of Police of the District of Columbia.

Once again you will note that crime for the 12 months ending November 1969 has increased substantially over the same 12-month period ending November 1968.

I believe that President Nixon's court reorganization bill and his other crime proposals which we are working on in the District of Columbia will see improvement in this picture by November 1970. I have introduced six additional crime bills which amend the Criminal Code of the District of Columbia and which I trust will be incorporated in the crime package reported out of the District Committee. This total crime package is not a "cure-all" for crime in the District of Columbia, but I sincerely hope that it will reverse a trend of increasing crime, that it will affect speedy trials, and that it will make the streets of the District of Columbia truly safe; that is,



safe for its law-abiding citizens, safe for the tourists who visit their Nation's Capital, and safe for the citizens of the metropolitan Washington area who work, shop, and utilize the cultural and entertainment facilities of the District.

The material referred to follows:  
METROPOLITAN POLICE DEPARTMENT, GOVERNMENT OF THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA—CRIME INDEX FOR NOVEMBER 1969

On December 29, 1969, the Office of the Chief of Police released the reported Crime Index Statistics for the month of November 1969. The total number of offenses reported for this month was 6,071. The cumulative total Crime Index Offenses for the twelve-month period ending with November 1969 was 61,617 and the number for the corre-

sponding period in 1968 was 48,382, an increase of 27.4%.

In the categories of Homicide, Rape and Aggravated Assault, 27, 25, and 271 offenses were reported for November. In comparing the twelve-month total ending with November 1969 with the same period in 1968, an increase of 93 (+49.7%) was reported in Homicide, 80 (+31.1%) in Rape, and 467 (+15.2%) in Aggravated Assault.

The number of Robberies reported this month was 1,256 of which 736 or 58.6% were Armed Robberies. Robbery represents 20.7% of total offenses for November. The total number of Robberies reported for the twelve-month period ending with this month was 12,336, a 50.8% increase over the same time span in 1968 during which 3,181 were reported.

Two thousand-one hundred and ninety-seven Burglaries and 1,074 Larcenies were reported. These two categories represent 36.2% and 17.7% of the total offenses reported for the month, thus Burglary and Larceny total over 1/2 of all the crimes reported. During the twelve-month period ending in November 1969, 22,363 Burglaries and 11,335 Larcenies were reported, an increase of 26.6% and 45.0%, respectively over the corresponding period in 1968.

Although Auto Theft, with 1,221 offenses represents 20.1% of total offenses reported for November, this category marks the smallest long-term increase. A total of 11,416 offenses were reported for the twelve-month period ending with November 1969, an increase of 1.9% over the same period of the previous year.

CRIME INDEX OFFENSES, NOVEMBER 1969

Classification	November		Change		Cumulative through November 1969		Percent change	12 months end November 1968	12 months end November 1969	Percent change
	1968	1969	Amount	Percent	Fiscal year 1969	Fiscal year 1970				
Criminal homicide	23	27	+4	(0)	85	132	+55.29	187	280	+49.73
Rape	29	25	-4	(0)	142	169	+19.01	257	337	+31.13
Robbery	1,074	1,256	+102	+16.94	4,055	6,184	+52.01	8,181	12,336	+50.79
Aggravated assault	277	271	-6	-2.17	1,359	1,571	+15.60	3,083	3,550	+15.15
Burglary	1,415	2,197	+782	+55.26	7,505	10,639	+41.76	17,658	22,363	+26.64
Larceny (\$50/over)	798	1,074	+276	+34.59	3,923	5,566	+41.88	7,817	11,335	+45.00
Auto theft	1,086	1,221	+135	+12.43	5,428	5,693	+4.88	11,199	11,416	+1.94
<b>Total</b>	<b>4,702</b>	<b>6,071</b>	<b>+1,369</b>	<b>+29.12</b>	<b>22,497</b>	<b>29,934</b>	<b>+33.06</b>	<b>48,382</b>	<b>61,617</b>	<b>+27.36</b>

† Base too small to compute percent change.

CRIME INDEX OFFENSES RELATED TO PERCENTAGES OF TOTAL, NOVEMBER 1969

	Number	Percent
Homicide	27	0.45
Rape	25	.41
Robbery	1,256	20.69
Aggravated assault	271	4.46
<b>Total, crimes against persons</b>	<b>1,579</b>	<b>26.01</b>
Burglary	2,197	36.19
Larceny \$50 and over	1,074	17.69
Motor vehicle theft	1,221	20.11
<b>Total, property crimes</b>	<b>4,492</b>	<b>73.99</b>
<b>Total, reported crimes</b>	<b>6,071</b>	<b>100.00</b>

MILK PRICE SUPPORTS SHOULD BE INCREASED TO 90 PERCENT OF PARITY

HON. WILLIAM A. STEIGER

OF WISCONSIN  
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES  
Monday, January 26, 1970

Mr. STEIGER of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, during the past 3 years we have seen a consistent downward trend in milk production.

To counter this I have on a number of occasions urged the Agriculture Department to increase dairy price supports to 90 percent of parity, and many of my colleagues in this House and in the other body have joined in this plea.

It is my understanding that Secretary Hardin met with a number of dairy representatives and the distinguished chairman and ranking minority members of the House Agriculture Committee on December 17 to discuss this matter. At that time I am told the Secretary indicated that there were two major factors he wanted to consider before he took any action. First, he wanted to determine the budget impact of the tax

reform bill, and then he wanted to see the December milk production figures to further evaluate the situation. Well, the December figures are out, and they show a decline of 0.2 percent over the same period last year. This means that in 1969, total production declined by 1.107 million pounds from the level of 1968. In my own State of Wisconsin, our leading dairy producing State, production was down by 1 percent for the year, which is slightly higher than the national average. As Mr. William Eckles, general manager of the Pure Milk Products Cooperative of Fond du Lac, Wis., says in his letter to Secretary Hardin which I will include as part of my remarks, this is the lowest milk production level since 1952. He said:

With a national population growth of some 2 million people each year . . . we cannot permit this continuous downward milk production trend to continue, and at the same time, assure an adequate supply of milk and dairy products to meet our future nutritional needs.

The Associated Dairymen, Inc., has compiled some excellent information on the need for increased supports which I would like to include as part of my remarks. In addition, I want to include an editorial from Hoard's Dairymen, written prior to the release of December production figures, which along with the report and Mr. Eckles' letter lends more support to the position taken. I hope the Secretary is examining these facts carefully.

This is a complicated issue which many people do not want to be bothered with, but the supply of fresh milk and dairy products is of great importance to all of us and I hope my colleagues will take a minute to review this material.

Attached is a letter from W. C. Eckles, the article "Increase Milk Support Prices 90 percent of Parity," and the editorial,

"Price Supports Should Be Moved Up to Current Levels":

PURE MILK PRODUCTS COOPERATIVE,  
Fond du Lac, Wis., January 16, 1970.

HON. CLIFFORD M. HARDIN,  
Secretary of Agriculture,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. SECRETARY: Milk production statistics just released by the USDA show 1969 milk production to be 116.2 billion pounds. This is a decrease of 1.1 billion pounds from 1968 and the lowest since the 114.7 billion pounds of 1952.

With a national population growth of some 2 million people each year, or an increase of nearly half the total population of Wisconsin, we cannot permit this continuous downward milk production trend to continue and, at the same time, assure an adequate supply of milk and dairy products to meet our future nutritional needs. If we are to have assurance of our future milk needs, we must stop the decline in milk production and halt the exodus of farmers from dairying which has resulted in current Wisconsin dairy farms numbering less than half that of 17 years ago.

Current manufacturing milk prices are now at 90 per cent of parity equivalent but milk production continues below a year ago. If dairy farmers are to continue the confining and long hours of dairying, they want some assurance of respectable levels of income in the future. Assurance of the maintenance of current price levels can be improved without increasing present levels by raising government support levels to the full, permissible 90 per cent of parity, or about the current price levels being paid.

The USDA reported average manufacturing milk prices to be \$4.75 for milk of average test in December, 1969 when parity equivalent was reported at \$5.27. Thus, December milk prices exceeded the current \$4.74 level, which is equal to 90 per cent of parity.

We urgently request that you make as early announcement as possible of a support price at 90 per cent of the parity equivalent for manufactured milk for the crop year starting April 1, 1970.

You are authorized under present law to take such action. The earliest possible an-

nouncement of the maximum support level of 90 per cent is justified to stem the decline in milk production and assure our growing population an adequate supply of high quality, domestically produced milk and dairy products.

Sincerely,

WILLIAM C. ECKLES,  
General Manager.

INCREASE OF MILK SUPPORT PRICES TO 90 PERCENT PARITY

(Prepared by Associated Dairymen, Inc.)

An increase in the support price for milk is needed at the present time. The Secretary of Agriculture should announce that milk price supports will be restored on January 1, 1970 to 90% of parity and that this price level shall apply for the marketing year beginning April 1, 1970.

An increase in the dairy support price is in the public interest for the following reasons:

(1) A stable and adequate supply of milk is vital to the nutritional welfare of the American people.

(2) A stable milk supply has not been assured in recent years because of the steady decline in milk production and the contractions in the dairy industry.

(3) The production decline has been caused by a continuing price-cost squeeze and the failure of dairy income to keep pace with the income level of other sectors in our economy.

(4) An increase in the support price would not have adverse consequences:

(a) The Federal budgetary impact would be minimal and the resulting budget cost would be consistent with budgetary commitments in previous years.

(b) The price increase would not be inflationary.

(c) The price increase would not unfairly increase consumer costs.

(5) The price support increase would provide needed encouragement for dairy industry "self-help" efforts so that permanent government assistance will not be necessary.

AN ADEQUATE SUPPLY OF MILK IS VITAL

There is no question that milk and dairy products are vital to the nutritional welfare of our nation. Dairy products, excluding butter, were the source of: 22.8 percent of protein supplies; 13.5 percent of fat supplies; 76.3 percent of calcium supplies; 37.0 percent of phosphorus supplies; 10.0 percent of Thiamine supplies; and 43.4 percent of riboflavin supplies available to U.S. consumers in 1967. (USDA "Agricultural Statistics" 1968, Page 594)

Because of the nutritional importance of dairy products—particularly for growing children—the U.S. government has adopted policies to insure that an adequate, stable and dependable supply of milk will always be present. While there may be differences as to the best means of achieving the objective, there is no quarrel that it is essential that milk and dairy prices be sufficiently high so that the dairy industry will remain economically viable. Thus, it is valid cause for national concern when trends indicate the continuation of a deteriorating financial condition for the industry in the absence of corrective action.

THE STEADY DECLINE IN MILK PRODUCTION

Production of milk continues to decline steadily as farmers selling milk and cream go out of business. These depressing figures tell the story in graphic terms.

Number of U.S. farms selling milk and cream:

1950	1,959
1955	1,475
1960	1,032
1965	648
1968	400

<sup>a</sup> "Dairy Situation", September, 1969, Page 29, USDA Estimate.

Thus, there are now less than 1/2 million U.S. dairy farms—about 20% of the number of farms in existence in 1950.

Nor has this simply reflected a consolation of dairy herds onto larger farms. The number of milk cows on U.S. farms are also declining sharply. In 1950, there were 21,994,000 milk cows on the farm. In 1968, this number had been reduced to just 13 million and a further reduction is estimated for 1969. Thus, the number of milk cows has dropped by almost 50% during the same period.

USDA estimates of 1969 monthly milk production and monthly production per cow verify the continuation of losses in cow numbers through October, 1969, the latest month for which information is available. Associated Dairymen, Inc. believes that high prices for canner and cutter cows, the highest for 18 years, will continue the present rate of decline in cow numbers through 1970.

The number of Wisconsin dairy herds, dropping from 88,171 in 1963 to 65,431 in January, 1969 continues to decline, and stood in August, 1969 at 62,912, a decline of nearly four percent in the first eight months of 1969. (Wisconsin Department of Agriculture figures). Wisconsin is our most important dairy state.

These statistics are analyzed in more detail on the exhibits at Tab A.

As a consequence of the reduction in farms and milk cows, total milk production continues to drop. It is a remarkable fact that the 1950 milk production level of 117.3 billion pounds was as high as in 1968—despite the substantial growth in population and potential milk demand over this 18 year period. Moreover, production has declined from a 1964 high of 127 billion pounds by more than 10 billion pounds in the past five years. We estimate that 1969 production will be only 115.5 billion pounds.

Despite recent USDA speculation that 1969 production indicates that the downward slide in production has stopped, the pressures which brought about the 1965 and 1969 decline still exist. USDA November predictions without exception for every year since 1964 have overestimated milk production for the subsequent year by 1.6 to 6.1 billion pounds of milk equivalent while actual production was declining from 127 to 116 billion pounds annually. USDA overestimation has been as shown on the following table:

(In billion pounds of milk)

Calendar year	USDA forecast in November "Dairy Situation" of previous year	Most recent USDA statement of actual production	Over estimation
1965	125.7	124.1	1.6
1966	126.0	119.9	6.1
1967	121.5-122.0	118.8	2.7-3.2
1968	119.5-120	117.3	2.2-2.7
1969	118.0	115.5-116.2	1.8-2.5

<sup>1</sup> Rise moderately.

<sup>2</sup> May total close to 118 billion.

<sup>3</sup> USDA September estimate 1969.

According to a press release in early November 1969, USDA says "Declines in milk production the past five years may end in 1970". This would indicate a production figure of no less than the 116 billion pounds then anticipated by USDA for the 1969 total.

Associated Dairymen, Inc. estimates substantially lower production for 1970 at a probable level of 114.1 billion pounds. We suggest that these estimates have proven reasonably accurate in the past as documented in the "Dairy Situation" reports of each of the past five years.

USDA, in predicting an "end to the decline", is underestimating the effect of—

High canner and cutter cow prices, which

for six months have been the second highest on records of the past 40 years, exceeded only by price levels for the corresponding months of the year 1951.

Inflationary erosion of the profit situation for dairy farmers, at current dollar prices for milk. The inevitable disillusionment over the effects of inflation will result in a resumption of the exodus for dairying.

Off farm job opportunities and rising dairy labor costs.

THE PRICE-COST SQUEEZE AND DAIRY INCOME

The reasons for this production decline are not hard to find. As in any industry, dairy farmers must have sufficient incentive to continue production if they are to remain on the farm. There must be a reasonable prospect that they can produce and market their product at a profit.

This incentive does not exist today for many dairy farmers. The statistics tell the story in vivid terms:

From 1952 to 1968, the wholesale price of milk has increased by only 8.5% and, even with 1969 price increases, the increase will only be 11.3% for this period.

During the same years, the prices paid by farmers for production items have increased by 30%—and inflationary pressures appear to make further production cost increases inevitable.

During the same period, real per capita disposable income for all U.S. wage earners rose by 45.2%. Clearly, the dairy farmer is receiving less than his fair share of the national prosperity.

The cost of production as indicated by the index of production items, interest, taxes and wage rates has increased from 124% to 131% of the 1957-59 average, or 7% during the past twelve months. (Agricultural Prices, October 30, 1969, Page 8). The price of all milk wholesale, as an indication of returns to farmers, has increased only 3%. (USDA Agricultural Prices, October, 1969).

The 1968 milk price to farmers was \$5.24 cwt. Assuming inflation at the rate of 6%, a price of \$5.56 would be required to maintain dairy farmers' relationship to the total economy.

Canner and cutter cow prices are the highest since 1951, and promise to remain strong through 1970, encouraging high rates of culling dairy cows. Rising grain costs will reduce dairy feeding rates and further increase costs.

The inescapable conclusion is that a fair and stable price is necessary to prevent a further erosion of the dairy industry's economic position. In the absence of such incentive, further declines—with the dangers they pose to adequate milk supplies—are inevitable.

MINIMAL BUDGET EFFECT

The price increase to 90% of parity would have only minimal budgetary effect—well within the funds committed to this program in previous years.

The Secretary of Agriculture announced in 1968 that dairy price supports would be set at 90 percent of parity beginning April 30, 1968. Fears were expressed at that time, that adverse effects upon consumption and stimulating effects upon production would cause government purchases to burgeon and greatly increase demands for government funds. No such situation has materialized. Rather, the cost has been substantially reduced each year since the action was taken.

Announcement of supports now at 90 percent of parity would simply constitute restoration of price relationships established by the Secretary's announcement of March 20, 1968, but which were eroded in subsequent months.

Announcement of price supports at 90 percent of parity would have no adverse effect upon government costs for the current marketing year, since market prices are already slightly above the 90 percent goal. To the



extent that prices in the marketing year beginning April 1, 1970 might otherwise have fallen below the announced 90 percent of parity goal, the 90 percent announcement could result in CCC purchases of as much as 0.6 billion pounds of milk equivalent over and above the amount which would have been purchased had the support prices remained at current levels. Such additional government costs should be less than \$40 million, and would be fully consistent with the Administration's responsibility to Congress and dairy farmers in administering the law and to consumers in responsibility as-

suring adequate supplies of food nutrients at stable prices.

With prices at 90 percent of parity, the 1970 surplus would still be the lowest percentage of consumption in 21 years—second only to 1966. This reserve of 3.4% of consumption would represent only a 12.4 day supply of milk.

The budget commitment at 90 percent of parity would be consistent with previous expenditures for this program. A comparison of budgeted vs. actual government expenditures on dairy price support and PL 480 Programs follows:

	Price support		Public Law 480		Total	
	Budgeted	Actual	Budgeted	Actual	Budgeted	Actual
Fiscal year ending June 30:						
1965.....	302	224	34	31	336	255
1966.....	151	(142)	20	78	171	36
1967.....	159	232	35	67	194	299
1968.....	165	271	49	87	214	358
1969.....	246	145	88	121	334	266
Total.....	1,023	830	226	384	1,249	1,214
1970 Johnson administration.....	251		65		316	314
1970 Nixon administration.....	169		65		264	

<sup>1</sup> Net gain—sales exceeded purchases.

Source: Bureau of the Budget.

#### NO INFLATIONARY EFFECT

Present market prices for milk and dairy products are presently above the "price floor" which would be established by increase in the support price to 90% of parity. Thus, the increase would not have the effect of increasing farm or consumer prices at the present time. However, it would stabilize farm prices inasmuch as price drops other than normal seasonal declines would be prevented.

Consequently, the only argument that can logically be made against the price increase on inflationary grounds is that a decrease in prices from existing levels would be "good" for the economy. But the fact is that—based on responses of recent years—a decline in farm prices would not be of material benefit to consumers at the retail level.

For example, recent history indicates little likelihood that cheese prices would decline as the result of any declines in the manufacturing milk price. A comparison of the two prices from 1957 through 1968 shows that cheese prices remained fairly static during the years that there were wide swings in manufacturing milk prices.

Likewise, there is no certain correlation between farm prices and retail prices for milk. A comparison of retail prices with that of manufacturing grade milk for the past 10 years shows that price decreases in manufacturing milk in 1962 and 1963 had no effect on retail milk prices—they remained constant throughout this period.

Thus, it should not be assumed that—even if it was desirable—that consumer prices for milk and dairy products would decline as a result of "forcing down" farm prices by failure to set the support price at a level reasonably consistent with prevailing farm prices.

Labor has been repeatedly urged in recent years to limit any wage increase demands to increased productivity within the respective industries for the purpose of combating inflation.

Dairy farmers have increased productivity at remarkable rates in the period since World War II, but have not shared equitably in the returns for such productivity. Efficiency gains passed along to consumers have, rather, been deflationary and self-defeating as farmers substituted large amounts of capital for labor.

#### KEY INDICATORS OF EFFICIENCY

	Man-hours required to produce 100 lbs. of milk	Pounds of annual milk production per cow
1950.....	2.36	5,314
1955.....	1.97	5,842
1960.....	1.42	7,029
1965.....	1.04	8,304
1967.....	.88	8,797
1968.....		9,006
1969.....		19,180

<sup>1</sup> USDA preliminary estimate.

As the House Committee on Agriculture states it, in "Food Cost-Farm Prices" of May 3, 1969:

"One hour's work in a factory buys more food today than it did 20 or 30 years ago. Pay for one hour's factory labor would buy: Milk, 11.2 quarts in 1968; 6.4 quarts in 1948; 5.4 quarts in 1938.

As a result, a valid case cannot be made that an increase in the support price to 90% of parity would have an inflationary effect.

#### CONSUMER PRICES NOT ADVERSELY AFFECTED

Consumption of milk and milk products is now increasing slightly, and will continue to increase as consumer's income increases and as the price of meat products increases. The demand and price of meats will continue strong through 1970. Imitation and artificial foods have been discredited and are now losing sales to "nature's most nearly perfect food."

90 percent of parity would not now increase consumer (or farm) prices because present prices are above this level. The October manufacturing milk price (Minnesota—Wisconsin Price Series) was \$4.58 while 90 percent of parity for October is \$4.57.

But it should also be noted that the consumer has not paid a disproportionately high price for milk. Based on the consumer price index (1957-59 price=100), we find the following price levels prevailing at the end of the first nine months of 1969:

The overall consumer price index was at 127.7.

The retail price for all foods was at 124.5.

The retail price for fluid milk was at 121.2.

Thus, as previously discussed, milk has been a "good buy" even during this infla-

tionary period. In the balancing process between the consumer interest in reasonable prices and the dairy farmer's need for a fair return, the consumer has continued to fare well in the market place.

One note of caution: There is a continuing danger to the consumer interests. It is that lack of price stability causing marginal returns to dairy producers might result in sudden reductions in total production because of lack of incentive. Erratic production can distort supply-demand ratios so that sudden shortages could cause unduly high consumer prices.

Thus, the consumer interest lies with stable prices. For this reason, the support price increase is important to the consumer. It insures that the price floor is reasonably related to prevailing farm and wholesale prices. The dairy farmer's ability to depend on future prices will, in turn, make it more certain that consumer prices will not vary unduly.

#### FARMERS ARE NOT SEEKING PERMANENT RELIEF THROUGH GOVERNMENT

An important movement of dairy farmers toward reorganizing their marketing cooperatives can become the vehicle for relieving government of budget expenditures for the purpose of price supports. Consolidations of milk marketing associations have been numerous in the past few years. A few large regionals have emerged as leaders in milk pricing activities. Some of their fluid milk pricing activities have been remarkably successful.

But the continued success of such "self-help" efforts and the movement itself depends heavily upon continued accomplishment and direct indisputable gains in farmer income from the efforts. This is because farmers will choose to remain "fragmented," either as independent sellers or as members of small competing cooperatives, unless tangible evidence of the success of larger marketing organizations is in evidence.

The negotiated prices will be much more likely to hold if shored up by the government supported price structure. The next 12 to 24 months are extremely critical to the formation of marketing organizations large enough to effectively price milk at optimum levels; manage total supplies for maximum utilization; increase demand through new product research; increase demand through nutritional educational education and advertising; reorganize processing and transportation systems for efficiency.

Failure or loss of impetus in the current movement will result in permanent and growing dependence upon government and eventual development of public utility status for the industry. The desirable alternative for government, consumers and farmers alike is the self sufficient type of organization now being formed.

The price support decision can help assure continuation of this movement.

[From Hoard's Dairyman]

#### PRICE SUPPORTS SHOULD BE MOVED UP TO CURRENT LEVELS

The average price paid for manufacturing milk in November was \$4.72, an all-time record. Just two years ago, in 1967, that November price would have been 101 percent of parity. Today, it is not. Because of increasing costs, \$4.72 was only 89 percent of seasonally adjusted parity.

Now, let's look ahead to next fall. If this same price holds in November, and there are the same increases in parity calculations as there were last year, \$4.72 will be down to 84 percent of parity. And the present support level of \$4.28 would be only 77 percent.

Without getting our readers all snarled up in a maze of figures, we think there is good

reason to hold the present price level from dropping. And we believe the administration should move now to raise the price support level up into the area where the free market has put it because, if this is not done, prices can fall as much as 40 cents by spring.

Our recommendation is made only after receiving the December 11 USDA report on November milk production. There had been some indication that milk flow was edging upward again as production in August, September, and October was up 0.5, 1.0, and 0.3 percent, respectively. But November production sagged off slightly, with a decline of 0.4 percent. Thus, annual production should be down 1 percent, or more than one billion pounds.

During each of the past two winters, losses in monthly milk flow have been greater in the winter months than during the previous fall months. There is some indication that the same pattern is repeating this season.

If November production had continued upward, there might be reason to delay a raise in price supports. But such was not the case.

We expect the White House will be reluctant to raise price supports because of its fight against inflation. But 100 percent of parity for manufacturing milk in the current marketing year, ending March 31, is \$5.15. The administration is authorized to go to 90 percent of parity. This would be at least \$4.63, which is 9 cents below the November open market price.

Such action by the administration would not be inflationary because there would be no price increase. But it could prevent a deflationary impact on dairy farmers when prices sag during the spring and early summer.

## ERA OF THE SUPER TANKERS

### HON. JEROME R. WALDIE

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 26, 1970

Mr. WALDIE. Mr. Speaker, unless American facilities are developed for the handling of the evergrowing fleet of "super tankers" this Nation faces a grim commercial and industrial future.

As more European and Asian nations see the necessity of preparing for this fleet, it is more and more apparent that the United States is in a woeful state of ill-preparedness.

We are behind in channel deepening projects and offshore cargo handling facilities.

We may find ourselves in a state described by the following article, "America's Nightmare in the New Age of Super Ships," by Jim Quint which appeared in the December 7, 1969, issue of California Living in the Sunday, San Francisco Examiner and Chronicle.

The article follows:

AMERICA'S NIGHTMARE IN THE NEW AGE OF SUPER SHIPS

(By Jim Quint)

The time: a few decades from now. There has been an exodus of heavy industry from the United States to Europe; the standard of living in other nations now far surpasses our own, and we have reverted from an industrial to an agrarian economy. Our national welfare depends on the good will and generosity of foreign governments who once depended on ours.

An unlikely picture?

Not at all—unless we do something about our seaports, and do it soon.

Ships are getting bigger and bigger. Already a fleet of huge supertankers is plying the seas—so huge there isn't a harbor in the United States they can dock in.

So they pass us by.

And these monsters—some of whose crews ride bicycles when they must hurry from one end to the other and back again, a half-mile round trip—are forerunners of even bigger ships to come. There has been a tenfold increase in the size of tankers in 15 years, they've doubled in size in the past five years, and they may double again in the next five.

Today's 250,000-tonners are more than twice as big as the 1002-foot-long Manhattan, largest U.S.-flag vessel, which recently made an exploratory voyage through the Northwest Passage to new oil fields on the northern slope of Alaska.

Like the Manhattan, the bigger one's cargo is oil. They haul it from the Middle East to Europe and Japan. New, deepwater ports have been built to accommodate them.

But what does it matter if the superships cannot be handled by American ports?

"Refineries, steel mills and other industries dependent on low-cost deepwater shipping are following the tankers rather than tankers following the industries," an Army Corps of Engineers study points out.

Why? Because the bigger a tanker is, the more cheaply it can deliver its cargo: fuel. The saving on a single trip by a single supertanker can be as much as \$1 million.

More and more we import "not only oil and ore but power, heat and light as well," says retired Col. Frank C. Boerger, former Army district engineer here under whose direction the study was made.

"If we must pay more in transportation costs than other countries, all our technology and ingenuity could not overcome the competitive disadvantage to our industry.

"There would ensue a chain reaction: heavy industry would emigrate; light industry would pay more for its materials; construction would slump and unemployment rise.

"We know, historically, that when once a major competitive advantage has been lost, it almost never is regained."

And, he reminds us, "aesthetic pursuits—opera, art and architecture—usually thrive only during eras of prosperity."

What's the problem? It's simply that American harbors and channels are not deep enough. None of them, anywhere.

For example, no ship over 100,000 dead-weight tons—that is, with a draft of more than 45 to 50 feet—can negotiate the 50-foot shipping channel cut through the great semi-circular bar across the mouth of San Francisco Bay, although there is plenty of deep water inside the Bay.

Even the planned deepening of the bar channel to 55 feet won't let in the big ones. Yet the principal cargo, in tonnage, now passing through the Golden Gate is petroleum. Nearly 65 percent of total San Francisco Bay shipping is crude oil and its refined products, such as gasoline.

Europort in Holland will soon have a depth of 69 feet—and plans to go down to 98 feet. The Dutch intend to dredge a new channel right across the English Channel to the North Sea. The British are building the world's largest dredge to do this job.

So anyone can do it? All it takes is money? Like \$400 million to deepen New York's channel from 40 to only 45 feet, and \$300 million to give Philadelphia 46 feet? And a few billion more to get them down to Europort's proposed 98 feet?

Fact is, North America's continental shelf extends so far out that only certain river mouths have sufficient natural depth for economical development as deepwater ports:

Canada's St. Lawrence on the East Coast; Puget Sound, San Francisco Bay and Monterey Bay on the West Coast.

The cost of cutting deep channels through the continental shelf far out to sea is so high that, obviously, their number will be severely limited. Whichever gets the deep-water channel will become a major port, and others surrounding it will be merely satellites.

Which raises a tremendous political obstacle: East Coast port authorities, each one jealous of its competitive position, oppose even a feasibility study lest a rival port get the favored role. Thus they not only are already outmoded, they oppose doing anything about it!

Yet the trend toward greater size—not only in tankers but also in dry cargo carriers—will not halt. In addition to 15 vessels of 216,000 tons now on order, half a dozen 315,000-tonners will soon be off the ways, several foreign yards can build 500,000-tonners, and Britain now is preparing to build a million-ton tanker.

Why such size? A spokesman for Standard Oil (New Jersey) recently put it this way: "You can build a big tanker for less money than you can build a small tanker."

"A ship costs money because of its propulsion gear and control system. Little ships use the same gear as big ones, so the only extra cost involved in the big ones is the steel plates."

Overseas shipyards, he pointed out, can put together a 25,000-ton ship for \$200 a ton but the cost dips to \$104 a ton for a 50,000-ton vessel and \$75 a ton for a 150,000-tonner.

This is not all. A 175,000-ton ship costing about \$12 million, carries nine times the volume of a 20,000-ton ship. Six 50,000-ton ships costing over \$36 million would be needed to transport the volume of oil carried in a 300,000-ton vessel costing around \$20 million.

And the personnel required to man tankers and bulk carriers does not increase with the size. For example, a post-war T2 tanker could carry about 16,000 tons and was crewed by 41 men. The more automated *Idemitsu Maru*, 209,000 tons, can be operated by a crew of 10 although the company actually uses 32 crewmen to permit shift work and to preclude loneliness. Savings on wages over the life of a supertanker may total millions of dollars.

The cost of transporting oil from Kuwait, for example, to European ports in a 30,000-ton tanker is \$6.02 a ton; in a 250,000-ton vessel \$2.31 a ton.

The same ratios apply to any cargo which can be carried in bulk—ore, grain, cement. The U.S. consumes at least half of the world's raw materials. Iron ore imports are expected to rise to 74 million tons by 1975, compared to 37 million in 1962—if we are able to transport it competitively. A few years ago Japanese mills had 10 percent of the West Coast steel market; now they have 25 percent. Japanese mills import ore, as ours do, but are able to get it more cheaply in larger bulk carriers.

The lesson is clear: Any cargo must use the cheapest means of transport if it is to be sold in the free markets of the world; industry goes where raw materials are cheapest.

"Can you imagine having the major operating facilities for our great oil companies in the Netherlands, Kuwait, Ireland, Britain or Spain?" asks Boerger. "Perhaps you should, for each of these countries has prepared, or is preparing, to receive such facilities and the vessels serving them."

Do industries necessarily follow refineries? When it is to their advantage they do, and it's to their advantage where they use fuel for manufacturing, or where they require bulk materials for processing. Like steel and all the heavy industries.



The present optimum size for bulk carriers other than oil is 100,000 to 110,000 tons, already too big for most U.S. ports. And this optimum will change upward as shore facilities are developed to handle larger cargoes.

Adequate channels and port facilities have been, or are being, developed in Europe and Japan. Even Argentina is looking for a coastal deepwater site to replace the old port of Buenos Aires.

Is anything being done in the United States? Yes, to a limited extent: Congress has authorized the Corps of Engineers to conduct a three-year study of San Francisco Bay, including port and channel needs and costs. But any such study on the East Coast has been indefinitely postponed because of opposition by local port authorities who fear it might lead to federal dictation as to whose channel might be deepened.

**FRANK DeLUCIA OF HAMDEN, CONN.—34 YEARS OF EXCELLENCE**

**HON. ROBERT N. GIAIMO**

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 26, 1970

Mr. GIAIMO. Mr. Speaker, it is most unusual when an individual can perform an often difficult task for over 34 years with unquestioned excellence. It is extremely rare, however, when the same individual can combine this excellence with several outstanding acts of heroism which have saved lives and property. Such a man was honored here in Washington last week by Secretary of Transportation John A. Volpe. His name is Frank DeLucia; he is the American Trucking Association's 1970 driver of the year.

Mr. DeLucia has built up a truly phenomenal record during his 34 years of commercial driving. He has driven over 3.5 million miles and has had but one minor chargeable accident. At present, he covers over 156,000 miles per year as a driver for the Adley Express Co. of New Haven, Conn.

This record in itself is worthy of praise, but Mr. DeLucia's acts of heroism are even more noteworthy. He has saved the lives of two persons trapped in flaming automobiles, once in 1958 and once last year. He was cited for five separate acts of heroism in a single month in 1948; these included towing to a doctor's office a stalled car containing an ill 8-year-old girl and removing an automobile from a garage threatened by fire.

Mr. DeLucia has received numerous citations for heroism, including the Pro Meritis Award, the trucking industry's highest award for heroism, in 1960. He was chosen Connecticut driver of the year by the Connecticut Motor Transport Association in 1947, 1948, 1960, 1961, and 1969.

Mr. Speaker, Frank DeLucia has earned his title of "Driver of the Year." I wish to salute him for his outstanding accomplishments, and I trust that our colleagues will do the same. His record of safety should serve as an example to all drivers, and his record of heroism is worthy of emulation by all Americans.

I ask to insert at this point in the

RECORD an article which describes in detail his accomplishments:

**CONNECTICUT MAN NAMED 1970 "TRUCK DRIVER OF THE YEAR"**

WASHINGTON, December 22.—A 53-year-old Connecticut professional truck driver with over 3.5 million miles of commercial driving experience and the recipient of numerous citations for heroism today was named the American Trucking Associations' 1970 Driver of the Year.

Frank DeLucia of Hamden, Conn., will be accorded the trucking industry's highest award in January when he and his wife, Gambardella, visit Washington to receive the honor from U.S. Secretary of Transportation John A. Volpe. Their itinerary will also include visits with their Congressional delegation and business, union and industry leaders. Also included in the trip is a stay in New York City for appearance before nationwide radio and television audiences.

DeLucia has been a professional driver for over 34 years. As a driver for the Adley Express Company of New Haven, Conn., he covers over 156,000 miles a year on his run between New Haven and Richmond, Va. In all his driving time, DeLucia has had but one minor chargeable accident.

In January, 1960, DeLucia was presented with ATA's Pro Meritis Award for heroism by then Connecticut Gov. Abraham Ribicoff for his action in disregard of his own life on Oct. 11, 1958, when he rescued a woman trapped in a flaming automobile while the car was entangled in high tension wires.

After removing the power lines from the car with a stick of wood, DeLucia removed the crash victim from the blazing auto and treated her for shock. He then called the police and rescue help before returning to extinguish the blaze with fire fighting equipment carried on his tractor-trailer truck.

DeLucia was named the Connecticut Motor Transport Association's 1948 Driver of the Year after being cited for five acts of heroism in a single month. His deeds included removing an automobile from a garage threatened by fire and towing a stalled car carrying an ill eight-year-old girl to the doctor.

He was also named his state's driver of the year in 1947, 1960, 1961 and 1969.

The most recent act of valor performed by DeLucia occurred on April 12, 1969, when he came upon a car on the Cross Bronx Expressway in New York which had jumped the guard rail and smashed into a bridge abutment. Finding the car on fire and the driver unconscious, DeLucia first tried to extinguish the flames, but was unable to completely do so. Another driver stopped and the truck driver had the second man work at putting out the fire while he went to aid the seriously injured driver. The accident victim was not breathing and had received severe head injuries.

DeLucia revived the man with mouth-to-mouth resuscitation, but was unable to remove him from the mangled auto before breaking off the damaged steering wheel. As the car became engulfed in flames, the truck driver managed to move the victim a safe distance away from the dangerously explosive auto.

As a member of the Connecticut Auxiliary State Police, DeLucia has also been cited for an award winning safety idea: installing reflector safety stripes on the inside doors of patrol cars to warn oncoming vehicles that the doors were open.

DeLucia and his wife have three grown children and seven grandchildren. Both his two sons live in Hamden and are engaged in trucking operations. His daughter, Mrs. Susan Marco, lives in New Haven where her husband is an engineer with AVCO Corp.

Outside activities of the award-winning driver include membership in St. Ann's Roman Catholic Church, the National Rifle Association and the Hamden Fish and Gun

Club. His hobbies are centered around gardening, fishing, hunting and photography.

Judges who chose the ATA 1970 Driver of the Year were: Mrs. William R. Kidd, chairman of the National Association of Women Highway Safety Leaders; John H. Reed, former governor of the State of Maine and presently chairman of the National Transportation Safety Board of the U.S. Department of Transportation, and Albert B. Kelley, vice president of communications, Insurance Institute for Highway Safety.

**SMUT DEALERS ARE BEGINNING TO HAVE A HARD TIME**

**HON. THADDEUS J. DULSKI**

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 26, 1970

Mr. DULSKI. Mr. Speaker, there are indications at long last that the smut dealers are beginning to have a hard time.

I hope that this is true.

Our House Committee on Post Office and Civil Service has been delving deeply into this problem on a continuing basis. But legislative answers do not come easy because of the legal limitations.

I sponsored legislation last year to prohibit the mailing of pornographic material into a home where a minor resides. The Subcommittee on Postal Operations has completed hearings and I am hopeful that we can get action on this bill shortly.

The President made reference the other day to the need for legislative action to curb the flow of pornographic material. I look forward to support of the administration for our recommendations.

Miriam Ottenberg, prize-winning investigative reporter for the Washington, D.C., Star, has written an article on developments in the field of prosecution of smut dealers. Following is her January 11 story:

**SMUT DEALERS BEGINNING TO HAVE HARD TIME**

(By Miriam Ottenberg)

From the Supreme Court to local police, peddlers of pornography are beginning to have a hard time.

These recent developments indicate what Chief Postal Inspector William J. Cotter calls a change both in the court "climate" and the prosecution "climate":

1. Two Supreme Court decisions—one refusing to disturb the conviction of eight Boston sellers of pornography and the other voiding a federal court order which would have allowed the movie "I am Curious (Yellow)" to be shown in Boston despite a state court ban.
2. Two federal convictions of mail-order dealers in obscenity.
3. Seven recent indictments of other smut dealers, making a total of 17 defendants awaiting trial on charges of sending pornography through the mail.

**LOCAL EFFORTS**

4. The cases of five more dealers pending before federal grand juries, including one where the dealer was jailed for refusing to respond to a federal grand jury subpoena.

Locally, police are reacting rapidly to court actions and changes in local laws to crack down on smut dealers.

In Boston, police found that the city's "adult" bookstores took the hint from the

Supreme Court's refusal to overturn the conviction of eight Boston sellers of obscenity.

Immediately after the decision, detectives were dispatched to 14 stores—only to find them all closed. The ones that reopened cleared their shelves of books that might fall under the court ruling.

Chief Justice Elijah Adlow of the Boston Municipal Court called the Supreme Court's action "a wholesome indication of a revised attitude toward pornography."

#### SENTENCED TO JAIL

Across the country, Los Angeles smut dealers were getting a double whammy. Both federal prosecutors and Los Angeles police scored against them.

In federal court, John D. Norman was convicted for mail order sales of homosexual material. He was sentenced to 15 months in prison.

About the same time, Los Angeles police launched a citywide drive against sellers and distributors of obscenity as a new state law went on the books. More than 80 persons were arrested and charged with selling objectionable material.

#### PLEADS GUILTY

Cotter cited a federal case to indicate that at least one dealer is getting the message that the government means business.

Lynell L. Appel, a Los Angeles dealer, pleaded guilty for his mail-order corporation in federal court at Shreveport, La., and authorized the closing of three post office boxes and the return of all mail addressed to his firm names endorsed "Out of business," Cotter said. Appel also turned over material to be destroyed, including advertisements and the life-blood of this business—mailing lists, Cotter said.

Unlike at least one of his colleagues, Appel decided to go out of the business rather than appeal. Marvin Miller, a bigtime West Coast dealer, was convicted of obscenity in federal court and did appeal. When he continued his business on appeal, he was indicted again and now his attorneys are arguing that case.

#### OPTIMISTIC ATTITUDE

Cotter cited the President's message to Congress on proposed new laws against obscenity and Atty. Gen. John N. Mitchell's pledge to bring indicted smut dealers to trial at the earliest possible date as evidence that the administration has mounted a major assault against pornography.

"This assault could be blunted in the courts," Cotter said, "but on the basis of recent court decisions we are optimistic that as the cases move through the courts, convictions will ensue and will be upheld."

"We feel that the federal government has now moved into the second phase in its fight against the intrusiveness that brings unwanted and unsolicited material into the mailboxes."

"The first phase was the indictment of the major dealers in mail-order pornography, whose activities prompted perhaps 90 percent of the public complaints. The large majority of these promoters are now being vigorously prosecuted by United States attorneys."

#### 98 PERCENT CONVICTED

Of all cases investigated by postal inspectors that went to trial in the last fiscal year, 98.3 percent resulted in convictions, but Cotter said he is not trying to maintain a conviction rate like that in obscenity cases.

"We will take the risk of being beaten in some cases, but if we can get a goodly percentage of these dealers out of business, it will make others think twice about getting into this business—knowing they can be convicted."

Cotter said he is most concerned about the people who don't want a flow of obscenity into their homes. He pointed out that the advertisements, which come unbidden into

mailboxes, used to be teasers for the hard-core pornography to follow. Now, he said, the ads are hard-core pornography, too. That's a fairly recent development, resulting from increasing competition.

"Without advertising these people can't survive," Cotter said. "They figure a 2 percent return is their break-even point, which leaves 98 percent who don't want what these dealers are selling. They're the source of the quarter of a million complaints we got during the last fiscal year."

#### THE 50TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE JUNIOR CHAMBER OF COMMERCE

### HON. FRANK ANNUNZIO

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 26, 1970

Mr. ANNUNZIO. Mr. Speaker, I would like to join my colleagues in congratulating the Junior Chamber of Commerce on its 50 years of outstanding service and leadership. In communities throughout the Nation, the Jaycees offer young men from all walks of life the chance to participate in dynamic projects which not only benefit the community, but give them practical experience in leadership training.

One Jaycee officer put it very well when he stated the Jaycees' leadership concept:

There are many roads leading to management skills, but most young men do not enter these roads until they are handed greater responsibility within their work—this responsibility is handed the young man too late in life to be of maximum benefit to himself, and humanity. The Junior Chamber enables the young man to break the speed limit in reaching the objectives which our organization promotes—the development of the individual.

The new Jaycee is immediately given the opportunity to learn by doing. He may be involved in projects as varied as conducting a gun safety clinic, assisting with a mental retardation program, delivering toys for Jaycee Santa, conducting a community survey, hosting a foreign student, or running a sports program for disadvantaged youth. As the Jaycee progresses in the organization, he is asked to take on more responsibility, to seek higher office, to introduce projects and ideas and through this he comes in contact with other civic and industrial leaders.

Since the founding of the Junior Chamber of Commerce exactly 50 years ago, Jaycees have made an incalculable contribution to our society. They have not only made their communities better places to live through local projects, but have provided a major source and training ground of leadership for our cities, States, and Nation.

Our city governments, our State governments, and even our National Government are filled with men who gained their first experiences of leading others through the Jaycee "college of practical leadership."

The Jaycee in Chicago, known as the Junior Association of Commerce and Industry, have headquarters at 30 West Monroe Street which is located in my own Seventh Congressional District, and I

am proud to say that in their 50 years of existence they have compiled an excellent record of public service.

On the occasion of the 50th anniversary of the founding of this great service organization, I want to extend my congratulations to the Jaycees for doing such an effective job of stimulating the public responsibility and public spirit of its members and for making such an outstanding contribution to their fellow men. And on this milestone in the history of the Jaycees, I want to extend my best wishes to them for continuing fruitful public service in the years ahead.

#### HIGH INTEREST RATES AGGRAVATING INFLATION

### HON. ANDREW JACOBS, JR.

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 26, 1970

Mr. JACOBS. Mr. Speaker, former Indiana Attorney General John Dillon has called the tune on the "Emperor's" new interest rates. Good for Mr. Dillon.

Following are excerpts from a speech given by John J. Dillon, chairman of the Democratic Issue and Policy Committee at a meeting of the American Fletcher National Bank and Trust Company Democratic Club, January 21, 1970, at 4:30 p.m. on the 16th floor of the Fletcher Trust Building:

"Speaking before a group of bankers gives me a rare opportunity to speak on interest rates in Indiana," Dillon stated, "Many Republicans and some Democrats have stated that 8% Usury law in Indiana should be repealed." "I disagree." "I believe this limitation on interest rates in Indiana should not only be maintained, it should be enforced." Dillon stated "The real problem for the average debtor is that available money to be loaned is in short supply." "If the Federal Reserve Board doesn't correct this situation a financial panic could result in this country." "Everytime in the history of this country that interest rates have reached the present level, a financial panic has ensued."

"Some persons have suggested that since FHA and VA loans are now permitted to go as high as 8½% the Usury lid must be lifted." "The fact is this action would not make money available for FHA and VA home loans." "AAA bonds of some of the country's largest utilities are now selling for 9¼%. Many reputable corporations, not covered by the Usury Statute, are paying 10% to 15% to borrow money." "The removing of the 8% limitation in Indiana will only force the would-be homeowner to compete in this market place and pay outrageous interest costs of 10% to 15%."

"If the financial world is so unwise as to permit this to happen and a panic does ensue, then the financial world is asking for the most stringent government regulation our country has ever seen."

"The remedy is to provide more available money in our economy." "Not only are high interest rates not slowing inflation, high interest rates are aggravating inflation."

"Further the Democratic Party has always been a proponent of reasonable interest rates." "We live in an economy geared to available credit." Dillon stated, "That under no circumstances should the Democratic Party adopt a policy approving high interest rates." "8% is more than a reasonable price



to pay for money and the Democratic Party should not waiver from this policy." "Others who propose a 'hard money' policy in this country should be prepared to accept the consequences of their act."

#### GOAL OF ROTC

### HON. JOHN N. ERLBORN

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 26, 1970

Mr. ERLBORN. Mr. Speaker, much has been said adversely about the Reserve Officer Training Corps program—so much that one suspects it really is not as bad as some say it is.

The Joliet Herald-News in my district recently carried a story about the ROTC program in three Joliet Township high schools. I herewith include it in the RECORD:

#### BUILDING BETTER CITIZENS IS PRIME GOAL OF ROTC

(By Pat McClurg)

ROTC units in Joliet High Schools are more than drill and shoot outfits.

They're more than starched shirts and wrinkle free trousers, bright ribbons and glittering medals.

Training future soldiers is not their goal. But making better citizens is.

Ask the man who knows best—retired Army Maj. Robert O. Nelson, the man who directs the 372 boys who make up the junior ROTC units at Central, East and West.

"It's the whole program that counts," said Nelson, "not any one part of it. Things a boy learns in ROTC can make a difference throughout his entire life. We emphasize leadership, discipline, patriotism, service—all of which are important in developing a healthy character among our youth today.

"Classes in military history stress the contributions our military has made in developing the country. We keep abreast of current history as well as that of the past in the classroom. We don't argue about the political or philosophical reasons for Vietnam. How or why we got there is not our concern. Rather, we ask, now that the military is there what is it doing?

"We discuss civic action programs in Vietnam and what the military has done to rebuild villages and resettle refugees. We present the positive aspects of militarism—the constructive, not the destructive.

Nelson said instructors attempt to explain how the military was involved in opening the frontier, creating the Panama Canal and exploring space.

What is the ROTC cadet's image of the military today?

"His view is based on the man in uniform who works with his unit. He is the military to them," explained the major.

Besides Nelson, other instructors at Central are Sgt. Maj. Hans M. Matsen and M. Sgt. William R. Swinke; at East is First Sgt. Terry T. Allen and at West is M. Sgt. J. L. Claiborn. All were former career Army men.

"These men often find themselves as the father image in many of our boy's lives. Boys will confide more in these men than in many of their teachers because they know they'll understand and give the right advice without telling anyone else," said Nelson.

About 16 per cent of the incoming high school freshmen boys join ROTC. Most of them like it enough to stay on. Only five per cent drop out.

Nelson recalled that in his nine years as a military instructor at Central three students

liked ROTC so much that they kept coming to it even after they dropped out of school.

Junior ROTC membership carries with it no future military obligation. Cadets receive a half credit for each semester completed in the program. Uniforms are provided by the government.

"Every so often," Nelson said, "someone in the community will tell me how worthwhile they thought ROTC was when they were in high school, though some of these people never served in the military."

Junior ROTC in Joliet is 53 years old—three years older than the national program. It started back in 1916 when 18 Joliet youths went to Culver Military Academy in Indiana for two weeks of training. A high school corps of 40 members was formed on their return with the late LaVerne Ohliver as captain. In the spring of 1919, the War Department officially endorsed the high school regiment.

ROTC is an organization that satisfies the needs of today's youth from lower economic stratas who aspire to lead and who demand the corresponding responsibility, noted Nelson.

"The organization, has helped develop positive attitudes and feelings of accomplishment among youths who would probably otherwise be running the streets in gangs," he said.

Membership in the corps at the three high schools includes representation from minority groups about equal to their relative numbers in the student bodies, he noted.

Kids from all different backgrounds join ROTC. Some affluent, college-bound youngsters join because their parents insist that if their son is going to serve, he's going to do so as an officer. These parents believe ROTC is good preparation for whatever their son aspires to be.

"The average, middle class kid joins for the uniform and adventure," the major said. "Some of the cadets are sons of men who did not like the military, but who thought ROTC had something which could benefit their sons."

As far as Nelson knows, no boy who has ever been in Joliet junior ROTC has spent time in a penal institution. "We think this is a pretty good record that goes to show how we've gotten across discipline and respect," continued Nelson. "We're proud of this record and proud of the boys who have been in the program."

While cadets are required to be neat and trim, Nelson pointed out that haircuts are being geared to the mode of today's styles. "We try to accommodate them," the major smiled when mentioning that cadets are deciding how long their hair should be consistent with good grooming.

#### THE 50TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE JAYCEES

### HON. JOHN W. WYDLER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 26, 1970

Mr. WYDLER. Mr. Speaker, on the 50th anniversary of the junior chamber of commerce, I wish to offer my congratulations to an outstanding and useful organization.

It has been observed that the primary purpose of the Jaycees is to develop and preserve individualism—to further the qualities of personal integrity and civic responsibility which are the hallmark of good citizenship.

It may be further asserted that the Jaycees provide for a young man an ad-

mirable outlet for the exercise of his energies and business potential through involvement in community affairs.

Through the serious application of himself in the service of others, a man is afforded, by his work in the Jaycees, the opportunity not only for self-development but also for the acquisition of that essential experience which must precede leadership in community affairs, industry, and public life.

This, then, is the gift which membership in the Jaycees can bestow: the knowledge of how to offer, in useful manner, the best of oneself in the interest of others; the development of one's potential not only toward the goal of personal achievement but also toward insurance of effective community response to the needs of all citizens.

The test of enterprise, and the valor of creative endeavor—these are challenges which the junior chamber of commerce presents to every young man who aspires to serve the common good. I therefore take pride in saluting this great organization upon the occasion of its 50th anniversary.

#### PARENT/TEACHER CONVERSATIONS TO REPLACE REPORT CARDS

### HON. GEORGE E. BROWN, JR.

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 26, 1970

Mr. BROWN of California. Mr. Speaker, I believe that my colleagues would be interested in a unique experiment that is taking place in East Los Angeles where report cards will be replaced this winter by parent/teacher conversations. The area involved is almost wholly populated by Spanish surname residents. The two sample press releases and Los Angeles Times article following give a thorough picture of what appears to be an idea with a great deal of potential:

#### PARENT/TEACHER CONVERSATIONS TO REPLACE REPORT CARDS

For the past two months, parents, teachers, principals, reading specialists and members of the Mexican American Education Committee have met as an Elementary Area East Ad Hoc Reading Committee in an effort to find solutions to the serious problems facing education in the Eastside. The Ad Hoc Reading Committee has approved a plan that will do away with the "report card" method of reporting a child's learning growth and replace it with parent/teacher "conversations." The conversations will serve in lieu of the winter report cards and will take place starting February 2, 1970 in the East Area elementary schools.

The "conversations" are intended to bring about a change in the teacher's understanding of the child's learning experiences, to develop a unique and different relationship between the teacher and parent, and to establish a new method of reporting the child's learning growth.

A unique feature of the "conversations" is the unprecedented involvement of school, community and parents working together for better education. The Ad Hoc Committee has undertaken a massive publicity campaign that will involve all the news media of the

East Los Angeles area as well as major newspapers and radio and television stations. AHORA, the community oriented public affairs series of KCET-Channel 28, is coordinating the publicity for the campaign. AHORA will air a series of simulated parent/teacher conversations on January 13, 20, and 27th. In addition, publicity for the conversations will be distributed by the schools themselves. Teachers will be encouraged to visit the homes of the parents, and students will be encouraged to tell their parents to attend the conversations.

**LOS ANGELES CITY UNIFIED SCHOOL DISTRICT:  
ELEMENTARY AREA EAST; PARENT/TEACHER  
CONVERSATIONS: A NEW APPROACH TO LEARNING**

A new method of reporting the learning growth of a child will be undertaken in the Elementary schools of the East District starting February 2, 1970. Instead of the old method of report cards, special parent/teacher conversations will be held in an effort to arrive at a more realistic understanding of the individual child and his learning experiences. The conversations are intended to achieve three objectives: to develop a unique and different relationship between the teacher and the parent, to bring about a change in the teacher's and the parent's understanding of the child's learning experiences and to establish a new method of reporting the child's learning growth.

Behind the objectives of the conversations is a new understanding of the role of the teacher and the parent in the life of the child. The new relationship between teacher and the parent will hopefully be one in which both work together to understand the child as a complete individual and not simply as the possessor of certain acquired skills. The parent and teacher will be encouraged to converse about the activities, motivations, interests, and attitudes of the child. Together they will add to each other's knowledge of the child.

The conversations will center on a series of discussion points intended to guide the teacher and parent into a new perspective of the child's learning experiences. These discussion points appear on an "observation sheet" which the teacher will use in discussing the life of the child with the parent. The discussion points will guide the conversation into those areas that are prerequisites for learning. The previous system that "grades" a child, has only served to label an arbitrary condition of the child (he is reading at "B" level). This method of reporting the child's growth is inaccurate and unreliable since grade evaluations vary from teacher to teacher. More importantly, the areas of improvement are not identified. The teacher still does not know *why* the student is reading at "B" level or how he can improve. Identifying that a child does not ask questions or is not interested in a particular area (discussion points on the observation sheet) will guide the teacher into areas of improvement. With the help of the parent, the teacher can find creative ways of encouraging growth both at school and at home. Paramount in the conversations will be an emphasis on the positive growth of the child. There is no need for a student to be labeled a failure, or led to believe he is a failure.

In addition, the conversations will provide other opportunities to enhance the educational success of the child. While "grading" systematically destroys the ego and self-concept of a sizeable group of students, "conversations" can build the ego and self-concept of all students. The conversations will provide an opportunity for involvement in the school by the parent and an opportunity for the teacher to appreciate the child's home life and learn of the many cultural resources available in the Mexican American home.

## EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

[From the Los Angeles Times, Jan. 22, 1970]  
**SOME SCHOOLS WILL DROP REPORT CARDS**  
(By Ruben Salazar)

As of Feb. 2 students of the East Los Angeles elementary schools will rid themselves of a longtime curse—report cards.

Asst. Supt. Herbert Cadwell told a news conference Wednesday that the present grading system will be replaced with an experiment called "Parent-Teacher conversations."

"On Feb. 2 and for two weeks afterwards, report cards will be put aside to make way for conversations, simple, informal talks between parents and the men and women who teach their children," Cadwell said.

"The subject of the conversations will be about the boys and girls—their accomplishments, their progress, their shortcomings. All of the things that are usually reflected in pen and ink on report cards. In the conversations these same things will be reported through words, but we believe with greater clarity and meaning."

Cadwell said the experiment has been tried in other parts of the country but never in Los Angeles.

Cadwell said that if the experiment works the idea could be adopted at all elementary schools.

Holding a large mock report card, Cadwell said that the trouble with the report card system is that it is too impersonal.

"Suppose you got this report card about your child from your doctor," Cadwell said. "And he graded your child's eyes B, his nose and throat, D, his heart F, his lungs C and his stomach F."

"You would, of course, want to know why his heart and stomach were F."

Too often, Cadwell said, report cards tend to put children in letter categories and very little is done to find out why they are in the A, B, C, D, or F slots.

"We look to these conferences as more than just another means of reporting grades," Cadwell said. "We want them to be the foundation for something even more important. We look to them as the beginning of a continual dialogue between the parent and the teacher."

The superintendent said East Los Angeles was chosen for the experiment because teacher-parent communication is bad there.

### VITAL PROGRAM

One of the reasons for this lack of communication, Cadwell said, is that many parents don't speak English and many teachers don't speak Spanish.

"We have sent letters to parents urging them to make appointments for these conversations," he said. "We realize that sometimes a visit to school is not always possible. If invited, we will then go to the home. If language is a problem we will provide an interpreter."

School board member Dr. Julian Nava told the conference that the experiment is of such importance that if necessary "we'll sacrifice instruction to make time for the conversations."

"For too long schools have been satisfied with telling parents that their kids are A, B or F students without telling them why," he said.

The Rev. Horacio Quinones, member of the Mexican-American Education Commission, said report cards too often "put children into a tabulation machine" and that report cards come at the time of the semester when it might be too late to correct problems.

### LOCAL PARTICIPATION

Cadwell said one of the reasons he feels the experiment will work is because of community participation.

"From the very inception, the conversations were the cooperative idea of community and school," he said. "We hope that this is merely the beginning of similar ventures in the future."

January 26, 1970

Cadwell said that as in most experiments, there are "hangups."

One of these, he said, is the fact that teachers will probably have to spend some of their own time visiting student homes or conferring with parents at the schools.

An East Los Angeles teacher, Mrs. Manuela Coria, said that this might be true at first but that "if the experiment works it will make it easier for everyone."

## CHAIRMAN STAGGERS ON QUALITY SERVICE AND PRODUCTS

### HON. SEYMOUR HALPERN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 26, 1970

Mr. HALPERN. Mr. Speaker, I would like to call my colleagues' attention to the remarks of Congressman HARLEY O. STAGGERS, Democrat, West Virginia, chairman of the House Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee, which appeared in the December 1969 issue of Cars and Trucks magazine.

Chairman STAGGERS makes a telling point when he emphasizes the deterioration in quality of service and consumer products in modern America. In particular, he notes as a basic cause the scarcity of skilled mechanics and the inadequacy of existing educational techniques, referring to "90-day-night-course produced mechanics."

He places great responsibility for reversing this trend on industry and the consumer himself. It is important that the consumer refuse to accept shoddy workmanship and not be taken by the lure of pretty girls in advertisements.

And he notes that public complaints lead to real efforts to train good mechanics.

Yet, current information reveals a continuing shortage of skilled mechanics and, once again, the advertisements of industry efforts to train mechanics seem to becloud the underlying reality.

Perhaps it is time for the House Commerce Committee, itself, to look beneath the advertising copy, as Chairman STAGGERS has done. The chorus of consumer complaint about poor servicing of automobiles leads the list of Mrs. Knauer's mail and has grown to a considerable din. The consumer has assumed his responsibility of intolerant protest, as the chairman suggested. Now it is time for the Commerce Committee to assume its responsibility to respond to this newly aware, demanding, buying public, and ask the industry what it is doing, not merely saying it will do, to provide the skilled service the public demands. The editorial follows:

### GUEST EDITORIAL

(By HARLEY O. STAGGERS)

Public opinion, says a trade journal, becomes acutely conscious of the consumer. It is a plaintive note. The 50's and 60's have been happy years for manufacturers and to a slightly less degree for distributors. With the outbreak of the war, Government requirements absorbed the utmost capabilities of the producer. The interests of the citizen consumer were obscured. Under pressurized demand it is not surprising that quality standards deteriorated. Today the



pendulum swings back, and quality defects come under consideration.

During the two decades now coming to a close a number of factors combined to encourage tolerance of products not as good as they might be. Money poured into the pockets of workers. During the war, women as well as all available labor, were drawn into the market. At least two incomes in every family became commonplace. People had money to buy things they had always wanted. Or if they did not have money, credit was easy.

In such an invigorating climate, producers were stimulated to superhuman exertions. They could sell anything they could put on the market. The only thing they had to worry about was that some competitor might attract the eye of the eager purchaser. Producers called in Madison Avenue to enfold their products in glamour. The sudden advent of television magnified—and distorted—the value of advertising. What was the sense in talking quality over television? Pretty girls and romantic situations had more appeal than any explanation of intrinsic excellence.

The speed of modern assembly lines does not favor the correction of mistakes. Let a wrench slip or a nut fall, and it is simpler to let the matter pass, thus not holding up the whole line while the correction is made. Likewise the scarcity of skilled mechanics is a production and maintenance drought. Ninety-day-night-course-produced mechanics just do not possess that deftness of touch and that sure precision of movement which turns out well-adjusted machinery. These and other factors have joined together to bring in the age of built-in obsolescence. We have been moving toward a situation wherein much of the mechanical part of our civilization cannot be depended upon to operate efficiently. If continued, it means a breakdown in production, transportation and communication. We must reverse the trend toward slipshod and careless performance in every field of endeavor. It is true that the public as a whole has become dissatisfied with the quality of many products they must use. The Congress has passed a number of so-called "safety" and "consumer oriented" laws, dealing with standards of construction and maintenance for railroads, automobiles, air traffic and others. All of these impose controls on manufacturers and distributors in the supposed interest of the public.

To be realistic about the matter, we must accept the conclusion that legislation alone is not going to give us a world free from defective and dangerous machinery and from unsatisfactory performance generally. What is needed is cooperation all the way from production to consumption. The only reason for producing most things is that they may be consumed. It is in the interest of the producer and distributor that articles offered for consumption be the best that can be made. If our society is to advance rather than decline, it will advance on the wheels of ever-increasing excellence.

At the consumer end of the line, it is important that a prospective buyer refuse to let himself be deluded by glamour and deceptive advertisements. In the early days of the automobile, practically everyone could discourse learnedly on the function and operation of every mechanical part. In recent years it is not uncommon to find adults who disavow any understanding whatever of machinery. It is too bad in this age of enlightenment that ignorance can be accepted as a virtue.

There is some evidence that things are getting better. Public complaint about poor workmanship leads to real efforts to train good mechanics. The various trades are acquiring high prestige and draw excellent pay. In some quarters dealers offer training to the general public in the simpler road repairs required in the operation of automobiles. And within a few days a curious automobile ad-

vertisement was found in a periodical. It covered two full pages, approximately 160 square inches. The only picture was a cut of the car itself, approximately 3 by 5 inches. The rest was printed material attempting to give information about the parts of the car. Evidently it was trying to tell somebody something he ought to know. However, the small picture of the car did have a pretty girl inside!

#### ABOUT THIS MONTH'S GUEST

A member of Congress since 1948, Congressman Staggers (D-W. Va.) is Chairman of the House Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee having jurisdiction over legislation affecting warranties, dealer and mechanic licensing, U.S. Department of Transportation operations and other dealer-related matters. A graduate of Emory and Henry College, Chairman Staggers has received honorary Doctor of Laws degrees from his alma mater and Davis and Elkins College, and has pursued graduate studies at Duke University. The "Dean of the West Virginia Congressional Delegation" has served the people of West Virginia longer than any other current Member of Congress, and has served as Assistant Whip in the House of Representatives since 1955.

#### BEING PREPARED—CIVIL DEFENSE

### HON. ROGERS C. B. MORTON

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 26, 1970

Mr. MORTON. Mr. Speaker, in a few years the United States will celebrate its 200th anniversary. The Eastern Shore of Maryland, which is well over half of my congressional district, has a history going well over 300 years.

We have learned in that time that cooperation is essential to survival. We have learned too, the truth of another old adage "The time to repair a leaky roof is when the sun is shining."

Just a few weeks ago in my district in the city of Salisbury, a conference was held between school officials from Dorchester, Somerset, Wicomico, and Worcester Counties and the deputy State civil defense director, the coordinator of the civil defense university extension program of the University of Maryland, and the State department of education's supervisor of civil defense education.

The purpose of the meeting was to consider how the resources of our school systems, the staff and facilities, can be best utilized to protect our people, particularly our schoolchildren, in time of emergency, whether from nuclear attack or natural disaster.

In Maryland, a statewide school board disaster plan is now in process of preparation. Members of the school staffs are being trained in disaster planning, organization, and leadership.

Courses in individual and family survival are a part of the curriculum in the school systems of many of our counties and will be extended to all of our counties in the near future. The men responsible for the school systems in Maryland are to be congratulated upon their recognition of the broadening civic responsibilities of the schools in today's complex and rapidly changing world.

An excellent editorial in the Salisbury Sunday Times of December 21, 1969, de-

scribing the conference and the spirit of cooperation that prevailed, said it "makes sense." Since the editorial makes good sense, also, and deals with a subject of vital importance to our people and our Nation, Mr. Speaker, I insert it in the RECORD at this point in my remarks:

#### TRYING TO BE PREPARED

Civil Defense officers and school officials spent a few hours here the other day talking about preparations for a course of action in the schools in the event of a nuclear attack or any other disaster for that matter.

Civil Defense, popularly known as CD, has been with us since during and after World War II. It was organized as many European cities were devastated by aerial bombardment. The atomic bomb assaults by this country on two Japanese cities revealed the horror ahead for civilian population in wars of the future if nuclear weapons are used.

Twenty-five years after World War II, Civil Defense remains with us, an agency which attracts little or no public attention, yet must keep busy with the business of anticipating and being prepared in the event of a nuclear assault by a foreign power. Lack of public interest doesn't make the task any easier.

Yet, the moment may come when the Civil Defense organization is needed. Getting its message to the public before it is needed is the problem. And, CD officials, are going to the schools with plans of how to meet an attack, the inclusion of on-going information about CD in the regular curriculum, and the school's responsibility to the entire community. It makes sense.

One official, Brig. Gen. Kenneth S. Sweany, deputy director of Maryland's CD, says that while millions are sure to be killed in a nuclear holocaust, millions will still be alive and they must know how they can carry on.

At the same time, CD preparedness can also be a vital force with which to meet the needs of other disasters, such as hurricanes, floods and tornados. Generating interest in the idea is a problem.

#### GEORGE HAMMOND PROPOSES: INVOLVE YOUTH IN SEEKING SOLUTION TO DRUG PROBLEM

### HON. JOHN S. MONAGAN

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 26, 1970

Mr. MONAGAN. Mr. Speaker, all of us in this Chamber are deeply concerned about the mounting drug-use problem, especially as it relates to the youth of our country. Accordingly, I am sure you and our colleagues will be interested in an imaginative proposal made by my friend and constituent, Mr. George Hammond of West Redding, Conn.

Mr. Hammond is chairman of Carol of Carl Boyer & Associates, Inc., a leading public relations firm, and just completed a year's service as national president of the Public Relations Society of America. It was in the latter capacity that he made a speech recently to the Executives' Club of Chicago, in which he proposed the organization of a national youth committee to study the drug problem and related difficulties.

He said:

Let the kids in on the research. Urging young people to become involved in such issues as drug legislation and treatment of addiction and the prevention of crime has numerous potential payoffs. Participation of

influential youth organizations in action programs is probably potentially the most effective means of assuring the widespread dissemination of information among young people about the consequences of drug use.

I include at this point in the RECORD portions of Mr. Hammond's speech that deal with his proposal:

What do we want to overcome? First, the hostility between parents and children to the extent that it is based upon what we say is the irresponsibility of our children. In other words, even when we know that we have earned criticism we aren't in a mood to accept it from a son or a daughter who, we say, has no standards and little self-respect.

The second thing we want to overcome is terror, even though not all of us are subject to it. Apart from the Vietnam war—a separate subject which hopefully will be removed as an issue—the two greatest remaining issues involving the two embattled generations are the drug problem and crime, and most of us have been brought up to believe that a causative factor in crime is the drug problem.

#### BRING THE AMERICAN YOUTH ON RESEARCH

What I propose is that the youth of this country boldly and effectively attack all three targets, undertaking a specific, deliberate campaign; one that would give full scope to the organizational ability that the young people are so brilliantly demonstrating.

Let the kids in on the research!

American society must assign some responsibility for assessing the nature and magnitude of the drug problem, and for seeking effective methods of coping with it, to those deeply involved in it: American youth. We live in a time whose watchwords are relevance and participatory democracy.

What more relevant public have we for helping us to evaluate and deal with drug use and abuse than high school and college-age citizens. Urging young people to become involved in such issues as drug legislation and treatment of addiction and the prevention of crime has numerous potential pay-offs. Participation of influential youth organizations in action programs is probably potentially the most effective means of assuring the widespread dissemination of information among young people about the consequences of drug use. We are more interested in preventing young junkies than in curing old ones.

I was shocked to learn that while there have been a spate of articles on the subject, there is still very little hard research on the two most fundamental questions: Are drugs a menace to the health of the individual and of society? And, is drug addiction a major factor in the increasing crime rate?

Perhaps no area of public mores, private norms, and law enforcement in our society is as myth-ridden as that of drugs and their control. Surely it would be a worthwhile investment of public and private funds that would enable us to learn more and to behave rationally in coping with this problem.

Despite the complexity of the narcotics problem, the arithmetic of it is simple. The newspapers recently reported that there are an estimated 100,000 heroin users in New York City. Dr. Michael Baden, associate medical examiner, estimates that the city's heroin users are spending at least \$850 million a year with pushers on the street, and may be stealing as much as \$2.5 billion a year in property.

In another report, George F. McGrath, Commissioner of Corrections in New York, reports that of a total prison population of 13,500, 40 per cent of the men and at least 60 per cent of the women are considered to be addicts.

The Chairman of the Health Subcommittee to Report on the Dangers of Marijuana

for the Special Presidential Task Force Related to Narcotics has said among other things, "While perhaps it cannot be statistically proven that marijuana or other dangerous drugs may be the cause of originating crime, nevertheless the use of marijuana or dangerous drugs is related to increased criminal activities."

#### YOUTH WANT TO HELP

The kids are infuriated by all this. They see little persuasiveness in something that is said to be related to something else, especially when they disagree.

So you can understand, I believe, why I see several necessary tasks that can be done simultaneously by mobilizing support for my proposals. Let's get some real solid research done. Let the young people help to design the research task, get the facts, analyze the facts, and develop an honest and effective program to deal with the facts.

I would have confidence in this program only if the older generation willingly and enthusiastically approaches it with a new spirit.

The time is overdue for us to accept the fact that many of our young people simply will not buy as gospel factual information put before them without their participating in the study of the circumstances behind the facts.

For many years I have respected the wisdom of Dr. Raymond Mack, head of your Center For Urban Affairs at Northwestern University, and he is a consultant to our firm. I have drawn upon his experience in developing this proposal.

He and his associates at the Center believe that it would be a valuable contribution both to social science scholarship and to public policy to organize a national consortium of youth organizations willing to establish an ad hoc committee on drug use and its consequences—to society and as a cause of crime.

Let's take the young people honestly at their word. They do want a better world. They want, more, to have a very large hand in shaping it. If a thorough, unprejudiced inquiry establishes that drugs and crime do threaten to make this a worse world, I for one believe that they will understand, will generate a sensible response, and will help to prevent it. And it will be a great day when the major news media have a chance to enthuse about positive stands the kids are taking.

#### DOUBLE TALK ON CIVIL RIGHTS

### HON. JEROME R. WALDIE

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 26, 1970

Mr. WALDIE. Mr. Speaker, earlier this year, Attorney General Mitchell admonished a group of black citizens to judge the administration's attitude towards the needs of the black community by its actions, not by its words.

This would be most helpful advice for all of us concerned with the civil rights issue in this Nation, especially in light of the apparent confusion evidenced by administration verbiage of late on this subject.

Mr. Speaker, I would like to submit a recent editorial in the Los Angeles Times which I consider to be a most astute look at the present situation.

The article follows:

[From the Los Angeles Times, Dec. 17, 1969]

#### DOUBLE TALK ON CIVIL RIGHTS

The mood of Congress is running against civil rights.

Last week the House voted to dilute the Voting Rights Act of 1965.

And, last week and this, Democrats and Republicans alike unexpectedly deserted the cause of civil rights in certain crucial Senate votes on the proposal to remove from the Department of Health, Education and Welfare the power to deny federal funds to racially segregated schools.

It was gratifying to see Robert H. Finch, secretary of health, education and welfare, declare the Nixon Administration is "unalterably opposed" to the restriction. The federal government's power to cut off federal funds is the most effective tool it has for enforcing the Supreme Court's mandates.

But public opinion polls show that most of the white majority in this country think the black man has gained enough.

Congressmen read the polls. So does the Administration.

And the Nixon Administration has not been speaking with one voice on the subject of school desegregation.

While Finch presses for positive enforcement of the law, Atty. Gen. John N. Mitchell engages in what is at best a kind of negative enforcement. His Justice Department lawyers go into court to ask for delays in implementing the Supreme Court's recent rulings that "deliberate speed" is no longer a viable approach in desegregating Southern schools. He shifts the burden of school desegregation cases away from the Civil Rights Division of the Justice Department and gives it to the local U.S. attorneys in the South, who can be counted on to tread lightly.

The process of desegregation in the South cannot, of course, be stopped. As fast as the Justice Department asks for delays, the Supreme Court says again there won't be any. Meanwhile the President has promised, as of course he must, to enforce the law.

That is not quite the point. The Southern Regional Council argues persuasively that "the false hopes engendered by the Administration have laid the seed for new resistance in the South."

And why are those seeds being sown? A "southern strategy" for the Republican Party, probably; also, probably, the President's reading of where his majority lies, among northern whites as well as southern whites.

The kind of ambivalent politics the President is practicing with the constitutional rights of black Americans is, we suggest, short-sighted politics.

It can only, as it already has, dishearten and embitter black Americans, with portents for future disorder which such a mood entails. It can only encourage Americans who are not black to think that our racial problems will be solved more easily than they, in fact, can be.

#### MENTAL HEALTH FACILITIES ON CAMPUS

### HON. ROMAN C. PUCINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 26, 1970

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, all of us know that problems in American educa-



tion today are increasingly complex and unwieldy. It is the view of many Americans that foremost among these problems is how to cope with the effects of personal tension that characterize the lives of so many students.

From the age of 4 onward, American youngsters compete in a system that provides but two alternatives—achievement or failure. Despite the differing views of countless books, articles, periodicals, studies, reports, speeches, and testimony, no other method of determining either maturity or intellectual growth has been adopted on a large-scale basis in the United States.

Our educational system places enormous pressure on the individual student to succeed. His reward for each success is to be promoted to a level of greater complexity where he must once again pit himself against his peers to avoid the stigma of failure.

By the time students succeed their way into a college or university, far too many have lost their ability to evaluate what they have learned. Few can spare the time for exploration of ideas. They have been trained to be concerned with tangible facts that can be translated into the gold stars of passing grades. By its very nature, this pressure system precludes time for any reflection on the quality of education itself.

What keeps so many of our students from becoming human automatons is a source of wonder. Even though claims are put forth that our educational process is adapting, it is adapting too slowly; even though it is changing, it is changing too slowly. The Sword of Damocles remains suspended above American classrooms in every corner of the land—succeed or fail.

More suicides are committed by university students in this Nation than any other age group. Yet ostensibly these are individuals who have been rewarded consistently for their academic successes and who have been singled out for recognition. One must logically wonder how many students suffer severe mental and emotional stresses, but who do not resort to taking their lives. And then one must ask how suited are these anonymous young people for productive careers as adult members of our society?

The problem of coping with the mental health of college students is a matter of growing concern to psychologists such as Dr. Bernard Bloom, consultant in mental health programs for the Western Interstate Commission for Higher Education. Dr. Bloom has written countless articles and delivered numerous speeches that underscore the need for better, more comprehensive, more accessible mental health facilities on American college campuses.

In a recent questionnaire distributed to university administrators, nearly 90 percent of the respondents reported that the demand for mental health services for students far exceeded the supply. Eighty percent of the respondents urged expanded outreach activities to locate potentially seriously troubled students before it is too late. And virtually all respondents emphasized the need for 24-

hour-a-day mental health services on college campuses.

Mr. Speaker, we talk a lot about where young people are headed these days at home and abroad. Many psychologists have made the argument that in too many instances the peace our students seek in ad hoc sensitivity groups and the like may in fact be a manifestation of their desire to free themselves of the relentless necessity to achieve on the basis of an arbitrary timetable.

A civilized nation must provide all the services its people require for their safety and equilibrium. These services must include the accessibility of facilities that encourage every citizen to become more aware of his unique ability to shape his world constructively.

With that goal in mind, I take the opportunity of calling a selection of Dr. Bloom's articles and speeches on this subject to my colleagues in order that they may have an opportunity to examine his arguments in this good cause.

Mr. Speaker, Dr. Bloom's informative and eloquent position follows:

CHARACTERISTICS OF CAMPUS COMMUNITY MENTAL HEALTH PROGRAMS IN WESTERN UNITED STATES—1969

(By Bernard L. Bloom, Ph.D., S.M. Hyg\*)

Comprehensive surveys of characteristics of university based mental health activities have rarely been reported. While results of a survey of psychiatric services on Canadian campuses have recently appeared,<sup>1</sup> it has been more than fifteen years since the most recent data was collected in the United States.<sup>2</sup> Some specialized survey information in the United States is more recent, such as the Knoepfler and Bruce review of fee-charging practices in 42 university mental health programs,<sup>3</sup> but the lack of current general program information plus the rapidity with which campus community mental health activities are being established and expanded suggests that it may be unusually timely to assess the status of campus community mental health programs.

The growth of campus mental health activities has been documented in isolated descriptions of new or expanded programs<sup>4</sup> and is undoubtedly a reflection of the general increase in the size of American universities. In 1965, some 5,675,000 persons were attending college. By the fall of 1968, that number had increased to 6,800,000. Projections of the Bureau of the Census suggest that by 1985 between ten and eleven million persons will be attending a college or university in the United States. Educational attainment is gradually increasing. The population of persons age 25 to 29 who have completed four years of college has doubled since 1950, going from 3% to 6% in 1968 for Blacks and from 8% to 16% for Whites.<sup>5</sup> Concern about psychiatric disorders on campus is growing along with interest in other nonacademic aspects of students' lives and there appears to be growing awareness of the need to develop and provide more adequate preventive and therapeutic mental health services.

Interest in the improvement of campus mental health programs is by no means a uniquely American phenomenon. Discussions of student mental health problems, and descriptions of university mental health programs in Australia, Belgium, Canada, France, Great Britain, Ireland, Italy, Japan, New Zealand, Nigeria, and Scotland have all appeared within the past decade.<sup>6</sup>

This report is the first of a series dealing with replies to an extensive survey regarding both program characteristics and professional issues conducted in early 1969 in a number of university mental health programs in the thirteen Western States.<sup>7</sup> A preliminary open-ended questionnaire had been distributed the previous summer addressed to directors of mental health services in student health programs at the 103 accredited 4-year colleges and universities in the thirteen Western states.<sup>8</sup> This questionnaire requested general information regarding seven aspects of the mental health program: 1. a description of clinical services being provided; 2. an indication of which groups were eligible for services; 3. description of any activities emphasizing prevention as distinguished from treatment; 4. identifying information regarding any other agencies on the campus providing mental health services (to which similar questionnaires were subsequently sent); 5. major developments in the mental health program in recent years; 6. relationship of program developments to changing characteristics of the university community; and 7. problems or issues in the further development of mental health activities. A total of 52 additional questionnaires was sent to agencies identified by the original respondents.

The number and comprehensiveness of the replies was unusually great. A total of 125 replies was received, including at least one reply from 85 of the 103 universities. In reviewing these replies, it became clear that the questionnaire was a welcome one. Yet, the complexity and detail of the responses made a systematic analysis of the replies impossible. There was an extremely broad spectrum of opinion expressed on almost every issue raised. There appeared to be widespread dissatisfaction expressed with many of the current mental health practices in university communities but because specific questions were not asked of each respondent, it was not possible to evaluate the generality of these concerns. As a result of these problems it was decided to prepare and submit a second, more comprehensive questionnaire to the 125 respondents of the first survey form. Included with the questionnaire were a progress report and some preliminary ideas about how the replies might be utilized. The revised questionnaire was divided into two sections; first, a program description survey which asked for information more systematically regarding type of program, personnel, nature of professional activities, eligibility for service, and distribution of professional activities by recipient group, and second, a set of 113 statements regarding campus communities and their mental health programs for which respondents were asked to express their degree of agreement.

These statements were divided into nine separate dimensions: General program issues; direct clinical services; consultative services; preventive services; characteristics and deployment of mental health program staff; eligibility for services; characteristics of the recipient population; training activities; and administrative concerns. Even these 113 items constituted a progress report since each item was derived from the replies to the original questionnaire. As a final task for the respondent, he was asked to review certain of these statements which it was thought should characterize an ideal campus community mental health program (for example, "Some kind of 24-hour psychiatric emergency service should be part of every university community mental health program.") and, if he agreed with the statement, to indicate if there was a significant discrepancy between the item and the present characteristics of the mental health program with which the respondent was associated.

Footnotes at end of article.

TABLE 1.—DISTRIBUTION AND COMPLETION OF DETAILED SURVEY QUESTIONNAIRE BY STATE

State	Number of accredited universities	Number of universities receiving questionnaire	Universities completing at least 1 questionnaire	Total questionnaires completed
Alaska.....	2	2	2	2
Arizona.....	3	3	3	4
California.....	32	27	24	30
Colorado.....	10	8	7	13
Hawaii.....	3	3	3	3
Idaho.....	7	6	6	7
Montana.....	7	6	5	8
Nevada.....	2	2	0	0
New Mexico.....	6	5	4	5
Oregon.....	11	8	8	12
Utah.....	5	4	4	7
Washington.....	14	10	8	9
Wyoming.....	1	1	1	2
Total.....	103	85	75	102

In Table 1 will be found information by State showing the number of schools to whom the second questionnaire was distributed and the number of schools from whom replies were subsequently received. While there was some loss in comparison with the first questionnaire, there were still a very large number of replies. About 80 replies were received within six weeks of the initial mailing and the additional 22 were received shortly after the distribution of a single follow-up letter to non-respondents. It should be kept in mind that only the respondents to the first brief questionnaire received the detailed second questionnaire. Replies to the initial questionnaire were received from 85 of the 103 accredited universities. Replies to the second, detailed questionnaire were received from 102 mental health programs in 75 of these 85 schools (73% of all accredited universities). An analysis of the 113 item attitude survey will appear in a later publication, the present report being concerned with a description of program characteristics.

## TYPES OF PROGRAMS

Based upon the preliminary survey, five types of programs were described and each respondent was asked to identify which description best fit his program. The program types were: 1. a medical-psychiatric service which is part of the student health program; 2. a counseling center administratively distinct from the student health service; 3. a special facility, developed mainly for training, attached to a particular department such as psychology; 4. an evaluation or referral service attached to a dean's office or other non-medical university administrative unit; and 5. other. The distribution of respondents by type of program is shown in Table 2.

TABLE 2.—NUMBER AND PROPORTION OF SURVEY RESPONDENTS BY TYPE OF PROGRAM

Type of program	Number	Percent
1. Medical-psychiatric.....	34	33
2. Counseling.....	43	42
3. Departmental training.....	7	7
4. Referral service.....	4	4
5. Other.....	14	14
Total.....	102	100

Three-quarters of the respondents represented the two most common programs. Assuming that every medical-psychiatric clinic responded to the survey, it would appear that about one-third of all Western colleges and universities have such programs attached to their student health services—a figure more than double that reported 15 years ago by Gundle and Kraft.<sup>9</sup> The num-

ber of counseling programs has undoubtedly increased as well. Some kind of mental health service is thus available in at least three-quarters of Western schools of higher education. In analyzing personnel and other characteristics of identified university mental health programs, the type of program serves as a parameter. For purposes of the analyses to follow, three program types have been identified—medical-psychiatric (N=34); counseling (N=43); and other (N=25). This latter category includes departmental training clinics, referral services, and a variety of more unusual formal and informal arrangements for providing help to members of the university community. Examples include semi-formal efforts of faculty in psychology or education to provide help to students, a state-supported mental hygiene clinic physically located on the campus, a combined counseling and training facility located in a dean's office and a part-time psychiatric consultant who visits the campus weekly to talk with students who ask to see him. This third type of program category is clearly quite heterogeneous but its establishment has permitted the identification and analysis of the more common "pure" types of programs.

Gundle and Kraft<sup>10</sup> found that schools with larger enrollments are more apt to maintain medical-psychiatric programs than smaller schools. The same situation continues to prevail. The average student enrollment at universities from which responses from medical-psychiatric clinics were received is more than eleven thousand. Average student enrollment at universities from which responses were received from counseling centers is less than nine thousand, while average student enrollment at universities with other types of mental health services is less than seven thousand. Only 15 percent of the medical-psychiatric programs are found at universities with fewer than four thousand students. Twenty-five percent of the counseling programs are found at universities with fewer than four thousand students, while 64% of the other program types are located in universities with fewer than four thousand students.

## PERSONNEL

The mean number of personnel in each category is shown in Table 3. Counseling centers tend to be staffed with more than twice as many employees as either of the other two types of programs. This difference is even more pronounced when one looks at full-time employees. There are more than three times as many full-time employees in counseling centers as in the other two categories of program types. Perhaps more impressive is the fact that more than sixty percent of medical-psychiatric clinics have no full-time employees, while only nine percent of counseling programs have no full-time employees. While the actual number of medical-psychiatric programs has increased in the past fifteen years, staffing patterns are not appreciably better now than there were then. In fact, 47% of identified medical-psychiatric university clinics had at least one full-time employee in 1953 while in 1969 the figure is less than 40%. More than three-quarters of the programs use part-time employees, however. The total number of part-time employees is very similar in the three program types, but there are clear differences in the professional identification of these part-time people. Psychiatrists and non-psychiatric physicians account for most of the part-time employees in medical-psychiatric programs, while psychologists make up the majority of part-time employees in counseling programs and in other programs. The large number of personnel in the "other" category are nearly all graduate students or counselors whose training is below the doctoral level.

TABLE 3.—MEAN NUMBER OF FULL-TIME AND PART-TIME PROFESSIONAL PERSONNEL IN EACH TYPE OF PROGRAM

Personnel category	Medical-psychiatric		Counseling		Other	
	Full time	Part time	Full time	Part time	Full time	Part time
Psychiatrist.....	0.24	1.71	0.12	0.53	0.00	0.44
Nonpsychiatric MD.....	.71	.82	.00	.16	.12	.36
Psychologist.....	.03	.41	3.53	1.58	.44	2.28
Social worker.....	.12	.47	.16	.23	.16	.24
Nurse.....	.21	.38	.05	.02	.36	.40
Other.....	.15	.79	.95	1.00	.04	1.16
Total.....	1.46	4.58	4.81	3.52	1.12	4.88
Total full-time equivalent positions.....	2.91		6.60		2.36	

## ELIGIBILITY FOR SERVICES

Respondents were asked to indicate who was eligible for services at their agency. In answering this question, they distinguished between eligibility for limited or emergency services and eligibility for the full range of services provided by the agency. It was commonly remarked that no one was turned away in the event of a crisis, or that anyone would be seen once for purposes of making a referral. The analysis reported in Table 4, therefore, provides information regarding eligibility for the full range of services available at the agency. As can be seen medical-psychiatric clinics associated with student health programs restrict their services essentially to students. Only a third of the medical-psychiatric programs provide full services to part-time students, and less than a quarter of them provide services to spouses of students. Fewer than 15% of the medical psychiatric clinics provide full services to any other identified recipient group.

TABLE 4.—RECIPIENT GROUPS ELIGIBLE FOR MENTAL HEALTH SERVICES IN THE 3 TYPES OF UNIVERSITY PROGRAMS

Recipient group	Percent of programs providing full services		
	Medical-psychiatric	Counseling	Other
Full-time students.....	100	100	88
Part-time and night students.....	35	84	68
Children of students.....	9	21	48
Spouses of students.....	24	67	48
University staff or faculty.....	12	63	64
Dependents of staff or faculty.....	9	35	40
Members of nonuniversity community.....	12	26	32
Other persons.....	0	12	8

Findings regarding eligibility for services are quite different in the case of counseling centers. Not only are services available to students, including in most cases part-time students, but about two-thirds of the counseling centers provide full services to spouses of students and to university staff or faculty. A third of the counseling centers make services available to dependents of staff or faculty and twenty percent to children of students and to members of the non-university community. Other persons eligible for services are mainly prospective students and parents of students. In the case of the other types of programs, not all provide service to university students (in all cases these are training clinics attached to psychology departments whose programs emphasize work with children in the community), but as a group, these other programs tend to provide services to a broader range of persons. Two-thirds provide services to part-time students and to university staff or faculty, nearly half provide services to children and spouses of students and of staff or faculty and one-third provide services to members of the non-university community. Comparing present findings regarding eligibility for service in med-



ical-psychiatric clinics with those obtained earlier by Gundle and Kraft<sup>11</sup> reveals no substantial change.

DISTRIBUTION OF PROFESSIONAL ACTIVITIES

The final information requested of respondents was estimates of distribution of professional activities both by type of activity and by recipient group. Information regarding percentage distribution of types of activity in the three identified types of programs will be found in Table 5. Similarities among programs in distribution of professional activities seem more impressive than differences among programs. All programs spend between half and two-thirds of their professional time in the provision of individual counseling or psychotherapy. While no counseling centers report that their exclusive activity is individual psychotherapy, 12% of medical-psychiatric clinics and 16% of other programs indicate that they do nothing but individual therapy. Group therapy is still rather uncommon although it occupies about twice as much of counseling centers' personnel as it does either of medical-psychiatric clinics or other programs. Psychiatric or psychological evaluations are the second most time-consuming activity in medical-psychiatric clinics and other programs, and tend to be much less common a form of activity in counseling centers. Psychological testing is relatively rare in medical-psychiatric clinics (79% of clinics report none at all), more common in counseling centers (which employ psychologists much more often than do medical-psychiatric clinics) and still more common in other types of programs, which, it will be remembered, include training clinics attached to psychology departments. The same pattern is true for training and supervision activities, and the same factors probably help account for it. Comparing these results regarding pattern of professional activities with that reported by Gundle and Kraft<sup>12</sup> reveals no obviously significant changes.

TABLE 5.—DISTRIBUTION OF PROFESSIONAL ACTIVITIES BY TYPE OF ACTIVITY  
[In percent]

Professional activity	Type of program		
	Medical-psychiatric	Counseling	Other
Individual counseling or psychotherapy.....	65.5	56.7	50.8
Group counseling or psychotherapy.....	5.0	11.0	5.0
Psychiatric or psychological evaluation.....	12.8	3.8	11.0
Diagnostic psychological testing.....	.9	5.3	9.4
Consultation within university.....	6.8	6.0	4.0
Consultation outside university.....	.9	1.6	2.5
Preventive services.....	3.3	2.9	3.0
Research.....	.5	5.3	2.4
Training and supervision.....	2.6	4.6	9.3
Other activities.....	2.0	2.7	2.4

Distribution of professional activities by recipient group will be found in Table 6. With the single exception of the third category of programs, which include psychology department training clinics whose caseload is often predominantly children and which therefore expend 20% of their professional time in dealing with members of the non-university community, all types of programs devote almost all of their time to dealing with students. Contrasting Table 6 with prior information contained in Table 4 regarding eligibility for services clearly establishes that almost regardless of who is eligible for service, nearly all professional time is devoted to students. Sixty-two percent of medical-psychiatric clinics report that they do nothing other than work with students and 95% of counseling centers devote at least three-quarters of their staff time to students.

TABLE 6.—DISTRIBUTION OF PROFESSIONAL ACTIVITIES BY RECIPIENT GROUP  
[In percent]

Recipient group	Type of program		
	Medical-psychiatric	Counseling	Other
Students.....	94.5	88.7	71.9
Children of students.....	0	.7	1.3
Spouses of students.....	1.6	3.1	2.4
University staff or faculty.....	1.5	3.7	1.9
Dependents of staff or faculty.....	.1	1.1	1.1
Nonuniversity community.....	.5	1.5	20.2
Other persons.....	1.8	1.0	.8

SUMMARY

Results of a survey conducted in early 1969 of university mental health programs in accredited 4-year colleges and universities in the 13 Western states reveal that some kind of professional mental health-related service is available in at least three-quarters of these schools. The availability of mental health services appears to be about double that reported in a similar survey conducted in 1953 throughout the United States. Except for the increase in the number of identifiable mental health programs, however, few changes seem to have taken place in the past 15 years. While it is felt that services should be provided to a broad spectrum of the university and community population and while consultative, preventive, and educational activities are generally felt to be desirable in addition to clinical services, in fact nearly all professional time is spent working directly with students, most commonly in individual clinical evaluation, counseling, or psychotherapy. Staffing patterns do not appear to have improved in spite of the increased student population. The typical medical-psychiatric clinic attached to a student health service functions almost entirely with part-time staff with their combined efforts averaging to be the equivalent of fewer than three full-time positions. Counseling centers have the equivalent of more than twice as many professional positions and a substantial number of them are filled by full-time people. Other types of programs, including referral and evaluation services typically in smaller colleges and training clinics in departments of psychology are more poorly staffed than medical-psychiatric clinics and professional functions are carried out even to a greater extent by part-time personnel. A subsequent report will discuss issues and attitudes regarding campus community mental health programs and program planning.

FOOTNOTES

- \* Mental Health Consultant, Western Interstate Commission for Higher Education, and Professor, Dept. of Psychology, University of Colorado.
- <sup>1</sup> C. J. Schwarz, A Survey of Health and Psychiatric Services on Canadian Campuses, *Canad. Med. Assn. J.*, 96: 1361-1366, 1967.
- <sup>2</sup> S. Gundle and A. Kraft, Mental Health Programs in American Colleges and Universities, *Bull. Menninger Clinic*, 20: 57-69, 1956.
- <sup>3</sup> P. T. Knoepfer and D. K. Bruce, Fees and University Mental Health Clinics, *J. Amer. Coll. Health Assn.*, 13: 431-434, 1965.
- <sup>4</sup> For example, Xavier University (V. J. Biellauskas, Short Term Psychotherapy with College Students: Prevention and Cure, *Confinita Psychiatrica*, 11: 18-33, 1968); Univ. of North Carolina (J. T. Fox, Jr. and C. B. Reifer, Student Health Psychiatry at the University of North Carolina, *North Carolina Med. J.*, 28: 129-137, 1967); Indiana University (W. H. Friedman and F. W. Coons, The Mental Health Unit of a Student Health Service: A Study of a Clinic, *J. Amer. Coll. Health Assn.*, 17: 270-283, 1969); Univ. of Kansas (S. Gundle, The Special Contribution of a Student Mental Clinic to Psychiatric Education, *J. Amer. Coll. Health Assn.*, 12: 455-465, 1964); Berea College (J. R. Curtis, Satellite Psychiatry for the Small

College, *J. Amer. Coll. Health Assn.*, 17: 349-352, 1969); and, Kansas State Univ. (E. R. Sinnott and Linda K. Niedenthal, The Use of Indigenous Volunteers in a Rehabilitation Living Unit for Disturbed College Students, *Comm. Ment. Health J.*, 4: 232-243, 1968).

<sup>5</sup> See U.S. Dept. of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *Current Population Reports*, Series P-25, No. 338; Series P-20, No. 179; and, Series P-20, No. 182.

<sup>6</sup> See F. W. Wright-Short, The Emotional Problems of Undergraduates, *Med. J. Australia*, 1: 913-914, 1967; J. Servais and P. Hubin, La Predisposition Aux Troubles Neurotiques Chez les Etudiants Masculins, *Rev. Medicale de Liege*, 21: 418-428, 1966; R. M. Boyce and D. S. Barnes, Psychiatric Problems of University Students, *Canad. Psychiat. Assn. J.*, 11: 49-56, 1966; C. J. Schwarz, *ibid*; T. Statten, Child Psychiatric Syndromes in University Students, *Canad. Psychiat. Assn. J.*, 13: 105-107, 1968; B. Trossman, The Role of Parents in a Student Mental Health Clinic, *J. Amer. Coll. Health Assn.*, 16: 248-252, 1968; D. Douady, La Medecine Preventive et Curative des Etudiants et son Evolution, *Rev. Hyg. Med. Soc.*, 13: 303-318, 1965; R. De. Freminville, University Psychologic Aid Bureaus. (Les Bureaux d'Aide Psychologique Universitaire), *Concours Medical*, 87: 5311-5313, 1965; M. R. McBride, University House at Sceaux, France: Rehabilitation of Disturbed Students, *Amer. Correctional Ther. J.*, 21: 206-209, 1967; J. P. Muyard, Mental Hygiene at the University (L'hygiene Mentale a l'Universite), *Concours Medical*, 87: 6564-6568, 1965; Anonymous, Psychological Disorders in Students, *Brit. Med. J.*, 5502; 1500, 1966; Anonymous, Sexual Promiscuity Among Students, *Brit. Med. J.*, 711-712, 1967; Anonymous, Health of University Students, *Brit. Med. J.*, 457-458, 1967; Anonymous Student Health in Oxford, *Lancet*, 888-889, Apr. 22, 1967; C. J. Lucas, R. P. Kelvin, and A. B. Ojha, Mental Health and Student Wastage, *Brit. J. Psychiat.*, 112: 277-284, 1966; A. Ryle and M. Lunghi, A Psychometric Study of Academic Difficulty and Psychiatric Illness in Students, *Brit. J. Psychiat.*, 114: 57-62, 1968; C. B. Kidd and J. Caldbeck-Meenan, A Comparative Study of Psychiatric Morbidity Among Students at Two Different Universities, *Brit. J. Psychiat.*, 112: 57-64, 1966; P. Salzarulo, Problemi Concernenti i Servizi di Salute per Gli Studenti Universitari, *Rivista Sperimentale di Freniatria*, 90: 310-330, 1966; T. Shimazaki, T. Takahashi, T. Miyamoto, and R. Takahashi, Mental Health in College Community: I. Students Who Left School Because of Mental Disorders, *Bull. Tokyo Medical-Dental Univ.*, 13: 311-318, 1966; W. Ironside, The Incidence of Psychiatric Illness in a Group of New Zealand Medical Students, *J. Amer. Coll. Health Assn.*, 15: 50-53, 1966; A. J. W. Taylor, Culture Conflict and Student Performance, *Int. J. Soc. Psychiat.*, 3: 307-312, 1967; T. Asuni, The Review of Nigerian Students Repatriated on Psychiatric Grounds, *West African Med. J.*, 17: 3-7, 1968; and C. B. Kidd, Psychiatric Morbidity Among Students, *Brit. J. Prev. Soc. Med.*, 19: 143-150, 1965.

<sup>7</sup> These states include Alaska, Arizona, California, Colorado, Hawaii, Idaho, Montana, Nevada, New Mexico, Oregon, Utah, Washington, and Wyoming.

<sup>8</sup> American Council on Education, *Accredited Institutions of Higher Education*, February, 1968, Washington, D.C.

<sup>9</sup> *ibid*

<sup>10</sup> *ibid*

<sup>11</sup> *ibid*

<sup>12</sup> *ibid*

CURRENT ISSUES IN THE PROVISION OF CAMPUS COMMUNITY MENTAL HEALTH SERVICES

(By Bernard L. Bloom, Ph.D., S.M. Hyg.\*)

As part of a survey of characteristics of campus community mental health programs in accredited 4-year colleges and universities

in Western United States conducted in early 1969,<sup>1</sup> efforts were made to determine prevalent attitudes and opinions regarding a number of dimensions of such programs. This attitude survey was carried out in two steps separated by an interval of approximately six months. An earlier open-ended survey had generated an array of statements from respondents. Subsequent elimination of duplicating and overlapping statements and grouping and rewording of remaining comments yielded a 113-item opinion survey which was submitted to the 125 medical-psychiatric, counseling, and other types of mental health-related program directors in 85 schools who had responded to the original open-ended survey.<sup>2</sup> The statements in the attitude survey were divided into nine sections: General program issues; direct clinical services; consultative services; preventive services; characteristics and deployment of mental health program staff; eligibility for services; characteristics of the recipient population; training activities; and administrative concerns.

Replies were received from 102 programs in 75 schools, representing 73% of all accredited 4-year colleges and universities in the thirteen Western states. An earlier report of the survey dealt with program characteristics, including staffing patterns, eligibility for services, and distribution of professional activities. In this report the most salient attitudes and issues as seen by the respondents will be discussed. It is perhaps relevant to point out that a survey of American university mental health program activities has not been conducted for fifteen years, and, except for issues as presented in reports from individual campus mental health programs, no systematic information appears to be available regarding opinions of program personnel on needs and difficulties in the provision of improved mental health services to members of the university community.

#### GENERAL PROGRAM ISSUES

In examining survey replies, responses have been grouped by program types. Medical-psychiatric services ordinarily part of student health programs constitute the first type, and 34 responses fell into this category. The second program type, constituting 43 responses, is composed of counseling centers usually administratively distinct from student health services. The third, other, type, which included the remaining 25 responses is comprised of a heterogeneous group of programs including referral and evaluation services, training clinics attached to Psychology Departments, and other both formal and informal procedures devised at numerous colleges for providing mental health-related services. Significant differences in attitudes among respondents from from these three programs were found from time to time and will be referred to whenever they occur. Most commonly, however, there was general agreement in attitudes among respondents from various program types.

Regarding perhaps the most fundamental issue, namely, the existence and support of the mental health program, 38% of respondents believe that the university administration is not convinced that mental health services should even be provided on the campus and 48% of respondents indicate that they find it difficult to persuade the university administration of the importance of their services. This latter opinion is significantly less prevalent in psychiatric and counseling programs than in other types of programs. Eighty-nine percent of respondents believe that their needs are not understood by the legislature or other funding agencies. Thirty-eight percent of respondents report unusual difficulty in recruiting professional staff, a problem significantly more common in psychiatric clinics than in

counseling centers. Salaries are not competitive with equivalent non-university positions according to 72% of respondents (particularly from other types of programs), and 49% of the respondents have the impression that promotion and tenure (where appropriate) are difficult to attain. Although virtually all respondents believe that money should be budgeted for research and program evaluation, 56% indicate that they are unable to obtain this support. Seventy-seven percent of respondents feel their program's physical facilities are inadequate and 14% believe that their program has made no progress in the past five years in achieving its objectives. There is thus quite a substantial undercurrent of dissatisfaction on the part of respondents regarding the perceived role of the mental health program in the university.

Relationships between the mental health program and other university agencies are often poor. Nearly half of the respondents report that relationships between the general medical student health service and the mental health program could be much improved. One-third indicate poor relationships among campus agencies providing mental health-related services (as significantly more common attitude among other types of programs), and 71% of respondents report the need to improve relationships with the surrounding non-university community and its agencies. This problem is reported significantly less often by psychiatric clinics than by counseling centers and other programs. Productive relationships between the university mental health program and other agencies, such as community based mental health programs, private psychiatric practitioners, and with medical school Departments of Psychiatry are highly desired. A significant need for improvement in the characteristics of these interagency relationships is recognized.

A number of questions in the survey dealt with eligibility for services; that is, for which groups should the full range of services be provided. It seems clear that respondents believe that their services should be available to a broad spectrum of recipient groups, and 77% believe that no university community groups should be denied mental health services as a matter of administrative policy. Psychiatric clinics feel significantly less strongly about this broad eligibility than do counseling centers and other programs. Nearly all respondents believe that students should receive the major proportion of clinical resources but 61% feel that services should be available to children of students, 80% feel that services should be available to spouses of students, 76% feel that services should be available to staff and faculty, and 52% of respondents feel that services should be available to dependents of staff and faculty. With respect to these specific eligibilities for service, psychiatric clinics do not feel the need as strongly as do counseling centers or other programs. Fifty-nine percent of respondents feel that if insufficient mental health services are available to children and adolescents in the community, a university mental health program should try to provide such services. Three-quarters of respondents believe that their services should be made available to students on academic or disciplinary suspension, 63% (particularly counseling centers) believe services should be available to students temporarily off campus because of psychiatric disability, and nearly half of respondents (particularly counseling centers) believe that services should be available to prospective students.

The only "student" group for whom there is no great feeling of professional responsibility is alumni; only 13% feel this group should be eligible for services. Yet even now when services are in fact provided almost exclusively for students,<sup>3</sup> 89% of respondents report that the demand for mental health care exceeds their ability to provide it. Thus,

it seems imperative that new resources be found for the provision of expanded mental health services. There is considerable interest in the employment of certain non-traditional mental health personnel and in the expanded employment, on a part-time basis, of mental health professionals in the surrounding community as two ways of meeting this manpower crisis. Most respondents believe that carefully selected advanced students can, under proper supervision, be taught to be helpful to beginning students in a quasi-therapeutic relationship, and 75% of respondents believe there is a place in the mental health program for partially trained personnel. The use of professionally untrained and partially trained personnel is supported significantly less often by psychiatric clinics than by counseling centers and other programs.

#### ISSUES REGARDING CLINICAL AND CONSULTATIVE SERVICES

In addition to the manpower problem already identified in the provision of adequate services, more than 80% of respondents believe that outreach activities in the form of case finding and early intervention are appropriate functions of a campus mental health program. This belief is held significantly less often by psychiatric clinics than by counseling centers. Nearly all respondents believe that psychiatric emergency services should be available on a 24-hour-a-day basis, and about two-thirds of respondents feel that a full range of services, including hospitalization, medication, neurological evaluation as well as outpatient care should be available to patients regardless of the severity of the disorder. Including those patients whose conditions require extended treatment. In addition, 71% of respondents believe that mental health-related programs should be established for special types of students such as homosexuals, the obese, and students who abuse alcohol, marijuana, or other drugs; and 95% of respondents believe that a well-functioning campus community mental health program, should have an active consultation service; including, for example, consultation to administration, residence hall advisors, student body officers, faculty, houseparents, and student organization representatives. Eighty-eight percent of respondents believe that mental health program staff should be involved in the development of university policies particularly regarding student affairs, and 70% of respondents feel that mental health program staff should be called in for consultation in the case of student disciplinary problems. Respondents appear to be saying that mental health-related direct and indirect services should be made available to larger numbers of people than is currently possible. Many people in need of mental health services in the campus community do not seek them, and many kinds of broad university problems might be more effectively dealt with by the involvement of mental health professionals. Thus, even though campus community mental health program staff cannot keep up with the current demand for services they are aware of the fact that this demand does not fully represent the true extent of the campus problem, and that given more resources they could make a more significant contribution to university life. Much personal and organizational training in the university community is not being reduced, in part because of insufficient mental-health related resources.

Regarding the possibility of increasing resources by charging fees for services, this practice is viewed as an undesirable but perhaps necessary procedure. Eighty-one percent of respondents agree with the proposition that there ought to be some way of funding a university community mental health program so that services could be made available to the entire campus community without worry about fees. If fees are to be charged however, there is a general

Footnotes at end of article.



agreement (significantly more pronounced among psychiatric clinics) that students should not be charged, but that all other recipients of services (including dependents of students, staff or faculty, and dependents of staff or faculty) should be charged fees determined, in part, by ability to pay.

#### PREVENTIVE SERVICES IN THE CHANGING UNIVERSITY COMMUNITY

A group of items in the survey was designed to assess characteristics and changes in the university community. Knowledge of the characteristics of the community being served forms a very important informational base for the development of program plans and for the establishment of program objectives, and all respondents believe that establishment of program objectives is a necessary component of the task of program planning and evaluation. Specifically identified as characteristics of the campus community which represent changes over the past five years were increased numbers of students (by 88% of respondents), increased rate of emotional disorder in the student body (by 54% of respondents), increased interest in mental health services (by 91% of respondents), increased heterogeneity of the student population including more minority group students (by 71% of respondents), increased proportion of married students (by 75% of respondents), decreased interest in the social aspects of university life, such as fraternities and sororities (by 74% of respondents), tensions related to the Viet Nam war and the draft (by 88% of respondents), the wish for organized opportunities for meaningful interpersonal relationships by students (by 86% of respondents), the rise of student activism (by 58% of respondents), increased student alienation (by 73% of respondents), and problems associated with drug use (by 68% of respondents). Attrition rate among students continues to be high, and in the case of 87% of respondents there is the recognition that problems of vocational choice are often associated with emotional problems. While some of these conditions have implications for the provision of direct clinical services, most appear to have greater implications for the development of expanded preventive services. And in examining the results of the survey, it seems clear that a great discrepancy exists between the ability to provide preventive services and the felt need for the provision of such services.

Ninety-two percent of respondents believe that preventive services designed to reduce the incidence of emotional disorders on the campus are at least as important, if not more important, than direct clinical services. Included among these preventive services should be activities designed to identify stress-inducing aspects of the university community, in part by studying the distribution and determinants of emotional disorders, and activities designed to identify students who appear to be unusually vulnerable to the development of emotional disorders. Nearly 90% of respondents (significantly less common among psychiatric clinics) believe that a university mental health program should deploy a significant proportion of its resources in working with "normal" students; that is, with students who do not present psychiatric problems but rather want to become more self-actualizing and productive. Respondents believe that mental health-related educational services should be provided to students contemplating marriage or to those newly married, to students and their spouses who have become or are about to become parents, and that special services should be made available to students in academic difficulty. Furthermore, a high proportion of respondents believe that campus community mental health programs should provide such indirect services as dissemination of sex information, general health education, compensatory and growth-inducing services to

educationally and emotionally disadvantaged students, opportunities for community volunteer activities, opportunities for interracial interaction and for interaction between students and faculty outside of the academic classroom setting, and work with fraternities and sororities in order to enhance the growth-inducing characteristics of these organizations.

#### TRAINING ACTIVITIES

The issues raised by respondents regarding the provision of campus community mental health services have clear implications for training activities, both in in-service training of staff and the training of others by staff. All respondents believe that a well-functioning program should have an organized program of in-service education for its own staff. Specific content area needs include use of psycho-active drugs (less common among psychiatric clinics), consultation techniques, and innovations in individual and group psychotherapy. Eighty-five percent of respondents (less common among psychiatric clinics than among other types of programs) believe that professional staff should be training students and houseparents to do preventive intervention, 70% of respondents feel that residence hall counselors should be taught how to do group counseling, 95% believe that faculty should be taught how to recognize emotionally disordered students and how to refer them for help, 88% believe that special training in the area of student stress and emotional disorder should be provided to new faculty and teaching assistants, and 96% of respondents feel that useful training can be provided to those faculty members who have responsibilities for student advising.

#### CLUSTER STRUCTURE ANALYSIS OF ATTITUDE QUESTIONNAIRE

In reviewing the previous sections of this report, two related hypotheses suggest themselves: first, that many of the answers to items in the attitude scale tend to cluster together; that is, that persons who agree with one particular item will likely agree with other items; and second, that systematic differences in attitudes regarding campus community mental health program activities can be found between the respondents of the three identified types of mental health programs. Both of these hypotheses are supported in the data analysis.

Of the 113 items in the survey, 25 items showed so little variation that they were not included in a cluster analysis of the questionnaire. Eighty-nine percent or more of the respondents agreed with each one of these items. The remaining 88 items were subjected to a cluster analysis, and nine clusters, totaling 39 items in all, were identified. These nine clusters accounted for 91% of the communality of the original correlation matrix and are described below.

#### Cluster I: Desire for expanded manpower and services

(Average item intercorrelation = +0.49)

##### Items:

1. Under proper supervision, carefully selected advanced students can and should be taught to be helpful to beginning students in a quasi-therapeutic relationship.

2. While mental health services might be available only in limited amounts to certain groups within the university community, no group should be denied mental health services as a matter of administrative policy.

3. Mental health services in the university community should be available to children of students.

4. Mental health services in the university community should be available to faculty and staff.

5. Mental health services in the university community should be available to dependents of faculty and staff.

Footnotes at end of article.

#### Cluster II: Unmet mental health needs in the non-student university community (Average item intercorrelation = +0.49)

##### Items:

1. On our campus, we have been impressed with the fact that gainfully employed wives of students have special vulnerabilities to emotional disorders.

2. We have the impression that the rate of emotional disorder in the case of dependents of students or dependents of faculty or staff has increased in the past few years.

3. We have the impression that the rate of emotional disorder in the faculty and staff has increased in the past few years.

#### Cluster III: Need to develop preventive services

(Average item intercorrelation = +0.46)

##### Items:

1. Case finding (finding students in need of help before they come for help) should form an important component of a university community mental health program.

2. A campus community mental health program should attempt to identify types of students who appear unusually vulnerable to the development of emotional disorders and then should develop special programs for these students.

3. A university community mental health program should identify students in academic difficulty and try to determine the extent to which psychological factors are interfering with productivity. In such cases, some sort of mental health intervention should be offered.

4. A university community mental health program should provide special training to new faculty and to teaching assistants about student stress and emotional disorder.

5. Regular lectures or special programs in the area of "mental hygiene" or what might in general be called mental health education should form a significant part of a university community mental health program.

6. The staff of a university community mental health program should work closely with fraternities and sororities in order to enhance the growth-inducing characteristics of these organizations.

7. Representatives of the university community mental health program should meet with all new students, either in groups or individually to acquaint them with the services available in the mental health program.

8. Our staff should be training others (students, houseparents, etc.) to do preventive intervention in the university community.

#### Cluster IV: Weakness of mental health agency within university

(Average item intercorrelation = +0.42)

##### Items:

1. In comparison with our program of around five years ago, it would be fair to say that our university community mental health program has made no progress, or, in fact, has gone backwards in achieving its program objectives.

2. Our university administration is not convinced that we even should be providing mental health services at all.

3. We are unable to get support for either applied or basic research in our university community mental health program.

4. Our campus community mental health program is finding it difficult to persuade the university administration of the importance of our program and of the validity of our requests for funds or personnel.

5. Relationships between the various agencies on our campus which provide mental health or mental health-related services are quite poor.

#### Cluster V: Tension and unrest among students

(Average item intercorrelation = +0.44)

##### Items:

1. The Viet Nam War, along with the draft, has created considerable tension in the student body on our campus.

2. There is considerable student activism on our campus.

3. Drug use or drug abuse constitutes a significant problem on our campus.

4. Student alienation constitutes a significant problem on our campus.

5. The number of minority group students on our campus had increased significantly in the past few years.

*Cluster VI: Willingness to charge fees*

(Average item intercorrelation = +0.57)

Items:

1. The university community mental health program should charge a fee for its services, no matter for whom the services are provided. The fee could, of course, be adjusted to the ability to pay.

2. If a university community mental health program makes services available to staff and faculty and their dependents, some type of fee schedule should be developed.

3. Fees, determined by ability to pay, should be charged for mental health services provided to dependents (spouses and children) of students.

*Cluster VII: Need for in-service training*

(Average item intercorrelation = +0.51)

Items:

1. Our staff does not have a good understanding of the indications and contra-indications of the various psychoactive drugs currently available.

2. Our staff has very little experience or training in the provision of consultation and other forms of indirect services.

3. The staff of our campus community mental health program is not as aware as they ought to be of recent developments in psychotherapeutic techniques such as behavior modification techniques or innovative forms of group therapy.

*Cluster VIII: Unmet mental health needs among students*

(Average item intercorrelation = +0.41)

Items:

1. We have the impression that the rate of emotional disorder in the student body has increased in the past few years.

2. There have been a number of changes in the general characteristics of the student body which have already had or should have had implication for the nature of our campus community mental health program.

3. The student population seems more heterogeneous these days compared with four or five years ago.

4. A large enough proportion of our male

students are returning veterans for us to be aware of them as a group with special characteristics and needs, perhaps requiring special mental health services.

*Cluster IX: Need to make services available to inactive students*

(Average item intercorrelation = +0.53)

Items:

1. A campus community mental health program should provide services for students who are on academic or disciplinary suspension.

2. A university community mental health program should provide service to students who left college because of psychological disability and who are hoping to return to college in the future.

3. Mental health services should be made available to students who have been admitted to the university but are not currently enrolled.

While the clusters are generally independent of each other, several of them are significantly intercorrelated. Respondents who get high scores on Cluster I (*Desire for Expanded Manpower and Services*) tend to get high scores on Cluster III (*Need to Develop Preventive Services*) and Cluster IX (*Need to Make Services Available to Inactive Students*) and tend to get low scores on Cluster VI (*Willingness to Charge Fees*). Respondents who get high scores on Cluster VIII (*Unmet Mental Health Needs Among Students*) tend to get High scores on Cluster II (*Unmet Mental Health Needs in the Non-Student University Community*) and Cluster III (*Need to Develop Preventive Services*).

Existence of systematic differences among representatives of the three program types in cluster scores was determined by identifying respondents who scored one or more standard deviations above or below the mean on each cluster score and then determining if any significant difference existed between the types of programs represented in these extreme scores. Seventeen respondents scored at least one standard deviation above the mean on Cluster I (*Desire for Expanded Manpower and Services*). These 17 respondents included four psychiatric clinics, nine counseling centers, and four other program types. The 17 respondents who scored at least one standard deviation below the mean on this same cluster represented 12 psychiatric clinics, four counseling centers and one other program type. This difference is significant at the 0.05 level ( $X^2 = 7.72$ ;  $df = 2$ ). Thus, psychiatric clinic respondents are significant-

ly overrepresented among high scorers. On Cluster VI (*Willingness to Charge Fees*), sented among high scorers and counseling psychiatric clinics are significantly overrepresented among high scorers and counseling centers are significantly represented among low scorers ( $X^2 = 14.31$ ;  $df = 2$ ;  $P = <.01$ ). Finally, on Cluster IX (*Need to Make Services Available to Inactive Students*), counseling centers are significantly overrepresented among high scorers and psychiatric clinics are significantly overrepresented among low scorers ( $X^2 = 9.29$ ;  $df = 2$ ;  $P = <.01$ ).

SPECIFIC INADEQUACIES IN CAMPUS COMMUNITY MENTAL HEALTH PROGRAMS

Within the attitude survey, a special subset of 44 items was separately identified and analyzed. These items were all of the "should" variety (such as, "Some kind of 24-hour psychiatric emergency service should be part of every university community mental health program."). Since all of these items purported to describe desirable characteristics of a campus mental health program, it was assumed that most respondents would find themselves in agreement with most of them. Special instructions were given to respondents regarding these 44 items, namely, *if they agreed with an item, to circle it if, in their judgment, there was a significant discrepancy between the program characteristic described in the item and the situation as it presently existed in their program.*

Not all respondents completed this portion of the survey. The survey was long and time-consuming, and many indicated that they did not have the time to complete this final phase of the questionnaire. Thirty respondents circled no items, and four other respondents circled the first one or two items and then stopped. The remaining 68 respondents completed this program-discrepancy evaluation. In analyzing the results of this phase of the survey, it is assumed that the 34 respondents who circled none or only one or two of the items were not saying that their programs were without inadequacies, but rather, that they simply were not fully participating in this phase of the data collection project. Accordingly, the analysis is based on the replies of the 68 respondents who did complete the entire survey (22 medical-psychiatric programs, 31 counseling centers, and 15 other program types). For each item, a program inadequacy was tabulated when a respondent *both* agreed with an item *and* circled it. The result of this analysis will be found in Table 1.

TABLE 1.—SOME PROGRAM INADEQUACIES IDENTIFIED BY SURVEY RESPONDENTS

Survey questions	Number agreeing with question				Percent of those agreeing who indicate program inadequacy			
	Medical-psychiatric	Counseling	Other	Total	Medical-psychiatric	Counseling	Other	Total
1. A university community mental health program should have a certain amount of money budgeted for research and program evaluation.	22	31	15	68	86.4	45.2	80.0	66.2
2. In a campus community mental health program, some provisions should be made for seeing people immediately when they come in for help. While extended services might not be available at once, some type of significant service should be immediately available.	22	31	15	68	22.7	9.7	60.0	25.0
3. Activities designed to identify stress-inducing aspects of the university community and then to reduce them are a necessary part of a well-functioning university mental health program.	22	31	15	68	72.7	67.7	73.3	70.6
4. A well-functioning campus community mental health program should have an active consultation service, including, for example, consultation to administration, residence hall advisors, student body officers, fraternity and sorority houseparents, faculty, and student organization representatives.	22	30	15	67	50.0	40.0	80.0	52.2
5. A well-functioning university community mental health program should have an organized program of in-service education for its own staff.	22	30	15	67	59.1	36.7	66.7	50.8
6. It is important to specify the objectives of a university community mental health program as a way of helping in the task of program planning and evaluation.	22	30	14	66	54.6	26.7	57.1	42.4
7. Professional confidentiality should be strictly maintained with respect to persons seen for clinical service in a university community program.	22	29	15	66	13.6	0.0	13.3	7.6
8. It is important for a university community mental health program to study the distribution of emotional disorders in the entire university community and to try to identify possible determinants of these disorders.	22	28	15	65	77.3	78.6	53.3	72.3
9. Opportunities for the field training of mental health professionals should be made available as part of a campus community mental health program.	21	30	14	65	57.1	60.0	71.4	61.5
10. Faculty should be taught how to recognize emotionally disordered students and how to refer them for help.	22	29	14	65	77.3	62.1	64.3	67.7
11. Some kind of 24-hour psychiatric emergency service should be part of every university community mental health program.	21	28	14	63	38.1	46.4	71.4	49.2



Survey questions	Number agreeing with question				Percent of those agreeing who indicate program inadequacy			
	Medical-psychiatric	Counseling	Other	Total	Medical-psychiatric	Counseling	Other	Total
12. A campus community mental health program should be involved in the development of university policies regarding student affairs, including, for example, curriculum and housing.	20	30	13	63	70.0	43.3	53.9	54.0
13. A university community mental health program should deploy a significant proportion of its resources in working directly with "normal" students, that is, students who do not present psychiatric problems but rather, want to become more self-actualizing or productive.	18	30	15	63	61.1	13.3	73.3	41.3
14. There should be no restriction on referral sources. A campus mental health program should accept referrals from any campus source—medical staff, counseling services, administration, faculty, or other students.	19	31	12	62	5.3	0.0	25.0	6.5
15. A university community mental health program should provide special training to new faculty and to teaching assistants about student stress and emotional disorder.	21	28	13	62	71.4	57.1	46.2	59.7
16. The university should be providing compensatory educational and therapeutic services to disadvantaged students who would like to attend college and who would have a good chance of succeeding, if they received special help.	18	30	13	61	77.8	40.0	61.5	55.7
17. Representatives of the university community mental health program should meet with all new students, either in groups or individually to acquaint them with the services available in the mental health program.	18	28	14	60	50.0	28.6	35.7	36.7
18. A university community mental health program should develop an educational and consultation program for students who are contemplating marriage or who are newly married.	21	27	12	60	61.9	63.0	58.3	61.7
19. Regular lectures or special programs in the area of "mental hygiene" or what might in general be called mental health education should form a significant part of a university community mental health program.	21	26	13	60	61.9	34.6	53.9	48.3
20. Our staff should be training others (students, houseparents, etc.) to do preventive intervention in the university community.	19	27	14	60	52.6	51.9	64.3	55.0
21. A university community mental health program should encourage the development of opportunities for students to provide volunteer services with young people in the local community and should provide consultation and in-service training as needed to these volunteers.	20	27	12	59	65.0	51.9	58.3	57.6
22. A university community mental health program should identify students in academic difficulty and try to determine the extent to which psychological factors are interfering with productivity. In such cases, some sort of mental health intervention should be offered.	19	28	12	59	68.4	35.7	50.0	49.2
23. Some staff members of a university community mental health program should work in decentralized settings, for example, a person on the staff could have his office in a residence hall.	19	27	13	59	68.4	48.2	46.2	54.2
24. A campus community mental health program should attempt to identify types of students who appear unusually vulnerable to the development of emotional disorders and then should develop special programs for these students.	20	25	13	58	70.0	64.0	92.3	72.4
25. While mental health services might be available only in limited amounts to certain groups within the university community, no group should be denied mental health services as a matter of administrative policy.	17	26	15	58	29.4	15.4	20.0	20.7
26. A campus community mental health program should provide services for students who are on academic or disciplinary suspension.	18	28	12	58	55.6	21.4	25.0	32.8
27. Mental health services in the university community should be available to faculty and staff.	18	26	13	57	50.0	19.2	38.5	33.3
28. The university community mental health program has a special responsibility to provide mental health services to married students and their spouses, perhaps by some sort of couples groups.	17	29	10	56	52.9	24.1	50.0	37.5
29. Case finding (finding students in need of help before they come for help) should form an important component of a university community mental health program.	20	22	13	55	70.0	40.9	69.2	58.2
30. A university community mental health program should include among its activities certain functions which are only indirectly related to mental health, such as legal advice, general health education, vocational counseling, or dissemination of sex information.	18	25	11	54	50.0	20.0	54.6	37.0
31. There ought to be some way of funding a university community mental health program so that services could be made available to the entire campus community without worrying about fees.	17	25	12	54	47.1	8.0	66.7	33.3
32. A representative of the university community mental health program should be routinely called in for consultation and evaluation in the case of a student being considered for suspension because of disciplinary problems.	17	21	13	51	70.6	47.6	61.5	58.8
33. A campus community mental health program should provide opportunities for non-academic interaction between students and faculty under circumstances where it would be possible for each group to learn more about the other.	17	25	9	51	52.9	44.0	77.8	52.9
34. The staff of a university community mental health program should work closely with fraternities and sororities in order to enhance the growth-inducing characteristics of these organizations.	17	22	11	50	70.6	40.9	54.6	54.0
35. A university community mental health program should provide service to students who left college because of psychological disability and who are hoping to return to college in the future.	13	25	11	49	61.5	20.0	54.6	38.8
36. Special mental health programs should be established for special types of students, e.g., homosexuals, obese students, students involved in drug or alcohol abuse.	14	23	11	48	64.3	60.9	72.7	64.6
37. A full range of clinical mental health services should be made available for students, including hospitalization, medication, neurological evaluation, as well as outpatient care.	17	19	11	47	35.3	42.1	36.4	38.3
38. A university community mental health program should provide parent education for those students who are married and either have or are about to have children.	15	24	8	47	73.3	66.7	37.5	63.8
39. Residence hall counselors should be taught how to do group counseling.	14	23	10	47	50.0	43.5	70.0	51.1
40. Mental health services in the university community should be available to children of students.	11	21	10	42	81.8	33.3	30.0	45.2
41. If a university is located in a community where insufficient mental health services are available to children and adolescents, the university mental health program should try to provide such services.	13	20	8	41	46.2	45.0	87.5	53.7
42. Mental health services in the university community should be available to dependents of faculty and staff.	7	21	10	38	42.9	28.6	40.0	34.2
43. Mental health services should be made available to students who have been admitted to the university but are not currently enrolled.	6	22	4	32	33.3	9.1	25.0	15.6
44. University mental health services should be available to alumni of the university.	2	6	3	11	0.0	16.7	33.3	18.2

The five items with the least agreement are all concerned with broadened eligibility for services—children of students, children and adolescents in the community, dependents of faculty and staff, prospective students, and alumni. Except for these items, 69% or more of respondents agree with each of the statements. The assumption that these statements would be viewed favorably is, thus, reasonably well substantiated.

Major discrepancies from these "ideal" program descriptions are widespread. Discrepan-

cies are reported by 60% or more of respondents for ten of the 44 items, and are reported by between 40% and 60% of respondents for 19 additional items. The most commonly indicated program inadequacies deal with research and program evaluation budgets, epidemiological studies for preventive services, training of mental health professionals and university staff and faculty, availability of preventive mental health-related services to married students and to students who are parents, and availability of

mental health services for students with special problems. Inadequacy of research and program evaluation budgetary support is less of a problem in counseling centers than in medical-psychiatric clinics. With this single exception, there is high agreement among program types regarding major program inadequacies. Program inadequacies mentioned somewhat less commonly (but by at least 40% of respondents) include lack of availability of case and administrative consultation services and general in-service educa-

tion, too limited a role in university policy decisions affecting student life, lack of availability of compensatory education and therapeutic services for disadvantaged students, inadequate decentralization of staff, and insufficient outreach activities.

Substantial discrepancies (reported by between 25% and 40% of respondents) occur in the case of nine items. These include acquainting new students with services available in the mental health program, provision of services for students on academic or disciplinary suspension, provision of mental health services to faculty and staff, provision of services to students and their spouses, provision of mental health-related services such as health education, vocational counseling, and dissemination of sex information, development of a general funding policy so that services could be provided to the entire campus community without fees, providing services to students temporarily inactive because of psychiatric disability, provision of a full range of mental health services to students, and provision of services to dependents of staff and faculty. In all cases a majority of respondents agree that these characteristics should be attributes of a well-functioning campus community mental health program but a substantial number of them indicate that their own programs do not have these characteristics.

With respect to certain aspects of an optimal campus community mental health program, respondents report only minor discrepancies. Respondents uniformly agree that one of the characteristics of a well-functioning program is that some provision should be made for seeing people immediately when they come in for help even though extended services might not be immediately available. In only 23% of medical-psychiatric clinics and 10% of counseling centers is this not possible at present. Respondents nearly all agree that professional confidentiality should be maintained with respect to persons seen for clinical services, and in no type of program is there a significant problem in carrying out this practice. Similarly, virtually all respondents believe that there should be no restriction on referral sources; that a mental health program should accept referrals from any campus agency or individual. In practice, this appears to be the case in medical-psychiatric clinics and in counseling centers. Finally, in only 21% of facilities is there any significant administrative policy limitation on who is eligible for mental health services.

#### DISCUSSION

The results of this survey must be viewed with the realization that it is, in a sense, unidimensional. This survey reflects the state of affairs in campus community mental health programs as seen by program directors. Doubtless, somewhat different findings would have emerged had the survey been completed by representatives of university administration, by members of the faculty, by students, or by funding agencies.

The messages delivered by mental health program directors are clear, however. The resources available to them are not adequate to meet clinical demands of students, to provide services to other members of the university community, to develop preventive programs or to provide case or administrative consultation. Mental health program directors generally believe that this entire range of direct and indirect service should be available in the university and thus believe that there are numerous deficiencies in their programs. There are differences in points of view among program directors, of course, but there is substantial agreement among all respondents as to the need for the development of new resources in order to expand mental health program activities. If anything, the present deficiencies in campus community mental health programs are more

severe than those noted fifteen years ago in a similar survey.

Campus mental health program directors do not all agree as to future directions which should be taken in their programs. Directors of psychiatric programs connected with student health service can be distinguished by a set of attitudes which are different in certain specific ways from attitudes expressed by those respondents responsible for counseling centers. These differences in points of view are probably a reflection of different orientations to the task of providing mental health-related services and different responsibilities on the campus. Psychiatric clinic directors, charged with the individual clinical management of persons petitioning for care, tend to look for additional resources to carry out these tasks. They do not appear to be particularly interested in expanding services or in developing activities with a preventive focus, and they are generally quite willing to see the charging of fees as one way of obtaining additional resources. Counseling center program directors with generally fewer direct clinical responsibilities and with a greater interest in the entire campus community express considerable interest in the expansion of services both in terms of persons who should be eligible for services as well as what services should be provided and with this somewhat broader view do not express much interest in fees for service as a way of increasing the availability of resources.

There are different views of the role of general health services in the campus community held by different university administrators, and the policies they promulgate need to be taken into account in understanding the issues which confront mental health program directors. The results of this survey suggest that a significant number of university administrators might very well take the position that the university does not have the responsibility to provide direct services itself, that its responsibility ends when some arrangement is made for these services. In urban areas where competent medical care is available, members of the campus community could receive mental health as well as general health services in the city. Payment could be arranged by prepaid insurance or by a contractual agreement between a large medical group practice, for example, and the university. Funds for the support of direct services could come from some combination of university budget, student fees, third-party payments, and out-of-pocket. The university might make space available on the campus where private practitioners might see members of the campus community, again with payment arranged, in any number of ways. Alternatively, with the waning of the *in loco parentis* role of universities, an administration in an urban area might very well take the position that its responsibility should be limited to providing educational opportunities for students. Members of the university community would, under this philosophy, need to arrange for their own medical care. Thus, particularly in populated areas (where most universities are now located) the provision of direct services, which has characteristically taken the greatest amount of university mental health program resources, may now have the least justification.

On the other hand, indirect services, including consultation, preventive intervention, mental health education, case finding, epidemiologic studies, and social system analysis and modification present a different set of problems. Respondents generally agree that such services are as important as clinical services. Because these services are usually population-focused rather than person-focused, and because no system exists outside of the campus for the provision of these indirect services, the university may have unusually compelling justification for investing heavily in these indirect preven-

tive-oriented programs. Yet these programs are now generally non-existent, and where they exist they are poorly supported. Mental health program staffs have not ordinarily been trained for indirect services and thus often lack both the competence as well as the mandate to become more active in this program area.

The survey has made it possible to identify some of the major issues of concern to directors of campus mental health programs. In reviewing the survey findings, it is possible to conceptualize these issues as a series of questions. First, how should mental health services on the urban campus be organized? What kinds of special programs should be developed for the commuting student, for the medical student, or any other specially identified group? How can inter-agency relationships be improved? What range of services should be provided, and should some services be decentralized into residence halls or other sites? Who should be eligible for services?

Second, how should mental health services be organized on the rural campus? If most students live in dormitories, can services be integrated with the residence hall programs? How can persons be used as generalists, trained to deal adequately with a broadly defined variety of mental health-related problems? What are the implications of relative geographic isolation on emotional maturity? Third, how can the interest in in-service education and training be implemented? What should be the content, and what techniques are available to provide such training? How can the mental health professional provide training to residence hall advisors, houseparents, or other persons who are in direct contact with students? What training does the mental health professional need to maintain and to enhance his own skills?

Fourth, how can one evaluate a campus community mental health program? Can a taxonomy of program objectives be developed? How can one index the attainment of these objectives? Can the diagnostic system currently in use be improved upon? What therapeutic techniques are available and what is the evaluation of their effectiveness? Fifth, should mental health consultation be developed as a standard part of the campus mental health program? Should such consultation be limited to case consultation regarding particular students? How can the mental health professional provide case consultation and still preserve the confidentiality of his therapeutic relationships? Should the mental health professional provide administrative consultation to the university staff? Sixth, what can be done to meet the manpower crisis? Can traditional mental health manpower be deployed more effectively? Can non-traditional sources of manpower be trained and utilized? What can be done to attract and retain competent mental health professionals in the campus setting? Can students serve a function as representatives of the mental health program?

Seventh, what is the role of the mental health program in preventive intervention? How can the population-focused public health approach be employed on the campus? What outreach or case finding activities are appropriate? What activities of a frankly educational nature should be undertaken? Can the mental health program deal with such problems as underachievement or difficulties in career choice? Should the mental health program attempt to reduce the number of drop-outs? Should services be provided for persons with significant psychopathology who want to increase productivity or self-actualization? Eighth, how should mental health programs respond to the changing university community? How can they maintain enough flexibility to deal with such newly emerging problems as student unrest, student alienation, tensions as-



sociated with the war or the draft, the increasingly heterogeneous character of the student body, minority group tensions, the married student, parenthood? Ninth, how can resources be found to undertake basic epidemiologic studies of emotional disorder and basic and applied mental health-related research on the campus? What should such studies try to determine?

Tenth, how can the mental health professional intervene so as to effect change in the university as a social system? If sources of stress can be found outside the student, does the mental health professional have a role in efforts to reduce such stresses? And finally, what alternative strategies exist for the funding of mental health programs? How can direct clinical services be supported? How can indirect population-based services such as preventive programs, mental health education, or case finding be supported?

In addition to being the social institution charged with higher education, the university has the opportunity to enhance emotional maturity in a group of young persons who represent a major national treasure. Particularly in these times when so much unrest grips the young, continued debate within the university community among mental health-related program directors, administrators, and representatives of funding agencies can assist significantly in determining the roles that mental health professionals can and should play in carrying out this task.

## FOOTNOTES

\* Mental Health Consultant, Western Interstate Commission for Higher Education, and Professor, Dept. of Psychology, University of Colorado.

<sup>1</sup> B. L. Bloom, *Characteristics of Campus Community Mental Health Programs in Western United States—1969*. Mimeo.

<sup>2</sup> Copies of the survey form are available from the author.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>4</sup> R. Tryon and D. Bailey, the BC TRY Computer System of Cluster and Factor Analysis. *Multivar. Behav. Res.*, 1966, 1, 95-111.

SPEECH DELIVERED TO WICHE COMMISSIONERS ON AUGUST 11, 1969

(By Bernard L. Bloom, Ph. D.)

I am happy to be with you this morning to present the first formal report of our beginning efforts to explore the status of mental health services in university communities. We have been involved on a part-time basis in this activity for about a year. At the outset I would like to acknowledge our indebtedness to Dr. Samuel Fuenning, the Director of the University Health Service at the University of Nebraska and the Chief Liaison Officer of the American College Health Association. He met with us at WICHE a year ago to tell us about the ACHA and its hopes to review and improve the provision of all health-related services in campus communities throughout the country.

His visit called to our attention a striking fact, namely, that the Mental Health Program of the Western Interstate Commission for Higher Education had never addressed itself to an obvious point of intersection—the provision of mental health services in institutions of higher education. In fact, we realized, we were generally unfamiliar with these services. We knew little of their quality or of the problems being faced by campus community mental health program directors, and, of course, had no idea whether there were any issues which might be the proper concern of the WICHE Mental Health Program staff. A review of the literature revealed that it had been 15 years since any kind of general survey had been conducted in this area in the United States.

Growth of campus mental health activities has been documented in isolated descriptions of new or expanded programs and is

undoubtedly a reflection of the general increase in the size of American universities. In 1965, some 5,675,000 persons were attending college. By the Fall of 1968, that number had increased to 6,800,000. Projections of the Bureau of the Census suggest that by 1985 between ten and eleven million persons will be attending a college or university in the United States. Concern about psychiatric disorders on campus appears to be growing along with interest in other non-academic aspects of students' lives and we think there is a growing awareness of the need to develop and provide more adequate preventive and therapeutic mental health services.

With these thoughts in mind, late last Summer we prepared a brief open-ended questionnaire and an explanatory letter, addressed it, by title, to Directors of Psychiatric Clinics in Student Health Programs in the 103 accredited 4-year colleges and universities in the 13 Western states, mailed them, and waited to see what would happen. It was a fishing expedition in unknown waters. The questionnaire posed a series of questions and left some a blank space for answers to each of them. The questionnaire asked for a brief description of clinical services being provided, an indication of which groups were eligible for services, a description of any activities emphasizing prevention as distinguished from treatment, identification of any other agencies on the campus providing mental health services (to which similar questionnaires were subsequently sent), major developments in the mental health program in recent years and how these developments were related to changing characteristics of the university community, and finally, problems or issues in the further development of mental health program activities.

It turned out to be an astonishingly successful fishing trip. At least one reply was received from 85 of the 103 universities and including questionnaires received from other campus agencies mentioned by respondents, a total of 125 replies came in. In reviewing these replies, it became clear that the questionnaire was a welcome one. Yet the complexity and detail of the responses made a systematic analysis of the replies impossible. There was an extremely broad spectrum of opinion expressed on almost every issue raised. There appeared to be widespread dissatisfaction expressed with many of the current mental health program characteristics in university communities but because specific questions were not asked of each respondent, it was not possible to evaluate the generality of these concerns.

As a result of these problems it was decided to prepare and submit a second, more comprehensive questionnaire to the 125 respondents of the first survey form. Included with the questionnaire were a progress report and some preliminary ideas about how the replies might be utilized. The revised questionnaire, which was distributed early this year, was divided into two sections: first, a program description survey which asked for information more systematically regarding type of program, personnel, nature of professional activities, eligibility for services, and distribution of professional activities by recipient group, and second, a set of 113 statements regarding campus communities and their mental health programs for which respondents were asked to express their degree of agreement. Even these 113 items constituted a kind of progress report since each item was derived from the replies to the original questionnaire. In spite of the fact that this new survey was long and time-consuming, responses were received from 102 of the 125 persons to whom they were sent, with at least one response from 75 different colleges and universities in the WICHE region.

We are going to present some of the highlights of our findings and then we hope you might share with us your reactions, par-

ticularly regarding what you see as the implications for WICHE mental health program involvement on a regional basis.

Some kind of professional mental health-related service is available in at least three-quarters of the accredited 4-year colleges and universities in the 13 Western states. The availability of mental health services appears to be about double that reported in a similar survey conducted in 1953 throughout the United States. Except for the increase in the number of identifiable mental health programs, however, few changes seem to have taken place in the past 15 years. While it is felt that services should be provided to a broad spectrum of the population of the university community, and while consultative, preventive, and educational activities are generally felt to be desirable in addition to clinical services, in fact nearly all professional time is spent working directly with students, most commonly in individual clinical evaluation, counseling, or psychotherapy. Staffing patterns do not appear to have improved in the past 15 years in spite of the increased student population. The typical medical-psychiatric clinic attached to a student health service functions almost entirely with part-time staff with their combined efforts averaging to be the equivalent of fewer than three full-time positions. Counseling centers have the equivalent of more than twice as many professional positions and a substantial number of them are filled by full-time people. Other types of programs, including referral and evaluation services, typically in smaller colleges and training clinics in department of psychology are more poorly staffed than medical-psychiatric clinics and professional functions are carried out even to a greater extent by part-time personnel.

There really is a substantial undercurrent of dissatisfaction on the part of campus mental health program directors. Significant numbers of respondents feel they get inadequate support from university administrations and from funding agencies. Many respondents report poor salaries, difficulties in recruitment and in promotion, inadequate physical facilities, and insufficient funds for research and program evaluation. Relationships among campus agencies providing mental health-related services are often poor. Regarding eligibility for services, it seems clear that respondents believe that their services should be available to a broad spectrum of recipient groups. Three-quarters of the respondents believe that no campus community group should be denied mental health services as a matter of administrative policy. Yet even now when services are in fact provided almost exclusively for students, nearly 90% of respondents report that the demand for services exceeds the supply. Thus, it seems imperative that new resources be found for the provision of expanded mental health services. There is considerable interest in the employment of certain non-traditional mental health personnel, including advanced undergraduate students, and in the expanded employment, on a part-time basis, of mental health professionals in the surrounding community as two ways of meeting this manpower crisis.

Complicating the inability to provide enough services to meet current demand, more than 80% of respondents believe that outreach activities in the form of case finding and early intervention are necessary. Nearly all respondents believe that psychiatric emergency services should be available on a 24 hour a day basis. Ninety-five percent of respondents believe that a well-functioning campus community mental health program should have an active consultation service. Thus, even though campus community mental health program staff cannot keep up with the current demand for services, they are aware that this demand does not fully represent the true extent of the cam-

pus problem. Many people in need of mental health services do not seek them and many kinds of broad university problems might be more effectively dealt with by the involvement of mental health professionals. Much personal and organizational straining in the university community is not being reduced, in part because of insufficient mental health related resources.

In this connection it is well to keep in mind that in addition to more students on their campuses, in comparison with five years ago, respondents generally report that students are different. There appears to be increased heterogeneity of the student population, an increased proportion of married students, increased interest in mental health services, perhaps an increased rate of emotional disorder, special tensions related to the draft and the War, a growing wish for organized opportunities for meaningful interpersonal encounters, growing use of alcohol, marijuana, and other drugs, and a growing sense of unrest and alienation. While some of these conditions have implications for the provision of direct clinical services, most appear to have greater implications for the provision of expanded preventive services, including the identification and reduction of undesirable stress-inducing aspects of the university community, the early identification of students who appear to be unusually vulnerable to the development of emotional disorders, and the dissemination of mental health related educational information.

Over 90% of respondents believe that such preventive services are at least as important as clinical services. Nearly 90% of respondents believe that a university mental health program should deploy a significant proportion of its resources in working with "normal" students, that is, with students who do not present psychiatric problems but rather want to become more productive and self-actualizing.

The major deficiencies in campus community mental health programs specifically identified by respondents can be pretty well predicted from what has already been said. These deficiencies include lack of research and program evaluation budgets, inability to conduct epidemiologic studies upon which to base innovative program planning, lack of resources to conduct adequate in-service training programs for professional clinical personnel and for faculty and general university staff, inability to mount adequate preventively-oriented programs, insufficient resources to provide adequate case and administrative consultation, and inability to engage in sufficiently comprehensive outreach activities.

These are some of our findings. Two papers are now being prepared which will serve as reports to the respondents and we hope to enter into a productive exchange with them based upon these reports which may result in continued long-term involvement by WICHE on a regional basis designed to provide a forum and a vehicle for dealing with at least some of these issues. We invite your active participation in this planning process and would be happy now to have you share your initial reactions with us.

#### U.S. JAYCEE ANNIVERSARY

### HON. LARRY WINN, JR.

OF KANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 26, 1970

Mr. WINN. Mr. Speaker, January 21 was the 50th anniversary of the founding of the U.S. Jaycees, and, across the Na-

tion, Americans paid tribute to these outstanding civic-minded young men.

I would like to make special reference to the creed of this fine organization which has inspired its members and contributed to their many achievements throughout the years?

#### THE JAYCEE CREED

We believe: That faith in God gives meaning and purpose to human life;

That the brotherhood of man transcends the sovereignty of nations;

That economic justice can best be won by free men through free enterprise;

That government should be of laws rather than of man;

That earth's great treasure lies in human personality;

And that service to humanity is the best work of life.

As we enter this new and challenging decade, I am confident that there will be a resurgence of active and constructive involvement in the American way of life. I am equally confident that the men who pass through the leadership training of the U.S. Jaycees will play a commanding role in this resurgence for the good of the Nation and all Americans.

#### WISCONSIN CITIZENS SUPPORTING NEW STATE VOCATIONAL, TECHNICAL EDUCATION

### HON. WILLIAM A. STEIGER

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 26, 1970

Mr. STEIGER of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, I would like to call my colleagues' attention to an article which appeared in the December 29, 1969, issue of the *Appleton, Wis., Post Crescent*.

Its author, John Wyngaard, calls it one of the "refreshing stories of the year in Wisconsin public affairs." And I agree. Wisconsin and its people are working together to upgrade vocational education in the State. In 1965 when I was a member of the State legislature we authorized the establishment of a statewide system of vocational education to provide every student in the State with an opportunity to attend a vocational school. The State was divided into 18 vocational and technical school districts and today more than 90 percent of the State has been incorporated into one of these districts. This has required additional taxation for many of Wisconsin's citizens but they have shown a willingness and enthusiasm to support vocational education.

As part of my remarks at this point I would like to include John Wyngaard's article, "People Supporting New State Vocational Technical Education":

#### PEOPLE SUPPORTING NEW STATE VOCATIONAL, TECHNICAL EDUCATION (By John Wyngaard)

MADISON.—One of the refreshing stories of the year in Wisconsin public affairs was the steady progress made toward the effectuation of the statewide vocational and technical school system authorized by the legislature in 1965 to become fully effective in mid-1970.

History may very well describe that act as one of the most meaningful and far reaching among the many legislative advances in pub-

lic education of this century. It ranks at least with the compulsory high school attendance law of some years ago, and perhaps even with the democratization of higher education opportunity as represented by the rapid expansion of liberal arts higher educational opportunities in this decade as illustrated by the construction of new two-year centers and two new four-year university campuses.

#### DOUBTED GOAL ATTAINABLE

When this correspondent observed with profound interest the evolution of the legislation which put all of the taxable territory of the state into a vocational school district and thus made every qualified student eligible to attend such a school it was with some doubt that the objective would actually be achieved.

Sometimes legislatures are inclined to adopt such laws, and then when there is a showing of hostile pressure, accept deferral of the effective date. The integration of the high school system in an earlier decade was one example.

Yet today, about six months from the deadline, more than 90 per cent of the state has been incorporated into one of 18 vocational and technical school districts. There is a bill in the legislature, indeed, that proposes to postpone the 1970 deadline. There is little chance for its enactment. The people of Wisconsin have shown not only that they support the idea of vocational education, but that they want better vocational schools.

Better schools, with broader offerings for the benefit of young people preparing for working careers in a technological society, obviously can be more efficiently and economically provided with a broad district tax base than through the constructed tax foundations of single cities devised when Wisconsin pioneered in vocational education half a century ago.

This is an era of extreme taxpayer sensitivity. One school bond issue after another is being voted down all over Wisconsin.

But the vocational schools apparently have proved themselves to the satisfaction of the taxpayer, even while he worries about his tax burdens. Several district bonding plans have been approved without a referendum, which can be had upon the petition of only 1,000 persons. Two have been approved after referendums were held.

#### LANDSLIDE SUPPORT

The most remarkable exhibition of public approval of enriched vocational education opportunity came recently in the Fox Valley district base in Appleton. The vote of approval for a sizable bonding plan carried by a margin of approximately three to one. In the city of Appleton, where the populace tends to be a few shades more conservative—on the basis of its regular election behavior—the approving vote was far greater.

The significance of such a performance can scarcely be obscured. Those approving voters were not only endorsing—to the extent that they formerly lived outside the vocational school district—an additional property tax levy of two mills on equalized levies to amortize the bond issue which under the new law is outside the regular taxing limits of the districts.

It will require perhaps half a dozen years or more to provide the buildings and staff and equipment to make the 18 district school systems fully operative according to the design of the architects of the reorganization law. But perhaps because this system does not indulge in as much of the puffery as some other elements of Wisconsin public education, it is not always remembered that it is always a sizable establishment. For example, there are 33,000 full time students studying for credit—or the equivalent of the enrollment of three typical state universities—not to mention more than 200,000 part-time and night students.



THE MEDIA AND ENVIRONMENTAL AWARENESS

HON. JAMES H. SCHEUER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 26, 1970

Mr. SCHEUER. Mr. Speaker, one of the essential prerequisites for the quality environment we all desire is an informed public. It was for the formation of this informed public that I, along with my distinguished colleagues Congressmen BRADEMAs, REID, and HANSEN and 47 other cosponsors, introduced the Environmental Quality Education Act. However, more than classroom instruction will be necessary to keep our citizenry knowledgeable about the condition of our surroundings and our resources. Molders of public opinion, especially our newspapers, must recognize their responsibility to inform the public of events concerning the environment. Mr. Wolf von Eckhardt of the Washington Post has outlined some excellent proposals for roles which the press might take. For the benefit of my colleagues, I insert the article into the RECORD:

THE MEDIA AND ENVIRONMENTAL AWARENESS

The press must search for better ways to inform its readers about environmental disasters before they happen.

This might help to avert them.

We've had this kind of soul-searching after the riots. Prodded by the Kerner Commission, newspapers discovered that they had not adequately informed the public of the mood and conditions in the ghetto. News emanating from the official renewers, poverty warriors and civil righters proved obviously incomplete if not misleading. But then, they were all such nice guys and seemed so sincere. We knew them. We didn't know anybody who lived in Watts, or the Shaw area, or in Harlem.

I am not excluding myself. I had written about urban renewal for years. And, yes, I had wagged my finger about the "relocation problem." But I along with most everyone else in the news room had been half blinded by the statistical sand the official urban renewers kept throwing into my eyes.

It was left to the Kerner Report to state it bluntly: Urban renewal has destroyed twice and three times more low-cost housing than it had built.

Likewise more newsmen should have known and reported, and more managing editors should have prominently featured, that the negotiations for off-shore oil drilling rights might lead to devastating oil spills; that those lucrative freeway systems would lead to more traffic jams; that America's home-building industry was heading toward stagnation to the point where today half the population is no longer able to afford a new home.

Today America's newspapers are just as complacent about the environment as they were about the ghetto and for similar reasons:

We are half ignorant and half indifferent. We are lazy and take the establishment's word for it. We half believe, for instance, that the SST is essential to America's prestige. Or that cleaning up the Potomac is too expensive. The people who tell us these things are, after all, such nice and seemingly sincere guys.

What's more, a newspaper's job is to report the news. Carbon monoxide in the air, like rats in the ghetto, after all, is hardly news. Not until somebody screams or dies.

Worse: We treat the environment not as an ecological, interrelated whole but in a fragmented fashion. We report a new housing project here and a transportation crisis there. We rarely, if ever, point out that the housing project in the wrong place will make the transportation crisis worse. News affecting the environment is organized according to its source but not in terms of its impact on our place to live.

In an attempt to do better, we on the Washington Post are now considering to set up an Environment Team. (We first thought only of an Urban Team, but soon realized that our urban problems are largely environmental problems.)

This team of editors, reporters and commentators would cover all the news that affects the quality of the man-made environment, i.e. air, water and noise pollution, city planning and housing, transportation, conservation and open space.

It would not only cover these matters but pursue them. And it would do so not only in the halls and pressrooms of Congress, the state legislatures and the local governments of our metropolitan area, but also out in the field where they smell.

The team would have three missions: (1) relate, (2) examine and (3) prod.

(1) News stories on matters that affect the environment would try to point out that they do. A report of a freeway proposal, for instance, would try to include not only the dollar cost and the estimated number of cars moved, but also the estimated amount of carbon monoxide it would generate and where the cars are to be parked. A report on a proposed new housing project would also try to report on the transportation requirements of its residents. A story on an industrial development would include not only its employment potential but also its housing needs and pollution potential.

Obviously the environmental consequences cannot always be easily determined or even estimated. But by raising the question, not only with the news source or with other agencies, but also in print, we can help stimulate environmental awareness and prod the power structure to think along these lines. After all, we don't report political assertions and promises unchallenged.

(2) The press has left it mostly to conservation groups and other kooks to examine official assertions and to challenge them. Industry keeps claiming for instance that anti-pollution measures are unfeasible or uneconomical. The team would on its own initiative challenge the veracity of these claims and unjuggle some of the industrial arithmetic. Few people in this country know, for instance, that independent engineers estimate that most anti-pollution devices, now legally required in Germany and England, cost only from two percent to ten percent of industry's capital investment.

(3) Much as we have theater, art, music, dance and (at least on the Washington Post and New York Times) architectural criticism, we need sharp and articulate environmental criticism and commentary in the newspapers. It is an effective way to prod officialdom and industry and to stimulate public discussion.

The most important contribution the printed press can make towards greater environmental awareness is to help throw the problem into the political arena.

This is why environmental news and commentary should no longer be confined to the feature pages, women and real estate sections. We must treat it as part of general, political news where the politicians and their constituents will read it.

Space is always short, to be sure. But newspapers ought to examine whether its front section space is always used wisely. Do we, for instance, really need hundreds of columns inches devoted to political columnists who,

day after day, regurgitate just why our Vice President said what he said about "effete intellectuals," or why Judge Haynsworth didn't say what he didn't say about his investments, just because we have such an affluence of political columnists who are so seemingly good at regurgitating?

There are, to be sure, all too few newsmen who feel qualified to report, let alone comment on environmental relationships and design. But there are increasingly more who are interested and concerned. One of the best investments a newspaper can make in its own and the country's future, is to send some of these interested and concerned young men and women to school for a semester or two. Most universities now have courses in ecological, urban and environmental studies.

ICC ACTION TO HELP CONSUMERS

HON. CLARENCE J. BROWN

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 26, 1970

Mr. BROWN of Ohio. Mr. Speaker, flaying the regulatory agencies has become something of a national pastime in recent months. Various groups and individuals, as well as some Members of the Congress, have charged variously that the Interstate Commerce Commission has demonstrated an insensitivity toward consumer interests in some of the agency's activities and decisions.

Constructive criticism is one thing; sheer carping for the sake of carping is quite another. It is in the spirit of fair play that credit for constructive activity should be given when it is due that I ask unanimous consent to insert in the RECORD an article from the Washington Post of Monday, January 19, 1970, detailing the voluntary, and I think, progressive action, of the ICC in attempting to meet and overcome some of the problems besetting families on the move these days.

The Commission merits a "well done" in taking action to prevent abuses such as those detailed in the article:

[From the Washington Post, Jan. 19, 1970]

ICC EYES TIGHTER REIN ON U.S. MOVING FIRMS

(By William H. Jones)

If you haven't moved recently, you're among the rarest of Americans. Statistics from Atlas Van Lines and the Interstate Commerce Commission show that about 40 million citizens—more than 12 million households—move every year.

At the same time, it could be said people are moving more but enjoying it less.

The ICC in recent years has been literally inundated with complaints from consumers of moving services. Most complaints concern losses or damage claims, procedures for estimating in advance the moving costs, and late deliveries.

One example cited by the ICC's bureau of enforcement was a shipment picked up in Richboro, Pa., in late August of 1968, scheduled for delivery in Glendora, Calif., on Sept. 16. That date, the family called the moving company and was told the truck was in Arizona and would be in California shortly. The shipper was further told the company would call him but there was no phone call. On Sept. 18, the shipper called the carrier again and was told the driver had not

been heard from in two days and the company promised to check and call. The carrier did not, ICC said.

On Sept. 19, the family again called and heard another story of delay: the truck would be in Tucson, Sept. 23; Las Vegas, Sept. 24, and California on Sept. 25. Another phone call was promised and again there was no such call.

Imagine the harried father's temper when he called on Sept. 25 and learned that the truck broke down in Mississippi, had not even been in Arizona yet! He got through to a company vice president who promised California arrival on Oct. 1, for sure. There were more calls from the family on Oct. 1, and Oct. 3 and more delays. Delivery was promised the morning of Oct. 4 and the truck actually arrived at 6 p.m. Throughout the ordeal, the company never called the shipper.

Such sagas are not rare among what ICC staff members call the "war zone" consumer complaints about moving. As a result, the ICC has inaugurated (on its own, without the usual pressures from Capitol Hill or consumer groups who complain of the agency's lack of initiative) a thorough investigation of its regulations of household moving.

Although ICC jurisdiction extends only over interstate moving—about 17 per cent of the total moves—stiffer federal regulation could encourage the states to improve rules covering intrastate shipments. The District, for example, is already considering greater control over local moving here.

#### YOU THE CONSUMER

In an order issued last summer, the ICC listed six areas it considers need revision and asked for comments and proposals from moving companies, its own enforcement bureau (as representative of the public) and the public in general. The six areas are:

Elimination or changing of procedures whereby moving firms estimate weights and probable charges. Some consumers complain that movers often give deliberately low estimates, which are not binding. Among ideas the ICC wants to consider are encouragement of "do-it-yourself" estimates of costs or creation of an independent weight-estimating service sponsored by moving companies.

Control of overbooking by moving companies by requiring specific times of pickup and delivery. Often a mover will hold a truck with three-quarters of a load with the aim of finding a full load before beginning shipment.

Definition of "reasonable" dispatch of shipments. The ICC's enforcement bureau has proposed this definition: "The performance of transportation on the dates or during the period of time agreed upon by the carrier and shown on the carrier's order for service and recorded on the bill of lading."

Require more "responsible" notification to the shipper of actual charges as well as when there is a delay.

Require weight certification on the bill of lading.

Improve the contents of a brochure given prospective movers describing services and costs.

The ICC has also launched an investigation of the relationships between national firms and local agents that do the actual hauling and packing. Such agreements, ICC said, have fostered an atmosphere of "irresponsibility" to some extent.

The ICC's bureau of enforcement and movers have proposed that estimates of weight not be eliminated, as had been suggested. The bureau wants a new regulation, however, encouraging an estimate form stressing the fact that it contains only probable charges.

On the touchy subject of promised delivery dates, meanwhile, the household moving industry in late December proposed its own solution: creation of a new "premium" serv-

ice—with a higher price tag—for exact-day service.

Under the plan, moving firms would pay penalties for late shipments (\$25 a day but not more than \$200). For people who did not want to pay extra for such promises, there would be no guarantees of delivery time under "standard" service. The moving industry, represented by the American Movers Conference, calls the plan a "bold new program to custom build moves for individual customers."

### TAFT WELCOMES PRESIDENT'S STATEMENT ON MIDEAST—CALLS FOR ADDITIONAL CLARIFICATION

#### HON. ROBERT TAFT, JR.

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 26, 1970

Mr. TAFT. Mr. Speaker, I was pleased to note the President's most recent statement on the Middle East and welcome his reaffirmation of U.S. support of Israel.

The following is a copy of a news release I issued today, along with a copy of a letter I sent to the President on January 20, 1970:

#### REPRESENTATIVE TAFT PRAISES PRESIDENT'S MIDEAST STAND—RELEASES CONTENTS OF LETTER URGING SUCH ACTION

WASHINGTON, D.C., January 26.—Congressman Robert Taft, Jr. today welcomed President Nixon's reaffirmation of U.S. support of Israel. He cautioned that earlier statements on territorial questions should be clarified further to specify that any withdrawal would be only "in the context of peace and specific security safeguards."

The Ohio Congressman released the contents of a letter he had written to the President on January 20, urging that the President clarify "the U.S. position in the Middle East" in light of the Secretary of State's December 9, statement.

In his letter, Taft said failure to reaffirm U.S. support for Israel "could compound present confusion and possibly be damaging to the hopes for making progress toward peace and stability in the Middle East."

Taft, a member of the House Foreign Affairs Committee, wrote the President, "There is a great danger of further misunderstanding and over-reaction to the December 9, statement of the Secretary of State."

He called for an early "clarification" of the U.S. position to avoid "wide divisions in public opinion here."

"I am pleased with the President's statement," Taft said, "but further clarification could be forthcoming. The letter read as follows:

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES,  
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,  
Washington, D.C., January 20, 1970.

The PRESIDENT,  
The White House.

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: As one who has had the deep and abiding concern with the formation of Israel and the role of the United States in the Middle East in relationship to Israel and the Arab countries, I write to point out certain considerations that I think must be taken into account regarding U.S. policy.

In doing so, I recognize the danger that, involved in a political contest as I am and from a constituency which includes a sizable number of Americans of Jewish ancestry and religion, I might be suspect as speaking for political ends. I accept this risk and point to my consistent stand with regard to the establishment of Israel as a nation and the ab-

solute necessity for our support to make it possible for that nation to continue to exist and move toward a secure position in the family of nations. This position should not be surprising in view of my father's long and significant role in the establishment of Israel as a nation.

As you know, I serve on the Foreign Affairs Committee of the House of Representatives and have the greatest respect and friendship for our Secretary of State, as well as admiration and respect for Secretary Sisco. However, justifiable or not, the statement of current U.S. policy made by the Secretary of State on December 9 has been interpreted in ways that have caused widespread uneasiness and alarm in America's Jewish community, in Israel, in the Arab nations, and throughout the world. I, therefore, urge you to bring about a clarification of the U.S. position in the Middle East at the earliest possible time. I believe this could bring reassurance to all concerned. On the other hand, failure to provide it could compound present confusion and possibly be damaging to the hopes for making progress toward peace and stability in the Middle East.

Moreover, I feel that there is great danger of further misunderstanding and over-reaction to the statement of the Secretary of State. This could lead to wide divisions in public opinion here and to counterforces of opinion building up as a result. Inevitably, our thinking is conditioned by the Viet Nam war and by growing questions on the limitation of power concepts. What this reaction could mean, should it continue to grow, would be an undermining of the credibility of U.S. support of Israel and its right to exist as a nation. This, in turn, could encourage the Arab nations and their patrons to further intransigence and jeopardize the work for a peaceful settlement in the area. Forces of public opinion, whether or not justified, may, nevertheless, be significant and damaging.

I believe a clarification of a number of specific points made in the Secretary's speech is needed.

The first point that I hope can be clarified is that the "balanced approach" toward a peace settlement does not in any way imply a balanced approach toward support in equipment, materials, or otherwise, under the present circumstances, or in the future in the event of continuation of the unsettled conditions, acceleration of current military activities, or of a full-scale war. I think we must recognize that many have interpreted the "balanced approach" as meaning that we do not expect to supply Israel any support in the way of arms, supplies, or economic resources that we are not offering equally to the Arab nations. Obviously, this was not said, since the Soviets continue massive assistance to the Arab nations. Nor do I believe that you or the Secretary of State intended it to be. Certainly, the Congress does not. The Foreign Aid Authorization Bill as passed by the Congress this year, includes considerable new aid to institutions and development in Israel. Among them, I am happy to say, are assistance to the Weizmann Institute under its new president, Dr. Albert Sabin, of my city, assistance to Hadassah, as well as an authorization of \$20 million dollars for the building of a desalination plant in Israel. Such new departures plainly belie the interpretation that we intend to discontinue assistance to a good and long-time friend because of the lack of progress of peace negotiations in the area.

Another vital question in need of early clarification and emphasis is that the withdrawal from Egyptian territory should come only "in the context of peace and agreement on the specific security safeguards." This should be clarified to specify only as a part of the other two principal elements mentioned by Secretary Rogers, (1) a binding



commitment to peace of the parties "with all the specific obligations of peace spelled out, including the obligation to prevent hostile acts originating from their respective territories" and (2) a working out between the parties of specific security safeguards. While it seems to me that Secretary Rogers' language is clear on this point, there has been misunderstanding of it.

Having already introduced a resolution in Congress on January 19 calling for direction negotiations, I will not belabor the point here, but through the "Rhodes" formula, or otherwise, this seems essential to progress and confidence of the parties. Another armistice-type settlement won't suffice.

I would like to mention two other unfortunate implications which have been drawn from the speech. The first of these is that the current administration of Jerusalem has not permitted access of other religions and nationalities to the City and its holy places. This is untrue and it should not be permitted to remain uncorrected.

The other is an implication that the Israeli Government is following the policy of expansionism. Again, I believe the inference is a totally unjustified one, but it has been drawn and should be corrected.

Finally, I believe we should examine whether in future U.S. decisions and proposals for the Middle East it is wise to enter into piecemeal considerations of territorial questions, especially without prior consultation with the adversaries directly involved. Time enough for this when they come together for negotiations. Accepting as we do the concept that specific security arrangements can be made only between the powers directly involved, discussion of territorial limitations in talks or proposals by other powers, such as the United States or Russia, seems unlikely to help bring agreement through later direct bargaining. Any earlier positions taken by other large powers seem sure to be relied on to strengthen or weaken the case on each point as it arises in the negotiations of the parties directly involved.

I hope you will accept the above comments in the spirit of constructive criticism in which they are offered, and that it will help in arriving at a clarification of our policy. I recognize full well that some critics seem to have no alternative to offer, and I especially commend your administration for taking the initiative in attempting to bring about necessary progress in the area. We must recognize also the relationship of the Secretary's speech to our talks with the Soviets. I share his feeling that we have "a responsibility to determine whether we can achieve parallel views which would encourage the parties to work out a stable and equitable solution." The reaction of the Russians in backing away from a direct negotiations formula and the responsibility of the Middle Eastern nations for guerrilla activity originating within their boundaries provide substantial indication that our views are certainly not parallel at present.

Obviously, the expressions of the parties directly or indirectly involved in a situation as complicated as the Middle East today do not necessarily reflect the prevailing long-range opinions of the respective parties and may be aimed toward specific objectives or without the nations in question. The fact remains, however, that the Soviets do not seem to have shown any substantive readiness to move closer to our position.

I therefore urge that you undertake to express to our nation and the world a clearer statement of America's position. I pledge to you my support and cooperation in any way that I can to assist in working out this most difficult challenge.

Respectfully,

ROBERT TAFT, JR.

### CHARLES PEREZ, JR.: INVENTOR OF WORK TOOLS, DINING AND COOKING UTENSILS FOR AMPUTEES

#### HON. SPARK M. MATSUNAGA

OF HAWAII

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 26, 1970

Mr. MATSUNAGA. Mr. Speaker, one of the most remarkable individuals I have ever met visited me in my Honolulu district office during the precession recess. His name is Charles Perez, Jr. He is an amputee, having suffered the loss of his right hand at the wrist at the age of 16. Perez, now 49, has become an inventor of tools for the handicapped.

Among the tools and utensils he has invented are: a metal socket brace to hold specially designed equipment, such as hammers and other tools needed for work in masonry, carpentry, plumbing, mechanics, and electronics; a broom for housework which pivots while you sweep; and dozens of other tools from "knives to pancake flippers" to replace the cumbersome hook or claw which most amputees have had to accept.

Mr. Perez would like to provide all amputees throughout the United States and the rest of the world with the benefits of his inventions. Unfortunately, he is without the necessary capital or the facilities for manufacturing his tools in quantity. It is a shame that the Federal Government, which provides aid to the handicapped in many ways, cannot undertake to manufacture and distribute the creations of Mr. Perez.

In the hope that a public spirited but business-minded entrepreneur may wish to undertake a truly worthwhile project of manufacturing and distributing tools for the physically handicapped, I offer for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD a story about Charles Perez, Jr., the amputee-inventor, which appeared in the Honolulu Sunday Star-Bulletin and Advertiser of December 28, 1969, written by Advertiser human affairs writer Carole Hoyt:

#### TOOLS FOR AMPUTEES—INVENTOR MAKES LIFE EASIER

(By Carole Hoyt)

Capt. Hook, a fictional hand amputee, lost out to Peter Pan in a fairy tale chase because his hook couldn't keep up with Pan's sword.

Pan might lose if the story were rewritten today, because Charles Perez Jr., a Honolulu hand amputee, has invented dozens of tools from knives to pancake flippers to replace the traditional but often useless hook or claw.

Perez lost his hand in 1936 when he was 16. Like other amputees he accepted the cumbersome hook until, "I started having trouble using a hammer. It fell out of the claw."

His wife Violet said, "I used to help him tie the hammer on. We thought surely there must be some way to make this work easier."

In 1965, Perez began working in his Kaimuki home workshop on "some way to make things work easier."

He developed a metal arm socket which fits over the stump of his wrist to the elbow. In that socket he placed the first tool he developed—a hammer.

All of the tools screw into place and hold

firmly, even taking the force of full strength blows without breaking.

Perez has patents pending on the tools which include equipment needed for work in masonry, carpentry, plumbing, mechanics and electronics.

Two regular hardware tool adapters hold the attachments in place, one for parallel work such as the hammer, and a perpendicular adapter for eating utensils.

Perez, once a trumpet player for Trummy Young, is a maintenance man for the State Library.

The first tools he shows guests were built to help his maintenance work.

Perez is pleased to demonstrate all of his items: "Here is one for housework. You just stick the broom in the end of the adapter and the universal joint pivots while you sweep."

Perez made brushing motions and the joint moved.

Each gleaming stainless steel tool was laid out on the table. Perez picked up a fork.

"This one I don't have to use myself but someone else might need one."

He also tacked on the item his wife says he uses the most, a stainless steel kitchen knife.

"I'll cut you an orange with this one," Perez said and smoothly sliced thin pieces of the fruit.

The Perezes said they believe in taking religion seriously and so devised a trademark and names for their tools which encompass their faith:

The trademark for each tool is a circle with a star and letters inside. Perez held up a sketch and described each symbol:

"The circle around the outside is God with no beginning and no ending. This is the star of Bethlehem inside. These letters are for my children, Rosalie, Dale, Dawn, James and my wife's maiden name."

Mrs. Perez said they feel her husband's inventive talent "is a gift of God."

The business called Sonny-Ke, will combine Perez's nickname Sonny with his wife's maiden name Ke. The tools are registered as Kehope, which means strength or stability.

While Perez has placed an ad in the Wall Street Journal looking for a manufacturer for the tools, he would prefer government production of the tools to keep the cost down.

The estimated cost of the steel socket brace is \$325 and the tools cost from \$12 to \$25 each to make.

Perez has developed one new tool out of titanium, a light metal he would like to see used for commercial production. For many amputees steel tools are a little too heavy.

### FORMER EAST GERMAN RESIDENT FEARFUL OF YOUTH UPRISING'S IMPACT ON NATION

#### HON. KENNETH J. GRAY

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 26, 1970

Mr. GRAY. Mr. Speaker, I am sure we have all heard many times the old saying "we cannot see the forest for the trees." This phrase came to mind when I read the enclosed article written by my good friend Bill Powell, roving editor of the Sun-Democrat in Paducah, Ky., concerning a young housewife who came from East Berlin and is amazed at the actions of some of our flag and draft card burners, hippies, and other elements of our society that seems strange to her.

Mrs. Ingrid Trovillion, an American citizen, whose husband is a native of Vienna, Ill., in my district, and is now serving his second tour in Vietnam, is a prominent citizen of Paducah, Ky. She has a message I believe is worthy of our consideration.

Under order of the House previously granted me, I herewith enclose Mrs. Trovillion's story as written by Bill Powell: [From the Paducah (Ky.) Sun-Democrat, Dec. 11, 1969]

FORMER EAST GERMAN RESIDENT FEARFUL OF YOUTH UPRISING'S IMPACT ON NATION  
(By Bill Powell)

Ingrid Trovillion—who once was secretary for the mayor of East Berlin—thinks she has a message about the young people of this country.

"I don't believe the young people know what they have," she said. "They've always had the good life. They don't understand how it would be to live in a little communistic country."

Ingrid Trovillion—who was Ingrid Helena Karin Boettcher when she was growing up in East Germany—said:

"The young people—they just don't know what they are doing."

Attractive Ingrid, who is a professional model but right now is just a mother of two who is anxiously waiting return of her Army career husband from Vietnam, rose to her considerable height, for a girl.

With poise and restraint, she bordered on the foot-stamping stage.

"The government has got to do something to settle them down; they will lead up to something terrible. If they had ever lived in a little communist country they would feel differently."

Ingrid Trovillion, whose husband is a native of Vienna, Ill., referred specifically to the youth demonstrations, the youthful rebellion that takes its form in scraggly, nasty haircuts, the anti-war demonstrators and all the others who, by filthy look and deed are trying to drag the country down to a point where it will be weak.

"They are going to lead us into a terrible mess if we let them do it," she said.

Mrs. Trovillion slipped out of East Berlin in 1959. She walked across the dividing line into West Berlin, leaving her family behind. She couldn't stand communism.

Before, she had reached a height which most girls would want to reach—she was the private secretary of the mayor of East Berlin. She regarded the mayor as a Communist; she was gratified some years later when he slipped into West Berlin and became a defector from the Russians.

Ingrid has seen her family only once since she was 18—she met her father and mother fleetingly in an East Berlin restaurant in 1965. This was possible because she had become an American citizen. She could not get home with them, however. Ingrid is 29.

Ingrid Helena Karin Boettcher went to West Germany before the "Wall."

There she became a model and met Robert Trovillion when he brought another attractive girl to a style show in which she was a participant.

Her father was in the construction business; he had built the business himself. East Germany tactics of the Kremlin deprived him of his business, as it did countless others. One day he simply could not get material, although he had many houses under contract. The door was closed to him.

Later, he kept a foot just inside the door of private business by buying a taxi; but this is quasi-private business—the Russians control everything he does in his business.

Before the Communists took over, he had a brisk business—with 10 to 15 people work-

ing for him and constant demands for his skillful building.

If Ingrid Trovillion had not walked out of East Berlin in 1959 she would never have been living in Paducah, waiting patiently for her husband to come home.

She was in West Germany in 1961—when the Berlin Wall was put up. This made the difference between being a slave and a free American.

Ingrid remained in the free country and then came to the United States with Robert Trovillion who, according to Ingrid, is "the very best man."

Mrs. Trovillion speaks English well but she has a strong German accent.

Some words come hard for her. She is puzzled by slang; she has trouble, too, with some past tenses.

To the tall, attractive woman, taught still is "tached" with a strong gesture or two to show her puzzlement.

Ingrid grew up on the west of Berlin, in the area that separates West Germany from West Berlin. From a tower in West Berlin she can see the house where her family lives; but she cannot go there.

Only tourists and a few others are able to visit East Berlin. No one outside the Communist sphere is able to visit East Germany. Ingrid attended school in East Berlin; they would not allow her to study English.

In East Germany schools, Ingrid was ridiculed. She was spitefully called a capitalist because her father was a businessman.

She was born in 1940, when Hitler was making his biggest gains; she became aware of the world at the age of four and five when the Allies were pounding Germany with the terrible bombs.

"My mother would get us up three and four times a night because of the bombers. They came over every night—they dropped big bombs and the destruction was terrible."

Whole blocks of apartment houses, such as the one in which she lived, were leveled, sometimes, in a few horrifying minutes. As the American bombers droned away, with searchlights and antiaircraft fire turning the sky into a nightmare, Ingrid began to realize that life was pain, and that hunger and fear and want prevailed.

"Hitler was a nut," said spirited Ingrid Trovillion.

Ingrid has great affection for her parents, and she is proud of them.

Mr. Boettcher was not a Nazi; he served in the German army but was behind the lines and never anything like the average Hitlerite.

Not long after the apartment in which she lived was hit by the Flying Fortresses or the Liberators, the war was over. The Russians evacuated Ingrid's hometown. This was pure misery.

She and her people came out of the town in a covered wagon; there were many others in the train which bristled with pain and death. No one had anything to eat; the horses were gaunt and hardly able to move. Some of them did not. They fell dead in their tracks.

On the evacuation road Ingrid saw crude, vulgar, cruel Russian soldiers.

She saw a Russian soldier shoot a woman and her husband. The woman died instantly; the man lived. The soldier had broken into the woman's home, her husband happened to come home at that moment.

Ingrid saw Russians break into farmhouses and seize women. She remembers how horrible it was, as the women and children were hiding in a hayloft, to hear the Russian soldiers tell them they were going to set fire to the hay unless the women came out, which they did to save the children.

Ingrid Trovillion saw an old man soon after he was beaten to death by Russian soldiers because he would not tell them where the women were. The old man, she recalls, was 99; he lived only a short time after the beating.

Ingrid Trovillion saw her own mother being shot at by Russian soldiers—as she tried to gather food and clothing from a wagon for the children.

Ingrid was only five. But, she said, reality has a way of setting in early in life.

One of the worst sights Mrs. Trovillion saw was a "field full of wounded soldiers."

"They were mostly German, I suppose," she said. The soldiers were lying on the ground; they were screaming and crying. She saw an operation being performed on boards where hogs ordinarily were butchered.

It took 10 months for Ingrid and Bob Trovillion to be married. Her connection with East Berlin held things up; someone had to get close enough to the case to judge her personally before permission was granted.

Bob is in the 101st Airborne—the famous outfit that was at Fort Campbell. He has been a paratrooper, but now is classed as an infantryman. He is in his second tour in Vietnam.

He will be home in March.

Mr. and Mrs. Trovillion have two boys, Roger 7 and John Paul 5. Bob, when he came out of service the first time, was a major in the reserves—he has tried two hitches. When he went back in, of course, he was dropped in rank and became a first sergeant, which he still is.

Paducah, to Mrs. Trovillion, is a wonderful place, because it is a part of the United States. Besides this, people here have pleased her very much with their patriotism and kindness.

She has made many friends, and has spoken before a few clubs.

She would gladly speak to organizations if they want to hear a story that leads from the high office of the mayor of East Berlin to what is almost contempt for demonstrating, hippie young people who are plaguing the country in the eyes of law officers, scholars, average citizens, some teachers and others.

Ingrid is looking forward to Bob's safe return. Beyond that is the end of an impossible dream.

Trovillion is being assigned to West Berlin.

They will have an Army apartment.

Her father is 65 and her mother is 62. This means that they can travel out of East Germany for a while.

"For the first time in my life I'll have them in my home," said Ingrid.

Ingrid Helena Karin Boettcher Trovillion—as she doesn't like to be called—is a proud American citizen—more reasons, she said, why she should pitch into the ingrates, the shameless, the cowards who demonstrate with some form of the North Vietnam flag in the wind.

"I took the oath in a courthouse in San Antonio. This courthouse was next door to the Alamo. I am kind of proud of that."

CONGRATULATIONS TO U.S. JAYCEES ON THEIR 50TH BIRTHDAY ANNIVERSARY

HON. ABNER J. MIKVA

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 26, 1970

Mr. MIKVA. Mr. Speaker, during the week of January 18, 1970, the U.S. Jaycees celebrate their 50th anniversary. It is an occasion on which all of us may pause to contemplate the important role of this fine organization of young Americans dedicated to the principle of service to their communities. Many a community across our land is a better place to



live and work because of the material and spiritual contributions made by the local Jaycees.

One of the finest moments of my own career in public life came in September of 1961 when I was chosen by the Chicago Junior Association of Commerce and Industry as one of their outstanding Young Chicagoans for 1961. It was an honor, indeed, and one which I continue to cherish, to have been chosen as "outstanding" by a group which is itself composed of so many who are outstanding in their leadership and contributions to the Chicago area.

These past 50 years have been good ones for the Jaycees and their organizations have proliferated and prospered—which have also made these years good ones for America. It is my sincere hope that the next 50 years will be as healthy and productive ones as have the last 50. The contributions to community service by the U.S. Jaycees are things which we cannot afford to be without.

I take pleasure in placing at this point in the Record a brief history of the U.S. Jaycees.

The document referred to follows:

A HISTORY OF THE U.S. JAYCEES

Each year a new and important chapter must be added to the history of The United States Jaycees, for although each member is proud of his organization's rich heritage, he is faithfully determined to contribute to its future successes.

The organization that is now The U.S. Jaycees resulted from the expansion of a very fundamental yet valid idea that young men can become actively involved in public service since youth is no handicap for participation in municipal, state and national affairs.

When one considers the scope of the Jaycee movement today, it is difficult to conceive its humble beginning as the Herculeaneum Dance Club of St. Louis, Missouri, a group led by Jaycee founder Henry Giessenbier, Jr.

The Herculeaneum, originated by Giessenbier in 1910, had as its purpose the social elevation of its members, a goal it rapidly attained. By 1914 it was the outstanding dancing club of the day in St. Louis and prepared to merge with six other similar groups to form the Federation of Dancing Clubs.

A major objective of the Federation was to encourage the revival of the waltz and waltz, dances which were being overshadowed by the "Turkey Trot" and "Bear Hug."

A second objective was to renew respect for dancing in general. This was accomplished by each member club pledging to refuse to sponsor any unchaperoned dances or functions where liquor was served.

Giessenbier's father was employed as a head waiter at a St. Louis restaurant, the Mission Inn, and the Federation took advantage of the facilities for occasional meetings.

During the summer of 1915, young Henry Giessenbier was particularly impressed with the comments of a local politician who came to address a meeting of the Federation. The orator, Colonel H. N. Morgan, spoke in favor of a Parkway issue, but more importantly, convinced Giessenbier that young men should take a more active interest and role in public affairs.

Following a series of meetings with Morgan and others from which he gained further encouragement, Giessenbier took the first step toward the Jaycee movement of today. On October 13, 1915, in the Mission Inn, 32 young men formed the Young Men's Progressive Civic Association.

During the early years YMPCA gained support from many individuals, but none was more valuable than the President of the St. Louis Chamber of Commerce, Clarence H. Howard.

In his inaugural address Howard had called for a group capable of drawing young men into public affairs. The very next day Giessenbier and Andrew Mungenast contacted Howard and told him of the goals of YMPCA.

As a result of this meeting, Howard became an enthusiastic proponent of the organization and even secured an old art museum to serve as YMPCA headquarters. At about this time the club's name was changed to Junior Citizens.

During World War I the JC's (as their name was abbreviated) formed Company L of the 138th Infantry Regiment. The commander was Dwight Davis who later became Assistant Secretary of War and donated the Davis Cup tennis trophy.

In 1918 the JC's affiliated with the St. Louis Chamber of Commerce and officially became the Junior Chamber of Commerce.

After returning from service during the war in France with Co. L, Giessenbier began contacting other cities with young businessmen's groups to inform them of the so-called "St. Louis Plan" of organization.

As a result of Giessenbier's efforts a caucus of twenty-nine clubs from around the nation was held in St. Louis, January 21 and 22, and the national organization was formed. The St. Louis group, which then numbered more than three thousand, became the hub of the national body.

Henry Giessenbier was elected the first president of the organization during a convention which included twenty-seven cities, the following June. Twelve of those cities became charter members of the Junior Chamber.

An official publication of the new national group was begun in 1925 with the first printing of Expansion. This publication continued until 1929 and was followed by magazines of various titles until the present Future Magazine was printed in 1938.

During the 1920's and 30's the Junior Chamber not only grew in size, but the scope of activities became even broader. Then, as now, chapters were concerned with almost every conceivable type of project which would serve the needs of a community.

In 1935, after years of moving the national office from one city to the next with each new president, it was decided that the Junior Chamber should settle in the city in which it originated. By choosing St. Louis the organization turned down an offer of space in the national headquarters of the Chamber of Commerce of the United States in Washington, D.C. After much discussion it had been decided that the Junior Chamber should remain completely independent of the senior body.

The headquarters was again on the move, however, in 1938, this time to Chicago.

Before World War II, the Junior Chamber became the first young men's organization to back selective service proposals. During the war, eighty-five percent of the organization's membership entered the military.

In 1944, following a meeting in Mexico City, Junior Chamber International was formed. Attempts to found such a world group date back to the 1930's.

The first full-scale convention of the United States Junior Chamber of Commerce after the war was held in Milwaukee during June of 1946. It was during this convention that a young Jaycee, Bill Brownfield from Columbus, Ohio, found the inspiration that prompted his authorship of what was to become the official Jaycee Creed.

After returning home, Brownfield pondered the events at the convention and the way

of life typified by the young men who attended it. Within an hour he penned the basic phrases of the creed, a document which was officially adopted by the United States Junior Chamber of Commerce in 1947. In 1951 he added the first line which affirms the Jaycees belief in God.

In 1947 the offices of the national organization were moved to Tulsa, Oklahoma, where citizens had pledged one hundred thousand dollars for the construction of a War Memorial Headquarters.

The cornerstone of the Jaycee headquarters was laid on December 7, 1950, and final dedication ceremonies were conducted in August of the following year. Since then several improvements have been made including the addition of a third story, office remodeling and the construction and 1966 dedication of the Bill Brownfield Conference Room.

At the 1965 convention the name of the national organization was officially changed from the United States Junior Chamber of Commerce to The United States Jaycees.

Through the years the progress of the young man's civic organization has been rapid. From a base of twelve chapters and four thousand members in 1920 the body grew to include more than six thousand chapters and over 300,000 Jaycees.

- 1915—Giessenbier organizes YMPCA.
- 1920—USJCC Born at January Caucus.
- 1925—EXPANSION—First Nat'l Magazine.
- 1928—First Full-time staffer.
- 1935—Permanent HQ. St. Louis.
- 1938—FUTURE born & HQ to Chicago.
- 1944—JCI is Established.
- 1947—HQ shifts to Tulsa.
- 1951—War Memorial Bldg. Completed.
- 1965—Name changed to The United States Jaycees.
- 1966—Bill Brownfield Room Dedicated.

	Members
1920 (12 chapters)-----	4,000
1925 (45 chapters)-----	8,600
1930 (86 chapters)-----	*15,000
1935 (258 chapters)-----	*40,000
1940 (861 chapters)-----	64,000
1945 (842 chapters)-----	63,000
1950 (1,800 chapters)-----	124,000
1955 (2,900 chapters)-----	172,000
1959 (3,700 chapters)-----	200,000
1963 (4,800 chapters)-----	225,000
1965 (6,500 chapters)-----	250,000

\*Estimates.

THE JAYCEE CREED

We believe:  
 That faith in God gives meaning and purpose to human life;  
 That the brotherhood of man transcends the sovereignty of nations;  
 That economic justice can best be won by free men through free enterprise;  
 That government should be of laws rather than of men;  
 That earth's great treasure lies in human personality;  
 And that service to humanity is the best work of life.

SWEDEN AIDS HANOI—WITH AMERICAN DOLLARS

HON. JOHN R. RARICK  
 OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES  
 Monday, January 26, 1970

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, the Hanoi Reds have now given their Swedish Santa Claus the list of the "humanitarian" aid which they can use.

This "humanitarian" aid to our enemy is the \$45 million which had been previously promised for a 3-year period, and

the current Swedish budget includes the first \$15 million installment.

Of particular interest is the request of the enemy for \$1 million—in U.S. currency. This surprisingly frank request points up with undeniable clarity two important facts.

First, that Sweden acquires American dollars only by selling goods to Americans. Americans who buy Swedish goods from this day forth must understand that their dollars are going to be given to Hanoi—to aid the enemy.

Second, Hanoi needs American dollars only to purchase American goods—from our so-called friends who trade with the enemy, or to finance its worldwide propaganda and support its "dear American friends" in their fifth-column activities in this country.

Finally, it is appropriate that the same date on which the \$1 million operation is announced brings the announcement of the arrival in Sweden of the perverted, rabble-rousing jailbird, Ralph Abernathy, to address a symposium and dine at the Foreign Ministry.

I include pertinent newsclippings, as follows:

[From the Washington (D.C.) Sunday Star, Jan. 25, 1970]

#### SWEDEN GETS HANOI AID LIST

(By Robert Skole)

STOCKHOLM.—North Vietnam has presented a list of priority items—including \$1 million in cash, medicines, and construction and transport equipment—it would like from Sweden under a proposed aid program.

The list was given to Bertil Svahnstrom, chairman of the Stockholm Conference on Vietnam, when he was in North Vietnam earlier this month.

Although the list was not sent through diplomatic channels, it gives a clear idea of what Hanoi considers "humanitarian assistance."

Sweden has pledged \$45 million in aid to Hanoi over a three-year period starting July 1. Of the total, \$30 million would be in post-war reconstruction loans and the rest would be in what the Swedes call "humanitarian aid."

#### CASH, TEXTILES, PAPER

The list of high priority items given to Svahnstrom includes: \$1 million in U.S. dollars or other convertible currency, 2 million yards of textiles, 10,000 tons of paper, medicines including about 10,000 pounds of penicillin, 5 tons of quinine and vitamins, medical instruments.

Also school equipment including complete materials for physics, chemistry and electrical training, equipment for production of school furniture, elementary school training aids including globes and maps printed in Vietnamese, machinery for building 4- or 5-story apartment houses, transportation material, cranes and carpentry tools.

Some of these items—if delivered by Sweden—might cause protests in America. The objectionable items might be the cash—which could buy weapons—and the transport equipment (the type was not spelled out)—which could ship men and materials southward.

#### \$15 MILLION IN BUDGET

In its 1970-71 budget presented to Parliament this month, the government earmarked \$15 million to aid Hanoi.

A Foreign Ministry spokesman said Svahnstrom has given a copy of his list to the government.

"We are stressing that Mr. Svahnstrom is not an official representative of Sweden," a ministry official said. "We will have official

discussions on aid to Hanoi when our ambassador to North Vietnam visits there in February." (The ambassador is Arne Bjoernberg, who also serves as Sweden's ambassador to Peking.)

The ministry official said Sweden—working through the Red Cross—donated about \$2 million in humanitarian aid to North Vietnam. This was mainly in equipment for a hospital that is to be completed this spring.

He said Sweden has also given about \$400,000 in aid to South Vietnam and a small amount to the Viet Cong. These donations, too, were made via the Red Cross.

#### NO CHANGES PLANNED

"We have no plans to change our channels of distribution in the future, nor the type of assistance," he said.

This means that Hanoi might not get much of what is on the Svahnstrom list. Svahnstrom—in a newspaper article earlier last week—said it might be more humanitarian to give school and construction and transport equipment than medicines, which can help cure soldiers so they can go back to war.

Svahnstrom, who works as a stenographer in Parliament, has been active in peace causes in Sweden for many years. On his trip to Hanoi, he was accompanied by two Americans, an Italian, an Englishman, a Russian.

His trip was paid for by the Stockholm conference on Vietnam, an international group that holds anti-Vietnam war conferences.

The group met with North Vietnamese Prime Minister Pham Van Dong. Svahnstrom wrote, "He said we are always thinking of Sweden for they have sent us so many costly things—and have given us not only materialistic but moral and political support."

Svahnstrom said that in the two weeks he was in North Vietnam, he only once heard anyone express real hatred for America. "On the contrary, they said they want to have normal relations with all nations after the war."

Svahnstrom also met in Hanoi with representatives of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Vietnam—the Viet Cong.

They, too, presented a list of items they would like under humanitarian aid—including medical equipment, lab equipment for making drugs, medicines, film projectors, cameras, transistor radios, duplicating machines, paper, typewriters, musical instruments and textiles.

The Stockholm conference will hold a large meeting here this March with delegates from many nations to discuss aid to Vietnam and "war crimes," with particular attention to chemical and biological warfare.

[From the Washington (D.C.) Post, Jan. 25, 1970]

#### RALPH ABERNATHY ARRIVES IN SWEDEN

STOCKHOLM, January 24.—Negro civil rights leader Ralph Abernathy arrived here today for a week-long visit at the invitation of Sweden's Martin Luther King Fund and the Swedish-American Foundation.

The Alabama pastor is scheduled to speak at a symposium here next week on the civil rights movement in the 1970s. His program also includes a lunch at the foreign ministry and visits to Gothenburg, Malmoe and the university town of Lund.

#### JAMES A. FARLEY

### HON. JAMES J. DELANEY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 26, 1970

Mr. DELANEY. Mr. Speaker, the Honorable James A. Farley, the distinguished

former Postmaster General, and present chairman of the board of the Coca-Cola Export Corp., was one of the major architects of the New Deal, and contributed significantly to shaping the destiny of this Nation.

A recent article, "FDR's Man," by Michael Kernan in the Washington Post, sets forth some interesting reminiscences of a critical point in history by the remarkable Mr. Farley, which I would like to share with my colleagues.

Under leave to extend my remarks, the article follows:

#### FDR'S MAN

(By Michael Kernan)

NEW YORK.—"May I say very, very modestly that if Roosevelt hadn't run in '40, I would have been elected President?"

Jim Farley leaned back in his big leather chair and spelled it out on his fingers: a formula long since become as familiar to him as his name.

"I was the best-known Cabinet member," he said. "The Gallup Polls showed Hull topping Roosevelt, and even if I'd run with Hull I could have succeeded him. I was in control of the third-term convention. I was running it. If Roosevelt had stayed out—there's no doubt about it. But if I had been elected I wouldn't be here talking to you, either."

James Aloysius Farley, the great political tactician of the Roosevelt era, former Postmaster General and national Democratic Party chairman and the man who called the shot on the amazing 1936 election, is 81 years old now, and possibly he would be a little disappointed if not surprised at how many people are around today who don't know who he is.

But for anyone who remembers the Roosevelt years, the name conjures up an image of the prototype politician, the big genial Irishman with a bit of a stomach, heavy jowls and a Roman senator's laurel wreath of white hair. The man who never forgot a name or a face, who could steer a convention, nudge a congressional committee, cajole a candidate; the master of possibilities who made the art of the possible really look like an art.

#### NEVER SMOKED

And for anyone who had met him in those days, even after Roosevelt brushed aside Secretary of State Cordell Hull to run for a third term, and after this politician's politician had quit to become chairman of the board of the Coca-Cola Export Corp., Jim Farley was much more man than his newspaper photos showed.

For one thing, he was tall: nearly 6 feet 3. What had appeared to be stomach turned out to be simply the solidity of a big man. The cigar one half-expected wasn't there; Farley never smoked or drank. And the voice was clear and strong and big.

Today, still working hard for Coca-Cola (he would have attended 60 banquets this year had he not been slowed down by a prostate operation), he keeps trim and hale, his voice is as vigorous as ever and his replies incisive as he answers the constantly ringing phone, and the tight-skinned oval of the famous face has been agreeably softened by wrinkles.

Farley has called his nomination for the Democratic candidacy for President in 1940 the high point of his life, the moment when his opposition to the idea of a third term overrode his decades of faultless (enemies called it doglike) loyalty to "The Boss."

A drive for acclamation by the FDR inner circle under Harry Hopkins and James Byrnes (who coincidentally occupied suite 308-9 in Chicago's Blackstone Hotel, the original "smoke-filled room") left Farley high and dry. Even Ambassador Joseph Kennedy was phoned in London and pressured to get his son Joseph Jr., a delegate, to switch, but the



elder Kennedy stayed out of it. Farley recalls in his memoirs his emotion as he heard "that resolute young voice calling 'James A. Farley' when the Massachusetts delegation was polled."

A connoisseur of the averages and never a romantic believer in long shots, Farley moved for unanimous nomination of Roosevelt after the overwhelming first ballot. Characteristically, he was surprised when Wendell Wilkie took the GOP nomination from the party regulars, and much later, in 1967, he predicted confidently, that Lyndon Johnson would run and win in 1968.

LYING SHOWS ON TV

There are no surprises in Farley's Madison Avenue office: Photos of the seven Presidents he has known, large pictures of Roosevelt and Churchill, portraits of three Popes and Cardinal Spellman, crowded formal scenes of banquets and Cabinet meetings and the 80th birthday party at the Biltmore, two busts and a painting of himself in his prime, a Samurai sword, a model ricksha under glass, plaques and citations and, in the corner, a magnificent old console radio with shoulders.

"The techniques are changing, of course," he said. "TV is the big thing. A candidate used to be able to get on the train in Albany and make a speech, go to Syracuse and make the same speech, and do it again in Buffalo. Every stop, he could bring on the local candidates and be seen with them."

"Today, they all hear the speech on the news, and you have to have a different one for each place. The panel shows are hard, too. You can tell by a man's expression if he's lying; he just can't hide it."

But even if television has become an election factor ("that debate lost Nixon the '60 election, no doubt about it") and the airport speech has replaced the whistle-stopper, he believes certain fundamentals will never change.

"You've got to make every effort to get your voters registered," he said, "and keep them apprised during the campaign, and then get 'em to the polls. They're no use unless they vote."

Remembering names is, of course, a standard device, though Farley admitted that his own legend gives him trouble sometimes. People challenge him—"Bet you don't know who I am!"—and he is expected to recall a handshake 30 years ago. He still can link up more names and faces than half the hostesses in Washington put together.

There also is the matter of closing ranks after the nomination. "In '32 Roosevelt had his enemies around him: Hague and Reed and McAdoo, who came over at this convention. Reed said, 'I don't like the S.O.B., but I'm going along.'"

The 1968 McCarthy rebellion and the youth rebellion that fueled it baffled Farley. "I just don't understand the attitude of the youth today," said this product of a strong Catholic home where the rosary was recited daily. "You have to have discipline in the home. My own grandchildren—thank God, their parents are doing a good job with them."

There are 10 grandchildren, parceled out among his three children, Betty, Ann and James Jr. Farley's wife Elizabeth died in 1955. He still lives in the apartment at the Waldorf that he has occupied since 1943, shortly after leaving Washington and the political scene.

Though he visits Washington several times a year, most recently for the Boys Club of America dinner and soon probably for the Gridiron dinner—the banquet, like the diplomatic cocktail party, being another venerable method of politicking—his ties as always have been strongest in New York state. Born in Grassy Point, on the lower Hudson, he discovered the hall-fellow male world of local politics in his 'eens (his father had been killed by a horse when James was 9),

and at 20 he was named a Democratic committeeman of nearby Stony Point.

JOINED AL SMITH

"They elected me chairman of the town committee because the other members weren't speaking to each other," he chuckled. "Two years later I was elected town clerk, the first Catholic to hold the job."

Rising steadily, he entered bigtime politics, as he put it, in 1918 as Democratic chairman of Rockland County, hitched his star to Al Smith's wagon and four years later was elected to the state Assembly, the second Catholic ever named to that group, a salary of \$1,500.

As a devoted party stalwart he encountered Franklin Roosevelt early in the game, even though FDR has something of a reputation as a rebel, having tried to buck the party's choice, James Gerard, for the state Senate in 1914. ("My vote went to Gerard because I was an organization man and strongly opposed to party rebels.")

To give an idea of Farley's value to his party as an organizer, Roosevelt's margin in winning his first term as New York governor was 25,564 votes; on his re-election in 1930 two years later, with Farley as state chairman, the plurality was 725,001. It was a key factor in the march to the presidency.

It is easier for Farley to talk about the Roosevelt years than about the violent, kaleidoscopic politics of today. Even Washington—where he used to do his thinking on long nocturnal walks by the reflecting pool, sometimes with a friend like Joe Tumulty and sometimes alone, his stride short and quick—is a different city to him. At the 1956 convention his right eye was damaged by a flying placard.

"I don't feel 81," he said. "I go to the Biltmore Turkish bath twice a week. I watch my weight. I eat very little at those banquets, just the meat, maybe, but I always eat the ice cream. I walk to the office when I can."

He gazed across the room at the big smiling picture of FDR and absently tugged at the vest pockets of his black suit. On the sofa, not as though tossed there, but as though carefully placed: a black homburg.

CRIMINAL STATISTICS

HON. LAWRENCE J. HOGAN

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 26, 1970

Mr. HOGAN. Mr. Speaker, on November 6, 1969, I inserted into the RECORD a copy of a report released by Chief Judge Edward M. Curran, U.S. District Court of the District of Columbia, relating to the initial results of an experimental plan, adopted by that court a short time earlier, that established a procedure for handling criminal business on an individual calendar basis.

That "experimental plan" has now been in effect for 3 months and I am pleased to note from a report released on January 7, 1970, by Chief Judge Curran that the "individual criminal calendar plan" appears to be a success.

Obviously, in initiating this program, there were benefits derived in the early months in terms of dispositions which will not reoccur once the total criminal calendar is purified to a certain extent. However, the plan seems to have been successful and Chief Judge Curran and the individual U.S. district judges who

have volunteered to initiate this program are to be congratulated on cutting down the criminal backlog and expediting trials in the District of Columbia Federal courts. This type of streamlining has a direct result in coping with our crime problem in Washington.

The report follows:

[Memorandum by Chief Judge Curran]

CRIMINAL STATISTICS

Number of indictments returned in 1969, 2,034.

Trials .....	662
Pleas of guilty .....	1,159
Dismissals .....	406
Transfers .....	21
Committed under Narcotic Act .....	29

Number of dispositions during 1969 .....

2,277  
Excess of dispositions over indictments for 1969, 243.

Open cases as of January 1, 1970, 1,277. The following are comparative figures for the first nine months of 1969, when the Court operated under the central assignment system, and the last three months of 1969, when it operated under the individual assignment system.

Number of indictments returned during the first nine months of 1969, 1,618.

Trials .....	519
Pleas of guilty .....	736
Dismissals .....	253
Transfers .....	16
Committed under Narcotic Act .....	28

Number of dispositions during first nine months of 1969 .....

1,552  
Excess of indictments over dispositions for first nine months, 66.

Number of indictments returned during last three months of 1969, 421.

Trials .....	143
Pleas of guilty .....	423
Dismissals .....	153
Transfers .....	5
Committed under Narcotic Act .....	1

Number of dispositions during last three months of 1969 .....

725  
Excess of dispositions over indictments for last three months, 304.

THE ANGRY ETHNICS

HON. ROMAN C. PUCINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 26, 1970

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, the Chicago Sun-Times recently featured an excellent article written by Richard J. Krickus concerning the misunderstood and often downgraded white ethnic minorities.

For too long the white affluent social tinkers have considered the white ethnics as a boorish lot of immigrants, blaming them for all the ills of society particularly the race problem.

The ivory-tower liberals, who have rarely lived in white ethnic neighborhoods, let alone with their black brethren, do not fully comprehend the problems and attitudes of the white ethnics. They have ground out studies by the score trying to pin the blame for the

plight of the black people on the guilt feelings of the white ethnics. The white ethnics have never bought these theories and never will, for it is similar to blaming the thermometer for the temperature.

The alienation of the white ethnics has come to the forefront in recent years. This silent group is starting to exhibit potent political force to seek redress of its grievances.

Mr. Krickus has performed a public service by discussing cogently the problems, attitudes, and feelings of the misunderstood and maligned white ethnic groups, who are destined to play a pivotal role in solving racism and the decay of the inner cities in the decade of the 1970's.

The article follows:

THE ANGRY ETHNICS

(By Richard J. Krickus)

(NOTE.—Richard J. Krickus, of Lithuanian extraction, is a consultant to the Institute for Resources Management on a project funded by the Office of Economic Opportunity. He holds a Ph. D. in political science and has contributed articles to professional journals. This article was written for the Washington Post.)

WASHINGTON.—If the myriad problems that are tearing our society asunder are to be resolved, we must listen to the disillusioned lower-middle-class white worker who lives in the midst of our urban crisis.

The largest and most strategically located group of white workers in America is found in our industrial Midwestern and Northeastern cities. The most prominent segment of this group is some 40,000,000 ethnics who include the foreign born and the first-, second- and third-generation Americans of European ancestry.

These European migrants chose to live with their own countrymen in the New World, and colonies of Poles, Italians, Hungarians and other newly arrived immigrants arose in our industrial urban centers. Social scientists have discovered that their offspring, who have moved to outlying suburbs or to the distant shores of the West Coast, have followed a similar ecological pattern.

Today the ethnics have largely eschewed Old World customs in favor of the mainstream culture, yet a distinct group outlook has evolved.

Differences between Poles and Italians exist, but their perceptions of crucial domestic and foreign issues are similar. For example, even though anti-black feeling may be stronger in Polish than in Italian communities, both tend to view the black revolution with more alarm than non-ethnic northern whites do. Support for U.S. involvement in Vietnam is also stronger among the ethnics than is true of the white population at large. The "ethnic position" on these issues explains why the left, as a whole, views them as contemptible racists. Vietnam hawks, and political enemies who are providing the right with widespread popular support.

The ethnics' hostility toward black militants, student radicals and dissident intellectuals is grounded in economic, social and political insecurity. This condition is exacerbated by their proximity to smoldering black ghettos and the fear that the radicals are bent upon destroying those institutions that have provided them with a way out of poverty and into the middle class.

The activities of student radicals and black militants, in particular, have angered blue-collar workers. The liberals' attempts to explain, and in some cases apologize for, the excesses of radicals and militants have alienated them from the working-class urban whites.

The growing frustration, anger and alienation that exists in lower-income white communities represents an explosive political force.

As things stand now, the radical and liberal left are dreaming if they think they can exploit this political resource. Indeed, it is precisely because they have ignored the legitimate fears of the white worker that a right-wing counteraction is gaining momentum in the United States.

Any restoration of the political alliance that sustained the New Deal is unlikely as long as the left's assessment of the lower-middle class is based upon misinformation, half-truths and outright ignorance.

Years of toil and cautious saving have permitted a growing number to buy homes in the center city or in nearby suburbs. But high and regressive taxes, inflation, the threat of automation, a rising cost of living, installment buying, and the varied needs of large families explain why ethnic workingmen are not secure in their recently acquired affluence.

Although a majority of the ethnics enjoy a higher standard of living than their parents, a significant number, especially the older ones, earn only a few thousand dollars above Office of Economic Opportunity poverty guidelines. Many of the elderly, to make ends meet, receive help from their children. Others live off welfare, Social Security or retirement benefits.

A large number who barely subsist are caught in a web of inner-city hopelessness like their black neighbors. Because they are old, lack energy, and confine themselves to their substandard homes and apartments, they are often invisible inhabitants of America's center city slums.

To assume that the ethnics, as a group, are well entrenched in middle-class America economically is inaccurate.

Liberal political leaders, scholars, and professional analysts have excluded the white industrial worker from their agenda for social change. The blacks, Puerto Ricans and Mexican Americans command their attention.

Because these groups suffer disproportionately from poverty, they, like all poor people, deserve priority attention. It is, nonetheless, a political and planning mistake to disregard the plight of the white blue-collar workers. Without their support, the left cannot hope to forge a meaningful multiracial, multiclass political alliance.

Should the right mobilize the white workers, the prospects for a peaceful and just solution to our domestic ills appear grim.

A large number of ethnic young men serve in the armed forces. Few avoid service because of college deferment as is frequently the case with more affluent families. In the military they meet others from different religious, racial, regional and socio-economic groups; they may travel to distant parts of the nation or world.

But during the time they serve their country, brief contact with a cross-section of the population is unlikely to have a deep or lasting impact upon their thinking.

Drawn by their family and neighborhood and compelled to seek jobs that meet their vocational skills, these servicemen return to their native industrial cities. Their membership in groups, therefore, is ethnic or religious and local, not national, in outlook.

Although most ethnics continue to vote for the Democratic Party, they have in recent years deserted the party in growing numbers for more conservative political organizations and candidates.

However, they do not reject all facets of economic liberalism such as unemployment insurance, Social Security and Medicare. Indeed, they generally support progressive bread-and-butter legislation that affects the welfare of the workingman.

At the same time, their rising standard of living testifies to what they believe is the

free enterprise system. Even though their newly obtained economic status is precarious, America has produced for them. Thus industrial white workers are among the most zealous proponents of hard work, individualism and decentralized government.

In this connection, a dominant value that prevails in ethnic communities is self-reliance. The individual is the master of his fate and he is responsible for his economic condition and the resolution of problems stemming from that condition. The government should not provide giveaways; every healthy man should be put to work; no one should be permitted to live off the labor of others, and so on.

It matters little to point out that the ethnics' perception of capitalism does not conform to reality or that their tendency to accept certain noncapitalistic principles while rejecting others is inconsistent. In their eyes, "capitalism" is responsible for their improved economic condition.

In addition, the American economic and political systems are evaluated by them as a single entity. To castigate one is to downgrade the other.

Attacks against our institutions by student radicals and intellectuals are deemed absurd. Unlike middle-class youths and intellectuals, the ethnic laborer is not bored with affluence. Student rioting, moreover, infuriates him because he must make great sacrifices to give his children a college education that was denied him. Assertions that workers are being exploited in America do not jibe with the ethnics' perception of the facts. This matter is important, for it explains in large part why the ethnics give little credence to the many charges that the radicals are presently making against American institutions.

Another element explains the ethnics' hostility to the "peace movement."

Today, a disproportionate number of white soldiers come from the ethnic community. Casualties caused by the Vietnam war, therefore, are keenly relevant to the machinist in Gary and the truck driver in Newark. They deem any tacit effort or overt pronouncement that supports the enemy or his cause as treasonous.

To dismiss the "hawkish" posture of the white working class as a natural manifestation of reactionary thought is to ignore the existential reason for the ethnics' hostility toward middle-class "peaceniks." What kind of reaction can an SDSer waving a Viet Cong flag expect to elicit from a man whose son or neighbor has been killed in Vietnam?

Because television (which commands the largest national audience) is controlled and staffed by middle-class liberals we hear and see much about student alienation and black frustration. But little is being said about the prospect of violence on the part of the white working class.

When the white resident of a lower-class urban community is depicted on television, he is often shown in one dimension. His crass racism and anti-intellectualism are emphasized while his thinking and motives are lightly dismissed or never confronted.

In this connection, the apparent growing political affluence of the black community has exacerbated the ethnics' fear that their political influence is on the decline. Their desire for easy answers to our domestic ills, their craving for guidance and new leadership, and not white racism per se, explains the appeal of George C. Wallace and other conservative groups to the ethnics.

Despite the progress that has been made in recent years, the plight of the black man in America today is a national disgrace and a moral aberration. The white majority possesses the political power, the wealth and the knowledge to achieve social justice for all Americans. The will to attain this goal does not exist.

In marked contrast to the liberal academic intellectuals and student radicals, the



ethnics have rejected the Kerner Commission report's charge that white racism was the root cause of the riots that have erupted in America's black ghettos since Watts in 1965. The ethnics expressed disbelief and outrage that the charge was leveled against them. Liberal observers saw in this reaction "proof positive of the extent of white racism in America today." This evaluation, while true in part, is incomplete.

The average ethnic's answer to the charge of white racism may be summed up as follows:

"Listen, my grandfather was born in Europe where he lived like a slave. He was no better off there than the slaves in the United States. When he came to America he lived in an overcrowded slum. He was poor, as were most of his friends and family. He didn't finish high school and he couldn't get a white-collar job. But hell, his poverty didn't lead to crime, he didn't riot, he didn't demand handouts or threaten to destroy his neighborhood if he didn't get his way.

"Why should I feel guilty? I didn't have anything to do with bringing colored people to this country nor am I responsible for their problems today. If they would get a job, work hard, save their money, they too could solve their own problems."

Is this an exaggerated account of the ethnic's perception of the black revolution? I think not.

Most ethnics do not feel guilty or responsible for the plight of the black man, and they do not believe that they are racists.

On the contrary, there is a prevailing view among them that many blacks are. The racial epithets that black militants toss around on national TV reinforce the ethnic's charge.

Unlike the guilt-ridden white liberal who accepts these epithets without rancor, the ethnics, who feel guiltless, are naturally angered by such racial slurs as "honkie." The weapons that the bullet-draped Black Panthers flaunt before the cameras are not perceived by the ethnics as symbolic props of protest, but as menacing instruments of violence.

If the ethnics underestimate the relationship between skin color and black poverty, white reformers are mistaken when they explain the ethnics' racial posture as merely prejudice.

The ethnics have reason to fear the black revolution.

They live close to the blacks. They often compete with blacks for the same jobs. Their neighborhoods and work places are centers of racial tension. Black frustration and anger, which is often converted into anti-white hostility, is most readily felt by the ethnics who live or work near black people.

The middle-class reformer occupies a secure place in the United States socially, politically and economically. His contact with the average ghetto black is marginal and his knowledge of the black revolution is intellectual, detached. He does not feel directly threatened by mounting black militancy.

This existential difference—that the reformer can view the black revolution as an observer or sympathetic ally while the ethnic in center city seems himself as a participant (or victim)—is a crucial distinction.

The implications of this existential difference can be illuminated by considering the most controversial issue in America today—law and order.

The tendency on the part of the left to discount well-founded fear of street crime is a costly mistake. Everybody who lives in our industrial cities has good cause to be alarmed by urban crime. To play down street crime is to jeopardize legitimate radical demands for social change.

To understand the ethnics' view of crime as it pertains to the black revolution demands candor. To wit, there is ample data that demonstrates a higher incidence of crime among blacks than whites. Criminol-

ogists explain this by citing the correlation between poverty, social disorganization and institutionalized racism with black pathology.

The ethnics who live in the inner cities and read about black crime in their newspapers are incapable of viewing this data with the social scientists' detachment.

Another dimension of our racial crisis that has received little attention outside the ethnic communities is fear caused by black racism. Black racism is often rationalized as a natural by-product of white racism.

The subject of black hostility toward whites has been neglected because the mass media, the universities and the government agencies by and large are comprised of middle-class whites who rarely experience black hostility in day-to-day matters. The occasional confrontation they may have with a black militant in a panel discussion is merely an intellectual exercise.

White fear of black racism is difficult to describe, but it has reached crisis proportions.

This fear of black racism is one (if not the) major cause of white migration from our cities. Its prevalence explains why inner-city whites are unco-operative in implementing many black-oriented programs.

The fear of black violence is an equally compelling reason why school integration and busing are such controversial issues in our Northern cities. Many white parents refuse to send their children to schools with large numbers of black children for fear that black bullies and toughs might terrorize their white classmates.

As long as white fear of black racism exists, there is little chance that even generously funded programs will successfully stem white migration from the cities. It is difficult to conceive of the restoration of our cities as long as this migration continues; hence, the fate of inner-city whites is closely related to the elimination of poverty and racism (black and white) in our urban centers.

The rising tide of frustration and widespread alienation that exists in the ethnic communities has reached crisis proportions.

The specter of white backlash that has haunted America for the last five years is now gaining momentum. Demagogues on the right and political opportunists are now harvesting the fruit that the radicals in large part have sown.

The proximity of ethnic neighborhoods to smoldering black ghettos that evidence similar symptoms of alienation and pathological behavior is cause for alarm. Recent racial disturbances in some of our cities suggest that racial warfare is no longer a bad dream but a distinct possibility.

On the basis of their numbers and location, the ethnics are destined to play a pivotal role in the elimination of racism in the United States and the restoration of our cities. To ignore them is to allow the forces of reaction to mobilize them, and to exploit their power to preclude a peaceful and just solution to our nation's domestic problems.

#### ADDED TRIBUTE TO A GREAT INDIAN

HON. AL ULLMAN

OF OREGON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 26, 1970

Mr. ULLMAN, Mr. Speaker, last month the American Indian community, the State of Oregon, and the Nation lost a great leader with the passing of Vernon Jackson, of the Confederated Tribes of Warm Springs Indians. In the RECORD

of December 9, I paid tribute to this man who lead his people in the development of a multimillion-dollar business on their Indian reservation. Since then, newspapers across Oregon have joined in recording their tributes to Vernon Jackson. I include them at this point in the RECORD:

[From the Albany (Oreg.) Democrat-Herald, Dec. 8, 1969]

VERNON JACKSON

Vernon Jackson was one of those individuals who accomplished a great deal in a relatively short time and still left this life without an enemy.

Jackson was the general manager of the Confederated Tribes of the Warm Springs Reservation. He died last week at age 51.

He was quite a man, he was difficult to describe. History will probably say he had more influence upon the fortunes of the Indians of the Pacific Northwest than any man in the last 25 years.

When he finished college, he went back to the reservation to help bring his people a better life. He succeeded in great degree.

His accomplishments were many, but two stand out. The first is a completely integrated reservation-based wood products industry, owned completely by the tribe. The second is the multi-million-dollar Kah-Nee-Ta resort development that is just really getting off the ground.

He had the foresight to see that his people should capitalize on their timber resources. And, he could see the potential for recreational development in Kah-Nee-Ta, which will eventually bring a fortune to the Confederated Tribes.

He also insisted that the Indian children be educated. He pushed many of them farther in school than they had planned to go.

He was a tough bargainer when the white man wanted to use some part of his reservation. But he was fair. And, he was a kind man. He left no enemies, only friends.

He left a high target for his successors to shoot at.

[From the Madras (Oreg.) Pioneer, Dec. 11, 1969]

VERNON JACKSON

With so much time having elapsed between the tragic and untimely death of Vernon Jackson and the publication of this edition of The Pioneer, an editorial on his place in history seems like a repetitious exercise in futility. The daily newspapers and other media have already covered the matter exhaustively.

Yet even in the face of these very thorough editorial reviews, we cannot let his passing go unmarked.

The Pioneer is not much given to eulogies, but this must be said:

Vernon Jackson served his people well.

[From the Medford, Oreg., Mall Tribune, Dec. 8, 1969]

VERNON JACKSON: FORERUNNER OF SUCCESS

One of the two great American tragedies has been that of the treatment of the American Indian. We all know—or should know—the dimensions of that tragedy. It is not all in the past, either, not by any means. The Indian citizens have yet to claim their full status in the land that was forcibly wrested from them by superior weapons, superior numbers, and, in the end, genocide.

But one of the bright spots in the generally dreary picture has been what has happened on the Warm Springs Reservation, in Central Oregon along the Deschutes River, in recent years.

The Warm Springs, Wasco and Palute Indians were confined there long years ago, and, like so many other tribes that had been deprived of their ancestral lands, their traditions, their identity, their accustomed way of life, they sank into a kind of sub-culture of their own, either unable or unwilling, or

both, to do much more than subsist on an inadequate dole.

Two things began to change this a few years ago. First, lumber prices started up, creating a market for the fine stands of virgin timber on the reservation—if only the Indians could take advantage of it. Secondly, a generation of young men of the tribes began to come to maturity with a new determination, and a new weapon—education.

Foremost of these was Vernon Jackson, the first of his peoples to earn a college degree, who graduated from the University of Oregon in 1958 in business administration. He returned to the reservation, and in short order became a new kind of leader—one who could talk to the white man on his own terms.

Vernon Jackson died last week at the age of 51, and his passing is a tragedy for the people he served. He had not done it alone, but he had been an important factor in the development of a \$3.8 million, integrated forest products industry, and in the development of the Kah-nee-ta Hot Springs Resort, both on the reservation.

As general manager for the Confederated Tribes, he was a leader they could trust, and who also earned the respect and admiration of the white men with whom he dealt in a wide variety of capacities, most of them having to do with Indian welfare, but many of them the kind of things that many good citizens do for their state and nation.

The tragedy of Vernon Jackson's death is only partly mitigated by the fact that, while he was the first, he was not the only member of the tribes to receive an education, and others are, or soon will be, ready to take his place.

Mr. Jackson was not a tragic figure, but a hopeful one; a man of wit and humor and good will. Oregonians, Indian and white alike, will miss him.

[From the Eugene (Oreg.) Register-Guard, Dec. 9, 1969]

#### VERNON JACKSON

The nation's Indian communities will miss Vernon Jackson, the Warm Springs leader who died last week, much too soon, at only 51. Mr. Jackson, who did not graduate from the University of Oregon until he was 40, was a born leader. Had he lived longer, he would have played an even larger role in Indian affairs, far beyond the confines of his own Warm Springs reservation.

With his happy combination of brains, personality and talent, he could have made a success at any career he chose. He chose to devote his life to his people. The most visible of his contributions is the Ka-Neeta resort, operated now by Indians on the reservation. Less visible are his contributions to better lumber manufacture practices and farming practices on the reservation.

Not given to placard carrying or picketing, he nonetheless stood up for his people and advanced their welfare at the hands of the white government and business community. If he had lived, he should have been appointed to a key Department of the Interior post, where he could have brought his talents to the welfare of Indians everywhere.

[From the Portland (Oreg.) Oregon Voter, Dec. 20, 1969]

#### VERNON JACKSON

One of the outstanding Indian leaders of modern times, Vernon Jackson, general manager of the Confederated Tribes of the Warm Springs Reservation in Oregon, died December 4 at the age of 51. From his active younger years as head of the Confederated Tribes in 1944, he took leave to attend University of Oregon and at age 40 he became the first member of the Warm Springs tribe to win a college degree. Under his leadership the Warm Springs Reservation developed and invested the resources from the com-

paratively arid area steadily, until the Reservation now has two multi-million dollar commercial enterprises—Kah-Neeta-Tah vacation resort and the Warm Springs Forest Products Industries, with a number of smaller businesses. He was a member of the Governor's Manpower Development Committee and the Governor's Interstate Indian Council. He was also a member of the delegation to the Inter-American Indian Congress.

Mr. Jackson's immediate survivors are his widow, Louise, two sons, one at Columbia University, New York, and the other at Madras High School; two daughters, one in High school at Madras and one attending St. Helen's Hall in Portland; his parents, Mr. and Mrs. Charles Jackson and two brothers, Max and Zane. University of Oregon's "Old Oregon" recognized his leadership in 1965, "in the face of a cool public attitude, at best indifference, at worst hostility."

[From the Bend (Oreg.) Bulletin Dec. 5, 1969]  
VERNON JACKSON, 1918-69

Bad news travels fast. That's an old saying among newsmen. It was proved once more, if it needed further proof, yesterday morning. Vernon Jackson died suddenly in Portland hospital. Word of the death brought inquiries for further information to The Bulletin's office from all over the country.

That may seem a little strange, that so many persons everywhere knew the friendly guy who had been a leader among the tribes on the Warm Springs Reservation for the past 27 years. No oil has been discovered on the reservation. It isn't in the path of major industrial or municipal development. No major scandals have attached themselves to the reservation, or its residents, or its leaders. Those, unfortunately, too often are the reasons Indian leaders have become prominent in the past.

Vern Jackson had qualities and ideas which set him apart from many Indians of his age. Fortunately for him and his people, those qualities and ideas did not make lose touch with his generation, or generations older or younger than his.

The reservation is home for other persons who have the capacity for leadership, and who couple that capacity with sound business judgment. One of them now will have to pick up the burden Vernon Jackson has put down, far too soon.

He had an abiding faith in the reservation, and the use of its resources in a long-range program to help provide for the needs of the members of the tribes which owned it. He had an abiding faith in the good qualities of those tribal members, too. Given a chance to learn, and to do, he knew each Indian generation could provide for itself better than the previous one.

He had an abiding faith in education. He graduated from college at the age of 40, almost twice the age of the average fellow member of the University of Oregon class of 1958. He was a leader in seeing to it the local tribes provided higher education opportunities for their younger members, and in urging younger members to take advantage of the opportunities.

There are various ways of exerting leadership. Vern Jackson was a quiet leader. He was a man of intense personal nervous energy, which reflected itself in his health problems. Unlike many of like temperament he managed to avoid serious controversy himself, and led his tribe along the same road.

That isn't to say he was a patsy, as those who had business dealings with him can testify. He wanted what he thought was fair for the tribe. He was willing to give and take, so long as he was convinced the essential element of fairness to his people was retained.

That sounds like enough of a job to keep

one man busy. And it was. But Vernon Jackson managed to find time in a heavy schedule to serve his Central Oregon community and his state and nation, whenever he was asked and whenever he thought he could be of value. His advice and counsel was sought, too, by other Indian groups and government agencies involved in Indian affairs. He gave it freely; most often it was pretty darned good advice.

He was a devoted son, husband, father, and brother to his own family. He was a good friend of many in this area, Indians and non-Indians alike.

#### ARMY MEDICAL ADVISER WARNS AGAINST CHANGING MARIJUANA LAWS

#### HON. WILLIAM E. MINSHALL

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 26, 1970

Mr. MINSHALL. Mr. Speaker, on December 10, I took the floor to call for annual reports on research developments regarding health consequences of the use of marijuana, patterned along the lines of the comprehensive report on cigarettes.

In introducing the implementing legislation, H.R. 15186, I urged that any changes contemplated in changing present laws dealing with marijuana be held in abeyance until we have a solid basis of scientific evidence which now is lacking.

Saturday's Washington Evening Star carried an excellent letter to the editor from Col. John J. Kovaric, Army medical adviser, who served as commander of an evacuation hospital in Vietnam where numerous U.S. servicemen have been treated by a team of psychiatrists for drug addiction problems, including the use of marijuana.

Colonel Kovaric's comments are to the point and I urge those who would let down the bars on the sale and use of marijuana to give his firsthand experience their very thoughtful consideration. The letter follows:

[From the Washington Evening Star, Jan. 24, 1970]

#### MARIJUANA

SIR: The general subject of marijuana has been so clouded by theorists, pseudo-scientists and politicians that it is little wonder so few seem to understand its horror. As commander of a very busy evacuation hospital that also had the largest psychiatric team in Vietnam, I had a year to see and discuss drug problems frequently and extensively.

Marijuana is readily available to anyone at many Vietnamese roadside stands. Because of its accessibility, it is a great credit to the strength of character and maturity of the average GI that its use—either on a one time experimental or on a constant basis—is as low as it is. The most common guess is 20 to 30 percent. Men who had taken marijuana and were brought to our hospital, either for outpatient consultation or hospitalization, had recognized behavioral defects and were usually psychotic-like in nature. That is, they either had feelings of persecution, delusions of grandeur, were abnormally euphoric and, in some cases, had become physically unmanageable, had convulsions, or had even committed murder.



COMPARISON WITH ALCOHOL INVALID

This is certainly no justification for the use of alcohol, but there are two common errors most people make when they compare marijuana with alcohol. First, alcohol inhibit's one's coordination. Not many people can fight well, drive a car well, or fire a weapon accurately when intoxicated. And while tongues may be loosened, most people under the influence of alcohol have fairly good judgment. Marijuana on the other hand has the opposite effect. One's judgment is completely destroyed while his physical control is left intact. Our patients realized this because they would not smoke "pot" while on patrol for fear of being injured in a defenseless state. It also accounts for a man being able to return to his billet, load his weapon and return to his friends and murder them while under the influence of marijuana and "doing his own thing."

The second important difference is that of dosage. Social drinkers know their limit or at least are aware of the effects of one, two or three drinks. What is also important is that these effects are repeatedly consistent. Marijuana has no consistency. Even if the dose in cigarettes could be controlled, the repeated same dose will not have the same effect in the same person. Although an individual's attitude and disposition seems to have an effect on the drug's control of his mind for a time, no one can predict the outcome of a "trip." It is surprising that little has been written about a delayed action LSD-like phenomenon of marijuana. Periodically patients were seen in grossly psychotic states who had not taken a puff in a week! Perhaps this effect is seen when the marijuana used is more potent.

MORE POTENT THAN OURS

One feature that becomes apparent about oriental grown marijuana is that it is more potent than that procured in North America. This gave us all an indication of what the situation would soon be like in the United States if marijuana should ever become legalized, freely available, and then, naturally, more potent. In all probability, marijuana users have been saved from far worse fates simply because they have been using low dosages. And just what kind of dosage can we legislate to be morally and socially acceptable?

What can be said in the defense of a freedom that allows an individual to obtain and use dynamite at his own discretion? While scientific decisions are being made about the mental, physical, social and economic effects of various drugs, there is more than adequate evidence that marijuana is a drug to be condemned and controlled. If any drug in today's pharmacy had the effects and complications of marijuana it would immediately be banned and relegated to the fate of thalidomide. The cyclamates are only a potential hazard, yet their use has been suspended.

It is really germane to the problem whether or not the drug should be classified as addicting or habituating, whether immature personalities are more susceptible to its effects, whether the simultaneous use of other drugs have additive effects, or whether the use of marijuana leads to the use of stronger drugs?

I have yet to meet any physician from Vietnam who was responsible for taking care of marijuana patients, who did not decry the tendency of the uninformed to promote the use of it or to legalize its use. Because the punishments for the use of marijuana seem to be excessive, it is sheer lunacy to overreact by legalizing it in an attempt to eliminate a problem!

JOHN J. KOVARIC,  
Colonel, MC, U.S. Army, Medical Adviser,  
Office of Civil Defense.

CANNONS ON THE RIGHT,  
CANNONS ON THE LEFT

HON. WILLIAM LLOYD SCOTT

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 26, 1970

Mr. SCOTT. Mr. Speaker, we have seen in recent days many assessments by the news media of President Nixon's first year. One of the most discerning was written by James J. Kilpatrick, a distinguished Virginia newspaperman, and printed in Sunday's Washington Star. Mr. Kilpatrick thinks President Nixon has done a good job in his first year, an assessment with which I heartily agree. I believe other Members of the House will also find his remarks of interest and, therefore, it is set forth in full for the information of my colleagues:

CANNONS ON THE RIGHT, CANNONS ON  
THE LEFT

(By James J. Kilpatrick)

Poor old President Nixon! The fellow can do nothing right.

At the end of his first year in office, liberal critics last week dragged him rudely through the water jumps. Columnist Carl Rowan denounced him for his failure to seek rapport with the ghettos. Columnists Frank Mankiewicz and Tom Braden gave him hell for the Haynsworth nomination. Cartoonist Herb Block lumped him with rich lobbyists in a conspiracy to leave children in darkest ignorance.

All this was expected. But ah, the most unkindest cut of all, as Anthony said of Brutus came not from the liberal left; it came from the conservative right. Human Events, that Cerberus of the River Potomac, took a long cold look at Nixon after one year. Its conclusion: "Conservatives worried."

To be sure, the watchdog editors conceded, conservatives are not totally pessimistic. "Life in the United States appears better than when the President initially took up residence at 1600 Pennsylvania Avenue." Nixon's Vietnamization formula "has temporarily defused the war issue and with a bit of luck could extricate us from Viet Nam with honor." The campuses are quieter. The President is trying hard to achieve a balanced budget. Then came the inevitable but:

"When all this is said, however, there remains for most conservatives, including ourselves, a genuine unease about the Nixon administration."

The editors of Human Events, applying their litmus paper to the past twelve months, could find no conservative coloration. "Too frequently it seems as if the President has no real philosophy, that his entire goal is to tranquilize the electorate rather than to lead it in a certain direction." In such areas as defense, welfare, and school desegregation, the administration speaks in double tongues. Four years of such gyrations "could end up antagonizing almost everyone."

Well, I have my little differences with Mr. Nixon also. He has failed to provide new leadership in the State Department. He waffled on his poverty promises by extending the Office of Economic Opportunity. His dramatic plans for welfare reform would substitute leukemia for gangrene. He erred, in my own view, by proposing to throw good money after bad in the matter of the supersonic transport plane. He trespassed upon his own rules of strict construction by urging more funds to subsidize the arts.

Yet Mr. Nixon deserves better marks than

my brothers concede him. The trouble with us conservatives, after eight years in outer darkness, was that we expected the New Jerusalem. We supposed, even though we knew better, that the road from Camelot led straight to Levittown. If Mr. Nixon, in 12 months, had done no more than to appoint John Mitchell as attorney general, to name Warren Burger and now Harold Carswell to the high court, and to start unwinding the war in Vietnam, he should have our hosannas coming.

He has done more to delight the conservative eye. He has created an atmosphere—in the fad word, an ambience—of profound importance to this Republic. Gone are those sirens in the night that once aroused the insomniac eye. Gone are the beagles, held by their ears. Mr. Nixon has staked his claim on middle America, with all its goodness and all its dullness. Here he identifies. How did he spend his New Year's Day? Watching football on the tube.

Reserving the right to object, I will settle for this right now—the quieter voices, the lowered pitch, the good Republican roast beef. Nixon is no Goldwater, nor was he meant to be. He is steering a course modestly to the right of center. What else could we reasonably ask of the skipper? And if in 1970 he can make effective moves against crime and inflation, we will have sweet music. He's our piano player, boys. Let us knock him, if we must, very gently.

THE BRAVEST MAN IN MEXICO

HON. RICHARD T. HANNA

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, January 23, 1970

Mr. HANNA. Mr. Speaker, in our world full of human indifference, intolerance, and misunderstanding, rarely do the beautiful stories of love, compassion, and giving come to light, and never with the same sensationalism as the brutal. A truly magnificent story of human concern has recently been brought to my attention, and I would like to share it with you. The attached article appeared in the Garden Grove, Calif., Mail in December of 1969.

The story centers around a 5-year-old, Jorge Galan Lee, from Mexicali, Mexico. Last July, his make-believe Batman cape caught fire while he was playing, and he received severe burns over 90 percent of his body. For weeks, his life hung by a thread. Then his Aunt Conchita convinced the Mexicali Clinic of the Los Angeles Orthopedic Hospital to take him in.

But the clinic did much more than just take him in. They sent him to Los Angeles to the orthopedic hospital itself for the kind of care he needed—extensive plastic surgery. His dauntless Aunt Conchita took him there and sustained him with her love during the agony of many operations.

Jorge's story is indeed beautiful, and yet how many stories like it does orthopedic hospital have to tell every day? Such hospitals have staffs of some of the most selfless, dedicated people in our society. Our Los Angeles hospital in particular is bridging the human indifference gap abroad as well as at home.

We could have no better ambassadors of good will to our Mexican neighbors.

The city of Garden Grove has recognized the child's own gallantry by making him its honorary citizen. This California city has justly recognized outstanding courage, and has done so in a most appropriate way.

The article follows:

THE BRAVEST MAN IN MEXICO

(By Mel Kernahan)

I'm a statistic. You're a statistic. So's your neighbor; your kids. And we function 12 months a year as statistics, with all our needs, our crises and our hangups. And so do "they".

Jorge Galan Lee is a statistic. He lived four years as a member of the population of Mexicali, Baja California. He lived in America four months as a medical statistic. Now he's home in Mexicali, a population figure again.

Jorge, or George, is more than a statistic, as are you and I. George is a little boy. His eyes are enormous; brown. His features, well-proportioned—lips full and rosy—skin light brown, clear and soft.

I've seen his eyes storming with fury—his baby mouth shrieking obscenities in Spanish—and I've laughed with joy at the fight in him. I've seen his eyes empty and staring as a corpse, his lips and face white. I've felt his skin turn ice cold as he went into shock. And I've seen him moaning with frustration and his fingers jerking to scratch the healing transplants from his small body. I've heard him cry—I've heard him sing, laugh, curse and pray.

George became a medical statistic during a very bad month for medical-statistical causes. It was August, shortly after noon, as his aunt and a doctor delicately helped him to walk from a small plane on the Burbank airfield to my car. He had to walk. He couldn't lie down. He couldn't be carried. He couldn't be touched except from his buttocks to his feet and the front of his face.

He was a shocking sight. From neck to waist he was plastered with gauze, oozing with blood and discharge; held in place, not by tape, but by pus. His face was a study in pain, fury and stoicism. He complained little.

Gingerly, he sat in the front of my VW. A friend drove. His aunt sat on the edge of the back seat steadying the child, holding firmly to places on his arms where he could bear to be touched. A human seat belt, she rode with him to Los Angeles, through heavy freeway traffic—keeping him in place so his back would not touch the seat but he wouldn't be pitched against the windshield in case of sudden stops.

Until that day, none of us Americans involved were aware of Orthopaedic Hospital or of its Mexicali clinic. Who is? The doctors and nurses involved are working too hard to perform herculean tasks of healing to bother with the frou frou of publicity.

I learned this. As I am cursing modern-day doctors for refusing to make a house call or for being unavailable on Wednesdays or weekends except for extreme emergencies—many of them are involved with their own time and money in projects of this sort—or are staggering under unbelievable patient loads in hospitals.

Only recently I discovered the plastic surgeon who saved George's life, and whom I have never met, took one look at the child and cancelled a European vacation to perform the many operations on this tiny Mexican stranger whose family can pay him nothing.

This is what happened to George. It could have been my child. It could have been yours.

George, and his brother, Bebo, live with their mother, Miki in a brave shiny small house which fronts on an alley in Mexicali. Their father deserted them. Bebo is two—

George is four. Their mother works. Jobs are scarce. She was a probationary employee. There are more people than jobs. She couldn't miss a day without losing her job—which has since become permanent. Her pay is meager.

Miki's older sister, Concepcion Lee-Reynaga, was an acquaintance of my husband's and mine. She is now our sister. When we first met Concepcion, or Conchita, she was working for the tourist bureau in Tijuana as a secretary. I never spoke to her very much because she awed me. Her appearance was so chic, exotic and efficient, I always felt like an \* \* \* frump. Her English was fluent, but she was always busy and remote.

One day in July, 1969, the sitter was late in Mexicali. Miki had no choice but to have faith and rush to work. Conchita was working in Tijuana, two hours away by car. She was the major source of support for her younger sister and her two nephews.

While waiting for the sitter, George decided to assume his other identity—Batman. He tied a cleaners' bag around his neck and assigned roles to the rest of the children.

No one knows how it happened. Even George doesn't know—or has forgotten through the shock and illness of the ensuing months. In a flash, his "cape" was blazing. Before the fire could be extinguished, he was burned over 90 per cent of his torso.

For three weeks, he lay in a hospital in Mexicali. Doctors gave up hope. Conchita quit her job in Tijuana so Miki could continue working. There is a scarcity of nurses in Mexico. Nursing, even in a hospital, becomes a do-it-yourself project. Conchita was "it." Miki relieved her for a few hours each evening, but someone had to get sleep and continue working.

George's heart stopped three times. Conchita grows almost incoherent in describing those terrible weeks. The child was given heart massage and the best of the treatment available—but there are so many sick—and so few to care for them. His kidneys failed for 72 hours. Somehow, he rallied and fought on.

Conchita learned of the Orthopaedic Hospital—Mexicali clinic program and flung herself into a competitive battle of urgency for attention. She won the first round.

Alone, penniless and determined, she went with her nephew on the small plane to the lonely chaos of Los Angeles. Before leaving, she called an acquaintance of ours in Sacramento. He dropped his job and flew to Burbank, first calling me to meet them at the airport. After the first grueling 24-hours, he had to return to work. We took over.

I tried to explain the predicament to co-workers in order to get some time off. I gave up. "Are they members of your family?" "No."

"Are they close friends?" "No." "Then why?"

There was and is no answer. Motivation doesn't particularly concern me. I don't think it would concern many other people, confronted with similar circumstances with no one to pass the buck to. You look at the child. The child looks at you. He's mad as hell. He hurts. He stinks from the pus. He's scared. He tries to be a man about it. Then an involuntary cry of pain escape him of "tia" (aunt) and his huge eyes envelope Conchita as his only hope of relief. I was hooked. The cries of "tia" will haunt me for years, as they will probably haunt the hard working nurses at Orthopaedic.

One day he kissed me. I guess he kissed a few nurses too. Kisses have no language barrier.

George was in isolation most of the time. So was Conchita.

Can you imagine a 4-year-old in isolation? Can you imagine spending 12-14 hours a day with a 4-year-old in isolation?

Once you're in, you're in. There's a bathroom and a TV. If you smoke, you can't. Oxygen is highly inflammable. You wear a white gown and sometimes a mask. You can't

read a book or write a letter. There isn't anything but a world of brink-of-death-sick-child—and then irritable recuperating child—and pain, stench, itching, loneliness—turning yourself inside out to amuse, to distract, to be there with the bedpan and the paper—to pray and to guide a child's prayers—to remind him of thanking God for the nurses, the doctors, his mother, his brother, his life and his friends.

We managed to keep Conchita modestly in a small apartment across the street from the hospital so she could be with him nearly every waking hour. There was his language barrier—his unceasing needs—for the security of love as well as physical care. She never wavered.

I never saw much of Orthopaedic except the children's floor. Sometimes I waited for Conchita while she prayed special personal prayers with George. I sat with mothers and fathers visiting their children. I met children flown in from Mexicali. You could always tell the new ones. They were terrified. Some would refuse to speak at all—even in Spanish. Financially, there was no way for their families to be with them. They didn't speak English. I would watch them slowly begin to bloom—to smile—to try a few words—or a shy wave of bye-bye.

I dodged American children of all colors, racing wheelchairs down the corridor, shooting with their fingers at each other—legs or arms encased in plaster. I giggled with nurses when a blonde minx of 11-months, waiting for an operation to straighten her feet, insisted on calling the nurse, who was holding her while making out reports, "daddy". The nurse was black. She laughed hardest of all.

As Fall started, some of the nurses I had grown used to disappeared. One of my favorites, a slender Scandinavian girl, explained that many of them, including herself, were student nurses. She as well as others returned often to visit George as well as other patients on their own time.

Orthopaedic Hospital is a strange oasis. It blooms at night like a great shining self-contained city of hope in a sewer. I've never been afraid to walk anywhere alone at night. I learned fear of that simple exercise during those months. So did Conchita. Before she returned with George to Mexicali on Dec. 7, six people were stabbed while returning from Mass at 5 p.m. across the street from the hospital—her landlady's car was stolen the night before Thanksgiving from the parking lot (for the second time); a guard was beaten up outside of Conchita's window; a kitchen worker on her way to work at dawn was raped. Conchita was warned not to cross the street, which is little more than a narrow alley to the hospital, without a guard. I grocery-shopped with her many evenings in the nearest supermarket. Prices were appalling. Someone tried to run me down in the parking lot. People in the market were rude and hostile, employees and shoppers alike. Beggars hung around by the bulletin board. It was another world.

I watched Conchita change from the ultra-sophisticated Mexican lady she is, into a physical peasant. She couldn't keep herself up. Her glossy black hair, usually worn in an elaborate bun or twist, hung in two braids, interwoven with bright yarns.

She borrowed a molcahete from one of the Mexican-American nurses so she could grind and blend spices, onions, garlic, tomatillos and mysterious things. To George's stomach, the well-balanced American food was unpalatable. The hospital permitted her to cook for him sometimes—and eventually for other Mexican child patients. They wanted—needed—beans, tortillas—food they were used to, for morale, if for nothing else.

Who and what is Conchita, the aunt of George?

She, her sister, Miki, a brother, and siblings now dead, was born of a marriage between a Mexican woman and a Chinese. While she



was very young, her father moved the family to China. Shortly after the move, the Japanese-Chinese war broke out. Her father was killed. Her little brother sat beside the dead body of their mother for 48 hours, alone. She died of the plague.

Conchita, the eldest, became head of the family. She was under 12. Her brother, through shock, lost his power to speak. He regained it a couple of years later while he was in a church boarding school. Japanese soldiers machine-gunned everyone in sight. He was the only survivor. He lived in hiding in a turkey coop for several days. He regained his power of speech, but his mind went awry. He lives now in an institution in Hermosillo.

Miki was the only other child besides Conchita to survive in that ill-starred family. Conchita scrambled for work. No odd job was too menial. For two years, each day ended for her in the Mexican embassy. Daily, the child begged the same plea—passage for herself, her younger brother and sister to their native Mexico. Finally she won the battle. Not yet 16, she mother-henned her young family from Shanghai to New York, then across the continent to Mexico.

To keep her family alive she worked at many jobs. At one time she was on the secretarial staff of a president of Mexico. She has been a "French" chanteuse in nightclubs—sold ads for newspapers, written, painted, scrounged, and scrambled from Mexico City to Baja. She ran a ranch for two years, alone in the mountains. She had to carry a gun in those days whenever she was alone. And she knew how to use it.

She had an unsuccessful marriage—a great stigma in Mexico for a lady. She speaks fluent French, Spanish, Chinese and English. Right now she's out of a job. She'll get one, as usual. Her goal is to make a secure home for herself, her brother, her sister, who also had an unfortunate marriage, and her two baby nephews—as long as there is breath in her body. She told me this with eyes flashing with determination.

Midnight on Sunday, Dec. 7, we reunited the little family in Mexicali. Before we left for Orange County the next morning, we took Conchita for breakfast.

A chic, almost stranger, met us at the door of the small house. She wore a stylish black suit—her hair was again coiffed and immaculate—her makeup precise. We breakfasted in one of Mexicali's most elegant spots. She greeted old friends graciously during the meal as though there had been no time lapse. Afterwards, we linked arms and walked down the Sunday streets, looking about in the market. George, with new skin growing on his now 36-pound body, romped at home with his mother, brother and new puppies.

More surgery will have to be done on George in a few months. Part of his head was burned, which escaped notice for awhile because of his thick dark hair, which has now all been shaved off. Physical therapy is required.

One reason Orthopaedic's program is relatively small and unpublicized is because it is so thorough. Each case is scrupulously followed up with treatments and therapy. It's more than a band-aid and a pat on the bottom.

Children are flown back again and again when necessary. They are also treated in the clinic in Mexicali weekends, by volunteers who fly down from Los Angeles.

The problems are enormous. The number of sick and suffering children is inconceivable. They can't cure them all. But some are better than none, and a complete job is better than half a job.

There just isn't time for Christmas and Thanksgiving bombardments of pleas for assistance. There isn't much money for public relations. Everyone involved is too involved sometimes to remember to ask for help. Especially in July and March and all those

other odd months. Doctors and staff often just kick in with their own funds and do whatever they can—even if it's only for a few hundred children a year.

That's true of most causes. And that's why there's a United Fund. For statistics like George. Who happen in July.

## DECENT AMERICANS LEAVE SOCIALIST DOMINATED SCHOOLS

HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 26, 1970

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, yesterday it was my privilege to speak at the dedication of the Oak Forest Academy, in Amite, La. The history of the foundation of this independent school in my district is indicative of the determination of decent Americans not to permit their children to become the victims of the insane power plays of the left wing extremists.

In the early months of 1969, a small group of concerned parents and educators met in Amite to discuss the possibility of establishing an independent school for the children of this area. From this, and meetings which followed, developed the Amite Independent School Corp. Officers of the corporation were duly elected on June 13, 1969, and the building itself was begun in August.

School began with registration day on September 17, 1969, with 193 enrolled students and a faculty of nine teachers.

Mr. Speaker, the deliberate and willful destruction of the public schools of the South has probably now been accomplished. The people will continue to protect their children from the physical, mental and moral dangers to which they have been unlawfully and criminally exposed by subversives, ambitious bureaucrats, political demagogues, and spineless nincompoops masquerading as U.S. judges. The people will continue to follow the American tradition on which this Nation was built, and see to the decent education of their children as best they can, with what they have.

And the decent people—the ones who work, fight our wars and pay our taxes—will be quite reluctant to impose more and more taxes on themselves, at all levels, to pay for the maintenance and operation of schools useless to them.

And, finally, these same decent people are awakening to the dishonest way in which they have been used, and will exact their proper redress at the polls.

It is appropriate to point out again, as I have done on numerous occasions, that what is occurring to our schools in the South, in the name of "the law of the land" is not only in error but is in open and flagrant defiance of the true law of the land—the constitutionally enacted statutes of the Congress. The Civil Rights Act of 1964 specifically forbids the busing of pupils to overcome so-called "racial imbalance" and the appropriation under which the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, is currently operating expressly forbids

the expenditure of any funds for either the busing of pupils or the assignment of pupils contrary to the desires of their parents for the purpose of overcoming the same so-called "racial imbalance."

The people have enough sense that they cannot be sold on the idea that the Constitution can forbid school assignment by race in 1954 and then require it in 1970.

And, more important, they know from firsthand practical experience that the wrecks left of our public schools are no place to educate children, and they are doing whatever is necessary to remove their children from these dangers.

Mr. Speaker, the result predicted by honest and concerned Americans when the public schools of the District of Columbia were taken out of the hands of the educators, turned over to the charlatans and politicians, and totally integrated beginning in 1954 has now come to pass.

These schools are today 94 percent Negro, and the resulting migration of people from the District of Columbia has left the population of the city now 74 percent Negro.

Murder, rape, and armed robbery take place in the schools during classes; hard narcotics and marijuana are peddled there; vandalism claims windows faster than crews can replace them; police officers and "monitors" by the hundreds patrol the corridors; despairing principals and teachers point out the impossibility of teaching any child anything in such an environment; and decent parents of both races continue to remove their children from such schools.

And this House sits idly by as U.S. marshals, operating under totally illegal orders of a district judge, take a 14-year-old boy in custody in Oklahoma so that he can be forced by the judge, at the instance of the HEW bureaucracy, to do exactly what the law forbids—attend a school contrary to the wishes of his parents to overcome what the eggheads deem to be a "racially imbalanced" situation.

Under unanimous consent, I submit pertinent clippings from current newspapers for inclusion in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, as follows:

[From the Washington (D.C.) Evening Star, Feb. 12, 1969]

### SCHOOL DESEGREGATION FUNDS

(By David Lawrence)

The American people have been reading about threats to cut off federal funds from schools which allegedly practice racial discrimination. Few citizens know about the subterfuges and distortions of the law which have been used in the last 4½ years as a form of blackmail by federal agencies in order to secure what is termed "compliance" with so-called "standards" of desegregation.

But what does the "law of the land" actually say? The Congress of the United States, on Oct. 11, 1968, passed an appropriations bill for the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, which declares:

"No part of the funds contained in this act may be used to force busing of students, abolishment of any school, or to force any student attending any elementary or secondary school to attend a particular school against the choice of his or her parents or parent in order to overcome racial imbalance.

"No part of the funds contained in this

act shall be used to force busing of students, the abolishment of any school or the attendance of students at a particular school in order to overcome racial imbalance as a condition precedent to obtaining federal funds otherwise available to any state, school district, or school."

The Supreme Court of the United States in May 1954 ruled that "segregation in public education" violates "equal protection of the law" and is thus unconstitutional. It was not until the enactment of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 that Congress stepped in to apply controls to education in the schools of the various states. This statute, in effect, distinguishes between ending segregation through assignment of students without regard to race and any attempts to bring about artificial integration. It says:

"Desegregation shall not mean the assignment of students to public schools in order to overcome racial imbalance. . . .

"Nothing herein shall empower any official or court of the United States to issue any order seeking to achieve a racial balance in any school by requiring the transportation of pupils or students from one school to another or one school district to another in order to achieve such racial balance."

Nevertheless, under the Johnson administration, the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare not only set up quotas to define what was required to achieve "desegregation" but also threatened to withhold federal money unless progress was made toward the attainment of these percentages. The department later claimed that its actions were not based on "quotas," but the effect was virtually the same. Under the Nixon administration, the department is reviewing past practices, and indications are that negotiations for a settlement in each case will be sought before funds are withheld. But it isn't clear yet whether the department is going to substitute for the abandoned "guidelines" any definition of what constitutes deliberate segregation.

A number of schools, particularly in the South, adopted "freedom of choice" plans, whereby parents were permitted to choose which schools within the district their children would attend. Many of these methods were accepted as providing a satisfactory means of ending discrimination, but others were held to have only the effect of "token" integration or the continuance of a two-school system, one for whites and one for Negroes. Some federal officials take the position that, because only a few Negroes "choose" to attend a predominantly white school or no whites choose to go to an all-Negro school, there is not a true "freedom of choice."

Certainly the federal government has a right to withhold funds if there are cases of intentional discrimination, but no authority is given to punish a school because of what a federal department may call "token" integration. There is no official definition which tells a school board when "token" integration gives way to a satisfactory "end of segregation."

Equally complex is the problem of assigning members of a school's faculty. Nowhere in the law is any authority given to the department of Health, Education, and Welfare to demand the presence of certain quotas of white teachers or Negro teachers in each public school. To threaten to withhold funds because of an "imbalance" in the faculty is just as illegal as an insistence upon the correction of "racial imbalance" among students.

[From the Manchester (N.H.) Union Leader, Jan. 20, 1970]

#### SOUTHERNERS PUT EDUCATION FIRST

At the top of our back page today is the story of Evangeline Academy, reprinted from the Shreveport Journal. This is an account of the brave struggle made by parents who

are determined that their children will get a good education.

After reading this, Northern readers will have some idea of why white parents in the South are willing to make such sacrifices for their children.

Most parents in the North have no concept of what parents of children in Southern schools are up against as a result of the arrogant and peremptory order of the United States Supreme Court to desegregate school systems immediately.

Suddenly these white parents are finding their school systems flooded with blacks who, through no fault of their own, are not up to the educational level of the white children. Whose fault this is, is not the question; the fact is, it is so.

So these parents of white children are discovering that the level of education in their schools will have to be brought down to the level of the blacks. Their children will thus be deprived of a good education.

They know also from long experience in the South, that the races do best when kept apart and that many unfortunate complications are avoided when they are educated separately.

Today the overwhelming sentiment in the South is that the blacks must be given just as good an education as the white children receive—with the same high quality school teachers and the same type facilities.

That the white people are willing to make great sacrifices for their children can be seen from the picture accompanying the editorial from the Shreveport Journal which appears at the top of our back page today. These parents are willing to accept inferior facilities such as the former country store, rather than risk the mis-education of their children.

Money is tight in the South and when families are willing to pay \$300 for their children's education under such circumstances (whereas they could get an education free from the public school system), you can be sure that these people really know what, how and why their children would suffer from such integration. Otherwise, they would never make such sacrifices.

These people would certainly rather have their children educated in nice buildings with all the necessary equipment than in a former country store, a night club, or a converted cattle auction barn. They are willing to spend \$100,000 for a new elementary school building, which will be ready soon.

As in the rest of the United States, these white parents are putting their children's good education first in the family budget.

In addition to the article at the top of our back page, be sure to read the story on the Ville Platte (La.) school which begins at the bottom of our front page today.

WILLIAM LOEB,  
Publisher.

[From the Manchester (N.H.) Union Leader, Jan. 20, 1970]

#### COURT RULING FORCES DRASTIC STEPS BY LOUISIANA PARENTS—THEY PAY \$300 PER PUPIL TO GET EDUCATION

A poor section of Louisiana is willing to pay \$300 apiece for their children to get a good education in a private academy rather than have them subjected to integrated public schools where it is necessary to slow down the teaching procedure. Following is an editorial from the Shreveport, La. Journal.

Loss of freedom-of-choice in public education has inspired the creation of a remarkable private school system in Evangeline Parish, Louisiana. Organizers and supporters of Evangeline Academy, the new institution in Ville Platte, have accomplished much in a few months.

The ruling of the U.S. Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals against freedom-of-choice last May 28 profoundly stirred sentiment in Louisiana's French-speaking parishes.

Denial of the right of parents and guardians to select the schools for children to attend seems in certain areas to have aroused stronger objections than did the original U.S. Supreme Court ruling against discrimination in public education facilities.

"The impetus of a common enemy—federal intervention—is our greatest asset," says the Rev. Melvin Plauche, a Baptist minister who initiated the drive for the academy and who serves as the school's president.

Backers and patrons of the academy, he observes, are of the opinion that if the federal government can force attendance at certain schools, then the government also can dictate instruction.

By no means is that an irrational view. Every year since 1954 public schools have been drawn closer and closer to a national system. Federal control over community-operated school systems has been increased through court orders, federal grants and the dictates of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare.

The U.S. Office of Education within that department favors national standards for elementary and secondary schools. If ever those standards are adopted—and conceivably they might be thrust on school districts someday by court edict—the government will be telling local schools what and how to teach.

Rev. Mr. Plauche insists that he is not a racist and that the academy was not established to evade integration of races. No blacks, he reports, have applied for admission to the school.

Of course, civil rights groups will claim that the academy is merely a device to preserve segregation, but the fact remains that this parish was willing to accept freedom-of-choice with provisions for integration.

#### BIG RESPONSE

Since last September when the minister began the appeal for funds the school has received some \$400,000 in gifts. At the first meeting of citizens \$88,000 was raised. This quick, big response is all the more impressive in view of the economy of the parish which is predominantly agricultural.

A family membership in the academy organization costs \$300. About 200 applications have been turned down for lack of space for children in the temporary classrooms.

Present enrollment at the academy includes some 2,400 students. The public schools, which now have an estimated enrollment of 2,483 whites and 3,211 negroes, have lost over 3,000 pupils to the academy and parochial schools this year.

If the decline becomes permanent, it might bring a loss in revenue to the public school system, and taxpayers might be less willing to vote bond issues for improvements.

Academy classes now are conducted in a night club, grocery store and a converted cattle auction barn. But a new \$100,000 elementary school building will be ready for occupancy soon.

#### FACULTY OF 74

The academy faculty consists of 74 teachers who are paid salaries comparable to those of the public schools.

An Associated Press account of the academy, prepared at the request of The Journal, has interested the American Broadcasting Co. television studios.

A televised report of the school will be shown nationally and that publicity should benefit the new institution, for there are large numbers of citizens throughout the country who are aghast at court rulings against freedom-of-choice.

Establishing a private school is a formidable undertaking. But Evangeline Academy's leaders and backers are dedicated to their task. With admirable spirit they labor for independence in education.



[From the Manchester (N.H.) Union Leader, Jan. 20, 1970]

EVANGELINE PARISH, LA., PRIVATE SCHOOL SYSTEM IS FLOURISHING  
(By Kent Zimmerman)

VILLE PLATTE, LA.—Desks sit idle in the public schools here while hundreds of white elementary school pupils pack their books daily to a nightclub, grocery store and other makeshift school buildings. High school students attend classes in a converted cattle auction barn.

It's part of the protest in Louisiana against federal court school desegregation orders. And in Evangeline Parish—French-speaking Cajun country—the protest is quiet but elaborate.

"The impetus of a common enemy—federal intervention—is our greatest asset," said the Rev. Mr. Melvin Plauche, president of the Evangeline Academy, a new private school system.

The Academy has collected some other assets during its short life—\$400,000 in donations, memberships and tuition and a student body of some 2,400.

Its backers say they are encouraged and a new \$100,000 elementary school for the academy will open by the first of the year. Then the temporary facilities—some of which double for other uses at night and on weekends—will be vacated by the youngsters.

The impetus for the private school system came May 28 from the 5th U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals which voided freedom-of-choice as an acceptable means of school desegregation and ordered implementation of workable plans in 37 Louisiana districts. Opponents contended free-choice was the most fair system of determining which school a student should attend.

"This is not segregation at all," Rev. Plauche said. "I'm not a racist, but nobody will believe that. Anybody who doesn't agree with the HEW (Department of Health, Education and Welfare) edict is labeled a racist." HEW recommended plans based on a combination of desegregation methods and most were accepted by district courts.

"We just decided we couldn't accept it and we didn't," he said. "Now we're paying the price."

"Our fight is against the federal government telling us what schools we have to attend. Next they'll say what has to be taught. And then they'll tell us where we have to work."

Asked if there were any negroes in the academy, Rev. Plauche replied: "We have no blacks. There may be some negroes, but I don't know. We don't give blood tests."

"No blacks have applied," he said. "If they do, I don't know what the board would do. It's their decision."

Rev. Plauche, a Baptist minister in this predominantly Catholic area, said the drive started late in September at a public meeting where he asked for donations to start a private school system. Just a week earlier, courts ordered Evangeline Parish to open its public schools—closed in protest against the 5th Circuit order—and even after the schools opened a white boycott was about 85 per cent effective.

On the first night, the group received \$88,000 in donations and memberships. Within a month, the total was up to \$300,000 and the academy had leased an auction barn for \$1 a year for the high school. Space in about a dozen other buildings was donated for elementary schools.

Rev. Plauche said there have been so many applications the board has had to turn down about 200 family memberships, which now sell for \$300.

"We voted the other night to accept 15 new families. We'll be at capacity when we move into the new building and we're already talking about adding 20 more classrooms," he said. "But we had to close the gates somewhere. We have to get a building program under way and then go from there."

The 600 high school students in the academy will continue to use the converted barn for classes, but the academy board is considering several possibilities for moving into more permanent quarters.

"It is a success story of people working together," Rev. Plauche said. "From a lazy, sleepy community, we've come alive. People have volunteered help to build the school and they have donated land and space and set up private school bus programs."

He said the academy drew its teachers—74 of them—from the ranks of the retired and those who quit in opposition to the court ruling. The pay is comparable to salaries in the public schools.

Rev. Plauche said the only state help the academy receives is textbooks, "the same as every other public, private or parochial school. We'd check very carefully before we'd accept anything else. We don't want any strings attached."

What of the future for the private school system?

Rev. Plauche said he was optimistic despite the fact that the parish is rural oriented and "one of the poorest in the state."

"How long will it last? As long as there's a need for quality education. Financially, we're in better shape than the public schools."

The public schools have lost some 3,000 pupils this fall to the academy and parochial schools, leaving an enrollment estimated at 2,843 whites and 3,211 negroes.

Nat Manuel, parish school superintendent, said the public school system has not felt any financial effects. But the State Department of Education is scheduled to revise its allocations—based on a variety of factors, basically enrollment—early next year.

He said the private schools are no threat to the public school system. "There will always be students who can't afford private schools," Manuel said.

MARSHAL BARS BOY FROM CLASSROOM

OKLAHOMA CITY.—Ray York, 14, who wants to attend his neighborhood school instead of his assigned one, spent Monday in U.S. marshal's office instead of the classroom.

And the marshal's office has a court order to place York in custody every school day until he agrees to attend Harding Junior High.

Ray York was taken into custody by U.S. Deputy Marshal Richard F. Moerck when he arrived at Taft Junior High School, his neighborhood school.

A court order—effective Monday—prohibits Ray from attending Taft and orders him to start attending Harding provided he wishes to remain in public schools. U.S. Dist Court Judge Luther Bohanon issued the order last week, saying Ray's attendance at Taft was disrupting efforts to integrate Oklahoma City schools.

The confrontation Monday took place before about 25 supporters and newsmen in 9-degree weather and was without incident.

CROWD SHOUTS

"Son, you'll have to go with me," Moerck told Ray as the youngster and his mother, Mrs. Raymond York, approached the school. The crowd began to shout, "What's he charged with? What's the boy charged with?" as the marshal and the boy walked away.

Ray was taken to the marshal's office, where he spent the day reading magazines and drinking hot chocolate. Bohanon had ordered the youth held until the end of the school day each day he shows up at Taft. He was to be released to his parents custody at the close of each school day.

"They'd just better bring him back the way they took him," Mrs. York said after her son was taken into custody. "I don't like the way he was pulled from me. I had wanted a last word with him and they just pulled him on away."

The marshal's office said Ray had not been

arrested, that he was merely taken into custody. Asked the difference, a spokesman said: "Technically, there isn't any."

Mrs. York said she asked the marshal if he was arresting her and "he said no, he was not arresting me but he was going to take my child."

"He volunteered to let me go baby sit but little do any of you realize, I have two other children I have to take care of and I am fighting for them and for the rest of the children in Oklahoma City."

"I'd like to scream," she said. "I'd like to cry. Those criminals trying to stop a little boy from getting an education."

Asked if another attempt would be made Tuesday to take Ray to Taft, she replied, "I don't think it would do much good. But never never will he go to Harding."

Mrs. York said she would keep Ray home for the rest of the week.

She reaffirmed her intention to "fight this all the way to the Supreme Court."

The current dispute revolves around new boundary lines approved by Bohanon as a temporary expedient to further integration of Oklahoma City schools.

The Yorks live in the former Taft attendance district, but their area was assigned to Harding under the boundary changes.

Ray enrolled in Taft last September, using the address of a family friend as his home address. Since the assumed address was discovered, he has been attending classes without authorization from school officials.

A NEWS RELEASE FROM THE AMERICAN PARTY CENTRAL COMMITTEE, JANUARY 21, 1970

The following statement by the American Party Central Committee has been endorsed by Central Committee members from the 4th, 5th, and 6th districts:

Where are the Republicans and Democrats elected by the people of Oklahoma? Where are the members of Congress—the lawmaking body which passed the legislation specifically promising that desegregation does not mean the assignment of pupils to schools, nor the busing of children from their neighborhood schools to other schools to achieve racial balance.

Our elected Republicans and Democrats in Congress and our Republican Governor have allowed a Federal Judge to override the laws passed by Congress without a word of protest. They have turned their backs while a court order handed down by the Federal Judge has resulted in the arrest of 14-year-old Raymond York and the threatened arrest of his parents. The Judge said "They are not privileged." We know they aren't privileged—they are persecuted for insisting on sending their child to the school he had been attending and was supposed to attend, according to established law, until the Judge decided to force them to do what is specifically not allowed in the laws passed by Congress.

Many other parents have permitted their children to be herded around like sheep or have evaded the court orders by moving, by using addresses of relatives or friends or by transferring their children to other school districts or to private schools. The Yorks have decided to stand on their Constitutional rights and the law instead of running away.

All decent people cringed with shame as the orders of the tyrant judge were carried out by the U.S. Marshall on Monday, January 19. The crowd of brainwashed Okies who watched with apathetic idiot-like curiosity the arrest of a 14-year-old boy to punish his parents for resisting tyranny included school administrators, teachers, clergy and representatives of the local and national news media. That evening the national TV networks showed the arrest of Raymond York by the U.S. Marshall in an atmosphere reminiscent of a Roman Holiday with reporters from national and local news media jostling each other to take pictures and to ask superficial and stupid questions of Raymond and

Mrs. York. Only a few other children were shown supporting Raymond. Is this a Children's Crusade?

After the news reports, there was silence. Not one Government leader, not one Senator, not one Congressman, not one lawyer (not even the ACLU), not one teacher, not one pastor, not one Church, not one Chamber of Commerce, not one Service Club, not one newspaper, not one editor, not one radio station, not one TV station voiced a protest to the arrest of a 14-year old boy for attending his neighborhood school. The famous statue in Ponca City of The Pioneer Woman (with her son) is nameless no longer. It is Mrs. York and her son Raymond. Isn't it ironic that Okies don't even recognize the Pioneer Woman when they see her? Is it fear or stupidity which silences political and civic leaders and news editors? Is it a love of violence, a fear of freedom or the desire of an end by any means?

Meanwhile, all of our children are being sacrificed to experiments in social planning by bureaucrats, inspired by "change agents" and supported by politicians—elected by us. Neither the Republicans nor the Democrats care about the people who elected them, the Constitution they are sworn to uphold, the laws enacted by Congress—except those raising their salaries—nor the well-being of the United States of America.

"Don't rock the boat." is their motto—while the Ship of State with all its passengers slowly sinks into a sea of lawlessness, and chaos and the scavengers patiently wait to divide the spoils.

We of the American Party challenge the leadership of the Republican and Democrat parties to shape up before it is too late and demand that those elected under their banners remember that they are the servants of the people and not their masters. Members of Congress and Senators must see to it that appointed judges do not violate the law with impunity nor persecute those who are innocent of wrong-doing. This country was not founded on one-man rule by an appointed judge nor any other would-be dictator.

"What are you going to do about Raymond York and all of the other children being sacrificed to a power-mad minority?" This is the question we want answered by all of the elected Republicans and Democrats. We want the answer now.

[From the Russell Springs (Ky.) Times Journal, Dec. 24, 1969]

#### WHAT IS THE ANSWER?

(By Henry E. Garrett, Ph. D., Professor Emeritus, Psychology, Columbia University, Past President, American Psychological Association)

*Q. Dr. Garrett, I recently read that a HEW official had condemned independent schools. He said they taught contempt for both the Constitution and the Bill of Rights, and inculcated prejudice. What is your opinion?*

*A. I saw that. And I can tell you that that official was wrong on all counts. He was the typical outburst of the frenetic liberal who is more interested in emotional than in logical remarks. Neither the Constitution nor the Bill of Rights has anything to say regarding school mixing of blacks and whites. We have ample evidence, now, that it harms the education of both. Should we destroy the public schools to please the left-wing extremists? That is what is occurring, thanks to their policy of race mixing which, in itself, is an abnegation of all the Constitution stands for.*

[From the Washington Post, Jan. 23, 1970]

#### PTA CONGRESS ENDORSES POLICE IN DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA SCHOOLS

The D.C. Congress of Parent-Teacher Associations has endorsed keeping policemen in city schools until "suitable alternatives . . . are implemented."

In a telegram to Mayor Walter E. Washington, the congress of 15 individual school PTAs also cautioned against placing untrained "community aides" into the schools too quickly.

Mayor Washington stationed police at all 46 junior and senior high schools in the city after the fatal shooting of a student at Hine Junior High on Jan. 5. He also authorized the hiring of 80 "community aides" to help patrol school halls.

Acting School Supt. Benjamin J. Henley suggested hiring 497 "community aides," each with an annual salary of \$5,900.

But the PTA congress cautioned against "crash programs." It urged that there be "proper investigation and training" of the aides before they are placed in the schools.

The telegram was sent by the PTA's governing board of managers. Local PTA chapters have a total membership of about 45,000.

[From the Washington Post, Jan. 25, 1970]

#### MORE NEGROES TURN TO PRIVATE SCHOOLING

(By Lawrence Feinberg)

Negro parents, dissatisfied with the Washington public school system, are sending their children to expensive private schools in sharply increasing numbers.

The total in such private schools is still small—2,386 black youngsters—compared to 140,667 Negroes in city public schools. But the figure has increased by more than 50 per cent in the past two years, according to the D.C. schools attendance office.

The exodus has included the children of city leaders—among them City Council Vice Chairman Sterling Tucker and school board member Julius Hobson.

It also includes the children of public school teachers and middle-income government workers, many of whom take on heavy debts and extra jobs to pay private school fees.

In addition, scholarship programs have expanded to bring into the private schools the brightest students from poor Negro families, thus further depleting the number of talented youngsters in Washington's public schools.

"Everybody wants to give their children the best education they can wherever they can," said Tucker, who has a daughter in second grade at Sidwell Friends. "I can't solve all the problems of public education, and while I'm trying to solve them I'll do the best I can for my own children."

The same point is made by Percy Ellis, principal of Shaw Junior High School, 7th Street and Rhode Island Avenue NW, whose 12-year-old daughter attends National Cathedral School for Girls.

"For my daughter I want the best education she can get," Ellis said. "At Shaw we try to give the children the best education we can give them."

Because of the District of Columbia's unique status, its school system carries out the functions of a state education department, and keeps attendance statistics on D.C. residents in both public and private schools.

According to the attendance report, the number of Washington Negroes in private schools in the city and out-of-town climbed from 1,542 in the 1967-68 school year to 2,386 this fall.

At private schools within the District—including schools run by Catholic religious orders—Negro enrollment increased from 982 to 1512 in the two-year period.

Washington Negro children at out-of-town schools—both in the suburbs and in boarding schools farther away—rose from 560 to 874.

These figures do not include parochial schools operated by Catholic parishes in Washington.

In contrast to the private, many of them expensive schools, Catholic parochial schools generally are not selective, charge low fees and draw heavily on their neighborhoods.

They have been forced to curtail expansion because of severe financial problems.

#### RATIO IS THREE TO ONE

Even so, they continue to have about three times as many Negro youngsters as the other private schools. But their Negro enrollment this fall—6,806—was only 132 more than it was two years ago.

One other nonpublic school listed separately in the attendance office report is the Black Muslim academy at 1519 4th St. N.W. It has 205 Washington students, this year all black, compared to 137 last year and 100 students two years ago.

Enrollment in Washington's public schools this October was 149,116 students, including only 8,449 whites (about 6 percent). The number of Washington white children in nonpublic schools—both private and parochial—is 8,272.

Most of the reasons given by black parents in interviews for sending their children to private school are similar to reasons given by whites.

#### GETTING MORE DIFFICULT

"Our public schools have deteriorated to the point where it is very hard to get a real education," said Lucille Johnson, who has a daughter at National Cathedral School for Girls.

Mrs. Johnson, a former public school teacher and administrator who now is an educational consultant, added: "When you think of the interruptions, the overcrowding, and the disruptive elements, you know the students in public schools just aren't getting much education today."

Dorothy Fax, wife of a Howard University music professor, has a son at a boarding school near Boston. "The academic work is so superior in the private schools," she said. "We didn't see our son getting anywhere in public school, but he really began to make progress when he went to private school."

Many Negro parents interviewed also complain about poor discipline in the public schools and the lack of academic competition.

"Most of the kids just don't seem to care about their school-work," one father said, "and after a while the teachers don't seem to care either. I want my boy to be prepared for college."

Many parents added that they think their children have a better chance of getting into a good college if they go to a good preparatory school. Recently, however, prestige universities—under pressure to increase their black enrollments—have been aggressively recruiting students with even mediocre records in Washington public schools.

In some cases there is an element of snobbery and social climbing.

"There's a kind of social exposure you get in a private school, a finesse," one mother said. "There are social graces that you can't pick up in public schools where the atmosphere is so bad."

Other parents stoutly deny snobbery, but say they want to keep their children away from youngsters who act rough and speak coarsely.

"Yes, we're middle class," said a man who has had to borrow \$3,000 to send his son to private school. "We don't want him coming home speaking filth like some street boy."

Another reason given for sending children, particularly young ones, to private school is the length of the school day.

#### BABY-SITTING SERVICE

"For a lot of working mothers, the school is useful as a babysitting service," one said. "They pick the children up early in the morning, and by the time they get back home you're usually home from work. If they were in public school, you'd have to make arrangements for lunch and find somebody to keep them until you got home."

But the cost, which can reach \$1,200 a year even for first graders, seems often to outweigh the convenience.



A reporter met one woman who is driving a taxi to help pay private school tuition. Another woman works evenings as a clerk in a drug store, after typing eight hours in a government office.

"I'll make any sacrifice I have to," she said, "to get a good education for our son."

Several Negro parents said they are sending their children to private schools because they want them to be in integrated classes. This usually is impossible in the Washington school system where 94 per cent of the students are black.

Although the small number of Negroes going to private schools rose steadily in the early 1960s, it did not spurt until after 1967. Some of the parents involved believe the movement was speeded by Judge J. Skelly Wright's decree in the school desegregation suit brought by Hobson.

The decree abolished the track system, which had provided an "honors" curriculum for bright students. Parents whose children were being shifted back to regular classes often tried to get them into private schools so they could continue doing the advanced work they had been getting in the "honors" track.

Judge Wright also abolished the Washington school board's "open schools" policy that permitted parents who provided transportation themselves to enroll their children in any school with extra space. The policy was used by middle-class Negroes as well as whites to get children into Gordon and Deal junior high schools, Western Senior High and into the few mostly white elementary schools west of Rock Creek Park.

#### FELT THEY WERE FORCED

Rules adopted by the School Board after the Wright decree required all children, except some in Anacostia, to go to their neighborhood schools. Many middle-class black parents who never liked the schools in their neighborhoods now felt forced to send their children to private schools.

Public school officials, while acknowledging the school system's problems, believe many of the parents' fears and criticisms are exaggerated. In turn, they express the fear that there may be a proliferation of poorly run private schools. And indeed, there have been complaints from parents that a few of the private schools, where they are paying from \$1,000 to \$1,700 a year, have classes just as large as the public schools from which they withdrew their children.

Public school officials also point out that there is considerable variation among schools in any school system, and that some Washington schools, even in poor neighborhoods, have good records.

And, they add emphatically, there are outstanding students in the public schools.

One measure is the National Achievement Scholarship Program for Negro students, based on competitive nationwide exams taken by high school juniors.

The D.C. public schools had 79 semifinalists in the results announced this fall, including 21 from Coolidge High School, and 13 each from McKinley and Wilson. Private schools in the area had 26 semifinalists, even though they had only 2 per cent as many Negro high school students as the public schools.

The Catholic parochial high schools, which have about 4 per cent as many Negro students as the public schools, had 11 semifinalists.

Despite the recent increase in Negro enrollments, all of the expensive private schools are still predominantly white. Georgetown Day School, which has been integrated since it opened in 1945, is about one-third black, the highest proportion for any private school in the area.

#### ABOUT 8 PERCENT NEGRO

The three Episcopalian schools affiliated with the Washington National Cathedral were for whites only until the mid-1950s. One of

the first to break the color bar was Mayor Walter Washington's daughter, Bernetta. She graduated from the National Cathedral School for Girls in 1962, a classmate of Luci Johnson Nugent.

The two other Cathedral schools are St. Alban's for boys and Beauvoir, a coed nursery and early primary school. The three schools now have a Negro enrollment of about 8 per cent.

Sidwell Friends, one of the area's largest private schools with 936 students, had a Negro enrollment of less than 1 per cent six years ago. Now about 10 per cent of its students are Negro.

Even the exclusive Madeira School in Fairfax County, segregated until three years ago, now has 11 Negro girls among its 275 students.

One factor in opening the private schools to Negroes has been the Negro Student Fund, started in 1963 and financed heavily by the Ford Foundation.

This year the fund is giving \$88,000 in scholarships to 120 students at 26 private schools.

The schools are adding scholarship money of their own to the fund's contribution. The fund also helps Negro parents who can afford the fees to find a place in private schools for their youngsters.

A few of the parents said they are beginning to encounter criticism from some of their neighbors.

"They tell me, 'You're deserting your race, you're a traitor,'" one woman said. "You've got your kids out there with white's when they should be in black schools taking the knocks and bangs with the others."

Julius Hobson has a sharp answer to such criticism.

"With the D.C. schools the way they are," he said "you're crazy if you can take them out and don't. It's a disservice to the child."

Only a few Negro parents express the thought so strongly, but many more seem to share Hobson's loss of confidence in the public schools.

#### THE 1970'S: EDUCATION FOR WHAT?

##### HON. ROMAN C. PUCINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 26, 1970

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, during the recess of Congress the New York Times published a series of articles containing recommendations about the course of American education in the decade of the 1970's.

The General Subcommittee on Education which I serve as chairman, has been conducting hearings for the past several months to discuss what can reasonably be expected to be the needs of our elementary and secondary school system in this new decade and how we might make our national policy more responsive to those needs.

We have heard testimony from educators, parents, philosophers, and representatives of groups that wish to give new direction to our massive and frequently unwieldy educational system.

I have found no better description of our concern than that contained in an article by Fred M. Hechinger of the New York Times staff. His article highlights the difficult problems faced by teachers and students alike. I believe Mr. Hechinger's article shows, moreover, that we cannot wait until a student en-

ters college to suddenly become concerned with the relevance of his education. His college years must be part of a logical continuum from his earliest educational experiences and that, I hope, is what our hearings will serve to demonstrate.

Mr. Speaker, Mr. Hechinger's excellent statement follows:

#### THE 1970'S: EDUCATION FOR WHAT?

(By Fred M. Hechinger)

American education today is like a parent who, though unsure of the validity of his own values, knows that he is expected to transmit them to his children.

If the schools and colleges, torn by doubts about society's needs and goals, cannot do the job on the basis of any current consensus, who else has the authority and credibility? Who can determine what is relevant—what obsolete?

The education establishment, as much under a siege by its self-doubts as by its radical attackers, may just be entering an essential new stage. After two decades of preoccupation with the fruits and dilemmas of affluence, exploding knowledge and the triumphal march of science and technology, the "why" and "what for" of the human condition call out for answers.

By all past religious strictures, man is expected to be humble in his earthbound limitations. But science and a precision-engineered moon landing have raised doubts about the limits. No longer earthbound, man may find it harder to be humble in the knowledge that the sky is no longer the limit.

Having seen what intelligence, determination and money can accomplish, man will inevitably feel greater guilt over his failure to clear the slums, stop the wars, offer equality of the deprived, and make the commuter trains arrive on time.

In the onrushing of the tide, what should remain constant? If the teacher extols thrift, should he denounce the message, "Fly Now, Pay Later"? And, if he does, will he stand accused of subverting the system?

Having long been charged with helping the young discover their identity, education is no longer sure of its own.

The old approach to human values was simple. The American dream made every little boy potentially free and prosperous. It was easy to explain to children of immigrants who had escaped oppression. Such promise has quite another meaning for those who have not fled from injustice abroad, but are struggling to escape from it in their own country.

In an age that has made the impossible happen in space, that has made goods abundant, that has speeded up communications, that has given us television and the computer, the pressures not to postpone for anybody all the benefits of affluence, technology and inventiveness are irresistible. At the same time, however, affluence, material pursuits, technology, even science itself, are themselves being challenged in some sectors of society.

The schools are set adrift by this challenge to the old values. In the past, they relied on a unity of middle-class purpose; everybody wanted its benefits—to attain or keep them. Now the range of goals and demands is so wide as to seem often virtually to defy a shared system of values.

There are those poor—black and white—who want to climb the traditional ladder to the benefits of traditional civic virtue and privilege.

There are those poor—largely black—who, in anger, reject the dominant society and ask of it only that it pay reparations, and get out of the way.

There are the affluent young—mainly white—who no longer see any sense in climbing and who, possibly to pay for their favored

position, join the angry poor and reject the values of their past and their parents.

There are the children of the more precarious middle class who want to be the technicians and executives of modern society. They ask of the schools, as of society itself, everything that young people wanted before them.

This dilemma of how to teach, educate and bind together these diverse elements is compounded by the awesome problem of how to cope with huge masses of persons displaced in their own country—the pre-industrial poor in a post-industrial society.

Nothing is easily answered because nothing is certain.

#### A FEW ANOMALIES

The Supreme Court has ruled that desegregation is an affront to human rights and a violation of the Constitution. Yet, a key official in the Department of Justice expressed a lawyer's doubts whether the Court's opinion could be enforced.

On the other hand, black students are studying at the University of Mississippi Law School to become lawyers in support of their brothers' demands against the laws and mores of Mississippi.

Patriotism, it used to be assumed, is one of the schools' basic, noncontroversial lessons. But clearly today both those who pledge their lives to fight for their country and those who risk jail to help protest what they consider their country's unjust war see themselves as patriots.

Where salvation used to be sought primarily through religion, it is now pursued by many young people with equal certainty—often fanaticism—through communal psychiatric experiences or drugs. And those who believe the trend dangerous are, to its followers, the new inquisitors or heretics—the "pigs."

#### VOICES OF THE 1930'S

For the public schools these are difficult times. Even if they believed some of the more advanced, let alone revolutionary, values to be correct, it is virtually impossible for them to depart too far from the middle-of-the-road demands of established society. Those educational spokesmen in the 1930's who daringly urged the schools to help establish a new social order were haunted for decades and blacklisted as radical subverters of youth.

Yet, in the long run, they proved more right than wrong. The new social order did come—through the New Deal, a socially con-

scious Supreme Court that upheld civil liberties and a host of laws to extend civil rights, and the welfare state.

The answer is probably that the schools, though clearly not the agents of revolution, can best serve the country if they support and advance evolutionary change. Where they fail to do so—as they have in some communities and regions—they have reinforced those values that subsequently became responsible for social, cultural and economic backwardness and suffering.

The colleges and universities, too, have always been torn between the conflicting mission to conserve and to pioneer. In the first half of this century, they struggled hard to revive the concept of the Renaissance and to pull together the fragmented backgrounds and values of a frontier civilization that was running out of frontier.

But what was liberal education then seems to many illiberal and restrictive today. The villain now is "the system," even the system of liberal studies; the new Sturm und Drang is pushing back to the romantic individualism of doing One's Own Thing, and that allows for few required studies of ideas and values. It is not a rugged individualism but an emotional one, confined by the peer group and the commune.

The university today is torn between concern for its traditional academic mission of training the intellect, both in the abstract and as a pre-professional exercise, and another, more sentimental, therapeutic role.

#### THE FITLESS PENDULUM

The radicals consider the theoretical and detached scholars as "irrelevant" to the social and political crises; the scholars warn that the radicals are sowing seeds of an anti-intellectual activism that will destroy the university by politicizing it and ruin society by trying to cure its ills without skills, competence and workable philosophies.

Actually, the conflict is not new. The therapeutic, activist concept of education was deeply imbedded in John Dewey's stricture to teach "the whole child" and in his prescription of "learning by doing." Humane and effective education undoubtedly requires both the intellectual and the practical-sentimental approach.

The pity over the years has been the swinging of the pendulum from one extreme to the other.

Educational neglect and inefficiency have made the psychological as well as the aca-

demic remedial task the responsibility of higher education. The need is to put it back where it belongs.

Present conflicts—between hopes and fears—appear dominated by the drive for power and the demand for accountability, whether the scene is the black community's fight for school control in Ocean Hill-Brownsville or the students' demand for participation in the decisionmaking at Harvard or Berkeley. The trick is to make those accountable who also exercise the power, and not simply to parcel out power to the many different groups clamoring for it.

The greatest risk today is in polarization, on campus and off. Concern for humanity thrives best in a society that is not polarized. Human values become brutalized when people live under the pressure either of survival of the fittest or of confrontation.

The radical idiom's four-letter words are the dialectic of the barracks—a special irony when it is affected by those who claim to hate war. It is a device of dehumanization that ought to be eliminated in the 1970's.

Everywhere men are confronted by terrifying contrasts. Science has released undreamed-of energies and awesome power, and even the scientists themselves disagree whether this means greater security or fatal risk. In other ways, too, science and technology have imposed their own ambivalence—promise of liberation and fear of enslavement.

The contraceptive pill might free mankind of the horror of population out of control; but it also raises new questions of dehumanizing personal relations. Used mindlessly or selfishly, science and technology have already contaminated man's environment; but with proper support, they can also lift the present threat.

In the final analysis, the issue remains whether man can use and control his tools and institutions to prevent them from becoming instruments of dehumanization. This is the issue that restless youth has put to the present systems.

One basic question is why so many of the young rebels turn to the romantic failure of a Che Guevara or the repressive totalitarianism of Mao Tse-tung rather than to the values—social, moral, educational and political—of Thomas Jefferson, Abraham Lincoln, or Franklin D. Roosevelt.

This, in the end, is the question the schools and universities, the scientists and philosophers, must try to answer.

## SENATE—Tuesday, January 27, 1970

The Senate met at 10:30 o'clock a.m. and was called to order by the President pro tempore (Mr. RUSSELL).

The Chaplain, the Reverend Edward L. R. Elson, D.D., offered the following prayer:

Let us pray in the words of St. Francis of Assisi.

Lord, make us instruments of Thy peace; where there is hatred, let us sow love; where there is injury, pardon; where there is discord, union; where there is doubt, faith; where there is despair, hope; where there is darkness, light; where there is sadness, joy; for Thy mercy and for Thy truth's sake. Amen.

#### ORDER OF BUSINESS

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Under the previous order, the Chair now recognizes the distinguished Senator from

Louisiana (Mr. ELLENDER) for a period not to exceed an hour and a half.

The senior Senator from Louisiana. Mr. ELLENDER. Mr. President, I yield to the distinguished Senator from Montana.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Senator from Montana.

#### THE JOURNAL

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the reading of the Journal of the proceedings of Monday, January 26, 1970, be dispensed with.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

#### ORDER OF BUSINESS

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I understand that a unanimous-consent request has been granted to limit state-

ments to 3 minutes with relation to routine morning business and that the period for the transaction of routine morning business is not to exceed 30 minutes.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Chair advises the Senator from Montana that that is correct. At the conclusion of the remarks of the Senator from Louisiana, morning business will be in order.

#### COMMITTEE MEETINGS DURING SENATE SESSION

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that all committees be authorized to meet during the session of the Senate today.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

#### ATTENDANCE OF A SENATOR

Hon. ERNEST F. HOLLINGS, a Senator from the State of South Carolina,