

trade in textile articles and articles of leather footwear, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. PATMAN (for himself and Mr. ELBERG):

H.R. 17588. A bill to increase the availability of mortgage credit for the financing of urgently needed housing, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

By Mr. PATMAN (for himself and Mr. FRASER):

H.R. 17589. A bill to increase the availability of mortgage credit for the financing of urgently needed housing, and for other

purposes; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

By Mr. WOLFF:

H.R. 17590. A bill to provide for a study of the feasibility of the establishment of a quasi-public corporation for oceanographic research and development; to the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

By Mr. RIEGLE (for himself, Mr. McCLOSKEY, Mr. BINGHAM, Mr. BOLAND, Mr. BROWN of California, Mrs. CHISHOLM, Mr. CLAY, Mr. ELBERG, Mr. FARSTEIN, Mr. HAWKINS, Mr. HORTON, Mr. KASTENMEIER, Mr. KYROS, Mr. PODELL, Mr. RYAN, Mr. SCHEUER,

Mr. SHIPLEY, Mr. STOKES, and Mr. VANK):

H. Res. 1003. Resolution to set an expenditure limitation on the American military effort in Southeast Asia; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

#### MEMORIALS

Under clause 4 of rule XXII,

380. The SPEAKER presented a memorial of the House of Representatives of the State of Hawaii, relative to block education grants from the Federal Government, which was referred to the Committee on Education and Labor.

#### EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

#### SAN GABRIEL VALLEY STUDENTS CRUSADE FOR CLEAN ENVIRONMENT

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

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 11, 1970

Mr. BROWN of California. Mr. Speaker, it is one thing to be concerned about environmental pollution, but it is something else when lives are directly affected by such hazards.

For students in the San Gabriel Valley—which is part of the 29th Congressional District—smog already endangers their future.

The following Los Angeles Times article describes the current situation:

#### INCREASE SMOG THREAT TO PREP SPORTS ACTIVITIES

(By Earl Gustkey)

"Attention, all students! The current ozone reading is 0.37. Today's track meet is postponed."

A prank? No, it's an announcement that students in almost 500 Southern California schools may soon be hearing frequently. Athletic events will be smogged out as well as rained out because doctors are becoming increasingly worried about the effects of polluted air on athletes.

A year ago, the Los Angeles County Medical Assn. unanimously passed a resolution stating, in part:

"Smog is an increasing health hazard which may seriously affect the lungs of young people, and the committee on environmental health of the LACMA strongly recommends that when the forecast concentration of ozone (oxidants) in the atmosphere reaches 0.35 parts per million, students should be excused from strenuous indoor and outdoor activities.

#### SERIOUS HAZARD

Alarmed, Ken Fagans, commissioner of the 441-school California Interscholastic Federation, appointed Ken Bullock, San Marino High School principal, to head a committee to investigate the problem.

Bullock's committee met first with the Los Angeles Air Pollution Control District and then with the county's environmental health committee.

"We came away from those meetings feeling that we should consider smog as a very serious hazard to not just our athletes but to all our students," said Bullock.

The LACMA warning, he said, also referred to physical education classes.

#### OFFICIALS NOT DISTRESSED

Athletes and students in physical education classes have complained for years about

smog-produced burning throats and labored breathing. But until the Medical Assn. warning there was no widespread distress among school officials.

Now, Fagans says he will advise all CIF schools "to be prepared next year to cope with athletic postponements due to smog."

Postponements due to smog are not new in the CIF, according to the commissioner. Some events have been called off by local school authorities. But now, he says, "we have a method of knowing just when athletics or physical education should not be conducted."

The method is a Hoagan-Smit-Bradley ozone detection device, an inexpensive (\$2 per test) means of measuring smog. According to Robert Barsky, deputy air pollution control officer of the APCD, any high school chemistry teacher can operate the system.

The device consists of special compounded rubber strips which are sensitized to ozone and packaged in airtight containers. A strip is exposed to the air, observed through a jeweler's eyepiece and timed with a stopwatch. The time it takes for the ozone in the air to make the rubber start cracking indicates the ozone concentration. The actual figure is calculated by using a chart.

Bullock's committee will soon recommend that all CIF schools obtain the device.

Smog-belt schools like San Marino, Arcadia and San Gabriel are particularly concerned about the problem, says Fagans. All Rio Hondo League B football games last season were switched from daytime kickoffs to 5:45 p.m. to take advantage of lower nighttime ozone readings. Class C games were moved from 3 to 4 p.m.

Dr. Clark Lauder, a team physician for Arcadia High, says he is happy to see the CIF display alarm.

"With a heavy ozone count, you don't get proper amounts of oxygen and you can't oxygenate your muscles properly when engaged in exercise and the harder you breathe the more pollutants you're inhaling—that has to be causing some kind of damage," said Dr. Lauder.

An attempt was made in the early 1960s to determine if smog actually reduced an athlete's performance. The investigation, supported by the U.S. Public Health Service, concentrated on cross country and track runners at San Marino High from 1959 to 1964.

The findings, published in the Journal of the American Medical Assn. in 1967, weren't conclusive but did suggest that smog hampers long distance running performance.

#### OXIDANT LEVEL

"The four meets in which the average team time did not improve were the four worst days of the series for air pollution as measured by oxidant level in the hour before the race," the report said.

The report also stated, "The percent of team members who failed to improve their

performance is highly correlated to the level of oxidant in the air."

Dr. Hurley Motley, who helped write LACMA's warning a year ago, admits that doctors are worried about the cumulative effects of smog on athletes and physical education students.

"An athlete, depending on what activity he's participating in, can breathe up to five times harder than normal and that means he's inhaling five times as many irritants. We just aren't sure what long-range effects this might have on our young people, but it's not doing their lungs any good."

Indoor sports like basketball will also be subject to postponement because the medical association said it believes there isn't much difference between indoor and outdoor ozone density.

#### QUICK COMMUNICATION

The 48 Los Angeles city schools are prepared to eliminate vigorous activities from their PE programs on short notice and to postpone athletic events. So far, however, the only two smog-alert days since July were non-school days.

The L.A. schools are connected with the APCD via a radio network and can be notified of a smog alert within minutes.

Apparently, no other metropolitan area has L.A.'s problem. San Francisco and San Diego sections of the CIF reported they were not concerned over air pollution in connection with high school athletic and PE programs.

Mr. Speaker, but, of course, smog is not the only pollution endangering the San Gabriel Valley, and students there recently have begun mobilizing against the whole range of environmental hazards.

In addition, they have taken the time to write me, as their Representative in Congress, expressing their views of these dangers and asking what is being done to safeguard their future.

Today I would like to insert into the RECORD some of the letters I have received from these students. These are only a selection of the letters since the total amount of such letters reached well over 150. As I do this, again I remind my colleagues that the lives of these students, indeed, is in our trust, and that we cannot procrastinate any longer in dealing with these important questions.

The letters follow:

MONTEREY VISTA SCHOOL,  
Monterey Park, Calif.

HON. GEORGE E. BROWN, JR.:

We have been studying about pollution in our city. We have found pollution in air, water and litter along our highways. We feel that pollution is not good for mankind. We feel that there should be a stop to pollution. We have made signs and posters calling

peoples attention to the problem. We would like you to help us stop pollution.

Respectfully yours,

JESSE MONTANCO,  
Class Secretary.

WE, THE UNDERSIGNED, WANT TO SEE POLLUTION STOPPED NOW

Danny Hernandez, Alan Chappell, Alex Solorzano, Anthony Osuna, Donnie, Arturo Meza, Vincent Marciel, Paul Wirhemthee, Victoria Rubio, Dana Moody, Benito Jimenez Jr.

John Cano, Janet Sabbagh, Karen Chase, John Montetonzo, Jerry Del Rosal, Cynthia Myers, Claudio A. Lana, Esther Bustamante, Teddy Kimbro, Jesse Inontany, Dale Mause, Luis H. Trujillo Jr., Mandy Holguin, Margaret Jimenez.

Tony Rios, Linda Miller, Michele Vella, Colleen Gallagher, Darwin Longwell, Norine Rubia Calb, Carla L. McGeligan, Cynthia Gibson, Mrs. Patricia Brau, Peter Cautak, Esther Nunez.

Shirley Bosco, Grensted David, Gilbert Martinez, Maria Mendoza, Alfred Lopez, Reneé Rivadeneyra, Tracy Nieto, Danny Del Rosal, Gwen Kobzi, Shelley Uhrmann, Rosemary Gutirvez, Susan Kurakazu, Barbara Fraley, Carol Perez.

Laura Rubio, Debbie Smith, Jodi Jones, Phillip Cormstock, Debbie Hahn, Gallardo Victor, Teri Cekunsky, Miss J. E. Hirth, Sandra Chase, Diana Orce.

Teri Thomas, Anna Talavera, Janice Bell, Christi Abe, Palma Akesson, Sheila Estep, Robert St. Marie, Denise Fisher, Bob Sato, Stephen Arce, Larry Montoya, Sophia Rlor, Christina Moore, Karen Carno, Peter Csutak.

Robert Laviwa, Vivian Bell, Richard Villa, Joana Bojic, Jimmy Arroyo, John Osuna, Mark Blancke, Shirley Johnson, Anna Petter, Ronny Robledo.

Alex Leal, Rhonda Mannia, Vicky Bustamante, Robert Jaquez, Vicky Van Meter, Cynthia Denise, John Van Meter, Jounne Arigudo, Mary Moore, Rosa Agullar, Cynthia Del Rosal, Eugenia Ortiz, Rhonda Brake, Kathy Miller.

Estella Gutierrez, Tammy Forrester, Robin Brackenbury, Sonia Cobos, Norma Guerrero, Debbie Rios, Yvonne Mijia, Nancy Smith, Mrs. Solis, Felicia Villa, Esther Martinez, Liz Talavera, Susan Morrison.

Ruby Moreno, Carol Martinez, Randy Morgan, Charles Munoz, Patti French, Louie Morales, Diana Greene, Trudy O'Gorman, Chris Cobos, Carlos Cobos, Oscar Montanez, Kathy Verdugo.

Mike Buckhard, Mr. Johnny Ramirez, Ervin Hartung, Mario Allen, Joe Danzelo, Darwin Longwell, Frank Jinerey, Tony Becke, Ray Theys, Donald Logo, Steven Pina, Kimberly Compeau, Kimberly Ige.

SAN GABRIEL, CALIF.,  
April 22, 1970.

HON. GEORGE BROWN, Jr.,  
House of Representatives,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SIR: The only thing I have to say is "breathe clean air." I can't afford to take the breath to say anything more.

Tell me, can you. . .

All choked up,

ALONNA DE ANGELIS.

ALAHAMBRA, CALIF.,  
April 22, 1970.

HON. GEORGE BROWN, Jr.,  
House of Representatives,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SIR: As you may have noticed it is getting harder to see our mountains out here in the San Gabriel Valley.

I wish to be able to see these mountains, let alone breathe.

Please, sir, I ask you. Support any legislation to clean up our dirtied air, our water and

our bodies. Thank you. I can breathe more deeply now.

Sincerely yours,

MELISSA EGAN.

SAN GABRIEL, CALIF.,  
April 23, 1970.

HON. GEORGE BROWN, Jr.,  
House of Representatives,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SIR: I am writing you this letter because I am concerned about the smog problem we are having in Los Angeles. What are we going to do when the smog gets so bad that people cannot even live in Los Angeles. I have moved here in Los Angeles about two years ago and the first few days I thought I was going to die of smog. There has got to be something you or any other official can do. By at least 1980 you can just forget about the people in this city. We will probably all be doomed. At our school we are trying to stop smog by riding bicycles to school. But two or three schools can't stop smog entirely you must help us. Support from you is what we need and I hope very much that you can help us.

Sincerely yours,

TONY POMPONIO.

ALHAMBRA, CALIF.,  
April 22, 1970.

HON. GEORGE BROWN,  
House of Representatives,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR HONORABLE SIR: In the nineteenth century and early twentieth, people were induced to move out West because of the beautiful climate and salubrious air; especially people with incurable diseases. At present, the beautiful climate in unquestionable. I wish the same could be said for the air.

I have a slight case of asthma. On heavy smog days, any strenuous exercise will cause me to become short-winded and tired. I pity those unfortunate people who have severe case of asthma or other respiratory ailment. The presence of smog in the air does not help their condition any. I know it doesn't help mine.

Please, I urge you to enforce any measure that will eliminate, or at least control air pollution. It will make a lot of people happier to have clearer skies and cleaner air.

Sincerely yours,

STEVE PRIOLO.

SAN GABRIEL, CALIF.,  
April 22, 1970.

HON. GEORGE BROWN, Jr.,  
House of Representatives,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. BROWN: America is no longer the beautiful. Today, our "spacious skies" are filled with smog, the "amber waves of grain" are hidden under a cloud of DDT, and our "shining seas" are clogged with multiplying bacteria.

America is steadily becoming a garbage heap, and no one seems to care. Unless we act now, things will get worse.

It is time to wake up and take our heads out of the sand. Scientists predict that in the next ten years, if nothing is done to stop it, we will pollute ourselves out of our environment entirely.

This is our future and we want a change. Life is beautiful, why must we destroy it?

Sincerely yours,

JUDY KELLY.

APRIL 22, 1970.

HON. GEORGE BROWN, Jr.,  
House of Representatives,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SIR: For the past six years I have been living in the community of San Gabriel, California. Also in the past six

years I have suffered from the effects of smog.

For people who have an affliction such as "Asthma", it is very annoying to have to gasp every time you want a breath of air; especially during very smoggy months. I too have Asthma and find it quite difficult to breathe on smoggy days. It is coming to be such a problem for us that anywhere we go now a days, there is smog.

At my school, San Gabriel High School, we are setting up programs to help fight smog.

What can you do to help us? Won't you please help?

I understand that there are several pamphlets available to the public on the SMOG situation. Why not distribute them and let everyone know the problem. Please our survival is very important to us and to you.

Sincerely yours,

MARTHA A. BEZUCHA.  
SAN GABRIEL, CALIF.,

April 22, 1970.

HON. GEORGE E. BROWN, Jr.,  
House of Representatives,  
Washington, D.C.

MY DEAR MR. BROWN: As the daughter of two of your constituents, I feel that I should write to you concerning the problems of pollution.

As a minor, I have no voice in our government at the moment, therefore I ask you to represent myself and others in our government.

There is much legislation needed to help solve many of our pollution problems, and I think you are the man to help us get some of the legislation passed.

The problems are many. Trees are dying all along the Angeles Crest Highway and up at Big Bear and Lake Arrowhead. The beaches of Southern California are fast becoming unuseable. But worst of all, I think is the fact that our San Gabriel Valley is becoming more and more polluted with smog every day.

I think you know the problems. I am depending on your wise judgement to do what is best in fighting the problems of pollution.

Very truly yours,

MISS SANDY HOUK.

SAN GABRIEL, CALIF.,  
April 22, 1970.

HON. GEORGE BROWN, Jr.,  
House of Representatives,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SIR: There is a problem that has come to notice in the last week, this problem as you well know is pollution. I don't know all the facts about pollution but I do know that if we don't hurry up and do something about it we will probably die.

Last summer on a smoggy day we played a game of baseball. Afterwards everyone sat down and couldn't hardly breathe. This is what pollution is and it's not too cool.

When you receive this letter you probably won't read it because it's from a high school student and he doesn't know what he is talking about. This is true but at least we are making people stand up and notice this problem and I think you should do the same.

Sincerely,

JAY STOUSE.

SAN GABRIEL, CALIF.

HON. GEORGE BROWN, Jr.,  
House of Representatives,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SIR: What is happening to our air, our waters, our people?

Would you believe that the air around isn't fit to breathe.

We're almost choking death. If you like to know (we're) is supposed to stand for the people that live on this land.

Now how about our waters? It's just awful what is happening, to them. They're filled with unmentionables. It's just awful because we can't even drink or even be in the water. Is the moon exploration really that important? Isn't the land important enough? God, with the war that's going on, the moon exploration and with this pollution bit, we just have to decide on what's more important.

Sincerely,

ROSARIO PEREZ.

Hon. GEORGE BROWN, Jr.,  
House of Representatives,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SIR: As a young person today I am concerned about the pollution and population problems.

I have no suggestions to offer about solving these problems since I'm inexperienced and young. (Being only in high school) and I certainly can't write you a letter and say—Stop pollution!, and expect you to do it. Even the President can't do that.

So I have a different request. I'd like to know what I and my friends can do about the pollution problem. Are there any groups we can join that are dedicated to stopping pollution? Just how bad is the population problems? What steps do people go through to adopt a young child (say, seven to ten years old) if they decide to adopt instead of having their own? This is about all I have to ask, but if there is any way I can get the information I'd like to be told.

Thank you.

SANDRA CRAFT.

Hon. GEORGE BROWN, Jr.,  
House of Representatives,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN BROWN: Do you think the public is really aware of the pressing problems of pollution and population growth? Does the public know what the study of ecology is really about? My reply to these questions is a definite "No."

Until the E-Day movement on April 22, 1970 at San Gabriel High School, I along with others were not fully aware of the situation our environment has been placed in. So I write to you for assistance in finding out what our government can do to bring about public awareness on this serious situation.

At San Gabriel High we've done quite alot the past month to show our support and interest in this matter and make all students aware of it. But now we need the help of you, our House of Representatives, to help us spread the word on the ecology problem to the public. For only when the people are aware of the disaster our deteriorating environment is headed for will they begin to do something about it.

Please give us your support in any way possible!

Sincerely yours,

MARGIE WELLES.

ROSEMEAD, CALIF.

Hon. GEORGE BROWN, Jr.:

I recently wasn't too concerned with the problem of air, water, and breathing problem that pollution was causing in the world today. In the last month I finally realized the effect it was having on me. Recently I was in my physical education class the problem of breathing hit me. Then one day when I was coming home from work I found that I couldn't drink the water because it was polluted. Now I am concerned with this problem and I hope that this letter brings thought to your mind at your next meeting so new laws can be brought against pollution.

Sincerely,

JOE VALDEZ.

ALHAMBRA, CALIF.,  
April 21, 1970.

GEORGE BROWN,  
House of Representatives,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SIR: May I suggest that legislation be passed to require auto manufacturers to stop emission from their cars.

I'm sure they possess the technology and money to do so. They do have a kind of monopoly over us because our society's transportation is structured around the automobile.

I believe a person should have all the freedom he can unless that freedom infringes on the freedoms of other people.

Auto manufacturers will not change their cars drastically unless they are forced to do so. Change costs money.

Once again I believe that in a close and crowded society sacrifices must be made and a government control on pollutants is not dictatorial in this case.

Sincerely,

DEX ANDERSON.

APRIL 21, 1970.

Hon. GEORGE BROWN, Jr.,  
House of Representatives,  
Washington, D.C.:

I'm writing to ask you what you can do as a great power in our government to stop pollution.

I go to San Gabriel High School, and our school has been having a campaign building up to "Earth Day," April 22. For about three weeks now our students have been riding bikes, rollerskates, skate boards, and walking to school. By doing this some of us have stopped the pollution machines, better known as automobiles. Many students have been going along beaches, mountains, and our own community to collect aluminum cans to put in our "can pen."

Our school has been taking steps and what we do doesn't really have enough power to influence people as you do. We are paying for your job and I think and hope you want us to stay alive, but you're not doing anything so far.

Now this letter, I hope, should hit your conscience a little, for we people are concerned enough to live and are trying to do something, now please let's see you exercise your power.

Thank you for reading this!

Sincerely yours,

DONNA SPEAKMAN.

DEAR MR. BROWN: All my life, I have been breathing polluted air, drinking dirty water and being overcrowded. If these problems are let go, soon the world will be unfit for human life. I do not want the same life I have had for my children and I want to be assured there will be a life for my grandchildren.

I can do very little on my own to solve our ecological problems. The solutions must come from the government. Please take bold, creative action in expediting the end of pollution, overpopulation, etc. Show the American people you are with them.

Sincerely,

MARY HAACKE.

SAN GABRIEL, CALIF.

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

Hon. GEORGE BROWN, Jr.,  
House of Representatives,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SIR: I am writing this letter to tell you how I feel about pollution. People had to come to Los Angeles for their health and now they're leaving for their health. (Cough)

The smog, trash and water pollution is getting worse every day. I'm dying slowly.

(Cough) I'm dying! Build more trash cans. Cough Cough.

Yours truly,

ROBERT J. CONTRERES.

SAN GABRIEL, CALIF.,  
April 22, 1970.

Hon. GEORGE BROWN, Jr.,  
House of Representatives,  
Washington, D.C.

HON. GEORGE BROWN, JR.: I feel that you might be able to do something for myself and our country. If you would merely go out of your office or look out the window you would see, maybe, if you were lucky, a clean sky. That is a awful thing to say, that you are lucky if you see something besides dirt and smog. I hope for your sake and your country's sake that you will be able to help this land that so dearly needs it.

Respectfully yours,

CHARLES P. ERICKSON.

APRIL 22, 1970.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN BROWN: I am a student at San Gabriel High School, and am very concerned about the air around us. It is very difficult to live in an environment such as ours—polluted. And what's worse, is that our legislative bodies are not doing anything about it. May I ask the simple question—"Why?" We, the people, elected the government officials to do a job, and in my opinion, you are not carrying out your responsibilities. The students at San Gabriel are trying to do their part in the fight against air pollution. For instance, we either ride bikes, walk, or roller skate to school. This in itself is a small effort, but we at least are doing something about our environment. I strongly urge you to do the same and yield to the will and voice of the people.

Sincerely,

PATTY RAMOS.

ATOMIC ENERGY COMMISSION

HON. MIKE GRAVEL

OF ALASKA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, May 12, 1970

Mr. GRAVEL. Mr. President, the Atomic Energy Commission has made an extremely significant decision, which has gone unappreciated.

Sometime between April 6 and 13, the Commission withdrew its request to conduct a mammoth nuclear excavation explosion, scheduled for Nevada this spring. That test, which was named Sturtevant, would have been one of its peaceful bomb tests in the Plowshare program, and it needed only the approval of the National Security Council's Undersecretaries' Committee.

Nuclear excavation experiments of that type—the sort which might blast harbors and canals—always release great quantities of their radioactivity into the environment.

The last time the Atomic Energy tried one, it released much more radioactivity than expected, and levels of air contamination temporarily soared from Phoenix to Spokane, peaking in Boise, Idaho. No one asked the people of these States if they wanted this experiment conducted. And no one has told them yet what kind of exposure they received.

Although the radioactive release from this kind of test is only a small—and secret—part of the bomb's total load, it still amounts to a great deal.

At hearings in November on S. 3042, several eminent scientists expressed outright alarm over this kind of environmental contamination. People, animals, and plants receive exposure not only from the radioactive cloud, but also later from the radionuclides as they pass through the food chain over and over.

Some witnesses at the November hearings said that the permissible population dose under which such tests are conducted is set at least 10 times too high.

The canceled springtime test, which the AEC had planned for over a year, would have been eight times more powerful than the Hiroshima bomb.

Although the AEC never put out a single news release about the proposed test, people who study congressional hearings found out about it in time.

The national coordinator of Earth Day, Denis Hayes, testifying before the House Government Operations Subcommittee on Conservation and Natural Resources, called the proposed test outrageous.

Both the Sierra Club and Sane notified their members about the test in widely circulated newsletters, which I also received, and there may have been others.

I, too, expressed concern over Sturtevant directly to AEC Chairman Glenn Seaborg. Furthermore, I described the planned test to a conference of 1,000 editors of college newspapers, to whom I submitted remarks, which also appeared in the *RECORD* on April 6.

Then some of the biologists on the Panama Canal Study Commission warned that radiation hazards would be far too great to permit blasting a new canal with nuclear explosives.

The AEC seems to have responded to this outside concern, and I am gratified.

But basically, I am dismayed that a major environmental event—the biggest nuclear excavation explosion ever attempted—came to the very brink of execution without any attempt to assess publicly its risks or compensating benefits.

I believe that the Sturtevant story, suddenly terminated, is just another example of the urgent need for an independent commission—as proposed by my measures S. 3042, Senate Joint Resolution 155, and Senate Joint Resolution 108—to review in the open certain AEC activities which affect our environment.

The cancellation of this single test, Sturtevant, is not the whole story. The AEC has requested a special appropriation of \$5 million in fiscal 1971 to continue research on special explosives for future excavation bombs. A bill which would allow the AEC to create a commercial explosion service is also in the works.

When nuclear energy is involved, the stakes are very high. Nuclear contamination is not just another pollution problem. It is fundamentally different, because if we continue to contaminate this planet radioactively, no amount of money or goodwill can clean it up later. It is impossible to turn radioactivity off once you have turned it on. You just

have to wait for it to decay at its own unchangeable rate.

Some radioactive elements like plutonium—which is a basic ingredient in the nuclear program now under development—last many times longer than their half-lives; for one kind of plutonium, the half-life is 24,000 years.

We must use extreme caution to be sure that we do not contaminate this planet forever. Radioactivity requires our consideration now, before the problem becomes any more explicit through predictable dire results. The wait-and-see attitude with which we have dealt with lethal chemical pollutants is simply out of the question when we consider the permanence of so many radioactive contaminants.

Nuclear energy offers potential benefits; I am urgently warning, however, that there needs to be a full and honest and public disclosure of its menace too.

#### EDITORIAL ON PRESIDENT NIXON'S CAMBODIAN DECISION

### HON. DEL CLAWSON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 12, 1970

Mr. DEL CLAWSON. Mr. Speaker, so much of the rhetoric directed at the President's decision to strike against the Cambodian sanctuaries ignores several important factors, that it is refreshing to note that there are some leaders of opinion with the common sense to resist the hysterical tide. The *Daily Signal* published in Huntington Park, Calif., contains an editorial in the latter category, and I commend it to the attention of my colleagues. At this point in the *RECORD* I include the column from the May 4 issue of the *Daily Signal* by the editor, Mr. Tom Hageman:

ANOTHER LOOK AT THE NEWS

(By Tom Hageman)

"Inscrutable" was our most often used description of orientals in the relatively quiet days prior to World War II. Of course we have come a long way since those days and in the course of becoming the leading world power (certainly not second rate) we have developed an ability to understand all things in all corners of the globe that we dominate.

Does that last thought sound like "bunk" to you? It should.

Let's get back to that word "Inscrutable" as it used to apply to the Orient. Webster defines inscrutable as "incapable of being investigated and understood."

That, I think, pretty well sums up the feelings of most Americans as to the events in Cambodia and Vietnam in the past five days.

We are bombarded by apparent contradictions. President Nixon has successfully reversed a six-year trend in the Vietnam war. He launched and has expanded a program of withdrawal of U.S. forces from that unhappy land. He has consistently asked that Communist forces make similar concessions.

Now, quite suddenly, we have two nations from which we can withdraw.

The largely guerrilla war in Southeast Asia, particularly as Cambodia, relates to Vietnam, has been going on for years. And as we punch

into the guerrilla camps in Cambodia they will disperse and regroup again, perhaps behind us.

This sounds very much like Chinese checkers played with hand grenades for it is really no game at all. And unless it is our military plan to stay in Cambodia indefinitely there is absolutely no way to stop the North and South Vietnam guerrillas from regrouping there.

So, on the one hand, it would appear that the mess in Southeast Asia has grown and that the President has listened to the generals and advocates of brinkmanship.

But there is another view in this incredible situation. The President is a political man. He does not act without thinking ahead and his previous actions prove this.

In announcing the decision to move into Cambodia, President Nixon said "We take this action not for the purpose of expanding the war into Cambodia, but for the purpose of ending the war in Vietnam."

The President made it clear that the information available to him indicated that the safety of 400,000 Americans and thousands of Vietnamese civilians was in grave danger by the Red buildup in Cambodia.

We all know that the President has access to relevant facts not available to each and every citizen or even members of the United States Senate.

In effect President Nixon has asked that we trust his judgment in reviewing the facts. Unless events prove otherwise the President deserves, and should receive the trust he asks.

And what of the fighting men we have delivered to Vietnam? How can we possibly turn our back on them?

All Americans, just as the President, wish with all our hearts that the present military action had not become necessary. But the action has been taken and let us put the blame squarely where it belongs—right in the laps of the Communist tyrants who think free men are weak and unwilling to take a strong stand for what is right.

#### THE COMMITTEE TO END AID TO THE SOVIET ENEMY

### HON. J. HERBERT BURKE

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 12, 1970

Mr. BURKE of Florida. Mr. Speaker, I have been a supporter of CEASE—the Committee To End Aid to the Soviet Enemy—from its inception several years ago. This organization has assisted the Congress in preventing persistent attempts to expand trade with the Soviet Union which is supplying most of the weapons and armaments that are used to kill and maim our soldiers in Southeast Asia.

I, like many other Members of the House and Senate, am one of the sponsors of CEASE. A former Member of the House, John Davis Lodge, now our Ambassador to Argentina, was the first chairman of CEASE and Adm. Arthur Radford is the present chairman.

Like so many Americans, I have been disturbed for a long time over the gullibility of a certain small, but important group of American businessmen who, for profit, wish to trade with the Communists despite the fact that they encourage war and internal revolutions with their announced aim of world domination.

Perhaps Mr. Henry Ford II should take another look at the consequences that might develop if the Ford Motor Co. carries forth its suggested giant heavy-duty truck plant in the Soviet Union as announced by him. Perhaps it is proper that he take a second look at world conditions and the dissension that the Soviet Union has caused in all parts of the world. He should look at the arms and weaponry supplies the Soviet Union has contributed that have been killing Americans in Vietnam, and he should look at the tension and military arms given to the Arab States by the Soviet Union in the Middle East which has prevented peace in that area. He should remember the Soviet's assistance to Cuba and to other Latin American countries in its phony so-called attempts at having world peace—which obviously means Soviet domination of the free world.

In view of this I believe that CEASE—the Committee To End Aid to the Soviet Enemy—should be commended in its efforts to end aid to the Soviet enemy. I believe it is performing a very useful service to our country in calling attention to the dangers by its press release of Tuesday, May 12, 1970, which reads as follows:

**THE COMMITTEE TO END AID TO THE SOVIET ENEMY**

Henry Ford II announced from Moscow recently that the Ford Motor Company is considering participation in a giant heavy-truck plant in the Soviet Union, plus technical assistance to the Soviets on equipment like gas-turbine engines.

"I'm a free trader. On non-military grounds, there is no reason why we shouldn't trade with the U.S.S.R." Mr. Ford was quoted by the Washington Post as saying.

Doesn't Mr. Ford know that Soviet industry is supplying most of the weapons killing Americans in Cambodia and Vietnam?

Doesn't Mr. Ford know that an auto or engine factory can make weapons and, in any case, strengthen the industrial base of aggressive Red Russia?

Isn't Mr. Ford aware that Soviet Russia is arming Israel's declared enemies and manning some of the weapons?

In view of Soviet Russia's massive efforts to dominate the world and in view of our own internal revolution, it is suggested that Mr. Ford read the words of V. Lenin whose anniversary is being celebrated worldwide this year by Communists, their dupes and sympathizers.

Lenin said: "When we prepare to hang the last capitalists, they will be trying to sell us the rope."

We suggest that Mr. Ford consider carefully before trying to make money out of the blood of young Americans, Czechs and Israelis.

**SCHOOL DISCIPLINE**

**HON. STROM THURMOND**

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, May 12, 1970

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, all of us are concerned about the lack of respect for authority among a small percent of our young people. It is even more disturbing how this minority misleads the majority of our youth with ideas which run counter to a free society.

There are obviously many reasons for this condition, but one most certainly is the breakdown of discipline in some of our schools.

An interesting and informative article on this subject titled "School Discipline Today: What Discipline?" has been written by Jim Bishop and was published in the *Augusta, Ga., Chronicle* of May 3, 1970. I ask unanimous consent that the article be printed in the *Extensions of Remarks*.

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

**SCHOOL DISCIPLINE TODAY: WHAT DISCIPLINE?**

(By Jim Bishop)

There was a Jesuit who once made a speech in which he said that education was 30 per cent information and 70 per cent discipline. I almost walked out on his speech, but my wife kept a grim grip on my sleeve. He has died, and gone to whatever reward accrues to men who are equipped with iron-clad opinions.

And yet. And yet. And yet. . . . He was not as far wrong as I thought. I now believe that education, as disseminated in this country—and I include almost all schools in this indictment—is superficial. What is taught today is forgotten tomorrow. Some of what is taught today is better forgotten.

Discipline is a joke. High school classes amount to neatly assorted chunks of time in which teachers often ramble in deadly monotone about their personal problems or joys. Students raise their hands to ask questions designed to embarrass the teacher. The class laughs uproariously.

In a minority of schools, some teachers retain control of the behavior of children, but we must bear in mind that if the parents have lost control of their expensive and rebellious youngsters, the teachers have less chance of maintaining class decorum.

Fat girls in mini skirt play with their hair. Boys with long matted hair hanging down over dirty collars refuse to get it trimmed on the grounds that this is a free country. Some wait until teach begins to speak and then roll a pencil up and down the top of the desk. Others yawn; some pretend to be beset by inescapable sneezing spells.

Others wait until the teacher makes a point and then stand to lounge with a hip out of joint and drawl: "Tell you where you're wrong, teach. . . ." Should an educator reach the point of a nervous breakdown and slap a child, the parents will be there in the morning to call him a "fascist" and demand his dismissal.

Discipline has dissipated. Now the teachers are beginning to surrender. They pretend not to notice insolence. Swimming lessons have become part of readin', writin' and arithmetic. Next month my two high school girls are being taken with their classmates to see the movie *Doctor Zhivago*.

Why? Within the narrow purview of the teachers, *Zhivago* is integral to the study of the Russian revolution. It is also a classic study in cruelty, and jumping into bed with the wrong woman. Both girls get passing grades in hopping over parallel bars in a gymnasium, but neither one can tell me which way is north.

They are well-behaved girls; they apply themselves to study, and they get good marks. But somewhere along the line, the schools of America dropped the fundamentalism of education. What good is knowing the square of seven if you don't know why—or its future use?

The boards of education play politics with budgets and principals, cowering teachers and superintendents, acting the part of "Big

Brother" to instructors who know that their every move is being watched and often reported in an unfavorable light. Most boards of education are elective, and the members know less about the nuances of education than when they attended school.

In some schools, teachers do not teach. In a Spanish class, for example, the teacher says: "Turn to page 141 in your Spanish book. There are nine steps you must learn. If you need any help, I'll be up here." No one ever taught himself a language by reading it; it must be heard.

Anyone with a memory for names, dates and events can get a good mark in history. It isn't necessary for the student to understand what happened in the French and Indian Wars—only to remember that General Montcalm fell on the Plains of Abraham and the British won the battle.

What is missing from mathematics, history, et al, is not that two and two makes four, but why. Teachers are underpaid and, with frayed nerves, they undernourish the students. I have interviewed college graduates who cannot tell you the length or breadth of the United States, or even name the states. At dinner, students sit in sullen silence waiting for a parent to take a stand, then they espouse the opposite view merely to show how big and wise they are.

A complete education is the building of a skyscraper in the mind. If the bottom courses of bricks are out of line, it will not be noticed at once. But, in later years, the mental building will look like the leaning Tower of Pisa.

Our schools need discipline and fundamentals, not in the ratio espoused by the old Jesuit. Perhaps 70 per cent information and 30 per cent discipline would do it. Otherwise, this nation is going to spawn millions of educated orang-utans. . . .

**HOT ACTION, COOL RHETORIC**

**HON. ALBERT W. JOHNSON**

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 12, 1970

Mr. JOHNSON of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, President Nixon's role as a strong, but understanding leader of our Nation has never been seen more clearly than during the past weekend of anti-war demonstrations in Washington and campus disturbances around the country.

Emotions were running high at this time, and the pressures on the President were great. But, as an editorial in the *Washington Daily News* of May 9, 1970, states, the President, "kept his cool," as well as his confidence and his perspective.

Mr. Nixon's press conference Friday night showed his understanding of those who disagree with his policies, and even those who demonstrate against his administration. But at the same time, it showed his confidence in what he believes needs to be done to bring the war in Indochina to an end.

I insert the editorial entitled "Hot Action; Cool Rhetoric" in the *RECORD* at this point:

**HOT ACTION; COOL RHETORIC**

In his press conference last night, one thing seemed especially clear about President Nixon:

He is keeping his cool. As well as his confidence and his perspective.

On the eve of the monster antiwar, anti-Nixon rally being staged almost literally under his nose, the President was understanding of the students who are disrupting their own education to belabor and deride him for attempting, as he sees it, to protect our troops in Vietnam, to shorten the war, and thus bring the troops home more rapidly.

He was even understanding of the members of Congress who oppose his efforts in the Vietnam War. He is a former senator and a former House member, and in his day indulged in similar criticism of the then President, as he acknowledged. Which contributed to his present understanding stance of his critics.

But those who have been faulting him have the "luxury of criticism," he said, and "I don't have that luxury."

Mr. Nixon is not likely to placate the throngs which have swarmed into Washington—or demonstrated elsewhere. Not, at least, the more reckless and rabid ones. But not because he isn't trying. He said, quite correctly, that he and the protesters have the same goals: End the war, bring home the troops.

Nobody can honestly doubt that these are Mr. Nixon's top-priority aims. Achieving these ends, of course, is not as easy as stating them. Which is the big difference between him and the demonstrators: He has the job; they are mainly concerned with protest and dissent.

In the face of the tumult, though, the President was a model of restraint.

He said he hoped everybody on his side of the fence would keep in mind the principle he was plainly applying to himself:

"When the action is hot, keep the rhetoric cool."

This would be useful policy on the other side of the fence, too. Dissent and protest can serve a constructive purpose; violence and rashness lead only to nonsensical destruction.

### RESULTS SEEM TO JUSTIFY NIXON'S CAMBODIA RISK

**HON. BURT L. TALCOTT**

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 12, 1970

Mr. TALCOTT. Mr. Speaker, President Nixon's decision to send troops to Cambodia to invade the Communist sanctuaries is proving to be sound, both from the standpoints of American lives saved and the strengthening of the South Vietnamese army.

Los Angeles Times reporter, William J. Coughlin, outlined the results of just 1 week's actions, and these results are indeed spectacular. Mr. Coughlin, writing from Saigon, reported that "millions of rounds of ammunition and thousands of weapons already taken" have indeed won extra time for South Vietnamese forces, perhaps even more than the President's "conservative" estimate of 6 to 8 months.

The American people are supporting their President's actions, too, as shown in a poll taken by the Chicago Tribune, which found that 80 percent of the people questioned supported the President.

I ask to insert these two articles in the RECORD at this point. It is quite important, in my judgment, that the American people have a balanced and objective report concerning these very crucial issues during times of crisis.

The articles follow:

[From the Los Angeles Times, May 10, 1970]  
RESULTS SEEM TO JUSTIFY NIXON'S CAMBODIA RISK; MILLIONS OF AMMUNITION ROUNDS, STORES OF GUNS SEIZED MAY SET REDS BACK YEAR

(By William J. Coughlin)

SAIGON.—Little more than a week after American troops crossed the border, President Nixon appears to have won his gamble in the invasion of Communist sanctuaries in Cambodia.

The millions of rounds of ammunition and thousands of weapons already taken apparently justify military claims that the Cambodian invasion will cripple North Vietnamese and Viet Cong forces in South Vietnam for many months.

Mr. Nixon's own press conference statement that the Cambodian operation has won six to eight months of additional training time for South Vietnamese military forces may be conservative. When the final count is made, that figure may be closer to a year.

#### THE 2.5 MILLION ROUNDS

As of Saturday night, allied troops in Cambodia had uncovered 2.5 million rounds of small-arms ammunition, more than 10,000 mortar and rocket rounds, 40,000 pounds of explosives, 5,415 individual weapons and more than 500 machine guns and antiaircraft weapons, according to figures released here. Nearly 1,000 tons of rice have been found. The task of extracting all these supplies from Cambodia has begun.

Furthermore, this is only the beginning. The exploration of The City, the major base supply complex seized by the 1st Battalion, 5th Cavalry, is just starting. Military commanders on the scene believe it may extend for many miles in every direction. There are other Communist rear-area bases as yet unexplored.

The North Vietnamese decision to withdraw rather than fight major battles with the invading allied troops has kept casualties low. There were exceptions to this during the past week, with severe fighting in some widely scattered areas. But even this was falling off Saturday.

#### CASUALTIES COUNTED

In the 10 days since the President announced the six-front campaign, fewer than 100 American lives have been lost, with the number of South Vietnamese killed in action at about 200. This is astonishingly low for an airborne and armored assault involving more than 40,000 men.

While the North Vietnamese decision means Communist forces have survived to fight another day, it also means low allied casualties will make the President's Cambodian invasion more palatable politically at home.

It has been said that, by withdrawing, the North Vietnamese will be able to wait until American forces are pulled out by the end of June, then return to the sanctuaries to be resupplied. There are two arguments against this. First, the coming monsoon will make such resupply difficult with access to southern ports hampered if not cut off entirely.

More important, the North Vietnamese have no assurance that their previous sanctuaries will not be hit again. They will not be able to repeat the five-year buildup of supplies in areas within an hour's walk of the border.

Whether the operation finds the Communist COSVN (Central Office of South Vietnam) headquarters is immaterial at this point. COSVN has lost its sanctuaries and, even more damaging, it has lost its major base supplies which supported Communist operations in III and IV Corps areas in South Vietnam. No one expected to capture the COSVN officers themselves, except by blind luck.

A major benefit of the Cambodian campaign has been the boost in morale of both American and South Vietnamese troops.

Largely overlooked also has been the vast improvement in morale and effectiveness of South Vietnamese forces, not long ago derided as troops afraid of the dark but now winning spirited battles from their North Vietnamese and Viet Cong opponents. As a test of the Vietnamization campaign, Cambodia is a definite plus.

[From the Chicago Tribune, May 9, 1970]

POLL SHOWS 80 PERCENT BACK NIXON ON CAMBODIA

Final results of THE TRIBUNE poll to determine reaction to President Nixon's decision to send American troops into Cambodia showed overwhelming support for the President.

A total of 39,792 ballots were returned. Of these, 31,887, or 80 per cent supported the President, and, 7,905, or 20 per cent, expressed opposition to increased military action in southeast Asia.

#### TRIBUNE READERS RESPOND

Public response to the Cambodian move was sought for three days following President Nixon's message to the nation last week. The results reflected opinions of TRIBUNE readers in Chicago, its suburbs and surrounding states.

"I am convinced that those who protest so loudly are afraid of the possibility that the war could be terminated by an American victory," wrote Mrs. Olin Berridge of Michigan City, Ind.

Duane Johnson, an army veteran from De Kalb wrote: "With administrative decisions made without the consent of the people I may have to someday tell my sons two years in prison is a small price to pay to help avert an American nazism."

#### INDIANA READERS WRITE

"Mayor Daley expressed our thought when he said we have only one President and should stand beside him, for we feel he knows things better than those protesting everywhere," wrote Mr. and Mrs. Roscoe Laod of Highland, Ind.

Joseph L. Mantel of St. Cloud, Minn., protested the Cambodia military action saying: "What can be done to take the powers away from the President so that such decisions will no longer be able to be made. There must be something in our Constitution that should be changed and prevent the President from making another grave mistake."

"Nixon is to be commended for his decision to do the required job," wrote Charles Love of Lemont. "His efforts will bring this situation to a conclusion. We want no more Korean type settlements."

### PROBLEMS FACING THIS NATION'S FISHING INDUSTRY

**HON. THOMAS N. DOWNING**

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 12, 1970

Mr. DOWNING. Mr. Speaker, among the worst problems facing this Nation's fishing industry is the continuing presence of foreign fleets just outside the 12-mile limit along our Atlantic coast and the steady depletion of one of our greatest natural resources. The fishing industry on the Chesapeake Bay, with which I am most concerned, as well as their counterparts up and down the coast from New England to below Cape Hatteras are feeling drastic effects of unrestricted fishing by foreign fleets.

One by one, herring fishermen in the

area of the Chesapeake Bay are being forced out of business because of the tremendous herring catches made by these fleets.

With the increase of the Cuban fishing fleet, our fishery along the coast of the Gulf of Mexico may soon be faced with the same situation.

I realize, of course, that as the law now stands, there is nothing that can be done to stop this wanton destruction of marine resources. We have now reached the point where our only protection may be to extend our fishery jurisdiction beyond the 12-mile limit.

I feel that the Congress, generally, is unaware of the gravity of the situation. In order that all of us may be properly alerted to the size of these fleets which fish regularly along our Atlantic coast, I insert, herewith, "the Foreign Fishing Vessel Surveillance Off the Atlantic Coast" from the Fishery Market News Report of the Bureau of Commercial Fisheries, Division of Statistics and Market News, April 30, 1970. This is neither an unusual nor isolated report.

The report follows:

FOREIGN FISHING VESSEL SURVEILLANCE  
OFF ATLANTIC COAST

Following are the reports of the Bureau's Fisheries Management Agents on the April 8 and April 13, 1970 enforcement and surveillance flights with the U.S. Coast Guard to observe foreign fishing activities off the Atlantic Coast.

On April 8, flight coverage included areas of the expired (April 1) Red Hake-Silver Hake Management Area and the U.S./U.S.S.R. and U.S./Poland Mid-Atlantic Bilateral Agreements.

A total of 131 foreign fishing and support vessels (120 Soviet, 7 Polish, 3 East German and 1 Spanish) was sighted. The Soviet fleet was comprised of 6 factory stern trawlers, 113 medium side trawlers and 1 factory base ship. The Polish vessels were identified as 2 stern trawlers, 4 large side trawlers and 1 factory base ship; East German as 1 freezer stern trawler and 2 side trawlers; and a single Spanish stern trawler. These vessels were divided into two main groupings.

The first group of 9 vessels (4 Soviet, 3 East German, 1 Spanish and 1 Polish) was wide scattered over a 50-mile area from 55 to 75 miles south of Montauk Pt., Long Island, eastward to 60 to 70 miles south of Martha's Vineyard. Moderate catches of herring were observed on board both Soviet and Polish vessels. No catches were noted on either the Spanish or East German vessels.

The second and largest concentration of 122 vessels (116 Soviet and 6 Polish) was located in a 30-mile area, 60 to 65 miles east and southeast of Atlantic City, N.J. (centered well within expired mid-Atlantic "no fishing" zone). Moderate to heavy catches of herring and mackerel filled the open deck spaces of the majority of trawlers. In many instances, fish in storage was canvas-covered as a protective from the sun and wind. The Polish stern trawlers in particular had exceptional catches in the trawl estimated to exceed 50 tons. Numerous trawlers were alongside support vessels offloading fish. Many others were standing by and proceeding to the nearby base ships.

The apparent excellent fishing by this fleet is perhaps attested to by the fact that factory base ships and fish carriers too had huge amounts of fish in open deck storage areas waiting to be processed.

On the April 13 flight, coverage included the Red Hake-Silver Hake Management Area of ICNAF, Subarea 5, the U.S./U.S.S.R. and U.S./Poland Mid-Atlantic Fisheries Agree-

ment areas. Also included were areas along the 20 and 30 fathom curve of the Mid-Atlantic west of the "no fishing" zone. As of April 1, restrictions on red hake-silver hake management area and "no fishing" zone are suspended. Flight conditions were good over calm seas with good visibility.

A total of 172 foreign fishing and support vessels (154 Soviet, 14 Polish, 2 East German, 1 West German and 1 Spanish) was sighted. The Soviet fleet was comprised of 128 side trawlers, 21 stern trawlers, 3 refrigerated fish transports and 2 factory base ships; Polish 5 side trawlers, 5 stern trawlers, 3 refrigerated fish transports, 1 factory base ship; East German 2 stern trawlers; West German 1 stern trawler; and Spanish 1 side trawler. The largest part of this fleet was dispersed in one general area 60 miles east of Atlantic City, N.J. The remaining smaller groups were scattered along the 50 to 75 fathom curve from south of Nantucket to south of Long Island and two groups were conducting loading operations, one off New Jersey and one off Long Island.

The main concentration of vessels was located in a staggered line formation parallel with the coast of New Jersey, beginning 60 miles southeast of Ship Bottom, N.J. and extending to 65 miles southeast of Cape May, N.J., a distance of approximately 65 miles. Vessels were spread either side of a line at varying distances up to 10 miles. This fleet, consisting mostly of Soviet side trawlers, appeared to be having moderate success. Catches were light to moderate on many of the vessels and heavy on a few at the southern most part of the area. Catches appeared to be herring and/or mackerel on many of the vessels. However, several of the vessels operating more to the west appeared to be taking hake. Although the majority of the vessels were fishing or set up for fishing, a sufficient number were steaming (mostly southerly) to indicate a movement in this direction by part of the fleet. Factory base ships had side trawlers alongside and support operations were underway.

The remaining smaller groups fishing along the 50 to 75 fathom curve from 60 miles south of Nantucket to 70 miles south of Montauk Pt., Long Island, were mostly stern trawlers. Limited catches exposed on deck were hake. Dehydration plants were working on most of those equipped.

One group of vessels conducting support operations was Polish and located 15 miles east of Great Egg Inlet, N.J. This group was comprised of 1 factory base ship, 3 refrigerated fish transports and 4 side trawlers. The other was Soviet and located in the loading zone of Moriches Inlet, L.I. This group was comprised of 1 refrigerated fish transport and 2 stern trawlers.

## MAO IN THE WHITE HOUSE

### HON. ROBERT L. LEGGETT

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 12, 1970

Mr. LEGGETT. Mr. Speaker, I have long held that our Southeast Asian military involvement could not have had more disastrous political, economic, and military effects upon our country if it had been planned by our worst enemies.

Stanley Karnow, the Washington Post's China expert, appears to hold a similar view of the Cambodian venture in particular. The thesis of his column in today's Washington Post is that we are doing exactly what the Chinese would like us to do.

I insert the column from the Washington Post of May 11, 1970, entitled "Nixon's Expansion of the War Seems To Delight Chinese" in the RECORD at this point:

#### NIXON'S EXPANSION OF THE WAR SEEMS TO DELIGHT CHINESE

(By Stanley Karnow)

HONG KONG.—China experts here have finally figured out Mao Tse-tung's whereabouts during his recent long absence from public view. He was secretly ensconced in the White House, advising President Nixon to send American troops into Cambodia.

The circumstantial evidence to support that intelligence is reflected in the fact that nobody has been displaying greater delight at the widening war in Indochina than the Chinese Communists.

Mao and his associates are not crazy. On the contrary, they are tough, shrewd and, despite their apparent adherence to rigid doctrines, extraordinarily flexible.

Most of all, they are patient enough to have played a cautious waiting game in the hope that Mr. Nixon would accommodate them by stumbling into Cambodia.

For the conflict now spreading throughout the Indochinese peninsula serves their cause in several ways. And, barring the unlikely prospect of its spilling over into China itself, this welcome development is costing them next to nothing.

In terms of their own strategic ambitions, the Chinese have three inter-related objectives in Southeast Asia.

First and foremost, they want to oust American military power, partly because they are concerned with their security and partly because a U.S. presence thwarts their other aims in the area.

Second, they want to curb the influence in the region of the Soviet Union, which they also see as a potential military threat as well as an ideological rival.

Third, they want a future Southeast Asia composed of frail states that pose no challenge to Chinese hegemony but, as in centuries past, pay tribute to the rule of the "Middle Kingdom" in Peking.

The American involvement in Vietnam, they perceive with obvious pleasure, has bogged down the United States in a situation it cannot win and refuses to lose. Therefore, they calculate, an extension of the conflict will only drain U.S. resources further.

Besides stirring dissent in the United States and thus fulfilling their dogma that the "masses" inevitably rise against their "fascist masters" the Indochina mess also appears to the Chinese to be an opportunity to "isolate" America internationally.

By no coincidence, consequently, they have invited a French cabinet minister to visit China this summer for the first time since France recognized Peking in 1954. Moreover, they are improving their ties with Britain and Yugoslavia, and progressing toward diplomatic relations with Canada and Italy.

In the meantime, just as Mao wished, the specter of a bigger Indochina war is weakening the Soviet position in the area as the Russians waver between trying to promote the modernization they really prefer and backing Communist escalation in order to assert their revolutionary credentials.

One sign of Soviet confusion has been apparent in the Kremlin's delay in recognizing Prince Sihanouk's Peking sponsored government-in-exile. As a result, Moscow has clearly lost ground to the Chinese in Hanoi.

Meanwhile, with no indication from Washington that they can expect to gain anything from 25 years of struggle, the Vietnamese Communists are settling down to "protracted war."

Again, this suits Peking's long-range dreams, since it augurs an exhausted Viet-

nam that the Chinese are convinced they can eventually dominate.

In an unusually candid talk with an American some time ago, a Hanoi official stressed this point. "You think you are blocking China by fighting us," he said, "but in fact, you are destroying a barrier to Chinese expansion in Southeast Asia if you destroy us."

Mao himself emphasized a similar point when, a few years back, a Japanese visitor to Peking apologized to him for Japan's aggression against China in the 1930s.

"The Japanese invasion inspired the Chinese people to rise and fight," Mao reportedly told his visitor. "Our army grew by a million men, and our support grew to include one hundred million people."

"So, instead of your apologizing to me, perhaps I should thank you."

It would be tragic if Mao repeated those same lines to an American visitor to Peking years hence. The way things are going, that possibility is not inconceivable.

WALTER REUTHER

HON. LEE METCALF

OF MONTANA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, May 12, 1970

Mr. METCALF. Mr. President:

I dreamed I saw Joe Hill last night  
Alive as you and me.

Says I, "But Joe, you're ten years dead."

"I never died," says he,

"I never died," says he.

"Joe Hill ain't dead," he says to me,

Joe Hill ain't never died.

Where workmen are out on strike

Joe Hill is at their side,

Joe Hill is at their side.

"From San Diego up to Maine

In every mine and mill,

Where workers strike and organize"

Says he, "You'll find Joe Hill,"

Says he, "You'll find Joe Hill."

The death of Walter Reuther in a tragic airplane accident ends an unparalleled era of labor leadership. Of course, Walter Reuther was more than a labor leader. He was a statesman, a diplomat, a fighter, an organizer, a conservationist, a negotiator, and many, many more. Probably he was the most multifaceted personality on the American scene. There is hardly an area of advancement in America where Walter Reuther was not involved. If you are interested in pensions, fringe benefits, longevity rights, Walter Reuther's footsteps are in the sand.

If you are concerned with safety regulations or welfare benefits or guaranteed annual wage, Walter Reuther was ahead of you.

Are you interested in preservation of wilderness, creation of recreation areas, conservation of resources? Walter Reuther was there.

But always Walter Reuther worked within the framework of labor. His dedication to improving the conditions under which men worked, the share of industrial production that the workers received and the social and economic environment in which they lived caused him to take part in activities that seemed as if they were beyond those of the union interest. But always Reuther looked to the ultimate benefit and welfare of his

membership and in doing so he helped all of America.

As much as any man of his time, he caused America to take stock of herself, to assess inequities and appraise abuses. Then he attempted to alleviate the abuses, convert the inequities and improve the general social circumstances.

But wherever negotiations are held, wherever organization of workers is needed, wherever men are on strike, Walter Reuther will be there in spirit and example.

Even more, wherever there is injustice or wrongs or waste or exploitation, the spirit and example of Walter Reuther will be there.

He did not die in an airplane accident. Walter Reuther is immortal.

TRIBUTE TO HERB SHRINER

HON. RICHARD L. ROUDEBUSH

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 12, 1970

Mr. ROUDEBUSH. Mr. Speaker, the people of the State of Indiana were saddened recently by the death of Herb Shriner in a traffic accident in Florida.

Shriner had established himself as one of the Hoosier State's favorite sons and was much beloved in our State.

The qualities and contributions which made Herb Shriner an outstanding entertainer and a spokesman for Indiana have been eloquently eulogized by Mr. John A. Scott, editor and publisher of the Lafayette, Ind., Journal and Courier.

I wish to bring this fine article to the attention of the Congress.

Mr. Scott has put his finger on the magnetism and personality of Herb Shriner that so pleased and delighted his Hoosier friends.

The article follows:

INDIANA HAS LOST ITS GENTLE COMEDIAN;  
STATE, FOLKS HE TOLD ABOUT STILL HERE

(By John A. Scott)

The death last week by automobile of Herb Shriner, the Hoosier humorist, and his wife caused an unusual bereavement for a state.

Governor Whitcomb said so in a cable from Japan. But beyond the collective formal grief there are many hundreds in Indiana who had grown affectionate and possessive about the modest Hoosier who made a career of poking gentle fun at his home state.

Born in Ohio, Shriner moved as a child to Indiana, to a place near Fort Wayne so small that for excitement on Saturday nights he "would go downtown and watch haircuts."

"Harmonica Herb" he was called at first when nobody would listen. He never gave up the harmonica or Indiana, even though he could have opened up some wider territory for his satire. He might have thrown away the harmonica, hired some writers and become a latter-day Will Rogers.

But Herb wrote his own stuff, scribbling his monologues, memorizing them, then tossing them out in a low-key style with little accent unless there is one that is spoken on the Maumee River. He was a material man, depending on his quick wit to come through a slow delivery.

The obituaries had him peaking in the 50's with a national television program named "Two for the Money." But back home in Indiana he was a big star for life. If he didn't love

the state, he pretended well because he returned often to pledge allegiance.

Hoosiers, as Westbrook Pegler pointed out in a classic column, put a high value on loyalty to the commonwealth. They are, Pegler wrote "an entirely distinct breed of cats, and Hoosier is comparable, in a harmless way, to the Germanism of the chosen people of the master race. They migrate freely, far and wide, few of them ever go back to Indiana except to strut their city clothes, in which they still look like Hoosiers, and they guard their racial purity . . . they may take out citizenship in other states . . . but they never become assimilated or naturalized."

Herb Shriner could have been the model for Pegler's essay. "A Hoosier has Hoosier written all over him, but if other signs fail you can always tell him by the way he ties his necktie. The most expensive tie in the world looks like a two-bit necktie on a Hoosier . . . but Hoosier is not an affectation at all. It is something in the blood and bone and spirit of the breed. They speak of people as 'folks' and they never remain strangers long anywhere."

It was this kind of easy friendliness and absence of arrogance or vanity that made his fellow citizens proud of Shriner's fame. But they also recognized that he spoke of ancient, simple virtues that still reside in the state. While Shriner poked fun at the past, the past still is around to see in countless communities where grace is said before meals and the kids honor and obey their parents and the threshers eat pie for breakfast.

There even may be places where haircuts are available on Saturday nights and kids watch them for excitement. For Indiana changes gently and tends to cling to what it thinks are important values. One of them was Herb Shriner.

TRIBUTE TO WALTER REUTHER

HON. JEFFERY COHELAN

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 11, 1970

Mr. COHELAN. Mr. Speaker, it is with a great sense of loss and sadness that I join with many of my colleagues and the Nation in mourning the death of Walter Philip Reuther, president of the United Automobile Workers Union.

Walter Reuther was a leader of the labor movement whose impact on the social, political, and economic elements of today was deeply felt. His contributions to the fulfillment of the American dream—the fulfillment of just and equal opportunities for all—will long be remembered and admired.

Working as a bench hand at the age of 16, Walter Reuther continued to rise through the ranks of the labor movement until his tragic death. His leadership went beyond the 1.6 million members of the UAW and the Congress of Industrial Organizations. He was not a labor leader interested solely in higher wages but rather Mr. Reuther believed that labor must be a vital force to help solve many of the Nation's social problems so that both laborer and employer could have a better life.

Walter Reuther was a man of the times well ahead of his times. A strong negotiator, a firm believer in racial equality, and an astute strike strategist, Walter



Reuther's bargaining techniques and trade union organizing have made a unique and lasting contribution to the Nation as well as the labor movement. His dynamic leadership and dedication made Walter Reuther a central figure in the development of America's modern industrial state.

The achievements of Walter Reuther are many and his loss will be felt by many. Mr. Speaker, I join in expressing my most heartfelt and sincere condolences to the family of Walter Reuther, a great leader, a good friend, and a remarkable man.

#### A POIGNANT AND PERTINENT LETTER

**HON. RICHARD H. ICHORD**

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 12, 1970

Mr. ICHORD. Mr. Speaker, at a time when the riotous protest of some of our college and university students threatens to destroy the entire structure of higher education in America, I want to share, with this House, the words of one of my constituents whose letter is one of the most moving I have ever received from a member of the "Now" generation.

The author is Miss Terri Breher, a 1969 graduate of Herculaneum High School, and a resident of nearby Imperial, Mo.

Miss Breher had visited my office here in Washington when her senior class toured this city and I was impressed with the earnestness and relative maturity demonstrated by this young lady and her classmates.

Because of economic limitations in a large family, she must work and wait for her chance to get a college education. Consequently, what she sees happening on so many campuses this spring obviously causes her both deep hurt and anxiety.

Anyone dedicated to the principles and objectives of our Nation's great and generous educational system will find Miss Breher's letter both poignant and pertinent.

The letter follows:

IMPERIAL, Mo.,  
May 6, 1970.

DEAR MR. ICHORD: First of all, I want to tell you a little bit about myself. I am a 1969 graduate of Herculaneum High School. There are 7 kids in our family and I am the oldest of the 3 left at home. Dad makes an average income.

When all this stuff (moratorium march, R.O.T.C.) happened I remembered the letter I received from you on May 20, 1969. You had a part in it that stated, "but as a high school graduate of 1969, you are offered the advantages of far greater horizons and more abundant promises for future personal successes than any other generation." I realize that we 1969 graduates have it better than the 1945 Graduates, but I wonder what the Graduates of the next generation are going to have. What are my children going to have to face?

I also remember when we went to your office on our Senior Trip and you told us, that if we had any questions to feel free to write. That's why I'm writing now.

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I started one letter when they had the Moratorium March downtown. It really burned me up, but I never did get around to mailing it. (After a while I thought it was stupid and threw it away.)

Those kids that marched downtown St. Louis that day, really made me mad.

How many of them were only thinking about themselves or their boyfriends? How many of them realize why we're fighting in Vietnam.

I listened to Nixon's speech on T.V. and he really made me think. How many of the kids that marched listened to his speech with an open mind? I realize I might have felt his speech was good, because I feel they need us over there, but I feel a lot of the ones that marched are afraid to face it. Afraid they will have to go over and fight. I feel fear is the main reason, not because we're not getting anywhere over there. A lot of the ones that marched were long-haired hippies. I have nothing against kids with long hair, but I hated them.

Another thing that got to me was the petition you were to sign. It stated are you against the war in Vietnam. Yes or No. (No maybes about it.) Then they would walk up and ask you to sign it, but then, of course, "we'd prefer for you to sign yes." I watched gobs of people walk right on by them and not sign it. What good is that petition? People don't want to be bothered, or were afraid to sign "no." I know a lot of older people were furious, but wouldn't sign the paper "no." Then those that were one-half and one-half had no place to sign.

Now, on to today's issue. The R.O.T.C. and the burning of the College.

I can see young people trying to state what they don't like, but I feel it should be in an orderly manner.

This burns me up though. Do the kids really know what they want? I feel they ought to leave R.O.T.C. alone. If it were a must, I'd understand, but that's an extra.

To me College is a very touchy subject. I've wanted to go ever since I graduated but Mom and Dad say I have to make it on my own. I want to go for General Education. As of yet, I still don't have the money, but hope to some day.

How many of the kids that are burning down Colleges and rioting have the money dished to them left and right from their parents?

Why is it the ones that have the money have to cause trouble. They say the wealthy rules the world and I'm beginning to believe it.

How many of the kids that have to work and wait to go to College are out there burning them down? I'm willing to bet none. (Not one single one.) When you have to work your way to something, you appreciate it a lot more than those that have it handed to them.

How many of the kids that could care less whether they go to college or not are given the money to go (to get the kids out of your hair) or forced to go. You can bet they aren't deprived of the right to go. Heck they've got the money let them go, & whatever they make of college is their fault & their free choice.

Now, what about us? Here we'd do anything in the world to go & would make the best out of it, and these that get the money 1, 2, 3, go & burn it down. Here we are being deprived because of them. It's bad enough being deprived of the right because of money, but also being deprived of the right to go because kids want publicity & want "to have a little fun" is a bit too much.

This is a mixed up world & there doesn't really seem to be much that can be done.

We average people will have to work 10 times harder to get what we want out of life because of the wealthy. That is the way it seems anyway.

You may say this is from a stupid, mixed up teenager who doesn't know what she is

talking about. A mixed up teenager, I am. That's why I'm writing you!

I want you to realize more of how a person who has to work for the things they want, treasure what they get far more from those that have it handed to them.

Maybe you can look more into a College Education for the poorer ones. Or at least try harder to settle what is happening on the campuses today.

As for the War in Vietnam, I feel more & more kids would be willing to fight if there were more patriotic assemblies in High School. We've had several at Herky. One we had a contest on "What America means to me." The whole school wrote speeches & the top 6 were read in the assembly. The best got a \$10 Bond & the other 5 got honorable mentioning. There were really some nice ones. Second we had a lady that came over from Cuba. She told us what the flag meant to her. She brought a lot of tears in our eyes & made us to respect the flag a lot more & several other ones.

Those assemblies really help a lot.

Better go for now. Hope I didn't bore you too much.

A fellow citizen,

TERRI BREHER.

P.S.—I would be glad to hear from you.

My address is:

Miss Terri Breher, Rt. 2, Box 353. Imperial, Mo. 63052.

#### HERBLOCK LAYS TWO CRACKED EGGS

**HON. GERALD R. FORD**

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 12, 1970

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. Mr. Speaker, cartoonist Herb Block of the Washington Post is usually most incisive in his graphic comments. He is also at times most unfair and sometimes downright irrational. The Detroit News in an editorial of May 6 has caught Mr. Block in one of his most irrational moments. The News points out that Mr. Block accuses the United States of widening the Indochina war on the one hand and of faltering in the Mideast through its attempt to halt the arms race there. Neither Mr. Block nor anyone else can have it both ways. The Detroit News editorial follows:

HERBLOCK LAYS TWO CRACKED EGGS

The Washington Post's popular but biting syndicated cartoonist, Herb Block, whose work appears in The News from time to time, really has laid a couple of cracked eggs in the cartoon accompanying this editorial.

Herblock, as he signs his cartoons, long has been representative of liberal opinion which has been critical of President Nixon (and President Johnson) for U.S. efforts in Vietnam and Indochina.

But in this cartoon Herblock not only equates the United States' action in going into Cambodia with the Soviet action in sending pilots into Egypt, which is bad enough, but he then contends the Soviet move stemmed from "U.S. faltering in Middle East."

It is curious that liberals such as Herblock cannot see that the same forces which endanger the independence of a small independent nation, Israel, in the Middle East are also endangering the independence of small independent nations—Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia—in Indochina.

Yet in the one case the U.S. action in widening the Indochina war is criticized as "U.S. over-involvement" while in the other

the U.S. action in trying to maintain a balance in the Middle East is regarded as evidence of "U.S. faltering."

Herblock, in other words, joins the New Left in holding the United States responsible for most of the troubles in these two parts of the world and conveniently ignores the common Communist threat to the independence of small nations in Southeast Asia and in the Middle East.

TESTIMONY FOR APPROPRIATION  
FOR SCHOOL GUIDANCE SERVICES

**HON. JAMES A. BURKE**

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 12, 1970

Mr. BURKE of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, I would like to call to the attention of the Members of the House of Representatives the recent testimony of Mr. Maurice J. Downey, director of guidance for the Boston public schools, and three-term past president of the Large Cities Directors of Guidance Association. Mr. Downey appeared before the Senate Appropriation's Subcommittee on Labor-HEW and the text of his statement follows:

TESTIMONY FOR APPROPRIATION FOR SCHOOL  
GUIDANCE SERVICES

(By Maurice J. Downey)

Mr. Chairman and Members of the Committee: I should like to thank you for the privilege and the opportunity to testify before you today.

May I introduce myself, I am Maurice J. Downey, the Director of Guidance for the Boston Public Schools, and a three-term past president of the Large Cities Directors of Guidance Association. I am also a member of the faculty of the Harvard Graduate School of Education. My purpose in being here today is to plead with you to increase the appropriation for school guidance services under Title III contained in H.R. 16916. May I now address myself to the specific problems that exist in my own city of Boston—problems which, I assure you, are typical of those which prevail in the other large cities throughout the country.

Gentlemen, Boston is once again an island. Not an island surrounded by water as it was in the pre-revolutionary days, but an island completely surrounded by bedroom communities. Much of the affluence which would normally accrue to a larger city, much of the strong interest in education and in the guidance of children which should be an integral part of every home, much of the willingness and desire to spend resources in encouraging rewarding careers for children; all of these benefits have fled the core city and are now in the suburbs. Right now as we enter the decade of the 70's, we are largely a city of the poor and the elderly, the hapless and the needy; a city many of whose youngsters, are just starving for educational and vocational guidance simply because their parents, willing as they are, do not have the knowledge, nor do the schools have the financial resources to provide it.

I speak to you today not for a city of skyscrapers, not for a city teeming with commerce and industry, not even for myself or for my own chosen profession of guidance counseling. I plead with you today solely for the interests of the school children of Boston and for similar children in the large cities of America.

There is right now, I am certain, as we meet here, a twelve-year old youngster standing on a street corner of South Boston, or of Dorchester, or Roslindale who is disoriented, discouraged and what is most pathetic, both confused and frustrated. This unfortunate youngster most likely comes from a home in which the father is forced to work two jobs simply to provide adequate food and shelter for his family and in which the mother seems totally unable to understand her son who is just about to become a teenager. Since early childhood this boy has been told repeatedly about the absolute necessity and importance of a good education, about the need to prepare for a productive job, and especially about the multiple benefits of earning a high school diploma, and even a college degree has been mentioned. But all of these ideas are so abstract, so remote, so distant and so unreal to him that never once do they enter into his sphere of comprehension. This particular youngster of whom we speak does not know an oak tree from an elm tree but can readily identify a joint of marijuana. He has seldom, if ever, visited his local library, but he knows by rote the name of every neighborhood tavern; in his sauntering and loitering, he has often met and had dealings with local policemen, the school attendance officer, and the probation officer attached to the district courthouse.

But, sad to say, he has not met the one person who could possibly help him—I refer of course to a professionally trained and dedicated guidance counselor.

The guidance counselor is the one person who is trained to help this youngster understand just how his school studies are related to the world of work, how terribly important it is for him to attend school regularly; the one person with the acquired skills to help motivate this youngster to want to go to school, but he has not met this person for the simple reason that right now, for him, he does not exist. Why is this so, you ask. Simply because our large cities do not have the funds necessary to hire guidance counselors in all levels of our school systems. It is an established fact that existing municipal taxes cannot provide for the hiring of experts so badly needed to help this youngster and the thousands of his counterparts living in the large cities of America.

Gentlemen, I respectfully submit to you that our large city school systems are desperately in need of increased federal funds if they are to attempt to provide even minimal guidance counseling for their pupils—and what is most important, they need them right now.

To bolster my plea, please permit me to cite just a few statistics. In the city of Boston we have just a few short of 100,000 pupils in our schools. To provide guidance services for these future citizens, we have just about 100 professionally trained and dedicated guidance counselors. That gives us a pupil-counselor ratio of approximately 1,000-1.

Dr. Conant, the former President of Harvard, after making an intensive study of the American school system, stated categorically that the pupil-counselor ratio should never be less than 250-1. In our high schools we do manage to maintain a ratio of 400-1. It is in our junior high schools and especially in our elementary schools that we are hurting. We have about 64,000 junior high school and elementary school students and only 37 counselors to serve them. Our most desperate need is in our elementary schools, 56 in number, where we have only one guidance counselor and he is conducting a pilot program.

Mr. Chairman and Honorable Members of the Committee, as you can see, I simply do not have the staff to help these young people, we are crying for assistance. As the figures show, I need four times as many counselors as I have at present. If sufficient funds were

made available, I could reach the desired ratio of 250-1. We need counselors and we need support for them right now. In Boston alone, we need federal funds in the amount of \$4,000,000.

Mr. Chairman and Honorable members of your committee, today, in government, we are especially fond of one word and that word is "priority." When representatives of the armed forces come before committees of Congress, they speak of billions and of high priority, and gentlemen, they are right. When NASA comes before Congress they, too, speak of billions and of high priority, and again, they too are right. For who would question the need for defense or for space explorations? We are here today not to speak of war, not to speak of missiles, not to speak of space ships, but to speak for, and to highlight the needs of our children; and in doing so, we as educators speak of the highest priority, and we are convinced that we are right.

Can there possibly be a higher priority than our children? Their needs and their problems have been identified. With your help, let me assure you that we stand ready to solve them.

HE LOVES AND RESPECTS THE  
AMERICAN FLAG

**HON. LESLIE C. ARENDS**

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 12, 1970

Mr. ARENDS. Mr. Speaker, under leave to revise and extend my remarks I am inserting in the RECORD a letter to the editor written by John A. Delizza, a naturalized citizen of the United States, which appeared in the Washington Evening Star of April 28.

He loves America. He loves and respects the American flag. He explains why. Anyone who reads his letter cannot but be inspired, and also feel ashamed that there are those who enjoy the freedom and opportunity our country offers and who, at the same time, burn the American flag.

The letter follows:

I WAS SHAMED

Sir: Twenty six years ago I was in a small town outside Salerno, Italy. It was around the end of World War II. The town had been completely destroyed, deserted by all the inhabitants—smoke, ruins, flame and destruction were all around us.

I was a young boy then. My friends and I were looking around for food; we were starving and scared. The Germans were all around us. All of a sudden we heard the terrible noise of machines—tanks were coming our way. We were scared; we embraced each other from fear. Who was the enemy? Were they Germans? If they were, they would certainly kill us.

Suddenly, in all these clouds of smoke we saw a flag; we saw a flag standing up straight, full of pride and honor. You should have been there; it was the most beautiful sight any man could have wished for. The tanks were getting closer; we didn't know what to do. We kept looking at that flag, looking, looking; and all of a sudden a smile was coming back to our face, first slowly and then bigger, bigger and deeper. It was the American flag, the American flag; and we cried and screamed with joy in our heart. The fear was gone, there were no more soldiers to kill us.

"It's the American flag; the Americans, the

Americans are here," we cried. "We are free; freedom is here at last." And we ran down the hills, we ran to our mothers hiding in the hills, in caves, even in wells. We ran with the scene of that beautiful flag we had just seen in these clouds in our eyes. . . . The Americans, the Americans are here. Boy! What a joy it was; what a sight to remember.

We cried; we cried in our mothers' arms with joy; and I remember saying to my mother: "We are not going to be killed any more, mother, the Americans are here."

How I have learned to love that flag ever since. How beautiful it was to see the sight of those American soldiers coming to our town to bring us justice, liberty, peace. How we learned to love those soldiers standing there outside of their tanks, beside the American flag. What men they were; what heroes.

Now, after twenty-six years, I am living in America. I have lived here for 24 years and have been a citizen for 20 years. I have learned to love and respect that flag more and more; and, today, I feel just as strong about it as when I first saw that flag on the hills of Salerno. But the other day, when I saw on television, in the Capital of this great nation, a young American burning the American flag in the middle of Dupont Circle and waving the Communist flag straight up in the air, I could not feel anything but horror. I was shamed, broken-hearted. Then tears came down to my face. "Man," I said, "you are not an American. Your father could not be the same soldier that gave me life, freedom and justice on these far hills of Salerno. You are not an American. You don't really know what freedom means. If you believe so deeply that your country is wrong and the enemy is right, then go there. Go to China, to Russia, wherever you think that you want to be. I will pay your one-way ticket.

"I am sure that down deep there are many Americans that would be more than willing to help you and other people like you with a one way ticket out of this country; but don't come running back home to us because you didn't find running water."

To burn the American flag is treason. Ignoring the act is worse.

JOHN A. DELIZZA.

**INCREASED TRADE ESSENTIAL FOR WORLD PEACE, DECLARES SECRETARY OF TRANSPORTATION JOHN A. VOLPE IN ADDRESS BEFORE THE EUROPEAN FREE TRADE ASSOCIATION**

**HON. JENNINGS RANDOLPH**

OF WEST VIRGINIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, May 12, 1970

Mr. RANDOLPH. Mr. President, "increased trade is the essential foundation of prosperity and world peace," declared John A. Volpe, Secretary of Transportation, in a significant address on May 5, 1970, in Washington, D.C., before the European Free Trade Association.

I ask unanimous consent that portions of his remarks be printed in the RECORD.

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

REMARKS BY SECRETARY OF TRANSPORTATION JOHN A. VOLPE BEFORE THE EUROPEAN FREE TRADE ASSOCIATION, WASHINGTON, D.C., MAY 5, 1970

Increased trade is the essential foundation of prosperity and world peace. And how we organize our transportation resources will

determine the effectiveness of our export activity during the crucial years ahead.

In addition to our DOT Administrations for aviation, railroads, urban mass transportation and highways, this Department also has charge of the St. Lawrence Seaway, which has opened up the industrial heartland of this country to European vessel-borne trade and given our shippers there increased access to overseas markets. We include the Coast Guard—a foremost authority on the safety of life and property at sea.

I think that I would be safe in saying that the record trade levels of the sixties will be out-distanced in the decade ahead. The productivity of trade could soar if we fully exploit emerging technology, new procedures and better organization.

You can't open the newspapers without seeing one story after another about "containers", "intermodality", "port concentrations", "interfaces", "feeder service", "multi-modal terminals", and so on. The gleam of massive cost cutting is in every entrepreneur's eye. These changes—once well under way—can mean substantial increases in the productivity of capital and labor and quantum jumps in the speed of through movements.

Even the projected 10 percent annual increase in trade between Europe and the United States may be surpassed. I see only one dark cloud on the horizon. The mechanics of trade, frankly, are still largely Victorian in an age which demands flexibility, speed, and strict economy of operations.

It costs an average of \$163 to complete the paperwork for each American export shipment. It's no wonder. It takes a roll of 101 Government documents some 103 feet long to process a shipment or a vessel or a passenger clearance before sailing. You start with the Shipper's Export Declaration for in-transit goods and end with the shipping articles 103 feet later.

This paper empire costs the United States economy \$1.8 billion every year. That represents much too large a percentage of our \$50 billion annual trade. We hope to help sweep away much of this debris.

The Trade Simplification Bill we sent up to Congress endorses the use of a through Bill of Lading which will consolidate as many as a dozen of the most troublesome forms into one comprehensive document permitting rapid through shipment of goods. We think of it as our "international rapid transit bill."

The challenge of technology in the next decade will be enormous, and it is largely unanticipated, even by some experts. The new wide-bodied airplanes alone could make air freight practical for thousands of shippers who must now rely upon ocean-going vessels.

The commercial version of the C-5A will carry 120 cars at a time—that's 150 tons of net payload. With capacity like that, manufacturers of products with a high value per ton—not just per pound—are going to take to air freight.

There are tough problems to solve—such as how many airports can handle these planes, who will insure them, how will we finance the expanded air navigation and control systems to handle the traffic, how can we speed up the movement of passengers and freight on the ground.

From the historic point of view such problems as we face today will seem insignificant and short-lived. The potential for the further growth of trade and tourism between Europe and the United States is so rich that only the most limited kind of self-interest can impede it for long. I foresee a golden age of trade developing in the seventies and through the next years of this century.

Containerization, simplified paperwork and passports, Customs reform, giant new planes, ocean-going hovercraft, automated cargo

ships, rational and gradually lowered tariffs—all seem possible consequences of an irresistible trend of technology and systems—building throughout the commercial world.

Rational, balanced, and integrated systems of transportation—both within and among nations—will contribute to a much more productive, safer, cleaner and harmonious environment for mankind than those we are accustomed to today. The consequences for our standard of living, for the exchange of ideas, for the enrichment and cross-fertilizing of values, and for better understanding among peoples are beyond calculation.

President Nixon's foremost objective is a new world of peace, progress and justice. This is the fondest hope of the American people. Man's technical ingenuity, applied to transportation and international trade, can make a most significant contribution to that goal.

**UNFORTUNATE INCIDENT AT THE BLAINE PEACE ARCH**

**HON. LLOYD MEEDS**

OF WASHINGTON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 11, 1970

Mr. MEEDS. Mr. Speaker, 1971 will mark the 50th anniversary of the building of the Peace Arch at Blaine, Wash. This Peace Arch was built in 1921 to commemorate the longest international border existing unguarded for not only the longest distance, but for the longest time.

Unfortunately, Mr. Speaker, over the weekend an incident occurred at this Peace Arch which was far from peaceful. Some 500 Canadian students swarmed across the border and into the city of Blaine, Wash., where they tore the American flag from the post office staff, and burned other American flags. They were chased out of town by the citizens there. They then went to a railroad siding where they threw rocks through the windows of automobiles sitting on railroad freight cars, causing some \$60,000 in damage by the estimates of the Burlington & Northern officials in that area, damaging 90 out of 107 cars.

Mr. Speaker, I have spoken to newsmen on the scene, and have been informed by credible people that this was an openly hostile, radical group of people who came across the border and performed these acts.

After this, Mr. Speaker, they went back to the Peace Arch which is at the international border in that area. Then they painted graffiti and signs all over this Peace Arch, which has been a symbol of the cooperation and the affinity of American citizens and Canadian citizens.

Mr. Speaker, I think it is deplorable that this act has occurred. I would hope that tempers remain cool, and that we have no further incidents such as took place there.

Mr. Speaker, I am today asking the Department of State to investigate this matter, and to call upon the Canadian Government to commence an investigation on their side of the border to determine what really happened, why it happened, and to take appropriate steps to see that it does not happen again.

MAY—SENIOR CITIZENS MONTH

**HON. JACOB H. GILBERT**

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 12, 1970

Mr. GILBERT. Mr. Speaker, this is Senior Citizens Month so I rise to salute our elderly citizens, the men and women who helped our Nation win two world wars and overcome the great depression of the 1930's.

During the depression, the men and women now age 65 or over, lost jobs, savings, and homes but they never lost faith in our great country. Instead, they helped usher in a period of unprecedented prosperity and technological achievement capable of sending men to the moon and return them safely to earth.

Unfortunately, a great many seniors have not shared the abundance they helped create. For these unfortunate citizens, and there are millions of them, the great depression never ended.

Even with the 15-percent social security increase that became payable in April, social security benefits average \$1,392 a year for an individual at age 65 and \$2,088 a year for a couple, both age 65.

This is woefully short of the \$2,920 a year the U.S. Labor Department considers the very least a retired couple needs to stay above the poverty line. The Labor Department considers \$4,215 a year as the amount required by a retired couple to enjoy a moderate style of living and \$6,465 a year as the amount necessary to have a fuller share of the Nation's abundance.

When you consider that the 17,000,000 getting social security retirement benefits receive less than the \$2,068 benefit average, it is evident there is an urgent need for a massive increase in social security benefits as proposed under H.R. 14430 which I introduced along with 50 cosponsors.

This bill has the support of the National Council of Senior Citizens, the AFL-CIO, and other groups concerned with the desperate poverty that engulfs millions of older Americans.

The provisions of H.R. 14430 are well known—it calls for 15 significant improvements in the Social Security Act—so I will not discuss them.

It is unfortunate that, since 1963 when President Kennedy first proclaimed Senior Citizens Month, America has not done more for citizens of retirement age.

True, we have enacted medicare, the health insurance program for those age 65 or over, and it is a godsend for the elderly. However, medicare pays less than half—46 percent—of the health expenditures of those age 65 or over. Medicare coinsurance and deductible features deprive large numbers of low-income elderly modern health care.

Since 1963, Congress has voted three increases in social security benefits but vast numbers of older Americans still find themselves financially hard pressed.

Three of every 10 men and women age 65 or over are sunk in poverty.

**EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS**

More Americans are spending more years in retirement. The overwhelming proportion of people retiring today must make do on incomes ranging from 20 to 40 percent of their average earnings while they were in the labor force, experts on the financial problems of the elderly report.

This is no temporary thing. All indications are this situation is worsening year by year.

Unless this trend is reversed, the great majority of today's working population faces a grim prospect when the time comes for them to retire, Nelson H. Cruikshank, president of the National Council of Senior Citizens, points out in a newly published document, "The Stake of Today's Workers in Retirement Security," issued by the Senate Special Committee on Aging.

When enacted 35 years ago, the social security program was a bold step, coming as it did at the height of the Great Depression. However, steps to improve the program have been anything but bold, being intended chiefly to catch up with rising prices.

H.R. 14430 seeks to remedy this neglect. Congress intended the social security system to replace family income lost due to retirement, disability, and death.

Quite clearly, it has not done so. The purpose of H.R. 14430 is to implement the policy envisioned by Congress when it passed the Social Security Act.

I think Americans can be proud of the fact that our social security system is and always has been actuarially sound.

H.R. 14430 would keep it so. It would finance the many improvements it seeks by applying the social security payroll tax to earnings up to \$15,000 a year—instead of \$7,800 at present—and by gradually increasing the contribution from Federal general revenue until this represents approximately a third of the cost of the social security system.

There is ample justification for drawing more heavily on the Federal general fund to finance social security and medicare. As you are aware, neither the worker nor his employer contributed more than a small part of the benefits of early social security retirees. Congress made this a deferred obligation and I submit this obligation should be borne by all taxpayers and not just by workers with wages up to \$7,800 a year.

The kind of reform sought under H.R. 14430 would bring living standards of today's retirees nearer what these retirees had when employed and, at the same time, it would assure today's workers a much better deal in their retirement years than present retirees get.

Mr. Speaker, as we celebrate Senior Citizens Month, I hope we can generate support for action to assure retirees reasonable financial security in the years remaining to them and to enable today's workers to look forward to the retirement years with confidence.

In addition to financial security in retirement, seniors are entitled to decent housing at prices they can afford, and gainful employment for those able and willing to work.

First and foremost, however, they need a solid floor of financial security and I hope we can provide this for them.

May 12, 1970

As and when we do, we will have a great deal more to celebrate during future Senior Citizens Months.

**ECOLOGICAL EFFECTS OF THE WAR IN VIETNAM****HON. JOHN DELLENBACK**

OF OREGON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 12, 1970

Mr. DELLENBACK. Mr. Speaker, the most recent issue of Science Magazine contains an article of profound significance for those of us in the Congress concerned with the use of chemical defoliants in Vietnam. Dr. Gordon H. Orians and Dr. E. W. Pfeiffer, who traveled to Vietnam in 1969, have reported their findings in an article entitled "Ecological Effects of the War in Vietnam," which I append to my remarks.

After viewing acres of defoliated forests and visiting many ruined rubber plantations, these scientists are very concerned about the severe ecological damage that has resulted from the extensive use of chemicals in Vietnam. In addition, they point out that chemical defoliants are not the only source of environmental damage. Huge craters, the results of thousands of bombing missions, scar the landscape, making farming difficult and providing breeding grounds for mosquitoes. Shrapnel from artillery fire embedded in trees is bringing the country's lumber industry to a grinding halt. Furthermore, the subtle effects of defoliation on the countryside is threatening the animal population of the entire region.

Orians and Pfeiffer conclude with the warning that unless scientists begin to study the ecological effects of the Vietnam war immediately, the future of that country is in peril. I find this suggestion most enlightening. Today, I addressed a letter to the President, urging that, along with this administration's recent and very constructive step of restricting the use of 2,4,5T, he establish a Vietnam Ecology Commission consisting of prominent American and Vietnamese scientists. This commission would use its expertise to prepare a detailed report on the ecological conditions of that region and also to recommend the proper steps that should be taken to insure a stable and healthy environment for post-war Vietnam.

The article from Science Magazine follows:

[From the Science magazine, May 1, 1970]

**ECOLOGICAL EFFECTS OF THE WAR IN VIETNAM**

(By Gordon H. Orians and E. W. Pfeiffer)

(Effects of defoliation, bombing, and other military activities on the ecology of Vietnam are described.)

Wars are always destructive of environments, but never before have the ecological effects of a war been a major issue. For the past several years there has been widespread concern among scientists about the massive use of chemicals for defoliation and crop destruction in Vietnam. Because these chemicals have never before been used in military operations, there are no data upon which to predict the effects of such use. However, J. S.

Foster, Director of Defense Research and Engineering, Department of Defense, has stated that the Department of Defense would not use these chemicals if it judged that seriously adverse ecological consequences would occur. The basis upon which this judgment was made is not clear in view of the fact that the report of the Midwest Research Institute (sponsored by the Department of Defense) on the ecological effects of herbicides<sup>1</sup> points out that predictions based on civilian uses are not valid. This is because the military application of herbicides in Vietnam is carried out under conditions that are not comparable to the civilian situation.

Recognizing that there were no data on the ecological effects of the military use of herbicides in Vietnam, the Department of State sent F. H. Tschirley, a U.S. Department of Agriculture plant ecologist, to Vietnam in March 1968, to make a 30-day assessment of the ecological effects of defoliation. His report<sup>2</sup> indicates that the defoliation program is having a profound effect on plant life in Vietnam. He was, however, unable to get first-hand data on many aspects of the problem, including effects on animal life. Accordingly, the Society for Social Responsibility in Science decided to sponsor a trip in March 1969, with the objective of supplementing Tschirley's observations with those of zoologists. Unfortunately both of these visits have been made in the dry season.

#### SOURCES OF INFORMATION

We gathered information and impressions from interviews with military personnel involved with both field operations and policy decisions. We traveled by helicopter over areas damaged by B-52 bombing raids, and we flew on spray missions with the C-123 aircraft which have been modified for spray application. We were also able to take a 2-hour, 40-minute (104 kilometers) trip by Navy patrol boat through the Rung Sat Special Zone, an extensive region of mangroves on the Nha Be River, which has been heavily defoliated. The main shipping channel to Saigon passes through the area and widespread defoliation has been used to reduce the incidence of rocket and mortar attacks on vessels coming up the river. We are grateful to the U.S. Embassy, Army, Navy, and Air Force, the Rubber Research Institute of Vietnam, Plantations Michelin, and the many Vietnamese biologists, both in governmental and nongovernmental positions in their country, for their cooperation and hospitality. All information which we requested from the Department of Defense that did not carry a security classification was made available to us.

Because rubber plantations are one of the most important sources of foreign capital in Vietnam and since the rubber tree *Hevea brasiliensis* is particularly susceptible to damage by defoliants, especially 2,4,5-trichlorophenoxyacetic acid (2,4,5-T)<sup>3</sup>, we interviewed plantation owners concerning defoliation damage. The planters themselves have not carried out systematic studies of the physiological effects of defoliants on rubber trees, but they have been very much interested in estimating their losses. The Rubber Research Institute of Vietnam, a private research corporation, has made careful observations of the nature and extent of damage to rubber trees and has carried out some experiments to find ways of minimizing the loss to defoliants. The data in the files and publications of the Institute, kindly made available to us by the director, Jean-Paul Poliniere, were invaluable to us in learning more about effects of defoliation on rubber trees. Also, during a visit to the research station of the Institute, we were able to observe recent damage to trees by defoliants and to view pictures of trees damaged and killed by previous defoliations.

Officials of the Michelin Plantations also provided us with data from their files on the nature and extent of herbicide damage to rubber trees on one of their plantations.

The Faculty of Science, University of Saigon, and government agencies concerned with plants and animals, such as Ministries of Fisheries, Forestry, and Agriculture, are staffed with biologists trained primarily in France and the United States. These people are knowledgeable and concerned about the ecological effects of the war in their country. By means of interviews with them we were able to assess their concerns, find out what kinds of studies have been initiated, explore ways of helping them launch future studies, and to gather information they had collected which was relevant to our mission.

Wartime conditions prevented us from making ground observations in heavily defoliated forests, but we were able to discuss damage with B. R. Flamm, Chief, Forestry Branch, U.S. Agency for International Development, Saigon, and to examine photographs he took inside forests receiving one and two applications of defoliants. In addition, one of us (G.H.O.) visited some of the sites in Puerto Rico, which have been used to test defoliants under tropical conditions, in April 1969, for a closer look at vegetation recovery and animal populations.

Because previous work on the effects of defoliation in the field have dealt almost entirely with direct effects upon plants, we made a special effort to observe animals in all the areas we visited and to ask as many questions as we could about changes in the status of animals. Because our own knowledge was most extensive about birds we learned the most about them, but we did gather some information on other taxa through interviews. Because of the short duration of our visit we were unable to obtain definitive answers to some of the most important questions which have been raised by the American scientific community about the ecological effects of the war, but we feel that the material we gathered forms a significant contribution to continuing efforts to assess the impact of modern warfare upon the environment in which man must live.

#### OPERATIONAL ASPECTS OF THE DEFOLIATION PROGRAM

Inasmuch as it is the widespread use of herbicides in Vietnam that has been of greatest concern to American scientists, we gave top priority to learning about the effects of the defoliation program in Vietnam. Defoliants have been used in Vietnam by the United States since 1962. The program started modestly but increased sharply after 1965 (Table 1). A peak was reached in 1967 followed by a slight reduction of total area sprayed with defoliants in 1968 as a result of the reassignment of equipment for other missions following the Tet Offensive.<sup>4</sup> The bulk of the spraying is directed against forests and brush, but a significant proportion is directed against cropland in the mountainous parts of the country.<sup>5</sup> The U.S. military authorities believe the food grown in the mountainous areas is used to feed the forces of the National Liberation Front. They deny using defoliants on rice crops in the delta region. Much of the defoliation is along roads and rivers and around military establishments, and border areas (near Laos and Cambodia) are extensively defoliated. Forested regions north and northwest of Saigon in Tay Ninh, Binh Long, Binh Duong, Phuoc Long, and Long Khanh provinces have been very hard hit. This area contains some of the most valuable timber lands in the country. In most cases, broad forest areas have not been repeatedly defoliated, though possibly 20 to 25 percent of the forests of the country have been sprayed more than once. Roadside and riverbanks are subjected to multiple defoliation at regular intervals.

TABLE 1.—ESTIMATED AREA TREATED WITH HERBICIDES IN VIETNAM

Actual area sprayed is not known accurately because some areas are resprayed. Areas are estimated from the number of spray missions flown, the calibrated spray rates, and the width of spray swath covered. (From Department of Defense data.) 1 acre equals 0.4 hectare

Year	Defoliation (acres)	Crop destruction (acres)
1962	17,119	717
1963	34,517	297
1964	53,873	10,136
1965	94,726	49,637
1966	775,894	112,678
1967	1,486,446	221,312
1968	1,297,244	87,064

Officially the defoliation program is a Vietnamese program with the assistance of the United States. The initial request for defoliation may be made by either a district or a province chief with the support of his American advisor. Included in the request must be the claim that the targeted area is under control of the National Liberation Front or of the North Vietnamese. The chief must also pledge to reimburse his people if there is any accidental damage to their crops by windblown spray or other causes. The request also must contain a promise to inform people in the target area that it will be sprayed, giving them the reasons for the spraying, and offering them the opportunity to change their allegiances if they so desire. Plans are supposed to be made in advance to handle any refugees which might result from the operation.

This request then goes to the division tactical zone commander and his American advisor, then to the Corps commander and his advisor, and then to the Vietnamese Joint General Staff and its American advisors in Saigon. In Saigon the request is circulated among a broad spectrum of groups dealing with pacification operations, intelligence, psychological warfare, and chemical warfare. Finally, permission must be given by the commanding general and the United States Ambassador to Vietnam.

Despite this formal arrangement, in Vietnam the program is generally considered to be an American one, and military justification of it is always given in terms of the American lives it saves. Moreover, there is evidence that the many precautions specified by the procedures are neglected regularly. For example, aerial reconnaissance of the target area prior to the decision to spray it, is omitted if the schedule is busy, and in enemy-held areas there is often no warning given.

To reduce transfer of herbicides by the wind and to improve the kill on the desired target, the military authorities have established regulations governing conditions under which defoliation may take place. Missions are to be flown only when the temperature is less than 85°F (29.4°C) and the wind is less than 10 knots. This restricts aerial spraying to morning hours, though usually an attempt is made to fly two successive missions each morning.

The defoliants used in Vietnam, the concentrations used, and those used in U.S. civilian operations, and the purposes for which they are best suited are given in Table 2. In the region of Saigon, where wind-blown and gaseous herbicides pose threats to cropland, agent White is now preferred because of its lower volatility and persistence but in regions where there is little agriculture, Orange is the preferred agent because it is most economical. Presently in Vietnam, Orange constitutes about 50 percent of the total herbicide used, White 35 percent, and Blue 15 percent, the latter being used primarily against mountain rice crops.<sup>6</sup>

Footnotes at end of article.

## EFFECTS OF DEFOLIANTS ON TREES

It was impossible for us to visit defoliated forests on foot or by means of ground transportation. We, therefore, are unable to add much to what has already been reported on the direct effects of defoliants on forest trees. We can confirm Tschirley's report<sup>2</sup> that the trees which are collectively known as mangroves are extremely susceptible to the action of defoliants and that one application at the normal rate employed in Vietnam is sufficient to kill most of the trees. Most of the areas we visited by boat on the Rung Sat Peninsula were still completely barren even though some of the areas had been sprayed several years earlier. Only in occasional places was there any regeneration of mangrove trees. We observed no growth of the saltwater fern *Achrosticum aureum* which often invades mangrove areas.

Mangrove vegetation is floristically simple, the forests in Vietnam being dominated by *Avicennia marina*, *A. intermedia*, *Rhizophora conjugata*, *Bruguiera parviflora*, *B. gymnorrhiza*, *Ceriops candolleana*, and *Nipa fruticans*, the latter species also forming dense stands along most rivers in the delta region where they are subject to tidal influence. The normal pattern of vegetation succession in mangrove areas has been reviewed by Tschirley<sup>2</sup> who suggests that about 20 years would be required for the reestablishment of the dominant *Rhizophora-Bruguiera* forest. This estimate is based upon the assumption of immediate redistribution of seeds to the defoliated areas and the presence of suitable germination conditions when they arrive. Although our observations were limited to what we could see from the boats with binoculars, there is reason to believe that the timetable may be somewhat longer than this. Possibly conditions for seed germination are not now very good in the defoliated forests. The unusual soil conditions of mangrove forests may result in a failure of the herbicides to be decomposed. If the molecules remain bound to the soil particles they might influence seed germination for a long time. Alternatively, seed dispersal into the areas in which mature trees have been killed. Many of the areas, as a result of continued soil deposition under the trees, are flooded only at the highest of high tides, and seeds must be transported for long distances from the river channels under very unfavorable conditions. It cannot be excluded that reestablishment of the original forest may be impossible except along the edges of the river channels and backwaters.

Military operations in Vietnam provide an opportunity to study the effects of unusually high rates of application of herbicides. For example, before jet pods were installed in the C-123 aircraft, the planes were unable to remain aloft in case of engine trouble. In such a contingency, the crew could jettison the entire contents of the tank (1000 gallons; 3.79 kiloliters), in slightly less than 30 seconds, whereas normal spray time is about 4 minutes. Although such contingencies are said to occur less frequently now, they do continue to happen. On the spray mission which one of us (E.W.P.) accompanied as observer, the spray nozzles of one plane failed to work properly, and the entire tank was unloaded at the end of the target. Because the locations of targets are pinpointed very precisely, and because reports are made of all unusual activities during a spraying mission, it should be possible to keep a record of such occurrences. It is most important that all such incidents be recorded in

order to enable biologists, in the future, to investigate the sites of concentrated defoliant applications.

## EFFECTS OF DEFOLIATION ON UPLAND FORESTS

Our observations on upland forests that were sprayed directly were limited to aerial reconnaissance. Regrettably we have nothing to add to the published studies about the short-term effect of defoliants on tropical forest trees after single applications of herbicides.<sup>1,2,5</sup> The area in northern Long Khanh province that one of us (G.H.O.) observed from the air had been sprayed previously, and many of the trees on the actual target of the mission already appeared to be dead. Except for the wetter spots which were covered with bamboo, the ground was clearly visible in most areas from the low-flying aircraft. Many areas in War Zones C and D have been sprayed more than once, and this multiple spraying is also associated with coverage of wide areas. Vegetative recovery as judged from the air was limited to the growth of bamboo and understory trees rather than to refoliation of the canopy dominants.

Observations of defoliated upland forests were made from the ground by Tschirley<sup>2</sup> and Flamm.<sup>5</sup> They visited defoliated forests near Special Forces camps in Tay Ninh and Binh Long provinces northwest of Saigon, a region of gray podzolic soils. According to these studies, after defoliation, on sites sprayed once, there appears to be a modest kill of canopy trees, but understory seedlings and saplings survive and forest regeneration begins fairly rapidly. However, on sites that received two sprayings roughly 1 year apart, a heavy kill of all woody plants, including seedlings, is reported. Two or three spray applications may kill approximately 50 percent of commercially valuable timber in such forests. These areas are being invaded by grasses which are resistant to forest defoliants and which may arrest succession by preventing the reestablishment of tree seedlings for a long time. Even if this does not occur, it will take many decades before a mature forest grows. Subtle effects, such as

changes in the species composition and forest physiognomy, may persist for much longer than that.

A year after spraying, timber is still in good condition, and could be harvested for commercial use, if equipment and markets are available. However shrapnel will be a serious problem for the Vietnamese lumber industry for many years. Most sawmills report that they lose from 1 to 3 hours each day because shrapnel in the logs severely damages the saw blades. The forestry program is looking for suitable metal detection equipment that might help to reduce this damage.

A variety of herbicides, including picloram, bromacil, isopropylamine, prometon, dicamba, divron, and fenac have been tested for their effects under tropical conditions in Puerto Rico since 1962.<sup>7</sup> The plots visited in April 1969 were located at an elevation of 540 meters in the Luquillo Experimental Forest in northeastern Puerto Rico. They had been sprayed in 1965 with a Hiller 12-5 helicopter which delivers the spray over a standard swath 35 feet (10.7 meters) wide. The plots were 60 by 80 feet (18 by 24 meters) separated by buffer zones 20 feet (6 meters) wide and there were three replications, ordered in a randomized block design, with 50-foot (15-meter) buffer zones between the strips. The extent of defoliation had been measured 1 year after treatment, the percentage of defoliation on each tree being estimated visually. Apparently there had been no recent ground visits to the sites because all the tralls were overgrown and the boundaries of the plots were almost impossible to find. There has been little interest in the continuing effects of the herbicide treatments. This is unfortunate for some areas received very high rates of herbicide application [27 pounds acid equivalent per acre (30.2 kilograms per hectare)]. Assays of growth rate and germination of cucumbers, made in soils up to 1 year after application of the herbicides, revealed relatively high concentrations of picloram, although this technique does not provide precise quantitative measures.

TABLE 2.—CHEMICAL COMPOSITION, RATES OF APPLICATION, AND USES OF MILITARY HERBICIDES FROM DATA SUPPLIED BY THE U.S. DEPARTMENTS OF DEFENSE AND AGRICULTURE. 1 POUND PER GALLON, ACID EQUIVALENT (AE) EQUALS 114 GRAMS PER LITER. 1 POUND PER ACRE EQUALS 1.12 KILOGRAMS PER HECTARE.

Agent	Composition (Percent)	Concentration (lb./gal. AE)	Rate of application (lb./acre)		Use
			Vietnam	United States	
Orange	n-Butyl ester 2,4-D 50	4.2	27.0	2.0	General defoliation of forest, brush, and broad-leaved crops.
	n-Butyl ester 2,4,5-T 50	3.7			
Purple	n-Butyl ester 2,4-D 50	4.2			General defoliation agent used interchangeably with agent Orange.
	n-Butyl ester 2,4,5-T 30	2.2			
White	Isobutyl ester 2,4,5-T 20	1.5	6.0	.5-2	Forest defoliation where longer term control is desired.
	Triisopropanolamine salt, 2,4-D	2.0			
	Triisopropanolamine salt, picloram	0.54			
Blue	Sodium cacodylate 27.7 Free cacodylic acid 4.8 Water, sodium chloride balance.	3.1	9.3	5-7.5	Rapid short-term defoliation. Good for grass control and use on rice.

There is a possible serious source of error in the visual estimates of the speed of refoliation in these Puerto Rican rain forest plots. At the higher rates of herbicide application, it was clear that most of the trees had been either killed or severely damaged. However, these plots had been invaded by vines which climbed the trunks of the dead trees and spread out over the former canopy. On fore of the plots nearly all of the greenery above 3 meters was contributed by vines and not by refoliation of the original trees. Nevertheless, a quick visual estimate, particularly if it were made from a helicopter, might be taken to indicate that extensive refoliation of trees had occurred. The vine-choked plots will not return to their former state as rapidly as they might otherwise, because the dead trunks will probably collapse under

the weight of the vines in a few years, creating a low, vine-covered mat through which regeneration could be very difficult. We urge that continued studies of vegetation succession on these and other Puerto Rican test plots be undertaken so that the time required to reestablish the original forest and the factors influencing the pattern of succession can be determined.

Some vine invasion was also characteristic of plots receiving lesser amounts of herbicides, but a severe setback in these forests did not appear to have taken place. Seedlings of mahogany, *Swietenia macrophylla*, and Caribbean pine, *Pinus caribaea*, which had been planted in some of the plots a month after defoliation were surviving quite well.

Footnotes at end of article.

## EFFECTS OF DEFOLIANTS ON ANIMALS

Tschirley obtained no direct information on the effects that killing the mangroves had on animal populations, but he cited statistics that the fish catch in the Republic of Vietnam had been increasing. Because many factors influence total fish catch and because most of the fish are caught in regions not directly exposed to defoliation, the significance of these data is unclear. Therefore, we attempted to learn as much as we could about animal populations in the defoliated mangrove forests.

As might be expected, the almost complete killing of all the vegetations of the mangrove areas by herbicides has had a severe effect upon the animals living there. During our tour of the defoliated areas we did not see a single species of insectivorous or frugivorous birds with the exception of barn swallows, *Hirundo rustica*, which are migrants from the north. Although no data regarding the bird populations in the Rung Sat prior to defoliation exist, our experiences in mangrove areas in tropical America indicate that there should have been large numbers of land birds. For example, in Panama as many species of birds were found in a pure red mangrove (*Rhizophora mangle*) forest as would be expected on the basis of the leaf height profile (density of leaves per unit volume as a function of height of forest) of the stand,<sup>8</sup> and in a brief census of a similar mangrove forest (primarily *Rhizophora*) in Costa Rica, 44 species of land birds which appeared to be resident and breeding were recorded.<sup>9</sup> Mangrove areas throughout the tropics are rich in bird species,<sup>10</sup> many of them restricted to that type vegetation, and the Southeast Asian mangroves are no exception.

Fish-eating birds seem to have suffered less severely, but even their numbers were much fewer than we expected. The species of birds and the number of individuals per species that we observed during a 2-hour period in the defoliated areas, are: oriental darter (*Anhinga melanogaster*), 2; grey heron (*Ardea cinerea*), 13; large egret (*Egret-iaalba*), 3; little egret (*E. garzetta*), 12; intermediate egret (*E. intermedia*), 1; javan pond heron (*Ardeola speciosa*), 6; stork (*Leptoptilos* sp.), 2; black-winged kite (*Elanus caeruleus*), 1; osprey (*Pandion haliaetus*), 9; whimbrel (*Numenius phaeopus*), 3; little tern (*Sterna albigrons*), 10; and white-breasted kingfisher (*Halcyon smyrnensis*), 2. All except the kite, which feeds on small mammals, are fish-eating birds. This suggests, as would be expected, that aquatic food chains in the mangroves may have been less severely affected by defoliation than the terrestrial ones. The only other vertebrate we saw in the defoliated areas was a large crocodile *Crocodylus* on the bank of a small channel.

Of all the areas in Vietnam, the mangroves in the delta of the Saigon River have probably been most severely affected by defoliation. The area treated has been very extensive, covering many square kilometers, the vegetation is extremely sensitive to herbicides, and many of the species of animals inhabiting mangroves are restricted to that type of vegetation. These animals are therefore inhabitants of "islands" surrounded by unsuitable habitat and as such are expected to have higher rates of extinction even under normal conditions than species of more continuous habitats.<sup>11</sup> These same properties make them more susceptible to local and complete extermination by disturbance and destruction of habitat than are species of upland habitats. Long-term studies of the ecology of the Rung Sat should be given a high priority, including investigation of the status of such invertebrates as crustaceans.

Birds were scarce in the heavily defoliated plots in Puerto Rico, but in the more lightly treated areas both species composition and general population density were comparable to that found in untreated areas in the general vicinity. There was not time to conduct a complete census, but it is doubtful whether such studies would be worthwhile since the plots are so small that they are less than the average size of most bird territories. Therefore, the effects of the tests on bird populations should in any event be minimum. It is important to remember, however, that results from spraying of very small areas cannot be assumed to apply to extensively treated areas.

## TOXICITY OF HERBICIDES

The problem of the toxicity of herbicides to animals is not yet resolved. Nearly all studies are short term, and results are contradictory. Some reports<sup>1</sup> suggest that at the prevailing concentrations herbicides are not directly toxic to animals, and Tschirley<sup>2</sup> states: "There is no evidence to suggest that the herbicides used in Vietnam will cause toxicity problems for man or animals." However, according to Holden<sup>12</sup> 2,4-dichlorophenoxyacetic acid (2,4-D) may constitute a potential danger to fish even in normal use. The LD<sub>50</sub> value for salmonids during a 24-hour exposure to 2,4-D is 0.5 part per million. Thus, a concentration of 4 pounds of active constituent per gallon (458 grams per liter) in a small [10 cubic feet (0.28 cubic meter) per second] stream would expose fish to about 100 times the LD<sub>50</sub>. It should be recalled that the rate of application of 2,4-D in Vietnam is slightly greater than this. According to Holden, the toxicity of 2,4,5-T is about one-half that of 2,4-D.

Another possible source of toxicity to animals from defoliation is an indirect effect of the activity of 2,4-D in plants. Stahler and Whitehead<sup>13</sup> reported that there are several cases of cattle becoming ill or dying after eating certain species of weeds that had been treated with 2,4-D. These authors present data that clearly indicate that sublethal dosages of 2,4-D may markedly affect the metabolism of certain plant species so that toxic quantities of nitrates accumulate in the treated plants. In the animals the nitrates are changed to nitrites which are absorbed into the blood producing methemoglobin which results in oxygen deficiency to the tissues. This condition may cause death or illness resulting in abortion. Leaves of sugar beets that had been treated with 2,4-D were shown to have amounts of nitrate well above the minimum lethal concentration. A recent statement<sup>14</sup> by an American agricultural specialist emphasizes that "Dairy cows should not be grazed on irrigated pasture for seven days after application of 2,4-D at the one-half pound and over rate of application."

To our knowledge there are no studies of the effects of agent Orange on Vietnamese forage plants to determine whether these plants become toxic to animals due to nitrate accumulation following defoliation with Orange. Determination of nitrate concentration in leaves should be made in defoliated and control areas, and the hemoglobins of animals which feed on exposed plants should be studied.

A recent study of the teratogenicity of 2,4-D and 2,4,5-T<sup>15</sup> shows that the latter compound is highly teratogenic in rats and mice at dosages that are possible of ingestion by humans in Vietnam.

We uncovered little evidence of direct toxic effects on animals. The Tan Son Nhut air base in Saigon is sprayed by hand with agent Blue several times each year and nonetheless has a serious rat problem. A trapping crew every night puts out 100 snap traps and 30 live traps, baited with bacon. From 3 January 1969 to 19 March 1969, they had trapped 613 rats and 8 viverrids of at least two species.

We netted and observed birds on a previously sprayed brushy area near Bien Hoa on two different mornings and found birds very common. We saw much territorial defense and singing as would be expected at the end of the dry season in the tropics.

We did receive one report of many sick and dying birds and mammals in forests following defoliation and two reports of death of large numbers of small pigs near Saigon, but were unable to follow up either report. The Ministry of Agriculture has received no bona fide claims of animal damage from defoliants. Nevertheless, we must not forget that habitat destruction, which defoliation regularly accomplishes, is in most cases the equivalent of death for animals. The widespread view that animals can move to other nearby areas is untenable because recent ecological evidence suggests that tropical forests hold the maximum number of individuals of most species that the resources will support. Reduction of forest habitats will decrease the populations of forest animals by an equivalent amount. Nor is it true that forest species can live successfully in the greatly modified conditions which prevail in even partially defoliated forests. Species characteristic of successional stages will, of course, be expected to move into the disturbed areas, but even they may have to wait until the basic food resources, such as insects and fruit, have built up again, and we do not know how long this will take.

A phenomenon that should be investigated immediately is a widespread sickness which appears at the beginning of the rainy season in commercially important freshwater fishes. The symptoms are many small, round, dark spots in the muscles. The taste of the fish is also adversely affected. Poor people continue to eat the fish even though they are diseased. This disease has always been characteristic of that time of the year in Vietnam, but the director of the Institute of Fisheries has received reports which suggest that the incidence is now higher than before. Conditions in the shallow water of the fields are ideal for concentration of herbicides. The Vietnamese fisheries people, who are qualified and presently have greater mobility in the country than Americans, are in a position to initiate such studies now. The Minister has already circulated a letter among his representatives in the provinces asking for any information they may have, and we agreed to help formulate a more detailed questionnaire for future circulation.

Some insight into the possible harmful effects of the herbicides now in use in Vietnam may be gained by consulting the labels which give directions for their uses. Dow Chemical Co., makers of agents Orange and White, warn that these chemicals should be kept out of reach of children and animals. The label on agent White states: "Do not allow material to contaminate water used for irrigation, drinking, or other domestic purposes." Dow Chemical Co. also recommends that no grazing be allowed on treated areas for 2 years after treatment and that some broadleafed crops may show damage 3 years after application.

Ansul Chemical Co., makers of agent Blue, state that when an individual is exposed (to cacodylic acid) daily for extended periods, the inspection of skin sensitivity should be supplemented by monthly urinalysis for arsenic. Symptoms of acute poisoning from cacodylic acid are headache, vomiting, diarrhea, dizziness, stupor convulsions, general paralysis, and death. The dosage required to cause these symptoms may be as little as one ounce (28 grams) of cacodylic acid per human adult.

## EFFECTS OF DEFOLIANTS ON RUBBER CULTURE

Most studies of the effects of defoliants on forest trees have been confined to observation of the percentage of defoliation after relatively short intervals following single ap-

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plications of herbicides. Studies of the effects of defoliation on rubber trees have been initiated by the Rubber Research Institute of Malaya and by the Rubber Research Institute of Vietnam because of the economic importance of rubber trees to Vietnam and because of the widespread damage to plantations from military spraying. Although these studies contain the best available data, they have been limited by the shortage of funds and difficulties of field work in a country during wartime.

Damage to rubber trees in Vietnam has been extensive. During 1967-68, the Institute staff visited over 200 different plantations in the provinces of Bien Hoa, Binh Duong, Gia Dinh, Hau Nghia, Long Khanh, Phuoc Tuy, Tay Ninh, and Binh Long. (This covers most of the area between the rice-growing areas of the Saigon and Mekong River deltas and the mountainous central part of the country.) On this extensive area of approximately 130 by 40 kilometers, all plantations reported damage by defoliants. More than 40,000 hectares planted with rubber trees were defoliated at least to the extent of 10 percent. It is difficult to estimate the total amount of damage resulting from defoliation. Plantation owners might possibly submit exaggerated claims, but there is no doubt that the damage has been considerable. For example, Plantation de Dautieng of the Michelin Company has been affected by defoliants three times since 1965. In all cases, the defoliant has not been applied directly to the rubber trees, but has been carried by the wind from applications in the general area. No trees were killed, but, by measuring the drop in latex production due to stoppage of tapping, decreased yield of lightly damaged trees, and costs of cutting and trimming back partially killed trees, the company estimates that the damage amounted to \$27,835 in 1965, \$37,479 in 1966, and \$27,844 in 1967.

The yield of rubber per hectare is decreasing. In 1960, rubber plantations in Vietnam yielded 1066 kilograms of dry rubber per hectare (on plantations of more than 25 hectares). In 1967, the yield had dropped to 793 kilograms per hectare. In contrast, in Malaysia the yield in 1960 was 758 kilograms of dry rubber per hectare, but had risen to 1007 kilograms per hectare in 1966. The decrease in yield in Vietnam is due to a combination of circumstances such as the cessation of tapping forced by military action, less experienced labor and less thorough control in the field, herbicide damage, lack of general upkeep of plantations, and the cutting of rubber trees along roads where about 3000 hectares have already been cut. The relative importance of each factor seems impossible to assess. It is a fact that they are all the consequence of the war.

The total yield of rubber in Vietnam has also declined. In 1960, 77,560 tons of dry rubber were produced. Rubber exports amounted to \$48,000,000, which was 56 percent of South Vietnam's total exports for that year. In 1967, the yield had dropped to 42,510 tons of dry rubber, which, considering the devaluation of the piaster, amounted only to \$12,800,000. Inasmuch as other exports suffered even more heavily, this diminished amount (26 percent of the 1960 exports) made up 72 percent of South Vietnam's exports, which had decreased to \$17,800,000, or 20.8 percent of the 1960 exports.<sup>10</sup>

If a rubber tree is completely defoliated by herbicides, the Institute recommends that planters stop tapping until its new leaves are fully grown. Because it takes a month for a new leaf to grow to full size from the time of breaking of bud dormancy and because dormancy is not usually broken immediately after defoliation, the minimum period of stopping is about 2 months. The maximum

period of stoppage is, of course, permanent if the tree is killed. If tapping is not stopped while the tree is defoliated, there is competition between growth of new leaves and yield within the tree, and the future health of the tree is jeopardized. In a number of cases where trees were not killed, tapping has been stopped for as long as 1 year. If only some of the leaves are lost, tapping can be continued, but there is a drop in latex production after a lag of about 1 month. The loss, over a period of a year, has been estimated to be sometimes as much as 30 percent of the normal yield of latex. At current prices that amount of loss reduces profit from about \$90 per hectare per year to nothing. As a consequence, most of the small plantations have been unable to stay in business. Only the large planters, with solid financial backing, can afford to remain in operation despite the war.

According to studies by Dow Chemical Company (as reported to us by the Rubber Research Institute), the defoliant is absorbed through the leaves of the trees and is carried down through the phloem within 24-hours, and symptoms of defoliation appear within a few weeks after spraying. The distance the defoliant travels down the tree is a function of the dosage received, and the Institute people have assessed this by the simple device of cutting into the trunk of the trees at different heights to investigate the flow of latex. Necroses are also clearly visible in the sectioned trunks, many of which we examined in the laboratories of the Institute. As might be expected, the smaller the rubber tree, the more readily it is killed by defoliants. Research in Malaysia has shown that a wide range of concentrations of the *n*-butyl ester of 2,4,5-T killed rubber seedlings in 6 weeks (3). Accidental defoliations in Vietnam indicate that trees less than 7 years old can be killed by the dosages used in military operations, but that older trees normally recover. Nevertheless, all trees on 100 hectares on Plantation Ben Cui were killed by herbicides in 1965, despite the fact that the trees were 33 years old. From such occurrences, the Rubber Research Institute concluded that repeated defoliations threaten the very existence of rubber culture in Vietnam.<sup>11</sup>

In spite of such evidence, Chemical Operations Division, United States Army, claims that rubber trees cannot be killed by defoliants. According to our observations, although we do not claim expertise in this field, damage to rubber production is severe. The Rubber Research Institute, which does not itself maintain any plantations and cannot be accused of bias on that account, seems to be in an excellent position to conduct further research into the physiological effects of defoliants on trees. Funds are urgently needed for this purpose.

#### EFFECTS OF ACCIDENTAL DEFOLIATION

The extent of damage resulting from wind-blown and gaseous herbicides has been much debated. Agent Orange is classified as a volatile herbicide by plant physiologists, but physical chemists regard it as nonvolatile. Under proper weather conditions nearly all of the spray is deposited on the vegetation or ground within a minute after release from the aircraft. Those vapors formed during fall of droplets subsequently diffuse according to the laws of gaseous diffusion. Therefore, it has been concluded that "The rate of downwind movement of vapors, and therefore the duration of exposure of plants to the vapors, is dependent upon wind speed in the first few minutes subsequent to spray release. While no quantitative data are available, it is our considered judgment, based on the above reasoning, that vapors arising during the actual spray operation, as usually carried out, can be dismissed as a source of herbicides for crop damage outside target areas"<sup>12</sup> (emphasis added by us). This as-

sumes the existence of inversion conditions and that transport of the liquid spray droplets by the wind is negligible. Our direct observations and interviews suggest that the seriousness of this problem has been greatly underestimated.

We were able to observe defoliation damage to several species of trees far removed from target areas. On 25 March, in the village of Ho-Nai, we observed many fruit trees that had recently been damaged by defoliants. The characteristic sign was the presence of curled, dead leaves on the trees. Damage seemed excessive on the south side of the trees, which suggests that the spray was carried into the village by a southerly or southeasterly wind. Villagers informed us that spray had hit them about 1 week previously. Chemical Operations Division, United States Army, reported to us that a defoliation aircraft had had to jettison its chemicals at the time of takeoff from nearby Bien Hoa Air Base, approximately at the time when the Ho-Nai residents had observed the spray. The most severe damage was to jack fruit (*Artocarpus heterophyllus*, Moraceae) which is also a producer of a milky sap. The residents of Ho-Nai claimed to have been affected by defoliation missions seven times within the past year.

On 23 March, in a residential area between Saigon and the U.S. Air Base at Bien Hoa, we examined and photographed many diseased mango trees. The owner, a biologist trained in the United States, claimed that the trees suffered defoliation 3 years ago, after which they became infected and had not since flowered or produced fruit. In other areas we subsequently observed the same symptoms in mango and other trees. According to the Rubber Research Institute, latex-producing trees seem to be more susceptible to herbicide damage than other species.

Every Vietnamese biologist we talked to explained that actual herbicide damage has been frequent and regular over much of the delta region. In the Ministry of Agriculture we were shown photographs of damaged jack fruit, manioc, and rubber and were told that many guava trees had been killed. The Ministry has attempted in a preliminary way to assess the total damage reported and found it to be so extensive that adequate financial compensation to the owners of damaged trees would probably be impossible. The experimental station of the College of Agriculture of the University of Saigon at Tu Duc has been affected by windblown defoliants several times, usually with almost complete kill of vegetables.

It is difficult to determine the amount of claims actually submitted to or paid by the Vietnamese government. Funds for the payment of defoliation claims are provided by the United States, but the claims are handled by the Political Warfare Department of the Air Force of the Republic of Vietnam under the Military Civil Assistance Program. Damage claims are considered and paid by province officials under guidelines established by the central government. Everyone we talked with agreed that payments are minimum. We were told by Vietnamese that people who file claims with the government are often threatened with imprisonment if they continue to press their claims. Many others do not attempt to file claims because they feel it will be of no use. United States officials argue that most claims are fraudulent.

It is our opinion that significant quantities of defoliants are regularly carried by the wind over broad areas of cropland in the Republic of Vietnam. Even given the difficulties of making first-hand observations in a war zone, it would be possible for independent observers to verify or disprove many of the conflicting claims. Such a study is urgently needed. Rising damage claims in 1967 caused a serious review of the defoliation program at that time.<sup>13</sup> Serious contro-

Footnotes at end of article.



versies over damage caused by wind-blown spray had arisen, and the psychological impact on the Vietnamese was great. It is noteworthy (and substantiates the claims of widespread crop damage) that the United States now has changed its policy and uses primarily agent White in the delta region because its volatility is lower than that of the other available agents. Nevertheless, we encountered many reports of very recent damage in that area.

CROP DESTRUCTION

Direct and deliberate application of agent Blue to cropland has been restricted to the highland regions of the country which are held by the National Liberation Front. Consequently, scientists of the Republic of Vietnam and those of the United States are unable to make first-hand studies at present. American officials consider the program very

successful because many captured soldiers from these areas are seriously undernourished; some to the extent of being stretcher cases at the time of capture. These reports might suggest that the "resource denial" program has been successful, but there are strong reasons for believing that food shortages affect women, children, and elderly people much more than they affect soldiers.<sup>20</sup>

EFFECT OF B-52 BOMBING

Although it has not attracted the concern of American scientists, the damage caused by raids with B-52 bombers is of considerable ecological significance. The 500- and 750-pound bombs dropped by these aircraft leave craters as much as 30 feet deep and 45 feet across. Most of these are filled with water even late in the dry season. The army does not disclose the total number of bombs dropped, and the total area affected cannot

be calculated accurately. However, the magnitude of the effect can be estimated from the following facts. A standard load for a B-52 is 108 500-pound bombs or nearly 30 tons of explosives. Normally, a "mission" consists of 3 to 12 aircraft. In 1967, 982 missions were flown over the Republic of Vietnam. In 1968, 3022 missions were flown (Table 3). If one assumes an average of eight planes per mission, then one can estimate that about 848,000 craters were formed in 1967 and 2,600,000 craters in 1968. As one Vietnamese put it, we are making the country look like the surface of the moon. Unless heavy earth-moving equipment can be brought to the sites to fill the craters they will remain a permanent feature of the Vietnamese landscape. Areas such as War Zones C and D, which have been heavily hit by B-52 attacks, are riddled by craters.

TABLE 3.—MISSIONS FLOWN BY B-52 BOMBERS OVER VIETNAM

Month	I Corps	II Corps	III Corps	IV Corps	DMZ			Month	I Corps	II Corps	III Corps	IV Corps	DMZ		
					N	S	North Vietnam						N	S	North Vietnam
1967								1968							
January	18	14	27	1	2	7	January	59	22	23			4	1	
February	23	30	30	1	1		February	204	53	34					
March	45	23	32				March	222	58	27	4		6		
April	55	13	22	2	2	4	April	173	66	19	7		2		
May	55	27	23	1	1	3	May	71	123	27	10		13	1	
June	45	28	25	1			June	24	87	171	11		6		
July	44	31	22	3		3	July	28	34	152	26	7		45	
August	26	28	24			24	August	71	55	161	13	8		8	
September	13	9	6			57	September	51	55	167	18	1	10	8	
October	17	15	20			30	October	86	33	128	25	2	1	15	
November	13	47	16	1		12	November	45	36	109	17				
December	6	19	22			27	December	53	22	125	17				

Since most of the attacks have occurred in militarily contested areas it has not been possible for scientists to investigate heavily cratered areas to determine the effects on local ecology. Obviously, they are potential breeding grounds for mosquitoes; they may possibly be fish-breeding ponds; they may also render many agricultural areas difficult to utilize.

MISCELLANEOUS EFFECTS

The prolonged military activity in Vietnam is causing other ecological upheavals. Not the least are the major sociological changes that are taking place in the country, such as the amazingly rapid rate of urbanization of the population. This results as people flee from war-torn countryside or are forcibly transported to the city. Within the last decade Saigon has changed from a quiet city of 250,000 to an overcrowded city of 3,000,000 inhabitants. The tremendous infusion of American capital has also resulted in rapid increase in the number of motorized vehicles in the streets. Japanese motor bikes and small cars of Japanese or Italian manufacture seem to be prevalent. Traffic accidents are common. Saigon's air pollution problem due to fumes from the mixture of gasoline and oil which serves as fuel is so severe that many trees along the major arterials in the city are dead or dying. (It is possible that the winddrift of defoliants has contributed to weakening the trees, but it is likely that the major cause is fumes from motor vehicles.) There are no immediate prospects for any improvement as the population of the city continues to grow and creation of an adequate municipal transportation system seems improbable.

A major cause of forest destruction in Vietnam today is fire. Some fires are started deliberately by the Vietnamese army and some are caused by artillery shells. Over 40 percent of the pine plantations in the country have been burned recently; the extent of destruction of the mixed forests is unknown. We were unable to estimate the total area involved.

Because of the war, all hunting in the Republic of Vietnam has been officially dis-

continued. Nevertheless, there are large numbers of armed men in the forest, many of whom are poorly nourished. Presumably, they regularly shoot all suitable food animals. Tigers, on the other hand, seem to have benefitted from the war. In the past 24 years, they have learned to associate the sounds of gunfire with the presence of dead and wounded human beings in the vicinity. As a result, tigers rapidly move toward gunfire and apparently consume large numbers of battle casualties. Although there are no accurate statistics on the tiger populations past or present, it is likely that the tiger population has increased much as the wolf population in Poland increased during World War II.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

In Vietnam the chemical weapons of a technologically advanced society are being used massively for the first time in a guerrilla war. In this conflict there are no battle lines, no secure territory, and no fixed, permanent military installations which can serve as targets for attack. Rather, the military efforts are aimed at increasing the toll of fatalities, denying food to the enemy, and depriving him of the cover and concealment afforded by natural growth. This type of warfare is, therefore, extremely destructive, both of human lives and environment. Our own observations showed the profound effects of denuding the country of growth. The military is emphatic about the effectiveness of defoliation in reducing American casualties significantly. The demand for the services of 12th Air Commando Squadron greatly exceeds their ability to supply them. Although the total number of requests for defoliation missions was not disclosed, we were told that even if no further requests were made, the defoliation crews would be kept busy for years by the present backlog. The current extent of the defoliation program is not determined by military demand nor by any considerations of saving the ecology and viability of the land and natural resources of Vietnam, but solely by competition for equipment and personnel.

With general agreement among military

experts that defoliation is a potent weapon in guerrilla warfare, it is to be expected that in any future wars of this nature more extensive use will be made of it. At the end of their war against the Vietnamese, the French discovered the usefulness of helicopters as field combat aircraft, but they had only about a dozen at their disposal. There are now several thousand helicopters in Vietnam as a major component of our offensive air power. Making a realistic appraisal of defoliation and its ecological consequences, we must, therefore, consider not only the present extent of use but also anticipate greatly expanded defoliation actions in the future.

We consider that the ecological consequences of defoliation are severe. Enough is now known to reveal that a significant fraction of mature trees in most forests are killed by single applications of herbicides and that almost complete kill, including destruction of seedlings and saplings, is to be expected if repeated sprayings are made. Because of military demands for respraying, we must expect virtual elimination of woody vegetation of defoliated sites as a common result of the military use of herbicides.

It is evident that the most stringent regulations for the application of defoliants cannot prevent the widespread dispersal of herbicides to areas far beyond those that were intended to be defoliated. We found abundant evidence of repeated moderate to severe defoliation of trees and herbs in areas many miles removed from sites of direct application. Every responsible Vietnamese person we met confirmed this. Moreover, a pilot in a war zone will jettison his load of defoliant, rather than jeopardize the safety of his crew and plane, and a spray plane will not return to its base with a full tank because its crew found the temperature or the wind velocity higher in the target area than anticipated. Military use of defoliants will inevitably result in herbicide damage to areas that are far more extensive than those specified as targets.

It is evident that the defoliation program

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has had tremendous psychological impact upon the Vietnamese people and has profoundly affected their attitude toward Americans. A farmer whose entire crop has been destroyed by herbicides, whose fruit trees do not bear fruit for 3 years, will inevitably be resentful. We were told repeatedly, though politely, that a significant deterioration of attitudes toward Americans has resulted from the massive use of defoliants. The claim that defoliation is more humane than other weapons of war because it does not directly cause human casualties, may appeal to those whose land has not been defoliated, but hardly to those whose food supply or property has been destroyed. A realistic assessment of the effects of defoliation must take into account the psychological effects upon the people.

The politically sensitive nature of effects of defoliation is fully recognized by the military authorities. Although they claim that defoliants produce no long-term effects on the environment, they have instituted the most stringent regulations to govern their use. The Army claims that it is more difficult to get permission for the defoliation of trees in Vietnam than for killing persons, and permission to spray rubber trees has never been granted, according to military sources, even when enemy forces were "known" to use plantations for concealment. It seems that preferential treatment of the politically powerful rubber interests in Vietnam has added to the hostility of the poorer Vietnamese.

The secrecy surrounding the use of defoliants in Vietnam has also contributed to the feelings we have reported above. The government of the Republic of Vietnam and American officials have not disclosed information to the Vietnamese about the agents used, areas sprayed, and the nature of the chemical action of defoliants and herbicides. The most concerned Vietnamese scientists did not know the chemical composition of the herbicides even though they have tried to ascertain it from their government.

#### RECOMMENDATIONS

American scientists will want to know what investigations might be immediately possible to sift facts from among so many conflicting claims regarding the ecological effects of defoliants and to stem the tide of increasing mistrust between the Vietnamese and the Americans. Support for research projects should be initiated by the American scientific community without delay. In Vietnam there are scientists, well-trained at American and European universities, who are deeply concerned about the effects of the war on their country. They are eager to conduct research that is necessary for the rehabilitation of their ravaged land. The flora and fauna of the country are well known. The Rubber Research Institute of Vietnam continues to function, although it has once been displaced by military action. It is capable of expanded research into the physiological effects of defoliants on rubber trees and other species. Its staff is interested in investigating the possibilities of diversifying so that it can advise rubber planters on avoiding complete dependence upon rubber. A modest investment of funds for Vietnamese scientists is likely to produce important research results. It would also improve Vietnamese relations with American scientists.

Although long-term studies, such as following vegetational succession on heavily defoliated areas, would be impossible for Vietnamese (Saigon) or American investigators, there are no insuperable barriers to the investigation of fish diseases, of methods of minimizing herbicide damage to commercially important trees which have been deliberately or inadvertently sprayed, and of further studies of toxicity to animals. It should also be possible to gather soil samples from areas that have been subjected to different treatments to learn more about the

fate of arsenical compounds, their effects on soil microorganisms, and possible accumulation in the soil of the more persistent herbicides such as picloram. We urge that such studies be initiated now rather than be delayed until hostilities cease, although obviously the difficulties are great. We recommend most strongly that the American Association for the Advancement of Science, in accordance with its resolutions of 1966 and 1968,<sup>21</sup> take the initiative in setting up an international research program on the long-range effects of the military use of herbicides in Vietnam. We believe that such action is necessary if United States scientists wish to maintain (or regain) the respect of scientists in Southeast Asia.

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#### A REFRESHING CONTRAST

### HON. WILLIAM J. SCHERLE

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 12, 1970

Mr. SCHERLE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following:

[From the Washington Daily News, May 11, 1970]

#### A REFRESHING CONTRAST

Texas A & M student body president Gerald Geisweidt delighted a Parents Day audience by promising there would be no strikes or protests at the school, predominantly a military one. "Texas A & M and its student body is and will continue to be a staunch bastion of sanity, maturity and pride," he said.

CURTIS W. TARR—WATCH HIM

### HON. HAROLD T. JOHNSON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 12, 1970

Mr. JOHNSON of California. Mr. Speaker, one of the finest experiences of my career here in the House of Representatives has been my friendship with Curtis W. Tarr who has recently been installed as Director of the Selective Service System.

I first knew Curtis some 12 years ago during my first campaign for election to the House of Representatives, at which time he was the Republican nominee. I was impressed with him at that time as a fine, dedicated American. As is indicated in a recent biography published in the Chico Enterprise-Record, he was indeed young, energetic, scholarly and experienced in the ways of government—and his star was definitely on the rise.

His star has continued to rise through a succession of academic and public service posts to the position which he now holds as Director of Selective Service. I have every confidence that Curtis Tarr will be an outstanding Director—one who is fair, understanding, conscientious, and dedicated to the welfare of the Nation.

So that my colleagues here in the House may share this background and what makes Curtis Tarr tick, I want to insert in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD at this point the Enterprise-Record report by Bill Earle, "Curtis W. Tarr... 'Watch Him'":

CURTIS W. TARR—"WATCH HIM"—DAD'S PREDICTION: DRAFT CHIEF WILL BE CONSCIENTIOUS

(By Bill Earle)

When Curtis W. Tarr was a 12-year-old schoolboy in Alameda, he was fired as the school's traffic squad captain.

The teacher who did the firing thought he'd set a bad example to his fellow pupils by risking injury to retrieve a ball from a tree after climbing another boy's back to gain a foothold in the high branches.

Ester Tarr, Curtis' mother felt the punishment was unfair. She complained to the teacher, a woman.

The teacher acknowledged to Mrs. Tarr that "Curtis might amount to something someday," but she quickly added, "You have to watch him."

To say that Curtis Tarr finally amounted to something is an understatement. The former Chicagoan went on to become a top student, energetic businessman, federal government troubleshooter, politician, college teacher and administrator, university president, assistant secretary of the Air Force and—early this month—Selective Service director.

The teacher's comment that "you have to watch him" may have been prophetic. For Tarr, sworn in April 6 by Supreme Court Justice Potter Stewart as successor to the

aging Gen. Lewis B. Hershey, surely will be watched in his sensitive new post, mainly by men of draft age or approaching it.

Tarr's father, Florence, and mother, who reside at 2475 Pillsbury Road, discussed their son's life and distinguished career during a recent interview.

Although justifiably proud of his selection by President Richard Nixon as draft director, they couldn't conceal their disappointment that he accepted the high position.

They knew he'd been completely happy as assistant Air Force secretary in charge of manpower and reserve affairs and were somewhat distressed to have him relinquish a job that gave him such pleasure.

The elder Tarr said he asked his son about the Selective Service assignment during a recent telephone conversation.

"Listen, Pop," he quoted Curtis, "when the President of the United States asks you to do something, you don't stand around arguing with him about it."

"Curtis will be conscientious in every decision he makes," Tarr predicted. "You can be sure of that. He won't make a decision until he's got all the facts in front of him."

The 45-year-old draft director quickly fulfilled his father's prophecy, telling Washington newsmen after his swearing in that he plans to visit state Selective Service officials and local draft boards, collect ideas and "get a feeling" of their problems before Congress starts hearings on draft reform. He said he intends to be "fair and firm" in the job.

Curtis Tarr was born Sept. 18, 1924, in Stockton, where his dad was an auditor for the Holt Co., predecessor of the Caterpillar Tractor Co.

"He was a very good baby," his mother called, "but not a well child by any means. He was quite frail."

The family moved to Alameda when Curtis was 2, remaining there for a decade while the head of the household worked for a San Francisco accounting firm.

Curtis liked to play baseball and Mrs. Tarr has vivid memories of hauling him and other "sweaty little boys" around town to games in her car.

Once, during the depth of the great depression, Curtis asked his father for a new baseball mitt and was turned down because "money isn't very plentiful just now and we can't spend any more than we have to."

Not to be put off, the boy made the first major sales pitch of his life, pointing out that the janitor in the local barbershop—a poor man—had just bought his son a new mitt.

"That did it," Mrs. Tarr said. "You know who got a new mitt—quick!"

Young Tarr was a Boy Scout during the Alameda days and developed a fondness for animals that he holds to this day.

In 1937 the Tarrs moved to Reno, staying 2½ years before coming to Chico. It was in Reno that the elder Tarr established the Sierra Tractor and Equipment Co.

"It was a little tough for Curtis to make the move from Alameda," Mrs. Tarr said, "but I think it was even harder on our girls."

The Tarrs have two daughters, Muriel, now Mrs. John W. Kurtz, and Marian, now Mrs. George Schreiter. Both now reside in Sacramento. Muriel is older than Curtis and Marian is the youngest member of the family.

"We were a very close family," Mrs. Tarr recalled. "We did everything together. And being the only boy, Curtis was very close to his father. He worked after school and weekends at his dad's store in Reno, getting 50 cents for evening work and \$1 for fulltime work on Saturdays."

"He'd run errands, sweep out the display room and dust up the equipment on the display floor," Tarr said. "He even learned to drive the heavy equipment."

"Curtis was a great favorite with the me-

chanics and the salesmen. Some of them used to take him fishing."

The opportunity to take over a larger Caterpillar dealership lured Tarr to Chico. He opened his Sierra Tractor and Equipment Co. office here in August 1939. The following month, just turning 15, Curtis entered Chico High School.

Aside from several periods of ill health, the Chico years were happy ones for the future government official.

He was a consistent honor roll student and, in his senior year, edited the high school yearbook and shared valedictorian honors with a girl classmate at the Class of 1942's commencement exercises.

During his high school years the family lived at 346 W. Legion Ave. in the Mansion Park district.

"There were several vacant lots around our house," Mrs. Tarr remembers. "Gopher snakes would crawl into our yard from the surrounding properties and I'd ask Curtis to go out and kill them."

"But he'd tell me, 'Mother, you know I wouldn't kill a snake.' So he'd carry those snakes away over his shoulder, on a stick, and leave them near the creek. He's always been very tender. He's anything but a hawk."

His father said Curtis is "the only man I know who's read Emily Post from cover to cover."

Explaining this, Mrs. Tarr said her son at one time came under criticism by his sister Muriel for his manners, "so he got hold of a copy of Emily Post and read it all the way through."

The future draft director entered Stanford University in September 1942, but had to drop out six months later because, like so many of his World War II contemporaries, he was drafted into the Army.

Inducted at Ft. Ord despite his 6-foot-7 height (by stooping a bit, he passed himself off as 6-foot-6), Tarr took basic training at Camp Roberts and later was assigned to the 11th Armored Division.

The bunks on the troopship that carried him to England were too short, so he got special permission to bed down on the deck in a sleeping bag.

A technical sergeant and field artilleryman, Tarr fought with Gen. George Patton's Third Army in the Battle of the Bulge. His outfit liberated prisoners of the Nazis from several concentration camps in Europe.

"Curtis never said very much about it," his mother related. "He didn't like to talk about the war."

Discharged from the Army at Camp Beale in February 1946, Tarr resumed his studies at Stanford. An economics major, he was graduated with distinction in June 1948.

He enrolled in the Harvard University School of Business that fall and received his master's degree in business administration in 1950, again graduating with distinction.

Tarr remained at Harvard for another year as a research assistant, then accepted a one-year appointment as an instructor in the university's business school.

By the spring of 1952 he was ready to come home to Chico.

"Curtis phoned on Easter morning that year to say he wanted to help me at Sierra Tractor," his father said. "I made him vice president in charge of sales and he did a very good job."

The young business executive soon was plunging into local civic and governmental affairs, becoming a Chico Rotary Club director, vice president of the YMCA's Mountain District and chairman of the Butte County Probation Committee (now the Juvenile Justice Commission).

He also served as a lay leader in the Shasta District of the Methodist Church, participated in several Governor's Conferences on Youth in Sacramento and was a parttime lecturer in business at Chico State College.

It was during this period that he accepted appointment to the Department of Defense section of the second Hoover Commission on reorganization of the federal government's executive branch.

These duties required his presence in Washington for extended periods, as did his additional service as consultant to the Army's chief of ordnance.

On May 7, 1955, Tarr was married in Quincy's Methodist Church to Elizabeth May Myers, a Chico State College graduate and daughter of a U.S. Forest Service official in Plumas County. An accomplished musician, she plays the piano and organ and does very well on the harpsichord her husband bought her while on a trip to Germany.

The couple has two daughters, Cynthia, "Cindy," now 11, and Pamela "Pamie," now 13.

In 1958 Congressman Clair Engle, the peppery little Democrat from Red Bluff, gave up his Second District seat to wage a successful campaign for the U.S. Senate in California.

The district's Republican leaders saw in Curtis Tarr a golden opportunity to recapture from the Democrats the seat so long denied to GOP candidates. He was young, energetic, scholarly and experienced in the ways of government—and his star was definitely on the rise.

Tarr and his father were at Sierra Tractor's Redding office when the phone rang and the voice at the other end asked for Curtis. The caller was a Redding lumber executive and influential Republican.

When the conversation was over, Curtis turned to his father and gasped, "He wants me to run for Congress!"

As the elder Tarr recalls it, his son broke into a grin and added, "I thought the guy was going to buy about five tractors."

"His mother and I weren't too enthusiastic about him running for Congress," Tarr said. "I even told him, 'Don't do anything crazy like that!'"

But crazy or not, Curtis took the plunge. He waged a vigorous flying campaign throughout the sprawling congressional district against a veteran Democratic campaigner, state Sen. Harold T. "Bizz" Johnson of Roseville.

Those were the days of cross-filing, and Tarr beat Johnson handily for the Republican nomination while Johnson far outdistanced him for the Democratic nod.

In the November runoff it was Johnson over Tarr by more than 32,000 votes—a bitter pill for the ambitious young businessman to swallow. To this day, however, he and Rep. Johnson remain fast friends and see each other frequently.

"That disappointment was a turning point for Curtis," his father said. "He wanted to go back to Stanford and get his Ph.D. I told him, 'Sult yourself. I want you to do what you're happy doing.'"

The next five years in Palo Alto were busy ones for Tarr. Not only did he receive a Ph.D. in history from Stanford (his doctoral dissertation concerned proposals for unifying the U.S. armed forces), but the university also tapped him for service on its administrative staff.

He served variously as assistant to the vice president, assistant dean of humanities and science and director of the Stanford Summer School.

"It wasn't an easy time for him," his father said. "He had to work awfully hard. He carried a big load."

Then, in 1963, fate struck again. Attending an educational conference in Arizona, Tarr met and favorably impressed several trustees of Lawrence University in Appleton, Wis.

Dr. Douglas Knight, the president of Lawrence, was resigning and they were seeking a man to replace him. Interested, Tarr conferred later with the trustees in Chicago and

ultimately was selected for the post from a field of 70 candidates.

Tarr and his family, thoroughly comfortable in academic surroundings after their five years in Palo Alto, settled into Lawrence's newly remodeled, three-story president's mansion (it has seven fireplaces) in September 1968. The trustees had agreed to remodel and redecorate the Victorian relic to the Tarrs' specifications at a cost of \$18,000.

The new occupants did much entertaining in the mansion over the next six years. They obtained many handsome pieces of antique furniture for the house, some of them acquired from Downer College, a select girls' school whose merger with Lawrence was one of Tarr's first tasks as president.

Life at the university was pleasant—up to a point. And that point was reached early in 1969 when a small but vociferous band of student dissidents staged a major confrontation. They seized Tarr's office and occupied it for an entire night. Other heckling students, about 100 strong, demonstrated in the yard and on the porch of his home.

Through it all, Tarr remained relatively unruffled and, at times, even managed to display touches of his well-known sense of humor. In his own family he has a reputation for being something of a comedian.

According to his father, his wife Betty once remarked facetiously, "I'll never forgive Curtis for taking a job as a college president when he could have been another Danny Kaye or Dick Van Dyke."

To Chicanos who know Tarr personally or by reputation it came as no surprise when, early in February 1969, Air Force Secretary Robert Seamans announced at a Washington news conference that Tarr had been named assistant secretary in charge of manpower and reserve affairs.

Commenting to newsmen about his acceptance of the post, Tarr said at the time, "Clearly, here was an opportunity to work on some of the same problems we have at Lawrence, but in a new and perhaps more crucial setting. It was an opportunity I could not set aside, despite my strong attachment to Lawrence and its good people."

The Tarrs purchased a home in Arlington, Va., just across the Potomac River from the nation's capital, and in mid-June of last year Tarr was administered his oath of office by Defense Secretary Melvin S. Laird.

Part of his responsibilities related to the question of restructuring or replacing Selective Service, the continuing concern for civil rights and integrated housing for Air Force personnel and the educational programs of the Air Force.

"He really liked that job," his mother said. "It even took him to Vietnam last September for a one-week inspection tour."

But Tarr was not destined to hold the Air Force position for long. President Richard Nixon was seeking a successor to Gen. Hershey for the \$38,000-a-year job of Selective Service director.

Washington reports said the President was ready to name Charles DiBona, president of the Center for Naval Analysis in Arlington, Va. But DiBona reportedly met opposition from key members of the Senate Armed Services Committee before his nomination was formally submitted. One objection was that he favored an all-volunteer Army.

And so the search continued, with President Nixon reportedly looking for a man who would appeal to today's youth, understand their opposition to the draft and, at the same time, have expertise in defense and manpower problems.

Tarr's name, which had popped up earlier, again was mentioned. Washington sources described him as an "ideal mix" because of his acquaintance with campus life and Pentagon needs.

Finally the choice was made. Tarr was formally nominated last month after conferring

with the President. He won early—and unanimous—approval by the Senate Armed Services Committee and, on March 20, his nomination was confirmed by the full Senate by voice vote and without dissent.

"He seems to be a capable man and he has a background of valuable experience in administration," Sen. John Stennis, D-Miss., Armed Services Committee chairman, said of Tarr.

In his pre-confirmation testimony before the committee, according to United Press International, Tarr endorsed proposals to end most college draft deferments, pledged that the draft would not be used to punish anti-war demonstrators and said that "eventually" he might favor an all-volunteer Army.

It is not generally known that Tarr went to the White House as early as last December to be interviewed for the Selective Service job by a special screening committee.

After the interview he phoned his father in Chico and said "I told them frankly that I'd rather stay where I am (with the Air Force). I'm happy with my work."

Nobody expects the lanky former Chicooan to remain the director of Selective Service as long as Gen. Hershey did (almost 30 years) and nobody is predicting publicly where he'll go next.

But as his grammar school teacher told his mother many years ago, "You have to watch him."

#### POLLUTION AND THE SST

### HON. HARRY F. BYRD, JR.

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, May 12, 1970

Mr. BYRD of Virginia. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Extensions of Remarks an editorial entitled "Pollution and the SST," published in the Richmond Times-Dispatch of Saturday, May 9, 1970.

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

#### POLLUTION AND THE SST

Rep. Henry S. Reuss of Wisconsin says that the supersonic transport plane (SST) would be an environmental outrage.

He told a congressional committee in Washington Thursday:

"We are being asked to spend \$1.3 billion of the public's money, and more likely \$3 billion or \$4 billion before we are through, on a plane that will serve only a minute fraction of American taxpayers, while millions of others pay the penalty for this folly in the form of increased airport noise, sonic booms, air pollution and potentially harmful weather changes."

Virginia's Sen. Harry F. Byrd Jr. has spoken out strongly against this costly, totally unneeded, project.

He sees no reason for the taxpayers to be bearing the major burden of developing an aircraft which supposedly will fly at speeds of up to 1,800 miles an hour, carrying 300 passengers. The project, he says, simply adds to the inflationary spiral without serving any important national purpose. It is not essential either to our security or our national welfare, he declares.

The noise pollution from the aircraft could constitute far more than just a nuisance. It could be damaging to health and property. Sponsors of the SST contend it won't be permitted to fly at boom-producing speeds over land areas, but does anyone really expect that there won't eventually be

tremendous pressure to allow the craft to utilize its great speed over land as well as over the oceans?

As an anti-pollution, money-saving move to benefit the nation, Congress should rescind its earlier approval of this project of highly dubious economic soundness. As Sen. Byrd puts it: "There may come a time for development of a supersonic transport. That time is not now."

#### PROFILE IN COURAGE

### HON. JOHN T. MYERS

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 12, 1970

Mr. MYERS. Mr. Speaker, much credit is due President Nixon for his courageous decision-making in the difficult Indochina situation—particularly the momentous decision he made to send forces to Cambodia in order that American lives would be saved and the Vietnamese conflict shortened.

And although the critics are coming forth with their expected predictions of doom, more realistic observers are praising the President's actions, as well as his forthright explanation of these actions to the American people.

A column carried in Newsweek by Kenneth Crawford says that this President has shown us his own "profile in courage," and commends the President's "audacious move." I commend this column to the attention of colleagues:

[From the Newsweek, May 11, 1970]

#### PROFILE IN COURAGE

(By Kenneth Crawford)

"To save mankind's future freedom, we must face up to any risk that is necessary. We will always seek peace—but we will never surrender. . . . We are Americans, determined to defend the frontiers of freedom. . . ."

This is a quotation not from President Richard M. Nixon's televised announcement last week that American and South Vietnamese troops had crossed into Cambodian territory but from a speech President John F. Kennedy delivered in November 1961.

Mr. Nixon paraphrased it and made it his own. Moreover, he set the words to the awesome music of hazardous action. What for President Kennedy had been only inspirational oratory was for President Nixon a solemn commitment already being carried out. After ten years, 40,000 killed-in-action casualties and \$100 billion invested, Mr. Nixon was trying by bold military maneuver to bring to a reasonably acceptable conclusion a war Kennedy had tentatively joined by sending American soldiers and equipment to the South Vietnamese.

Some of Kennedy's posthumous interpreters have insisted that, had he lived, he would have refused to escalate American intervention in the Vietnamese war. This is necessarily a guess. There is as much reason to guess that he would have admired what Mr. Nixon has now done. It has in it the stuff celebrated by his book "Profiles in Courage." An American statesman has again done what he thinks right in the face of opposition both formidable and determined.

#### PREDICAMENT

This was Mr. Nixon's predicament: he had promised to wind down the war and bring American troops home as rapidly as prudent. This promise, and evidence that it was be-

ing carried out, had quieted opposition to the war. But impatience with the continued fighting and the weekly casualty figures was growing. Polls showed that both support of the war and of the President himself were suffering attrition. Reasonable critics of Administration policy were asking the pertinent question: "If we couldn't bring the enemy to terms while escalating how could we hope to do it by de-escalating?" Vietnamization was not a wholly persuasive answer.

Military realists recognized that the North Vietnamese and Viet Cong sanctuaries in Cambodia had become, especially after the Communists' Tet disaster in 1968, the key to the enemy's durability. Yet Prince Sihanouk's nominal neutrality and, after his overthrow, the outcry in Congress against "widening the war" seemed to assure continued immunity for the Cambodian hide-outs.

Nobody outside of the innermost White House circle thought Mr. Nixon would dare attack these sanctuaries. For this reason, the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, center of the run-sheep-run game now so popular in Congress, concentrated its attention on ways of preventing the President from arming the Cambodians. Meanwhile, he was secretly preparing a far more promising initiative. Secrecy was maintained in the hope of achieving surprise on the battlefield. There was no leakage, and initial surprise apparently was achieved.

COURSE

It was an audacious move. Mr. Nixon knew it would be accepted reluctantly, given the temper of the times, even by a silent majority, and that it would infuriate his Congressional opposition and in all probability add to it. Even so, it seemed doubtful that Congress would go to the length of forbidding him to pursue the course he had chosen. This was one of the many chances he thought worth running. For the alternatives—doing nothing or trying to shore up the weak Cambodian Army—promised only drift and ultimate humiliation.

Now it is up to the soldiers attacking such exotically named places as the Parrot's Beak and the Fishhook, sites of Communist command headquarters, staging areas and supply dumps. If the operation goes well, the enemy will have suffered his worst defeat of the war and recovery will be difficult, given his already weakened position in South Vietnam. If, on the other hand, the operation goes badly or the enemy merely retreats deeper into Cambodia and regroups rapidly, the gamble will pay off only in small change.

Whatever the outcome, Richard Nixon deserves reappraisal. Skeptics who have said he is a compromiser incapable of standing up to pressure should, but probably won't, recant. Foreign Offices making the same mistake probably will. The effects may reach far beyond Cambodia. Perhaps Kennedy's words live a little.

MAN'S INHUMANITY TO MAN—  
HOW LONG?

HON. WILLIAM J. SCHERLE

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 12, 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?

EDITORIALS ON JUSTICE DOUGLAS' IMPEACHMENT

HON. GERALD R. FORD

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 12, 1970

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. Mr. Speaker, I insert following these remarks the editorial comments of three eminent newspapers in different parts of the Nation, on a matter of interest to Members of this body. These are the views of the Cheyenne, Wyo., Tribune; the Columbia, S.C., State; and the Winona, Minn., News.

The comments follow:

[From the Cheyenne (Wyo.) Tribune, Apr. 21, 1970]

AND WHY NOT IMPEACH DOUGLAS?

In the uproar over the Supreme Court's newest controversy involving Associate Justice William O. Douglas, no one seems to have yet detected the irony that it is a Carswell-Haynsworth situation in reverse.

The conservatives who were trying to get the two southerners onto the Court now are trying to get its arch-liberal impeached; and the liberals who successfully kept President Nixon's "strict constructionists" from being confirmed on the Court are trying to save Mr. Justice Douglas' judicial hide.

In the effort to knock down House Republican Leader Gerald Ford's impeachment move, the pro-Douglas people are demanding to know what arguments for his removal from the Court are available other than Douglas' attitudes. Typical is a current comment by Don Oakley of the Newspaper Enterprise Association: "There is plenty about Douglas that rubs a lot of Americans the wrong way—his part in the Court's dismantling of the country's sexual censorship and its alleged 'coddling' of criminals, his acceptance of a fee from a foundation associated with gambling interests, his penchant for young wives, his authorship of anti-establishment articles in magazines noted more for eroticism than erudition.

"But," writes Oakley, "unless Ford and his colleagues can come up with more solid complaints than these—which in reality amount to a little more than a formless dislike and fear of Douglas' 'dangerous opinions' they may only make themselves look foolish and could do far more damage to the good name of the Court than anyone has yet charged Douglas with doing."

Where was Mr. Oakley when two esteemed judges of the United States Court of Appeals who suffered the misfortune of being nominated to the Supreme Court were being smeared and pilloried by the same people who already are falling over themselves to organize a defense for Mr. Justice Douglas? Two jurists, it might be noted, who were attacked for their opinions and beliefs?

The liberals of both the media and the Senate whipped themselves into a lather about Judge Haynsworth's alleged "conflicts of interest" which never could be proven. Yet there has been a provable conflict of interest by Mr. Justice Douglas who has been on the Supreme Court for 30 years. The same individuals and interests who worked themselves up into a holy frenzy of inquisitorial torture on both Haynsworth and Carswell, turn around and say: "How could you be so brutal as to challenge poor Justice Douglas' integrity?"

Douglas has drawn a substantial stipend—that he dropped when it was exposed—from a foundation that operated Las Vegas casino interests; and he also has had interesting connections with an outfit called Center for

the Study of Democratic Institutions at Santa Barbara, Calif., to which Douglas was named official consultant.

Another foundation called Fund for the Republic fosters the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions and over two years ago Alice Widener wrote on an unusual conference of student revolutionaries held at the Center in late August, 1967, which on the basis of some of the papers presented apparently turned into a planning session for campus revolt.

Miss Widener wrote, ament a report published of this meeting: "In the report is a paper presented to the conference by student Stephen Saltonstall of Yale University, who entitled his work, 'Toward a Strategy of Disruption.' What Mr. Saltonstall wishes to disrupt is our society and he calls for small, disciplined groups of student 'shock troops' to achieve his aims. In print, at U.S. taxpayers' sufferance, the Fund for the Republic's Center permits Stephen Saltonstall to call for the 'intimidation and humiliation' of public figures such as Vice President Humphrey and Defense Secretary McNamara. What has 'intimidation' to do with democratic procedures and institutions? Intimidation is the weapon of autocracy and tyranny."

In his recently-published volume, "Points of Rebellion," Mr. Justice Douglas wrote: "We must now realize that today's Establishment is the new George III. Whether it will continue to adhere to his tactics, we do not know. If it does, the redress, honored in tradition, is also the revolution."

In the liberals' view, Judge Carswell was some sort of monster because he once made a speech over 20 years ago approving segregation which then was still the law of the land; and Judge Haynsworth was unfit to sit on the Supreme Court because he owned stocks in corporations that might have provided a conflict of interest in his renderings from that high tribunal. But it is heresy to suggest that an associate justice of the same Court should be challenged for making utterances suggesting revolution against the very government which he serves in high capacity, for being part of an organization which organizes meetings of campus revolutionaries and publishes their utterances, or draws a salary from a corporation with ownership connections in a city where gambling is the economic mainstay.

Isn't there something wrong here? Isn't this the rankest sort of double standard that ever existed? Isn't this the most invidious hypocrisy and double-dealing conceivable in men?

If Douglas wants to preach revolution, if he wants to serve as a consultant to organizations like the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions, or as the \$12,000 a year head of a foundation that operates Las Vegas gambling concerns, all very well—but he should do so off the U.S. Supreme Court.

[From the Columbia (S.C.) State, Apr. 23, 1970]

THE CASE AGAINST DOUGLAS

Judged strictly on the legal issues, the case against William O. Douglas, the swinging Justice, is sufficient to require impeachment by the House. Whether it is strong enough to require removal is something else—something we shall never discover, in all probability, unless the House impeaches and sends the case to the Senate, where full testimony can be taken under oath.

As Rep. Gerald Ford was at pains to show, the function of the House in an impeachment proceeding is to serve in the capacity of a grand jury. It hears the adverse evidence. It decides whether this evidence constitutes a prima facie case against the accused. That is, in the language of the legal definition, is the case against the accused strong enough to condemn him unless it is refuted. If rebutting evidence is required,

impeachment is the only constitutional course, for the actual trial is the responsibility of the Senate.

The case against Mr. Justice Douglas, taken at face value, constitutes just such evidence of malfeasance. It is not even necessary to show, as Mr. Ford attempted to show, that the Framers of the Constitution contemplated removal of federal judges for anything short of "good behavior." Mr. Ford has made a prima facie case of illegal conduct—and not just illegal conduct, but precisely the kind of illegal conduct the Constitution speaks of as grounds for impeachment and removal from office.

On two separate occasions, Mr. Justice Douglas is alleged to have engaged illegally in the practice of law. Once, according to Albert Parvin, Mr. Justice Douglas assisted in drafting the articles of incorporation for the Albert Parvin Foundation, whose directors subsequently named him president at a salary of \$12,000 a year, plus expenses.

On a second occasion, just a year ago, Mr. Justice Douglas is reported to have written Parvin about the foundation's tax-exempt status, then under review by the Internal Revenue Service. In a letter to Parvin, according to published accounts, the Justice gave legal advice on how the foundation might avoid further difficulties with the IRS.

If these allegations are true, Mr. Justice Douglas twice has violated Title 28 of the U.S. Code, which prohibits Justices of the Supreme Court from practicing law. And note the wording: "Any justice or judge appointed under authority of the United States who engages in the practice of law is guilty of a high misdemeanor." Not simply a misdemeanor, but a "high misdemeanor." This is all but identical to the language of the Constitution, which speaks of removal after impeachment of "treason, bribery or other high crimes and misdemeanors."

Mr. Justice Douglas ultimately may be cleared of these charges. The fact remains: Mr. Ford has made his prima facie case, and thus has fulfilled the constitutional requirement. What the House will decide remains to be seen, but the constitutional command is plain. Mr. Justice Douglas stands accused of disqualifying conduct. He should be impeached.

[From the Winona (Minn.) News, Apr. 27, 1970]

#### REPRESENTATIVE FORD TAKES ON JUSTICE DOUGLAS

The biggest hurdle that Rep. Gerald R. Ford has in pressing for impeachment of Justice William Douglas is the unusualness of the proposed action. In our history only nine federal judges, including one associate justice of the Supreme Court, have been impeached by the House and tried by the Senate: four were acquitted, four convicted and removed from office and one resigned during the trial.

To help the members of the House accept the procedure as something less than extraordinary, despite its rarity, he emphasizes:

1. Justices do not have life appointments. Article III of the Constitution—"The judges, both of the supreme and inferior courts, shall hold their offices during good behavior"; that is, as Rep. Ford contends, their unspecified term of office is based on "good behaviour," which he then goes on to define as being an offense that need not be criminally indictable. A justice should not, says Ford, be impeached for his legal views, for a minor or isolated mistake, or for his personal life. Ultimately, he concludes, an impeachable offense is "whatever a majority of the House considers to be at a given moment in history."

2. Impeachment may resemble a regular criminal indictment and trial but it is not the same thing. It relates solely to the accused's right to hold civil office, not the many other rights which are his as a citizen and which protect him in the court of law."

This is reinforced by the constitutional denial of jury trial—perhaps the most fundamental of all constitutional protection—in impeachment proceedings.

Rep. Ford's case against Justice Douglas includes the well-aided charges of his monetary associations with the Albert Parvin Foundation, now terminated; his writing for Ralph Ginzburg's pornographic magazines while sitting on Supreme Court cases in which Ginzburg was involved; a recent book, "Points of Rebellion," which says there are two ways by which grievances of citizens can be redressed—"one is lawful procedure and one is violent protest, riot and revolution;" and his authorization of the appearance of excerpts from the book in the April 1970 Evergreen magazine which consists in the main of nude photographs; and his recent association with the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions, "the birthplace for the very excesses which he applauds in his latest book."

It is Rep. Ford's contention that Douglas's "blunt message to the American people and their representatives in the Congress is that he does not give a tinker's damn what we think of him and his behavior on the bench. He believes he sits there by some divine right and that he can do and say anything he pleases without being questioned and with complete immunity."

Rep. Ford holds that Abe Fortas resigned from the court after revelation of financial arrangements akin to those of Justice Douglas and that the standards of conduct demanded of President Nixon's two rejected nominees are not exemplified by Douglas. Should there be two standards for justices, one on appointment, one on retention? the representative asks.

The questions are good ones.

Justice Douglas has been on the bench since 1939 and has given the court an admirable flavor with his zest for life and his independent thought. Now that he is nearing his 72nd birthday, he no longer is taking those 50-mile hikes; in fact, his health is less than superb. It is sad that at the end of such long public service he should be confronted with forceful removal from office, yet it is clear that there has been some deterioration in his standards of conduct. He is less than sensitive, to borrow a word from the Judge Haynsworth controversy, about judicial conduct. If he finds it embarrassing to be verbally assaulted by the House leader—and the proceeding might well fall short of impeachment by the House, let alone conviction by the Senate—he shares in the situation. His mistake was made when he resigned from the Albert Parvin Foundation; it should have been the Supreme Court.

#### UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA EMPHASIZES ENVIRONMENTAL RESEARCH

#### HON. ROBERT L. LEGGETT

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 12, 1970

Mr. LEGGETT. Mr. Speaker, the University of California regents have approved plans for a \$16,500,000 applied research program aimed at providing practical solutions to our Nation's environmental problems, specifically California's air pollution crisis.

At a time when a large segment of the student community and the community at large has expressed their strong moral indignation at the emphasis placed on research for destructive purposes, it is encouraging to see the California University system turn its attention to the

pressing need to maintain and improve the quality of life.

The University Bulletin contains the following description of this notable and worthy research program:

[From the University Bulletin, Apr. 6, 1970]

#### PLANS APPROVED FOR MASSIVE UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA PROGRAM AIMED AT CALIFORNIA'S AIR POLLUTION CRISIS

The University of California Regents have approved plans for a \$16,470,000 applied research program aimed at providing practical solutions to California's air pollution crisis.

The three-year research and development effort—called Project Clean Air—will involve some 200 UC scientists in short and medium term projects in seven separate research areas.

UC President Charles J. Hitch was authorized by the Regents to seek funds for Project Clean Air from state sources, and advanced the Project \$50,000 to meet immediate needs.

Project Clean Air will act as an evaluator of technical data and serve the state government by providing knowledge and recommendations for legislative decisions on air quality control, Hitch said.

#### INTEGRATED

It will also organize the University's capabilities in scientific, technological, economic, sociological and medical areas and direct them in an integrated effort to reduce air pollution.

In addition it will provide technical assistance to keep state and local agencies informed on existing knowledge on air pollution problems, and aid them with administrative problems as air pollution legislation develops.

The \$50,000 advance will be used to assess current knowledge about air pollution, outline future applied research needs and analyze alternatives for action in dealing with air pollution problems.

Included in short term research projects to be undertaken in the coming year are:

#### EMISSIONS

A study on the reduction of emissions by improved combustion and fuel composition (engine development)

Study the effects of air pollutants on human performance under conditions of multiple stress, such as those occurring during occupation or recreational exertion (Human Health Effects)

The role of the courts in air pollution control (Social Sciences)

Development of photochemical and meteorological simulation models of air pollution (Simulation Models)

Improved combustion methods for solid waste disposal (Power, Industry, Agriculture)

Determine the costs and benefits of a wide-scale monitoring of vehicle emissions (Instrumentation Development)

Study the effects of pollution on the state's meteorological conditions (Chemistry, Physics and Meteorology)

"These are just a few examples," S. W. Edmunds, Dean of the Graduate School of Administration at UC Riverside and chairman of a nine-campus committee which developed the Project Clean Air proposal, said. "Actually, we received a number of proposals from interested faculty and as our research progresses many additional research projects will get underway."

#### FUNDINGS

Project Clean Air, proposed by a special nine campus committee in January of this year, will begin operations July 1. Funding under the three-year project approved by the Regents continues through June 30, 1973.

Edmunds said the \$16 million project was "a milestone in the history of University research."

"This is the first time the research resources of the University have been pulled

together in a coordinated effort aimed at solving or alleviating a major environmental problem," he said.

More than \$3 million of the allocation will be used for carrying out short term research projects which Edmunds said "will provide immediate, practical information for use by state agencies and the state government in developing legislation on pollution."

"Assistance to the Legislature and other state agencies," Edmunds said, "will be offered formally in progress reports, and informally in small meetings."

## CHAOS ON THE CAMPUSES

### HON. THOMAS N. DOWNING

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 12, 1970

Mr. DOWNING. Mr. Speaker, the Time-Herald, the afternoon newspaper published in my home city of Newport News, Va., last week printed what I consider a most timely editorial reflecting on current events. I include it in the RECORD so that all of the Members might have an opportunity to share it:

#### CHAOS ON THE CAMPUSES

In the name of God, what is happening in the United States?

Political, social and labor disorders are erupting across the country. Important, vitally necessary segments of the economy are aiding and abetting the rupture of lawful relations between members of our society. The pattern of life in this free country is suddenly splashed with blind, illogical violence.

American citizens are shooting at each other over the right to drive a truck. An embattled American President, risking his political life to force peace negotiations with the North Vietnamese, finds himself the target of opportunistic snipers. The anarchist's torch destroys a Kansas library, another at New Haven, and reduces to rubble the scholarly works of a dozen intellectuals at Stanford. At Yale, a university president weasels back and forth between the pans of the scales of justice. At Penn State, a university president flees his home before an attack by cavemen using rocks in the dead of night. At Kent State in Ohio, the civil militia excusably loses its cool before a student rabble that has descended to depths seldom touched by gutter-bound kids, and inexcusably fires on the rock-throwing, obscenities-spewing mob.

There is a virus abroad in the land, and it is the disease of anarchy, of nihilism, of total disregard for lawful agreements, legally arrived at.

Among adults, the truckers, the postal workers, the air traffic controllers have set an example.

The students, blaming the President for expanding the war illegally, without the consent of Congress, are using his alleged wrong as an excuse to reel off one illegal act after another, egged on by their militant leaders, the radicals in search of a cause, and politicians in search of votes.

Each, in his own way, has attempted to destroy for his own ends the set of values upon which a civilized society must build and function.

More than 100 colleges and universities have seized upon the disquieting turn of events to find new tactics of dissent. This was the startling admission of the officials of the National Students Association. One doesn't sit-in the objects of one's protests any more: one burns it down! New tactics! Ignore the law where it does not suit one's immediate purpose!

While the likes of Yale's chaplain William Sloan Coffin is urging on the mob, we would recall the words of another clergyman writing a century ago, Nathaniel Burton: "There is not a liberty worth anything which is not a liberty under law."

If we ignore lawlessness, then it becomes terribly possible that the government, with the enthusiastic support of the vast majority of law-abiding citizens, approaches, despotism in its efforts to curtail those who take the law into their own hands.

This is a risk of the highest order, and it occurs that the students and their opportunistic leaders ought to be aware of the great body of public opinion that is sick at heart and soul of the shocking loss of order in our society.

Society protects its institutions against invaders through the use of force, which we have seen most shockingly and unnecessarily used at Kent State. If necessary, order will be restored through force, and the right of dissent will truly suffer.

But what of the next step? Shall a generation be penalized because of the cruelly vicious behavior of anarchists bent on flaming destruction? Since they have no goal, since they have nothing of value to offer in their continuing demands for change, what will turn them off at a given point in time?

Perhaps some return to the traditional virtues of mutual respect for talent, for honesty, for justice. How, then, to achieve this desirable state of affairs? Not through an inflexible structure. Not through capricious mis-use of time and opportunity. Not through adoption of the assumption that if we enjoy the benefits of an ordered society, then we must also generously recognize and accept those who would bring it down into chaos.

But how, again? A positive, collective answer simply does not appear on the horizon of this permissive society.

Having sown the wind, in the words of the prophet Hoesa, we are truly reaping the whirlwind.

## NIXON'S CRITICAL DECISION

### HON. RICHARD L. ROUDEBUSH

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 12, 1970

Mr. ROUDEBUSH. Mr. Speaker, the Fort Wayne News-Sentinel has published a perceptive and highly competent commentary on the Cambodian decision and I offer it for examination of the entire Congress.

The editorial follows:

[From the News-Sentinel, May 2, 1970]

#### NIXON'S CRITICAL DECISION

Almost needless to say, a comparison of American troop movements in the past 48 hours is shockingly ironic. Just as President Nixon announced that an initial 2,000 United States ground troops had moved into Cambodia in support of South Vietnamese forces, the Defense Department announced it will send 4,000 marines and paratroopers into New England to save a university—at least in part from itself.

And the lesser deployment is overwhelmingly the more significant operation!

From this point on, it can never be said that the President lacked fortitude in an hour of crisis, for in ordering combat forces into Cambodia, he placed his entire future as an American leader on the line. As Nixon himself, said, his decision is not comparable to that of the late President John F. Kennedy in the confrontation with Russia over missiles in its long-range import to the Nation. However, it is by nature a comparable

kind of decision, and its bearing on the status of the decisionmaker may be even more critical.

In directing a clearing-out of North Vietnamese sanctuaries along the Cambodian-South Vietnamese frontier, the President undertook a military operation which virtually all military authorities would have deemed mandatory many months, and even years ago. The presence of those sanctuaries are, perhaps, the greatest single element which has inured to the benefit of Hanoi in the war and the reason that the North Vietnamese have been able to keep a military presence in the Mekong Delta after they have all but abandoned the rest of South Vietnam.

Although the operation was presented solely as an undertaking in protecting the Vietnamese flank, it serves to put the Communist troops in Cambodia in a nutcracker situation between the Cambodians at Phnom Penh and the American and South Vietnamese on the East, with the possibility that the Communist avenues of supply from the North will be cut off.

The real question, of course, is whether or not it will work. It is more than clear that the western part of the nutcracker—the Cambodian army—is not strong. If the North Vietnamese fall back to the West, defeat the Cambodians, and return to the sanctuaries after the onset of the monsoon season, preserving their supply routes, it will have been a failure.

But if casualties in Vietnam decline after the withdrawal of the American and South Vietnamese forces, or if, perchance, it brings the North Vietnamese to more serious negotiations in the Paris Peace talks, it will have succeeded. Certainly Americans, in consideration of the lives of their sons and brothers and fathers fighting in Vietnam, must hope that it succeeds.

One thing is certain—by midsummer, the judgment and wisdom of the President of the United States will look very good, or it will look very bad!

## THE CAMBODIAN DECISION

### HON. BERTRAM L. PODELL

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 12, 1970

Mr. PODELL. Mr. Speaker, we live in an age characterized by the presence of rapid social change, automatic abundance, and a preoccupation with the issue of violence. As Kenneth Keniston said, "It is an open style characterized by fluidity, flux, change, and movement." The events and the actions of the last 2 weeks make these words ring truer than ever.

Yet, paradoxically, some things have not changed. The ideas of some of our political leaders remain mired in the past. Mr. Nixon's speech of last week clearly indicated that America's foreign policy continues to be based on the erroneous premise of yesterday's world. The conflict in South Vietnam and now in Cambodia is still being billed as the crucial test of American will and the ultimate test of the viability of American values.

The motives of those who disagree with the premises and the content of the decision to send troops to Cambodia continue to be sadly misunderstood. In the space of 6 months, the "effete snobs" of our Nation have suddenly changed into

"campus bums." This superficial change of epithet fails to hide the tone with which both statements were issued. The practice of flippantly classifying people on the basis of their beliefs, while misjudging the depth of student and citizen commitment is too apparent and too familiar. I would not be lying if I said it was expected. This time however, it was the President who was doing the classifying and the President who was guilty of misjudgment.

This week saw Mr. Nixon issue a misguided decision to extend the Vietnam war into Cambodia. It witnessed the tragedy of four student deaths at Kent State University and the outpouring of despair and anger by our students on campuses across the Nation. It witnessed the preoccupation with violence both at home and abroad. It left in its wake constitutional and moral crises that will not be easily resolved and the most serious loss of credibility this Nation has witnessed.

The decision followed on the heels of two earlier statements that led to a precipitous rise of expectations by the general public and the Congress. Through Secretary of State, William Rogers, the Congress was assured that it would be consulted in future decision. Then the President announced that 150,000 troops would be withdrawn from Vietnam.

A constitutional crisis was precipitated last Thursday when the President announced on national television that he was sending troops—without congressional approval—to fight the war in Cambodia. We were told only that the President consulted with some "unnamed advisers." Yet, judging from the content of the decision, it appeared as if the advisers had just recently stepped from a time capsule that had been sealed for 5 years.

We were told that only through escalation could the United States achieve victory. If we failed, we would become a "second-rate power." For those living outside the time capsule, watching the course of events over the last 5 years, and witnessing the mistakes, the words sounded incredible. The tragic mistakes of Vietnam, the deepening divisions within our country were omitted. Instead, we were told that to extricate America and to vindicate the lives already lost, we would have to shed more blood. Death would be vindicated only by more death. The specter of the silent majority was then invoked to add legitimacy to the President's statements.

Yet, if Congress is to become a national forum for the discussion and the resolution of the issues of the day, the specter of the silent majority will have to be removed from the political scene. Congress must redefine its role in the changing context of American politics. The President must not be granted the sole power to educate public opinion—and congressional approval of decisions cannot be foregone conclusions.

At the moment, as witnessed by the Thursday broadcast, the President is the only individual granted access to the minds and conscience of the American people. The weight of Presidential authority was most evident Wednesday,

when in a nonrecorded vote, I was joined by only 69 of my colleagues in voting for an amendment to cut off funds for American operations in Cambodia, Laos, and Thailand.

The serious errors of Presidential judgment must be exploded in an open forum where a point-by-point rebuttal can be made to the people and in a Congress unrestricted by closed votes and closed hearings and closed minds.

Events and decisions have precipitated a deep soul searching by many Americans, and especially by the young. We are in the middle of a moral crisis in which means and ends are being questioned and values are being subject to intense scrutiny. What are the values of a society that send National Guards to universities with live ammunition in their rifles? Four deaths at Kent State University are testimony that something is desperately wrong. Must we indefinitely support governments abroad that lack the support of their own people?

American youth today is turning outward to confront the issues of our time. They have the advantage of being a generation well placed for action. Society is getting younger, and youth feels the potential of their numbers as never before.

This potential can be used to precipitate doctrinaire violence with resulting countervailing, or it can be used to change and mold institutions and opinions. I unequivocally choose the latter method.

My experience in the last week confirms my belief in the role that the young are going to play in closing the gap that now exists between American thought and American action and between designated means to achieve designated ends. New tactics of political action that increase political awareness and lead to a politics of dialog and participation must be forthcoming.

The American system is flexible enough to meet and resolve the demands for change. The active citizen can organize forums of discussion on the streets, in homes, at meetings. The ultimate most effective weapon remains the vote.

Although there will be a carefully orchestrated campaign to discredit such action—after all, what can we expect from an administration whose initial reaction to Kent State read like an apology for the National Guard—through non-violent action and well-channeled activity, the voices of freedom and of peace will be heard and they will be effective.

#### HORSE CENTS

### HON. PAUL G. ROGERS

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 12, 1970

Mr. ROGERS of Florida. Mr. Speaker, although April 15 has come and gone, I am sure that there are many Americans who are still trying to recover from the paperwork, scribbling, and general frustrations associated with the filing of their 1040's.

Confusion is often the birthplace of humor, and so it is that Byron S. Adams

Printing, Inc., 1213 K Street NW., Washington, D.C., has found such humor in the IRS form and its accompanying instructions. An article, "Horse Cents," appeared in the April 1970 edition of Impressions, published by that firm, and I include it at this point in the RECORD for the benefit of my colleagues and all U.S. taxpayers:

#### HORSE CENTS

We hope that this valuable hint on how to—

"Go to Sch. T. to figure tax and surcharge if you itemize deductions; or claim retirement income credit, foreign tax credit or investment credit; or if you owe self-employment tax or tax from recomputing prior year investment credit. (Omit lines 16 and 17). If neither of above two items applies, go to Tax Tables instead of Sch. T. Complete lines 16 and 17."

avoid a severe penalty due to a claim on your 1040 that the Internal—

"Subtract line 3 from line 2. Enter difference (if less than zero, enter zero)." Revenue Service has said it will not admit is not received too late—

"Line 17—Tax From Recomputing Prior Year Investment Credit.—Enter the amount by which the credit taken in a prior year or years exceeds the credit as recomputed due to early disposition of property. Attach Form 4255."

to be of assistance.

"What it is, is this, and we read it right out of a book—

"Enter total of lines 16 and 17 OR amount from Schedule T, line 18, if applicable (check if from Tax Table A—, B—, C—; Tax Rate Sch.—, Sch. D—, or Sch. G—."

by an eminent authority: You cannot deduct—

"Total tax (add lines 15, 16, and 17). Enter here and on line 18, Form 1040 (make no entry on line 16 or 17. Form 1040). Attach Sch. T to Form 1040 only if you made an entry on line 14, 16, or 17 above."

the value of a saddle horse that dies as the result of—

"Note.—Gross profits from farming are the total of the gross profits from Schedule F, line 28 (cash method), or line 67 (accrual method), plus the distributive share of gross profits from farm partnerships as explained in instructions for Schedule SE.

eating a silk hat!

"Honest, that's what the man said!"

#### POSTSCRIPT TO MOTHER'S DAY

### HON. LAURENCE J. BURTON

OF UTAH

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 12, 1970

Mr. BURTON of Utah. Mr. Speaker, I submit for those who may have missed it Bill Gold's tribute to his mother which appeared in the May 8 issue of the Washington Post:

#### SHE SURE WAS A MEAN MOTHER

Business firms are very high on mothers, and at this time of the year they remind us to show appreciation for our mothers.

Their advice covers mothers generally, so I'm not sure they would have approved of my own mother, specifically, or any of her breed.

Modern standards require that mothers read books about raising children, and let the children do as they please. But my mother was an authoritarian. Very mean.

One of my earliest memories of her is a



scene that would have melted any normal person's heart. There I was, crying my eyes out for a piece of candy, but she was so unconcerned she didn't even raise her voice. She just said: "You know very well we're going to have dinner in about five minutes, so this is not the proper time for candy. Crying won't get you what you want, so you might as well stop it."

How do you like that? My little heart was breaking, but she just didn't care.

She continued to be mean to me all through my childhood. She forced me to hang up my clothes, and brush my teeth whether they needed it or not, and study when other kids were playing, and take music lessons, and wash up before I came to the table—all sorts of stuff like that. It was really dreadful.

If I wanted to go out at night, you'd have thought she was the Gestapo the way she interrogated me. Where was I going, for what purpose, when would I get back, and other ridiculous questions. I guess she just didn't realize how embarrassing it was when she asked my friends to come into the house so she could meet them instead of their just hollering for me from outside.

I couldn't wait to grow up and get out of a house run by a woman who thought people should always be polite and never lose their tempers, even when they were being repressed and not permitted to live their own lives.

You don't know what I went through being dragged to art galleries and religious services and Fourth of July speeches and junk like that. And having a portion of my microscopic allowance practically confiscated from me for the poor box. And being forced to spend half my life washing up. Many a time I was tempted to report that woman to the authorities.

However, now that she is safe from all earthly travail, God rest her soul, I'm awfully glad that I was never in any real doubt about her, or the role she played in my life. She was my liaison with all of the good things that man had learned since venturing out of his caves. She was civilization's personal representative to me; and if I was to benefit from what previous generations had learned, it would have to be primarily through her. The meanness I complained about wasn't her lack of compassion but my lack of understanding.

Besides, even if she really had raised me all wrong, it wouldn't have been her fault. She didn't have a book of instructions for guidance. She had to figure things out for herself, and didn't realize she was being so mean.

THE DEATH OF WALTER REUTHER

HON. JACOB H. GILBERT

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 11, 1970

Mr. GILBERT. Mr. Speaker, I would like to add my voice to the millions of American workingmen who mourn today the tragic death of Walter Reuther, who died Saturday night in a plane crash.

Few men have made the impact upon this Nation as Mr. Reuther did. Truly a man of his time, he was more than a labor leader. He was a man dedicated to all the people who live and work, wherever they might be and whatever their occupation.

He cared about the poor, the hungry, and the ill. Under his stewardship, the

American auto workers led numerous battles for better pay and better working conditions of the people it served. But beyond those basics, Walter Reuther had a vision of America where all people could stand tall and proud, sure of their future and free to go as far as their abilities would carry them.

This Nation lost a true servant when Walter Reuther passed away. It lost a candle of hope, a reservoir of tireless energy toward social causes and a strident voice opposed to degradation in any form. We shall miss him sorely.

ISRAEL—STILL IN DANGER

HON. ROBERT N. GIAIMO

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 12, 1970

Mr. GIAIMO. Mr. Speaker, this week the State of Israel celebrates its 22d anniversary. I wish I could report that this remarkable nation won its long struggle for existence and for peace in the Middle East during the past 12 months. Unfortunately, I cannot, for the situation in the Middle East has grown more ominous since May 1969.

The past year has seen the Government of France send jet planes to Libya in a reckless attempt to gain economic and political influence in the Middle East. Knowing full well that these planes would be used by other Arab Nations to wage war against Israel, France went ahead with the sale and gravely threatened the precarious balance of power in that area.

The past year has seen the Soviet Union escalate big power involvement in the Israeli-Arab dispute by sending pilots and other military personnel to the United Arab Republic. This callous action has inflamed an already tense situation and has increased the possibility of a major confrontation in that part of the world.

Most unfortunately, the past year has seen a marked increase in anti-Israeli and anti-Semitic propaganda, not by the hatemongers of the right but by the revolutionaries and racists of the left. The overt support of Arab guerillas by certain radical groups in this country, the neo-Nazi preachings of black revolutionaries, and the ridiculous charges of American imperialism all endanger liberal support for Israel and blind many young people to the real situation in the Middle East.

Finally, the past year has seen a curious shift in administration policy toward the Middle East. Efforts by the administration to impose a peace settlement rather than encouraging direct negotiations and administration refusal to maintain the balance of power through the sale of badly needed aircraft to Israel are signs that the traditional policy of friendship toward Israel may be compromised.

Thus, Mr. Speaker, the outlook for peace in the Middle East is bleak. It is bleak because we have not adhered to

the basic principles upon which lasting peace must be built, principles as relevant today as they were 22 years ago.

There will never be lasting peace in the Middle East unless the Arab States recognize the right of Israel to exist as an independent nation. As long as the Arabs believe that they can destroy Israel, peace will be impossible.

There will never be lasting peace in the Middle East unless outside powers, both great and small, end their economic and political adventures in that area and thus help maintain the balance of power.

There will never be lasting peace in the Middle East unless the big powers stop trying to impose peace settlements on the parties involved in the conflict. For 22 years, outside powers have attempted to impose solutions and for 22 years they have failed. The time has come to realize that direct, face-to-face negotiations between Israel and her Arab neighbors are the only means by which lasting peace can be achieved.

If we adhere to these principles, if we proclaim as never before our support for the Israeli people, we may have something better to report about the Middle East in May 1971. Let us pray that the Middle East, the cradle of civilization, can someday become the showcase of peace in this troubled world.

FEDERATION OF HOMEMAKERS

HON. JOEL T. BROYHILL

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 12, 1970

Mr. BROYHILL of Virginia. Mr. Speaker, the other day I received a letter from Mrs. Gordon B. Desmond, who resides in my district, asking that I publish the resolution of the Federation of Homemakers:

RESOLUTION

Whereas, the paramount objective of the Federal Food, Drug and Cosmetic Act is protection of the consuming public, and

Whereas, Congress has recognized that, since it is impossible to establish safe levels for carcinogens, that objective will be realized only if the Food and Drug Administration takes all action that is necessary to protect consumers from the ingestion of substances and additives that are established to be carcinogens in either humans or animals (the so-called Delaney Amendment), and

Whereas, from the recommendations of both the White House Conference on Food, Nutrition and Health, and the Mark Commission on Pesticides and their Relationship to Environmental Health, and the recent public statements of Secretary Finch, it appears that the Administration is about to launch a concerted effort directed at watering-down that Congressional statement of national policy, Now Therefore

Be it Resolved that the Board of Management of the Federation of Homemakers declares its unalterable opposition to any changes in policy which would sanction the ingestion by American consumers of carcinogens and urges the Congress to reject any such proposed changes.

In witness whereof, we, a quorum of the Board of Management, have hereunto set

our hands at Alexandria, Virginia, this 20th day of April, 1970.

RUTH GRAHAM DESMOND,  
MAME V. GLASCOCK,  
*Treasurer.*  
VIRGINIA FAGG SINGER,  
*Secretary.*  
DOROTHY TUGGLE,  
*Board Member.*  
JANET DESMOND COBB,  
*Board Member.*

#### RUMANIAN INDEPENDENCE

### HON. THOMAS J. MESKILL

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, May 12, 1970*

Mr. MESKILL. Mr. Speaker, May 10 stands out as a landmark in the proud history of the Rumanian people. It was on this date in 1866 that Charles, Prince of Hohenzollern was proclaimed the Prince of Rumania, in Bucharest, thus founding the first Rumanian dynasty.

Eleven years later, on the same date, the Rumanians, having joined forces with the Russian armies against the Turks, declared their independence from the Ottoman Empire. These brave Rumanians, rebelling against the once-powerful Turkish regime, assisted the victorious Russian armies in the Russo-Turkish war.

Although czarist Russia betrayed their new ally at the Berlin Conference of 1878 by forcing the secession of Bessarabia from Rumania, the freedom-loving Rumanian patriots were able to secure their independence. Three years later, on the 10th of May 1881, Charles I was crowned King of Rumania, and over three decades of stable government followed.

It is indeed ironic that Russia, which played such a significant role in helping Rumania gain her hard-won independence, should also be the nation to take away that self-government.

At the end of World War II, Rumania, like the other states of Eastern Europe, was occupied by the Red army. The elections of 1946 finalized Communist control of this Eastern European country. The declaration of the Rumanian Peoples Republic followed shortly.

Recently the Rumanian regime has been moving toward the reassertion of national sovereignty and striving for greater independence from Soviet domination. Recollections of the brutal invasion of Czechoslovakia by Warsaw Pact Troops, however, certainly dimmed the hopes of any such nationalistic movement. Nevertheless, the Rumanian people have still been able to preserve a sense of nation, heritage, and identity.

It is in a spirit of great friendship that we, as Americans, extend our best wishes to all Rumanians as they celebrate their nation's independence. Both in World War I and in the latter days of World War II, Rumanians fought bravely on the side of the United States. And we can certainly not forget the warm welcome with which the Rumanians greeted President Nixon during his visit in their country last year.

Thus, it is with the deepest sense of

commitment that we, as well as all those who cherish freedom the world over, renew our hopes that the spirit of liberty may once again be extended to the Rumanian people.

#### THE REAL PLOT

### HON. LESTER L. WOLFF

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, May 12, 1970*

Mr. WOLFF. Mr. Speaker, I would like to extend my remarks to include an editorial from the outstanding weekly paper within my district called the Locust Valley Leader. Mrs. Edith Wyckoff has presented an editorial which I believe should give us all reason to pause. It follows:

#### THE REAL PLOT

There was a time, many years ago, when our leaders understood that the keystone of the communist plot to destroy the United States is to lure it into a series of undeclared wars all over the world, slowly draining all of our resources, manpower and wealth. As time passed our leaders lost sight of this simple strategy and deluded themselves that by fighting these undeclared wars they were fulfilling their mission which is to save the world from communism. Having the new mission to blind us to the real communist plot, we have allowed ourselves to be sucked into a series of expensive, degrading and debilitating wars that have solved nothing for us or the rest of the world but have served the communist plot very well.

Our country, now a badly kept house, is crying out for attention in every shabby corner. Our air, streams, lakes, rivers and oceans are so polluted they threaten our sources of food and water. Our cities are rotting from inattention, our transportation systems are at virtual standstills, our airports are clogged and dangerous, there is no planning, no correlation of ideas, no looking ahead. When these and thousands of other problems such as narcotics, welfare, education and the inadequacies of the whole system are brought before responsible persons the whole dizzying panorama is so overwhelming that the immediate response is to throw up the hands and say, "what can I do? And even if I knew what to do it will take too long."

Everyone can do something. If enough individuals let elected officials know what they want it will be done. By nature the democratic system is slow which is good reason to begin today. The longer we wait the longer it will take. While we are waiting and while we are saying there is nothing we can do, the heart of our nation is being sucked away by an aimless, immoral conflict more than half way around the world. What is happening is like cutting slowly into the human body until the life slowly ebbs away.

It should be obvious by now that the communists do not want us out of Asia. Every time we show signs of leaving, they do something calculated to keep us there because our presence serves their purpose. And when we have fallen deeper and deeper into their trap, carrying the war beyond the boundaries of south Viet Nam, supporting a government that cannot take care of itself and that jails its dissenters, as we squander more and more of our best young men and the cream of our wealth in this kind of ineffectual battle, our own nation is slowly slipping away, drowning in pollution and filth, in crumbling cities and in bankruptcy as the cost of survival goes higher and higher. When this kind of

disintegration takes over then the communists truly will have won their battle of half a century because we will be easy prey for them and it no longer will be of even academic interest to anyone how things are going in Asia.

#### THE 22D ANNIVERSARY OF ISRAEL'S INDEPENDENCE

### HON. THOMAS J. MESKILL

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, May 12, 1970*

Mr. MESKILL. Mr. Speaker, 22 years ago, Israel became a free and independent nation. It was not easy then; it is not easy now. Israel had to fight for her independence in 1948 and the fight to remain an independent nation in the turbulent Middle East goes on daily.

During all of this period, Israel has been a model of courage and tenacity. While facing the hostility of her neighbors, she has prospered and developed in the face of almost insurmountable odds. In spite of the ever-present threat at her borders, Israel remains undeterred from her course which she embarked upon 22 years ago.

Faith, courage, and belief in their purpose have inspired the people of Israel to defend their new nation. This deep commitment on the part of the people of Israel to succeed in their cause is responsible for their many achievements in social, economic, and political areas.

Through hard work and concentrated effort the Israelis have transformed sterile wasteland into fertile farm country. They have developed a solid economy. And they have maintained a functioning democratic political process, despite the presence of near war-like conditions for the last 22 years.

Israel has paid a high price for the right of survival. As we join in celebrating her 22d year of independence, we extend to her our wish for continued success. We salute her courage and her perseverance and her dedication to the ideals of freedom, justice, and independence. We wish her continued growth and prosperity. And finally, we hope that peace may soon settle over this part of the world.

The U.S. commitment to the free nation of Israel is a deep and longstanding one. It is our fervent hope that Arab and Israel leaders will sit down at the negotiating table and hammer out a long-term settlement that will bring peace and security to this troubled part of the world. Such a settlement is long overdue.

The cornerstone of our policy is and continues to be the protection of the independent nation of Israel.

As we celebrate Israel's independence, let it be clear to any nation who seeks to violate Israel's borders that our commitment is not susceptible to compromise. While we are making every effort for peace, we intend to insure Israel's ability to defend herself.

Mr. Speaker, as we honor Israel's independence, let us renew our commitment to her safety and security.

## A SCHOOL DESIGNED FOR KIDS

## HON. HENRY C. SCHADEBERG

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 12, 1970

Mr. SCHADEBERG. Mr. Speaker, I would like to share a recent article from the Saturday Review with my colleagues. The article concerns an innovative school, the Beloit-Turner Middle School in my district, which has been recognized for its concern with children and the true experience of learning.

Built with no Federal, State, or foundation funds, I believe the local citizens are to be commended for their personal commitment to the future of education. The article, as mentioned, follows:

## A SCHOOL DESIGNED FOR KIDS

(By James Cass)

Most schools are designed for adults, for the comfort and convenience of faculty and administration. The Beloit-Turner Middle School in Wisconsin, by contrast, was clearly conceived as a place for kids—or, more accurately, it was artfully designed to house a program based on the special nature and needs of early adolescents.

The visitor's first impression of the school is one of openness—of wide-open, visually attractive space. His second impression is one of almost constant movement, relatively quiet, purposeful, and relaxed, but unceasing. Only later in the day does he realize that he has heard no bells ringing to signal the end of class periods, and that classes of various sizes have met for differing lengths of time, and then have dissolved and reformed with a minimum of disturbance.

The heart of the school consists of three large classrooms—or pods, as they are called—each serving as a homeroom for 125 to 150 students, and as a classroom for varying numbers of students throughout the day. These pods are arranged in a U-shape around a central core of administrative and special service offices, and a large, open instructional materials center. The remainder of this central core consists of an ingeniously tiered cafeteria/commons, which connects the two side pods at the open end of the U, and doubles as a classroom for either large or small groups, as well as a "socializing center" for students. Divisions between the various open areas are marked only by the different colors of carpeting that covers virtually all the floors in the school—including the cafeteria. Adjacent areas house the auditorium, gymnasium, and facilities for music, art, home economics, and industrial arts.

Designed by architect Jack Reif of John J. Flad & Associates (Madison, Wisconsin), the school incorporates elements of open design that are by no means new, but are employed with a sensitivity that not only makes it possible for an unusual educational program to function, but actively supplements and enhances it.

The program itself is based on the assumption that sixth, seventh, and eighth-graders have special interests, needs, and objectives—and that the school should work with these special qualities rather than against them. Conceived by Professor Rolland Callaway of the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee, the program specifically assumes that these early adolescents need an active, social school environment, because they are deeply involved in questioning who they are and in exploring the nature of their relationship to everyone and everything. Consequently, this is not the age at which a child is ready to confine his study to the separate, highly organized disciplines. Rather, his study should draw upon the disciplines, and he should be-

gin to develop varied academic skills, but the emphasis should be placed on the exploration of social issues and problems, with particular attention to the development of individual interests, values, and attitudes.

To keep the program as flexible as possible, the day is divided into three large blocks of time devoted to an equal number of broad objectives. One half of the day is allotted to "Developing Social Sensitivity and Understanding" (which draws on the social studies, English, and foreign languages), one quarter of the day to the "Physical Environment" (which focuses on science and math), and the remainder of the day to "Developing Creative Interests and Abilities" (which offers students freedom to develop their own interests in art, music, home economics, and industrial arts). Each large group of students works with a team of teachers, teaching assistants, student teachers, and interns, as well as with specialists. The instructional program itself is not predetermined, but is "relegated to on-the-spot, day-by-day, week-by-week planning of the teaching team and the students." The part of the day devoted to the creative arts leaves the student free to choose his own area of interest—and to change it at will.

The school was opened just last September, and all facilities were not completed until early December, but both the school and its program appear to enjoy substantial community support. Although located in a typical Midwestern rural-suburban area that is far from affluent, no federal, state, or foundation funds were involved. It was purely a community effort that has, perhaps, been characterized best by former board of education president William D. Behling, executive director of the Beloit *Daily News*. "The Turner Middle School," Mr. Behling says, "is the remarkably successful result of an uninhibited effort by an improbable group of people who sought only to find a better way of meeting the educational needs of the early adolescent."

It is far too early to assess the ultimate success of the school, but teachers and students are enthusiastic. The teachers, to be sure, are rather more restrained in their judgments—not least, perhaps, because they find it less easy to adjust to the openness and the constant movement, and because their responsibility for developing an effective instructional program is so much greater than it would be in a traditional school. Yet nearly all are firmly committed to the concept of the school and seem to have reservations primarily about whether they have discovered how best to employ their professional skills in the unfamiliar environment.

But the children have no doubts. "It's the freedom that's so great," they say, "you can do what you want." And they add: "Yes, we learn just as much as we did last year—we learn more. Sure, we still have to study science and math, but it's different." The ways in which it differs may vary for individuals, but they have a common theme that echoes Professor Callaway's assertion that, when we enforce rules of quiet conformity on students, we "foist behavior patterns on youngsters in our schools which we, as adults, would not live with."

"The teachers don't push you into learning," a diminutive sixth-grader explains, "they let you come in by yourself and do it the way you want. We learn more because we want to—and it's so great because after you've done your work nobody cares if you visit with your friends." Three eighth-grade girls, alternately studying and talking in a little corner formed by movable tables with low tack-board backs, agree with their sixth-grade colleague. "It's better when you can get the latest gossip while you study," they say. And one adds: "You only really learn when you want to." A seventh-grader is entranced by the freedom allowed him to go

play chess when he has finished his math lesson. And others clearly share his pleasure—two or three chess games are in progress at almost any time of the day, a dozen during the noon hour.

But Danny, a bright, articulate eighth-grader who has been a serious discipline problem in the past, sums it up: "You can't help but learn more, there are so many things to do—and in the afternoon [during the time allotted to creative interest] you can do anything you want." However, Danny's friend, who has a similar history, has had more difficulty in adjusting to freedom—and provides the counterpoint. "Last year when you did something you weren't supposed to do, and got away with it, you had a feeling of accomplishment. This year nobody cares. Take gum. They say go ahead and chew gum in class—so I lost my taste for it. Nobody chews gum any more—maybe two or three guys in the whole school."

It will take much more time to get a final reading on the Beloit-Turner Middle School. The program is still evolving, and its eventual success will depend in large measure on the skill and the dedication of the teachers who implement it. But perhaps the best interim assessment has already been made by the students themselves. As a result of their demand, the school is open seven days a week. It's the most interesting place in town.

## RUMANIAN INDEPENDENCE DAY

## HON. JOHN BUCHANAN

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 12, 1970

Mr. BUCHANAN. Mr. Speaker, the 10th of May is the national holiday of the Rumanian people, commemorating three great events of its history. It is indeed a privilege for me to join in the observance of this day and in the expression of support by millions of Americans for the struggle for freedom by the brave people of Rumania.

On May 10, 1866, Charles, Prince of Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen—a scion of the Southern and Catholic branch of the Prussian royal family—was proclaimed in Bucharest Prince of Rumania, and thus founded the Rumanian dynasty. This was the successful outcome of the nation's long struggle to acquire the right of electing as its sovereign a member of one of the Western reigning families and thus put an end to the strifes and rivalries among native candidates to the throne.

Eleven years later, on May 10, 1877, during the turmoil of the Russo-Turkish War, the Principality of Rumania proclaimed her independence by severing the old and outdated bonds that linked her with the Ottoman Empire. Until that time, Rumania had been nominally a vassal of the Sultan. This independence had to be fought out on the battlefields and was officially confirmed by the Congress of Berlin of 1878.

Four years after the Rumanian people had proclaimed their independence, a further step was taken as they decided to raise their country to the rank of a kingdom. On May 10, 1881, Charles I was crowned, by the will of his people, King of Rumania. A prosperous era, which lasted over six decades, opened on that day for the nation.

This occasion serves as a vivid reminder to us that the people of Rumania and the other captive nations of the U.S.S.R. still live in captivity under the tyranny of Communist rule. The repression to which they are subject is a deep source of concern to freedom-loving people everywhere. As those of us who are privileged to live in a great free nation join in the observance of Rumania's independence Day, it is my profound hope that the brave people of Rumania will be encouraged to maintain their spirit through our expressions of support and that we can indeed bring the force of world opinion to bear on behalf of their freedom.

#### DISTINGUISHED HUMANITARIAN

### HON. MARGARET M. HECKLER

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 12, 1970

Mrs. HECKLER of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, it was a great disappointment to me that I could not be in Taunton, Mass., on Sunday evening, May 3, 1970, to join with my friends and constituents to pay tribute to Henry G. Crapo, register of deeds for North Bristol County.

Mr. Crapo has distinguished himself among the citizens of southeastern Massachusetts for his dedication to duty and civic causes. In his profession, he is widely admired for the efficient administration of his office, his expertise, and his service to the Registers' Association. He has worked tirelessly in behalf of charitable groups, and he has contributed much time and energy to youth organizations.

For the benefit of my colleagues, I include in the RECORD a full account of the dinner honoring Henry G. Crapo, as reported by the Taunton Daily Gazette, as well as a passage in tribute to him as "Distinguished Humanitarian—Public Servant":

[From the Taunton Gazette, May 4, 1970]

#### MORE THAN 450 ATTEND TESTIMONIAL TO CRAPO

More than 450 Bristol County residents attended a testimonial dinner Sunday evening at Lewis Lodge for North Bristol Register of Deeds Henry G. Crapo.

Robert R. Gallagher, register of deeds for Worcester County, was principal speaker. In his remarks, Gallagher praised Crapo for his work with the Registers' Association and stated that Crapo held the unique distinction of serving as president of the association longer than any other individual.

Gallagher also commented on world affairs and called upon his audience to support their state and national leaders.

"It is easy to be a critic," said Gallagher, "and find fault with everything our leaders do. But they are the people who try to do what's best, and continual criticism, violence and attack on government, might well bring on anarchy, and then dictatorship."

The Worcester County register, who is a graduate of Holy Cross College, and served for 85 months in the United States Navy during World War Two, also asked for support of the police. "Without civilian support of our police," he said, "great trouble can come to this nation," he asserted.

Other speakers included Mayor Joseph E. Flood, who spoke of his many years of work-

ing with Crapo when he was an assessor and Crapo was employed by the Taunton Board of Health.

"Henry Crapo," said Mayor Flood, "has been a life-long friend, and a splendid servant."

Rev. Bento Fraga, assistant to the pastor of St. Joseph's Church in Taunton, also spoke. Father Fraga told of his boyhood days in the Crapo neighborhood and the closeness of the Crapo and Fraga families and his great respect for the guest of honor.

County Commissioner Charles Frates of New Bedford reminded the audience of Register Crapo's able service over 12 years as register of deeds and his co-operation with the county commissioners on many important matters.

"Henry Crapo is a fine human being," said Frates. "The people know he operates an efficient office, and on behalf of the county commissioners, I am pleased to make public recognition of his efforts."

Presentations were made by Joseph C. Murray, president of the Taunton Co-operative Bank and also President of the Taunton Area Chamber of Commerce. Murray presented a scroll from Governor Francis W. Sargent and also gave a personal gift to Crapo—gold cuff links, bearing the State Seal, "From your long-time friend, Frank Sargent."

Louis V. Cook, secretary of the Taunton Lodge of Elks, presented an inscribed plaque to Crapo, setting forth that the Taunton register was a "humanitarian and an outstanding public servant." Cook commented that "Crapo's success in life was his genius for helping others."

Comments were made by Rabbi Baruch Korff of Congregation Agudath Achim, which conveyed the efforts by Crapo over 30 years in many charitable and civic efforts for the young people of Taunton.

The program for the evening outlined Crapo's leadership in many fields of civic endeavor, including his chairmanship of the Taunton Boys' Club drive which reached a goal of \$261,000 to rebuild the club and construct a swimming pool.

Guests included Reps. Charles L. Flannery, Walter W. O'Brien and Theodore Aleixo. Also present were a number of registers of deeds from surrounding communities, including Joseph Hanify, Fall River; Philip Norton, Dukes County; Richard Holmes, Plymouth County; Barry Hanon, Norfolk County.

Assistant Registers Charles Ross, Norfolk; Frank Parris, Plymouth; and Frank O'Brien, Fall River, were also present, along with Harold A. Goff, retired North Bristol register.

In his remarks, Register Crapo thanked the audience for "making this night one of the most eventful in my life." Crapo spoke of the many persons who had helped him down through the years.

"Without the assistance of so many friends and the co-operation of the people of Taunton," he said, "we would never have raised the money for the Boys' Club, the crippled children's programs and other outstanding charitable enterprises."

Crapo also thanked his wife, Rachel, and his family for their support and affection. "These are the things that are most important in life," he said.

Sen. John F. Parker was master of ceremonies and in his opening remarks called Crapo a "builder, who has constructed many bridges for the young."

Edward D. Duffy served as general chairman of the large committee which worked on the testimonial. Thomas Whittaker sang the Star Spangled Banner, and invocation and benediction were given by Rev. Samuel J. Riggs, pastor of North Taunton Baptist Church. Robert Phillips was organist.

#### HENRY G. CRAPO: DISTINGUISHED HUMANITARIAN—PUBLIC SERVANT

It is good that this world is populated by men like Henry G. Crapo.

These are the kind of people, in every community across the globe, who take on the difficult jobs, and with heart, mind and love for their fellow man, do the things that need to be done.

Henry G. Crapo is a modest man. His roots go back to the ancient beginnings of Taunton and Bristol County. That is why this splendid man has so much affection for all that America stands for and in particular a deep-seated love for his home town of Taunton.

This man's story of his life upon this earth is a diary of a sincere individual, who can never say "no" when a program needs guidance and which is designed to aid a fellow human being.

To chronicle Henry Crapo's achievements would take more space than is allotted here. Suffice to say that his hand and his heart, have been ever-ready and open to aid the downtrodden, the crippled, and the unfortunate. To bring light and happiness and joy is his way of life, and the measure of what he has done for more than 30 years can be found in the voices of those whom he has helped and who say in unison, "Without Henry Crapo, our cause would have been lost."

These causes and great charitable undertakings generated by Henry Crapo for the Kiwanis, the Elks, the Y.M.C.A., the Red Cross, United Fund, Heart Fund, Boy Scouts and other movements gave "Hank" opportunities to ease the burdens of those less fortunate than we.

His most magnificent project in recent years, was as General Chairman of the Taunton Boys' Club Fund drive in 1966, which reached a goal of \$261,000. His leadership in this drive will never be forgotten.

Twelve years ago, the people of this area, in appreciation for his unselfish civic work, elected Henry G. Crapo, Register of Deeds. His stature in this important post earned for him recognition as President of the Register's Association. He also became District Deputy of the Order of Elks.

In whatever he does, "Hank" Crapo adds to his luster as a man, a civic leader and public official. He is a credit to his family and to his people.

Those who know and love "Hank", open their hearts to honor him at this testimonial tonight.

#### PROGRAM

Invocation: Rev. Samuel J. Riggs, Pastor, North Taunton Baptist Church.

Star Spangled Banner: Thomas Whittaker. Welcome: Edward D. Duffy.

Master of Ceremonies: Senator John F. Parker.

Greetings: Hon. Joseph E. Flood, Mayor of Taunton.

Remarks: Rev. Bento Fraga, Assistant, St. Joseph's Church, Taunton.

Introduction of Guests.

Speaker: Hon. Robert R. Gallagher, Register of Deeds, Worcester District.

Presentations: Louis V. Cook, Joseph C. Murray.

Response: Henry G. Crapo.

Benediction: Rabbi Baruch Korff, Congregation Agudath Achim; Robert Phillips, Organist.

#### VETERANS SUPPORT THE PRESIDENT

### HON. WM. JENNINGS BRYAN DORN

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 12, 1970

Mr. DORN. Mr. Speaker, I was particularly proud that Voiture 435 La Societe Des Quarante Hommes et Huit

Chevaux in my hometown of Greenwood, S.C., has adopted a splendid resolution supporting our President in his actions in Cambodia. I was very pleased to receive this resolution from this great and patriotic organization, and I commend it to the attention of my colleagues:

RESOLUTION OF VOITURE 435 LA SOCIETE DES QUARANTE HOMMES ET HUIT CHEVAUX, GREENWOOD, S.C.

Be it resolved by Voiture 435 La Societe des Quarante Hommes et Huit Chevaux Greenwood, South Carolina, in meeting assembled this 6th day of May, 1970:

1. That, it does hereby endorse and commend the Honorable Richard M. Nixon, President of the United States and as Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces of the United States for his decision to protect the Armed Forces of the United States in South Vietnam by directing our Forces to enter that portion of Cambodia which is and has been a sanctuary and a base of operations for the North Vietnamese in carrying on their unwarranted invasion against the people of South Vietnam, and neutralize the area.

2. Be it further resolved, that it is believed that such action on the part of our Commander-in-Chief is in keeping with the plan for the Vietnamization of the South Vietnamese and the withdrawal of the Armed Forces of the United States from South Vietnam on the basis of a fair and just peace for the area.

3. Be it further resolved, that it is felt that the action of the President in this respect is in furtherance of a just peace for South Vietnam and in the world.

I, W. H. Cothran, do hereby certify that the above Resolution was duly adopted this 6th day of May, 1970.

By W. H. COTHNAN,  
Acting Correspondent.

THE THOUSAND-DAYS PEACE PLAN

HON. HENRY P. SMITH III

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 12, 1970

Mr. SMITH of New York. Mr. Speaker, I want to bring to the attention of the Members of the House a concept of limited peace which, in itself or in one or more variants or modifications, may be a useful tool in the dialog between nations concerning world peace.

The 1,000 Days Peace Plan was conceived in 1967 by a young acquaintance of mine, Lord David Eley, who now lives in Washington, D.C. It calls for every nation signing a no-war agreement with every other nation stating that no signatory nation would, for the period of the next consecutive 1,000 days, engage in any manner of warfare including giving, lending, selling, exchanging men and/or materials of war in any form, manner, capacity, or nature and that every nation then presently engaged in any manner of warfare would call an official truce lasting for the next consecutive 1,000 days. During the thousand days, groups of peace emissaries would travel to every nation encouraging the people of the world to refuse to engage in acts of war in the future.

Mr. Speaker, I think that the conception of a limited time of peace is a very interesting one. It may seem naive, but it just might work. I think the concept of eternal peace is one which the average

man may not be able to understand or embrace. It may be that as the reformed alcoholic says, "today I will not drink, and tomorrow must take care of itself," so mankind, reeling and bloodied by ages of warfare and killing, may find that health lies in saying "for 1,000 days we shall not make war."

I bring this idea to the attention of the House because it is just possible that some day it might prove to be a tool that mankind could agree on and use.

SOME STRAIGHT TALK ABOUT DRUGS

HON. CLAUDE PEPPER

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 12, 1970

Mr. PEPPER. Mr. Speaker, we who serve on the Select Committee on Crime have spent many days examining the dangers of drugs, because we have found that addicts not only diminish themselves but place a heavy burden on our society. Addict-committed crime counts for much of the violation of our laws and our individual rights. I was, therefore, especially gratified to read a thoughtful and persuasive analysis offered by the distinguished PETER N. KYROS, of the First District of Maine, in the Maine Sunday Telegram of May 10.

Our able colleague is a valued member of the Subcommittee on Public Health and Welfare of the House Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee. He reports on the knowledge gained in the hearings of that committee, in his personal investigation among our military personnel in Vietnam, and in his own research.

Understandably, his appeal for sanity is aimed at his Maine constituents. Because all of us face the same challenge to educate our people, I commend Mr. KYROS' statement to the attention of all Members:

SOME STRAIGHT TALK ABOUT DRUGS  
(By Congressman PETER N. KYROS)

WASHINGTON.—Credibility has been the first casualty in the current epidemic of drug use in our nation. Many adults, however well-intentioned, have so exaggerated the effects of drug use that even the most legitimate warnings now go unheeded by many young people. Some drug users, in turn, have so glorified their culture and so minimized the dangers of drug abuse that even junior high school students are tempted to experiment with their very lives.

While young people in Maine are not yet as deeply involved in drugs as their counterparts in more urban areas, there is absolutely no reason to assume that our State carries any natural immunity to this problem. The use of marijuana is already widespread in Maine. And more dangerous drugs are also circulating with alarming frequency among our young people.

As a member of the Health Subcommittee in the House of Representatives, I have listened to many, many hours of testimony regarding drugs. The initial purpose in these hearings has been to obtain the facts necessary for enacting national drug legislation. At the same time, however, the knowledge which I have gained through these hearings and my own reading compels me to speak out to Maine's residents on this subject.

I should point out first that alcohol is the drug most frequently abused in this country. This substance has produced six million alcoholics in the United States. Alcohol abuse is responsible for about one-half the highway fatalities suffered each year by Americans, as well as about one-fourth the serious home accidents. The heightened egotism and aggressiveness which even a few drinks brings out in many persons is viewed with dismay and distaste by many people, particularly young people.

Tobacco is a second substance used by many millions of Americans, with health hazards generally recognized as serious. While the Congress has recently prohibited television and radio advertising of cigarettes as of 1971, there is no doubt but that a large portion of our population will remain addicted to tobacco use.

There are other drugs, such as tranquilizers and barbiturates, which are abused more by middle-aged Americans than by younger persons. Amphetamines are abused by young and old alike.

These facts should dissuade adults from lecturing to the young in sanctimonious terms about the dangers of drug abuse. This does not mean, however, that we should adopt a permissive attitude towards the widespread use of additional drugs in our society.

The drug most frequently discussed at present is marijuana. While this substance appears to be the least harmful of the drugs being used by young people, its use is widespread. Officials of the National Institute of Mental Health estimate that 12 million Americans have at least experimented with marijuana. The Select Committee on Crime in the House of Representatives recently reported that "it seems likely that last year more than \$850 million was spent by a growing army of illicit marijuana users in the United States."

When I traveled to Vietnam this March to investigate the use of drugs by U.S. military personnel, I found that between 30 and 50 percent of our servicemen had used marijuana. While this drug is available nearly everywhere in Vietnam at a minimal cost, the high level of marijuana use among our servicemen is primarily a reflection of the extent to which this drug is used among young civilians in the United States. The majority of servicemen who used marijuana in Vietnam had first done so before arrival in that country.

I am frequently asked, because of my interest in drugs, whether I have ever smoked marijuana. I have not. I don't believe it is necessary for a person to try every drug in order to know something about it, any more than it is necessary for a doctor to have experienced the illnesses he is treating.

I have however heard many medical experts report their findings on the physical effects of marijuana. This drug has not been found to be physically addicting, or organically damaging. Its widespread use suggests that many persons enjoy the sensations, particularly the dreamlike euphoria, which often occur among users.

My advice to young people in Maine on the subject of marijuana begins with the rather obvious statement that no person has voluntarily become addicted to drugs. Think about this for a moment, though. Experimentation with marijuana will probably not lead you to use other, more dangerous drugs. I stress the word probably. The National Institute of Mental Health experts believe that approximately ten percent of those who have tried marijuana have become habitual users, or "potheads," who consider the use of marijuana one of the most important factors in their lives. Furthermore, one-third to one-half of these chronic marijuana users go on to try amphetamines and barbiturates, with nearly 5 per cent of the chronic marijuana users also experimenting with heroin.

You have no guarantee that you will not

be one of the individuals who experiments with marijuana and then becomes involved with other drugs. Think seriously about it.

Marijuana is a drug about which medical scientists have insufficient knowledge. Many of my colleagues in the Congress are joined with me in seeking appointment of a high-level commission to study the effects of this drug. However, scientists have only recently been able to isolate and synthetically reproduce tetrahydrocannabinol, or THC, which is the active ingredient in marijuana. While certain disturbing facts are known regarding this substance, such as the evidence that it can be transmitted through the placental barrier to an unborn child, not enough is known. Is it responsible to affect your body with a chemical about which relatively little is known? Think seriously about it.

With regard to most other drugs, I believe that they are abused only because individuals are not aware of the danger involved. Young people may know that the amphetamines, such as benzedrine, dexedrine, and methedrine, are stimulants which give the user a heightened sense of physical energy. They should also know that "Coming down" or "crashing" after the use of these drugs usually results in depression, with the result that amphetamine users often try to stay "high" by using additional drugs. This sustained use of amphetamines is quite harmful physically, as result of the hyperactivity and loss of appetite undergone while using this drug. It also leads to extreme paranoia, or "freaking out." The amphetamines are known as "speed"; even those persons who use other drugs ostracize the "speed freaks" and warn that "speed kills." These warnings should be heeded. They are true.

Barbiturates are prescribed medically for use as sleeping pills or sedatives. When used in excess, however, they become physically addictive, a habitual user requires increasingly greater quantities, and the withdrawal experience from these drugs can be extremely difficult. In other words, don't "pop" pills. You can get hooked.

Many of the persons who take the strong hallucinogens, such as LSD, mescaline, and psilocybin, do so in search of a mind-altering, sort of religious experience. I don't think the quest for such an experience is worth the risks involved, particularly when many of those who claim to have reached such a mystical awareness also believe that the same understanding can be achieved through meditation, without drugs. Persons using the strong hallucinogens run a significant risk of developing psychiatric disorders. There is also incomplete but disturbing evidence indicating the possibility of chromosome damage and genetic mutations, which will perhaps show up only in future generations, as result of these drugs.

Of all drug abuse, that which gives me most concern is the use of heroin. This drug is highly addictive, and reduces the user to a state where he or she feels "almost totally worthless," in the words of one drug counselor. Many users resort to crime in order to support their expensive addiction. Yet despite the universally strong warnings which have been issued against experimentation with heroin, its use is increasing.

While I have just set forth my own warnings with regard to various drugs, it is obvious that more than just warnings are necessary to meet the growing problem of drug abuse.

Together, we can meet this problem.

The Congress will soon pass the legislation being worked on in my Health Subcommittee, which will provide the tools for controlling the distribution of dangerous drugs. Federal law enforcement officials are confident that the supply of heroin in this country can be virtually dried up by the legislation which we hope to pass. The bill which

we are working on will be extremely tough on the professional criminals who traffic in narcotics and dangerous drugs, while giving compassionate treatment to the more innocent user. Our legislation deals with all varieties of dangerous drugs, from heroin to tranquilizers to codeine cough syrup. This legislation has already passed the Senate.

At such time as the Senate passes the Drug Abuse Education Act passed by the House of Representatives last year, our school and community officials will be able to receive considerable federal assistance in setting up effective programs to counter drug abuse. Assistance will be made available in getting printed matter, films, teaching outlines, and other technical assistance to educators, community organizations, police officials, parents, and all others seeking to set forth the specific dangers involved in the use of drugs.

Research is being expanded in the medical fields dealing with drug control. While methadone treatment of heroin addicts is not totally satisfactory approach, it offers hope for other medical means of treating drug addiction and abuse.

Officials in our Maine State Government are well aware of the increasing problem of drug abuse, and have recently strengthened the administrative organization necessary to help meet this problem. The ultimate responsibility in questions of drug use, however, rests with the individuals most directly involved: our young people, and their parents.

To the parents of Maine's young citizens, I suggest an understanding approach to the question of drug use. Most of us use too many drugs ourselves, and consume too much poison in the form of alcohol and tobacco, to preach to our children about the dangers of drugs. However, you might wish to seek more common interests with your children, and be less concerned about providing for their material demands. Many instances of drug abuse result from a desire of young persons to receive parental attention which may have been denied in the past. Show your concern for your children, not just in terms of what they are doing, or achieving, but for who they are, as sensitive human beings. If you believe that a drug abuse problem exists in your family, you might first discuss this problem in calm terms with your family doctor.

To the young men and women of Maine, my ultimate advice on drugs consists of four words: "You Don't Need Them." Our State has too much to offer, particularly in terms of challenging outdoor activity, for you to turn to the unreal world of drug use. In the fight against environmental pollution, we are realizing the fallacy of the slogan "Better Living Through Chemistry." Don't pollute your greatest natural resource—your mind—with chemicals, either. Don't let the problems which your elders have created in the world force you into "Copping out" with drugs. You will soon inherit this country, and be able to do whatever you wish with it. Don't weaken your abilities in the meantime.

If any of you have any questions or problem about drugs, please don't hesitate to write to me personally, at my Washington office or my Portland or Rockland offices. I don't have all the answers, but I promise you that I know where I can try to get them for you.

WALTER REUTHER PASSES

HON. JAMES G. O'HARA

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 11, 1970

Mr. O'HARA. Mr. Speaker, a great American has been taken from our midst,

and it may be a long time before the Nation and the State of Michigan see his like again.

Whether you were a friend of Walter Reuther, as I was; or one of his bitter critics—and he had many—there will be unanimity today that this one man, by his energy, his vision, and his organizing ability made a major impact upon our times. In all these attributes, Walter Reuther was a giant among men.

But in another way, and in a way which attracted less attention, he was also a man among giants. He headed a massive labor organization. Yet Walter Reuther successfully resisted the temptation to become the "bureaucrat." He retained his compassion, his ability to perceive a mission beyond his current problems, beyond the immediate interests of his own organization. He was an intensely alive human being, who left a very personal stamp on everything he did.

My community, my State, my country will be a better place because Walter Reuther lived among us.

WALTER REUTHER: A MAN AHEAD  
OF HIS TIME

HON. CHARLES H. WILSON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 11, 1970

Mr. CHARLES H. WILSON. Mr. Speaker, the sudden and tragically premature death of Walter Reuther is a cause of deep sadness to all Americans who are concerned about human dignity and the quality of life for citizens of this land. He was first and foremost a great and dedicated leader of all working people. His tenure as leader of the United Auto Workers saw that union rise to a membership level of 1.6 million, while their wages rose to decently high levels. Benefits, including pension plans, health insurance plans, and unemployment insurance safeguards, became a large and vital part of the workers' remarkable gains.

It was rarely an easy struggle. Throughout all of the tumultuous stages of the union movement, Walter Reuther was always up front, defending the rights and dignity of his fellow workers against whatever onslaughts were placed in their path. That his skill as a bargainer was consistently unrivaled was conceded by virtually all high-ranking members of both the labor and management organizations. During his more than one-quarter century as an outstanding labor leader, he constantly offered effective and determined leadership throughout difficult periods, when it was most needed.

But he was far more than just a worker, just a leader or just a bargainer. He possessed a keen sense of equal justice and of human rights. Walter Reuther's vision of what the union movement could be, in terms of using its strength and solidarity to advance the cause of human dignity, guided him throughout his career. He viewed union

leadership not merely as a matter of dollars and cents, but as a vehicle by which all Americans, particularly minority groups and disadvantaged persons, could realize a better life and greater fulfillment as individuals.

His guiding philosophy rested on the belief that the union movement must not become fat, complacent and self-serving. Instead, it must continually seek to infuse into its leaders and membership a concern for their fellow human beings, as well as for the attitudes and institutions of their Nation. The strength and success of the union movement was meant to encourage not uncaring security, but an obligation to bring an equal share of the good life to all men everywhere. President Reuther has curiously paralleled his own lifetime in passing ahead of his time, for his ideas were consistently ahead of their time.

Like many great leaders in recent years, Walter Reuther has been lost to us, and to the vast membership of the union he so courageously led, at a time when his followers and his country most needed him. He will be mourned and missed by all who shared his goals of peace, brotherhood and a finer world for all men, the goals to which he was devoted throughout his life. May his foresight and relentless dedication guide us in our efforts to bring to reality the dreams he held for our people and our Nation.

**SCHOOL DESEGREGATION  
PROGRESSING**

**HON. LAURENCE J. BURTON**

OF UTAH

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 12, 1970

Mr. BURTON of Utah. Mr. Speaker, it is to be hoped that the President's comprehensive message on elementary and secondary school desegregation, issued on March 24, will help clarify the essential points and discredit any intemperance which might arise on either side of a complex issue.

Fifteen years ago, the Supreme Court ruled in the Brown case that de jure segregation was unconstitutional. Subsequent Federal court decisions have made clear that the obligation to end legally sanctioned discrimination was an affirmative one.

Doubts have been expressed by some as to whether the administration is going to enforce the law. I believe the President in his statement made clear his intent to fully observe and carry out the mandate of the Federal courts with respect to school desegregation.

In brief, former dual school systems must meet their constitutional obligation effectively to eliminate discrimination, and it must be done without further delay. The President reaffirmed that:

Deliberate racial segregation of pupils by official action is unlawful, wherever it exists. In the words of the Supreme Court, it must be eliminated "root and branch"—and it must be eliminated at once.

The President also recognized that legally required desegregation must take account of educational need. In fact, he believes that the process of desegregation need not disrupt education and should serve to enhance educational opportunity. To a considerable extent, whether desegregation succeeds as an educational process depends upon the local leadership. If school officials are determined to meet the requirements of the law, and are just as determined to preserve the quality of public schooling, then solutions to the complex problem of desegregation will be found and the necessary adjustments will be made. This has been the experience of hundreds of school districts that have fulfilled their commitment to the law and to education.

President Nixon has come down strongly on the side of equal application of the law, North and South. Where discrimination or illegal segregation is practiced, the Government will require that such a situation be remedied, in accordance with the decisions of the courts. The Constitution and the Civil Rights Act of 1964 reach situations of discrimination without regard to geography, and the law will be enforced on a nationwide basis.

In summary, the President has set forth policies and proposals in this difficult area that are legally and educationally sound. With determination and a sense of unity I am confident that the President's statement will set the stage for progress in this complex area.

**COMMISSION ON THE POPULATION  
GROWTH AND THE AMERICAN  
FUTURE**

**HON. GEORGE BUSH**

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 12, 1970

Mr. BUSH. Mr. Speaker, as chairman of the House Republican Task Force on Earth Resources and Population, I have been very much involved in the establishment and formation of the President's Commission on Population Growth and the American Future because of my firm belief that this Commission and its activities must be relevant to the young people of our country.

I am very pleased to have received a letter from Daniel P. Moynihan, Counselor to the President, assuring me that there have been several young adults appointed to the Commission whose names will be announced very shortly.

This is so very important. It is expected that there will be over 8 million more young adults between the ages of 20 to 29 years in America during the 1970's—a larger increase than any other age group—and it is these young people who will determine the direction and extent of our population growth in the remainder of this century.

I am delighted that this Commission on Population Growth and the American Future will be relevant to our young

adults. The following letter is the one which I received from Mr. Moynihan:

THE WHITE HOUSE,  
Washington, D.C., May 6, 1970.

Hon. GEORGE BUSH,  
House of Representatives,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR GEORGE: My apologies for the inexcusable delay in responding to your note of March 17th. The selection of the members for the Population Commission is nearly done, and I am pleased to report that it looks as though it will contain a respectable representation of young America. I quite agree that it makes a lot of sense, and it will happen.

Cordially,

DANIEL P. MOYNIHAN,  
Counselor to the President.

**ST. LOUIS PHYSICIAN PONDERS  
HOW HE SHALL PROTEST WAR  
AND CAMBODIAN DECISION**

**HON. WILLIAM (BILL) CLAY**

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 12, 1970

Mr. CLAY. Mr. Speaker, the students, the yuppies, and the so-called bums clearly do not hold a monopoly on anti-war sentiment. Since the President's announcement of his Cambodian invasion, I have received hundreds of letters from soft-spoken, concerned American citizens of all ages who write to state their deep and sincere opposition to the war and to the distressing state of affairs which seeks to make dissent of any sort a "dishonorable, un-American act."

I am particularly moved by the following letter from my congressional district written by Dr. G. H. Lawrence, M.D. Dr. Lawrence has articulated a view representative, I believe, of many Americans who have never been counted in the crowds of protesters. Their absence from the streets should not be interpreted as support for the President and their views should no longer be overlooked by this administration.

I commend to the attention of my colleagues the following letter with particular reference to Dr. Lawrence's view of the responsibilities each Member of Congress must shoulder during this time of tragic turmoil. The letter follows:

ST. LOUIS, Mo.,  
May 4, 1970.

Hon. WILLIAM CLAY,  
House Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. CLAY: This is written to express my total opposition to the war and is finally prompted by the recent shocking extension into Cambodia. I have publicly viewed opinions on diverse issues in the past few years in the local newspapers, but never on the war and, hopefully, it will be more to the point to write my representatives in the Federal Legislative Branch of government rather than author one more letter to a paper.

Soon I will start my twentieth year in private practice in St. Louis. I am an assistant professor of neurology and psychiatry at St. Louis University School of Medicine, am a past president of the local psychiatric group, and have been active in committee work at the St. Louis Medical Society, including three years on the grievance committee.

There are many reasons to oppose this

conflict, and the Patton-types who seemingly control the Pentagon and perhaps far more, but the simplest one is that it isn't working, and if it could be made to work, surely the way would have been found by now. Among my acquaintances only the rightists who find a communist behind every tree support the whole ugly business.

Since it now seems clear that the President isn't going to stop it, the country's salvation can only come from congress. If the congress will not act, there is the question of what should a middle-aged doctor, who is a former navy doctor and was at Iwo Jima, then do. Since I am not the type to demonstrate in the streets, and certainly don't want a revolution, I will have to seriously consider refusing to pay at least a portion of my federal income tax. If it comes to this, I shall try to get maximum publicity in the hope that others might follow.

The "domino theory" is utter nonsense, and we have to quit. It is already far beyond the point of being the most gigantic blunder in military history.

It is further my opinion that this present crisis puts on every member of congress a responsibility which far transcends all other obligations, ties and considerations of practical politics. Any member of congress who considers his or her political future in making a decision on this war flatly does not deserve to be in Washington.

I appreciate the privilege of communicating my views to you.

Sincerely yours,

G. H. LAWRENCE, M.D.

#### WE SUPPORT THE PRESIDENT

### HON. JAMES H. (JIMMY) QUILLEN

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 12, 1970

Mr. QUILLEN. Mr. Speaker, I am one member of the U.S. House of Representatives who believes that the President's Vietnamization plan will result in a just and honorable peace in Southeast Asia. I have been of this opinion ever since it was announced that we would begin bringing our American fighting men home.

However, we are now on a new and different horizon in our concerted efforts to turn back the Communists at every crossroads. Our latest involvement in this conflict came recently when the President ordered American troops sent into Cambodia.

Naturally, as a Member of Congress, I have heard the views of many persons on their reaction to the President's announcement. I have heard from his critics and I have heard from those who support him. I am pleased to report that the majority of the persons with whom I have discussed this issue support the President.

A page 1 editorial, titled "We Support the President," appeared in the Greeneville Sun, one of the most outstanding and highly reputable daily newspapers in the First Congressional District which I represent. It was written by John M. Jones, editor and general manager, who has presented the news to his readers fairly and impartially for many years.

I feel I would be correct to say that his editorial also reflects the opinions of a large majority of his readers. There-

fore, I feel it is appropriate that Mr. Jones' editorial be made available to readers of the RECORD:

#### WE SUPPORT THE PRESIDENT

The decision to eliminate the pockets along the Cambodian-Vietnamese border which have been used for years as a sanctuary by the North Vietnamese and the Viet Cong to attack and kill Americans and South Vietnamese makes sense to us.

We do not want a wider war in Vietnam. The President obviously wants a solution to this war. It must have been an extremely hard decision for him to make. It was a courageous decision and, in our judgment, should have been made several years ago when it might have been far more effective in bringing a solution to this terrible war.

President Nixon did not start the Vietnam War. He inherited a war which had been escalated from the standpoint of the numbers of U.S. troops involved for several years. He has begun a program of Vietnamization which has already brought thousands of U.S. troops home, and he obviously feels that the removal of these sanctuaries—some as close as 33 miles from Saigon—will enable the South Vietnamese to have a breather and will give more protection to the lives of Americans and South Vietnamese.

The monsoon rains are due to begin within a very few weeks. When this happens, everything comes to a halt until the rains cease around the first of November. The planning of the President's move was obviously to deny these sanctuary spaces to the Communists during the monsoon season and indirectly to give support to the government of Cambodia.

In our judgment, this war would have been ended a long time ago had it not been for the lack of support of the President and our government by men in high places. You can expect the Communists in Russia and in China to applaud dissent as expressed by some of our senators in high places during recent years. The price we have paid for this lack of support in these quarters has been to give hope to the Communists that we would pull out if they held on a little longer.

It is impossible to negotiate peace from a position of weakness. What do we have to offer if we are going to unilaterally pull out and leave the North Vietnamese and the Viet Cong to decimate South Vietnam at will and place on it a yoke of terror which they have already imposed in other areas?

Who weeps for those in South Vietnam who have suffered hundreds of thousands of atrocities on children, women, and civilians, in a calculated campaign of terror? Yet an instance of allied misjudgment or overreaction brings denunciations so broad as to blacken the motives and records of our heroic forces fighting only for the rights of a small nation to survive the attacks of a predatory neighbor.

The United States has not been and will not be defeated militarily in this conflict. If we are defeated, it will be at home where disunity removes the chance of a fair and honorable solution to a conflict that has already cost far, far too much.

The President was right to take this action to defend U.S. soldiers more effectively. We should remove these pockets and sanctuaries which have already cost many American lives, and we should make it clear that we want peace, but not at the price of the wholesale slaughter of those South Vietnamese who have trusted us and for whom we have already shed so much blood.

The merit or lack of merit of the judgment of those who made our commitment in Vietnam is not in question today. The question is how do we find an honorable way to disengage ourselves from a war which we all abhor. The President promised to bring our troops home, and he has started this program quite effectively. He is, after all, commander

in chief of our armed forces, and he needs and deserves the confidence and support of the people of this nation who want their boys back home. And this is written by the father of one now with our armed forces in that tragic area.

#### EAGLE SCOUTS

### HON. GRAHAM PURCELL

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 12, 1970

Mr. PURCELL. Mr. Speaker, at this time when headlines are distressing, it is my pleasure to share with you and my colleagues the following piece of good news. This article is from a little town in my district, Olney, Tex., where on June 6, 22 young men will be advanced to the rank of Eagle Scout.

These and other young men in the scouting program in Olney have made for themselves an impressive record, demonstrating the patriotism and high quality of achievement of which most of our young Americans are capable.

I enter into the RECORD the following news item:

#### EAGLE SCOUTS

Olney, Texas, population about 4,000 is a small West Texas town. This is not an astounding statement.

June 6, 1970, what is probably a World's Record in Scouting will probably be set. On that date 22 or more boys will be advanced to the rank of Eagle Scout at one time. These young men and young men of their type are the hope of this community and nation.

This is the background leading to this most unusual event.

Troop 584, Butterfield Trail District, Longhorn Council, Region 9, Boy Scouts of America, is sponsored by the First United Methodist Church of Olney, Texas.

It is fully integrated and non-sectarian and was first chartered in May, 1967. Olney also has a Cub Pack and another Scout Troop with a total of over 120 boys involved in some phase of Scouting.

Troop 584 has 39 boys presently enrolled. Their ages range from 11 to 18. Most of them are in Junior High School or Freshmen in High School. Among their many accomplishments are some of the following:

1. 9 have a "combined perfect attendance" record of over 100 years in their respective Sunday School classes.
2. 26 have earned from one to three varsity letters in football, basketball, and track.
3. they are individually active in FFA, 4-H, Riding Clubs, their churches, and many school organizations both social and academic.
4. they have a combined total of over 600 Scout Merit Badges to their credit.
5. at least six have been "tapped out" for the Scouting Order of the Arrow.
6. none have ever been arrested for anything other than a very minor traffic violation.

These 22 or more young men are all gentlemen, intelligent, they are "rugged"—ask some of the older men who have tried to keep up with them on hikes and 72 mile canoe trips. Each and everyone richly deserved to be promoted to the rank of Eagle Scout. Money cannot buy the rank of Eagle Scout.

Perhaps, the people in the various forms of news media will want to cover this event. *It may not be news*—there will be no unusually long haired Eagles, there will be no pot, no speed, no narcotics, no protests, no



demonstrations for the violent overthrow of the government, no racial, religious, or political overtones, and no police except to assist visitors in finding a parking place.

There will be public prayer, there will be respect for the flag of this nation, there will be mutual respect for parents and children, and there will be an opportunity for a community to show its respect for and to these fine young men.

#### YOUTH FRANCHISE COALITION STATEMENT ON 18-YEAR-OLD VOTE

### HON. ABNER J. MIKVA

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 12, 1970

Mr. MIKVA. Mr. Speaker, one of the most heartening aspects of the current drive to obtain the enfranchisement of our 18-, 19-, and 20-year-old citizens is that that these young people themselves are playing an important role in that effort. A group which has made a tremendous contribution to rallying support of young people and others throughout the Nation—and to focusing the attention of the Congress on the issue—is the Youth Franchise Coalition.

The YFC recently released a cogent and comprehensive statement on the desirability of a Federal statute to obtain the 18-year-old vote. I take great pleasure in placing that statement, and an accompanying memorandum on the probability of a prompt judicial test for the 18-year-old vote, in the RECORD for the benefit of my colleagues and readers of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

The statement referred to follows:

#### THE DESIRABILITY OF A FEDERAL STATUTE TO OBTAIN THE 18 YEAR OLD VOTE

The Youth Franchise Coalition is a non-profit, non-partisan alliance of independent national, state, and local youth and adult organizations working to lower the voting age to 18. The Coalition combines the efforts of 53 organizations, including blacks and whites, liberals and conservatives, students and teachers, the disenfranchised and the franchised. The goals of the YFC are to obtain the 18-year old vote through Federal statute, constitutional amendment or independent state action.

To obtain the 18-year old vote by federal action would insure national uniformity on this basic political issue. The right to vote is the most important privilege in a democratic society. Yet in the past, state action in this area has led to an uneven pattern of unjustified variations. For example, Georgia and Kentucky have established the minimum voting age at 18, Alaska at 19, and Hawaii at 20.

Overriding considerations point to the desirability of achieving the goal through federal statute as opposed to a constitutional amendment. Granted, the constitutional amendment approach insures wide discussion on such an important issue. But, Congress and the states have been debating the merits of this issue for 23 years. It is clear then that the goal of widespread discussion has been achieved. It may also be pointed out that a constitutional amendment is necessary for deep and fundamental structural changes in our system of government. However, unlike proposals such as the direct popular election of the President, reducing the voting age does not require this type of change. The statutory change in the age requirement for voting is analogous to the

statutory changes in voting requirements enacted in the Voting Rights Act of 1965.

The question then arises as to whether Congress has authority under the Constitution to achieve this change by statute. There can be no question, of course, that the Constitution (Article 1, Section 2) grants to the states the primary authority to establish qualifications for voting, but that authority is not exclusive. It must be interpreted in light of all other provisions of the Constitution, including the Fourteenth Amendment. Within the scope of the Equal Protection clause of the United States Constitution, Congress may legislate voting qualification under section 5 of the Fourteenth Amendment. In a 1966 case, *Katzenbach v. Morgan*, the Supreme Court clearly recognized the broad power of Congress to legislate under the Equal Protection clause, in the area of state voting qualifications.

The *Morgan* Case indicated that the courts are not exclusive judges of what voting qualifications are included under the Equal Protection clause. In that case, the Supreme Court sustained the constitutionality of Section 4-e of the Voting Rights Act of 1965, abolishing literacy tests, although the Court would not have held that the English literacy test was unconstitutional in the absence of a declaration by Congress. In essence, the *Morgan* case strengthens the proposition that Congress has broad powers to weigh the facts and make its own determination under the Equal Protection Clause. Indeed, the Court specifically stated: "It is not for us to review the Congressional resolution of these factors. It is enough that we are able to perceive a basis upon which the congress might resolve the conflict as it did." If the Supreme Court determines that there is a reasonable basis for legislation by Congress in the area of voting qualifications then the legislation will be sustained.

In the case of extending the franchise to 18-21 year olds, certainly that basis exists. They work, pay taxes, raise families, are subject to military service, and are treated as adults by criminal law. Yet, they are treated as unqualified children when it comes to the most basic right of all—the right to vote.

It is important to note that basically these same constitutional arguments must be employed by the Administration to justify the nationwide ban on state literacy tests and residence requirements.

These arguments have received impressive support among noted constitutional experts, including professor Paul Freund, the most renowned Constitutional authority in America, and Professor Archibald Cox, the Solicitor General of the United States under Presidents Kennedy and Johnson.

In short, there is no real constitutional restriction to a federal statute establishing the 18-year old vote simply because the states have the primary powers in this area. As Chief Justice John Marshall, in considering the Necessary and Proper clause, declared in the historic *McCulloch v. Maryland* case: "Let the end be legitimate, let it be within the scope of the Constitution, and all means which are not prohibited, but consistent with the letter and spirit of the Constitution, are constitutional."

#### PROBABILITY OF A PROMPT JUDICIAL TEST FOR THE 18-YEAR-OLD VOTE

President Nixon's recent challenge of the legislation that would lower the voting age to 18 was based primarily on a fear that any legal contest to such a law might not be reached before 1972 and thus would jeopardize the proceedings of the Presidential elections to be held that year. However, from extensive legal, research and a brief review of the provisions of the legislation, it is reasonable, to conclude that a court case on the validity of an 18-year old voting statute will be initiated and resolved before January 1, 1971, the date the legislation goes into effect.

Several possible approaches could be employed to achieve a test case. For all of these alternatives, the courts would be justified in ruling on the validity of the provisions if elements of an actual controversy were present. Thus, a test case could be started once the bill was signed into law.

In one approach a case arising between a state and the Attorney General, the Supreme Court would have original jurisdiction. The State could file a complaint with the Supreme Court requesting a declaratory judgment that the provision is unconstitutional and an injunction against its enforcement. South Carolina followed this procedure in 1965 when it questioned the validity of the Voting Rights Act through *South Carolina v. Katzenbach*, 383 U.S. 301 (1966). The basic problem was registration of voters under the Federal provisions. Obviously, the situation will present itself again when 18-year olds try to register for local elections after the bill is passed.

Another alternative would have the Attorney General file a complaint against a specific State challenging the validity of the state law setting the voting age at 21. Section 303 of the Senate-passed version of the Voting Rights Act clearly gives the Justice Department this power, authorizing the Attorney General to begin proceedings involving States or political subdivisions. Indeed this procedure was successfully tried in *United States v. Alabama*, 252 F. Supp. 95 (1966), to enforce the poll tax provision of the 1965 Voting Rights Act. Using this method, the action would initiate before a special three-judge Federal district court and be appealed directly to the Supreme Court for final deliberations.

A third possibility would arise if state officials filed suit against the Attorney General challenging the constitutionality of the voting age section of the statute. As in the preceding alternative, the decision of a special three-judge court would be appealed directly to the Supreme Court.

Finally an individual could file suit against State or local election officials if they denied him the right to register to vote. The individual could cooperate with the Attorney General which would test the constitutionality of the State law setting the voting age at 21. This was the method used in *Harper v. Virginia Board of Elections*, 383 U.S. 653 (1966), when a group of Virginia residents challenged the constitutionality of Virginia's poll tax.

The question of constitutionality should easily be decided by January 1, 1971. Even if the test case were initiated in the three-judge court procedure, there would be no greater delay than if proceedings originated directly in the Supreme Court. The case would be argued during the Supreme Court's summer recess and presented to the Court when it returns in October.

It is important to note that quick judicial decisions have been vital for social problems several times during the past five years, and in each case action was successfully completed in a short time period. One important example concerns the already mentioned *South Carolina v. Katzenbach*. Since this case tested the 1965 Voting Rights Act the necessity of an early decision was nearly exactly analogous to the present instance. Total proceedings on the bill took less than six months. In another instance, *Williams v. Rhodes*, 393 U.S. 23 (1968) George Wallace's American Independent Party attempted to gain a spot on the Ohio ballot for the 1968 Presidential election. The case took less than a month after Supreme Court review was sought. Just last fall *Alexander v. Holmes County Board of Education*, 396 U.S. 19 (1966) sought immediate school integration. In this instance a decision was rendered in a little more than a month after the case was filed.

In short it is clear that ample precedents are available for a prompt test of the constitutionality of the statutory approach to

the 18-year old vote. Little justification exists for employing the fear of disturbing the 1972 elections in order to continue to deny the franchise to 11 million young Americans qualified to vote. They have waited too long already, and to fail to act now would return the issue to a legislative route that has kept it bogged down in Congress for 28 years. Since the constitutionality should be left to the courts your vote will be counted as a true test of your sentiments on the issue.

### WILL PACIFIC PALISADES BE ANOTHER SANTA BARBARA?

**HON. GEORGE E. BROWN, JR.**

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 12, 1970

Mr. BROWN of California. Mr. Speaker, last year's Santa Barbara Channel oil tragedy was intensified because it could have been prevented if the Government had not been so greedy for marginal offshore revenues that it overlooked the potential dangers of drilling in that key area.

The lesson was bitter.

It should not be repeated.

But, it may be.

No one doubts that the oil riches along the California coast are vast and plentiful. Yet, that should not be the only point of consideration made before drilling operations are approved. Go-ahead decisions should only be made after a complete range of variables are explored—and only when the chances of future hazards are very, very slim.

Today, these questions are quite important in the Pacific Palisades area of West Los Angeles. There, Occidental Petroleum plans to start drilling in an area near the site of recent massive landslides. The following story from the March 14 Los Angeles Times outlines the situation:

**OIL FIRM PLANS PACIFIC PALISADES TEST WELL NEAR LANDSLIDE AREA—26 CITY-OWNED ACRES AND LARGE TRACTS OF PRIVATE PROPERTY SOUGHT FOR SITE**

(By Robert A. Rosenblatt)

Occidental Petroleum Co. plans to drill for oil in the Pacific Palisades area near the site of massive landslides.

The company is carrying out a major land acquisition program to obtain 26 city-owned acres and large tracts of private property in Pacific Palisades.

Occidental plans an exploratory hole on a two-acre site between the Pacific Coast Highway and the Palisades. The land is just south of a section of the old highway that was covered by landslides about 10 years ago, according to Arthur O. Spaulding, petroleum administrator for the city.

But there is "not a real danger" of pollution problems from drilling because the area has settled since the landslides, Spaulding said.

The city and the petroleum company are on the verge of completing a swap arrangement that would give Occidental the two acres and \$175,000. In return, the city would get a piece of Occidental property which would extend Palisades Park down to the beach.

**TWENTY-FOUR-ACRE LEASE SOUGHT**

In addition, the petroleum firm wants to lease 24 city-owned acres running from above the drilling site back to Via de las Olas in Pacific Palisades. This area, said Spaulding, was condemned and acquired by Los Angeles years ago after being ravaged by landslides.

Occidental also has been taking a "strong position" in Pacific Palisades by leasing from private property owners, Spaulding confirmed.

The swap arrangement for the drilling site is in escrow and should be finished soon, said Spaulding.

After obtaining the land, Occidental would file a drilling application and ask for the designation of a drilling district before it could start work. The City Council has the power to create such districts, Spaulding said.

The petroleum company now operates a well in West Los Angeles, and reportedly is confident that a geological fault running towards the sea means large amounts of petroleum are present.

Discoveries would lead to development wells. Pipes from these wells on the two-acre site would go down and slant back underneath the 24-acre site to be leased from the city. The larger site is bounded by Via de las Olas on the north, Mount Holyoke Ave. on the northwest and Friends St. on the southeast.

Well pipes also would slant back and north under land belonging to private individuals in Pacific Palisades who have leased mineral rights to Occidental.

In a related action, the City Planning Commission has recommended rezoning the offshore areas at Pacific Palisades. The zoning would be changed to SL (submerged lands), the designation on other off-shore areas, such as San Pedro, where drilling is taking place.

Although zoned by the city, the offshore areas are owned by the state. The zoning change from the present R-1 (residential) would bring this area into conformity with other off-shore sections, Spaulding said.

Occidental, or another oil firm, could then apply to the state for permission to drill in the waters off Pacific Palisades.

The new zoning designation would allow the development of harbor facilities, the installation of oil storage tanks or similar activities, according to Roger Diamond, an area resident who opposed the zoning change at a recent planning commission hearing.

Mr. Speaker, controversy over the efficacy of such drilling has raged for over 4 years now, and, suffice to note, there are penetrating arguments put forth both favoring and opposing the Occidental operation.

I have gone over these differing viewpoints, and I now believe that the dangers posed by this drilling site, as well as the ugliness it would bring to the area, are great enough that I shall give my support to the forces calling for a halt in the drilling plans.

This, of course, is a local issue; the Federal Government is not involved. But the ramifications of the Pacific Palisades controversy are broad.

I have recently been made an honorary member of No Oil, Inc., a citizen's organization in the Palisades area which is fighting the drilling plans. And it took very little incentive for me to join; all I had to do was remember Santa Barbara.

### REORGANIZATION PLAN NO. 2

**HON. SILVIO O. CONTE**

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 12, 1970

Mr. CONTE. Mr. Speaker, this body will soon be debating reorganization plan No. 2. The question will be on House

Resolution 960 which disapproves that plan.

I strongly support the President's plan to reorganize the executive offices. In brief, it sets up a Cabinet-level Domestic Council chaired by the President. This mechanism, in my opinion, represents a necessary and important step toward a more coherent way of formulating domestic policies and programs.

The plan also establishes an Office of Management and Budget to which the President will delegate all the functions of the Bureau of the Budget. The Office will focus increased attention and personnel on those management activities needed to put programs into action.

In this regard, Mr. Speaker, the New York Times ran an excellent editorial on May 11. I would like to include it in the Record now in order to bring it to the attention of my colleagues and the Nation:

[From the New York Times, May 11, 1970]

**WHY BLOCK REFORM?**

Unless Congress takes action this week to block President Nixon's proposal for streamlining the Executive Branch of the government, an effective reform will automatically go into operation this summer. The plan was developed by an advisory council, drawing on the work of earlier commissions. The need to give more form to what has become an administrative sprawl is glaringly apparent. And the recommendations themselves appear to make excellent sense.

The heart of the proposal is to give the President two institutional arms for the performance of his staggering responsibilities. A National Domestic Council, composed of appropriate Cabinet officers and agency heads and supported by a staff and executive director, would advise the President on the entire range of domestic policy, integrating its various aspects into a coherent pattern and providing a sense of continuity.

An Office of Management and Budget would do more than take over the present Budget Bureau's function of preparing the annual budget and taking a financial hand in recommended legislation, it would be the President's field reporter in determining whether Federal programs were being carried out efficiently, economically and effectively—in short, whether the public was getting its money's worth.

A major reorganization of this sort is bound to have aspects of varying appeal. We wonder, for example, if the Budget Bureau has not already grown too powerful. But if its scope would perhaps be broadened still further under the President's plan, it would also be brought under closer public scrutiny, with accountability more firmly fixed. The Domestic Council would give Cabinet officers, some of whom are now smarting from a sense of Presidential neglect, a greater opportunity to contribute to the over-all policies of the Administration.

The arrangement whereby such changes as these are left to the Executive, subject only to Congressional veto, shows where the responsibility for effective administration really lies. Congress should leave it there.

### IMPACTED AREA SCHOOL FUND PROGRAM NEEDS A SWEEPING OVERHAUL

**HON. HAROLD R. COLLIER**

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 12, 1970

Mr. COLLIER. Mr. Speaker, although Montgomery County, Md., has the second

highest per household income among our approximately 3,000 counties, it receives millions of dollars annually from the National Government in the form of "impacted" aid.

The following letter by Edward K. Russell, who is a resident of Montgomery County, as well as a Federal employee, gives some reasons for overhauling the impacted aid program.

[From the Rockville (Md.) Advertiser]  
GOES TO BAT FOR UNCLE SAM  
(By Edward K. Russell)

Leo Paulin, in the April 29th issue of The Advertiser, concerning replacing federal impact funds with a tax on federal installations, leaves quite a bit to be desired.

As a Montgomery County resident and a federal employee I feel that the County is getting too much federal benefit already, not only in the form of outright payments, but also in the expansion of present as well as location of new federal facilities within Montgomery County.

Why should the federal government pay "tax on federal installations at the same rate any office building pays"? I'm not qualified to speak on all federal facilities, but I'm well aware of the situation at the National Institutes of Health. The federal government provides its own guards and security for all buildings and property; no county police are involved. The federal government provides its own fire equipment and men; no County help is needed. The federal government maintains its own roads within a reservation; no County funds are needed. The government provides its own sanitation and waste disposal; no County Suburban Sanitation is needed. The federal government is basically non-profit; why should a research facility like NIH or a hospital like the Clinical Center which provides benefit to all mankind be taxed? The federal government provides many Montgomery County residents employment and hence these people pay piggy-back taxes, real estate taxes etc. The federal government tends to attract many young people; secretaries, and young married couples who have no school age children: these people are tax assets, not tax liabilities. The federal government indirectly "discriminates" in favor of Montgomery County by having more federal employees proportionally than most, if not any other County, in the country due to the many federal installations located here; why should Montgomery County be shown this favoritism while other states are denied a fair share of government installations and federal employment?

Maybe it is time that Montgomery County started paying the federal government a tax as a "thank you" for locating here and providing the many jobs for federal employees who do pay their fair share of tax to the County.

CONGRESSMAN ANNUNZIO SUPPORTS ADDITIONAL FUNDS FOR MEDICAL CARE FOR AMERICA'S VETERANS

### HON. FRANK ANNUNZIO

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 12, 1970

Mr. ANNUNZIO. Mr. Speaker, I want to commend the distinguished chairman of the House Appropriations Committee, Hon. GEORGE H. MAHON, of Texas, for his support of the amendment to the second supplemental appropriations bill which provided \$4 million in increased

funds for medical care for our Nation's loyal veterans. This was a step in the right direction, but the need is great, and this additional funding must be continued during fiscal year 1971 in order to provide up-to-date medical care for our returning Vietnam war veterans.

Therefore, I urge that the House give favorable consideration to the amendment proposed by the distinguished chairman of the Veterans' Affairs Committee, Hon. OLIN E. TEAGUE, of Texas, who has devoted so many years of effort to better the lot of veterans who have served in all wars. Chairman TEAGUE's amendment to the 1971 independent offices appropriation bill calls for an additional \$30 million for medical care for our Nation's veterans. These additional moneys are needed desperately by Veterans' Administration hospitals throughout our country, and I can speak personally for the need in my own State of Illinois. Let me briefly describe the funding deficiencies that are prevalent in the six Veterans' Administration hospitals that are located in the State of Illinois:

First. Hospital Director Charles M. Turner at the Veterans' Administration Chicago research 500-bed hospital reported a funding deficiency of approximately \$266,000 for fiscal year 1970.

Second. At Chicago's 500-bed West Side hospital, located in my own Seventh Illinois Congressional District, Director Joseph J. Frankel reported funding deficiencies of more than \$1½ million for fiscal year 1970.

Third. Director Marvin A. Chapman of the 1,500-bed Veterans' Administration hospital at Danville reported a deficiency of about \$1 million for fiscal year 1970.

Fourth. Dr. William W. Bourke, director of the Veterans' Administration's largest psychiatric hospital, the 2,487-bed facility at Downey, Ill., reported a funding deficiency of more than \$227,000 for fiscal year 1970.

Fifth. Dr. Lee H. Schlesinger, director of the Hines Veterans' Administration Hospital, reported a funding deficiency in excess of \$900,000 to operate his 1,500-bed hospital.

Sixth. L. M. Frazier, Jr., director of the Veterans' Administration's 176-bed hospital at Marion, Ill., reported a funding deficiency in fiscal year 1970 of more than \$370,000.

All these figures add up to the staggering fact that the six Veterans' Administration hospitals serving the Illinois veterans faced funding deficiencies in fiscal year 1970 of more than \$4 million to operate about 6,700 hospital beds serving one and a half million Illinois veterans.

When you multiply the funding deficiencies prevalent in the State of Illinois by the funding deficiencies prevalent in almost every other State in our country, the results are astounding. The plight of the Illinois Veterans' Administration hospitals is the same as the plight of Veterans' Administration hospitals throughout the rest of our Nation.

Let us not destroy what has long been recognized as one of the finest hospital systems in the world—our Veterans' Administration hospital system. We cannot achieve a first-rate job with a second-rate budget allocation.

Once again, I urge bipartisan support for Chairman TEAGUE's amendment to increase the funding for the Veterans' Administration medical program by \$30 million.

My remarks on this legislation appear in the Extensions of Remarks, rather than in the general debate on H.R. 17548 because of Speaker of the House of Representatives today appointed me as Chairman of the Committee of the Whole House. As Chairman, I presided over the debate on H.R. 17548, the Independent Offices and Department of Housing and Urban Development appropriations bill for 1971, and therefore, it was not possible for me to participate in the general debate.

### POWER AND DUTY OF CONGRESS TO ACT TO STOP WAR IN SOUTH-EAST ASIA

#### HON. DONALD M. FRASER

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 12, 1970

Mr. FRASER. Mr. Speaker, an excellent brief has been prepared by students of the University of Minnesota Law School to show that Congress has both the power and the duty to act to stop the war in Southeast Asia.

I hereby enter this brief in the RECORD. The authors, Daniel D. Polsby, president-elect of the Minnesota Law Review, Patricia Lydon, editor-elect of the Minnesota Law Review and John Hunter are to be complimented for their valuable work:

#### BRIEF OF THE MINNESOTA LAW STUDENTS' APPEAL TO WASHINGTON TO THE MEMBERS OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES AND THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

##### I. THE POLICY OF THE UNITED STATES IN INDOCHINA

According to the Position Paper of the United States State Department dated November 19, 1965, the military presence of the United States in Vietnam rests upon three principal assertions:

1. American military intervention is furnished at the request of the government of South Vietnam;
2. The purpose of the intervention is to thwart the aggression of the government of North Vietnam;
3. The purpose of the intervention is limited narrowly to that defensive goal, and does not extend to acquiring territory from, or destroying the government in, North Vietnam.

##### II. THE LEGAL BASIS OF AMERICAN POLICY

The military presence of the United States in southeast Asia came about by executive fiat through a long and continuing course of conduct. In support of this executive conduct, several legal justifications have been advanced.

1. Under the Constitution, the President is commander-in-chief of the armed forces. U.S. Const. Art. 2, sec. 2, cl. 1. As commander-in-chief, the President has often used the armed forces of the United States in emergent situations where the vital interests of the United States were concerned without obtaining the prior permission of the Congress.

A. The Tonkin Resolution (Joint Res. 189, 11 Cong. Rec. 18414, August 6, 1964) has

been cited as a Congressional ratification of Presidential action in southeast Asia.

B. Yearly appropriations bills, which have furnished money for the prosecution of war in southeast Asia have also been cited as tantamount to Congressional ratification of Presidential initiatives in southeast Asia.

2. The Multilateral Southeast Asia Collective Defense Treaty (SEATO treaty) has also been cited as a source of authority for United States intervention in southeast Asia.

A. Art. IV (1) of the SEATO treaty states that the signatories are free to respond to aggression by means of armed attack, unilaterally if need be, so long as such response is reported to the Security Council of the United Nations.

B. Art. IV (2) of the SEATO treaty states that the signatories shall consult immediately in response to dangers arising other than from armed attack, in order to agree upon measures to be taken in the interests of common defense.

3. The Charter of the United Nations, Art. 51, gives nations the right to engage in collective self-defense. The Rio Pact, Art. 3 (1) and the NATO treaty, Art. V, are both explicitly grounded in Art. 51 of the U.N. Charter; both of the latter treaties permit initial unilateral determination of whether or not armed force is necessary in a given situation, and, if it is, the proper scope of such force.

It is not the purpose of this Brief to take direct issue with the policy of the United States as such in Indochina, or with the legal basis of that policy. Rather, we will argue

1. Assuming that the President's actions with respect to South Vietnam have been legal, can the Congress nevertheless arrest those actions and require the President to disengage American troops from southeast Asia?

2. If Congress does have the power to require a United States withdrawal from southeast Asia, would it be desirable for it to exercise that power?

### III. CONGRESS HAS THE POWER TO END OR LIMIT THE INDOCHINA WAR

While it is conceded that the President, as commander-in-chief, has the power to order United States troops into armed conflict without the prior permission of the Congress, it is not conceded that the President always uses this power with wisdom or intelligence. The discretion vested in the President by Art. 2, sec. 2 of the Constitution is not without limit; if the Congress believes that the actions of the President under Art. 2, sec. 2 are not in the best interests of the United States, it may adopt several means of channeling his discretion and cabin his power.

1. Art. 1, sec. 8, cl. 14 of the Constitution gives to the Congress the power "to make rules for the government of the land and naval forces" of the United States. This language plainly suggests that the threshold policies governing the use of armed force are in the Congress rather than in the President. While this clause has generally been interpreted in connection with the authority of courts-martial—see, e.g., *Kinsella v. Krueger*, 354 U.S. 1 (1957)—there is no reason why custom alone should annihilate a clear constitutional grant of authority. "The President as Commander-in-Chief of the Army and Navy has plenary authority in matters of control except to the extent to which he is limited by acts of Congress." *Overseas Media Corp. v. McNamara*, 259 F. Supp. 162 (D.D.C. 1966). The Congress might therefore enact a law which required the President to remove United States military forces from Southeast Asia. "While the President is made Commander-in-Chief by the Constitution Congress has the right to legislate for the Army, not impairing his efficiency as such Commander-in-Chief, and when a law is

passed for the regulation of the Army, having that constitutional qualification, he becomes as to that law an executive officer, and is limited in the discharge of his duty by the statute." *McBlair v. United States*, 19 Ct. Cl. 541 (1884).

As a practical matter, a statute limiting presidential prerogatives in southeast Asia would require two-thirds support in both houses of Congress in order to survive the President's certain veto, but this fact does not go to the ultimate propriety of the Congressional Action itself. "The Constitution does not subject [the] lawmaking power of Congress to presidential or military supervision or control." *Youngstown Sheet & Tube Co. v. Sawyer*, 343 U.S. 579, 588 (1952).

2. Congress may limit or terminate the United States involvement in southeast Asia by refusing to appropriate money to be used in the prosecution of the Indochina war. The appropriation of money is the exclusive dominion of the Congress. U.S. Const. Art. 1 sec. 9, cl. 7. Such a use of legislative power would be well within the established purview of Congressional decision-making. In the Constitutional Convention, Thomas Jefferson said: "We have already given in example one effectual check to the Dog of war by transferring the power of letting him loose from the Executive to the Legislative body, from those who are to spend to those who are to pay." Quoted in 389 U.S. at 937.

3. Congress may, by majority vote, revoke the Joint Resolution which has been cited in justification of the United States military intervention in southeast Asia. In addition, the Congress may by Joint Resolution disapprove of the President's conduct of United States business in southeast Asia, and insist upon the prompt termination of all warlike activities.

4. The Congress may bring articles of impeachment against the President. U.S. Const. Art. 1, sec. 2, cl. 5; sec. 3, cl. 6.

### IV. CONGRESS HAS THE DUTY TO ACT

In a memorable opinion, a great American judge wrote: "[The Founders] rested the structure of our central government on the system of checks and balances. For them, the doctrine of separation of powers was not mere theory; it was a felt necessity. Not so long ago, it was fashionable to find our system of checks and balances obstructive to effective government. It was easy to ridicule that system of government as outmoded—to easy. The experience through which the world has passed in our own day has made vivid the realization that the Framers of our Constitution were not inexperienced doctrinaires. These long-headed statesmen had no illusion that our people enjoyed biological or psychological or sociological immunities from the hazards of concentrated power. . . . The accretion of dangerous power does not come in a day. It comes, however, slowly, from the generative force of unchecked disregard of the restrictions that fence in even the most disinterested assertion of authority." *Youngstown Sheet & Tube Co. v. Sawyer*, opinion of Frankfurter, J., concurring, 343 U.S. at 593 (1952).

A government of checks and balances presupposes that each branch will jealously guard its authority. See *Hull & Novogrod, Law and Vietnam* 186 (1968). The hypothesis that the power of the President as commander-in-chief is unlimited should be anathema to a free people; and when the President goes beyond what is proper or wise, it is the business of the Congress to check him.

The Indochina war has been justified on the basis of Vietnam's strategic proximity to China and the policy of containment; it has also been said that there is at stake in Vietnam a question of our national honor, or the credibility of our military deterrence, or the fact that America has never in 190 years lost a shooting war. Even if these considerations were conceded to be appropriate premises for the use or continued use of armed force,

the physical pain and fiscal grief which America has endured this long decade past has been outrageously disproportionate to the goods sought. American interests never justified American actions in Vietnam.

But in the light of President Nixon's decision to use American power to interdict North Vietnamese sanctuaries in Cambodia, the Indochina war has assumed dimensions which transcend questions of relative national priorities or the wise conduct of our foreign affairs. The question now has become one of overconcentration of power in the single office of President, and in the abuse of that power by the incumbent officer.

In the last analysis, the people have a right to have government managed by those who will respond to their needs and wishes. The months of watchful waiting and guarded hopefulness have come to an end. Congress' time has come. An issue more crucial to American democracy could scarcely be imagined. The Senate and the House of Representatives have a duty immediately to act.

DANIEL D. POLSBY,

*President-elect, Minnesota Law Review.*

PATRICIA LYDON,

*Editor-elect, Minnesota Law Review.*

JOHN HUNTER,

*For the Minnesota Law Students' Appeal to Washington.*

(NOTE.—Titles for purposes of identification only. The Law Review takes no position in this matter.)

### WELFARE REFORM REVISITED

## HON. ROBERT PRICE

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 12, 1970

Mr. PRICE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, when the proposed Family Assistance Act of 1970 came before the House last month, I voted against it. As I stated at the time, my decision was based on three factors: The overwhelming sentiment of the voters in my congressional district, my belief that the issue of welfare reform had been turned into a political football and as such was destined to become a source of potential embarrassment for the President, and my fundamental reservations about the act itself.

The reasons I voiced then are still just as valid today. My constituents are still communicating their opposition to the House passed welfare reforms. Some Senators have started playing political football with the President's good faith efforts to reform the national welfare scandal. And, the reforms are still designed to provide individuals "something for nothing," an approach which I believe is the least effective means of helping individuals help themselves.

Today, Mr. Speaker, I received a letter of support for my position from the distinguished Governor of California, Ronald Reagan. I would like to share Governor Reagan's thoughts with my colleagues, for I believe his views on the proposed welfare reforms merit full and thoughtful consideration. In this connection, I was particularly interested in Governor Reagan's statement that—

It seems to me that the Act passed by the House does not eliminate the possibility of making more from welfare than from wages. In California, it would be entirely possible for a family in which the father is fully employed to have less income than a family

in which the father is working only part time—and only slightly more income than if the father were not working at all.

This was a basic defect in the act that was pointed out by the Senate Finance Committee. This defect was of such a fundamental nature that it has caused the sponsors of the welfare reforms to agree to rethink and rewrite the act.

Governor Reagan discusses the work-force issue and other aspects of the reform proposals. His comments are lucid and to the point. I commend them to the attention of my colleagues:

STATE OF CALIFORNIA,  
GOVERNOR'S OFFICE,

Sacramento, Calif., May 4, 1970.

HON. ROBERT D. PRICE,  
Member of Congress, House Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN PRICE: I was pleased and gratified to note your vote against the Welfare Reform Act (HR-16311) on April 16, even though the bill itself was passed. As you know, I admire anyone who votes his conscience and convictions, no matter what the odds are against being on the winning side.

During the secret sessions of the Ways and Means Committee in January and February, we were, of course, unable to get enough firm information to analyze or project the effects of the final bill on California. As soon as it was available to us in March, we began a detailed analysis, which my staff has just completed.

Since it appears likely that some version of this bill will return from the Senate to the House for consideration of differences, you may have an opportunity to make your views known to members of the Senate. Therefore, I am taking this opportunity to acquaint you with my concerns, and to provide you with some of our conclusions regarding the probable effects of this bill on California.

My opposition to the Welfare Reform Act stems from a deep, philosophical antipathy toward a government-guaranteed income and increasing federal intervention into state operations. In addition, I have a real apprehension that the costs of the Act will be excessive at a time when the taxpayer is already struggling to make ends meet, and at a time when there are such heavy demands in other areas such as education and environment.

Let me set forth some of my specific concerns:

WORK INCENTIVE

The President's original message to Congress (the goals of which met with my approval) said, "I propose that we make available an addition to the incomes of the 'working poor' to encourage them to go on working and to eliminate the possibility of making more from welfare than from wages."

It seems to me that the Act as passed by the House does not eliminate the possibility of making more from welfare than wages. In California, it would be entirely possible for a family in which the father is fully employed to have less income than a family in which the father is working only part time—and only slightly more income than if the father were not working at all. If you wish, we can supply specific data to support this statement.

Further, the Act would encourage many now working their way off of the welfare rolls to fall back into a state of federal dependency.

FAMILY SOLIDARITY

The President's message to Congress also said, "The new plan rejects a policy that undermines family life. It would end the substantial financial incentives to desertion."

This is an objective which I support wholeheartedly.

But, under the welfare reform bill as amended and passed by the House, very substantial incentives for desertion would remain. The bill could actually weaken incentives to maintain traditional family relationships and in some cases, may encourage dissolution of families.

COSTS

The Act, as it came out of the House, appears to have all the earmarks of the open-ended welfare programs of the '60s—such as Medicare and Medicaid—whose costs have escalated beyond even the wildest sums predicted by their original opponents. Some of our staff predict—as do others in both the public and private sector—that the costs of this Act could run as high as \$15 billion per year. California taxpayers' share would exceed \$450 million a year, at precisely the time we will be needing so desperately to have more funds available here for education, environmental protection, etc.

I am convinced that, unless the Welfare Reform Act provides for funding solely from a specific surtax or dedicated tax, the taxpayers will be unaware of the extent of the real costs of the program and these costs will soon outpace any benefits which might be derived.

GOVERNMENT GUARANTEED INCOME

Although proponents of the new Act claim it does not provide a government-guaranteed income, under this bill, no work-qualified head of household need actually work. He, or she, is simply required to state a need and agree to work or train for work in order to receive the benefits. This is, in fact, a guaranteed income. I must oppose such a proposal.

FEDERAL CONTROLS

The bill provides greater savings for those states which turn over administration of the program to the federal government than to those who administer the program themselves. This whole idea runs counter to the President's "New Federalism." Those states which are able and which desire to administer the program themselves should be paid rather than penalized for performing services for a federal program. Those states which are unable to administer their own programs, or do not desire to do so, should be charged—not rewarded—for having the federal government perform the services for them.

The Act delegates to the Departments of Health, Education, and Welfare and Labor unprecedented administrative powers. This makes it impossible to assess how various provisions are to be applied, and what impact these will have on state operations now and in the future.

It seems to me that one of the stultifying effects of the Act will be to impede, in some cases destroy, the growing and creative efforts being put forth by the private sector. This will stifle ingenuity and freeze failure; and this is completely out of phase with emerging programs to solve these problems at the local level. It is of deep concern that there are no provisions permitting the states to engage in, or continue, pilot projects which might prove more responsive to state or local needs. Some of the most imaginative and promising of these are in California.

In order to support a healthier relationship between the federal and state governments—and the President's efforts to limit the expansion of bureaucracy—the Act should be amended to prohibit the formation of any new administrative organization except that which is necessary to audit and reimburse those states which administer their own programs, and to provide administrative services for those states which do not. This latter organization should be only as large as can be funded by the charges collected from those states which are serviced.

In summary, the President's original proposal sought to reduce the welfare rolls; the bill passed by the House does not even mention this as a goal or purpose. Instead, it will add 12 to 15 million more persons to the system, with no significant reduction in sight, based on HEW estimates of continually rising costs. In California, one out of every twelve persons is now on welfare. The new bill will increase this ratio to one of every seven, with every indication that it could deteriorate even farther.

The federal administration is constantly instituting new efforts to reduce welfare costs (this goal is not mentioned in the new Act); but this program will cost additional billions, even more than the projected costs of the present program, based on HEW estimates.

The President's message to Congress specifically rejected the concept of a guaranteed income; the new bill provides every family with an income floor.

Proponents of the bill claim that its manpower programs are designed to get individuals off of welfare and on to payrolls; yet many, if not most, of the "working poor" to be added to the rolls under the House-amended bill live in rural areas where there are no training facilities and where there are, in fact, no jobs to train for.

It may be that something can still be done to remove the evils and correct the weaknesses of the House-passed bill, and I offer my assistance.

If you have any comments or suggestions, I would sincerely appreciate hearing from you. Our Washington Office, under Jim Jenkins, can supply you with any further details or information you may require and, if you wish, keep you briefed on developments as they occur.

Again, congratulations on your courageous stand of April 16. Regardless of the final outcome, I'm sure you will find it to be a source of pride for a long time to come.

Sincerely,

RONALD REAGAN,  
Governor.

HUB HOCKEY CAPITAL OF  
UNITED STATES

HON. THOMAS P. O'NEILL, JR.

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 12, 1970

Mr. O'NEILL of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, on Sunday, May 10, 1970, the Stanley Cup came home again. Forty seconds into sudden death overtime the Boston "Golden Boy," Bobby Orr, fired the winning goal. At the jam packed garden 15,000 fans went wild, a million more toasted victory in home and pub. Hockey Town U.S.A. had won its first title in 29 years.

No team has ever worked so hard or been so persistent in its drive to be No. 1. In the words of the Boston Herald Traveler editorial:

The Bruins won more than a loving cup at the Garden yesterday (Sunday). They won a 29-year battle with despair, frustration, misfortune and grief. And while the world of professional sports doesn't always relate to the world of reality, in this case it does.

By capturing the Stanley Cup for the first time since 1941, the Bruins have proven that no task is too hopeless, no goal too remote if we only persevere.

For all of those 29 years, the Bruins didn't even reach the National Hockey League playoffs. Six times they finished in last place, five of those dismal years, from 1960-61 through 1964-65, in succession. Their best

MAY 2, 1970.

young prospects failed, their big trades backfired, their teams grew worse instead of better. Even at the start of this season, they lost their star defenseman, Ted Green, because of a fractured skull.

But the Bruins persevered, and for this above all we salute them today. At a time when despair, frustration, misfortune and grief fill our lives, they have shown us the way to eventual victory.

I want to extend my warm congratulations to this hockey team on a job well done.

Further, I would also like to include in the RECORD an article written by a visiting writer to the Hub. His name is Mr. John Wolf, a staff writer for the Los Angeles Times. He was a visitor to Boston for the first time and makes some warm observations on our Nation's hockey capital. The article is as follows:

HUB HOCKEY CAPITAL OF U.S.

(By John Wolf)

The youngster swung his hockey stick and slapped the puck into the makeshift goal in the middle of a South Boston street. "Just like Bobby Orr," he yelled to his playmates. During my first visit to Boston I saw this scene repeated in several communities. I saw motorists stop to watch these games even though they were blocking through traffic.

Such scenes as these left me firmly convinced that Boston is the nation's hockey capital and that Boston fans are among the most avid.

Owning the equipment to play hockey is as important to a Boston youngster as having a baseball bat and glove or a pair of swimming trunks is to young Californians.

A first visitor to our country could easily think hockey is the national pastime if his first stop was Boston. The population is totally involved with the Bruins.

There are signs along Commonwealth Avenue in shop windows spelling out "Go Bruins," "Bruins Shop Here" or "Bruins Eat Here."

There were vendors circulating in Kenmore Square selling every kind of Bruin souvenir. In the West, that kind of scene is found only in the stadiums.

Tickets to the Bruins games are practically sold out before the season starts. Boston is one of the few cities where management can afford to televise home games and not worry about getting hurt at the box office.

But even the fans who are shut out of Boston Garden get into the act. Not all fans stay home to watch the games. They go to restaurants and bars to cheer their heroes.

I was sitting in a Beacon Street restaurant. We were seated behind a partition and unable to see the television set. Just before game time people came streaming in.

In less than 15 minutes what had been an empty room was jammed. The fans were so enthusiastic you would think the game wasn't going on in back of the partition. The game ended and the room emptied. The entire city is electric over the Bruins.

In Los Angeles, Boston's beloved pastime is played before empty seats. Westerners just aren't ready to give the game a break.

Early in the week, I visited Fenway Park with American League publicist Jack Sheehan.

It's no wonder the park is known as "Chummy" Fenway. The only advertisement in the park was for the Jimmy Fund. It was the first park I had ever seen without advertisements. The fans were wild, jumping to their feet for every Red Sox player's announcement. Then there's the inviting left-field wall. Foul balls are "whooped" down the backstop screen. Where else has a game drawn 25,600 on a week day in the past few seasons?

One day I caught the Boston University spring football game and a crew race down the Charles River.

The crew race was really something. I went down to the finish line and was amazed to see so many people. It was like a picnic. I noticed how some fought off the cold with a taste of the grape. It was a happy group.

Then Harvard's heavyweight eight appeared, winning with ease and the crowd yelled. They were with it all the way. I don't know much about crew, but it was easy to tell the Harvard rowers were masterful the way they worked together.

One of the most fascinating things I saw in my short visit was the L Street Brownies. I didn't think I'd get the chance because of the cold weather and the Atlantic water was even cooler. But one man ran out of the bathhouse in his flannel, dove into the ocean and swam with such vigor that I thought he might be headed for the other side of Boston Harbor.

I was amazed at the media coverage given the Boston Marathon. It gets six paragraphs on an inside page in Los Angeles.

In the West, Boston is recognized as the birthplace of our country. I stopped and looked around as I boarded the plane to head home and thought, "You've come a long way, baby."

#### STUDENT VISITS BEHIND IRON CURTAIN

### HON. JACK EDWARDS

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 12, 1970

Mr. EDWARDS of Alabama. Mr. Speaker, for the last 10 days we have heard several voices of the young criticizing the present American view toward communism. A few of these young students believe that the principles of communism are the answer to all the problems in America. Through equal division of the wealth, all poverty, starvation, injustice, and deprivation will be eliminated.

In fostering this position, they argue against taking any action to stop the spread of communism. In fact, many feel that the people of the U.S.S.R. and other Communist countries like North Vietnam and Red China are probably better off than some people in the United States.

Well, occasionally, Mr. Speaker, one of those students who disagrees with this position does speak up. Today I would like to share with you a letter addressed to me from one of my younger constituents.

The writer, Miss Patricia Forrest, of Mobile, Ala., is 21 years old and a junior at the University of South Alabama, also in the first district. Last fall, she attended the University of Rome to study art for one quarter. During her stay in Europe, she had the opportunity to visit several of the surrounding countries on her weekends and holidays.

Her present letter discusses a trip that she and three other students took to Czechoslovakia. Her comments and reflections on her visit to that country and on her conversations with one of the inhabitants are very pertinent at this time. I urge all the Members to read it carefully:

HON. JACK EDWARDS,  
Congress of the United States,  
House of Representatives,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN EDWARDS: Recently, I had the experience of traveling behind the iron curtain into Czechoslovakia. This experience has changed my attitude towards my government and my country. This experience I would like to relate to you and my thoughts about it.

In Prague, under very strange circumstances, the four members of our group came in contact with an English speaking Czechoslovakian. After taking us to the major points of interest in the city (including the room of Dubcek's downfall), he asked us to his apartment. There he told us that he had nothing to lose by talking to Americans because he felt he would shortly be put in prison as his daughter had defected the country shortly before the border closed. There in his dining room the five of us exchanged ideas concerning the basic difference between the U.S.S.R. and the United States, that of communism vs. democracy.

He told us how the government owned every flower and newspaper stand to every "modern" department store. He told us how he used to own a factory, how it was taken away from him and how he and his wife are now forced to work manually. He told us how he listens to both Radio Free Europe and the Voice of America, and how his wife writes many of these broadcasts down. He told us how he would not trust his grandmother any more than the man next door. In short, he said he would not trust anyone.

I could go on about all the things he said but I won't. There is something horrible and shocking here. Everything about this way of life is just like the teacher said. Everything she said was true. In our group of four there was one or two of us that held the view that "communism can't be all bad". All of us were overwhelmed including these two. Everything about the place was depressing, there was a very different feel in the air. All of us came away a little older and a little wiser. Seeing is believing, but I just hope that everyone in this country does not have to see it to believe it.

This man also told us how he felt about Vietnam. He knew that the United States was trying to stop communism. He said his people look to us, the United States, as the last hope. His point was that someone had to stop it somewhere. First Korea, then Vietnam and since I've returned, Cambodia. Where will it stop and what will stop it?

As much as I believe that communism should be stopped, I am against the extremist view. What is the middle of the road way? I don't want the boys I know to die in Vietnam, or anyone for that matter. But sometimes I think we (the young as well as the older generation) are only concerned with the immediate present. Do we have the right to determine how future generations will live? I think that if I have no feelings for what will come after me, then I have no right to take part in the continuation of the human race.

You, as First District congressman, have taken upon yourself the responsibility of representing the individuals in the First District. I see the position you are in. I would hate to be in your shoes even for a day.

As long as this letter is, I feel that each part is necessary because I want you to know how I feel and why I feel this way.

I am thankful that you are willing to represent and as in the past, be of help to me. Thank you for your time.

Sincerely,

PAT FORREST.

MOBILE, ALA.

## A WORD TO THE WISE

## HON. JOHN M. ASHBROOK

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 12, 1970

Mr. ASHBROOK. Mr. Speaker, in a little over a week from now an unusual collection of leftists of various persuasions, Communists and possibly some dupes will meet in Toronto, Canada, to launch a widespread attack on the United States and its involvement in so-called war crimes. Sponsored by the Lawyers Committee on American Policy Towards Vietnam, the conference at York University in Toronto on May 22, 23, and 24 will surely be impartial and objective judging from the backgrounds of some of those invited.

The Lawyers Committee has indicated that among the conferees will be a delegation of Hanoi jurists and lawyers and possibly Tran Cong Tuong, vice president of the People's Supreme Court in Hanoi and a veteran North Vietnamese Communist leader, friend, and adviser to the late Ho Chi Minh.

It comes as no surprise that the National Lawyers Guild, a U.S. left-wing outfit cited as a Communist front some years ago, will have members in attendance, possibly to learn, among other things, how our judicial system can profit from the superior mechanisms of jurisprudence which are the boast of Hanoi.

It also is not surprising that the Clergy and Laymen Concerned About Vietnam and the Law Center for Constitutional Rights also figure in this latest propaganda drive to discredit the United States. The Law Center, along with the National Committee for a Citizens Commission on Inquiry on United States War Crimes in Vietnam, and the Education/Action Conference on U.S. Crimes of War in Vietnam, have been invited to the conference to document their findings on U.S. war crimes.

Being objective and fair-minded U.S. citizens, it is presumed that after clobbering the United States, members of these groups will ask the North Vietnamese jurists and lawyers to what extent Hanoi has committed war crimes against the people of both North and South Vietnam. Or perhaps at a later date these groups will set the record straight by documenting the war crimes perpetrated by Hanoi.

The May 17, 1970, issue of *Twin Circle*, a national Catholic publication, carried an exclusive story by John H. Vincent on the coming conference. Formerly a newspaperman and college professor, Mr. Vincent has followed the various areas of Communist subversion for many years. I insert at this point the article "U.S. Leftists To Hold Parley on U.S. 'War Crimes,'" :

U.S. LEFTISTS TO HOLD PARLEY ON U.S. "WAR CRIMES"

(By John H. Vincent)

TORONTO, CANADA.—United States Congressional investigators should look into the Lawyers Committee on American Policy To-

wards Vietnam, a group of U.S. citizens which has scheduled a cozy, hitherto little publicized conference at York University here for May 22, 23, and 24.

The Committee boasts that this conference will be attended by, among others, the first group from North Vietnam—a delegation of Hanoi jurists and lawyers—to visit the North American continent. Since its founding in 1965, the Committee has consistently attacked the United States' defense of South Vietnam, but never, never the naked, brutal aggression against South Vietnam by the North Vietnamese Communists and their southern partners, the Vietcong.

The Toronto meeting is expected to continue the Lawyers Committee's never changing policy of denouncing the American position in Southeast Asia. By a strange coincidence, this is the same policy or objective of the worldwide Communist propaganda apparatus directed by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and its front organization, the U.S.S.R.

The Toronto conference agenda tells the reason why. Here are some of the subjects to be discussed, as listed by the Committee itself: "Illegality and Immorality of Vietnamization and Pacification Programs," "Historical Distortions of President Nixon's November 3 Speech," and "A Realistic Program to End the War."

Also to be discussed: "Application of Nürnberg Principles to Vietnam War," "Biological and Chemical Warfare—Biocide—in Vietnam," "Does the Saigon Government Qualify as Legitimate Under International Law?," "Legitimacy of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Vietnam and Belligerent Rights of Its Supporters," "Reparations and Its Application to Vietnam."

After studying the agenda, those knowledgeable about Marxism-Leninism expect the conference to make every effort to:

1) Help induce the United States to quit Southeast Asia entirely so it could be liberated more easily by the Communists.

2) Establish a "legal and international basis" for "indicting" the U.S.A., President Nixon, and other American leaders, both political and military, as "war criminals," alleging the precedent of the Nürnberg trials of August, 1945.

3) Prepare the groundwork for "trying" hundreds of American servicemen, now prisoners-of-war in North Vietnam, also as "war criminals."

4) Prepare the way for the North Vietnam Communists to demand "Reparations from the United States" for all "damages" done to Vietnam, Laos, Cambodia and perhaps Thailand by U.S. forces during the present war.

The conference was originally billed as "The World Jurist Conference On Vietnam." However, its organizers recently changed its name to "The Lawyers Conference on Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia." The conference is being sponsored "jointly" by the Lawyers' Committee and, according to the Committee Chairman William L. Standard, by a "comparable committee of Canadian lawyers." Two weeks ago, Standard, a well-known Marxist-Leninist, didn't know the name of the Canadian committee. Perhaps he's gotten the word by now.

Originally announced publicly at the 31st annual convention of the National Lawyers Guild at Washington, D.C., last February, the conference, Standard claims, will be attended by an estimated 100 American lawyers and about 50 from North Vietnam and other foreign countries. It is expected that many (perhaps most of the Americans) will be Marxist-Leninists, Marxist-Socialists, or fellow-travelers, especially if they belong to the National Lawyers Guild.

Former U.S. Attorney General Herbert Brownell once called the Guild the legal mouthpiece of the Communist Party, U.S.A.

A Congressional committee has described the Guild as "the foremost legal bulwark of the Communist Party, its front organizations and controlled unions." In other words, there are indications that the American Marxist-Leninists, Marxist-Socialists, fellow-travelers and just plain dupes in this gathering will strive hard to denigrate their homeland, and this on foreign soil while some of their fellow Americans are dying in Southeast Asia.

They will be joined in denouncing the United States at the "conference" by a galaxy of foreign lawyers and "war experts," all birds of the same red feather. The prize catch, if he shows up, will be Tran Cong Tuong, vice president of the 'Peoples' Supreme Court in Hanoi, veteran North Vietnamese Communist leader and close friend and advisor to the late Ho Chi Minh, formerly Hanoi's top man. Standard says Tran Cong Tuong has accepted the Committee's invitation to attend.

Toronto also might provide the Lawyers Committee with an opportunity to further vilify the United States by inviting three groups, all seemingly anxious to discredit their country, to disclose of the "conference" some of the "evidence" they're trying so hard to get of further "alleged" American "atrocities" in Vietnam.

One of the groups is the two-year-old Law Center for Constitutional Rights, a New York based leftist-oriented organization that concerns itself, among other things, with the legal aspects of defending such characters as the Chicago 7 and the Black Panthers.

At the National Lawyers Guild Convention last February, the Law Center announced it had been "commissioned" by Clergy and Laymen Concerned About Vietnam to conduct an inquiry about "the lawlessness of our official policies in Vietnam," especially "the brutalizing effect of the war on American GIs, as well as the proposition that the war was being conducted in daily violation of the laws of war by which this government (meaning the United States) professes to consider itself bound."

Guild members were asked to take depositions or affidavits from persons in their geographical areas "having knowledge of atrocities, etc." The request was signed for the Law Center by two veteran Leftists: Chairman Peter Weiss and Morton Stavits. Standard also signed. (Weiss is the husband of Cora Weiss who, with self-admitted Communist David Dellinger, is cochairman of the Committee on Liaison which works with the Hanoi government to propagandize the wives of American prisoners of war to work against the best interests of their country.)

The second Leftist group working hard to compile alleged Vietnam "atrocities" data is the self-appointed National Committee for a Citizens Commission of Inquiry on United States War Crimes in Vietnam. Its personnel includes some of the most notorious Leftists in the United States. Among them, to mention only a few, are Dr. Howard Levy, Noam Chomsky, Ralph Schoenman, a leader of the Stockholm War Crimes Trial of 1967, and Eric Seitz, executive director of the National Lawyers Guild.

Newest of the three groups is the Education/Action Conference on U.S. Crimes of War in Vietnam, formed just a few weeks ago as the outgrowth of meeting in February between officials of the Clergy and Laymen Concerned About Vietnam and the American Friends Service Committee. Its steering committee includes some of the leaders of the other two committees, with which it works in close liaison.

It would be interesting, therefore, if U.S. Congressional investigators would try to determine what connection, if any, the Lawyers Committee On American Policy Towards

Vietnam has with two well-established international Communist fronts, the World Peace Council and the International Association of Democratic Lawyers. (Tran Cong Tuong is a former secretary of the latter.) All three organizations seem to have the same objectives.

The International Communist propaganda barrage against the United States' defense of South Vietnam opened in July, 1967, when the International Coordinating Committee, a creature of the World Peace Council, sponsored a "conference" in Stockholm on "international law and the war in Vietnam."

Since then at least seven or eight other international conferences have been staged at Stockholm, Cairo, East Berlin, Montreal and elsewhere on the same subject by Communist controlled groups. Tass, the Soviet News Agency, reported that the latest was held March 29-30, 1970, also at Stockholm. An "authoritative" commission was set up to "investigate" American "war crimes."

The upcoming Toronto conference seems to fit into this anti-U.S.A. pattern, the objective of which was implied in the May, 1970, issue of "Soviet Life," published by the Embassy of the U.S.S.R. in Washington, D.C.

Prominently displayed in this issue are pictures of Nazi atrocities and excerpts from the charter of the International War Crimes Tribunal at Nürnberg.

Get the point?

## REPRESENT YOUTH IN THE EXECUTIVE BRANCH

### HON. CLAUDE PEPPER

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 12, 1970

Mr. PEPPER. Mr. Speaker, during the past days we have been witness to incredible happenings across our country—credible but not unpredictable.

We should feel no surprise at the methods of expression the youth of today have chosen. They have shown us many times before that they feel demonstrations are their only way to be recognized and heard. They have told us we have continually denied them an ear to their grievances and a voice in their future. And they are correct.

On May 8 I sent a telegram to President Nixon suggesting that he establish, by Executive order, a Cabinet-level youth representative and give his support to the proposal which I and 51 cosponsors have introduced in the House to create a Cabinet Department of Youth Affairs.

The President chose to name only a temporary youth adviser.

The Congress must, therefore, take the initiative and show our youth, which form a sizable portion of the constituency which we represent, that they do indeed have a legitimate and officially recognized voice in the executive branch of their Nation, that the changes they wish to make can be realized through present institutions, and that they will be heard and taken seriously.

I request that a copy of my telegram to President Nixon and a copy of my bill, H.R. 6259, be included in the RECORD and that other Members of this body join in sponsoring this urgently needed legislation.

MAY 8, 1970.

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

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: At this critical time when so much of the youth of our Nation feels that its voice, however earnest and sincere, is not heard at the highest levels in the Nation's Government, I respectfully urge upon you that in your press conference tonight you announce that you are immediately setting up, by Executive order, at the Cabinet level a youth representative and that you are recommending to the Congress the speedy enactment of H.R. 6259, introduced in the House of Representatives by a bipartisan group of 51 other Representatives and me, including Honorable John Blatnick, Chairman of the House Subcommittee on Executive and Legislative Reorganization of the House Government Operations Committee, providing for a Department of Youth Affairs presided over by a Secretary of Youth Affairs in the Cabinet of the President and providing for a youth advisory council in such department. Such an announcement by you would immediately stir the hope of the young people of this country to recognize that they will have a voice which can directly reach the President and the Congress with the concerns and frustrations of the Nation's youth. I would welcome the opportunity to meet with you or your representatives at the earliest moment to further the progress of H.R. 6259 which is so vital to the Nation's unity and strength.

CLAUDE PEPPER,  
*Member of Congress.*

H.R. 6259

A bill to create a Department of Youth Affairs

*Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,*

#### ESTABLISHMENT

SECTION 1. There is hereby established an executive department which shall be known as the Department of Youth Affairs (hereafter in this Act referred to as the "Department").

#### OFFICERS OF DEPARTMENT

SEC. 2. (a) There shall be at the head of the Department a Secretary of Youth Affairs (hereafter in this Act referred to as the "Secretary") who shall be appointed by the President, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, and who shall receive compensation at the rate prescribed by law for the heads of executive departments. The Department shall be administered under the supervision and direction of the Secretary.

(b) There shall be in the Department an Under Secretary of Youth Affairs and such Assistant Secretaries as shall be determined by the President to be necessary, each of whom shall be appointed by the President, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, shall perform such functions and duties as the Secretary may prescribe, and shall receive compensation at the rate provided by law for under secretaries and assistant secretaries, respectively, of executive departments. The Under Secretary (or, during the absence or disability of the Under Secretary, or in the event of a vacancy in the office of the Under Secretary, an Assistant Secretary determined according to such order as the Secretary shall prescribe) shall act as Secretary during the absence or disability of the Secretary or in the event of a vacancy in the office of Secretary.

#### TRANSFER OF FUNCTIONS

SEC. 3. The functions of—  
(1) the Secretary of State under the Peace Corps Act,

(2) the Director of the Office of Economic Opportunity under title VIII of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 (relating to VISTA), and

(3) the Commissioner of Education under subpart 1 of part B of title V of the Higher Education Act of 1965 (relating to the Teacher Corps), are hereby transferred to the Secretary of Youth Affairs.

#### TRANSFER OF RECORDS, PERSONNEL, ETC.

SEC. 4. There are hereby transferred to the Secretary all personnel, property, records, obligations, and commitments of, and all unexpended balances of appropriations, allocations, and other funds available (or to be made available) to—

(1) the Secretary of State under the Peace Corps Act,

(2) the Director of the Office of Economic Opportunity under title VIII of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964, and

(3) the Commissioner of Education under subpart 1 of part B of title V of the Higher Education Act of 1965.

#### REFERENCES

SEC. 5. Any reference to—

(1) the Secretary of State under the Peace Corps Act,

(2) the Director of the Office of Economic Opportunity under title VIII of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964, and

(3) the Commissioner of Education under subpart 1 of part B of title V of the Higher Education Act of 1965,

in any other law, rule, regulation, certificate, directive, instruction, or other official paper in force on, or which will become effective after, the date of the enactment of this Act shall be deemed to refer and apply to the Secretary of Youth Affairs.

#### EFFECT ON EXISTING OFFICIAL ACTIONS

SEC. 6. (a) Notwithstanding the preceding sections of this Act, all delegations of authority, orders, regulations, certificates, directives, issuances, and other official actions of—

(1) the Secretary of State under the Peace Corps Act,

(2) the Director of the Office of Economic Opportunity under title VIII of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964, and

(3) the Commissioner of Education under subpart 1 of part B of title V of the Higher Education Act of 1965,

which are in force on the date of the enactment of this Act shall continue in full force and effect until modified, amended, superseded, or revoked by the Secretary.

(b) Notwithstanding the preceding sections of this Act, all boards, councils, committees, and similar organizations and groups established by—

(1) the Secretary of State under the Peace Corps Act,

(2) the Director of the Office of Economic Opportunity under title VIII of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964, and

(3) the Commissioner of Education under subpart 1 of part B of title V of the Higher Education Act of 1965,

pursuant to law may be abolished or continued by action of the Secretary.

#### OFFICE OF YOUTH PARTICIPATION

SEC. 7. (a) There is additionally established in the Department of Youth Affairs a United States Office of Youth Participation (hereinafter referred to as the "Office").

(b) The Director of the Office shall be appointed by the Secretary and shall be compensated at the rate prescribed for level 5 under section 5316 of title 5, United States Code. There shall be a Deputy Director of the Office who shall be compensated at a rate not in excess of the maximum rate for GS-18 of the General Schedule under section 5332 of title 5.

(c) At least half of the employees of the



Office, classified in grade GS-7 and above, pursuant to section 5104 of title 5, United States Code, shall be persons between the ages of sixteen and twenty-four at the time of their appointments to their positions, and the Office shall establish a personnel policy which encourages the maintenance of this proportion. The Director shall establish a policy which assures that employees of the Office are representatives of a broad range of experience, background, and personal characteristics, with respect to sex, educational attainment, residence, occupation, ethnic origin, and age within the age limits prescribed in the preceding sentence.

(d) The Office of Youth Participation shall—

(1) establish and administer a program of grants-in-aid to public agencies and nonprofit private organizations which shall be made available on application and under terms prescribed by the Office for—

(A) the establishment of similar Offices of Youth Participation and Commissions on Youth Participation under the supervision of governments of the States and the District of Columbia, which will perform at the State level those functions specified in this section;

(B) the development and administration, by such public agencies and nonprofit private organizations, of programs designed to recruit, select, train, and employ youth up to age twenty-four as paid and nonpaid volunteers in social and economic programs of benefit to local communities, especially programs which concern youth generally and programs aimed at reducing poverty and physical blight, improving health, education, and welfare, ending racial discrimination, and achieving equal justice under law for all citizens;

(C) the development of coherent plans and programs, by such public agencies and private nonprofit organizations, which ensure the meaningful participation of youth up to age twenty-four in policymaking bodies of governmental and private organizations which administer social and economic programs, especially programs which concern youth generally and programs aimed at reducing poverty and physical blight, improving health, education, and welfare, ending racial discrimination, and achieving equal justice under law for all citizens;

(2) establish jointly with other Federal agencies administering programs which concern youth generally and programs aimed at reducing poverty and physical blight, improving health, education, and welfare, ending racial discrimination, and achieving equal justice under law for all citizens, a national program under which youth up to age twenty-four shall be recruited, selected, trained, and employed as volunteers in paid and nonpaid positions in such programs.

(c) The Director of the Office shall establish with the heads of Volunteers in Service to America, the Peace Corps, the Teacher Corps, the Job Corps, the Neighborhood Youth Corps, the President's Council on Youth Opportunity and other Federal agencies concerned with youth participation, cooperative administrative arrangements which insure that such agencies assist in furthering the objectives of this section, including the establishment of means for the exchange of information about volunteer opportunities and applicants for volunteer positions.

(f) In volunteer programs assisted under this section, the Office shall insure, to the greatest extent possible, that such programs—

(1) are planned and administered by public agencies and nonprofit organizations which are composed of youth up to age twenty-four, or which show evidence of substantial participation of such youth;

(2) engage volunteers in ways that per-

mit and encourage them to assist in the planning, administration, and evaluation of policies and programs;

(3) where appropriate, assign volunteers to work directly with clients and beneficiaries of programs;

(4) provide experience which leads to careers for volunteers in the fields in which they work; and

(5) where appropriate, make use of expert technical assistance in planning and administering such programs.

(g) Volunteers in any program assisted pursuant to this section—

(1) shall not be deemed to be Federal employees, except as provided by the Secretary of Youth Affairs, after consultation with the Civil Service Commission; and

(2) shall be compensated, including necessary expenses, as determined by the Secretary of Youth Affairs, except that in the case of Federal volunteer programs the Secretary shall consult with the head of the Federal agency concerned before establishing rates of compensation and expenses.

#### ADVISORY COMMISSION ON YOUTH PARTICIPATION

SEC. 8. (a) The Secretary of Youth Affairs shall appoint an Advisory Commission on Youth Participation (hereinafter referred to as the "Commission"), which shall be composed of nine members, at least five of whom shall be persons between the ages of eighteen and twenty-four at the time of their appointments. The Director of the Office shall be an ex officio member of the Commission.

(b) The Secretary of Youth Affairs shall seek recommendations as to the membership of the Commission from youth organizations in schools, colleges, and universities, and from other youth organizations, and shall appoint members of the Commission for two-year terms, except that the terms of the members first appointed may be for a greater or lesser period in order to assure that the terms of not more than three members shall expire at the same time. In appointing members of the Commission, the Secretary shall seek to insure that they are representative of a broad range of experience, background, and personal characteristics, with respect to sex, educational attainment, residence, occupation, ethnic origin, and between the ages of eighteen and twenty-four at the time of their appointments.

(c) Members of the Commission shall select from their number a Chairman and Cochairman, who shall serve in those positions for one year.

(d) Members of the Commission shall be compensated, including necessary expenses, as determined by the Secretary of Youth Affairs. The Secretary shall provide the Commission with necessary staff support.

(e) The Commission shall—

(1) advise the Secretary of Youth Affairs with respect to policy matters concerning the administration of this section and with respect to ways of increasing the involvement of youth;

(2) consult with and advise the heads of Federal agencies administering programs which directly affect the lives of young people, including, but not limited to, the Selective Service System, the Justice Department, and the Office of Economic Opportunity, as to ways of improving such programs and making them more responsive to the needs and concerns of young people; and

(3) hold and publish hearings, and conduct and publish studies, on problems and issues of concern to youth in American society, and make recommendations from time to time for additional means of incorporating young people more fully in meaningful and responsible roles in the American society and economy.

#### ADDITIONAL TRANSFERS

SEC. 9. The President is authorized to transfer to the Secretary any other functions relating primarily to youth in the areas of

health, education, military service, employment, and related areas not otherwise transferred by this Act, together with such personal property, records, obligations, commitments, appropriations, allocations, and other funds as he determines necessary to carry out any function so transferred under authority of this section.

#### DELEGATION OF FUNCTIONS

SEC. 10. The Secretary may authorize the performance of any of the functions vested in him by this Act by any other officer or employee of the Department.

#### SEAL

SEC. 11. The Secretary shall cause a seal of office to be made for the Department, of such design as the President shall approve, and judicial notice shall be taken thereof.

#### EFFECTIVE DATE

SEC. 12. This Act, and the amendments made by it, shall take effect when specified by Executive order of the President, but in no case later than one year after the date of its enactment.

POW'S—IF WE DO NOT WIN, THEY LOSE

HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 12, 1970

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, Americans who remember Korea watch intently the present administration's actions in Vietnam. Those who remember other wars know full well that all captured fighting men are never recovered by a country that loses a war—be it by surrender or withdrawal. They also understand that in war, a nation either wins or it loses. If it does not win—it loses.

I have received numerous inquiries about missing POW's from the Korean conflict as well as inquiry about U.S. prisoners of war in camps in the Soviet Union. The March 1970, American Opinion magazine carries an interesting story, "The Prisoners—Why Does American Abandon Her Own?" written by the author, producer, and consultant, Alan Stang.

I attended the little-publicized Washington rally on May 2 for the representatives and families of U.S. prisoners and MIA's in Vietnam. The meeting was understandably in a suppressed atmosphere because of apprehension by the families that action for other than humanitarian pleas for popular support might result in retaliation by the inhuman captors in North Vietnam.

The refreshing incident of the entire rally was the audience's spontaneous applause to a comment made by Navy Lt. Robert F. Frischman, a former Communist prisoner in Vietnam when he appealed for support from all Americans be they liberals or those who wanted to bomb Hanoi.

Because abandonment and loss of prisoners of war—the forgotten hero, presumed dead—is the tragically proven consequence by a defeated or "nonwinning" country, I have made inquiry of the President and the State Department for the denial or verification of the disposition of our prisoners of war from the Korean and other conflicts. I include

in the RECORD the State Department reply, along with several letters, and clippings:

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,  
Washington, May 8, 1970.

HON. JOHN R. RARICK,  
House of Representatives,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN RARICK: Secretary Rogers has asked me to reply on his behalf to your letter of April 29 concerning the correspondence sent to you by the "Help for Those without Hope Committee" of Illinois. The Committee stated that there may be American prisoners of war in the Soviet Union.

In cooperation with other agencies of the United States Government, the Department of State and U.S. missions overseas thoroughly investigate all reports concerning the alleged detention of American citizens in any foreign country. To the best of our knowledge there are no American prisoners of war in the Soviet Union. The only Americans in detention in the USSR at this time are two young men convicted of smuggling narcotics and given sentences of up to three years in labor camps.

The Department received several unconfirmed reports during the early 1950's that American airmen might possibly be detained in the Soviet Union. Such reports may have been based upon a misunderstanding of a statement released by the Department of State on December 12, 1951. In this statement, the Department estimated that 5,009 persons who might possibly have some claim to American citizenship were residing at that time either in the Soviet Union, or in Albania, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Poland and Rumania. The Department did not state or imply that these persons were necessarily being held in prison or in labor camps. As a result of more liberal emigration policies in subsequent years, many of these 5,009 persons were allowed to leave these countries.

Following the cessation of hostilities in Korea, the Communist side failed to give a satisfactory accounting for 944 U.S. servicemen who we believed might at one time have been alive in the hands of Communist forces. The number of Americans missing and unaccounted for was later reduced to 389, largely through the efforts of our Graves Registration units working in Korea. Neither the Department of Defense nor the Department of State has ever received any reliable information or intelligence to indicate that any of the 389 men might be alive and held prisoner by the North Koreans, the Chinese Communists, the Soviet Union or any other Communist country. In the absence of any evidence that these men might have been alive, the Department of Defense made a finding of presumptive death for each of them. This action was necessary in order to settle estates and to pay insurance and other benefits to survivors.

I hope that this information is of use to you in replying to the "Help for Those without Hope Committee." If I can be of any further assistance, please do not hesitate to call upon me.

Sincerely yours,

DAVID M. ABSHIRE,  
Assistant Secretary for Congressional  
Relations.

MARCH 1970.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN RARICK: The recent influx of inquiries caught us before completion of a synopsis of the world-wide prisoner situation. This will be published and forwarded to you as pending information makes publication possible.

In the interim, we enclose a letter and

other materials which explain the thrust of Committee concern and activities of officers.

If you have contributed to these efforts you will find receipt enclosed. If not, may we encourage your support at this time.

We have recently learned from a former prisoner in the Soviet Union's Vorkuta complex, some 200 camps and from 2,000 to 10,000 prisoners in each camp, some startling news. In 1955 our State Department stated to this man that they knew of 5,009 Americans held in the Soviet camps. They showed him a list of between 600-700 American servicemen's names, with rank, serial number and the exact camp location of these men, asking if he had met any of them or knew of any changes in location of our men. Some of these men were servicemen from the Korean conflict—most were servicemen from WW II, captured by the Germans and held in compounds subsequently falling into Russian occupation, as a result then being shipped off to the Soviet Union.

We are beginning to receive information from all parts of the world. The continuation of these lines of information and subsequent efforts of the Committee is dependent upon your dedicated support.

We thank you deeply for your concern,  
Very sincerely,

JAMES M. STEWART,  
Executive Director.

THE AMERICAN LEGION,  
Toledo, Ohio, April 17, 1970.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN: The State Department claims there is no evidence that any of our unaccounted for prisoners of the Korean War are alive. Others claim there is no evidence of death and that many were known to be alive in enemy prison camps and that our nation should do everything possible to repatriate them.

This matter has been of great concern to Legionnaires in our area for a number of years. We have had the usual "form letter" treatment from the State Department.

Our resolution calls "upon all Senators, Congressmen, and the President to take appropriate action" for their release.

We'll be interested in your views. We would like to be advised of any action you take in response to our resolution.

Very truly yours,

WILLIAM LOVE,  
Commander.

#### KOREAN PRISONERS OF WAR

Whereas, Many of the 389 American servicemen unaccounted for since the Korean War were known to be alive and in prisoner of war camps of the Communists, and

Whereas, Recurring stories appear in magazines (Argosy, 1959—Saga, 1964) that America has abandoned these men into Communist slavery, and

Whereas, President Dwight Eisenhower stated at a news conference in 1959 that "we have had a long, serious, and even continuing discussion with the Chinese Communists trying to make them disclose where our prisoners were held" and "there are still some left there", and

Whereas, President John F. Kennedy stated at a news conference in 1961 that Chinese Communists were detaining Americans, "some of them way back since 1951", and

Whereas, there has been absolutely no evidence of the death of any of the 389 servicemen,

Now, therefore be it resolved, that Lucas County Council, The First District, the Department of Ohio, and the National American Legion call upon all Senators, Congressmen, and the President to take appropriate action to effect the repatriation of these servicemen.

The above resolution was adopted at a regular meeting of Lucas County Council, The American Legion of Ohio, held Monday, June 2, 1969 in the clubhouse of Argonne Post, 43 East Central Avenue, Toledo, Ohio.

CLEMENT C. DOMBROWSKI,  
County Commander.  
LOU F. STEPHENS,  
Acting Adjutant.

[From the Evening Star, May 2, 1970]

#### REDS' TACTICS ON POWs ASSAILED AT RALLY HERE

Vice President Agnew, senators, representatives and families of American servicemen held prisoner or missing in action in Southeast Asia filled Constitution Hall last night to "express their indignation at the moral and legal enormity of the North Vietnamese and Viet Cong cruelty" to American POWs.

That was how Sen. ———, phrased the cause that united a bipartisan group of congressmen to sponsor the "appeal for international justice." ——— was master of ceremonies.

——— repeated charges that the North Vietnamese and Viet Cong "refuse to identify American prisoners . . . they refuse to forward mail . . . they refuse to exchange presents and food. . . . We sense the anguish of these families in the question they repeated to the North Vietnamese in Paris: "Am I a wife, or a widow?"

#### MANY FROM FAMILIES

Shortly after Mayor Walter E. Washington delivered what he called a "symbolic welcome," ——— asked the wives, children and parents of American POWs or men missing in action to stand up. Nearly all those seated on the main floor, about 1,000 persons, rose. Some 1,500 men are believed held captive by the Communists.

Standing ovations by the more than 3,000 persons present went to Mrs. James B. Stockdale, wife of a Navy captain held prisoner since 1965, and other wives of missing and captive servicemen who spoke.

The loudest and longest applause was for Vice President Spiro T. Agnew, who made an appearance near the end of the program.

Noting the spirit of common cause that prevailed when the world awaited the return of the imperiled Apollo 13 crew, Agnew urged "an identical kind of hope and fear for the lives of husbands and sons" in the face of "intransigent, totalitarian and callous" Communist treatment.

Capt. James A. Lovell Jr., commander of the Apollo 13 crew, had said a moment before: "If, as we have found, we can be united in these troubled times, I ask that now the people of the world unite again with prayer and with pressure to bring these people home."

H. Ross Perot, the Texas millionaire who traveled around the world to dramatize the POW issue, Hollywood actor Bob Cummings, several members of Congress and returned POWs spoke of North and South Vietnam and Laos.

#### GOLDWATER CITES ACTION

No one mentioned Cambodia until Sen. Barry Goldwater, R-Ariz., referred obliquely to U.S. action in that country.

Goldwater spoke of a cowboy who used to strike his mules with 2-by-4 boards because, he said, "you have to get their attention."

"I think last night (Thursday) our President hit the mule over the head with a 2-by-4," Goldwater said to great applause. "And if that doesn't work," he continued, "I have an 8-by-8."

Agnew apparently referred to the Cambodia action, saying he believes "every decision that our President makes is a decision that will help bring an end to the suffering . . . and bring the prisoners home."

[From the Manchester (N.H.) Union Leader,  
May 6, 1970]

**POW KIN "MISLED" BY REDS**

(By Edith K. Roosevelt)

WASHINGTON.—A retired Army captain who heads the largest and oldest kith and kin organization for American prisoners of war said today that the relatives of U.S. soldiers captured by the Communists were being misled about the future of their men.

Capt. Eugene Guild of Glenwood Springs, Colo., who heads "The Fighting Home Folks of Fighting Men," dismissed the attempt to appeal to world opinion as used by U.S. Senators who conducted a POW rally here recently as "nothing but a pleasant pipe dream" and a "public relations gimmick."

The meeting, which was held in Constitution Hall in Washington, D.C., was planned more than a month ago by Sen. \_\_\_\_\_, a staunch Administration supporter, \_\_\_\_\_, along with a bipartisan group of Congressmen, helped arrange for the gathering, attended by several hundred wives and relatives of U.S. servicemen who are POWs or missing in action in Vietnam.

The rally was attended by leading Administration figures including Vice President Spiro T. Agnew and is part of a program to bring the pressure of world opinion on the Communists so that they become ashamed of their cruelty to the POWs and release them.

More than 1,450 Americans are listed as missing or captured, and despite repeated American efforts, official and unofficial, Hanoi consistently refuses to provide any information about the prisoners or even early release of seriously sick and wounded POWs.

In Guild's view, however, "the idea of scolding the Reds . . . is nothing but a gimmick to pacify the wives of POWs and get them off the Congressmen's back." He declared in an interview with the Manchester Union Leader:

"This is nothing more than a fraud perpetuated on these poor women in an effort to take them in by the pomp, circumstances and big politicians strutting about."

**HAS PROPOSAL**

Capt. Guild, who founded his organization 20 years ago after his Marine son was killed in action in Korea, has an alternative plan which was presented to President Nixon last July but never acknowledged. His proposal is to have the President require the Communists to release a proportionate percentage of our POWs for each increment of troops withdrawn from Vietnam.

"Aside from military victory, there is one way of getting our POWs back," he said. "Give the Reds something they want in exchange. The reason the technique of scolding the Reds is being pushed is because it does not risk the loss of dove and peacenik votes for politicians, while the Fighting Home-folks' proposal does have a risk if the Reds balk. Then the President would have to take resolute action which the doves do not want. They just want out of Vietnam and the devil take our POWs—they are expendable."

**MOVE REBUFFED**

Guild said he had written Sen. \_\_\_\_\_ asking permission to speak at the rally and present his proposal for freeing the POWs. The Kansas Republican replied in a letter dated April 20 that "the program for the tribute is already planned and I cannot accept any additions at this time." Guild said \_\_\_\_\_ administrative aide repeated this to him again when he attempted to see the Senator and make a last minute plea to be able to plead the cause of the POWs as he views it at the rally.

Although denied an opportunity to address the rally, Guild placed himself squarely in front of the speaker's platform and managed to interject a question to Sen. \_\_\_\_\_

and some of the Administration figures beside him on the dais between the speeches. Guild asked loudly:

"It is not possible that your campaign to impress the Communists with our love and concern for our POWs is raising the black-mail price to be demanded for their return after we withdraw our troops?"

\_\_\_\_\_ did not reply to Guild's question.

Obviously, the idea of letting the Reds know how much we care has the Administration's blessing. Some of the wives were flown here at taxpayer expense in Air National Guard planes. Military as well as commercial buses were used to transport the women to the Rayburn Building for a banquet prior to the rally which was called by the National League of American Prisoners in South East Asia. The League's coordinators, who were also honorary chairmen of the rally, are H. Ross Perot, the Texas millionaire who traveled around the world to dramatize the POW issue, and Mrs. James B. Stockdale of Coronado, Calif., wife of a Navy captain held prisoner since 1965.

Defense Secretary Melvin Laird, who spoke at the rally, assured the women that the keystone of any negotiations with the Communists is the requirement for the return of the POWs and information on the missing persons who have been involved in the conflict.

Other speakers included Secretary of State William P. Rogers who told the women that it was quite clear that Hanoi is "barbaric" and Gen. William B. Westmoreland and Adm. Thomas H. Moorer, who praised the courage of the missing men.

Agnew, in an apparent reference to the Cambodia action, said he believed that "every decision that our President makes is a decision that will help bring an end to the suffering . . . and bring the prisoners home."

Terry Runyan of Sumter, S.C., whose husband, Lt. Col. Albert E. Runyan, has been a prisoner for four years, handed out leaflets in the crowd asking everyone to write a letter to the President of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, urging that "in the name of humanity" all injured prisoners be released as quickly as possible; the names of all prisoners be published; prisoners be allowed to exchange mail with their families and prisoners receive proper diet and medical care.

She said the leaders of North Vietnam had shown that they are "sensitive to world and U.S. public opinion."

Her optimism was not shared by Mrs. Lionel Parra Jr. of Birmingham, Ala., who said she had had no word of her Marine Corps captain husband missing in action since July 1968.

Meanwhile, Guild sought while at the rally to collect as many names of the relatives of the missing and captured men as he could. He said he had tried without success to get a complete list of the names from the Pentagon.

The retired Navy captain said Rep. John Rarick (D-La.) was the only legislator who endorsed his plan. He said California Governor Ronald Reagan had written him two weeks ago a signed letter saying, "I am delighted to see what you are doing."

[From the Washington Post, May 2, 1970]

**SUPPORT FOR FAMILIES OF HANOI'S CAPTIVES**

(By Marie Smith)

An estimated 1,000 wives, mothers, fiancées and children of American servicemen who are either prisoners of war or missing in action in Vietnam stood shoulder to shoulder and chest to back in a banquet room of the Rayburn Office Building last night. They were hoping to hear words of encouragement about their men from a battery of top administration officials.

Some came away smiling and hopeful. For others, it was more of the same words of praise for their courage and indefinite prom-

ises for the future that they have heard before.

The gathering was planned more than a month ago by Sen. \_\_\_\_\_, staunch administration supporter, who helped organize and arrange for the women to fly here from throughout the country as a show to the nation and the world of the administration's concern for their missing men.

Some were flown here at taxpayer expense in Air National Guard planes, others came by bus and car.

Both chartered commercial buses and military buses were used to transport the women to the Rayburn Building for a roast beef and baked ham buffet before they went on to a rally at Constitution Hall called by the League of Families, a group composed of more than 700 relatives of prisoners of war.

However, the women, said they paid for their meals and hotel.

One wife, Mary Kay Russell, said a group of wives of prisoners of war went to \_\_\_\_\_ office on March 6 and "he told us what to do." Then they set about inviting other wives to the rally by letter, word of mouth and telephone calls, some as recently as Thursday morning.

Secretary of Defense Melvin Laird, first of the officials to speak, told the women their "loved ones" are not forgotten and that President Nixon's actions earlier this week in sending troops into Cambodia was "to save American lives in Vietnam."

"It was a course of action," he explained "to destroy the sanctuary area in Cambodia that has been responsible for many of the casualties . . . and had an adverse effect on the course of the war in Vietnam."

He added that the keystone in any negotiations with the Communists is the requirement for the return of prisoners of war and information on missing persons who have been involved in the conflict.

"If we are going to be successful in negotiating a settlement," he added, "this resolve and determination of the President must be understood here at home and throughout the world."

"Every effort will be made on the part of this administration," he promised, "to bring the weight of public opinion (on Hanoi) so these men are returned to you and are part of your family again."

One of the women, Mrs. Theodore W. Gostas, of Sheridan, Wyo., whose Army major husband has been a prisoner of the Viet Cong in South Vietnam since 1968, said she was telephoned at 9 o'clock Thursday morning by her "Army adviser" and told she had two hours to decide if she wanted to come to Washington for last night's rally.

She was flown here by the Wyoming Air National Guard and said she came because she hopes "it will show that a lot of people care about the men, and that we are supporting President Nixon. If a lot of people get behind us, maybe it will have some influence on Hanoi," she added.

Secretary of State William P. Rogers told the women that it is "quite clear" that Hanoi is "barbaric" in its way of dealing with prisoners of war and those missing and added that "there is no excuse" for such action.

He said the United States government is "very conscious every hour of the day of the responsibility we have" to the families of these men, and promised to do "everything we can to assist you."

"We do many things we don't have time to tell you," he said, adding that "I hope one of these days we will have good news for you."

Gen. William B. Westmoreland told the women "your husbands were men of courage and you ladies are people of courage. Your husbands have done their duty unlike others who have shirked their duty."

Adm. Thomas H. Moorer, newly designated chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, added in the same vein that at a time when "so

many people are talking about what they are against, your husbands have showed the world what they are for. I add my prayers to those of Secretary Laird that they can be safely returned."

Marine Commandant, Gen. Leonard Chapman, added a word for each Marine wife saying "you're still in the Marine Corps and the Marine Corps intends to devote every effort to see that your husband is safely returned to you."

Mrs. Robert Lender, a mother whose son is missing, noting the frequent references to wives, asked "why don't they say something about mothers? They only talk about wives."

One smiling mother was Mrs. Virgil O'Connor, of Warren, Mich., whose son, Warrant Officer Michael O'Connor, an Army helicopter pilot, has been a prisoner for 26 months.

She was one of dozens that Secretary Laird spoke to personally as he pushed his way through the crowd to the microphone. She said he told her that he thinks it looks "better for our sons getting home sooner" as a result of the President's latest move in Cambodia. "They were very consoling words," she added.

Mrs. David Holmes, of Billings, Mont., whose husband has been missing in action for four years, also was flown here by the Wyoming Air National Guard. She said "I am very much hopeful that he is alive somewhere and that I will see him again."

Becky Otts, of Virginia Beach, Va., who came with her fiancé's mother, Mrs. Robert Fant, of Anderson, S.C., proudly reported they both had received letters from Navy Lt. Fant last week. "It was our second letter. We heard on Dec. 22 also. It was a general letter and we were encouraged and so happy he is alive. He was missing for 16 months," she said.

Many of the women said they learned their husbands are prisoners of war from other prisoners who escaped and told of those left behind.

Terry Runyan, of Sumter, S.C., whose husband, Lt. Col. Albert E. Runyan, has been a prisoner for four years, said she got a letter last week with some water color pictures enclosed. "I'd like him to know I got them," she said.

She handed out leaflets in the crowd asking everyone to write a letter to the Office of the President, Democratic Republic of Vietnam, Hanoi, North Vietnam (via Hong Kong) urging that "in the name of humanity," all injured prisoners be released as quickly as possible; the names of all prisoners be published; prisoners be allowed to exchange mail with their families, and prisoners receive proper diet and medical care.

She said the leaders of North Vietnam have shown that they are "sensitive to world and U.S. public opinion."

Mrs. Lionel Parra, Jr., of Birmingham, Ala., who has had no word of her Marine Corps captain husband missing in action since July 1968, said she writes once a week to the North Vietnamese leaders and has done so for more than a year. "I have yet to receive a reply."

She showed little encouragement from the rally. "I'm pessimistic. I've been in this so long I'm discouraged," she said sadly. "But you feel like anything's worth a try. Right now, I'd write to the devil. It beats doing nothing."

#### THE PRISONERS: WHY DOES AMERICA ABANDON HER OWN?

(By Alan Stang)

"I spent two minutes on the floor and repeated over and over the phrase . . . the phrase, 'I love you, Rose.' I thought this would keep my mind off what was going to happen. At the end of two minutes they asked me again if I was ready to sign. I said I would not sign. Then he told the officer at

my side to move, apparently so that when I was shot, and the bullet passed through my head, it would not hit the officer standing in front of me.

"Then the colonel said: 'Kill the son of a bitch!' So the gun was clicked. Then the interpreter said, 'Well, it was a misfire. You will have another two minutes. You were lucky the last time.' I had fully expected to be shot, but when the slide was drawn back, presumably to insert another bullet, and I did not hear any bullet hit the floor, I knew it was a game they were playing with me, and they weren't going to kill me.

"The two minutes went by and I refused to confess. Then the colonel said I wasn't worth a bullet, and I would be beaten to death. They turned to and beat me and kicked me, and they worked me over real good. They beat me to the floor, and I lost consciousness after a few minutes. . . .

"Then I was carried out to my room and thrown on the bed. . . . I asked permission to go to the bathroom, and they marched me to the head. All I could urinate was blood."

Late that night, the Communists came back and took Commander Lloyd Bucher, skipper of the *Pueblo*, to another part of the building: "A South Korean was there with a strap around his chest, strapped to the wall. They explained to me that he was a South Korean spy. He was alive, but had been through a terrible ordeal. He had a compound fracture of the upper right arm. The bone was sticking out. He was stripped to the waist. He had completely bitten through his lower lip, and his lower lip was hanging down from the side of his mouth. His right eye had been put out. His head was hanging down. There was a lot of . . . black matter which had run out of his eye and down his right cheek. . . ."

#### AMERICANS HELD BY THE REDS

Now that we're in the mood to understand what it means to be a prisoner of the Communists, it is important to realize that the current furore about the Americans held by the Vietcong is the beginning of a ghastly re-enactment of what has happened time and time before. General Mark W. Clark, U.N. commander during the Korean War, writes (*From the Danube to the Yalu*, Harper & Brothers, New York, 1954) that "we had solid evidence after all the returns were in from Big Switch that the Communists still held 3,404 men prisoner, including 944 Americans." Syngman Rhee, late President of South Korea, wrote at the time that "thousands of Americans and ROK soldiers are still held by the Communists."

And John H. Noble, an American who at the time was a slave in a Russian concentration camp, writes (*New York Times*, April 5, 1955): "From other prisoners I heard some startling news. Laborers coming to Vorkuta from camps in Taishet, and Irkutsk and Omsk in Siberia, and Magadan in the Far East told me there were American G.I.s and officers and South Korean soldiers working as slaves in their camps. They had been taken prisoners by the Reds during the Korean War and shipped to the Soviet Union."

Indeed, Yuri Rastvorov, a Soviet intelligence officer who defected in Tokyo, described those shipments to American agents. At last word, the American victims not proved dead number 389—and there may be more.

Captain Eugene Guild, U.S.A. (ret.) is the founder of Fighting Homefolks of Fighting Men, at Glenwood Springs, Colorado, which for years has done what it can to help free captive American servicemen. He writes: "Evidence? There always has been plenty of evidence. Repatriated POWs saw hundreds of Americans travelling north toward Soviet Manchuria in open trucks, instead of south, toward the exchange site. An English-speaking Red Korean testified that he saw and lis-

tened to a trainload of Americans leaving the town of Man Choulee for Manchuria.

" . . . At least 389 other servicemen have been seen alive from days to months after capture by the North Koreans and Chinese. Freed POWs told of speaking with them in prison camps. Red Chinese and North Korean broadcasts repeatedly mentioned them by name and serial number; letters were written by prisoners attesting they were in Red Chinese camps. Relatives even received Communist magazines containing articles with pictures and text about their boy's capture!"

For instance, on September 9, 1950, the North Korean Communists shot down the B-29 piloted by Major Samuel P. Logan of Nashville. Shortly thereafter, Logan's name was found written on the wall of a jail. Seeking more details, his mother visited Eastfoto, the Soviet photograph agency in New York, where she saw two pictures of her son displayed on the wall, as samples of the photographs available. One showed Logan beside his wrecked plane. The caption on the other called him a "prisoner of the People's Republic of Korea." Mrs. Logan bought copies and sent them to Washington, and our delegate showed them to his Communist counterpart at Panmunjom, and asked where Logan was.

"That case is closed," was the answer.

At seven a.m. on October 27, 1952, the liaison plane piloted by Captain Harry D. Moreland Jr. was shot down. Returning prisoners verified he had been captured. On November 15, 1952, he was seen in a Red Chinese military hospital, where he lost a leg.

On November 14, 1952, at 12:15 a.m., just north of Simmak, North Korea, B-26 #44-34699A was shot down. The crew parachuted safely, was captured, and like all captured fliers taken not to regular P.O.W. stockades but kept incommunicado in mud huts. Lieutenant Andrew W. Schmidt, the pilot, later repatriated, said that on January 25, 1953, he was interrogated by an English-speaking Chinese major, who told him that his navigator, Second Lieutenant Edward S. Guthrie Jr., was a prisoner as well. And things the Chinese knew about Guthrie showed it was true. Indeed, other repatriated P.O.W.'s later gave Guthrie's mother evidence that her son was in Kanggye, farther north in Red Korea.

On November 30, 1952, Corporal Ronald Van Wees, of the 179th Infantry, disappeared during an attack on an enemy entrenchment at Songnaedoing, Korea. His parents were notified that he was "missing and presumed dead." But in 1953 photographs of American P.O.W.'s marching into Communist stockades appeared in the American press. Ronald was in one.

Later, his mother heard from an underground agent—a White Russian who sabotaged Nazi installations during World War II, and now works with Russians who pose as Communists and have access to Siberian prisons. She gave him a description and a photograph of her son. On April 4, 1960, the agent wrote from Athens, in purple ink, in Russian, on the margin of a Russian newspaper. "They have seen your friend R. in September, 1959. He is alive, healthy and works as a tractor driver together with his countryman in the District of Krasnoyarskaya Oblast (Northwest) near Turinskaya Kultbaza. He also was in Kalkn, Muya, Kuskomda, Chara—of the District Vitmo-Olekminskaya Oblast."

Captain Guild went to Athens to gauge the agent's veracity, was satisfied—and was told that other agents had seen "hundreds of young Americans working in Siberian slave camps."

Of course, we can be absolutely sure that the Russian Communists have for years been holding our men, because Henry Cabot Lodge and the federal government say so.

On July 29, 1953, Russian MIGs shot down a B-50 over international waters, and the crew parachuted into the sea. On October 11, 1954, then U.N. delegate Lodge wrote to the President of the Security Council about it, saying that the United States Government "must conclude that these persons were either picked up alive by surface vessels of the Soviet Government in the area in which they hit the water, or that in due course, dead or alive, they were carried by the prevailing currents to Soviet-held territory and into the Soviet Government's custody. . . ."

Indeed, said Lodge: "Those that were alive when they came into the custody of the Soviet Government, the United States Government finds and charges, suffered in addition injuries and anguish caused by their long detention by the Soviet Government, by the failure of the Soviet Government to inform the United States Government with respect to their whereabouts and their condition or to permit them to communicate with United States Government authorities."

And on July 16, 1956, the American Embassy in Moscow delivered a note from the State Department to the Soviet Foreign Ministry, in which we read that reports of American servicemen being held in Russia "have now become so persistent and detailed and so credible. . . ."

Our government, we are told, "is informed and is compelled to believe that the Soviet Government has had and continues to have under detention the following:

"1. One or more members of the crew of a United States Navy Privateer-type aircraft which came down in the Baltic Sea area on April 8, 1950. The United States Government has since that time received reports that various members of the crew of this United States aircraft were, and are, detained in Soviet detention places in the Far Eastern area of the Soviet Union. In particular, it is informed, and believes, that in 1950 and in October, 1953, at least one American military aviation person, believed to be a member of the crew of this United States Navy Privateer, was held at Camp No. 20 allegedly near Taishtet, and Collective Farm No. 25, approximately 54 kilometers from Taishtet, said to be under sentence for alleged espionage. This American national was described as being suffered burns on the face and legs in the crash of his aircraft and using crutches or a cane.

"Reports have been received from former prisoners of the Soviet Government at Vorkuta that in September, 1950, as many as eight American nationals . . . had been seen in the area of Vorkuta and specifically, that one person who was interned at Vorkuta in September, 1950, stated that he was serving a twenty-five year espionage sentence and had been a member of a downed United States aircraft."

Could this be Major Sam Logan, shot down on September 9, 1950?

"2. One or more members of the crew of a United States Air Force B-29 which came down on June 13, 1952, either over the Sea of Japan or near the Kamchatka area of the Soviet Union. An officer, believed by the United States Government to have been a member of this crew, was observed in October 1953 in a Soviet hospital north of Magadan. . . ."

Indeed, says Lodge, "it may well be that the Soviet Government has in its custody members of the crews of other United States aircraft, particularly crew members of aircraft engaged on behalf of the United Nations Command side of the military action in Korea since 1950."

And Benjamin Fleck, head of the Korean desk at the State Department, grudgingly admitted recently to the Reverend Paul D. Lindstrom, founder of the Remember The Pueblo Committee, that North Korea still holds 389 of our men.

So observe first that the people who run our government know and admit that many Americans are in Communist hands—and, second, that it is the "mild, mellowing" Russian Communists who are shooting down American planes and holding our men.

Indeed, the Reverend Lindstrom, whose authoritative government sources have yet to be wrong, reports that the EC-121 we lost in April, 1969—which, by the way, was a flying *Pueblo*, packed with the latest electronic equipment—was shot down by fighters which took off from Vladivostok, in Russia, and that the Communists captured seven survivors.

Over the years, the Russian Communists have shot down about 35 of our planes, containing almost 150 men.

As for the Communists in China, they have been holding civilians John Downey and Richard Fecteau since 1952. They were shot down while flying from Korea to Japan. They have held businessman Hugh Redmond Jr. since his arrest in Shanghai in 1951. They have held Bishop James Walsh, a Maryknoll Brother, almost as long. In 1965, Air Force Major Philip Smith strayed over China while on Vietnam duty, was downed and captured. The same thing happened to Navy Lieutenant Robert Flynn in 1967.

On February 14, 1968, Navy Lieutenant Joseph P. Dunn, flying an unarmed, propeller-driven A-1 Skyraider in a group of two, strayed to five miles off Communist China's Hainan Island and was shot down. Communist China claims a twelve-mile limit. The other pilot saw his parachute open and that the water was alive with Communist vessels. And others heard Dunn's manually operated beeper, a device designed to help rescuers locate downed pilots, indicating that Dunn was alive in the sea. Joe Dunn vanished and presumably is a prisoner of Communist China.

Eleven American flyers have been held by Communist Armenians since 1958. Forty-six Americans are imprisoned in Communist Romania. More than a thousand American civilians and their dependents are being held in Communist Cuba. Almost a thousand American servicemen are missing and possibly prisoners in Vietnam. More than four hundred others are definitely known to be prisoners. Late last year, Lindstrom's sources delivered a list of ninety-seven Americans held in North Korea and North Vietnam. After shaking free of a government tail, the Reverend Lindstrom found the list, as advised, in a bag on a pew in a Montreal church. On it was the name of pilot James A. Van Fleet Jr., shot down eighteen years ago, and the son of the then commander of U.N. ground forces in Korea.

#### THE WAY IT IS

It was this way, writes Don Crawford (*Pueblo Intrigue*, Tyndale House, Wheaton, Illinois, 1969) for another member of the *Pueblo* crew:

"The pain started in the web of flesh between thumb and forefinger of Ginther's hands where the weight of the chair rested; it spread into his knuckles, swollen from his tense grasp; then traveled through his wrists, seared the muscles of his arms, inched across his shoulder blades and cascaded down his spine into whirlpool of agony in the small of his back. His knees ground into the rough floor and his toes numbed from his weight resting on them as he tried to keep the chair in position. At last, as he—and the waiting Koreans—knew he must, he relaxed his grip and the chair began its slow descent.

"Ginther heard the gloat from the interrogator. The guard was ready. His heavy boot tore into Ginther's right arm. With a grunt Ginther lifted the chair, but now it was harder to hold because of the added pain in his arm. He had no idea how often he repeated the scene. Eventually the muscles

would burst with pain, he would lose control of them, and the chair would drop. Automatically the boot would jab, sometimes into the arm, sometimes the ribs, sometimes the side of the head. More slowly and with greater effort each time, Ginther would lift the chair. On one attempt, when it had seemed impossible to lift again, Ginther muttered, 'God! Please help me.'

"With an oath, the interrogator grabbed the belt from the table and whipped it across Ginther's face. As the buckle cracked against the sailor's temple, he heard a hollow pop as if from inside his skull. For a second everything was darkness, followed immediately by a fireworks' burst of brightness. . . . Then he could hear the voices, and the sound reverberated inside his head. One of the officers was yelling in English, 'Kill him! Kill him!' Another slapped him across the face with a ruler. The interrogator used the belt again. The guard was kicking, but it no longer mattered."

And this of course is standard operating procedure for the Communists. A liberated veteran described the murder, by Korean Communists, of eight hundred helpless wounded in 1950 as follows (*New York Times*, April 30, 1953): "Then they bayoneted them. The wounded were screaming. They couldn't do anything."

The atrocity victims number almost thirty thousand, we read. Roger M. Kyes, Deputy Secretary of Defense at the time, wrote the State Department (*New York Times*, November 29, 1953): "The prisoners were shot down in cold blood, were burned alive in prison buildings, were beaten to death—all in total disregard of the rules and customs of war or of an elementary sense of common decency." In a Defense Department report, Sergeant Glen J. Oliver tells what happened at Prison Camp Five: "Men in poor condition were placed outdoors with little or no clothing and eaten by flies and worms. I saw at least fifteen men given injections of an unknown type of fluid and they would die within five minutes."

General Clark writes: "There was evidence that the Communists used POWs as human guinea pigs for medical experiments. One returned doctor said he was forced to use inadequate quantities of drugs or take measures of which he disapproved. Some prisoners said chicken livers and other parts of animals were implanted beneath the skin of sick prisoners as experiments in healing techniques."

Indeed, says then Major John J. Dunn, a P.O.W. for more than three years in twelve different camps during the Korean War (Tom Tiede, N.E.A., January 27, 1969): "They worked on me from start to finish. They were very cruel. I remember one guy in a camp, he was a Jewish survivor of Buchenwald, and he said the Korean camps were worse than anything the Nazis had.

"The Koreans knew a lot of little tricks. One was to get two men side by side and then smash their heads together. One guard did it while the others urged him on by yelling 'Harder, harder.'"

Today in Vietnam in one form of torture (*U.S. News & World Report*, July 15, 1968), "a man's ankles are bound and his legs pulled up behind him. The other end of the rope is looped around his neck. A man who struggles or tries to straighten his cramped legs runs the risk of strangling himself."

Lieutenant Dieter Dengler, who later escaped, was forced to watch (U.P.I., July 25, 1966) as the Vietcong beheaded another Navy pilot. On the next day, the Cong executed six wounded Marines. During his captivity, Dengler was (U.P.I., September 13, 1966) tied upside down to a tree with ants placed on his face; was dragged behind water buffaloes; and was beaten. In the mornings, the guards shot at the prisoners as they ran to a latrine.

And Navy Lieutenant Robert F. Frishman,

who spent almost two years as a prisoner in Vietnam, reported recently (*The Review Of The News*, September 10, 1969) that the Vietcong use solitary confinement, forced statements, and fingernail removal. They keep men in cages for years, put them in straps, don't allow them to sleep or eat, hang them from ceilings and drag them along the ground with broken limbs. For instance, he says, they yanked out Lieutenant Commander Richard A. Stratton's fingernails. They strung him up by the wrists with straps. Lieutenant Commander John S. McCain III, son of our Pacific Command Admiral, has been kept in solitary confinement for more than a year with many broken bones.

The suffering of these men's families is different, but in its own way almost as bad. Mrs. Rita Van Wees, Ronald's mother, has gone almost completely blind "from grief and sorrow." Over the years, she has visited innumerable government offices and written letter after letter. She still does. Her son was nineteen when he enlisted, and was sent to Germany, where he was safe. She begged him not to, but he volunteered for Korea (where he won a Silver Star), saying that if he was going to be a soldier, he wanted to fight. Today, after all these years, he is only thirty-six.

All this is frightfully corny, of course—inexcusably unsophisticated, maudlin, emotional, and subjective; I understand that—but I am sure Secretary of State Rogers would like to know.

Then there is Mrs. C.L. Hanson, whose husband, a helicopter pilot, was shot down over South Vietnam three years ago, and is listed as Missing in Action. In an open letter of February 24, 1969, Mrs. Hanson writes as follows: "No additional information has been obtained in all this time. Words cannot describe the difficulty in trying to meet each day, week after week, month after month with no knowledge whatsoever as to whether he is being treated humanely, is sick or well—or even if he is alive or dead.

"For each of us in this situation it is as if you are suddenly thrust into a state of limbo, not knowing how long will be the wait or what its outcome will be. You think if only you could receive some word, some small sign to indicate his well-being—and your prayers continue."

I asked Joe Dunn's wife, Maureen, what it's like. "It's living death," she replied. Indeed, the imagination of a mere clam would be sufficient to understand the anguish of these women. Are they wives? Or have they unknowingly been widows for years? Would it be wrong if they remarry? Would they be disloyal if they date other men, as a substitute for the companionship of the husbands for whom they yearn? Maybe Secretary of State Rogers could issue a ruling.

All of us have seen those motion pictures—usually on the late show and thirty or thirty-five years old—in which a scientist or an explorer or a salesman selling rotisseries to the cannibals, disappears; seven years pass, his wife remarries, and then the first husband reappears. They are always comedies. Some, as you will recall, are remarkably amusing. Yet, when I tried to ask Mrs. Dunn about the matter, it wasn't funny. I was embarrassed. I could imagine no way to do it that wasn't clumsy.

Mrs. Dunn put me at ease. "I can't marry again," she said brightly, explaining that even if she wanted to the military will not declare her husband dead, because they did so in similar cases during World War II and were embarrassed when some husbands returned to find their wives remarried; and, therefore, that the courts would not grant her a divorce.

That solves the problem, doesn't it?

#### KNIFE IN THE BACK

You probably already know it, but in case you don't, the story of Teddy Roosevelt is

worth repeating. T.R. had his faults, of course—who doesn't?—but he did do the job he was hired for: protecting the people of the United States. It seems a naturalized American of Greek extraction, a chap named Ion Perdicaris, was kidnapped by a North African bandit named Raisuli. Teddy Roosevelt did not apologize. He did not beg to negotiate. He did not offer "most favored nation" status and a loan. He sent a gunboat—and a telegram, which read: "Perdicaris alive, or Raisuli dead."

They say Raisuli got Perdicaris aboard that gunboat quicker than a bureaucrat jumps at a promotion. Teddy Roosevelt used the full force of the United States Government to rescue a single, lone naturalized American.

It was Dwight Eisenhower who changed all that. His name may be vaguely familiar, probably because, for instance, the author of Eisenhower's *Crusade In Europe* was Soviet agent Joseph Fels Barnes. Eisenhower was also an expert on repatriation. As commanding general after World War II, he conducted what our soldiers called Operation Keelhaul, in which millions of Poles and Hungarians and others—including women, children, and men who had served in our army in our uniform—were forcibly shipped in boxcars to Stalin, prepaid.

Speaking of Korea, Eisenhower said that "some prisoners are still left there." But, of course, Mr. Eisenhower did nothing. Mrs. Van Wees represented Fighting Homefolks of Fighting Men, after its attorney suddenly dropped the case, when it tried to sue then President Eisenhower for "illegally abandoning to the Red enemy at least 400 servicemen whom they still hold." Naturally the suit was unsuccessful.

And the conspirators who manipulate the United States Government have rigidly followed the Eisenhower tradition. On May 27, 1957, then Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense Stephen S. Jackson told a subcommittee of the House Committee on Foreign Affairs, which was investigating the prisoner problem: "... While the possibility exists that there may still be some personnel held, alive and against their will, we do not have any further positive information or intelligence from any source that such is the case..."

Yet, as we have seen, the evidence has always been abundant. The people who run the government just ignore it. For instance, Mrs. Van Wees sent the State and Defense Departments her proof. She got the usual form letter in return.

But observe that, in 1957, Defense is still admitting a "possibility."

In a letter dated January 6, 1965, Robert E. Lee, Acting Assistant Secretary of State for Congressional Relations, spoke of the 944 Americans "who we had reason to believe had at one time been alive in the hands of the Communist forces. ..." Observe the oblique admission that the Communists kept our men.

But, Assistant Secretary Lee said: "Neither the Department of Defense nor the Department of State has ever received any reliable information or intelligence to indicate that any of the men listed as unaccounted for may yet be alive and held prisoner by the Soviet Communists, the Chinese Communists, or the North Korean Communists. ..." Which, of course, is simply a lie.

By September 19, 1969, in another letter, Louis J. Link, of the State Department's Office of Public Services, wrote as follows: "... In the absence of any evidence that any of the 389 men might be alive, the Department of Defense made a finding of presumptive death for each of them. This action was necessary in order to settle estates and to pay insurance and other benefits to survivors."

On October 23, 1969, Acting Assistant Sec-

retary of State for Congressional Relations H. G. Torbert Jr. wrote to Senator John O. Pastore: "... To the knowledge of the Department of State, the only American citizens presently imprisoned in the Soviet Union are three young men who were convicted recently of narcotics smuggling. In the absence of any convincing evidence to the contrary, the men downed in the 1950 and 1952 incidents have been presumed to be dead."

Why? Isn't this the wrong way round? Shouldn't we assume they are alive—still in Communist hands—"in the absence of any convincing evidence to the contrary"? Why put the burden of proof on the victims? Why risk abandoning them? Why make it easy for the Communists?

Two weeks before the 1960 Presidential election, Captain Guild wrote John F. Kennedy about the situation. Kennedy answered immediately as follows: "Of course, I shall do everything possible to obtain the release of these victims of the cold war struggle. It is disgraceful that more has not been done to make free these unjustly detained individuals." On November 4, 1960, Mr. Kennedy wrote essentially the same thing to Mrs. Van Wees.

On February 17, 1961, Guild wrote Kennedy again, asking what he intended to do. President Kennedy never answered.

The government apparently also falsifies the figures. Captain Guild writes "... The Defense Department's Final Report of Korean Casualties listed 4735 men missing and presumed dead. Then casualty officers said 2944 bodies returned by the Reds in the Operation Glory exchange had reduced the number of missing men. This story seems plausible. But it isn't true. The 2944 bodies were not those of missing GIs. These remains were GIs already buried by Americans in North Korea and dug up by the Communists after recapturing the territory."

The Reverend Lindstrom mentions parents who received a sealed coffin from the government. The father paid off the funeral director and broke the seal, which apparently is some sort of violation, and found inside nothing but a small bag containing a few bones. These few bones were supposed to be his son.

Captain Guild describes the treatment of other parents as follows: "... If the mother was docile, she was treated with cordiality and sympathy at government agencies. If a mother protested, she was met with brusqueness, misinformation and intimidation. The standard Pentagon operating procedure has been to ask the protesting mother a loaded question. In December, 1953, a colonel told Mrs. John Schuab: 'Really, now, madam, do you want to start another war and sacrifice more lives just to save your son? If you keep this up, the Communists might kill your son.'

"Other mothers were visited and questioned by the FBI. Military officers threatened them into silence. Women in New York and San Antonio were threatened with prosecution for writing and illustrating their protests on postcards. A Bronx politician told a mother to shut up about Korea or she would be arrested. A mother in Iowa was threatened with loss of her job as a schoolteacher. Two women with radio programs were fired when pressure was applied on the radio stations."

Eighty-three mothers and wives went to the U.N. in New York. Their men, after all, had been U.N. personnel. They had an appointment with Secretary-General Dag Hammarskjöld, waited three hours in the lobby, but he wouldn't see them. The U.N. police shoved them off the sidewalk and forced them to remove ribbons bearing the names of their men.

On May 23, 1969, Senator Margaret Chase Smith introduced S. Con. Res. 27, asking that "a more determined effort be made by our State Department to obtain the release

and freedom from captivity of those American fighting men of the Korean conflict. . . . This resolution and all others like it have been stifled by the Department.

On May 27, 1957, Stephen S. Jackson, of the Defense Department, testified as follows: ". . . In support of the efforts of the Department of State, the Department of Defense and the military services have concentrated on an intensive effort to collect every scrap of information and intelligence regarding the unaccounted for 450. The military services, under a quarterly report requirement, have been producing individual dossiers on each case. . . ."

And in a letter dated December 20, 1969, Hobart Luppi, Director of the State Department's Office of Special Consular Services, declared: "While this office is concerned with the general welfare of American citizens abroad, including those who are arrested, we do not maintain a central listing of all those under detention. Changes in the status of individual cases worldwide would preclude an accurate account. Also, many citizens imprisoned abroad do not wish such to be known—even by their closest relatives. . . ."

Mr. Luppi apparently does not know how to reach the Department of Defense. Would someone please explain it to him? Observe his expert use of the Conspiracy's classic weapon: a stupidity so obvious it is insulting. Of course individual cases change; and when that happens you change the record. You don't say there's no point in keeping a record. And is it even remotely possible that many Americans imprisoned abroad want to keep it a secret?

On January 6, 1965, Robert E. Lee, of the State Department, wrote as follows: ". . . During the Geneva Conference of 1954 the United States delegation requested the assistance of the International Committee of the Red Cross on behalf of the missing men. The Central Tracing Agency of the International Red Cross made inquiries. . . ."

In his letter of September 19, 1969, Louis J. Link of the State Department said the same thing.

But, in 1963, Captain Guild asked Marcel Junod, Vice President of the International Red Cross, what his outfit was doing about the missing 389.

"Nothing," Dr. Junod said, "nothing. Your government has never even asked us to check on a prisoner. It's part of our mission, to locate prisoners, but we haven't received one request."

Yes, Virginia, there is a Conspiracy. And Mrs. Joe Dunn had the same problem. Five Commanders assured her that the Navy Department would ask the International Red Cross about her husband. Some time later, she asked them herself. She was told that hers was the first request—that no one in our government had asked about her husband. Instead, the State Department told her that the more she does about it, the more she'll hurt her husband. "I've been given the polite runaround," she says. Indeed, in an attempt to prove it is trying to free her husband, the Navy Department once wrote Mrs. Dunn that it had sent a telegram of inquiry to the Chinese Red Cross on February 12, 1968—two days before he was shot down.

And, believe it or not, there is more. When Joe Dunn was shot down, the Commander of the Seventh Fleet ordered ships to the rescue. But, an order came from Washington forbidding the ships to go closer than twenty miles from Hainan—to be sure to honor the twelve-mile limit the Chinese claim.

Yet in his statement to the Security Council on October 11, 1954, U.N. delegate Henry Cabot Lodge declared: ". . . the United States Government takes this opportunity again to inform the Soviet Government that it does not recognize the claim of the Soviet Government to territorial waters in excess of three miles from its coast. In the opinion of the United States Government there is no

obligation under international law to recognize claims to territorial waters in excess of three miles from the coast."

So, according to stated American policy, Joe Dunn, shot down five miles at sea, was as much as two miles in international waters—and yet the people who run our government ordered that he be left to the non-existent mercies of the Communists.

Then there is the mother of Ed Guthrie, who in 1955 was told by the State Department that her son was among the then approximately 450 Americans for whose release we were allegedly negotiating with the Chinese Reds in Geneva, but that there is no hope of getting him back. A State Department officer told her: "The reason we're not making any concrete move for the prisoners' return is the United States has nothing they are willing to trade for these men."

Harry Moreland's family wrote him many letters. All were rejected, not by the Communists but by the United States. They were returned by the Defense Department with the statement that "there are no facilities for delivering letters over there." Both the State and Defense Departments promised Moreland's father "whatever information they learned." In March of 1956 the Red Chinese admitted to State that they had held Moreland, and State asked where he was. "He escaped," the Chinese said—quite a feat, because by then Moreland had lost both legs. The Moreland family was told nothing about this admission. State and Defense reiterated that they had "not received a word of information." In January of 1957, ten months later, President Eisenhower said of Moreland: "Our last reliable report is sometime in November, 1952 . . . nothing further, official or unofficial, has been obtainable since then despite our ceaseless efforts."

Later that year, Moreland Sr. testified at the House Hearings held to placate angry parents, and heard Stephen Jackson of the Defense Department describe the case of an unnamed P.O.W. closely resembling his son. Jackson was apparently trying to take the heat off the Department by showing how the Communists won't cooperate.

Moreland asked whether Jackson was speaking of his son.

"The answer is yes," Jackson said. As we have seen, the Communists in Russia are holding hundreds of our men. Indeed, as we have seen, the fighters that shot down our EC-121 came from Vladivostok—in Russia—and the Communists in Russia took seven more prisoners.

Yet, on October 23, 1969, H. G. Torbert, of the State Department, wrote as follows to Senator Pastore: ". . . The Soviet Union, at our request, ordered two of its ships to assist in the search for survivors. The Soviets were instrumental in recovering some of the wreckage."

I asked Specialist Herman Hofstatter, a member of the crew of the OH-23 helicopter the North Koreans captured last August when they shot it down, how the Communists had treated him in prison. He answered that Army Intelligence had ordered him to sign a promise not to discuss that subject or his meetings with Army Intelligence. I said the American people would surely want to know how he was treated and asked why Army Intelligence did this. Hofstatter said he wonders too. I said they apparently wanted to keep the information secret because it would make Americans mad. He's in the clear, Army Intelligence. He did not answer. He just chuckled. I got the definite feeling he was with me.

And in the *Pueblo* case, the people who run the government told the families of the crew to shut up, and refused to release the names and addresses of the crew so the families could communicate. Benjamin Fleck of the State Department told the Reverend Paul Lindstrom that the only thing the govern-

ment was doing was talking at Panmunjom and including the case in its yearly protest note to North Korea.

It is amazing to note that on June 21, 1968, Dean Rusk announced: "If anyone wants to organize a committee to remember the *Pueblo*, I am a charter member." Lindstrom promptly made Rusk a charter member of the Remember the *Pueblo* Committee and personally presented Rusk a charter membership certificate in his office. Soon thereafter, the Reverend Lindstrom circulated a resolution excoriating "continued vacillation and inaction on the part of or leaders who are charged with protecting American lives, property and honor." On September 20, 1968, Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Public Affairs Richard I. Phillips wrote Lindstrom on orders from Rusk, and asked that Rusk's name be removed from Committee stationery.

Lindstrom replied that he would do so only after Rusk publicly withdrew his name in a press conference and returned the charter membership certificate.

THE HARD TRUTH

What should we conclude? What should we think about such people as Dean Rusk? The words now at my fingertips, Anglo-Saxon in origin, pungent in effect, would be deleted anyway by our elderly managing editor, so there's no point in recording them.

The hard truth is that the conspirators who manipulate our government *don't want* these men back. They would prefer that the entire crew of the EC-121 be at the bottom of the sea; that the crew of the *Pueblo* still be in Korea; that the enslaved 389 never be heard from again. Each man who returns, you see, is capable of exposing the Socialist inferno the conspirators who manipulate our government love.

And this makes their crime even worse than that of the Communists. The Communists, after all, *admit* they are our enemies. But the conspirators who manipulate our government actively publicize the lie that the Russian Communists—who hold hundreds of our men in slave camps—are mild and "mellowing." Trade restrictions with Communist Europe recently were eased. Indeed, we recently relaxed restrictions on "trade" with Red China. And now we are beginning our retreat from Vietnam, leaving our men captive there as we did in Korea.

It is a court-martial offense—punishable even by death—for a commanding officer to abandon his men.

We should never leave Vietnam until our men are returned.

James M. Stewart is a Chicago advertising man, and Director of the American Defense Fund, which was active in the defense of Otto Otepka, and specializes in freeing political prisoners—of the General Edwin Walker variety—wrongfully imprisoned in the United States. He and the Reverend Lindstrom have recently joined forces to form the Help for Those Without Hope Committee, which is doing what it can to find and free Americans held for years in various Communist countries. The new Committee is tax-exempt. Its address is P.O. Box 277, Prospect Heights, Illinois, 60070. Its telephone numbers are 312-392-6026 and 312-358-2213.

They and our forgotten soldiers need your help.

LEAD CONTINUES TO POISON CHILDREN

HON. WILLIAM F. RYAN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 12, 1970

Mr. RYAN. Mr. Speaker, today's New York Times has an article by Lawrence

K. Altman, "Lead Poison Worst Ever at 260 Cases," which relates that doctors have reported 260 cases of this childhood disease to the New York City, Department of Health during the first 4 months of 1970—more than in any other 4-month period.

More than a year ago, I introduced bills aimed at preventing such an alarming rate of lead poisoning cases. I pointed out then, as I do now, that lead poisoning is a curable disease. We know how the children become infected, and we know how to cure them.

Yet, as the New York Times story illustrates, children continue to become poisoned and at a high rate.

In our urban centers young children, who will eat anything they can get their hands on, find the chips of lead-based paint is closest at hand.

Unfortunately, lead poisoning cases are seldom reported. The symptoms of the disease are a great deal like those of flu or virus, and often are not brought to the attention of a physician until the disease has reached the acute stage. At this point, it can result in brain damage, mental retardation, cerebral palsy, epilepsy, and sometimes death.

The purpose of my legislation is to prevent children from being afflicted with this disease. Over 20 of my colleagues share this concern and have cosponsored the bills. In the Senate, Senator KENNEDY has introduced similar legislation with 19 cosponsors.

H.R. 9191 (H.R. 13256 and 14736 with cosponsors) establishes a fund from which the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare can make grants to local governments to develop programs to identify and treat individuals afflicted with lead poisoning.

H.R. 9192 (H.R. 13254 and 14736 with cosponsors) authorizes the Secretary of Housing and Urban Development to make grants to local governments to develop programs designed to detect the presence of lead-based paints and to require that owners and landlords remove it from interior walls and surfaces.

H.R. 11699 (H.R. 13255 and 14734 with cosponsors) requires that a local government submit to the Secretary of Housing and Urban Development an effective plan for eliminating the causes of lead-based paint poisoning as a condition for receiving any Federal funds for housing code enforcement or rehabilitation and that the plans must be enforced.

These bills are presently pending in committee awaiting hearings. In the wake of the New York Times story, I do not think we can continue to put off doing something about this disease. We have the means to prevent other children from being afflicted.

We must not ignore our responsibility; we must pass the bills.

I am inserting in the RECORD Lawrence Altman's, "Lead Poison Worst Ever at 260 Cases," which appeared in today's New York Times:

[From the New York Times, May 12, 1970]

LEAD POISON WORST EVER AT 260 CASES

(By Lawrence K. Altman)

Physicians have reported 260 cases of lead poisoning in children to the New York City Health Department during the first four

months of this year—more than for any other comparable period.

Health officials attribute the rise in reports to recent increased interest on the part of medical and community leaders in this old medical-social problem. This interest led to a release of city funds allowing the Health Department to test more blood specimens for lead, thereby detecting earlier this preventable disease of the home environment.

Health officials suspect that the higher total represents just a small fraction of the lead-poisoning cases here.

"Our calculations indicate that there are about 8,000 cases here," said Dr. Vincent F. Guinee, head of the city's lead-prevention program. In an interview, Dr. Guinee elaborated as follows on some of the statistics on cases of lead poisoning in recent years:

Ninety-three per cent of the lead poisonings occurred among children 1 to 4 years of age.

Although 86 per cent of the cases were among children from black and Spanish-speaking families, youngsters from these groups made up less than half the city's population for that age range.

The 727 cases in 1969 were the highest recorded in the city's history, but the two deaths were the fewest in the last decade. The most deaths from lead poisoning were the 19 in 1960.

None of the 1970 cases reported thus far were fatal.

High rates among young children reflect the fact that they eat the lead paint peeling off the indoor walls of homes built before World War II. Though covered with newer layers, the original lead paint remains on walls in many older homes in poverty areas of New York and other American cities.

Since World War II, laws here and elsewhere in the country have prohibited the use of lead paint indoors. Some outdoor paints still contain lead.

#### EVEN THE WELL-FED DO IT

Studies have shown that half of even well-fed children eat things like paint, clay, plaster, dirt, matches, cigarette butts or crayons that are not food. Doctors call this little understood phenomenon pica. In zoology, the pica is the genus containing the magpies, which are omnivorous.

Though pica usually begins about age 1 and disappears by age 5, the American Academy of Pediatrics says that "as many as 50 per cent of mothers of children with pica also have pica themselves."

Because the intestine can absorb only small amounts of lead at any one time, ingestion of tiny amounts of lead over a long time can be more dangerous than eating a larger amount once. Doctors suspect a child must eat lead chips for about three months before symptoms of plumbism—from the Latin for lead poisoning—develop.

Once absorbed, lead can affect almost every system of the body. Most of the heavy metal is stored in bones, and appears as opaque white lines at the end of the wrist and knee bones on X-rays of children with severe lead poisoning.

Because lead interferes with the body's manufacture of hemoglobin, the oxygen-carrying protein in red blood cells, large amounts of lead cause anemia, a deficiency of such cells. When doctors look through a microscope at stained specimens of blood and see blue specks on the red cells they may suspect lead poisoning.

Symptoms may appear insidiously or suddenly. The child, whose gums may become blue, may lose his appetite for food, vomit, become less alert and more irritable, have temper tantrums, or develop a clumsy, staggered walk. The child may complain of vague abdominal pains, which can become so severe that he doubles up from spasm of the bowel. This symptom, called "lead colic," has fooled doctors into unnecessary surgery such as appendectomies.

Lead can cause tiny hemorrhages in the brain leading to convulsions and coma. The metal may also interfere with functioning of nerves in the arm and leg, causing a paralysis called wrist or foot drop.

Doctors want to detect lead poisoning as early as possible to prevent, rather than treat, these symptoms. That is why the Health Department got an infusion of \$1.2-million earlier this year to step up its lead-prevention program.

Action begins when the Health Department receives a report of a case of lead poisoning, either from a practicing physician or from a blood test performed at the department's laboratories.

The most reliable method, Dr. Guinee said, is a laboratory test performed by a process called atomic-absorption spectrophotometry. The Health Department considers abnormal a blood lead level of 60 micrograms or higher. (A microgram is one-thousandth of a gram.) Some doctors had hoped that the ALA (for delta amino levulinic acid) would be the easiest screening test for lead-poisoning cases.

The ALA urine test, Dr. Guinee said, is unreliable. A Health Department study, supported by results of similar ones done in Chicago and Baltimore, found that the urine test falsely diagnosed lead poisoning in about 30 per cent of children without the disease and failed to detect about one-third of true lead-poisoning cases.

After receiving a report of a positive lead test, a Health Department representative takes samples of wall paint where the youngster lives.

If any of these samples is positive for lead, the Health Department orders the landlord to begin removing the lead source within five days. If the landlord fails to comply, as has happened about half the time, the city's Emergency Repair Program does the work and bills the landlord.

Dr. Guinee said the Health Department was detecting lead in about one-half of the homes of children suffering from lead poisoning. In the other half, Dr. Guinee said, sampling procedures may have missed the hidden lead paint, or the family may have failed to reveal other homes that the child visited. Mothers who work while on welfare are reticent to reveal this information despite the Health Department's guarantees of confidentiality.

Next month, the Health Department plans to begin using a portable model of a new lead-detecting machine that New York University's department of environmental medicine developed with funds from the city's Health Research Council. It is hoped that this device will enable an inspector to survey an entire housing unit without removing any paint chips and to increase the accuracy of detecting lead paint in homes.

#### ISRAEL'S 22D BIRTHDAY

#### HON. JOHN J. ROONEY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 11, 1970

Mr. ROONEY of New York. Mr. Speaker, 22 years ago a new nation—Israel—joined the world community of free men. Israel's birth was not easy, nor were her first years. And it is not easy in Israel today. But free men, both Jew and Gentile, rejoice for the people of Israel today. We rejoice and we give prayers of thanksgiving for this tiny nation which has had the spirit and the courage to live and indeed prosper against nearly impossible odds.

American Jewry in particular is happy this day for American Jews look upon Israel with a certain amount of justifi-



able paternal pride. I think it reasonable to say that without the zeal and continued support of the United Jewish Appeal in this country where would be no Israel today. This is true, too, of the efforts of the many other fine and dedicated Jewish organizations in the country and of the many, many selfless and generous individuals in America who believed in a Jewish national homeland in Israel.

Over the 22 years that Israel has been a nation, I have been fortunate to work closely both here and in Israel with the leaders of the effort to preserve Israel. I am grateful for the help they have given us here in Congress to insure the continued assistance of this government to Israel. I was actively interested in the establishment of the Government of Israel long before 1948.

Israel today, of course, is still living in a state of modified siege as her neighbors refuse to take the hand offered to them so many times by Israeli leaders. Yet for all this, a visitor to Israel has a hard time believing what he sees. Thriving, vibrant cities, a network of highways, fertile farms, and orchards where once there was only desert sand. I have visited Israel a number of times and been proud to visit institutions of learning that were established by gifts from Americans and from funds voted by this body. I have talked with many students in Israel and one cannot help but be electrified by their earnestness and enthusiasm and their thirst for knowledge. In the past year I have met in this country with Israel's Prime Minister, Mrs. Golda Meir, and Foreign Minister Abba Eban. As always, it was a thrill and a privilege to converse with these two giants of our times. If only now we could get the Arab nations to sit down and talk peace. We are all concerned with the extremely touchy situation in the Near East and we wince at the thought of what could be brought about by either unwise or irresponsible action in that area not only by the Arab nations, or Israel, but by the other powers of the world. Let us make no mistake about it, the situation there could easily be the cradle of World War III.

We must be constantly alert to the dangers faced by Israel and the implications of those dangers. We must keep continually informed and we cannot ever allow the scale to be tipped by any action in the Mideast by anybody. Israel has earned our congratulations and we hail with a fond affection her and her wonderful people. We wish them many years of growth and prosperity and we also congratulate the many fine Jewish organizations in this country who have so helped Israel and gave us a chance to share in Israel's 22d birthday.

THE HONORABLE JOHN DOWDY

HON. OLIN E. TEAGUE

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 12, 1970

Mr. TEAGUE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, our good friend and colleague the Honor-

able JOHN DOWDY has been experiencing some legal difficulties of late and his name has been the subject of some mild headlines recently in the Washington news media. Recently, however, in the May 4 edition of the Washington Post there appeared an article written by David Boldt on my colleague who represents the neighboring congressional district to mine in Texas which I believe more than adequately describes this mild-mannered gentleman whom I believe has never possessed the illegal or dishonest thought in his life.

Under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to include this article and to extend my sincere hopes to Mr. Dowdy and his wife that in spite of the travails ahead, that the truth will out and that all of his friends are behind him:

THEY LOVE DOWDY—TEXANS RALLY TO CONGRESSMAN, CALL BRIBE CASE A FRAMEUP  
(By David R. Boldt)

LUFKIN, TEX. May 3.—Jerry (J.C.) Lumpkin, a local lumberdealer, says "it's strictly a frame" when he speaks of the federal grand jury indictment charging his congressman, Rep. John Dowdy, with accepting a \$25,000 bribe.

Lumpkin believes that eastern "ultraliberals" have been bankrolling the campaigns of Dowdy's opponents for years. The indictment, he's convinced, is just their latest tactic.

Whether or not they believe in a conspiracy, most people here believe in John Dowdy. "I just love him," said Mrs. Beatrice Berry, taking time out from her perusal of rose bushes at a shopping center here. "He stands for all the good things."

"If he took money, I'm sure he hasn't pocketed it," added Mrs. Berry's shopping companion, Bertha M. Smith.

Who elects Dowdy and why? How do his constituents react when their congressman is charged with accepting a bribe? The answers may provide an insight into the congressman, a key member of the House District Committee, rarely seen by the Washingtonians he governs.

To be sure, not everyone down here is a booster of Democrat Dowdy. The indictment charging that he took the bribe to help two officers of a Washington home improvement firm while they were being prosecuted in an alleged swindle, and that he lied about his role to the grand jury, was front-page news all over his East Texas district.

The Kountze (Tex.) News, which admitted that it never has liked Dowdy much, editorialized, "... (if guilty) let us hope he is stuck so far back in prison they have to shoot beans to him with a cannon."

And many people want to wait and see the result of his trial before saying anything. "A man's innocent until proven guilty, isn't he?" asks a waitress in May's Cafe, a few miles south of Dowdy's hometown of Athens, Tex.

In Saturday's Texas Democratic primary, in which Dowdy ran unopposed, a few voters crossed Dowdy's name off the ballot. But returns showed his total running about even with that of other unopposed candidates.

Dowdy's will be the only name on the ballot again in November, although there is expected to be write-in opposition.

One reason he is unopposed may be that the filing date had passed when the indictment was announced and Dowdy had looked unbeatable at filing time. But one East Texas politician thinks a race against Dowdy would be uphill even with the indictment. "It's ungentlemanly in East Texas to kick a man when he's down," he explains.

Hundreds of letters vowing support have

poured into Dowdy's Washington office, along with a telegram signed by 500 Lufkinites (rallied by Jerry Lumpkin), all vowing support.

Dowdy supporters have set up a Dowdy Defense Fund, into which, they say, contributions are coming from all over the South.

The Liberty Lobby, self-styled "largest conservative political action organization in the nation," has jumped on the Dowdy bandwagon.

The Lobby is asking that contributions for Dowdy's defense be sent to its ad hoc Emergency Committee to Support Victims of Political Persecution "to save a gallant public servant from a possible rigged trial and the setting of a precedent of legal lynching. . . ."

John Dowdy, a man regarded by his own campaign staffers as an uninspiring orator and colorless campaigner, has apparently achieved a zenith of sorts in political success: electability so secure it's unshaken even by criminal prosecution.

The reason, supporters and opponents agree, is that, ever more than most congressmen, John Dowdy mirrors the people he represents.

"Dowdy Country" is lovely this time of year. Yellow orange, purple and blue wild flowers alternately carpet the roadsides. In the tall pines, shafts of hot early summer sun cut down toward the forest floor.

The Texas second congressional district is an irregular 1,600-square-mile crescent of East Texas east and north of Houston. It starts in the southeast at Orange County on the Gulf of Mexico, runs 150 miles up the Louisiana-Texas border, and then west to within 40 miles of Dallas.

Driving eastward into it from Dallas, the plains of central Texas rumple into rolling hills. The soil, black on the plains, changes first to tan, then to the red clay earth that distinguishes the region, as much as its history, as part of the Old South.

The cotton fields are gone from East Texas today, though that's what people originally came here to grow. An East Texan who grew cotton recalls, almost nostalgically, "11 crop failures in 10 years." In the 1930s, East Texas gave up on cotton.

While the cotton is gone, traditional attitudes linger.

Around 20 per cent of the population of East Texas is black. Negro leaders say there's been recent progress here in desegregating schools and in widening job opportunities.

Today, East Texans work in petrochemical plants, sawmills and paper mills, furniture factories, logging crews, on farms and cattle ranches. Enough of them join unions to make the labor vote important.

A 1969 study of Nacogdoches County, one of 18 in Dowdy's district (and not the poorest), showed 55 per cent of the families received less than \$3,000 a year, the federally defined poverty line. Personal income in all Dowdy's counties was below the Texas average in 1960. But many people here think East Texas is a nice place to live. Bob Atherton, a native Ohioan and now a Nacogdoches radio station manager and a Dowdy campaign lieutenant, says he and his wife decided to stay "when we started to think where else could we bring up our children where life would be more wholesome."

East Texas is "dry," a tribute to the influence of the Baptist and Methodist churches.

Most drinking, by whites anyway, is done in "private" clubs that aren't particularly exclusive. The Holiday Inn desk clerk, for instance, hands guests a "membership card" in the motel's "Castile Club" as they sign in.

Nobody can point to any panoply of federal projects that John Dowdy has won for his district, and nobody seems much to mind. "Federal money is tainted money here," says Joe Murray, editor of the Lufkin News.

John Dowdy's great-grandfather came to Texas in the early 1800's, when it was the Republic of Texas. John Dowdy was born in Cherokee County, East Texas, in 1912. He worked his way through two years of study at College of Marshall, (now East Texas Baptist College, in Marshall, Tex.) learned typing and shorthand, worked in law offices and as a court stenographer, and "read law" under local lawyers.

In June, 1940, he got the highest test score of the 176 candidates taking the Texas Bar Examination.

Five years later, Dowdy won election as prosecutor of the Texas Third Judicial District, covering a circuit of three county seats. People who knew him then recall John Dowdy as an earnest young man, who regularly attended church services and prayer meetings.

J. B. Sallas, a Crockett, Tex., lawyer who successfully defended a number of clients against Dowdy, recalls him as "a methodical, but not very vigorous prosecutor," who was in many cases agreeable to a light sentence in exchange for a guilty plea.

Today, Dowdy says, "When I believed I had a case, I prosecuted it hard, but first they had to convince me a man was guilty."

Dowdy did get the death sentence for an accused Negro rapist named Richardson, telling the jury:

"This Negro is a lustful animal without anything to transform to any kind of valuable citizen, because he lacks the very elements of mankind. You cannot gather dates from thorns, nor can you get dates from thistles; you cannot get a nightingale from a goose egg, nor can you make a gentleman out of a jackass."

The Texas Court of Criminal Appeals in 1953, after Dowdy had gone to Congress, ordered a new trial, saying Texas law "provides for and presumes a fair trial free from such arguments."

In August, 1946, John Dowdy married his present wife, Johnnie Deana Riley. His first wife and mother of his two children had died in 1943. The present Mrs. Dowdy was the elected clerk of Henderson County, one of the county seats in Dowdy's district, and a successful politician in her own right.

Her ability to swing the women's organizations behind her husband is given a large share of the credit for his victory in a six-candidate special election in 1952 to fill the House seat vacated by Thomas Pickett. Pickett had resigned to become a lobbyist.

Since that victory Dowdy has won nine times.

John Dowdy, the people around him say, has never forgotten what it was like to be poor. He still puts the stubs of cigars in his pipe to finish them off.

Staffers in his office say Mrs. Dowdy has difficulty persuading her husband to purchase new suits. Some of his, the staff is sure, are 10 years old. But he maintains they have "plenty of wear left."

The only sign of extravagance the Dowdys have shown, according to a politician who concedes he's been looking for one, is a mink jacket and hat Mrs. Dowdy sometimes wears.

In Washington, the Dowdys live modestly in a third-floor apartment of a Capitol Hill town house. Back home, their two-story frame house just outside Athens could use a new coat of white paint, but is pleasant enough, with a swing hanging from a tree in the backyard, and blue flowers blooming along the front walk.

Methodist Dowdy takes an occasional drink. Mrs. Dowdy doesn't. But she sometimes slips out for a cigarette during nerve-wearing campaign appearances.

Mrs. Dowdy is on her husband's office staff, and together the Dowdys currently draw more than \$61,000 a year in salary, a statistic his opponents mention to the electorate

every two years. (Mrs. Dowdy was working before passage of the law forbidding the hiring of relatives.)

Dowdy's political career in East Texas is laced with contradictions. The most visible anomaly was the East Texans had—until last Saturday—turned out with equal enthusiasm for both archconservative Dowdy and Sen. Ralph W. Yarborough (D-Tex.). The two legislators' views on civil rights, other social legislation, and the regulatory role of the federal government are opposite. (But Yarborough lost his bid for re-election in Saturday's primary to his conservative rival, millionaire Lloyd Bentsen, a former congressman.)

In his 18 years in office, John Dowdy has done favors for an astounding number of East Texans such as getting social security benefits straightened out and clearing the way for sick relatives to get into Veterans Administration hospitals.

His office is renowned for never failing to send notes of condolence to survivors of persons whose obituaries appear in East Texas papers. Recipients have included, according to one East Texas story, a man who shotgunned his wife to death and announced publicly that he was glad to be rid of her. He is said to have received Dowdy's note in jail.

Dowdy also wins support of conservative-minded East Texans by voting their way. Even a lawyer who thinks Dowdy is a "light-weight," says he votes for him "because he votes the way I would."

Dowdy's conservatism gets its sternest test on Social Security, which is a major source of income in much of East Texas.

Only one, C. Benton Musselwhite, former SMU football star, Eagle Scout, and Sunday School teacher, has ever come close to winning. Musselwhite lost by 41 votes in 1962. But two years later Dowdy whipped him by 11,000 votes in a rematch.

Charles Wilson, a liberal state senator from Diboll, contends that an "economic liberal" like himself or Yarborough can put together the labor vote, the black vote, and enough other votes to win, so long as race is out of the campaign.

Dowdy's success, he says, is in getting race into the campaign.

Asked if he thinks race is the central issue in his campaign, Dowdy says, "I don't think so. I have never considered race in my dealings with people."

Nevertheless, back in that second tilt with Musselwhite, Dowdy made it clear where he stood on the 1964 Civil Rights Act, then before Congress.

"This vicious bill," he wrote in his column that several East Texas papers carry, "... would destroy freedom for all of us and put shackles on liberty." He also called it "totalitarian."

Musselwhite, according to Dowdy aides felt differently. Musselwhite, in fact, would cancel Social Security and old age assistance "unless you surrender to the demands of the NAACP."

On the eve of the election, Bob Atherton, Dowdy's campaign aide, went on television and gave a speech that may have decided the election for Dowdy, and which, in any event, is still admirably regarded by East Texas politicians as a classic of its kind.

Atherton recalls that he said something like this:

"Now Mr. Musselwhite and others have said there is one thing I can't talk about—the racial question. Well, I can."

He urged all viewers, white and colored, to call friends and urge them to listen to the last 11 minutes of his speech in which he was going to discuss it.

In the last 11 minutes, as good as his word, Atherton told his galvanized audience that he believed Musselwhite was going to win because he would get the black "bloc vote."

He urged blacks to moderate, and asked whites not to panic. In two years, the situation could be corrected.

The white voters, according to the theory, decided not to wait two years. Musselwhite lost even his home county.

Atherton's pre-election "concession," and the charges in the Dowdy ads illustrate another reason why many East Texans have been unimpressed by news of the indictment. Scandalous charges and counter charges, often apocryphal, together with dramatic political ploys, are an integral part of East Texas politics.

#### EASTERN "PURGE" CHARGED

The Musselwhite campaign provided the origin of the currently popular theory in East Texas that Dowdy is being "purged" by the Eastern liberal establishment.

A fund-raising cocktail party was held for Musselwhite in Washington, and that party became a major subtheme in the campaign.

Dowdy ads announced that the party was attended by a "group of wealthy Socialists who are all out for forcing mixing of the races."

Among them were representatives of the American Civil Liberties Union, "the organization which actively opposed my subcommittee's investigation of the activities of the Mattachine Society" the national organization of homosexuals.

In 1963, Dowdy had attempted, unsuccessfully, to enact legislation stripping the Mattachine Society of its tax-exempt status in the District of Columbia as a charitable organization. "If these people are a charitable organization . . ." he said at one hearing, "I've grown up in the wrong age."

Dowdy's vendetta against the Mattachine Society, and his bill (never enacted) to ban pornographic books and movies here, are almost the only activities of his as a member of the House District Committee that are known to his constituents.

Which prompted State Sen. Wilson to comment, somewhat sourly: "He's against Negroes and queers—and down here that's unbeatable."

#### SILENT MAJORITY

### HON. HENRY C. SCHADEBERG

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 12, 1970

Mr. SCHADEBERG. Mr. Speaker, I recently received a letter from a constituent which demands more than a reply from me, it demands the attention of all of my colleagues. The only comment I wish to make is that the "silent majority" is raising its voice in frustration for having to foot the bill for making America a better place in which to live, and for not experiencing any return on their efforts.

The letter follows:

MARCH 19, 1970.

HENRY C. SCHADEBERG,  
House of Representatives,  
Congress of the United States.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN: This letter is long overdue. I have postponed writing it for a variety of reasons. One being, I thought of myself as perhaps an isolated case. After filling out my income tax and reading the morning paper I have decided that if I am an isolated case, then, so is the whole middle class in this country. After you read this letter I wonder if you or your colleagues will reach the same conclusion as I? That being, we of the middle class are the real bait for Communism.

My husband and I have eight children, we are buying a home, educating our children, paying taxes and living within the law. Our combined income is less than \$10,000 per year. We pay Federal, Wisconsin State and Illinois State income taxes, plus real estate taxes. All of these amount to a nice tidy sum. Now I don't intend to cry "Poor Mouth", and I don't expect anyone to give me charity. However, I do expect justice, and here is where the problem lies. It seems to me that "Justice" comes in two varieties. One is packaged for the rich man, who can pay any price for it and, the other is packaged for the poor man who stands and waits for his "cause" to pay off. That is not to say there are not poor and needy people who are worthy of causes. However, I do suggest that many of these recipients of causes are no worse off than many of the poor and needy working middle class who pay for them with their toll and taxes and yet receive none of the benefits. To me, it appears the major difference is a thing called "pride and self respect". These two things are what comprise the Middle class, and these two things are being drained from us and, I might add, what will eventually make us fair game for Communism.

The trend of our country on the social and economic level is literally aimed at wiping out the Middle class. We are being forced to do one of two things . . . join the rich, if we can, or become one of the causes. Which really leaves us no choice this side of the law. The law too, is virtually effected in the same way. I shall cite a traffic offense as an example. The rich man sends his lawyer to court instead of taking time off from his job. The poor man doesn't care anyhow . . . he has no job and in jail he can be fed and sit around while the taxpayers pay for his vacation. The middle man can't afford the lawyer and his self respect keeps him from going to jail . . . so, he takes time off to go to court and pays his fine, whether he feels he is guilty or not.

I have used this example because it has been my only experience with the law. I received a traffic ticket once in my life and needless to say I didn't forget it. It was a lesson well learned for it cost me \$25 which is what I net for one week working at my part time job. I had no argument with the law, I broke it and I was willing to pay, but, what I observed in court during the two hours I waited to have my case called, made me aware of the injustices that are perpetuated at the economic levels. To prove my point all one has to do is pick up a newspaper and read.

The law is aimed at the majority, which is the Middle class. They are expected to observe it and pay for it while the rest walk around it. I believe the President addressed the Middle class when he spoke of the "Silent Majority" . . . but how long can we remain silent?

Inflation too, is aimed at us. My family gave up the choice cuts of meat long ago, but today we can't even afford what used to be the cheaper grades of meat. In fact, I would be willing to wage a week's food bill that we don't eat as well as people on welfare. Still we work and pay high taxes. We are a family of ten living on less than \$10,000 a year and fighting for the individual right to live with pride and self respect, to raise our children with the same values. The values that say, "To make it on your own takes true grit and entails sacrifice, but the reward is honest pride and self respect. This lesson becomes harder to teach when we realize we are constantly being fined for our efforts. For instance, the interest on our mortgage is 6½% . . . unless we are late, then it's raised to 7½%, yet at the same time a new family bought a home across the street with the aid of a government loan . . . this family has fewer members and a higher income. Then too, there is the Welfare recipient ahead of

us in a super market . . . his basket is filled with foods we can't afford to buy. Let us not forget the article we read in a recent periodical about the rich man who has his lawyers beat the income tax. We all know him, he lives on the other side of the mountain where kids aren't bussed and no one knows the living problems connected with integration for both black and white.

Maybe, all of this has a ring of incredibility, and maybe I am wrong in my evaluation of myself and many others like me. Maybe there is no Middle Class, just rich and poor and we, who think we are in-between are just waiting for the curtain to fall and divide us into one or the other. But if and when that happens you can be assured that the curtain falling will be an "Iron" curtain and it's name will be Communism . . . that which makes all men equal without a choice. Then phrases like "pride and self respect" will become archaic and obsolete definitions in a dictionary.

I have stated that I postponed writing this letter for variety of reasons and stated one . . . perhaps another is that I don't believe in wasting time . . . Can you tell me, Mr. Congressman? Is this letter a waste of time? Can a member of the "silent majority" step out of it's role just once if only to say . . . "the sound you hear is the echo of our death gasp!"?

Very truly yours,

Mrs. VIRGINIA M. TATGE.

POSTAL REFORM

HON. WILLIAM D. FORD

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 12, 1970

Mr. WILLIAM D. FORD. Mr. Speaker, yesterday, on May 11, 1970, the House Post Office and Civil Service Committee voted to report to the House a postal reform bill, H.R. 17070, with important amendments.

I want to mention two amendments in particular which I believe are especially important in assuring equitable treatment for postal employees.

The first, which I offered, requires the Postal Service to establish area wage scales comparable to those paid for comparable work in private industry.

The second provides an 8-percent pay increase for postal employees effective upon enactment and retroactive to April 16.

I think the need for area wage scales is clear. During the recent postal work stoppage, one of the most frequently aired grievances was the frustration of trying to live on wages, that are not only lower than comparable levels for private industry, but also bear no reasonable relationship to the wages for a given area. In the area which I represent, the postal worker lives with the difficult reality that his wages are considerably less than workers in comparable jobs in private industry. For any postal reform bill to realistically meet 20th century postal needs, an area wage provision is necessary. Therefore, I am especially pleased that the committee accepted the amendment which I offered.

The amendment setting a definite effective date for an 8-percent postal salary increase is equally important. We

were handicapped in our efforts to achieve postal reform by the administration's stated intention to delay salary increases until the bill proposed by the administration was signed into law. Putting in an effective date for the salary increase guarantees that postal workers will receive the same amount regardless of when the postal reform bill is finally enacted into law and signed by the President.

The bill which we reported out of committee yesterday protects the right of each worker to decide for himself which union he will have represent him. The freedom for each man to pick his own bargaining representative is retained. Under this bill, any union which can win a majority of the votes in a unit can represent the employees. This principle has long been an accepted tenet of the American labor movement and the bill as amended does no more than continue this principle.

The committee had spent many days in working on amendments to improve the original version of H.R. 17070. Once again, as in March, there was a surprise effort to obliterate all the work of the committee by offering a complete substitute for the long work of the committee. This trick had been used before and I was not surprised to see it used again. However, by a close vote, the stratagem was defeated and the bill with amendments supported by the majority of the committee was reported out.

Not surprisingly, Postmaster General Blount was unhappy that his surprise trick did not work on the committee. However, I cannot say that I am unhappy. Cute tricks and backstage tactics are no substitute for meeting real and crucial issues head-on.

Now that the bill has been reported out of the committee, it is up to the administration to take the ball and bring the issue to a speedy vote. I hope that when the bill is brought before the Rules Committee, we do not find administration spokesmen again working behind the scenes. If the administration, through the Postmaster General or his representatives seek to delay or even make impossible the full House's consideration of the vital issues involved in reform of the postal system, they should not be surprised to find that we may have another postal strike on our hands.

I would certainly understand the frustration and bitterness that would lead postal workers to again take such a step. The spectacle of a political shell-game blocking a long-overdue pay raise is a hard pill to swallow.

WALTER REUTHER: AHEAD OF HIS TIME

HON. MARGARET M. HECKLER

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 11, 1970

Mrs. HECKLER of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, regardless of what one thought of Walter Reuther, his words or his actions, he was indisputably a man whose

thinking was usually ahead of his time. The labor movement has lost a towering figure. He was a remarkable person, and I join in expressing regret at his untimely death.

He fought many battles, not only for the working men and women whom he represented but on behalf of the rights of all Americans for improved housing, improved education, and improved health care. He was an innovative thinker and a crusader. While he led the United Auto Workers for 24 years, he was admired by almost every union member and was a worldwide symbol of American labor. He was a legendary figure in his lifetime, and this legend will continue to grow.

The death of Walter Reuther has cut down a giant. I grieve for the surviving members of his family and the working man who trusted him and loved him. Walter Reuther will not be forgotten.

I am inserting an editorial from today's Boston Globe in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Boston Globe, May 12, 1970]

#### THE DEATH OF WALTER REUTHER

The labor movement never before had seen the like of Walter P. Reuther and it never may again. He was of course vitally interested in and constantly working for better wages, shorter hours and improved working conditions for the members of the United Automobile Workers Union which he helped found and which he headed as president for 24 years.

But Mr. Reuther's largest concern was the human condition. Hunger, privation, inequities and imbalances in the American society distressed him as they should distress all men. But unlike many of us, he worked ceaselessly to right wrongs. Although early in his career he was maligned for this and widely but incorrectly called a Communist (this man who drove Communists out of all positions of influence in his union), he ultimately came to be regarded in both government and industrial circles for precisely

what he was—a good and dedicated man whose contributions to the general welfare were great indeed. The comment of one of his intimates aptly describes both the width and depth of his concerns and his wisdom: "Walter is the only man I know who can reminisce about the future . . . Ask him what time it is, and he will tell you how watches are made."

Those who worry today about student protests and demonstrations and clashes with the police would do well to go back and read about the sit-ins of the Thirties. They, too, were often violent, and men were shot and killed. Yet out of it, somehow, came progress, and industrial unionism was on its way.

Mr. Reuther brought more than decent wages, pensions, medical plans and paid vacations to working men. He brought idealism of a very high order to unionism. There had been some signs that he was losing in this area to hard-nosed pragmatists even before his death. If labor union idealism dies now, its passing will compound the tragedy of the death of Walter himself.

## HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES—Wednesday, May 13, 1970

The House met at 12 o'clock noon.

The Chaplain, Rev. Edward G. Latch, D.D., offered the following prayer:

*If thou shalt seek the Lord thy God, thou shalt find Him, if thou seek Him with all thy heart and with all thy soul.*—Deuteronomy 4: 29.

Almighty and Eternal God, without whom no one can live wisely and well, reveal to us Thy will and show us Thy way amid the problems of this perplexing period. As we draw near to Thee in prayer, so do Thou draw near to us, that in all the decisions we make we may be mindful of Thy presence, eager to do Thy will, and ready to walk in Thy way for the good of our beloved United States of America. Enlighten our understanding, purify our desires, strengthen every noble purpose, and make us diligent among the demanding duties of this disquieting day.

Give to these Members of Congress the willingness to listen to the voices of our day and with that the greater willingness to listen to the voice of the ages as we seek what is right and good for our country and endeavor to lead our people in the ways of peace and good will. To this end may our lips praise Thee, our lives bless Thee, our works glorify Thee, for Thy name's sake. Amen.

### THE JOURNAL

The Journal of the proceedings of yesterday was read and approved.

### MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT

A message in writing from the President of the United States was communicated to the House by Mr. Leonard, one of his secretaries, who also informed the House that on May 9, 1970, the President approved and signed bills of the House of the following titles:

H.R. 13106. An act to extend for 4 years the period of time during which certain requirements shall continue to apply with respect to applications for a license for an ac-

tivity which may affect the resources of the Hudson Riverway, and for other purposes;

H.R. 13183. An act for the relief of the heirs at law of Tomosuke Uyemura and Chiyo Uyemura, his wife;

H.R. 13959. An act to provide for the striking of medals in commemoration of the many contributions to the founding and early development of the State of Texas and the city of San Antonio by Jose Antonio Navarro; and

H.R. 14896. An act to amend the act of October 15, 1966 (80 Stat. 915), establishing a program for the preservation of additional historic properties throughout the Nation, and for other purposes.

### MESSAGE FROM THE SENATE

A message from the Senate by Mr. Arrington, one of its clerks, announced that the Senate agrees to the report of the committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendments of the Senate to the bill (H.R. 14465) entitled "An act to provide for the expansion and improvement of the Nation's airport and airway system, for the imposition of airport and airway user charges, and for other purposes."

### PARKER COUNTY, TEX., SUPPORTS GOVERNMENT'S POLICY

(Mr. POAGE asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute, to revise and extend his remarks and include extraneous matter.)

Mr. POAGE. Mr. Speaker, in the midst of all the turmoil caused by protesters against the Vietnam conflict it should be pointed out that a great segment of this country still supports its Government's policies and condemns the anarchy which is depriving thousands of students of the education they seek.

It is time the so-called silent majority take every opportunity to voice its disapproval of the rash and destructive activities of these violent radicals, and in that vein I am proud to cite the bipartisan move of the Democrats and Re-

publicans of Parker County in my congressional district. At their county conventions in Weatherford on May 9 they cosponsored and adopted identical resolutions expressing their sentiments.

The resolutions, signed by Mrs. Jack L. Eidson, chairman of the Parker County Republican Party, and Gabe Vick, chairman of the Parker County Democrat Party, follow:

Resolved that this Convention of the Parker County Democrat (Republican) Party affirm its support of the National administration's Cambodian policy as the option which it is hoped will bring the Vietnam involvement of the United States to an early conclusion with a minimum loss of American lives.

Resolved, That this Convention of the Parker County Republican (Democrat) Party urge state and national public administrators and public educational administrators to adopt a firm policy in support of the rights of the education of students uninterrupted by the disruptive actions of non-students, students, and faculty.

### THIRD ANNUAL YOUTH LEADER CAMP

(Mr. MONTGOMERY asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. MONTGOMERY. Mr. Speaker, beginning June 18, the District of Columbia National Guard in cooperation with the Metropolitan Washington Board of Trade will begin the third annual youth leader camp at Aberdeen Proving Ground, Md. The highly successful 10-day event will be for the benefit of some 150 young boys between the ages of 14 and 17. The young men will be selected from among male student leaders in 34 public and parochial schools in Washington and Prince Georges and Arlington Counties and city of Alexandria.

The purpose of the camp is to recognize and reward boys who have demonstrated their understanding of good citizenship and exhibit potential for leadership in their schools and communities. Maj. Gen.