

EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

IMPORT CURBS ON JAPANESE TEXTILES

HON. STROM THURMOND

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, July 6, 1970

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, a recent column by the distinguished writer, James J. Kilpatrick, provided an excellent summary of the case for import curbs on Japanese textile goods.

This article appeared in the June 30, 1970, issue of the Washington Star newspaper and deserves the attention of the Congress and the Nation.

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

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

HIGH TIME TO PLACE CURBS ON IMPORTS FROM JAPAN

(By James J. Kilpatrick)

With the collapse last week of textile trade agreement talks with Japan, Congress has but one course left open to it: This is to smack the Japanese with what is known in the trade as the Mills bill. And high time!

Granted, this is not a pleasant prospect for members of Congress who are dedicated to reducing trade barriers, not to raising them. Approval of the Mills bill would be a step backward from the lofty goal of free commerce envisioned under the international General Agreement on Trade and Tariffs. If protective quotas are granted to the textile-apparel industry, other industries hurt by foreign competition will be crying, "me, too."

There is this further objection, that by imposing even the mild and reasonable restraints proposed in the Mills bill, the United States would subject its diplomatic relations with Japan to additional strain. The leaders of last week's massive anti-government riots in Tokyo, protesting extension of the two nations' security treaty, presumably would pick up wider popular support.

Yet the case for a quota system, intended to protect the domestic textile-apparel industry, is supported by compelling evidence. And the record of patient efforts to reach a voluntary agreement suggests that the Japanese propose to stall indefinitely.

Time has run out. The U.S. industry is in deep trouble. Its profits are down. Employment has declined by 65,000 workers in the past 15 months. New capital investment has dropped sharply over the past year. The number of closed plants is increasing. The gloomy picture is almost entirely the result of one cause: The dramatic increase in textile imports.

Dramatic is the word for it. The picture began to change as far back as 1957, when textile imports for the first time exceeded our exports. Now the imbalance amounts to \$1.4 billion annually; and more than a third of this imbalance winds up in the hands of Japanese. In the past five years, the volume of textile imports has tripled. If the increase is merely alarming in cotton and wool. It is staggering in the field of man-made fibers.

Several elements account for the situation. Primarily, the imbalance results from wage differentials. The typical American textile worker earns \$2.43 an hour; his counterpart in Japan gets 53 cents. In Korea and Taiwan, the figure is 11 cents. The suit that is maldressed from Hong Kong is sewn together by tailors paid 25 cents an hour.

Another significant factor lies in trade policies here, and trade policies there. The Japanese, while they adamantly oppose quotas anywhere else, impose relentless import restrictions of their own. Within the European Economic Community, the same picture obtains. No nation in the world has a freer policy on imports than the U.S. As a consequence, one-third of Japanese production goes to American buyers.

Finally, Japanese manufacturers operate without the restraints of anti-trust law. Nothing prevents them from entering into price and market agreements that would be patently illegal here. It is a great convenience not to have a Justice Department breathing down one's neck.

The Mills bill, sponsored by Rep. Wilbur Mills, D-Ark., and 200 other members of the House, would put a ceiling on imports of textiles, apparel and footwear geared to the levels of 1967-68. These limits would be adjusted annually to reflect increases or decreases in domestic consumption. A more reasonable or more generous policy scarcely could be proposed.

Opponents of the Mills bill contend that the effect of even these mild limitations would be to raise the price of goods to the American consumer. It could happen, but the remarkable record of price stability within our domestic industry suggests otherwise. In any event, the consequences of continued inaction are as visible as a mini-skirt but much less attractive. Free trade is like peace: it is wonderful. But peace at any price is no bargain, and neither is free trade that imposes a ruinous cost on industry here at home.

RESULTS OF QUESTIONNAIRE

HON. CARLETON J. KING

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 6, 1970

Mr. KING. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, I would like to include the results of my annual questionnaire which was sent to all the postal patrons in the 30th Congressional District. In my opinion, the heavy response I received to the poll reflects a high level of interest from the people in my area on national affairs.

Tabulated results of the 1970 questionnaire:

	[In percent]		
	Yes	No	Other
1. Do you approve of the President's plan to end the Vietnam war by gradually withdrawing our troops?	80	16	4
2. Should Congress approve the President's \$10,000,000,000 nationwide clean waters program?	88	8	4
3. Do you favor my bill granting tax incentives to private industry to aid and assist in the pollution abatement problem?	76	20	4
4. Do you believe Congress should grant local law enforcement agencies greater financial support?	60	34	6
5. Should the Federal Government do more to control the dissemination of pornography?	71	25	4
6. Do you believe additional Federal laws are needed to protect the consumer?	73	22	5
7. Should we adopt wage and price controls to help slow down inflation?	61	32	7
8. Should the Federal Government assume total responsibility for all welfare programs?	30	65	5

	Yes	No	Other
9. Should the farm program be changed to gradually reduce dependence on price supports?	83	8	9
10. Do you favor removing the limitation on earnings on those who receive Social Security benefits?	71	26	3
11. Should we step up space spending to put a man on Mars?	12	85	3
12. Should a percentage of Federal income tax money be shared with the cities and States for use as they see fit?	48	45	7
13. Do you favor actions of the Administration to try and balance the budget and pay on the national debt?	88	8	4
14. Do you approve of the overall course of the present administration?	67	24	9

Mr. Speaker, at the time I prepared these tabulated results to my 1970 questionnaire, I was, like so many of my colleagues, receiving hundreds of letters both opposing and supporting the recent U.S. military moves against the Cambodian sanctuaries. Because I feel that our involvement in Southeast Asia is the most pressing issue before the country today, I included another poll in my Washington Report which listed the results of the 1970 questionnaire. I would also like to include the results of this poll which I believe will be of interest to my colleagues. As far as the percentage result to the first question is concerned, I can only draw the conclusion that the President's courageous move into Cambodia had the overwhelming approval of the people I am privileged to represent.

The results of the poll are as follows:

	[In percent]		
	Approve	Disapprove	Other
1. Do you approve of the President's move across the Cambodian border to eliminate sanctuaries of the North Vietnamese and the Vietcong?	84	14	2
2. Colleges and Universities have been active in protests against the President's Cambodian decision. Do you approve or disapprove of these student protestors?	13	84	3
3. Some colleges and universities have closed down as a result of student protests over the war in Vietnam. Do you approve or disapprove of closing down colleges and universities for this reason?	17	80	3
4. Several thousand students conducted a demonstration in Washington early in May against the President's Vietnam policies. Do you approve or disapprove of this Washington demonstration?	18	78	4

THE DANGER OF THE COOPER-CHURCH AMENDMENT

HON. STROM THURMOND

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, July 6, 1970

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, one of the Nation's most outstanding opin-

ion makers is syndicated columnist David Lawrence.

The danger of the Cooper-Church amendment and other actions of the Senate in recent days is succinctly pointed out by Mr. Lawrence in a column published in the Washington Star of June 30, 1970.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that this column titled "Isolationists in Senate Cause Harm" be printed in the Extensions of Remarks following my comments.

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

"ISOLATIONISTS" IN SENATE CAUSE HARM
(By David Lawrence)

American combat troops got out of Cambodia a day ahead of schedule, though during seven weeks of debate in the Senate expressions of doubt were frequently heard that President Nixon would keep his word. The harm done to the prestige of the United States abroad and to the conduct of foreign policy by such political opposition tactics will be felt for a long time to come. Indeed, one Democrat already has had the temerity to make the following statement in the Senate:

"I submit that our national interest would best be served by a unified Vietnam even if under Communist rule, as it would then serve as a relatively firm barrier to Chinese expansion."

This is hardly good news to certain members of the Southeast Asia Treaty Organization—Australia, New Zealand, the Philippine Republic and Thailand. They have regarded the pledges of the United States as obligations that would be honored in the event that communism endeavored again to impair the right of self-determination of peoples covered by the treaty.

The speech is reminiscent of what used to be heard prior to World War II and prior to World War I, when "isolationists" in the Senate were giving foreign governments the impression that they need not fear opposition from the United States if free countries were invaded and their independence threatened.

America's participation in World War I began 53 years ago, and in World War II nearly 29 years ago. After each war period new generations grow up, and history is not re-examined even by lots of members of the American Congress. Yet, both World Wars were in part the direct result of a belief by autocratic governments in Europe that the United States would not give military aid to the countries attacked.

Today some members of the United States Senate are, in effect, telling the world once more that the United States, because of a costly experience in Vietnam, isn't going to help the small nations in Asia—or perhaps even in Europe—and that communism is free to take over wherever it chooses on the continent of Asia.

This means there could be an outbreak of a major war within a few years—and a catastrophe for the whole world could ensue—unless the policies of the United States are enunciated with such resoluteness that there could be no mistaking the intention of our government to uphold its treaty commitments.

Those members of the Senate, of course, who preach "isolationism" think this is popular at home. Certainly it would seem that everybody would applaud a speech which is against war. But the conflict in Vietnam is a small affair compared to a world war, and the casualties insignificant in number as against the millions of deaths in a world war,

particularly nowadays when nuclear weapons are likely to be used. The foreign policy of the United States needs, therefore, to be made unequivocally clear.

The Senate has a Foreign Relations Committee which has the right to discuss foreign policy, but not to make it. Comments are supposed to be advisory and not obstructive. Now that the whole Cambodian expedition has been finished, the Senate Foreign Relations Committee is still inclined to meddle. But very little objection can be raised, as the American effort has been completed and South Vietnam has taken over the task.

To declare, however, that it would be better policy for the United States to favor a "unified Vietnam even if under Communist rule" is to undermine the strength of the South Vietnamese government and to invite more trouble in Indochina by indicating that the supporting arm of the United States is weakening.

There are senators who recognize the dangers and want to continue to supply financial and military assistance not only to South Vietnam but to other countries which may wish to help Cambodia.

The President has not the slightest intention to turn to "isolationism" and let the Communists grab whatever countries they wish. Such a course might be less expensive, but it would be a discreditable policy for the free nation which leads the world in its help for humane causes. But will the Communists risk a big war and bet on what they mistakenly believe is "public opinion" in America?

ADDRESS BY MAJ. GEN. GEORGE J. RICHARDS

HON. GEORGE A. GOODLING

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 6, 1970

Mr. GOODLING. Mr. Speaker, Memorial Day has come and gone, but the echoes of some very fine addresses made on this day are still with us. One such address was presented by Maj. Gen. George J. Richards, U.S. Army, retired, at the annual Memorial services of the Society of the 28th Division at Boalsburg, Pa. Because this was a deep and meaningful presentation, I insert it into the RECORD for the attention of my colleagues:

ADDRESS BY MAJ. GEN. GEORGE J. RICHARDS, U.S. ARMY, RETIRED

INTRODUCTION

Mr. Gallagher, General Kafkalas, Dr. Stevens, Members of the Society of the 28th Division, Members of the 28th Division, Distinguished Guests, Relatives and Friends.

Here in this lovely vale, peace and serenity prevail today. Undisturbed, we can philosophize about the past and meditate about the future.

THE CONSTITUTIONAL GUARANTEES

As to the past, our forefathers in a long and tenacious struggle, won freedom from England. At Philadelphia, they wrote our Constitution which established the principles of Freedom and the concepts of Democracy. A great Civil War challenged these concepts. In his Gettysburg Address, President Lincoln put it this way: This Civil War is "testing whether this Nation or any Nation so conceived and so dedicated can long endure." The North won, and these concepts have thus far prevailed.

Prophetic, perhaps of present times, Pres-

ident Lincoln in his Emancipation Proclamation "enjoined upon the people declared free to abstain from all violence." Today, this broadly applies to those of us who are descendants of the settlers in the original thirteen colonies and to those of us who ourselves or through our ancestors, sought asylum in this Country from oppression elsewhere.

Peaceful and effective avenues of approach are provided: (1) by the First Amendment to the Constitution, Ratified December 15, 1791, which stipulates:

"Congress shall make no law * * * abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press; or the right of the people to peaceably assemble, and to petition the Government for a redress of Grievances."

(2) Amendment No. 15 to the Constitution, Ratified February 3, 1870, which states:

"Section 1. The right of citizens of the United States to vote, shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude."

Thus, the First and Fifteenth Amendments have placed in the hands of us common folks, powerful yet peaceful means of making ourselves heard.

A WORLD POWER

Subsequent to these harrowing Civil War days which pitted family against family, brother against brother, we expanded west to the Pacific Coast, then to Hawaii and north to include Alaska. Thus our Nation was consolidated both territorially and domestically.

Our participation in the Spanish-American War, World War I, World War II, the Korean Conflict and now the struggle in Vietnam, has identified us as a World Power, presently the strongest of all.

HOMAGE TO THE DEAD

These internal and international struggles have resulted in the attainment of the objectives for which we have fought. They have been achieved by sacrifices on the part of our ancestors, our own generation and our children. Many gave their all; made the supreme sacrifice. It is to honor these, particularly those of the 28th Division, that we are assembled today.

Mr. Norman D. Fenner, Commander of the Society of the 28th Division, has already outlined the Division's service on the Mexican Border, its participation in World War I and in World War II, and its standby for Korea. To this I should like to add our appreciation of its splendid work in disaster relief and its competence in assisting in the enforcement of law and order. At thousands of other sacred cemeteries and shrines, both here and abroad, similar exercises will be held.

Thus we pay homage to those who have died on the field of battle.

Also we must express concern for their survivors. A personal interest in their welfare, a word of encouragement and a helping hand mean so much to them.

Finally, we must tenaciously "Carry on" to preserve those rights and privileges for which they, our honored dead, have paid so dearly.

THE FAR EAST

The Japanese annexed Korea as a colony in 1910. In fact they considered the South-eastern Coast of Asia so important, that early in World War II they seized it and controlled the coastal areas from Korea to Singapore.

Near the end of World War II, Russian troops entered North Korea. A month later American forces landed in the South. Purely administratively, these two countries agreed on the 48th Parallel as the dividing line between North and South Korea.

The Russians established a Communist Government in the north, while the pro-

alled government of Syngman Rhee was established in the south. In June 1950, the North Koreans attacked South Korea without warning. The Korean War ensued. In 1953 an armistice was signed. This the North Koreans violate from time to time without compunction.

On August 2, 1964, North Korean torpedo boats attacked a US Destroyer on the high seas. On August 7, 1964, five days later, Congress in the Tonkin Gulf Resolution, gave the President the power "to take all necessary measures to repel any armed attack against the forces of the United States and to prevent further aggression."

The North Koreans captured the Pueblo on the high seas early in 1968. They retained the vessel permanently and released the crew only after eleven months of imprisonment and torture.

So much for Korea, now for Vietnam.

In Vietnam, Dien Bien Phu fell on May 8, 1954 and the French pulled out of Vietnam. The Geneva Conference in July of that same year partitioned Vietnam along the 17th Parallel. President Eisenhower followed by offering the South Vietnamese economic aid; and on February 12, 1955 agreed to train the South Vietnamese Army. Seven days later, on February 19, 1955, a South Eastern Treaty Organization Protocol extended the protective cover of SEATO to South Vietnam. On December 14, 1961, President Kennedy declared the United States was prepared to help the Republic of South Vietnam preserve its independence. Consequently, US Forces have moved into South Vietnam, inflicted severe losses on the enemy, aided in bringing 90% of the Country under government control and greatly aided the South Vietnamese in improving their way of life. Except for a relatively few news media such as US News & World Report, the Wall Street Journal, some of our western newspapers, and a few others, the minor accomplishments of the Viet Cong and the North Vietnamese have been magnified, emblazoned on front pages and in TV headlines. The splendid accomplishments of our own forces in battle, in pacification and in reconstruction, have been given minor mention or none at all. Vice President Agnew is quite forcefully bringing this to our attention, and as far as the news media are concerned, it is hurting.

To hasten the withdrawal of US troops from Vietnam, the President, our Commander-in-Chief, has ordered a limited objective advance into Cambodia, coordinated with the South Vietnamese and the Cambodians, to capture or destroy enemy sanctuaries, mobilization centers, rest camps and assembly areas, and to seize all possible munitions of war. The mission accomplished, US troops will return to South Vietnam not later than July 1, 1970 and eventually to the United States. This destruction of enemy assets, together with the prolonged monsoons, will greatly delay any major assumption of the offensive by the Viet Cong and the North Vietnamese; and will give the South Vietnamese corresponding additional time, possibly eight months to a year, to equip and train their own forces. In my opinion, this coordinated limited objective attack will prove to be an outstanding success.

Heretofore, the economic potential of South Vietnam has scarcely been mentioned. The Mekong Delta is one of the leading rice producing areas of the world. Rubber is the chief export and the GNP is \$3 billion. The population is 17,414,000.

Cambodia, with a population of 6,557,000, 87% of which is rural, is largely a farming country (rice, rubber, fish and corn). It has appreciable deposits of phosphate, iron ore and limestone which are undeveloped. Its GNP is \$843 million.

SOCIAL PROBLEMS

At home, the poverty and social isolation of the minority groups in central cities is

the single most serious problem of our cities today. Both President Johnson and President Nixon have done much to improve conditions. However, although headlines in the news media fail to reflect it, the disorders, riots, fires, destruction of property, loss of life and injury to both rioters and law enforcement officers, have alienated the support of by far, the majority of the American people. I commend to you the article in the May issue of the Reader's Digest by Jesse Owens. Jesse Owens rose from a thin and sickly cotton sharecropper's son in Oakville, Alabama, to the winner of four gold medals at the Berlin Olympics in 1936 in front of Hitler. Jesse's best friend who encouraged him in accomplishing this, was the German Champion, Lutz Long, the Aryan whom Hitler wanted to win. Says Jesse Owens today: "the soap-boxing blackthinkers, the angry extremists, the nationalists, represent a very small element of today's Negroes. The violence, hate, and self-pity they preach are the easy way out. What we need is self-control, true assertiveness and long range planning." The draft-dodgers, white and black, are in the same category. What they need more than anything else is patriotism and guts.

These same characteristics might well apply to those like the College Professor and four College Students who visited Congressman Goodling's Office to relate their views on Vietnam, Cambodia and other subjects. The Congressman listened to them and then enumerated the many sources, domestic and foreign, which reported facts to the President. Then he asked the Professor and students what facts they had which the President did not have and on which they had based their views. They were flustered and silent. Similarly, much of what we hear is based on hot air or wishful thinking.

TROUBLES ON THE CAMPUSES

As to our troubles in the Colleges, those Colleges with students having a white working-class background, have experienced many fewer disruptions than have those colleges with students of middle and upper class background. The former have the traditional urge to work and to get ahead. The latter have had relatively few responsibilities such as jobs. They believe a college graduate can earn \$10,000 a year and live comfortably without working very hard. It is these who are concerned with abstract ideas and are more willing to erupt when led by black and/or white minority group students. The majority by far, of our students, are going to college to learn. But they do not make the headlines in the news media.

STRATEGIC BALANCE OF POWER

Much has been said about reducing our forces in Europe. "Two world wars have taught us that political stability in Europe must be founded on a policy of collective security and a common defense." For twenty-one years NATO has helped provide Western Europe considerable political stability, while the region has attained the highest level of prosperity in its history. This is greatly important to its own commercial and economic advantage. The Soviets, on the other hand, are opportunists. They will chip away at Europe if they think the time is ripe and they can use their military forces as needed without interference from the West. The Soviets are building up their conventional forces, are augmenting their sea-power in the Atlantic, the Mediterranean and the Indian Ocean, and are increasing their influence in the Near East.

There is now a general balance of military power strategically between the United States and the Soviet Union; and tactically, NATO has adequate forces to maintain a credible deterrent. Should we reduce our approximate nuclear parity and the strategic balance, there surely would be a greater likelihood of threats, blackmail and attempts at domi-

nation. We have no assurance that the Soviets would not respond to such an opportunity to spread their influence by military means if the occasion presented itself.

INTRIGUE OF THE SOVIET UNION

I have outlined to you the growing ambition of the Soviet Union to become the dominant world power militarily. Korea, Vietnam, Europe, the Atlantic, the Mediterranean, the Near East and the Indian Ocean. The pattern to weaken us internally conforms to a pattern which the Soviets have developed and use elsewhere. To overthrow Chiang Kai-Shek in mainland China, it was Communist cells, bribery and opium. I was in Chung King and Kunming, China, in September 1945. The same system: similar cells on campuses and in cities, plenty of money and the increased use of drugs are in operation here today. I emphasize the similarity of the patterns. Assuredly none of these are strengthening us and none are contributing to our national unity.

THE PRESIDENT: INTERNATIONALLY

The National Policy of our President is to restore and maintain peace. To negotiate rather than confront. To have a world community of cooperating independent nations, rather than a world community of warring nations.

NATIONALLY

Domestically, President Nixon's goals are the same as those of the framers of the Constitution:

Freedom of Speech.

The Right to Peaceably Assemble.

The Right to Petition the Government for a Redress of Grievances.

The Right of Free Enterprise.

Like Lincoln in his Emancipation Proclamation, President Nixon "enjoins upon us to abstain from all violence."

As in Lincoln's Gettysburg Speech, we are presently testing whether this Nation, established on the principles of freedom and concepts of democracy, "can long endure."

These are the principles for which our ancestors, our fathers, our sons and daughters have fought and died. They established the greatest nation on earth.

I have given you a summary of the facts pertaining to the national and international aspects of our Country as they are today. With these in mind, as we honor the dead of the 28th Division and of the other elements of our Armed Forces, let us resolve to support our leader, the President of the United States, as he so earnestly strives for peace abroad and tranquility at home.

Preserve the Union and keep strong.

NEW YORK STATE COLLEGE OF OPTOMETRY

HON. SEYMOUR HALPERN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 6, 1970

Mr. HALPERN. Mr. Speaker, as a Member of Congress concerned about quality health care in our Nation, I point with pride to an action taken by my fellow New Yorkers in this regard. Recently, Gov. Nelson Rockefeller signed into law the State legislation which creates a New York State College of Optometry effective September 1, 1970.

This is an institution the State of New York has needed desperately since the old Columbia University School of Optometry was closed in 1956.

The new college of optometry will be supervised by the trustees of the New York State University, whose operating representative will be the Optometric Center of New York City, a well-established research and teaching facility. I have every confidence the new college will produce outstanding optometric practitioners in the years ahead. Present plans call for enrolling the first class of 10 first-year students in the fall of 1971. It is expected that within 10 years, the New York State College of Optometry will graduate 100 to 140 optometrists per year.

In a 1958 study conducted by the office of the mayor of New York City, it was shown that professional vision care was one of the greatest unmet needs of persons aged 65 and over who lived in Brooklyn's Vladek housing project. The relatively low ratio of practitioners to population was then, and certainly is now, a factor in the availability and accessibility of vision care.

With the establishment of the New York State College of Optometry, the first important step will have been taken toward meeting this great need.

I congratulate the State Legislature and the Governor for their forward-looking action in approving this legislation. I hope those of us here in the Congress will continue to have similar opportunities to consider legislation that serves to strengthen education for the health professions so that we can, as a nation, provide every citizen with high quality comprehensive health care.

ENVIRONMENTAL QUALITY

HON. TOM RAILSBACK

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 6, 1970

Mr. RAILSBACK. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased that the esteemed Committee on Ways and Means has unanimously reported H.R. 15979. This Congress has demonstrated an awareness of the tremendous problems facing our smaller towns and rural areas in trying to improve the quality of their environment. I strongly support this measure to make possible the use of federally insured loans to finance additional credit assistance to local government units for use in water and sewer projects.

I testified before both the House Subcommittee on Agricultural Appropriations and the Senate Subcommittee on Agricultural Appropriations. My message was that the rural towns and areas are in a terrible financial bind—they simply do not have the financial capability of paying cash for improving the water and sewer facilities in their areas. These local areas must have financing to assist them in their efforts to improve the environment. The Consolidated Farmers Home Administration Act was designed by Congress to provide just such assistance to these rural areas. The act provides that FHA can make grants and loans to towns of 5,500-and-under population for use in improvements for water and sewers. I urged that the re-

quested appropriations be increased over what the budget document had provided. I was most pleased to note that the House committee more than doubled such funds and I was again pleased when the House by floor amendment increased such funds even more.

For those who may not completely understand the depth of the problem facing these areas, I call to your attention a survey made by the Farmers Home Administration in December 1969 to determine the need of the communities of 5,500-and-less population for water and

sewer systems in the rural areas. The survey reveals that a total of \$11 billion—\$11,283,280,000—will be required to improve and/or provide adequate water and sewer systems in our rural areas. These costs are estimated on the basis of the 1969 dollars; however, experience has shown that costs for such construction rise at a rate of about 10 percent a year and this cost rise is continuing. I submit a summary of the total national need as revealed by the FHA survey, and include it at this point in the RECORD:

TOTALS FOR NATIONAL REQUIREMENTS—RURAL WATER AND SEWER SYSTEMS (COMMUNITIES OF 5,000 POPULATION OR LESS)

	Communities	Households	Commercial establishments
I. Water systems:			
A. With water systems.....	14,267	5,636,764	420,641
With adequate systems.....		387,418	15,630
Without adequate systems.....		5,249,346	405,011
Cost of improvement.....	\$1,716,439,000		
B. Without water systems.....	17,476	2,181,268	
Number of systems needed.....	13,517		
No water.....	5,801		
Water bad.....	4,527		
Costs excessive.....	2,139		
Need central treatment.....	1,050		
Cost of systems.....	\$2,445,074,000		
II. Sewer systems:			
A. With sewer systems.....	6,823	3,738,463	324,140
With adequate systems.....		299,467	15,858
Without adequate systems.....		3,438,996	298,282
Cost of improvement.....	\$1,476,545,000		
B. Without sewer systems.....	23,356	3,731,327	
Number of systems needed.....	16,985		
Below health regulations.....	13,209		
Need central treatment.....	3,776		
Cost of systems.....	\$5,645,222,000		
Total costs to improve and/or provide adequate water and sewer systems.....	\$11,283,280,000		

I think we should be reminded also of the wonderful record of these FHA borrowers in terms of the very few defaults on FHA loans granted to these communities. But, in the face of the staggering need, the funds available through FHA are admittedly limited. It is necessary therefore to look to private lending sources for help. With the FHA insuring the loans, private lending institutions can and will provide funds for water and sewer facilities in these rural communities. The bill before us today corrects a serious difficulty in this regard. Under legislation and Treasury Department rulings, the situation is that private lenders cannot enjoy income tax exemption on insured loans to small municipal governments and other local public bodies whose bond issues are tax exempt. In that it is a wasteful and unjustifiable practice, the FHA has been unwilling to insure any tax-exempt loans. This prevents the sale or use of tax-exempt obligations in the agricultural insurance fund. There is currently \$24 million in tax-exempt loans that cannot be sold out of this fund. In order to make it possible for FHA to insure loans and have the authority to sell the obligations, this bill would change the tax-exempt nature of interest on certain insured loans sold out of the Agricultural Credit Insurance Fund and make the interest taxable as gross income.

The result of this change would be that the FHA would buy tax-exempt bonds from small towns or public districts at interest rates not to exceed 5 percent. FHA would then resell these loans to pri-

private lenders, who would receive a higher insured loan interest rate from the FHA. In practical effect, there would be no net outlay from the U.S. Treasury. True, the FHA would be subsidizing the interest rate, but the difference would be more than offset by the taxes paid on the loans. At the present time there is no tax paid on these loans and because of that fact, the FHA is unwilling to subsidize the interest rate. We can stimulate the greater use of private capital in improving rural water and sewer facilities by passing this legislation. It will not result in a raid on the U.S. Treasury, but it will result in a raid on pollution and unsanitary conditions in our smaller towns and rural areas.

A similar measure passed the other body as an amendment last Congress, but was dropped in conference. This bill is favored by the Treasury Department, the Department of Agriculture, and the FHA and was reported unanimously from the Ways and Means Committee. It should also have our support and I urge my colleagues to pass it promptly.

THE WASHINGTON TECHNICAL INSTITUTE

HON. ANCHER NELSEN

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 6, 1970

Mr. NELSEN. Mr. Speaker, in the 89th Congress, I introduced H.R. 16958, a bill

that was subsequently enacted into law as the District of Columbia Public Higher Education Act, Public Law 89-791. This act established the Federal City College, which offers a 4-year program with attendant graduate programs, and the Washington Technical Institute, which offers a 2-year program in vocational and technical training designed to fit individuals for useful employment in recognized skills and occupations.

I have always been particularly concerned that the Washington Technical Institute be given every opportunity to grow and develop, because I considered that it filled several of the needs of this city. There is considerable demand for technically trained people in the trades, crafts, and service industries of this city. The Washington Technical Institute provides this kind of training, and the graduates, I am informed upon attending the Institute's first commencement exercise in early June, are all finding employment at good salaries.

By almost any standard, the Washington Technical Institute has been a success. I believe that it will continue to be successful and will in fact flourish if given the proper opportunities.

However, the technical institute is faced with a rather pressing problem at the present time in that it does not have a permanent site. It has been given quarters at a site that had previously been occupied by the Bureau of Standards. This site provides an adequate, if not an ideal, location for the institute in that the buildings, parking facilities, availability to transportation, including the proposed subway, and so forth, all lend themselves to this type of school and the students whom it serves.

The long-range plans for this former Bureau of Standards site, especially that utilized by the institute, is to develop it for sites for the chanceries of foreign governments and a new location for the Organization of American States—OAS. This is pursuant to the provisions of Public Law 90-553. As a result, these adequate, durable buildings now utilized by the Washington Technical Institute will be demolished and the taxpayers of the entire country and the District of Columbia may have to bear not only the cost of the acquisition of a new site, but the additional tremendous capital outlay for construction of new buildings at some new site. The total cost will certainly run into the millions, and possibly even hundreds of millions, of dollars at a time when District officials claim that they are scraping the bottom of the barrel as to tax revenue sources, the District "operating" budget is soaring, and the President is proposing legislation that moneys to be used in the construction of the Washington Technical Institute would come from Federal grants rather than from District funds. Meanwhile, I fear for the future of the Washington Technical Institute, if it must operate over the next few years without a permanent site and be buffeted about from pillar to post in these important early years of its operations.

Nationwide, we have seen unrest in our colleges and disturbances of many descriptions, but there has not been evi-

dence of this problem at the Washington Technical Institute; and, a tremendous job of administration is being done at this school under the very competent leadership of Dr. Cleveland Dennard, president of the institute.

Accordingly, I have this date introduced a bill to transfer to the government of the District of Columbia for use as a permanent site for the Washington Technical Institute certain real property—about 22 acres—owned by the United States and generally known as the Old National Bureau of Standards site located off Connecticut Avenue and Tilden Street NW. This would leave approximately 8 acres to be used by Organization of American States as its new permanent site and 4 acres for foreign chancery sites. In addition, approximately 30 acres will be available in the near future at the Diamond Laboratory site—across the street from the Bureau of Standards site—for additional foreign chancery sites and a Federal office building complex.

Listed below are some of the factors which I consider to be important in connection with allowing the Washington Technical Institute to continue to use its present site at the National Bureau of Standards location.

First. The District government to date has spent \$4.8 million to put the buildings used by the Washington Technical Institute on the old National Bureau of Standards site in reasonably good condition and to equip them, and this expenditure would be largely if not entirely wasted if the institute should be required to move to a new location.

Second. The District of Columbia Capital Program Financing Act which has been proposed by the administration contains, among other provisions, one which would provide that the moneys to be utilized in the construction of the facilities of the Washington Technical Institute shall be from Federal grants, rather than from District funds. The institute plans a \$70 million construction program, but it is estimated that if the institute should remain at its present location, \$45 million of this amount could be saved, and this would be a direct saving of Federal funds.

Third. The area proposed to be used by the institute is within a few hundred feet of the planned Van Ness Street stop on the Metro, and thus would be convenient to the entire city.

Fourth. The area bounded by Connecticut Avenue, Tilden Street, Reno Road, and Van Ness Street, is approximately 34 acres in extent. The portion utilized by the institute is about two-thirds of this, leaving approximately 12 acres for possible use by the Organization of American States and foreign chanceries. In addition, present plans call for the location of chanceries in the westerly portion of the old National Bureau of Standards site north of Van Ness Street, in addition to the planned use of a portion of the area by the Federal Government. Accordingly, the continued use of the site presently occupied by the Washington Technical Institute would not preclude the use of the majority of the old Na-

tional Bureau of Standards site by the OAS, a number of foreign governments, and by the Federal Government.

Fifth. Use of the old National Bureau of Standards site by the Washington Technical Institute will result in no loss of real property taxes by the District of Columbia, since the land is already exempt from taxation. Relocation of the institute elsewhere in the District may, and probably would, result in the taking of revenue-producing real property, thereby further reducing the already depleted tax base of the District, and further limiting the area of the District available for residential and business use.

IMPORT QUOTA

HON. CHARLES W. WHALEN, JR.

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 6, 1970

Mr. WHALEN. Mr. Speaker, on June 28, the Dayton Daily News editorialized on the subject of import quotas.

The editorial does not hesitate to label a hypocrisy the contention that quotas will reduce the cost of living. Rather, as in the case of textiles, which it singles out, the fact is that imports have helped reduce the cost of clothing.

I wholeheartedly agree with the views expressed in the editorial, and I ask unanimous consent to bring it to the attention of my colleagues by inserting it at this point in the RECORD:

TEXTILE FOLLY WILL BOOMERANG

The plot to impose import quotas on textiles shows how short-sighted and selfish the vision of some politicians can be, and underscores the hypocrisy of their rhetoric about reducing the cost of living.

Politicians from textile manufacturing states, mostly in the South, don't like the competition from Japan, South Korea and Taiwan, and complain that "floods" of textile imports are hurting U.S. business. Since Japan isn't limiting its shipments, Rep. Wilbur Mills is pushing a bill to restrict imports of textiles. The Nixon administration, primed with its campaign promises to southern politicians, has "reluctantly" endorsed the bill.

It is true that Japan has been irresponsibly protective in its own trade policies. But Japan's irresponsibility should not be allowed to provoke the United States into an explosive and costly move that could be self-defeating.

American textile firms have not proven they are being hurt by the imports. The Nixon administration and textile spokesmen have not approached the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) with the proof of damage. In fact, only three per cent of the sales of synthetic textile sales to U.S. buyers is imported.

But the imports have helped reduce the cost of clothing. Import quotas will give a thriving industry more protection in raising its prices.

Furthermore, the protectionist legislation also applies to shoe imports. It is likely to be extended to cover steel, meat, dairy products, electronic equipment, pottery and other products.

The legislation will hurt developing countries which are trying to establish basic industries. It will threaten retaliation against American exports. It will raise inflationary pressures and costs.

President Nixon ought to be using all his persuasive powers to fight such stupidity, not to encourage it.

CONFERENCE OF FOREIGN
AGRICULTURAL ATTACHES

HON. ODIN LANGEN

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 6, 1970

Mr. LANGEN. Mr. Speaker, I recently attended a conference of foreign agricultural attachés in Canberra, Australia, which agricultural attachés from major market areas in the Far East attended. Discussions during this conference brought out the fact that many of these areas represent untapped markets for U.S. commodity exports which should be explored and exploited to the fullest extent possible. I would like to share with my colleagues some views on the U.S. commodity export market in the Far East which resulted from this conference.

The material follows:

U.S. COMMODITY EXPORT MARKET IN THE FAR EAST

The United States, as a world trade market, must expand its exports to the Far East and South Asia by making commodities as competitive as possible in availability, quality, and price. As the nations of the Far East and South Asia increase rapidly in both population and per capita national income they are becoming more diversified and are increasing their demand for various food products, including beef.

In recent years per capita food consumption has registered a moderate increase in most Asian countries. The basic food for most people remains rice, but diets are diversifying, as a result of economic growth and urbanization.

As a prime example of what change can mean, Taiwan had a per capita national income of one hundred dollars in 1958, compared to the \$221 per capita national income in 1967. It had more than doubled in this ten year period. The Chinese in Taiwan have reacted as people everywhere to rising incomes, they want more food and better food. Japan is another example of the speeding rise in the economy of a country in the Far East. Per capita income was \$1,400 in 1969, \$500 more than it was four years ago. These countries have also experienced a marked increase in population. The population of Japan was 98 million in 1965, while in 1970 the population is 103.5 million, a jump of 5.5 million people. Taiwan, as a small country of 14 million people has increased in population by 1.6 million in only the last five years.

All of the fourteen Far East and South Asian countries discussed in the Far East Agricultural Attachés Conference in Canberra, Australia, had shown sizable gains in both their economy and population. The annual increase of population of most rice-consuming developing countries ranges between two and three percent, compared to the one percent rate of growth of the United States. It is likely that as the death rates fall, the population growth may even accelerate in the future in some areas. To further emphasize the fact that these nations are increasing in both population and per capita income I have enclosed two graphs.

One evidence of the growth in purchasing power is the increasing demand for meat in many parts of the world. In America, the demand for livestock and poultry is certainly related to our standard of good living, and

there is evidence that this is increasingly true elsewhere. The point is that economic growth in other countries is bringing change in food preference and effective demand.

While it is too early to accurately read all signals, the market for beef appears to be expanding throughout the world. The demand for higher meat diets is a product of affluence, and production of all types of meat has expanded as reflected in the use of more feed grain and protein meals.

Per capita consumption of meats in many parts of the world which have relatively high incomes are still very low, as an example Western Europe and Japan. But we seem to be observing now a higher degree of discrimination in the meat market favoring beef over other meats.

With over 100 million people and low consumption Japan can be expected to become a major world beef import market. In Australia improved management will be a major factor in the increased production of beef. Australia and New Zealand will continue their efforts to find additional markets, but the U.S. seems likely to be the most attractive outlet.

Enclosed is a graph on the per capita consumption of both rice and beef in all available countries in the Far East and South Asia. While consumption of rice is far greater than the consumption of beef and veal, per capita consumption of rice has declined in several countries and a rise in per capita consumption of beef is projected.

At higher levels of income, as in Japan now, rice is beginning to be displaced by meat and other non-cereal foods. If these countries continue to expand as they are doing, they will have to turn to other countries to meet this demand. The United States, as the world's most efficient producer should be in a position to have a part of this growth. Our export future depends on our success in meeting this opportunity. We must expand our markets so that we can help meet the demands of these nations, and become more competitive so that our own agricultural markets benefit.

I include the following tables:

1970 WORLD POPULATION DATA SHEET, POPULATION REFERENCE BUREAU, INC.

Country	Population estimates mid-1970 (millions)	Current rate of population growth	Per capita gross national product (U.S. dollars)	Population increase 1965-70 (millions)
India	554.6	2.6	\$90	67.9
Pakistan	136.9	3.3	90	20.6
Burma	27.7	2.3	70	3.0
Indonesia	121.2	2.9	100	16.3
Malaysia	10.8	2.8	290	1.4
Philippines	38.1	3.4	180	5.8
Thailand	36.2	3.3	130	5.4
South Vietnam	21.2	2.1	120	1.8
China (Mainland)	759.6	1.8	90	64.6
Hong Kong	4.2	2.5	620	0.5
Japan	103.5	1.1	1,000	5.5
Australia	12.5	1.9	1,970	1.1
New Zealand	2.9	1.7	1,890	0.2
China (Taiwan)	14.0	2.3	250	1.6
United States	205.2	1.0	3,670	11.4

PER CAPITA NATIONAL INCOME AT FACTOR COST

Country	1958	1963	1966	1967
Burma	\$53	\$59	\$59	\$59
China (Taiwan)	100	151	199	221
Hong-Kong	245	298	-----	-----
India	64	80	77	-----
Indonesia	81	82	41	-----
Japan	284	559	791	921
Malaysia	194	224	255	-----
Pakistan	62	82	108	-----
Philippines	193	218	226	233
Thailand	88	98	123	127
South Vietnam	91	82	-----	-----
United States	2,115	2,562	3,175	3,303

1 Some per capita income figures at factor cost are not presently available.

PER CAPITA CONSUMPTION IN KILOS OF MILLED RICE--
1961-63 AVERAGE AND 1964-66 AVERAGE

Country	[In kilos]	
	1961-63 average	1964-66 average
Burma	137	143
China (Taiwan)	134	134
Hong Kong	105	94
India	71	69
Indonesia	85	83
Malaysia:		
West	116	103
Sabah	134	154
Sarawak	154	128
Pakistan	100	101
Philippines	89	90
Thailand	123	142
South Vietnam	167	167
Japan	117	111
Australia	1.7	2.1
United States	3	3

Source: Food and Agriculture Organization, Study Group on Rice, 14th session. "Recent Trends and Patterns in Rice Trade and Possible Lines of Action." Apr. 6, 1970.

PER CAPITA CONSUMPTION IN KILOS OF BEEF AND VEAL
1961-63 AVERAGE AND PROJECTIONS FOR 1975

Country	[In kilos]	
	1961-63 average	Projections for 1975
Japan	1.7	4.4
Australia	45.2	52.4
New Zealand	47.5	47.5
Asia centrally planned countries (Mainland China, North Vietnam, North Korea)	2.6	4.2
South Asia	0.7	1.0
East and Southeast Asia	1.7	2.3
United States	43.1	51.5

Source: Food and Agriculture Organization. Ad hoc consultation on meat and poultry. "Meat: Projection for 1975 and 1985." April 29, 1969.

BLYTHE RICHARDS

HON. JOHN J. McFALL

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 6, 1970

Mr. McFALL. Mr. Speaker, the Pony Express riders would have been proud of some of the western men who followed them in service to the Post Office Department. Such a man is Blythe Richards, postmaster at Tracy, Calif., who will soon retire after almost half a century of service.

I have known Blythe for many years and his service to people never stopped in just handling the mail. Throughout his distinguished career, he has been of outstanding service to his community. Among his many achievements he served as a volunteer fireman for 26 years. For his exceptional service to the Boy Scouts of America, he was the recipient of scouting's highest honor for an adult, the Silver Beaver Award. His active participation in civic affairs includes his long membership in the Tracy Lions Club.

Blythe Richards began his service in the Tracy Post Office in 1923 as a 50-cent-per-hour clerk. In 1949, he was elevated to the position of assistant postmaster. President Eisenhower appointed Blythe postmaster of Tracy in 1954. He has served in this capacity and a credit to the Post Office Department since that time. On July 25, he will begin to reap

the harvest of a well-deserved retirement.

His retirement has focused attention on the interesting history of the Tracy Post Office and chronicled in the Tracy Press on June 10 by its managing editor, Roy G. Miller. I insert in the RECORD at this point Mr. Miller's most interesting article:

POSTMASTER TO RETIRE

(By Roy G. Miller)

After nearly 47 years' service in the Tracy post office, Postmaster Blythe W. Richards this week announced plans to retire on July 25.

During his long career, the annual gross business of the Tracy post office has grown from \$14,281 to \$333,211, and personnel from five employees in 1923 when he started work as a substitute clerk at 50 cents an hour to 46 men and women at present.

During the span of years, one of the most spectacular crimes in Tracy's history occurred in 1928 when the office was held up by three gunmen and robbed of \$28,000 in cash consigned to the Tracy branch of Bank of America. Richards was on duty at the time, and Postmaster George H. Gischel narrowly escaped being hit by bullets fired by the bandits.

Richards also recalls that during the 1920's when holdups of payrolls dispatched by mail on trains were common in the central California area, and, for some time, all trains carrying mail also carried U.S. Marines as guards.

At one time, there were 18 trains carrying mail in and out of Tracy daily. This number had dropped to four by 1966 and today no mail is received or dispatched by the local post office on trains.

Tracy post office services have been conducted in four different locations during Richards' long tenure. When he started work under George Gischel who was appointed postmaster in 1923, the office was on Sixth Street. Later on, on May 1, 1923, it was moved to the building on Central Avenue where the Calderon jewelry store is now located. On August 16, 1937, the move to the new building on Adam Street was made, and on March 23, 1967, the present post office building on W. Ninth Street was occupied.

Carrier service was provided Tracy residents for the first time in 1927, when two foot carriers and one parcel post carrier were added to the post office staff. Boundaries of the carrier service area at that time were Highland Ave. on the north, South Street on the south, East Street on the east; and West Street on the west. Annual receipts had increased to \$19,796 by that time, justifying the new service.

When the office was moved to Adam Street in 1937, another foot carrier was added, and by 1966, the carrier staff had grown to 10 in the city and three rural carriers, and receipts had increased to \$267,588.

At present there are five rural routes out of the Tracy post office, and 11 carriers serving the urban district.

An added service provided by the local post office in recent years is the handling of a huge volume of mail and parcel post items from Defense Depot Tracy, which is not included in the annual cash business of the office. An estimate of the valuation of this service a few years ago was that it was in excess of a quarter million dollars annually.

Richards advanced to the position of assistant postmaster in June, 1949; and became acting postmaster on April 1, 1953, when Gischel retired. His appointment as postmaster came on March 1, 1954.

During his long term of service, Richards has found time for many civic activities, especially in work with Boy Scouts. He re-

ceived the Silver Beaver, highest Scouter award, in 1962, and at present is serving on the house committee of the Tracy Boy Scout Center on Bessie Ave.

He was a member of the volunteer fire department for 26 years; has been a member of the Tracy Lions Club since 1953; and served as secretary-treasurer of the Tracy Rifle and Pistol Club for 17 years. He is a past president of the regional Post Office Supervisors Association.

Following retirement, Richards plans to spend more time at his favorite hobbies of hunting and fishing, and may resume golf in his spare time. An outdoors enthusiast, the retiring postmaster and his wife, Mrs. Bertha Richards, take several camping trips each year to mountain and other areas and these vacations will be more frequent and more extended in the future, he states.

RARITAN VALLEY, N.J., HADASSAH CHAPTER HELPS STUDENTS

HON. EDWARD J. PATTEN

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 6, 1970

Mr. PATTEN. Mr. Speaker, the Raritan Valley, N.J., Chapter of Hadassah—as part of its American affairs program—is providing valuable educational assistance to students who need help by tutoring them.

The tutoring, which is free, ranges from spelling to mathematics. Word of the program's great success in Highland Park, N.J., has spread and at least three area townships are also planning to initiate free tutoring to help students in need of educational aid.

Mr. Speaker, I am proud of the outstanding work the Raritan Valley Chapter of Hadassah is doing in the vital field of education, and I am sure that the students who are benefiting are deeply grateful.

I commend this highly respected and active organization for starting and developing such a fine and constructive program—and all those who are taking part in it.

Because I would like Members of Congress to know about the great educational work Hadassah is doing, I am inserting an article entitled, "Volunteer Tutoring Pays Dividends," written by Doris E. Brown in the New Brunswick, N.J., Sunday Home News of April 12, 1970:

VOLUNTEER TUTORING PAYS DIVIDENDS

(By Doris E. Brown)

HIGHLAND PARK.—A boy at Lafayette School has benefited so much from two hours of free tutoring weekly since the start of 1970, that the school has hired a five day a week tutor for him.

That's just one of the rewards of the new volunteer tutoring service provided by Raritan Valley Chapter of Hadassah as part of its American Affairs program.

Mrs. Lawrence Lerner, a former Carteret school teacher who's now the mother of three youngsters in borough schools, finds her two days a week service "very good for me. It is so rewarding."

She only regrets her inability to offer daily tutoring to the boy at Lafayette School, who had been her first pupil. But as a mother of

a kindergartener, she could not spare the time.

"The boy was so disappointed when I couldn't continue to teach him daily. He looked forward to working with me," said Mrs. Lerner, who now is tutoring a week in the new math and spelling.

Mrs. Lerner is one of six women from Raritan Valley Chapter of Hadassah helping borough children with their school work, each donating two hours a week to tutoring a child.

Three students at Lafayette School and another three at Hamilton School are receiving this personal tutoring during school hours, thanks to the volunteer service that the Hadassah started to provide when school resumed after the Christmas holidays.

Mrs. David Levine, one of six Hadassah volunteers in Highland Park public schools, uses flash cards to teach spelling to second graders at Hamilton School.

The chapter, which has joined Hadassah nationwide in offering this new service as part of its American Affairs program, hopes to expand tutoring to other Highland Park Schools. Three area townships soon may be benefiting too from help by Hadassah volunteers.

The big need is for more women to volunteer their time, according to Mrs. Herman Harris here, the chapter American Affairs chairman.

"One does not have to be a member of Hadassah to be a volunteer," she said. "This is a community project."

Noting that she is not a college graduate, Mrs. Harris also pointed out, "One does not have to have had advanced education to help a child read a book."

A very interested principal in East Brunswick has asked that township's board of education for permission to offer the Hadassah tutoring service in a school there. The Hadassah volunteers may even start this school year, believes Mrs. Harris.

A chapter volunteer in Franklin wants to tutor in that township and another seeks to do the same in Piscataway, she said.

Main emphasis to date is on helping children with reading and mathematics, but tutoring in other subjects will be provided if needed, according to Mrs. Harris.

A Mercer chapter has geared its volunteer service to help the children of migrant workers.

Since the program was launched nationwide in June, Hadassah is providing this free educational help in schools from the East to the West Coast, as well as in Texas and Ohio.

FACTORIES SEEK SMALL TOWNS

HON. JOHN M. ZWACH

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 6, 1970

Mr. ZWACH. Mr. Speaker, I am a firm believer in the future of the countryside. I hold that we must reverse the migration to our over-crowded, crime-ridden cities and get people moving back to the good life of the country.

I have introduced legislation aimed at that end.

Gradually, this idea is catching on. People are beginning to realize the folly of crowding 70 percent of our population on only 3 percent of our land.

Recently I read an article in a publication of the Chase National Bank about this policy.

With your permission, I would like to share this article with my colleagues by inserting it in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

FACTORIES SEEK SMALL TOWNS

Not all the plants springing up in rural areas in recent years have been botanical. Factories are being built in the towns and small cities of the rural countryside. So many are going up, indeed, that a remarkable statement can be made: Nonfarm job opportunities have grown faster in rural and semi-rural counties than in metropolitan areas during the '60s.

There's increasing awareness that four out of five rural jobs are off the farm, that a widening difference exists between commercial farming and those who have been trying to eke a living from the soil, and that the problems of the crowded cities have been compounded by the exodus from the rural areas.

Nonfarm employment has been gaining 4 percent a year outside the metropolitan areas. That compares with a metropolitan growth rate of 3.6 percent. Three out of every ten net new jobs created since 1962 were outside the 193 largest labor market areas—essentially the metropolitan counties. And at least half of these jobs were in strictly rural areas.

Fastest-growing among the sources of employment away from the big cities have been the service industries and government. Jobs in both these sectors have increased about 5.5 percent a year—about the same as the gain in service and government jobs in urban areas.

Construction has been the next most rapidly expanding source of rural employment. Building jobs increased 5 percent a year—well above the 2.9 percent rate of metropolitan expansion. The countryside, with 28 percent of construction employment in 1962, got 40 percent of the subsequent gain.

Finance, insurance and real estate jobs also increased faster away from the big cities—3.8 percent per year compared with 2.7 percent.

But perhaps the most dynamic force behind the pickup in employment in small cities, towns and rural areas has been manufacturing. In 1962, 27 percent of the factory jobs were outside the metropolitan areas; 37 percent of the additional jobs created in the following years were out in the country. Compared with a growth rate of 2.4 percent a year in large labor markets, manufacturing employment rose 3.7 percent a year in the countryside.

It was not at all unusual for a single large factory or several small ones to move into a rural community during the '60s and double or triple its income. A wide variety of manufacturers contributed to this increased prosperity in rural areas. Some service industries—resort and recreation facilities, small private colleges, farm producer and distributive cooperatives, commercial laboratories, data processing centers, business consulting services and federal installations—also moved in, adding to incomes.

The new prosperity has yet to generate much employment in retailing or services for local residents. Shopping centers were already available in many communities, and local government services have not kept pace. But continued expansion in incomes in time will increase local markets and service needs.

After decades of increasing concentration in the large cities, what is causing the dispersion of industry through the countryside? Changes in transportation technology—construction of the interstate highway system, the expanded relative volume of trucking, the accessibility of small cities by air, and the prevalence of automobile ownership among potential employees—along with the

increasing congestion in the cities, have had an important role. The advancing value of manufactures in relation to their weight, the expansion of markets permitting regional plants, and improvements in communications helped, too.

Some plants were built in the countryside when the difficulty of finding a suitable site at a reasonable price or of complying with the entangling regulations of the city proved too great. Some were located near a water supply. And many firms moved to take advantage of the available labor supply. The disadvantages of living in the megalopolis became apparent, and the country environment seemed increasingly attractive.

THE PARADOX OF NONVIOLENT WAR IN VIETNAM

HON. RICHARD BOLLING

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 6, 1970

Mr. BOLLING. Mr. Speaker, the following guest editorial which appeared in Life magazine describing the paradox of nonviolent war in Vietnam is a thoughtful analysis by one who is well qualified to discuss this serious controversy. The author, Ithiel de Sola Pool, a professor of political science at MIT, was formerly chairman of the Council on Vietnamese Studies. The editorial from the July 4, 1970, issue of Life follows:

THE PARADOX OF NONVIOLENT WAR IN VIETNAM

(By Ithiel de Sola Pool)

On one thing about Vietnam all sides agree: the Vietnamese must ultimately settle their problems for themselves. That is what Vietnamization is all about. But is it working, and what can we do to speed it? My own answers to these questions are based on three years of research on Vietnam, half a dozen trips there, and hundreds of interviews with the Vietnamese.

Here in America, we usually judge the progress of Vietnamization by how fiercely the army of Vietnam (ARVN) fights. But just winning battles will not keep South Vietnam independent. In the end, if the Vietcong lose, it will be because the people of South Vietnam deny them protection and resources, not because they lose pitched battles.

Vietnamese culture has a well-developed knack for avoidance of violent confrontation. To the dismay of American advisers, Vietnamese on both sides work out their silent accommodations so as to carry on their conflict in an elaborate minuet that evades head-on combat and reduces the danger of being killed.

American policy for the last two years seemed to be moving to awareness of the wisdom of such accommodations. In 1965 and 1966 we sent nearly 400,000 men to Vietnam to fight the only kind of war we then understood, a conventional big-battle war. Gradually, experience changed our strategy to one that limited casualties and emphasized pacification. Elections were held. The elected village officials were given a budget for local improvements and were put in control of their own self-defense forces. Increasingly, the peasants saw that the government could give them more of what they wanted than could the Vietcong. But which side would be more solicitous of their lives?

The side that wins the war in Vietnam is likely to be the side that is most restrained

in its use of force, and is least violent in its chosen means. Earlier, that side was the Vietcong. Their assassinations were more selective than ARVN's forays or than American bombing and artillery. But that is no longer so. The Tet offensive of 1968 was a turning point. In Vietnamese eyes, in that offensive the Vietcong, without any possibility of winning, used the population as hostage by moving into populated areas and drawing fire upon themselves there. The Vietcong's popularity, which had been slipping for several years, plummeted. Today they have serious trouble recruiting and can count on at most 20% of the peasants, and a mere handful in the cities.

To reduce the level of combat requires the same kind of judgment by the government of Vietnam that a college president must use in bringing police on campus. When a disturbance passes a certain point, he needs police to restore peace, but below that point the police may only inflame a limited turmoil.

Internal war takes the same sort of subtle balancing act. Perhaps General Abrams understands that. Going into Cambodia, however, while it improved security inside South Vietnam, may have returned U.S. and ARVN forces to a conventional military approach.

South Vietnam with a population of 18 million has a million men under arms. They can handle anything the Vietcong or Hanoi has in the South today. The foray in Cambodia will boost ARVN's self-confidence and efficacy further. But the increased prestige of an ARVN with foreign conquests to its record may also accentuate the military character of the Saigon regime. That may, in the end, hinder establishment of a stable non-Communist system in South Vietnam.

It is not so much ARVN as the provincial Regional Forces and the village Popular Forces that protect the population. In regard to ARVN, our main objective should be its reform, not its strengthening. It needs to allow uneducated peasant boys to become officers. It needs a commissary system so that soldiers need not steal the peasants' chickens. Improving the behavior of troops and making promotions more democratic will achieve far more than increasing firepower and combativeness.

To a large degree our side has now won military superiority. The bulk of the Vietnamese population lives in substantial security day and night. In general, roads are open and the writ of the government runs where the population lives.

What can still be done by military means can be done largely without American infantry. When the problem is to cope with furtive guerrillas, little squads with rocket launchers, and terrorists without uniforms, then large, heavily armed military units of foreigners who do not know the language are almost useless. In fact, the presence of American fighting men may do more harm than good. There are no American ground combat forces in the Delta, an area of relative Vietcong strength. But the government of Vietnam maintains control at least as easily there as anywhere else.

As American combat troops depart, they will leave South Vietnam with a government beyond the powers of the Vietcong to overthrow, although endemic terrorism, violence and small-scale warfare will go on for the indefinite future. That much of a victory Vietnamization can produce in the next year or two.

The only way to a better outcome is by negotiation. Only a treaty could end terrorism. If Israel cannot keep guerrillas from crossing her frontier, Vietnam cannot hope to seal a longer, wilder and largely unguardable border. A treaty, such as we seek in Paris, would give amnesty to the Vietcong and allow them a role in Vietnamese life. Without that,

victory in Vietnam will mean not peace, but only that the Vietcong no longer can take over populated areas, no matter how many murders they commit, how many mortars, rockets and mines they manage to set off. Victory in that sense is near, but peace depends on a settlement at Paris and a sharing of power in Saigon.

THE SPECIAL OLYMPICS

HON. GLENN M. ANDERSON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 6, 1970

Mr. ANDERSON of California. Mr. Speaker, recently I had the pleasure of attending a most worthwhile and heartwarming event—the 1970 California State Special Olympics, held at California State College in Long Beach. This program, which began a year and a half ago, with a single meet in Chicago for 1,000 mentally retarded children, has grown to some 1,400 local, area, and State meets administered by Special Olympic organizations in 45 States and the District of Columbia. This year, some 150,000 children are expected to participate in the meets around the Nation.

The stated purpose of the Special Olympics, sponsored by the Joseph P. Kennedy Foundation, is to bring sports, competition, and athletic training to the mentally handicapped. But, I feel that it accomplishes much more. All who participate, not only the children, but the thousands of volunteers, the friends, the families, and the spectators, left the event with a new sense of accomplishment. The feeling of one participant, expressed by Burton Chace, a member of the Los Angeles County Board of Supervisors, was the feeling held by all in attendance. Mr. Chace stated that the Special Olympics had given his grandson, Bobby, "a feeling of adequacy and happy accomplishment." This feeling of pride—the acceptance of the challenge—the gaining of confidence, all contribute greatly to the development of these youngsters.

The mayor of Long Beach, Calif., Edwin Wade, recognized the many facets of the Special Olympics when he stated that:

The Special Olympics program has been established to give the mentally retarded a chance to develop their skills, experience success, and grow both physically and mentally through an organized program of physical fitness.

It was especially gratifying to see former international medal winners such as Pat McCormick and Rafer Johnson. Their presence, instruction, and encouragement added immensely to the tremendous success of the event, as did that of Mrs. Ethel Kennedy and Roosevelt Grier. Their dedication insured that there were no losers at the Special Olympics—everyone won.

Mr. Speaker, particularly moving was a song written and sung especially for this event by Randy Cobb entitled, "A Dream To Grow On." The words are simple, but the meaning is deep:

EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

Sittin' by a window
Wishing he could play.
He knows what people
Are thinking and why they turn away . . .
He needs a dream to grow on,
A chance to say "I am me."

Because of the Special Olympics, the children are no longer "wishing they could play." Instead, they were able to compete on equal terms with children of their own age and capabilities.

TRAGEDY THAT DID NOT HAVE TO TAKE PLACE

HON. HENRY P. SMITH III

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 6, 1970

Mr. SMITH of New York. Mr. Speaker, just the other day a tragic event occurred here in Washington that provides just one more bit of dramatic evidence of the need for change in the District of Columbia Bail Reform Act. One man was shot to death and a police officer gravely wounded in a gun battle following a liquor store holdup. Had the court been able to hold him, as provided in the pre-trial detention area of bail reform, the dead man would probably now be alive, and his most recent offense would probably never have occurred. The story is detailed in the June 29 edition of the Republican Congressional Committee Newsletter, as follows:

TRAGEDY THAT DID NOT HAVE TO TAKE PLACE

One man lay dead and a courageous police officer underwent major surgery recently for bullet wounds received in the Nation's Capital.

Both tragedies could have been prevented if a Nixon Administration proposal for pre-trial detention had been voted into law by a foot-dragging Democratic Congress. Yet, critics of the proposal on Capitol Hill are still attempting to kill it.

The dead man was one of two fleeing liquor-store robbery suspects the policeman was pursuing. When the officer halted the escape car, one of the suspects shot him in the neck and chest. Despite his wounds, the officer fired six shots at the two men who were running from the car. Three shots hit and killed one of the pair. The other was caught a few hours later.

Investigation of police records by Rep. Lawrence J. Hogan (R., Md.), whom President Nixon has commended for his vigorous support of the bill in question, and Sen. William B. Saxbe (R., Ohio), showed that the dead man, a drug addict, had a long criminal record, including conviction for assault on a police officer. His latest arrests were in January and June of this year, both for armed robbery.

At the time of the liquor-store robbery, he was free on bond after a June 1 arrest for purse snatching.

Why was he free? Because under the District of Columbia Bail Reform Act of 1966, it's virtually impossible for a judge to hold a defendant—even if the record shows he is a dangerous criminal and a drug addict, as in this case, likely to commit other crimes to support his habit.

Legislation now under consideration by House and Senate conferees would permit a judge to consider two factors in deciding whether to hold a suspect: likelihood that

he will flee and likelihood that he will pose a danger to the community. It allows for a 60-day detention, but could only apply to a felony defendant who was a drug addict, or free on bail from an earlier offense, or convicted of a violent felony in the previous 10 years, or who had threatened a juror or trial witness.

As Senator Saxbe noted last week: "For well over a year, the President . . . has asked Congress to give courts the authority to hold hardcore recidivists [repeaters] for a limited period before trial." Sen. Robert P. Griffin (R., Mich.) pointed out that in Washington, D.C., there is a 70-percent rearrest record for indicated robbers prior to trial.

But the crime problem isn't limited to the Nation's Capital. Yet, despite an increase in crime across the country, Rep. George Bush (R., Tex.) noted the other day, "not one of the 20 crime bills sent to Congress by the President has reached his desk for signature, although most of them were introduced in 1969."

Representative Hogan summed it up: "How many more persons will be killed, assaulted, raped or robbed; how many more police officers wounded or slain in performing their duties, before Congress gives us the laws we need to control crime?"

That's what we'd like to know also. The answer may have to wait until the November 3 elections.

MAJOR POWER FAILURE PREDICTED

HON. WILLIAM D. HATHAWAY

OF MAINE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 6, 1970

Mr. HATHAWAY. Mr. Speaker, the President's science adviser, Dr. Lee A. DuBridge, speaking in Los Angeles, has been quoted by the Washington Post as pointing to the "possibility of a—major—power failure which could produce enforced blackouts of disastrous proportions."

To the people of New England, such a prospect is especially ominous, for they realize that their electric power needs are already greater than anywhere in the Nation.

Mr. Speaker, the 91st Congress still has before it an excellent opportunity to help meet these truly urgent needs of the citizens of New England. I expect that the Senate Committee on Appropriations will soon reinsert an \$807,000 budget request for continued preconstruction planning and design of the proposed Dickey-Lincoln School hydroelectric power project into the House-passed public works appropriations bill for the present fiscal year. And I am confident that the full Senate will endorse this action by a strong majority.

I am hopeful that a conference committee will consent to the Senate's amendment, and that this body will subsequently accede to the conference report as regards the recommended Dickey funding.

I know that this hope is shared by the great majority of the citizens of my own State of Maine. I think I can say with assurance that it is also shared by the people of all New England. I, therefore, call upon the members of our Appropria-

tions Committee, as well as all the Members of this House, to help make our hope a reality.

The Post article follows:

NATION WARNED ON POWER FAILURE

LOS ANGELES.—The President's science adviser, Dr. Lee A. DuBridge, says a nationwide campaign to turn off unnecessary lights and air conditioners may be necessary to prevent power cutoffs this summer.

"Even more drastic measures may have to be taken, such as voltage reductions, which have already occurred, and curtailing of selected loads or partial blackouts or even shutting down certain industrial plants," DuBridge said Wednesday.

DuBridge, a former president of California Institute of Technology, addressed the American Nuclear Society.

He said there was "the possibility of a major failure which could produce enforced blackouts of disastrous proportions. Fortunately, the utilities have taken steps in recent years to greatly minimize the risk of a total blackout such as occurred in New York in 1965."

PERIL IN SEA-LEVEL CANAL

HON. DURWARD G. HALL

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 6, 1970

Mr. HALL. Mr. Speaker, for a number of years there has been discussion over a sea-level canal to connect the Atlantic and Pacific at the Central American isthmus. Presently, a Presidential group is studying the problem and is to report their findings this year.

A recent news item from the Christian Science Monitor brings to light important factors that we, as legislators, should be aware of. The article follows:

PERIL TO SEA LIFE SEEN IN PLAN FOR NEW ATLANTIC-PACIFIC CANAL

(By Neal Stanford)

WASHINGTON.—It will certainly be years, and probably decades, before a sea-level canal is dug through the central American isthmus—if ever.

Some basic, unresolved questions continue. What would be the biological consequences of digging such a canal? How would it affect ocean life on either side of the isthmus? Would such a ditch be biologically "safe?"

A group of scientists named by the National Academy of Sciences (at the request of the President's Atlantic-Pacific Interoceanic Canal Study Commission) has been wrestling with these questions for several months.

They have just recently concluded that they can't say positively yes or no. The more they sought answers to the problem the more they discovered how little real knowledge they had to go on to make a decision. The study group, headed by Prof. Ernst Mayr of Harvard University, believes, then, there has to be much more research, even extending over a decade or so, before one can speak with any confidence on what a sea-level ditch across the isthmus might do to ocean life on both sides.

When the Academy of Sciences set up the study group, it commented: "Many scientists believe that the invasion of competitive marine fauna on either coast might result in large-scale extinction of many species, an irrevocable catastrophe to science, and a loss to future generations of men." The eminent biologists, scientists, and oceanographers participating in the study

still feel that could be the result, but they are not prepared to say it will or won't be.

The President's canal-study group, which must report this year on whether an interoceanic canal should be built, pointed out that ocean-life effects were only part of the problem. Others are: Should nuclear excavation be attempted? How do the relative costs of various ways of construction compare? Finally, what site should be selected for a canal?

TWO EDITORIAL COLUMNS BY ROSCOE DRUMMOND ON TODAY'S ISSUES

HON. HERMAN T. SCHNEEBELI

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 6, 1970

Mr. SCHNEEBELI. Mr. Speaker, while reading the Christian Science Monitor recently, I discovered two editorial columns by Roscoe Drummond which I believe provide interesting insights into some of today's issues. The first article, published June 27, comments on Congress and warmaking powers. The second, published June 30, contains some interesting observations of President Nixon's relationship with young people.

I would like to share these articles with my colleagues:

WORSE THAN NOTHING

(By Roscoe Drummond)

WASHINGTON.—If Congress wants to get a firmer grip on the war-making powers which rightly belong to it, why doesn't it do something about it?

Instead of just picking at the edges and doing nothing but add more confusion?

For nearly six weeks now the Senate has been debating the Cooper-Church proposal which looks as though it would prevent President Nixon from putting troops back into Cambodia without approval of Congress. But it wouldn't do any such thing and most of its sponsors know it.

HIDE-AND-SEEK

It is a fake and a facade because it doesn't accomplish anything whatsoever toward enabling Congress to recover its constitutional warmaking power. And it will not become law because the House is not likely to approve it and, if it does, it would not survive a presidential veto.

This leads to the heart of the matter. Why does Congress shun doing anything of substance about warmaking and devote itself to playing with the appearances of the matter rather than dealing with its realities?

I can think of only one explanation. It is that the majority in Congress wants to appear to be eager to recapture the warmaking authority but does not want to take the responsibility of making the hard decisions of national security and survival which go with it.

Let me illustrate the way the Senate has been playing hide-and-seek with this vital matter.

A majority of the senators say they don't want the President to use United States troops in Cambodia again without first coming to Congress for approval. They could assert that power decisively by taking an action which would cut off funds if the President did so.

PRACTICAL COURSE

But Congress does not move in this direction because that would mean really taking responsibility for the hard decision it shuns.

Instead the Senate toys with the Cooper-Church resolution which settles nothing, leaves everything gray, and keeps the responsibility on the shoulders of the President while creating the impression that he might be exceeding his constitutional power if he acts on his own to protect American troops still in Vietnam.

There is another solid action Congress could take if it were willing to accept the responsibility which goes with it.

Sen. Charles H. Percy (R) of Illinois offers a very practical course because his resolution would bring President Nixon and Congress together in affirming that U.S. troops should not be used in combat anywhere without advance congressional approval unless American territory or American forces are attacked.

There are good reasons to support the Percy approach.

Richard Nixon has stated that he would not commit the U.S. to any war comparable to Korea or Vietnam without going to Congress. The Percy resolution would put this important agreement into a congressional resolution and thus strengthen the war-making authority of Congress.

A FACADE

There are three reasons why the Cooper-Church approach is the wrong way to go about strengthening the warmaking control of Congress.

It is vague. It increases vagueness on the relative roles of Congress and the Commander in Chief. It stipulates that the President must not use troops again in Cambodia without congressional approval, but also states that nothing in the resolution affects the powers of the Commander in Chief. Thus it can be interpreted to mean much, or little or nothing.

Cooper-Church is trying to deal with the past rather than the future. It proposes to curtail the actions of the President to wind down a war Congress explicitly approved rather than to reaffirm the authority of Congress to keep out of any war it won't approve.

Cooper-Church falls to discriminate between the power of the Congress to declare war and the power of the President to conduct war.

These are the reasons why Cooper-Church is a kind of facade behind which many senators can make it look as though they were doing something big but are in reality shrinking from responsibility by doing almost nothing at all.

NIXON—A WORRISOME QUESTION

(By Roscoe Drummond)

WASHINGTON.—Some knowledgeable and fair-minded commentators validly raise a very worrisome question.

Stewart Alsop, for example, puts it this way in Newsweek: "What will President Nixon do if he gets into bad trouble?"

By "bad trouble" Mr. Alsop means if withdrawal from Vietnam runs into some calamity, if prices keep going up and employment keeps going down and if Richard Nixon's popularity plunges to a new low.

This would be the kind of bad trouble which would certainly force Mr. Nixon to do something.

What? Mr. Alsop suggests that the President would be greatly tempted—tempted to the point of very seriously considering it—to shift sharply to the political right.

It is the American middle class, the "silent majority," which makes up Mr. Nixon's natural constituency and undoubtedly he could galvanize it to his side by sharpening the fears which are near the surface throughout the nation.

The political climate could become more adverse to Richard Nixon than it now is and these are the reasons:

The inflation problem is proving to be far more stubborn than the administration expected and what we are still experiencing is a very paradoxical state of the economy—in-

flation and deflation at the same time, rising prices and rising unemployment.

And will the military successes of clearing out the enemy sanctuaries count for much with United States public opinion if the Cambodian Government falls to the Communists not long after American troops pull out?

Majority opinion is still on the side that the President should withdraw U.S. forces from Vietnam faster than he is doing.

Young White House aides on the basis of their own campus soundings reported frankly to Mr. Nixon that he has presently lost the support of the "sons and daughters of the silent majority" and that students are antiadministration almost en bloc.

All of this has led some White House political strategists—Murray Chotiner for one—to conclude that nothing would be more politically helpful than for the President to start campaigning against the unpopular students and to use their unpopularity as a means to rally the American middle class more actively, more emotionally behind the administration.

Will Richard Nixon take this line if and when he should feel the need politically?

So far it seems to me that despite present and potential temptations, the President is showing by his actions that he is not doing any such thing. Note these developments which all point in the other direction:

The appointment of the Scranton Commission on Campus Troubles shows Mr. Nixon intent upon getting at the cause of student unrest, not exploiting it.

He demonstrated his own breadth of view by naming four leading Negroes to the nine-man commission, among them a 22-year-old Harvard Fellow, and by not being influenced by Vice-President Agnew's ill-conceived attack on the students.

The administration is not being swerved from its school integration policies by the primary election victory of George Wallace and expects to accomplish more school desegregation this fall than ever before.

At the initiative of the President, the White House is arranging two conferences "of youth, for youth, and by youth" in the next few months. Its purpose is to enable young people from 14 to 24 exchange ideas with each other and communicate them to government.

My judgment is that Richard Nixon is aware that exploiting campus unrest might have some short-term political dividends, would at most build a negative majority but that it would be a mistake because it would at most build a negative majority and make it even more difficult for him to deal with the nation's real problems.

I think the evidence already suggests that Mr. Nixon would risk his political future rather than to get locked into negative politics.

THE PERILS OF LIVING IN LOS ANGELES

HON. JEROME R. WALDIE

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 6, 1970

Mr. WALDIE. Mr. Speaker, I have long sympathized with my friends and colleagues residing in the Los Angeles area and who must put up with some natural and cultural conditions taxing on mind and body.

But, Mr. Speaker, I really had no idea of the burdens of life the Los Angeles area brings until I read an Associated Press dispatch in the Richmond Independent of June 25, 1970.

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I would like to place this news story in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD so that I can share my admiration and sympathy for southern Californians with my colleagues in the Congress:

L.A. SMOG DRIVES THE RATS TO DRINK

LOS ANGELES.—Rats forced to breathe air polluted with carbon monoxide at the levels found on Los Angeles freeways develop a marked taste for alcohol, according to a public health researcher.

Dr. Robert S. Poground of the UCLA School of Public Health said extrapolating the results to the urban human being was speculative.

However, he noted that motorists are exposed to even greater levels of carbon monoxide during peak traffic.

Poground forced one group of rats to breathe the polluted air and one group to breathe "clean" air. Then the two groups were given a choice of four fluids; water, and solutions of alcohol, glucose and saccharine.

The clean air rats stuck with water but the dirty air rats preferred alcohol.

The rats with the alcohol preference had been exposed to 200 parts per million of carbon dioxide and freeway motorists breathe levels as high as 300 ppm during heavy traffic, Poground said.

MALAWI INDEPENDENCE DAY GREETINGS

HON. CHARLES C. DIGGS, JR.

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 6, 1970

Mr. DIGGS. Mr. Speaker, as chairman of the African Subcommittee of the House Foreign Affairs Committee, I should like to take this opportunity to congratulate the people of Malawi on the sixth anniversary of their independence and the fourth anniversary of their declaration of a republic, which occurs today.

In the 6 years since attaining independence Malawi has sought balanced economic growth with emphasis on diversity. While concentrating much of its development effort on the agricultural sector, the country has also devoted considerable amounts to infrastructure and to encouragement of commerce and light industry. Recently Malawi has begun to promote tourism, and with her beautiful scenery, pleasant climate, and many varieties of exotic animals, the outlook is promising.

But Malawi's efforts have not been directed solely at attacking problems of agricultural and commercial production. Educational improvements have received very high priority, and enrollment of secondary school students has increased tenfold since independence. An estimated 375,000 children are now attending school in the primary grades. In addition, under the leadership of President H. Kamuzu Banda, Malawi is endeavoring to build a society open to all races—a society which it hopes will serve as an example of multiracial cooperation to the minority white regimes in southern Africa.

On the occasion of National Day, the people of the United States express to the people of Malawi their best wishes for continued success in their nation-building endeavors.

DISMAL SWAMP

HON. H. R. GROSS

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 6, 1970

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, some of the fallacies and misconceptions in the report of the President's Task Force on International Development are set forth in the following analysis.

The analysis is prepared and signed by the three trustees of the Taxpayers Committee To End Foreign Aid, Mr. Walter Harnischfeger, widely known industrialist; Mr. Clarence E. Mannon, former dean of the College of Law, Notre Dame University and well-known radio commentator, and retired Gen. Bonner Fellers who has rendered yeoman service in the long fight against dissipation of the American taxpayers' substance through foreign aid and through the attempts of misguided officials of the U.S. Government to police and finance the world.

The analysis follows:

DISMAL SWAMP FOREWORD

Last September President Nixon established a "task force" of private citizens "to provide him with comprehensive recommendations concerning the role of the United States in assistance to less developed countries in the 1970's."

Their Report was submitted on March 4, 1970. It stated that the Task Force had had "meetings with Members of Congress," and with citizens and groups representing a diversity of views and interests. However, the Task Force did not solicit the views of the two members of the Congress most thoroughly informed on foreign aid, Otto A. Passman, of Louisiana, Chairman of the House Appropriations Subcommittee responsible for foreign aid appropriations, and H. R. Gross, of Iowa, a member of the House Foreign Affairs Committee. Nor did it invite the views of the Citizens Foreign Aid Committee, whose members comprised some of the leading citizens of the country, and whose representatives over a period of ten years presented before committees of the Congress qualified testimony, observations and analyses on the operations of foreign aid.

Because of the importance given to the Report as a guide to public policy, a further analysis of the question is required. The purpose of the following is to examine some of the assumptions and premises as well as statements in the Report.

SUMMARY OF TASK FORCE ERRORS

The Task Force Report lacks objectivity in the following respects:

(a) It is not responsive to the assignment given it, which was "to look into the rationale for these programs, to take nothing for granted, and to recommend policies that serve the best interests of our Nation" (italics ours). It does none of these. Instead:

(b) The Report accepts without examination various questionable premises as to the nature, purpose, and effectiveness of foreign aid.

(c) It presents no analysis of the actual nature and extent of the responsibilities of this government toward other peoples. Without such examination, no statement of the role of foreign aid can have meaning.

(d) It offers no critical examination of the effectiveness of foreign aid as a guide to the shape and direction of future policy.

(e) It ignores all the critical studies and findings as to the failures of foreign aid, presented by the General Accounting Office,

the House Subcommittee on Foreign Operations, the reports of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee and the House Foreign Affairs Committee, the House Subcommittee on Appropriations, the special reports of on-the-ground investigations by members of Congress on foreign aid, the reports and testimony of the Citizens Foreign Aid Committee, as well as a great body of critical literature on foreign aid.

FALSE TASK FORCE ASSUMPTIONS

I. "The United States has . . . responsibilities in international development." (Report: Introduction)

Individuals and private groups and organizations may have a moral responsibility for international development, but there is nothing in the Constitution, in the writings of the Founding Fathers, in our historic political policy, or in the generally accepted theory of international relations, that our government, or any government, has responsibility for the development of another country not within its sovereignty. The essence of sovereignty is independence. The Report assumes as proper the invasion of the sovereignty of other governments, by accepting responsibilities for public welfare of their citizens that is the responsibility of those governments themselves.

The foreign aid program by its essence interferes in the sovereign responsibilities of other governments by attempting to introduce, if not actually impose, American ideas of the good life, standard of living, and cultural mores.

As a result of foreign aid—and to save the face for foreign aid proponents—increasing intervention in the affairs of the recipient countries becomes a necessity. This is naively revealed by Gunnar Myrdal, the noted exponent of foreign aid and world government, in his book *Asian Drama: An Inquiry into the Poverty of Nations* (New York, 1968). He states, "There is little hope in South Asia for rapid development without greater social discipline" and adds that such social discipline "will not appear without regulations backed by compulsion." (p. 895)

K. S. Krishnaswamy, Director of the Economic Development Institute of the World Bank, points out in the Bank's official quarterly that Myrdal's inquiry seems only "to bring out the trite but important fact that good intentions and noble objectives are not in themselves capable of moving a poor society out of its stagnation." He cites the caste system in India, its drag on progress, and the tenacity of its hold as evidence that fundamental social mores are the real cause of economic stagnation, and that until they are voluntarily abandoned, injections of capital and techniques from abroad, via foreign aid, are ineffectual.

II. "All peoples, rich or poor alike, have common interests in peace, in eradication of poverty and disease, in a healthful environment, and in higher living standards." (Task Force Report: p. 2)

This is rewriting human nature in the image of the Peace Corps idealists and foreign aid devotees. If the statement is true, why do military costs consume 50 per cent of the U.S. budget and 52 per cent of foreign aid in 1969 (as stated in the Report)? Why so little progress in eradicating poverty in the so-called underdeveloped countries? Is it not rather a fact that throughout history eradication of poverty and disease have been minimal concerns of the race, in comparison with pomp and circumstance, the satisfaction of the lusts of power and display and personal aggrandizement? Are people today much different from the ancient Egyptians who were content to expend a hundred thousand lives to glorify their kings with a pyramid that would outlast the ages?

Thus, according to the *New York Times* for April 10, 1970, Pakistan, a land of intense poverty, which has absorbed \$4.2 billion of U.S. aid, has spent \$300 million on a new capital in the desert built from scratch, in-

cluding a Presidential Palace to be built on a 2,000 foot high hill, a grand national mosque to hold 100,000 worshippers, and new international airport. As if this were not enough, \$40 million has been spent on a co-capital for East Pakistan, where the National Assembly will sit half the year.

Another *New York Times* dispatch in the April 14, 1970, issue reports that Pakistanis spend the equivalent of \$70 million a year on betel nut chewing. Since \$148 million is programmed for Pakistan under the U.S. aid program for the current year,¹ this is ample to take care of the betel nut requirements of the Pakistani people, and to finance the continuing cost of the two new capitols.

III. "In the past . . . the U.S. faced a divided world, in which foreign assistance was justified in terms of the conflict between East and West. Today all countries have a common interest in building and maintaining a global environment in which each can prosper." (Task Force Report: p. 7)

If all countries have a "common interest, etc." why the tensions in the world today that require the U.S. to spend half its budget in defense, and other countries in similar proportion? Why the Arab-Israeli conflict, the Pakistan-India conflict, the North-South Korea conflict, the Honduras-Salvador conflict, the Southeast Asia conflict, the Iran-Iraq tensions, the East-West conflict in Europe, the Zambia-Rhodesia tension, the two Germanys conflict, to name a few? In addition to all the external conflicts, there exist revolutionary movements within many countries, particularly those of South America.

Has foreign aid reduced these tensions over the years? Have they not rather multiplied as the foreign aid allowed many of these countries to divert energies from economic problems to military build-up, and has not U.S. military assistance fanned many of these conflicts?

IV. "Development can help make political and social change more orderly." (Task Force Report: p. 7)

This assumes a correlation between material input and cultural output. It assumes also that material progress will be accompanied by political contentment, docility and peaceability. It does not explain why Europe has been the scene and origin of two World Wars, or why prosperous Japan became the aggressor in 1937, rather than poorer China.

IMMATURE TASK FORCE CONCLUSIONS

"The Task Force believes that establishing an international investment insurance program against the risks of expropriation would improve the climate for private foreign investment."

This is an example of putting the cart before the horse. It is on the same level as the British system of providing drug addicts with subsidized heroin, which has multiplied the number of addicts by ten in the past decade. The only true foundation for international trade and investment is respect for the sanctity of contract. When the U.S. State Department acquiesced in 1951 in the Iranian abrogation of the foreign oil concessions it dropped into the stream of international intercourse an infection which has polluted relations ever since. The correct solution is political, to cut off political relations with governments that abrogate treaties, and to cut off investment to countries whose governments disregard their contracts. Currently several Latin American countries have expropriated U.S. investments by one device or another with little or no protest from this government.

INCONSISTENCIES IN TASK FORCE RECOMMENDATIONS

I. "The Task Force recommends . . . a U.S. International Development Bank for capital and technical assistance loans." (Task Force Report: p. 4)

¹ House Appropriations Subcommittee Hearings, 1969, p. 947.

But on p. 10 the Report states:

"The debt burden of many developing countries is now an urgent problem."

The fact is that under the pressure and persuasion of foreign aid the developing countries have gone headlong into debt so that the debt of service is maintained only through stretch-outs, concealed suspensions, or more loans to pay interest on old. The solvency of these international lending institutions is preserved only by continual injections of new capital and lending debtors the means to pay interest on their existing loans. Thus, the *New York Times* for April 28, 1970, reports a quasi-moratorium on Indonesia's \$1.7 billion overseas debts through a stretch-out of repayments.

II. The goal of Security Assistance is "to improve the military defense of our allies and move them toward greater military self-reliance." (Task Force Report: p. 6) (See also p. 12)

How do continued gifts of military equipment make the recipient countries more self-reliant? Does it not rather make them steadily more dependent upon U.S. assistance?

If, however, these countries do become more militarily self-reliant, how does this serve U.S. security? Does it not rather create a new source of political hostility? How about the veiled hostility of de Gaulle, who was the military creation of the U.S., whose country was restored to military independence by the U.S. and has received \$7 billion in aid since 1946? How about India, which spends \$1.5 billion a year on its military establishment while receiving a nearly equivalent amount in foreign aid from all sources?

It is notable that many of those who support gifts of arms to immature and irresponsible governments in the naive faith that such a procedure will reduce warfare are the same ones who urge Congress to deny the sale of arms to responsible U.S. citizens on the theory that it will reduce violence at home.

INCREASE IN IRRESPONSIBILITY AND AUTHORITARIANISM

At present, the U.S. contributes to six international agencies engaged in providing investment capital to other countries. To make them palatable to the tax-paying public, most of them are called "banks" but they are banks in name only. None are under effective administrative control or responsive to any superior authority. They are all self-perpetuating bureaucracies. None of the officials of these agencies, for instance, report, or deign to appear, before any committee of the U.S. Congress or any other legislative body for that matter. None of them are subject to audit by the General Accounting Office. None of them, for that matter, are subject to any outside audit. While the U.S. has provided the bulk of the funds employed by these agencies, the administrative liaison hangs on a thread, and this thread was for a time completely severed. Thus, according to an official statement of the Department of Commerce, the U.S. member of the directorate of these agencies is "instructed by the National Advisory Council on International Monetary and Financial Problems."²

But what is this Council? It is not listed in the official telephone or agency directory; one must inquire diligently to find its quarters located in an obscure corner of the Treasury; it consists of six persons, whose principal duties are elsewhere (such as the Secretary of the Treasury), aided by a secretary and an office staff of half a dozen. So insignificant is it that in 1966 it completely disappeared in an executive reorganization and it was not until this hiatus was called to public attention by the testimony of Elgin Groseclose before the House Banking and

² International Commerce, November 16, 1964.

Currency Committee (January 27, 1966) that the official thread was restored.

If foreign countries need short term or investment capital they should apply to the existing widespread commercial and investment banking network, justifying the use of the funds on a business-like basis, which means the capacity of the proposed use to yield economic return. In particular, they should, as a primary requisite, create the legal and administrative atmosphere necessary if investment is to fertilize economic growth—and the assurances that capital will not be drained away by excessive regulations, taxation and unwarranted expropriation.

In cases where export credit is needed to meet credit terms available to foreign exporters, such credit should be supplied on a priority basis only through the Export-Import Bank on a business-like basis at prevailing commercial interest rates, with rea-

sonable reserves for potential losses, supported by independent engineering and economic justification properly documented.

EARLY WARNINGS

In the first critical analysis of foreign aid (Foreign Aid and You) by the Citizens Foreign Aid Committee, on March 16, 1959, precise warnings were issued as to the ultimate consequences of foreign aid policy. The current disastrous condition of the economy, the deterioration of U.S. influence abroad, and the involvement in an Asiatic war which nobody wants, are the consequences of neglect of these warnings. These warnings may be recapitulated:

(a) Our assumption of European defense has caused Europe to neglect the Communist threat, now increasingly present in Egypt and North Africa. There should be systematic withdrawal of U.S. troops.

(b) Foreign aid promotes political philosophies and regimes akin to communism. Today, India is moving steadily toward a socialistic system. Indonesia, communist oriented under Sukarno, revolted after foreign aid was discontinued, and returned to its traditional political system.

(c) Foreign aid is inflationary. The current chaos in the financial markets amply bears out this warning.

(d) Foreign aid promotes corruption. The evidence may be found in a score of reports of the GAO and other investigations.

(e) Unless foreign aid is terminated, the country faces economic peril. This is all too apparent today. Total foreign aid through June 30, 1969, consumed over \$182 billion and today is accountable for half of the public debt burden. (Cong. Record, August 1, 1969.)

MILITARY EXPENDITURES AND FOREIGN AID RECEIVED, IN U.S. DOLLARS AT CURRENT PRICES AND EXCHANGE RATES—SELECTED COUNTRIES

[In millions of dollars]

Country	1965		1966		1967		Country	1966		1967			
	military expenditures	foreign aid received	military expenditures	foreign aid received	military expenditures	foreign aid received		military expenditures	foreign aid received	military expenditures	foreign aid received		
Total.....	6,316	7,269	7,720	5,497	8,813	5,579	Laos.....	17	27	35	69	35	74
Turkey.....	385	425	445	210	511	214	Malaysia.....	90	117	121	50	123	127
Argentina.....	203	163	279	84	271	85	Philippines.....	72	76	84	73	108	68
Bolivia.....	12	15	17	33	15	31	Thailand.....	86	84	97	59	133	450
Brazil.....	337	425	798	354	940	283	Vietnam, Republic of.....	267	258	302	510	419	41
Chile.....	44	64	113	167	115	141	Afghanistan.....	13	23	15	54	16	1,447
Colombia.....	60	72	92	127	84	146	India.....	1,800	2,077	1,400	1,325	1,486	6
Dominican Republic.....	35	35	34	54	31	67	Nepal.....	5	5	7	13	6	14
Ecuador.....	21	24	25	31	27	34	Pakistan.....	287	588	483	426	492	553
El Salvador.....	9	9	10	23	10	16	Iran.....	233	296	328	58	418	82
Guatemala.....	11	14	15	10	16	21	Israel.....	372	413	400	134	428	85
Guyana.....	1	1	1	1	2	2	Iraq.....	140	197	207	9	268	14
Honduras.....	6	6	7	10	8	13	Jordan.....	59	60	61	73	77	50
Mexico.....	128	134	166	166	168	161	Lebanon.....	26	30	38	8	40	8
Nicaragua.....	7	8	9	18	10	19	Syria.....	100	95	97	6	125	20
Panama.....	1	1	1	27	1	24	United Arab Republic.....	300	392	461	87	666	51
Paraguay.....	5	7	8	14	10	22	Algeria.....	70	100	99	123	100	103
Peru.....	72	80	83	94	134	80	Ethiopia.....	22	30	34	40	37	32
Uruguay.....	4	7	26	13	28	10	Ghana.....	39	36	25	84	39	72
Venezuela.....	152	174	182	94	202	82	Liberia.....	2	3	3	53	3	45
Burma.....	104	110	113	17	103	11	Libya.....	17	28	27	1	30	4
Cambodia.....	45	53	54	11	47	14	Morocco.....	113	103	103	94	75	76
China, Republic of.....	218	218	350	65	415	92	Nigeria.....	48	66	66	96	89	84
Indonesia.....	121	87	165	87	172	255	Sudan.....	30	33	47	19	50	21
Korea, Republic of.....	123	113	150	215	184	270	Tunisia.....	7	14	17	76	14	110
							Zambia.....	9	9	20	32	21	70

Source: U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency; World Military Expenditures, 1966-67; Ibid., 1969. Aid figures represent assistance from all sources.

TOPICS: AMERICA IS PART OF THE BODY COUNT

HON. RICHARD L. OTTINGER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 6, 1970

Mr. OTTINGER. Mr. Speaker, a most touching and poignant editorial by the distinguished writer, Mr. Frederic Morton, appeared in the June 27 New York Times. Mr. Morton's piece goes penetratingly to the dangers inherent in America's role as a world power, particularly as to what the full employment of our destructive potential in Southeast Asia is doing to us as a people and as a symbol for the rest of the world. To give this excellent analysis the widest dissemination possible, I insert the article in full at this point in the RECORD, and I urge my colleagues to give it their early attention:

TOPICS: AMERICA IS PART OF THE BODY COUNT
(By Frederic Morton)

I've seen elaborate wreaths by the plaque which commemorates the six million Jewish dead. I've seen dramatic flower arrangements,

and streamers with gilt letters proclaiming sorrow. Since my afternoon walks take me past there, on Riverside Promenade at 83d Street, I've gotten used to it. But a couple of weeks ago I came on something different. A simple cardboard leaned against the fence which protects the plaque. And on it somebody had written:

"Twenty members of two families gathered here today to remember the loss of their loved ones and of countless others who died because of the madness of political [sic] leaders. We hope and we have prayed to God here that please, this blackest page in human history should not repeat itself today."

A shaky hand had scrawled the words with a black marker. Late blossoms from a nearby tree were strewn across the plaque. It was the season in which, 25 years ago, American G.I.'s had opened the concentration camps in Germany. But it was also the springtime of Cambodia and Kent State in 1970. A little girl threw a frisbee, and I had to fight the sudden moisture in my eyes.

I'm not an easy crier. And the crying inside me was not about my two granddaughters, my uncles and my aunts who figure among the number engraved on the plaque. By now there are strong calluses around those hurts. In fact the plaque made me feel fortunate, as usual. My father, who had spent months in Dachau, now read the paper a few blocks

downtown. No, something else had me by the throat.

In part the emotion was familiar: I've put my name on the petitions; I've marched the peace marches; I've done the dove-bit in the media; I've come to suspect that the abomination I escaped then may not be much different from the abomination I'm financing with my taxes now. But the anguish on that cardboard plunged me into something sadder still. I wanted to cry about the world's loss of America.

DREAM AND MIRAGE

Here is a Goshen going down the drain. The country that had snatched us away from the gas ovens now burns another people elsewhere. The irony seems excruciating—but not just for the likes of me. For hundreds of years victims everywhere could see (and sustain) themselves as future Yankees. America was what you could hope for when things became too miserable and murderous, it was the place where the sun shone for sure, chock-full of up for the underdog, in for the outsiders, and ah so full of gleaming dollars for the poor.

And even if much of that was mirage, it was a mirage hallowed, potent, durable, made official by the Lady in the Harbor. It kept on beckoning through its very elusiveness. You got past the immigration officer, you consumed your way toward the sacraments of

inner citizenship, toward your boat in the marina, your boy at Harvard. Usually you didn't attain America. No matter how new your Chevy, you just kept on emigrating, up the ladder if no longer across the sea. But that was all right because the trip itself was the core of the faith.

It remained all right for a long time, long enough for the sons to continue the journey when fathers dropped. And suddenly—as sudden as the sight of the cardboard—you are told that this heaven by which you set your sights is of a piece with the hell from which you fled. Hence the fury of the hard-hats. After their long arduous travel they are told, by some wild-haired princeling much closer to the destination, that they are all wrong-way Corrigan's. For want of a better defense against such news, they beat up its messenger.

TO RE-INVENT AMERICA

And I, who fear them, share their shock. Who can escape being shaken by it? Our globe has lost a source of deliverance. Each time another Asian village goes up in flames, another bit of the saving America turns into trash—before the eyes of the whole world. It is an awful thing to know what only our ghettos (and our Thoreaus) have known all along—that the United States can be as monstrous as any giant.

Still the word "hope" is on that wracked cardboard. Still our young do so much clamorous hoping. Our young—far from being blasphemers—really carry on the same strenuous faith that once sailed in steerage. They are not just trying to reach Jerusalem but to right Jerusalem fallen. Even with excesses, they want to re-invent America the Church. If they fail, and if that spire is dust forever, where can any of us go?

UPHOLDING THE RULE OF LAW

HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 6, 1970

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, the concept that public employees should not strike has been fundamental in labor relations, yet we have suffered in recent years from strikes staged by public employees. In May of 1967, schools in Chicago and Cook County have been disrupted by strikes and legal steps were taken to control the situation.

A very timely concise editorial commentary in Chicago Today, Wednesday, July 1, emphasized the principle of law involved.

The article follows:

UPHOLDING THE RULE OF LAW

A principle of law that can't be affirmed too often is that laws must apply equally. There can't be any class of people whose aims or feelings excuse them from the rule of law or the authority of courts. We are grateful to the Illinois Appellate court for nailing down that point again.

The court last week upheld contempt convictions against the Cook County College Teachers union and its president, Norman G. Swenson. They were convicted in May, 1967, for continuing a strike in defiance of an injunction issued by Circuit court Judge Daniel Covelli; the judge sentenced Swenson to 30 days in jail and a \$1,000 fine, and fined the union \$5,000.

In his decision, concurred in by Judges Robert English and Joseph Drucker, Appellate Judge George N. Leighton said: "We must remind teachers and public employees

that the interests of unionism do not justify standing in defiance of the law."

We would add only this: A person may defy the law if his conscience dictates it, and consider himself justified. But he cannot expect the law to submit itself to his conscience; if it did it would no longer be law. And upholding the rule of law is everybody's business.

TELEPHONE CONSUMERS WIN A VICTORY

HON. JONATHAN B. BINGHAM

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 6, 1970

Mr. BINGHAM. Mr. Speaker, the pattern of ever-increasing local telephone rates has received a long overdue reexamination by the New York State Public Service Commission and the consumer is the victor. In a decision handed down by the PSC on July 1, the New York Telephone Co. was ordered to refund an estimated \$13 million to telephone subscribers. The refund represents the difference between a \$137.6 million annual rate hike granted on an interim basis by the PSC last February and the \$104.9 million increase the commission has finally approved. The telephone company had originally requested an annual increase of \$175 million.

Although the average subscriber will now be paying 60 cents more each month above the pre-February rate schedules, this must not be regarded as a pyrrhic victory, for the consumer has won on two important counts. First, the commission, in handing down its decision, has recognized that the quality of service rendered by the telephone company is an important consideration in ratemaking. The decision suggested that the phone company would have received a bigger rate hike if its service was better.

Second, the commission has ordered a refund on a provisionally approved increase for the first time in 15 years. This is only one of several indications that the commission, under its new chairman, Joseph Swidler, will reassert its responsibility to act in the public interest.

The New York Telephone Co. should recognize this decision as a warning that profits will not be guaranteed irrespective of the quality of service. While New York Bell has made efforts to upgrade its service, it still has a long way to go and until such time as the quality of service returns to the high standards we can justly expect in this modern age, the telephone company must bear the consequences of their poor planning.

A copy of the New York Times article of July 2 announcing the PSC decision follows:

A \$104 MILLION RISE IN PHONE CHARGES GRANTED BY PSC: COMPANY ORDERED TO MAKE REFUNDS ON INTERIM RATE GRANTED IN FEBRUARY

(By Richard Phalon)

The State Public Service Commission approved a \$104.9-million rate increase for the New York Telephone Company yesterday and at the same time said it would order the utility to make refunds to customers on an interim increase granted last February.

On an annual basis, the refund could total

\$31.8-million—the difference between the \$136.7-million addition to revenues the P.S.C. approved last February and the amount it approved yesterday.

The P.S.C. suggested that New York Telephone might have been granted a bigger rate increase if its system was working better.

USE PATTERNS VARY

Noting that telephone use patterns vary widely, a company spokesman said the interim rate increase lifted the "average" residential bill in the city from \$12 to about \$12.75 a month. The P.S.C. action yesterday could cut that figure to around \$12.60.

A spokesman for that agency said it was the first time in 15 years that the P.S.C. had ordered a refund on a provisionally approved increase.

Governor Rockefeller, who is running for re-election, ordered a reorganization of the five-man commission early this year, partly because it had come under political fire as being "too lenient" on the utilities it regulates.

REFUND IS INDEFINITE

The P.S.C. spokesman said it was "impossible to tell" precisely how much the refund would be because he did not know when the new rates would become effective.

That depends on when the utility files a new rate schedule with the P.S.C. detailing how the increase ordered yesterday will be apportioned among different classes of customers. The company was given until July 20 to do so.

If the new rates went into effect on that date, subscribers would be entitled to a refund of about \$13-million—a prorated figure covering the five months during which the interim increase applied.

If the P.S.C. decision holds up, New York Telephone customers would presumably be given the option of taking the refunds as a credit on their bills.

New York Telephone, however, intends to appeal. C. W. Owens, president, said the P.S.C. had been notified that the company would request a stay of yesterday's order and ask for a rehearing on the \$175-million rate increase it filed for 15 months ago.

The P.S.C. denied that request as "excessive" when it approved the temporary increase last February, pending a final determination of the company's needs as embodied in yesterday's decision.

A spokesman for the American Telephone Consumers Council, which represents business and residential phone customers, said the council would appeal to the State Supreme Court within a few days to have the \$104.9-million increase rescinded.

He said that former City Council President Francis X. Smith, acting as attorney for the consumer group, would challenge the phone company's bookkeeping and account practices, among other things.

The P.S.C., in a three-to-one decision to which Commissioner Edward P. Larkin dissented, took note of the company's service difficulties.

The majority said it had ordered a lower "rate of return than it could have granted" because "consumers cannot fairly be asked" to pay as much "for a poor as for a high quality of service."

Mr. Owens said the P.S.C. decision "fails to deal with today's realities," and was "based largely on 1968 conditions."

"Even with the interim rates that went into effect a few months ago," his statement continued, "we are earning only 5.75 per cent on intrastate investments. This is clearly confiscatory."

The P.S.C. order, Mr. Owens said, "would reduce the rate of earnings still further" and "deny the company the rates it needs to provide service."

The company, he continued, spent more than \$700-million on new plants last year and will spend close to \$1-billion this year.

"We need adequate rates to attract the large amounts of capital required to provide service," he said.

The P.S.C. conceded that New York Telephone's efforts to improve service have been expensive. The commission maintained, however, that the agency had put \$25-million additional into the increase approved yesterday to cover those costs.

THE STATES AND THE URBAN CRISIS

HON. GILBERT GUDE

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 6, 1970

Mr. GUDE. Mr. Speaker, the George Washington University, in cooperation with the American Assembly, recently sponsored a meeting at Airlie House to discuss and make recommendations on the question of the States and the urban crisis. Public officials, legislators, and experts on urban problems, many from Maryland, Virginia, and West Virginia, and the District of Columbia participated in the 4-day meeting, and they have produced a series of thoughtful and succinct proposals. The recommendations range from reform of the property tax, to regional planning under State auspices, to Federal revenue sharing and welfare reform. The unique problems of the District of Columbia as a congressional colony are highlighted.

I commend the report of the meeting to my colleagues as an excellent action program for dealing with urban problems:

THE STATES AND THE URBAN CRISIS

The urban crisis is real and explosive. Urgent issues, including racism and poverty, underlie the proliferating rhetoric concerned with urban problems. These issues are reflected in the stagnation and decay of major parts of every metropolitan area, the decline in many rural areas, the breakdown of critical public services, the rise in the crime rate, the difficulties of accommodating continued increase in new urban growth, and in the downward trend of public confidence in traditional democratic values and institutions. These conditions have produced a pernicious blight and social disorganization beyond the means of individual jurisdictions to cure.

The Nation is a victim of its self-indulgence. We have always assumed an unlimited supply of natural resources and capital. The objective of public policy has been to exploit resources in pursuit of unlimited growth. The new reality is that we must deal in shared liabilities and hardships. Moreover, we have let our faith in individualism and progress take the place of coherent policies and planning so that we resist all but very rudimentary restraints upon exploitation of resources by our citizens.

Several forms of response are required to gain control of the forces of change that have produced the current crisis: Federal, state, and local governments acting individually and in concert; private enterprise engaging directly in remedial activities as well as in new urban development; individuals and community groups actively participating in the development of priorities and decisions which affect their lives. However, these responses will require more than merely mechanical adjustments and constitutional changes; they will require new forms of political bargaining, a new political vitality, and creativity at every level of government.

The states have the greatest potential of unused institutional resources available for dealing with general and specific problems inherent in the urban crisis. They possess the essential powers to develop needed social and economic programs, including health care, welfare, housing, education, transportation, and environmental quality control. The states have basic authority to tax and to spend, and they can provide the context of regional scale in which many problems affecting urban areas must be considered.

The state has the responsibility to provide the form and functions of local government and the ground rules within which they operate. Imaginative use of the power to deal with urban problems has been neglected by the states themselves, the Federal establishment, and the public at large.

A realistic assessment of the states as a resource for managing the urban crisis must include a recognition of the probability that as suburban representation increases in the state legislatures, there will be a tendency to favor the interests of suburban populations. However, if we are to solve central city problems, states must ensure that no citizens are denied public benefits solely because of where they live.

In defining a proper role in the urban crisis for all levels of government, including the states, new forms must be developed that will permit cooperation between governments and between private interests and individuals in determining priorities and courses of action.

No one level of government is ideally equipped to deal with the urban crisis. For example, the states may be geographically limited in the solutions they can contribute to the problems of metropolitan areas embracing more than one state.

Assembly deliberation suggested the following measures in dealing with urban problems. These conclusions represent the top priority measures upon which consensus was reached.

1. States should formulate development policies for their own urban growth and rehabilitation efforts.
2. The administration and funding of local government services should be reoriented to coincide with those levels of government that are most appropriate to perform the functions. This could involve the separation of administration and financing for specific services.
3. States should increase their revenue base by taking larger portions of the income tax. We encourage Federal policy with respect to the income tax to evolve in such a way as to share this important resource with the states. This could include tax credits, revenue sharing, bloc grants, and direct assumption of welfare expenditures.
4. Property tax reform is required. Reform should include steps to remove its regressive impact on the poor, encouragement of proper development and use of land and structures, and establishment of uniform assessment procedures.
5. States should utilize their powers, particularly through grants-in-aid, to encourage interjurisdictional planning and governmental cooperation on a metropolitan and other area-wide levels. States should also enact enabling legislation authorizing broader cooperation among jurisdictions including interlocal cooperation and areawide planning (including interstate) development agencies and other instrumentalities to meet regional and metropolitanwide problems.
6. States should set areawide standards for education, health, housing, transportation, and other services.
7. States should upgrade the skills and sensitivity of their administrative units and political subdivisions which deal with community services and development.
8. State, as well as local regulatory func-

tions, must be free from control by the interest being regulated. This is of particular importance in controls on land use and development, in assuring access to occupations and professions under regulation, in the licensing of health and welfare organizations and facilities, and in similar functions subject to public regulation. One essential means to this end is to include consumer representation on regulatory bodies.

9. States should begin to exercise a more vigorous role in the provision of decent housing, particularly for families of low and moderate income. This role should include the provision of financial assistance, establishment of minimum housing and building codes, code enforcement, provision of basic public facilities, prohibition of exclusionary zoning, and direct participation in the assembly of land and in housing development.

10. States need enactment of a national severance tax on extractable natural resources to return revenue to the areas from which the resources have been taken. The adoption of appropriate tax policies has been inhibited by the threat of interstate competition. Such legislation would enable states and localities in parts of this three-state region to meet the demand for public services in their areas.

11. State constitutions should be modified when they inhibit the ability of states or localities to deal with contemporary problems.

This emphasis on the potential role of states should not obscure the responsibilities which are properly those of the Federal government.

The Federal government has several responsibilities with respect to the urban crisis. The states comprise a single nation, and the Federal government, in part because of the increasing mobility of its people, has a responsibility to assure all its citizens, urban and rural, equal access to an education, welfare and health services, and adequate housing in a decent neighborhood. We recommend enactment of a national growth policy under which national goals and priorities affecting the allocation of Federal resources to the urban crisis in relation to other needs can be established. Resources should be made available to those states that actively respond to urban needs, subject to explicit standards of performance and assurance that the rights of all citizens will be protected. Leadership should be provided in identifying the nature and extent of urban problems and supplying creative solutions to such problems.

The Federal government should establish and finance a uniform welfare system. The fragmentation of the public welfare programs based on a multitude of state and local agencies is both inequitable and inefficient. Under the present system, the processes of population growth and migration have placed an intolerable welfare burden on central cities in metropolitan areas and upon poor communities everywhere. In effect, these jurisdictions are required to cure a problem they did not create and cannot control.

For this regional assembly, it is important to call attention to the unique status of the District of Columbia. Although it shares the problems typical of other metropolitan areas, it is subject under the Constitution to the exclusive legislative jurisdiction of the Congress of the United States. The effects of this arrangement have been to deny the residents of the District the opportunity for self-government, to inhibit the efficient delivery of essential services, and to stifle full participation of the District with other communities in the metropolitan area in dealing with urban problems.

The problems growing out of the unique governmental structure of the District of Columbia must be raised to the level of national concern. Although we recognize a Federal interest in the National Capital,

the goals should be the attainment of self-government for the residents of the District of Columbia, including fair representation in Congress and the right to raise revenue to complement continuing Federal support.

Other national and international problems should not be allowed to divert our attention from or foreshorten our perspective on the visibility and dimension of urban problems.

DEBT OF NEW GENERATION TO THE PAST

HON. THADDEUS J. DULSKI

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 6, 1970

Mr. DULSKI. Mr. Speaker, commencement time has been with us once again. Many words have been spoken, much counsel has been offered.

The president of the Buffalo, N.Y., Evening News, Mrs. Edward H. Butler, has called my attention to the text of a commencement speech made several months ago by the president of Pennsylvania State University, Dr. Eric A. Walker.

Mrs. Butler very properly comments that it is such a timely and splendid speech that she is surprised that it went relatively unnoticed for so long.

Indeed, it is a splendid speech—as the newspaper says in its preface—seems even more appropriate today than when it was made months ago.

Mr. Speaker, following is the excellent charge to the graduates made by the university president:

NEW GENERATION'S DEBT TO THE PAST

(By Dr. Eric A. Walker)

Ladies and gentlemen of the graduating class and those who got advanced degrees. Let me extend to each of you my personal congratulations and those of the entire university on the degree you have earned today.

This ceremony marks the completion of an important phase of your life. It is an occasion in which all who know you can share in your sense of pride and accomplishment. But no one has more pride in your accomplishments than the older generation. But I am not going to tell that older generation how bright you are. Nor am I going to say we have made a mess of things and you—the younger ones—are the hope of mankind.

I would like to reverse that process. For if you of the graduating class will look over into the bleachers to your left or right, I will re-introduce you to representatives of some of the most remarkable people ever to walk the earth. People you might want to thank on this graduation day.

These are people you already know—your parents and grandparents. And, if you will bear with me for five minutes, I think you will agree that a remarkable people they are indeed. Let me tell you about them.

A LITTLE BACKGROUND

Not long ago an educator from Northwestern University by the name of Bergen Evans, a radio performer known to your parents, got together some facts about these two generations—your parents and grandparents. I'd like to share some of these facts with you.

These—your parents and grandparents—are the people who within just five decades—1919-1969—have by their work increased your life expectancy by approximately 50 percent—who, while cutting the

working day by a third, have more than doubled per capita output.

These are the people who have given you a healthier world than they found. And because of this you no longer have to fear epidemics of flu, typhus, diphtheria, smallpox, scarlet fever, measles or mumps that they knew in their youth. And the dreaded polio is no longer a medical factor, while TB is almost unheard of.

Let me remind you that these remarkable people lived through history's greatest depression. Many of these people know what it is to be poor, what it is to be hungry and cold. And because of this, they determined that it would not happen to you, that you would have a better life, you would have food to eat, milk to drink, vitamins to nourish you, a warm home, better schools and greater opportunities to succeed than they had.

BEST GENERATION EVER

Because they gave you the best, you are the tallest, healthiest, brightest and probably best looking generation to inhabit the land.

And because they were materialistic, you will work fewer hours, learn more, have more leisure time, travel to more distant places, and have more of a chance to follow your life's ambition.

These are also the people who fought man's grisliest war. They are the people who defeated the tyranny of Hitler, and who when it was all over, had the compassion to spend billions of dollars to help their former enemies rebuild their homelands. And these are the people who had the sense to begin the United Nations.

It was representatives of these two generations, who through the highest court of the land, fought racial discrimination at every turn to begin a new era in civil rights.

EDUCATION FOR EVERYONE

They built thousands of high schools, trained and hired tens of thousands of better teachers, and at the same time made higher education a very real possibility for millions of youngsters—where once it was only the dream of a wealthy few.

And they made a start—although a late one—in healing the scars of the earth and in fighting pollution and the destruction of our natural environment. They set into motion new laws giving conservation new meaning, and setting aside land for you and your children to enjoy for generations to come.

They also hold the dubious record for paying taxes—although you will probably exceed them in this.

THINGS LEFT TO DO

While they have done all these things, they have had some failures. They have not yet found an alternative for war, nor for racial hatred. Perhaps you, the members of this graduating class, will perfect the social mechanisms by which all men may follow their ambitions without the threat of force—so that the earth will no longer need police to enforce the laws, nor armies to prevent some men from trespassing against others.

But they—those generations—made more progress by the sweat of their brows than in any previous era, and don't you forget it. And, if your generations can make as much progress in as many areas as these two generations have, you should be able to solve a good many of the world's remaining ills.

It is my hope, and I know the hope of these two generations, that you find the answers to many of these problems that plague mankind.

But it won't be easy. And you won't do it by negative thoughts, nor by tearing down or belittling. You may and can do it by hard work, humility, hope and faith in mankind. Try it.

Goodbye and good luck to all of you.

TRIBUTE TO THE LATE DAN A. GREENE OF MARTINSVILLE, VA.

HON. W. C. (DAN) DANIEL

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 30, 1970

Mr. DANIEL of Virginia. Mr. Speaker, the community of Martinsville, Va., was shocked and saddened recently by the untimely death of a valued and personal friend, Mr. Dan A. Greene. Dan Greene was a man who gave of himself untiringly, unstintingly, and unselfishly for the benefit of others and in the interest of the community and the State in which he lived. His passing has left a void which will be difficult to fill.

On June 22 there appeared in the Martinsville Bulletin an editorial concerning the late Dan Greene, and I insert this in the RECORD:

DAN GREENE WILL LONG BE KNOWN FOR HIS CONTRIBUTIONS TO ALL

To say the least, our community was shocked by the news of the sudden illness and death of Dan A. Greene.

He had lived here since 1940, or for 30 years. Yet he was still a relatively young man when he died of a heart attack at the age of 54 last Friday evening.

Nonetheless, those 54 years were filled with incomparable contributions to his neighbors and friends. And they numbered in the many thousands because his work and concern embraced citizens of all ages and walks of life.

Recognized as a highly successful businessman, Dan A. Greene will be remembered longer, however, as a civic leader whose compassion and interest embraced about every facet of community life.

He was interested in our youth. This was evidenced by his activity in and support of the Boy Scout movement, his original efforts in helping to organize and continued support of baseball programs for youngsters of all ages, and his assistance in the organization of the Martinsville Recreation Association.

He was interested in the needy, as evidenced by his efforts in organizing Christmas Cheer and his subsequent election by its members as a lifetime director.

He was interested in racial harmony and community progress. He was interested in everything that stood to benefit his fellowman; and he was not only generous with his time and leadership but was equally as generous with his financial assistance to every worthwhile civic and community project.

Ebullient and gregarious, he made friends easily and warmed their hearts with his vitality and interest in their personal lives and successes.

He was both the champion of the underdog and an admirer of the qualities possessed by the true champion, whatever his field.

He was a sentimentalist and a sensitive man, particularly when and if he detected what seemed to be an intrusion of injustice, bias and prejudice or oppression and exploitation. But he was a courageous man, too, and worked against all those things with the same sort of fervor and determination that marked all his contributions to his fellowman.

He was not a good loser in that he accepted attacks on or reversals of his principles without a hard fight. He believed any game worth playing was worth winning; any project started, worth completing.

This community will miss Dan Greene—and greatly. But it has profited more than we can relate here for having had him as a citizen and neighbor for the past 30 years;

and for that, we are extremely grateful.

To his fine family, The Bulletin expresses its heartfelt sympathy, knowing that we express the sentiments of thousands and thousands of others who are appreciative of the vital part Dan Greene played in giving us a better community.

Mr. Speaker, Dan Greene was especially interested in the wholesome development of young people. Shortly before his death he delivered a speech to the youth of his area. In the address, Dan Greene discussed an aspect of the Vietnam war which is all too seldom publicized. He classified the war in Southeast Asia as merely one stage of a much longer and more extensive confrontation—the war between the free world and the Communists. This battle between ideologies has been raging in many places since the origin of the Communist doctrine. If its form has differed from time to time, the change was instituted only to serve the immediate situation. For the goal of the Communists remains that of world domination.

Mr. Speaker, I insert in the RECORD Mr. Greene's speech which he entitled "What's Right With America":

WHAT'S RIGHT WITH AMERICA

Hippies, Yuppies, new left, student unrest, radicals, SDS, beatniks, peaceniks, protesters, draft card burners, militants, anarchists, dissenters, activists—these are some of the emotion filled terms often used today in reference to the young people of the world.

As a result there is a large bridge of misunderstanding between a significant portion of our young people and many of their elders. The distrust, conflict and frustration that has seemingly grown up between the generations needs to be underscored to be resolved.

Why do we have this thing called "the generation gap" and why is there so much unrest among young people and the student class? These same questions are being asked not only in the U.S. but, in Mexico, Japan, Germany, Italy, Spain and Iran and in practically all other democratic lands around the world.

No generation has been more examined, probed or less understood than today's younger generation. Our young people are called the "Now" generation, and with good reason. They find it hard to relate to the past. They find it easier to relate to the future. They are different from any other generation that has gone before, with a difference that goes beyond the fact that they are better fed, healthier, educated and certainly more sophisticated.

We also live in an age of youth not just because there are so many young people, but because our entire society is directed towards extending youth. We have made youth the "Ideal." Youth has become a major economic, social, and political factor. Our clothes, cars, entertainment and other facets of daily living all have the youth accent.

Young people demonstrate today not only because they believe in causes, but because demonstrations work. Young people generally feel that the older generation has not done a proper job in particularly two fields—the field of world peace and that of social progress.

Certainly we see today in more articulate young people, the intellectual and sensitive ones, a preference for a more humanistic and democratic society. They are showing it in the accent on people related jobs—social science, social service, the ministry and humanities.

Unfortunately too much of the attention of our news media and some of our leaders has been directed towards the minority of our young people. The ones who through

their actions in sit-ins, violence, utter disregard for the other person's rights, their abuse of their God given freedom to destroy freedom, and other demonstrations tend to bestow a mantle of shame upon all young people. Our adult generation needs very much to reform ourselves in order to eliminate this generation gap.

Speaking as one of this so called adult generation I am asking your help and understanding as future leaders of our great country to control this radical minority that is bent on destroying everything precious in this world of ours.

Wars cannot be abolished. It is true that one of the main reasons the younger generation is so disturbed is that they never really understood the true meaning of America's presence in Southeast Asia. Likewise, many millions of citizens who have read adverse comments on the war or in the press or heard the criticisms of the administration on television are not aware of the background of the vital issues.

We all agree that the universal question today is how to end the war in Vietnam. It must be and is the major concern of our national leadership. The whole world is watching, waiting and wondering. There has never been a popular war particularly with the men who fought it. But I doubt if there has ever been a more unpopular war nor a war more criticized. But it is a war and we are in it. It is a real war to the thousands of boys who have been killed so far and it is real to their families. It is real in the sense that it is costing over 2 billion a month. It is real to the over half a million men in Vietnam and Cambodia today.

It is real to the extent of turmoil it is creating among ourselves. It is real, it is tragic. Worse still it seems to be no closer to the end than when we started, although we have been told we will be out of Cambodia by July 1st and 150,000 of our boys will be out by next year.

I don't know how many of you feel as I do that the war in Vietnam is part of a much larger and much longer war—a war between the Communists and the Free World. It was declared by the Communists. It was declared by Karl Marx before there was a Communist country in the world. It was declared by Lenin. It was waged by Stalin, it has been relentlessly waged by every communist leader since. It is being waged on many fronts in many forms. It is both a cold and a hot war. It is an economic war and a political war. It is a propaganda war and an ideological war. It is waged according to a Communist timetable on battlefields of their own choosing. It has a single objective, Communist control of the entire world. So far our generation has seen a divided Germany; a sectorized Berlin; a Russian occupation of Eastern Europe, Northern China, Poland, Hungary, Turkey, Czechoslovakia; invasion of South Korea. Missile crisis in Cuba; Algeria, and the forcing of the French to withdraw from Southeast Asia. Our determination to help free people to maintain their free institutions and their national integrity and to prevent Communism from carrying out their threat to encompass the world is without any doubt the main reason we are in this present conflict.

We are the world's one hope to contain communism until it destroys itself. We must not fall the freedom loving people throughout the world.

Everyone of us, whether we be young or old, is sickened by war. Evangelist Billy Graham in a talk recently before 3000 business leaders attending the Annual Convention of the U.S. Chamber of Commerce said "As long as we have one man in the world who hates, who has prejudice and intolerance, we have the danger of another world war that could tear civilization apart. Something is wrong with the human race that civilization has not solved, something that

culture has not solved, something that social opportunities and economic advantage have not solved. It is man who must solve the problem of himself before he can solve the problems of the world in which we live. The only solution to this dilemma is to regenerate human nature so that hate is replaced by love, intolerance by charity, so that prejudice, lust and hate are taken away and men will not fight in wars nor resort to violence."

This is easy for Billy Graham to say. But, can we actually do anything about it. First, we must realize that man must create his own happiness. A man is not mature until he relates himself to the universe. He is not educated until he has disciplined his emotions. Whenever one goes counter to the basic strong currents of life, he shall one day find that he was merely deluding himself. This challenge demands more than understanding and sympathy, more than just token performance. It demands the developing of the sense of personal responsibility and initiative to bring order to a heartsick world. However, in trying to do our personal thing to help bring about this order we must act orderly.

In every game or situation throughout life there must be a set of rules. We cannot as we call it play the game unless these rules are clearly defined and then lived up to.

Someone in authority has set out the rules and regulations of all the sports represented;—be it baseball, tennis, track or golf which we must respect in order to play correctly. Ignorance especially in this special world of sports is no excuse.

Today the word rules is a real "red flag" term to some people. They don't like "rules" and they let the world know how they feel about them.

It is human nature to resist barriers. It seems to irritate our urge or drive for self survival. Even animals don't like cages or restrictions of any sort. They want to be free. Man usually desires freedom of expression. When this is stymied he resists it in various ways. Therefore, it is easy to see why some people react unfavorably to any type of rules and regulations. In a civilized society man can be free only when he obeys laws and abides by rules.

Order makes life possible. Order is books for hats, racks for shoes, procedures for traffic and a place for everything. Order is the frame without which all values lose shape. Order is the ground beneath our feet. Those who cry for immediate and drastic changes at the time of disorder and violence should recall that without order no one can have anything. Order is rules and regulations that are so vitally necessary to preserve our liberty. The youth minority that I spoke of earlier feel that this precious liberty that we have and are fighting so hard for means doing just what they please. Don't allow them to confuse you.

The Liberty of one person ends where the liberty of other persons begins. In order to have liberty there must be responsibility and observance of laws. Rules and regulations are vitally necessary for the preservation of law and order. Any other means will lead to chaos and disorder. Liberty does not confer the privilege of infringing on the rights of others. It must be exercised within reason, kept under control. It must be within the law. As good Americans, proud of our country we must be ever ready to defend our rights, and under God, exercise our heritage as law abiding citizens.

Today the greatest thing in the world is not money, not big buildings, nor armies of atomic power but character.

When Horace Greeley was dying he exclaimed "Fame is a vapor, popularity an accident, riches take wings, those who cheer today will curse tomorrow only one thing endures, character!"

These weighty words bid all remember that life's one task is the making of manhood—

our world is a college, events are teachers, happiness is the graduating point, character is the diploma God gives man.

This world of ours needs men who can be depended upon, who puts others before themselves and who are not afraid to be counted. Those who are able to add something to the uplifting of political life, something to the brotherhood of social life, something to the practical efficiency of spiritual life, the ability to agree to disagree without being disagreeable and the good old common sense to weigh all the values before making a decision. Then and only then will we have done mankind a real service.

Life is good if we play according to the rules. But we cannot live and make ourselves better for ourselves alone. While self preservation is a fundamental instinct of human nature, consideration for others is a primary law of society. This primary law should be our doctrine in our quest and hope for the blessings of a real and lasting peace.

The noted critic John Mason Brown gave vivid testimony to the joy of service in these words and I quote: "No one I am convinced, can be happy who lives only for himself, better, more enduring and worthier than we are. People, ideas, causes—these offer the one possible escape not merely from selfishness but from the hungers of solitude and the sorrows of aimlessness."

The pitiful people are those who in their living elect to be spectators rather than participants; the tragic ones are those sightseers who turn their backs deliberately on the procession. The only true happiness comes from squandering ourselves for a purpose. In the struggle in which the free world is now engaged there is no assurance that we shall survive, unless as individual men and women we possess those qualities of character which determine, finally whether a civilization lives or whether it dies. So my friends, let's get involved, but let's remember the rules. Our future is unlimited to the extent of what we can do as civilized human beings, as good members of our community, as good Americans imbued with the doctrine of the four freedoms to further and expound the precepts and ideals of peace, brotherly love, democracy and "Whats right with America" for all mankind.

UNNECESSARY SPENDING

HON. LESTER L. WOLFF

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 6, 1970

Mr. WOLFF. Mr. Speaker, underlying all of our action here in the Congress is the question of what should be our national priorities. I, for one, feel we can cut a great deal of unnecessary spending in the Department of Defense, in public works, and other areas where billions of dollars are being wasted at a time when there is too little money for education, health care, and advancement of the arts and humanities.

Recently, I received an excellent letter from a constituent, Mrs. Carleton H. Palmer of Centre Island, in which she addressed herself to this question. I regard Mrs. Palmer's letter as a clear, direct, and forceful statement of this issue and I agree fully with her perspective.

Because Mrs. Palmer's letter go so well to the heart of this issue. I would like all my colleagues to have the benefit of her comments and, under leave to extend my remarks, I include Mrs. Palmer's letter in the RECORD at this point:

OYSTER BAY, N.Y.,
June 23, 1970.

HON. LESTER L. WOLFF,
House Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN WOLFF: May I ask you to bring to the attention of the appropriate committees in the Congress that, as a citizen of the United States and a respecter of the great traditions of our country, I condemn the excessive expenditures for space, nuclear weapons and general hullabaloo on the part of the Pentagon, which is little more than sword rattling and flag waving, a cheap exhibitionism not worthy of the great American tradition.

Meanwhile, our language is being corrupted and our young people denied the inspiration of Shakespeare and great music because taxes pay for hardware and the instruments of military bureaucracy.

You will kindly communicate this statement to the President of the United States whose duty it is to set a much finer example in a restraint of threat and a support of art.

Sincerely yours,
MRS. CARLETON H. PALMER.

STUDENT LOANS

HON. RICHARD T. HANNA

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 6, 1970

Mr. HANNA. Mr. Speaker, it is with marked concern that I have watched the recent drop in the country in student loans for higher education. Apparently, our students have been assigned a less and less favorable spot on the borrowing bench in the money market.

However, I have received encouraging news in the form of a letter from a bank in New York which shows a significant deviation from this alarming trend. It is a matter of sincere satisfaction to me to see that not all banks are curtailing their activity in this demanding market. The following letter clearly indicates that not any bank need take such a discriminatory course of action which denies our promising students the availability of financing necessary for their education:

MARINE MIDLAND BANKS, INC.
Buffalo, N.Y., June 24, 1970.

HON. RICHARD HANNA,
House Banking and Currency Committee,
Cannon House Office Building, Wash-
ington, D.C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN HANNA: There is much talk nowadays that bankers are withdrawing funds from residential mortgages and educational loans, so you might be interested that Marine Midland banks as a system is carrying residential mortgages exceeding \$330 million, an increase of some \$7 million last year, a period in which our individual savings account deposits dropped \$38 million. We are continuing to expand our support and have set a specific goal of increasing residential mortgages by more than \$22 million in 1970.

Our educational loans total in excess of \$22 million, an increase last year of 1,000 loans for \$2¼ million. In New York State only two banks (Chase and First National City, both over twice our asset size) exceed the volume of educational loans we make through the New York Higher Education Assistance Corporation; we have 5% of the commercial bank deposits and hold 7.4% of

the NYHEAC loans made by commercial banks.

Very truly yours,
ARTHUR B. ZIEGLER.

P.S.—Particularly in periods of high construction costs, many people remodel or enlarge their homes rather than move into new residences and in this respect we are presently financing over 28,000 home improvement loans for \$43 million.

PROTECT WEST'S STEEL MARKET

HON. LAURENCE J. BURTON

OF UTAH

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 6, 1970

Mr. BURTON of Utah. Mr. Speaker, I was pleased recently to have the Daily Herald in Provo, Utah, give editorial endorsement to my proposal that foreign steel imports be kept within reasonable limits and distributed equitably on a regional basis so that no one market area is unduly hurt. I plan to submit this proposal to the House in legislative form sometime this week and hope that it will be accorded favorable consideration. The supporting editorial follows:

PROTECT WEST'S STEEL MARKET

There is great merit in the proposal of Rep. Laurence J. Burton of Utah for distribution of foreign steel imports on a regional basis.

The Utah Congressman told members of the powerful House Ways and Means Committee that the concentration of Japanese steel imports on West Coast markets poses a serious threat to Utah's Geneva Works of U.S. Steel Corp.

The uniform distribution idea on imports, Rep. Burton declared, should be put into effect whether there are voluntary import quota agreements or Congress acts to set legislated quotas.

A second request made by the Utah solon proposed field hearings on import quota questions in all parts of the country. The idea seems especially pertinent insofar as the West's concern with steel imports is concerned.

Backing up his contention that steel imports should be distributed on a regional basis, Rep. Burton noted that an import tonnage into the western market, principally from Japan, will reach a new record of 3,000,000 tons in 1970. "If these predictions are correct, this would represent an increase of 100,000 tons over the 1969 import figures."

Such a boost in foreign imports would represent a serious blow, including the loss of any potential for growth of the steel industry in Utah and satellite mining operations in Utah, Wyoming and Colorado, the Utah congressman said.

The total western steel market in 1968 was 10.5 million tons, of which 2.2 million tons came from imports, leaving domestic producers about 7.7 million tons to market. Imports amounted to about 26 per cent of the total that year.

The 1970 market forecast is for a total of 9.5 million tons in the West and foreign imports, if unchecked, should take roughly 3 million tons of the total, Mr. Burton told the committee. "This would leave an available market for domestic producers of some 6.5 million tons, compared to 7.7 million tons in 1968."

Geneva Works traditionally has supplied about 25 per cent of the total western steel market for the products manufactured at the Utah County plant—structural, plate, hot rolled sheets and tubular. However, imported steel, again mostly from Japan, has grown to a point where it takes roughly 31 per cent

of the total western market, again cutting into Geneva's market share.

As the congressman pointed out, only an exceptional individual and team performance by Geneva employees to meet the challenge from overseas has enabled the plant to maintain pre-import levels of production and employment.

"Had Geneva been able to maintain its traditional 25 per cent of growth in the western steel market for products manufactured here, the production and work force at the plant could have been increased by about one-third," the Utahn argued. "This could have meant new jobs for approximately 2000 persons at the plant and in its satellite mining operations. Such an employment increase in a basic industry in Utah would have been a tremendous boost to the economy of the state and the region."

Mr. Burton made another vital point—that Japan, if successful in bidding on a proposed 48-inch pipeline designed to bring oil from new Alaskan fields to shipping or refining points, be required to include this steel as part of its voluntary quota pledge.

"It is my contention that if Japan is successful bidder on this project, such steel should definitely be included in their quota, thus freeing some portion of the market for domestic producers."

The Herald commends Congressman Burton for his strong appeal he made before the House Ways and Means Committee. Other Utah solons are to be commended also for their concern for the welfare of the steel industry in their home state.

Mr. Burton's contention that steel imports should be kept within reasonable limits and distributed equitably across the board so that no one market area is unfairly hurt seems logical and sound.

It is hoped that broad support for this point of view may be forthcoming. A healthy steel industry here in Utah and in the West depends upon it.

VFW GROUP SUPPORTS CONFLICT IN INDOCHINA

HON. JAMES H. (JIMMY) QUILLEN

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 6, 1970

Mr. QUILLEN. Mr. Speaker, through the mail I receive in my Washington and Kingsport offices, I have found that a majority of the residents of the First District approve of the way President Nixon is handling the conflict in Indochina. I also support him in his efforts to end the war there.

I also receive letters from citizens and groups from other parts of the country expressing their support of the President in this conflict.

One such expression of support came from the Graves-Ray-Stark Post 9851, Veterans of Foreign Wars, in Hendersonville, Tenn. This veterans group adopted a resolution on June 25 and will present the President with a petition signed by members of the post expressing their "total and complete" support.

For readers of the RECORD, I would like to submit a copy of their resolution and petition:

RESOLUTION

Whereas, the members of the Graves-Ray-Stark Post No. 9851, Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States of America, Hendersonville, Sumner County, Tennessee, in a regular meeting, June 25, 1970, resolved to

adopt and sponsor a Petition presented to the said Post, a Petition addressed to the President of the United States, which Petition or copy thereof, is attached hereto as Exhibit "A" to this Resolution, and further the said Petition generally providing an expression of our approval of the President and his administration's efforts to bring about an honorable peace in Indo-China and for the President to continue his efforts to preserve our freedom and democracy.

Now, therefore, be it resolved, by Graves-Ray-Stark Post No. 9851, Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States of America, Hendersonville, Sumner County, Tennessee; That said Petition, addressed to the President of the United States, attached hereto as your Exhibit "A" to this Resolution, be presented to the membership of our Post for their voluntary execution and participation and to all other interested citizens in the United States of America, and thereafter that said Petition, be presented to the President of the United States of America, his Excellency, Mr. Richard Milhous Nixon.

Be it further resolved, that our Post assume and execute the responsibility for the circulation and presentment of this Petition.

Be it further resolved, that this Post will with due diligence and dispatch, with dedication and devotion, comply with the provisions of this Resolution.

Be it further resolved, that the Petition referred to hereinabove, Exhibit "A" to this Resolution, is hereby officially adopted as our Petition and we acknowledge our sponsorship of same.

Be it further resolved, that we will urge all other Locals, the members of the Graves-Ray-Stark Post No. 9851, Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States of America, Hendersonville, Tennessee, and other citizens of the United States of America, to likewise join with us in this Petition and this Cause.

In Witness Whereof, we have hereunto set our hands and seal, this VFW Post, this the 25th day of June, 1970.

Graves-Ray-Stark Post No. 9851 VFW of the U.S.A., Hendersonville, Sumner County, Tennessee.

GRADY A. MUNDY,
Commander.

ALAN BAUSELL,
Adjutant.

PETITION

To: His Excellency, Mr. Richard Milhous Nixon, President of the United States of America.

From: The undersigned Members of VFW-Post 9851 of Hendersonville, Tennessee and other Members of Other VFW Posts and Other Citizens of the United States of America, as Their Names Appear Hereinafter.

Mr. President: We, the undersigned, wish to express to you our total and complete support of you and your administration's efforts to bring about an honorable peace for the people of Indochina. We wish and desire to encourage and urge all of the people of the world to place a greater value, emphasis, on freedom. We wish and desire that we muster and acquire the necessary self-determination as can be gained through legal and peaceful means to convince the enemies of freedom and justice, and those who are subconsciously or ill-advisedly or through inadvertence, that their cause is without hope and can never be accomplished or realized.

We wish to assure you of our support and approval of your efforts and that of your administration to restore peace at home and abroad and your efforts to develop, acquire a sense of direction in meeting the problems on our domestic scene, particularly in our colleges and universities and among the different races of the people of this great nation and between the more economically fortunate and unfortunate.

We urge you, Mr. President, and your ad-

ministration to seek always a fair and honorable agreement and solution for all concerned; however, we also urge you to stand firm for what you believe to be in the best interest of a free people, a free democracy, and for what you believe is acceptable in the Eyes of our Creator.

We know the price of appeasement and we want none of it.

We know the price of expediency and we will have none of it.

We know the price of moral and social decay and we seek to resist it with all our powers and to align ourselves on God's Side.

Mr. President, we will support you in every way as long as we are convinced you are working and fighting for freedom of choice and for our betterment and the betterment of all people, be it morally, socially, economically, or politically. Keep us on your side by resisting all pressures and forces of evil in whatever disguise, and may God be with you in your office. Our freedom, our democracy, cannot and must not be compromised or placed in jeopardy!

CALIFORNIA'S FARMWORKERS ARE WINNING THEIR LONG STRUGGLE FOR RECOGNITION OF ECONOMIC RIGHTS

HON. EDWARD R. ROYBAL

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 6, 1970

Mr. ROYBAL. Mr. Speaker, this morning's edition of the Washington Post carried a front-page story entitled, "California Grape Growers Signing With Once Hated Union," written by Staff Writer Leroy F. Aarons, and datelined Delano, Calif.

The article reveals one of the most heartening stories in American life today—the approaching victory of California's agricultural workers in achieving their goal of full recognition of the economic rights of farmworkers everywhere to a decent life, decent working conditions, and an income level sufficient to enable them to live and support their families in dignity.

Although many people in California, and across the country, have contributed to this achievement, certainly the major share of credit goes to the outstanding qualities of leadership, sincere personal dedication and steady perseverance of Mr. Cesar Chavez of the United Farmworkers Organizing Committee.

Through the long years of struggle it has been Cesar Chavez, more than anyone else, who led the lonely, difficult, and often dangerous effort to end, once and for all, America's harvest of shame.

Mr. Speaker, I include the text of this most significant article from the Washington Post in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD at this point:

CALIFORNIA GRAPE GROWERS SIGNING WITH ONCE HATED UNION

(By Leroy F. Aarons)

DELANO, CALIF.—All over California's grape country, growers have been signing contracts with the once-despised United Farmworkers Organizing Committee.

On a recent day, for example, a huge agricultural combine owned by Tenneco Inc., representing 11,000 acres of grapes and 1,200 acres of plums, signed with the AFL-CIO union. And on the same day, a disputed elec-

tion of workers in the Coachella Valley was held again and came out overwhelmingly in favor of the union—bringing in another 1,400 acres.

At one point in the last days of June, contracts were being signed at the rate of three or four a day. By the middle of last week, UFWOC had signed roughly 70 per cent of the Coachella Valley grapes, 60 per cent in the Arvin-Lamont country around Bakersfield and—as a kind of bonus—nearly half of the grapes in Arizona.

Still largely a holdout, however, is Delano in the San Joaquin Valley, the heart of California's table grape industry and the place where the grape strike started. Delano (pronounced de-LAY-no) accounts for about 60 per cent of the table grapes shipped from the state. But the harvest won't reach Delano until mid-July. Then, when the crunch is on, UFWOC will know whether it is within reach of total victory.

After five years of struggle, it now appears that victory over the grape growers will come to Cesar Chavez's ragtag army of farm laborers, hippies, clergymen and housewives—if not this year, then next. In addition, the movement already is moving into plums, peaches, melons and other products in the state's cornucopic agricultural industry.

"Within two years," predicts one major grower, "the whole state will be organized on most commodities."

This is all the more impressive when one considers that Chavez is succeeding in a state in which agriculture is not only the biggest business (\$4 billion a year gross, a billion more than the nearest competitor, Iowa), but in which agriculture is intimately linked with the oil industry, the banks, the government and the University of California.

HAS UGLY HISTORY

Moreover, he is succeeding in a state which has an ugly 100-year history of exploitation and of violence against a succession of ethnic minorities imported to harvest crops—first the Chinese, then Japanese, Hindus, Filipinos and finally Mexicans and Mexican Americans.

What accounts for the union's recent victories? There was, of course, the impact of moral suasion, the fasts, the eliciting of liberal and new left support, the sophisticated assistance of AFL-CIO organizers like William Kircher, and the crucial high-level committee of Catholic bishops. But all of this by itself would have had little effect on the growers—who themselves spent several hundreds of thousands on an anti-union publicity campaign. What turned it around was the one thing farmers, as businessmen, really understand—economics. The grape boycott squeeze was threatening to put them out of the grape business.

Many of the holdout growers still pretend that the boycott has not been a success. (Their current literature quotes "market sources" as confirming that the boycott "has had little over-all effect.")

But Lionel Steinberg, the large Coachella grower who last April broke the growers' united front by signing with the union, said recently: "The Coachella growers collectively lost \$3 million last year, primarily the result of the boycott. That represented a 10 per cent loss on their capital investment. Thirty-three growers went out of business."

PRICES ARE UP

This year, said Steinberg, grapes shipped from unionized farms in Coachella are getting \$1 to \$2 a box more than non-union grapes did last year. "The present prices—if they hold—insure a return of the cost of production and a reasonable return on the investment," Steinberg said.

The success of union label grapes on the national market has had two effects—it has served to reinforce the boycott workers in the cities, and has brought increased pressure on holdout growers to sign with the union. Instrumental to that success has been

the boycott's ability to clear non-union grapes from the counters of most of the nation's large chains. Boycott pressure (coercion, say the growers and some chain officials, like those of Jewel Tea in Chicago) has led Giant in Washington, Acme in Philadelphia and most chains in the New York and Chicago areas either to drop grapes entirely or stock only union grapes. According to one grower, 80 per cent of California's food produce is marketed in the chains, and their impact has been enormous.

The grape boycott began in 1967, when the union realized it could not win through its strike efforts in the fields. At first the going was slow. But by last February, when UFWOC officials, other union people and non-union strategists met in Santa Barbara to assess and plan for the future, Chavez knew that the growers were hurting.

"The first solid indication was at the end of 1968 when the growers began to ship less pre-sold grapes and more on consignment," said Chavez, who was interviewed last week at a retreat rented by the UFWOC in the beautiful Techachapi mountains.

A short, modest, gentle-eyed man with a quality of inner tranquility, Chavez added that by the end of 1969, "we saw that prices were going down rapidly."

"We began to get reports from workers on the farms that things weren't going well. More grapes were being held in cold storage, we were able to stop grapes from being loaded on ships, and we began to knock out some of the large chains."

"We are very confident that something would have to happen this year."

BOYCOTT BEEFED UP

To make sure, UFWOC beefed up its boycott operations in early spring. It increased the number of cities with full-time workers from 41 to 55, with volunteer organizations in about 200 others.

Boycotts costs went up from \$20,000 to \$30,000 dollars a month. The Rev. Jim Drake of the California migrant ministry, who was assigned to "close out" New Jersey; and other top workers were dispatched. The UFWOC headquarters, a mile outside Delano, was left virtually deserted.

One way in which the boycott worked was described by Kit Ericsa, former teacher who heads the operation in San Mateo County, south of San Francisco. "In San Mateo there is a social justice group in the Catholic church; each person is responsible for checking on three or four stores. Once a box of scab grapes shows up, they contact us. If it's a chain, I contact other cities. We then go to the store and ask to see their boxes. If there are scab grapes, we hold rallies, we do all the usual pressure things. Most often the scab grapes disappear pretty fast."

Now growers who called Chavez a Communist and his movement Marxist-inspired are urging their workers to ratify contracts they have already signed with the union.

Beyond that, some growers, convinced that resistance to inevitable unionization is bad business, are actively recruiting among their holdout colleagues. Hollis Roberts, a major San Joaquin grower-manager, who recently placed 48,000 acres of holdings (mostly non-grape) under union jurisdiction, said frankly:

"I'm encouraging grape growers to join. I've been calling and talking to the farmers. The farms are in a depression as a result of this boycott, and I believe values would go up \$500 an acre in 30 days if everybody joined."

MOVE FOR CONTROL SEEN

To the holdout farmers, the picture is not so optimistic, said John Guimarra Sr., one of 11 Giumarras who jointly run one of the largest grape vineyards in Delano (Tipp-acres):

"If this outfit is successful, it will be one of the saddest days for America. It's not a question of wages, it's a question of harness-

ing all of agriculture and ultimately taking a bigger chunk of the consumer's check for food. I think Chavez is looking to get control of agriculture in the United States, and this is the jumping off place."

To the Giumarras, all the traditional arguments made against unionism in the 1930s would hold true for agriculture. They predict the disappearance of the small grower and the takeover by big combines that would decide food prices in concert with the union—in short, the coming of auto industry economics and the destruction of free competition in food markets.

California farm wages, which were \$1.10 to \$1.25 an hour when the strike started in 1965, were higher than in almost any other farm state. (They are now up to \$1.75 on union farms, and the holdouts have gone up to match.)

Moreover, the table grape growers are mostly smallish family firms, built up from next to nothing, and, in Delano, run primarily by farmers of Yugoslav and Italian descent. They are conservative but not Birchite, paternalistic, and desperately fearful of union encroachment on their independence.

Finally conceding that some form of unionism is inevitable, the holdout growers are trying to push legislation that would introduce it in its most hospitable form. A bill by Sen. George Murphy (R-Calif.) would rule out secondary boycotts and strikes at harvest time.

On the other side, union leaders who for years had sought to end the exclusion of farmworkers from labor legislation are now opposing any kind of legislation for fear that it could be used as a union-busting device in agriculture.

With the bill stalemated, the growers have come up with a proposal, ostensibly and belatedly originated by Gov. Ronald Reagan, for state-supervised elections in the table grape industry.

RESPONSE IS "PHOOEY"

The union response was quick and sharp. "Phooey," said Larry Itliong, the tart Filipino who is assistant director of UFWOC. "We asked for elections five years ago and they told us we didn't represent anybody. Why should we give them two bites of the apple after five years of struggle" (Filipinos, incidentally make up a large if rarely mentioned minority of farmworkers who migrated here in the 20s and 30s. Barred until 1948 from marrying white women, most of them are aging bachelors.)

When and if the battle is won, there are huge problems ahead. The union is becoming the hiring agent for all unionized farms, eliminating the long-time institution of the labor contractor. There is also the task of winning over the workers still suspicious or openly hostile to the union. Finally, and vitally important, there is the job of helping the ailing grape industry to recover.

One large grower who recently signed with the union described the situation now as "chaotic." "They are rank amateurs," he said. "It will take them five years to know what they're doing. Trying to hire 10-15-20,000 workers a day, they're just not geared for it. They're not providing workers; we're using the same guys we had before the contract."

Chavez, in his immutable way, did not seem concerned about the job ahead. "My first hope," he said, "is that the remaining table grape growers will come to their senses. That will give us time to turn the boycott around, publicize the grapes, create more jobs and get the industry back on its feet again. Then we will have our people home again and get together with their families and plan what to do next."

He sees the flame started by the grape strike spreading everywhere, and does not rule out the possibility of a general agricultural strike nationally.

"Workers have lost the fear of employers.

There have already been strikes in melons, plums and peaches," he said.

"I guess the time is ripe. We've won the major battle. The idea has been firmly implanted in the minds of people. The other is just a matter of time."

SCIENCE AND THE QUALITY OF OUR ENVIRONMENT

HON. PAUL N. McCLOSKEY, JR.

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 6, 1970

Mr. McCLOSKEY. Mr. Speaker, the Director of U.S. Geological Survey, Dr. William Pecora, recently spoke to the graduating class at George Washington University. His words are worthy of careful consideration, and I commend them to my colleagues:

SCIENCE AND THE QUALITY OF OUR ENVIRONMENT

(By W. T. Pecora)

I want to talk to you about a new ethic that is developing in American science. I hope it is not a fad and will persist in future years. Scientists who years ago merely looked out of the windows of their ivory towers are now walking down the steps to join the world around them.

Primitive man took what he could from nature to stay alive, and he stood in awe at natural phenomena he could not understand. From this precarious beginning evolved a complex society which still takes from nature to fulfill its needs. In some quarters, man is now indicted for all his environmental ills; and yet in others, it is held that nature must be shaped as man requires it.

The ability to maintain an acceptable environment, however, can be hindered by failure to recognize fundamental earth processes. Environmental degradation is a natural procedure on earth; but man is beginning to contribute to that degradation in large measures in certain areas. Not all modification of our environment is degrading. Some alteration is acceptable. Hazardous changes must certainly be avoided. It is inexcusable that we should fail to predict responses of nature consequent to our own actions. Man has begun to develop an awareness that better housekeeping of the earth must be practiced as he continues to take from the earth the things he needs and uses.

MAN IS EARTHBOUND

For some 5 billion years the planet Earth has revolved about the sun; and there is good reason to believe its journey will extend beyond another 5 billion years. Throughout this period the earth has undergone constant change—mountains have risen where oceans formerly existed; animal and plant species have flourished and become extinct; earthquakes and volcanoes have always been with us; rivers and plains have appeared and reappeared; and glaciers have covered large segments of the planet many times. Although on Earth but a few million years at the most, man has in the past 200 years unraveled a great deal of earth history and learned how to use the planet to meet his growing needs for survival.

As earthbound residents, we look constantly, nevertheless, to other planets. The moon, satellite of the earth, has already been visited and found to be totally hostile to man. The surface of Venus is too hot for us, and Mars offers little, if any hope. The other planets are out of the question. Man, indeed, is earthbound and we must learn to accept this inescapable circumstance however great our expectations.

WHAT IS THE MEASURE OF PROGRESS?

Man has achieved phenomenal advance over 10,000 years in the face of a world population increase from a few million then to 3½ billion today. The complex development of society over this period was accomplished because man has an intellect that could innovate, plan, acquire information, store it, pass it along to succeeding generations, and increase the level of his systemic intellect through research and development.

Man now truly inhabits the entire planet. He has crossed mountains and oceans, explored the poles, and burrowed deeply underground. The primitive observer of nature has developed into the creative scientist of modern society. Those quinquereemes of Ninevah have developed into sleek jet aircraft; simple mathematical devices that were developed separately in different civilizations have grown into complex modern computer systems; signal drums have blossomed into telecommunications systems that link hemispheres. Real time for man now has real meaning. Status quo may have meaning for other species on earth; but for man there is no status quo because of his intellectual capability.

RESOURCE NEEDS OF THE UNITED STATES

Let's take a look at the mineral resource needs of the society that makes up the United States of America. Within the life span of 200 million people now living in the United States, this nation will consume from the earth: 6½ quadrillion gallons of water; 7½ billion tons of iron ore; 1½ billion tons of aluminum ore; 1 billion tons of phosphate rock; 100 million tons of copper; and so forth. . . .

In 40 years, our population will double. Just think of the added requirements of the next generation!

Water usage will triple by the year 2000.

Energy requirements will triple by the year 2000.

By the year 2000 we will have to construct as many houses and other facilities as now exist in the United States.

This staggering amount of natural mineral resources upon which the sustenance of the Nation depends imposes a tremendous task of new discovery, and new development. How can we do this without changing the character of our environment; for society must also provide against excessive noise, excessive pollution, and excess degradation of the landscape, water-scape, and sea-scape.

If this be the situation for the United States, certainly resource needs for the rest of the world command even greater attention. Developing nations seek fulfillment in health and economic betterment. The crust of the earth which provides these resources is worldwide and knowledge about it gained in one country can be used to good advantage by scientists and engineers in others. Does the crust of the earth have the potential to provide for man's needs? The problem for mankind is universal—planetary—not national. War must cease and man's society must one day be planetized if the species, *Homo sapiens*, shall persist on this earth.

If we must therefore take from the earth to provide for ourselves we must employ value judgment and trade-off concepts in deciding how much to take from our environment, where to take it, and how to leave it in the taking and using. Take and use we must or we cannot survive as a species on earth.

THE NEED FOR INVENTORY

If the earth shall provide the materials for survival of man's society, then a prudent society must provide for an intimate understanding of the earth, inquiry into geologic processes that have operated over the span of earth history—and operate today—continuing inventory of current and potential resources, and continuing effort to develop new techniques for information-gathering

systems. Research is a costly investment; but it pays off handsomely in long term benefits. Too often a society thinks only of "now." The cumulative benefit of early research endeavors, on hindsight, is a superb demonstration that today's long term is tomorrow's short term. Time, for man, is a long continuum.

The best example of this is the research mapping systems that have been developed in the past. These include base topographic maps, geologic maps, hydrologic maps, geophysical maps, geochemical maps, and thematic, environmental, special subject maps. All of these are the products of intensive research effort. I am concerned that the pace of doing this kind of work has slowed down in recent years and I predict that our society will suffer for it because decisions will be made without background information. Our program priorities will have to be reordered because of increasing needs and resource conflicts of a World society that has a divine right under God to utilize our planet's total natural resources and to better the lot of man on earth.

PRIMARY NATIONAL GOALS

The United States, from its very inception, has been accused of placing too much emphasis upon the accumulation of wealth and too much effort in raising, through industry, its so-called standard of living. This view was first stated unequivocally in 1831 by Alexis de Tocqueville, a French Nobleman who visited this country when it had 24 states and 13 million people. Similar views are being stated today, as we have grown to 50 states and 200 million people. The American democracy and its free enterprise system is a great and successful experiment, the first of its kind in the history of civilization. I, personally, see nothing wrong with dedication of individuals, or groups, toward amassment of wealth through honest industry. But in the process of achieving these goals our mature society unwittingly, or knowingly, has permitted deterioration of other values, not measurable in dollars or numbers, and which affect the quality of individual life in many ways. Has the growth of science and technology in discovery and utilization of our basic resources failed in some ways and in many places to retain or fortify man's natural environment, or was the failure a result of inadequate planning—or perhaps too much of economics?

SOME MYTHS ABOUT OUR ENVIRONMENT

It is believed by many people in this country that it is man who is degrading and polluting his environment because of our modern industrial society. Some myths, however, need to be destroyed. Let me cite a few to demonstrate that natural processes are by far the principal agents in modifying our environment. This is not to excuse or put aside what man does, but rather to put man's actions in proper natural perspective. Those individuals who speak about restoring our inherited environment of pure air, pure rain, pure rivers, pure lakes, and pure coastlines never had a course in geology.

It has been calculated that more than 100 million tons of fixed nitrogen in the form of ammonia and nitrates is annually transferred from the atmosphere to the surface of the earth as part of a natural precipitation process. In the United States alone there falls upon the face of our land annually more than 4 million tons of table salt, 2½ million tons of sodium sulphate, and 36 million tons of calcium compounds—all in rain water.

Particulate matter and natural gases dispersed from the volcanoes is a continuing phenomenon. From three eruptions alone, the Krakatau eruption in Java (1883), the Mount Katmai eruption in Alaska (1912), and the Hekla eruption in Iceland (1947) were particulate matter in the form of dust and ash and more combined gases were

ejected into the atmosphere than from all of mankind's activity. Add to known volcanic activity the normal action of winds, forest fires, and evaporation from the sea, and we can readily conclude that man is an insignificant agent in the total picture, although he is becoming an important agent in extremely local context.

We have long been led to believe that water issuing from natural springs is pure and beneficial to health because of its purity. The springs issuing into the Arkansas and Red Rivers carry 17 tons of salt per minute. In the Lower Colorado River salt springs carry 1,500 tons of salt per day. The Lemonade Springs in New Mexico carry 900 pounds of sulphuric acid per million pounds of water (900 ppm) which is ten times the acid concentration of most acid mine streams in the country. Hot Springs in Yellowstone Park is likewise many times more acidic than the typical acid stream in a coal mining district. The Azure Yampah spring in Colorado contains eight times the radium that the Public Health Service sets as a safe limit.

The lakes and ponds throughout geologic history have gone through a life cycle of birth, maturity, old age, and disappearance. No lake is truly permanent. The Great Salt Lake is nearing its dying stages. Once 20,000 sq. mi. in area, (Lake Bonneville), it is now only 950 sq. mi. in area. Many thousands of years ago it was essentially a fresh water lake, fed during the pluvial period of the Great Ice Age, and now it is about ten times as salty as sea water.

We frequently hear that Lake Erie is dead. This is pure rubbish. Lake Erie is the shallowest of the Great Lakes, was created 10,000 to 20,000 years ago and, barring another Ice Age, has several thousands of years yet to go before senility. The western part of the lake is an extremely shallow shelf and receives a large amount of natural organic material transported from the surrounding terrain. Here is where the algae growth has always been present. Lake Erie, according to J. E. Kinney, has continually produced about 50% of the fish catch of the entire Great Lakes system, consistently over the past 100 years. This is not a mark of a dead lake. Green Bay, Michigan, so named by the first settlers because of the green color of the algae so prevalent in the Bay is, like the western shallow part of Lake Erie, the source of a great amount of organic matter—and fish! The food supply for aquatic life is high in these environments. The oxygen supply, unfortunately, diminishes as algae growth increases, as this portion of the lake becomes more and more shallow and as organic material is swept into the water, whether from natural or human sources. Every lake or pond, whether natural or man-made, faces a similar life history. Shallow estuaries—likewise. This is the natural law.

The rivers of our Nation are being called dirty because of the works of man. We must understand that rivers are the natural transport systems for sediment and humus (organic matter) washed downhill by the rains that fall upon the land. It is estimated that the Mississippi River carries into the Gulf a load of more than 2 million tons of sediment per day. This is equivalent to a daily load of 40,000 freight cars. The Paria River in Arizona is probably the dirtiest river in the world. It carries 500 times as much sediment as the Mississippi River per unit volume of water. This is a continuing condition year after year. Chemicals are also transported by streams in phenomenal amounts. The Brazos River of Texas, for example, transports 25,000 tons of dissolved salt per day. Peace Creek in Florida carries twice the concentration of fluoride that is harmful to teeth. Many rivers and streams throughout the Nation have

natural qualities that do not meet the public health standards for drinking water.

The ocean has been the natural waste sink for the large-scale, natural pollution process of the earth. The character of the ocean itself has changed slowly throughout geologic time, while it has continually supported abundant life of all varieties.

MAN AS A GEOLOGIC AGENT

It must be quite evident that, although natural earth processes dwarf the actions of man in a total context, man can become a major geologic agent in a specific or local context. This inter reaction of man with nature is without question a most important issue of future years. In a society that has reached maturity in the industrial sense, the issue of environmental alteration becomes more and more acute. It is within this framework that certain actions 100 or 200 years ago are now considered sinful. What are some solutions to our dilemma?

The philosophy of engineering project cost is being modified to allow for certain actions which in the past were not factored into our cost analyses. A mineral resource, for example, should not be developed unless it is rich enough to support proper restoration or reutilization of the land. A major pipeline traversing Alaska some 800 miles should not be constructed without added safeguards to protect the natural environment. Offshore drilling for petroleum should not be endorsed without the added cost of providing maximum safeguard against pollution. Cities and industries should not use the water available from natural sources without factoring in the cost of returning the water to a usable state. The smokestacks of our refineries and energy plants must not use materials that put unwanted matter into our air. The science and technology which has made possible the great advance of mankind can surely pay attention to these matters and resolve them.

Who will bear the cost, however? Who will make the policy decisions? We know that government agencies have been urged by the people to regulate these matters, but who will pay the cost, I ask, for what I am convinced science and technology can do to ameliorate the situation. It must be the people. Whether through their tax participation or whether it be in the higher cost of a product, the people must pay the cost both in dollars and in acceptable landscape changes for taking from the environment what mankind needs. We who represent science and technology should be able to show how resources can be utilized with minimal alteration or degradation of the environment. We can do this, however, only by making a complete inventory of cause and effect—in other words—spelling out our costs and trade offs in more than just dollars.

A LOOK TO THE FUTURE

We find ourselves in the midst of a conflict between the need to develop the earth's resources and the desire to preserve the earth's environment—both, presumably, for the salvation of mankind. Industrial development has become synonymous with Wall Street; and American industry, envied around the world, is in trouble within its own country because of past abuses to the environment in the name of lowest cost. Profit has become an ugly word and the concept of science and engineering, once honored as a service to mankind, is now being ridiculed in many places.

Must one choose between the two concepts or can one seek balance as we move into the future? The first judgment must distinguish between danger and aesthetics; because change is inevitable in any developing society. The pace of change is a function of the choice of people, as it should be, if the people will speak out. Let us think about the words of Lowell in his tribute to Cromwell:

"New times demand new measures and new men;

The World advances, and in time outgrows
The laws that in our father's day were best;
And doubtless, after us some better scheme
Will be shaped out by wiser men than we,
Made wiser by the steady growth of truth."

INFINITY

HON. BARRY M. GOLDWATER, JR.

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 6, 1970

Mr. GOLDWATER. Mr. Speaker, recently, an excellent article was printed in the California Van Nuys News and Green Sheet, written by long-time writer Bill Deming. His column "Infinity" in the May 17th edition of the paper is a rational description of the campus problem as it now exists in California. I, therefore, wish to insert this article for the benefit of my colleagues:

INFINITY

(By Bill Deming)

Nation should be aware that:

"Students, on whom much of the academic uproar is blamed, are victims of the moral and intellectual climate prevailing on campus. Thanks to the statutory draft exemption for college students, coupled with generous U.S. financial assistance, the groves of academe are overpopulated, and qualified teaching personnel is scarce.

"Moreover, facilities and administrators agree that their institutions no longer should act 'in loco parentis'—students are considered adults, acting on their own responsibility. Since, all over the land, college presidents and professors preach 'militancy,' young men and women risk life and limb on campuses turned into battlegrounds.

"Such militancy mirrors the way most faculty members in the humanities are recruited. Americans for Democratic Action, a group devoted to the denigration of the U.S., has become the chief employment agency for professors.

"Hence indoctrination rather than education prevails in most academic institutions. Last week, academic spokesmen finally claimed their students must be free to condemn the U.S. government, but the latter must stop replying. No wonder that an abyss has opened between 'town and gown.'" From Barron's "The World at Work," May 11, 1970.

QUESTION: ARE YOU INTERESTED IN WHAT YOUR EDUCATIONAL DOLLAR BUYS?

For many years, I have written Infinity with a continuing consciousness of two factors in our higher educational system that is supported by state and local taxes, pleading for both attention and action. One has been the increased radicalism of many university and college instructors and the other the absolute unaudited waste of public money.

Until Gov. Reagan assumed office, no top public official seemed even aware of the professors who not only taught treason, but compounded their philosophy by the consequential deaths of American servicemen in Vietnam.

There can be no doubt but that tens of thousands of young Americans died at the hands of an enemy encouraged by these outspoken traitors. Only Reagan has attempted to expose and remove them, and you must be aware of his frustration by that thing called "academic freedom"!

The waste of educational tax dollars has

been the subject of many an Infinity column—and I join the Governor in a feeling of frustration for so deeply hidden from general view are the expenditures deserving of public examination, that effective criticism is difficult.

When the Governor first demanded tuition to cover a part of the costs of study at the universities and state colleges, I said he had failed to do his homework.

I strongly support tuition for certain areas of higher learning but for those whose destiny lies in a future contribution to the economy of these United States—in plain words, for those men and women who seek a higher education for the direct purpose of earning a living and ultimately paying taxes to support the institutions which prepared them for their career—I would never demand tuition for their studies.

This does not mean that I would deny anyone the privilege of studying under UCLA's Donald Kalish or Angela Davis or spending years learning all about medieval dancing and folklore—but not in a tax supported university.

If the good professor can find time to devote to scholarship rather than the organization of riots, perhaps he might head a new university system not obligated to the taxpayers.

Actually, what I mean about public supported higher learning is clearly expressed by publisher William Randolph Hearst Jr. in a recent study of California State Polytechnic College up near San Luis Obispo. He notes that Cal Poly . . . has a remarkable achievement record. Only five years ago it was a relatively small college with an enrollment of about 5000 . . .

He then observes, "Today it is a full-fledged state institution with an enrollment of nearly 12,000. Its faculty and staff number more than 1400. It has schools of agriculture, architecture, journalism, applied arts, applied science, engineering and business, among others.

"Unlike so many other colleges and universities, the whole academic emphasis is on preparing students for specific practical careers upon graduation. The students begin majoring in the subject of their choice as freshmen, rather than as juniors, and have very few opportunities to take what are known elsewhere as elective snap courses in various theories."

Isn't this really what a public paid education should be? Must we provide tax supported training grounds for anarchy? I think not. I am sick and tired and beyond patience with listening to campus echoes of Moscow—originated plans for the destruction of these United States.

THE CONTROL OF SEA NETTLES

HON. WILLIAM V. ROTH, JR.

OF DELAWARE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 6, 1970

Mr. ROTH. Mr. Speaker, I would like to explain my vote on H.R. 12943. Although little is known about sea nettles or "jellyfish," those of us from coastal States are well aware of the harm which these animals cause each year. In Delaware, the problem is particularly acute during the summer months when the summer sea nettle appears in abundance. Perhaps some of the Members have encountered these nettles during their trips to Rehoboth Beach and the other recreation areas of Delaware. The animal appears most commonly as an umbrella-shaped object floating innocently in the

water. The tentacles which dangle from the sea nettle's body, however, are loaded with poison barbs which can kill small animals within seconds. Fortunately, the sea nettles found on the coast of Delaware are not lethal enough to kill a human; they can, however, cause brief periods of intense pain, followed by unsightly red welts.

The presence of large numbers of sea nettles in ocean waters effectively prevents use of these areas for recreation. Equally important, the sea nettles deprive businessmen of untold revenues. Because there is no known method of controlling jellyfish, their annual invasions affect large segments of the economy and the population. In addition to causing pain and suffering, the jellyfish can clog water intakes, nets, lines, and many other types of underwater equipment.

Mr. Speaker, it is apparent that much time and study must be invested to find a useful way of controlling the ubiquitous jellyfish. Much knowledge has already been gained since 1966 when this program was enacted. I hope that all Members will vote for this legislation, and thus insure eventual control of the jellyfish and other such pests.

HONOR AMERICA DAY

HON. ROBERT PRICE

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 6, 1970

Mr. PRICE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, the Honor America Day ceremonies here in Washington and across the Nation were a great success. They were graphic and dramatic demonstrations of the love that Americans have for our country, our institutions, and our form of government.

Here in Washington hundreds of thousands of Americans participated in Honor America Day ceremonies. Throughout the day and evening, the festivities were marked by occasional disruptions by intemperate individuals. These people and the organizations that support them were blind to the fact that their personal rights of dissent depend directly on society's granting them freedom of expression. For it is only with free expression that dissent can be voiced.

This same freedom of expression which permits dissent also permits those who have faith in society and believe in its processes of government to voice their feelings also. Thus, by trying to deny to the vast numbers of Americans their right to express their love for their country, the dissenters were, in effect, proclaiming their disdain for the freedom of expression which gives rise to their ability to dissent from Government practices and policies they disagree with.

In essence then Mr. Speaker, I hope that in the aftermath of Honor America Day all Americans whether they agree with or disagree with current Government policies will realize that preserving freedom of expression and observing the rights of others are cardinal values that

must be cherished if any American is to be able to freely voice his point of view.

SECRETARY HARDIN ADDRESSES NATIONAL NEWSPAPER ASSOCIATION

HON. FRED SCHWENGL

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 6, 1970

Mr. SCHWENGL. Mr. Speaker, I recently had the pleasure of being in Iowa with Secretary of Agriculture Clifford Hardin. We were honored to have the Secretary in the Great State of Iowa, the breadbasket of the Nation.

The Secretary was in Iowa to address the National Newspaper Association's annual meeting in Des Moines. The Secretary's address was an excellent review of major problems facing agriculture in the Midwest. I would like to share the address with my colleagues, as follows:

ADDRESS OF SECRETARY OF AGRICULTURE
CLIFFORD M. HARDIN

It is a pleasure to be with you today. No communications medium is closer to agriculture than small newspapers—most of you share with the Department of Agriculture our direct concern for the farm economy. Those of you who publish in rural communities serve the same constituents that we do. There is indeed mutuality of interest.

I was glad to learn, accordingly, that my good friend, your President Jack Lough, appointed a joint committee of NNA and the American Newspaper Representatives to work with the Department of Agriculture toward achieving closer relations and developing areas of mutual interest. I believe that such collaboration can prove to be of benefit to the people we all serve.

To take the wide view, the goals of agriculture are vitally important to your entire membership—publishers in urban areas have as much at stake as their rural colleagues in the preservation of a sound, strong home base for agriculture.

I should like to touch on a few of the more significant matters that have to do with strengthening the base of agricultural capability—a base of programs which will continue to assure an abundance of food at reasonable prices and which, indeed, can eliminate hunger from our land.

This base also underlies the vast agribusiness complex—the industries that sustain jobs for millions of people, many of them in cities, as they transform agricultural commodities into consumer products.

One of our immediate objectives in strengthening that base is to obtain new farm legislation, because the statutory life of several major programs expires this year.

We have been working with the Congress many months to evolve a farm bill that will be as widely acceptable as possible in light of the divergent positions of major farm groups. I am confident a good law will be passed.

The bill which is still in committee and which the Administration is anxious to support will provide for total payments to farmers at approximately current levels. It will give the individual farmer more flexibility in deciding what crops he will grow, and will provide greater opportunity to develop foreign markets and recover some of the export business that has slipped in recent years, especially in cotton and wheat. At the same time, cotton and feed grain producers are given the opportunity to benefit from increased prices in the market place.

Farm income needs to be enhanced in the

years ahead, and I feel confident the proposed legislation, known as Committee Print 7, will make this possible.

The matter of farm prices and farm income is crucial. Even though farm income has improved somewhat during the past year, returns for labor and for capital invested in agriculture remain far below those of the rest of the economy. Somehow, somehow, we need to convince our urban friends that effective farm programs are essential if farmers are to participate equitably in the benefits of our expanding technology.

You can help greatly with this; and you can help also by putting the story of food prices in better perspective. Although retail prices of food have been rising, it is significant that they have not advanced as much as other items in the cost of living index, but it is hard for many people to accept that fact.

Many shoppers may not fully appreciate the values they are getting in terms of available abundance, wholesomeness, variety, and built-in convenience. These are factors you can help point out.

Or to put it another way, food prices simply have not gone up as rapidly in the past decade as individual incomes. This is evidenced by the fact that the average United States consumer can buy his family's food supply for 16½ percent of his income after taxes—the lowest percentage it has ever been in this country and lower, by a substantial margin, than for any country in the world.

Much of this has been accomplished by the remarkable efficiencies that have been built into our great food industry. For this, agricultural people can take pride. But to the extent that it has occurred through reduced farm incomes, we must try to obtain corrective action.

Speaking from a platform in the Midwest almost dictates that I make reference to the perplexing boxcar shortage. Some of you may be interested to learn that a major railroad is taking steps to help cope with the situation.

As of June 20, the Rock Island road started expanding its "substituted truck for rail car service" on bulk grain in Kansas and Nebraska. Through its subsidiary truck operation and use of contract truckers, the Rock Island will move grain from country elevator points in Oklahoma, Kansas and Nebraska to major terminals in those States, including Missouri River crossing locations. Freight rates and transit arrangements will be the same as though the grain were carried in rail cars. While this marks only a small step in the efforts needed to alleviate the situation, I am told this may be a constructive development and I am wondering whether other railroads might find this action worth exploring.

In the 17 months since the Nixon Administration took office, the Department of Agriculture has moved forward on numerous programs of broad significance. A review of what has been achieved in many different fields would run longer than my time permits, but a few highlights merit special attention:

Through the expanded outreach of food distribution programs for the needy, America has turned the corner in its drive to eliminate hunger and malnutrition. We have been gratified with the interest and support of farm interests in this endeavor. Ten million people are now benefitting from either the Food Stamp Program or the Commodity Distribution Program.

A year ago, some 400 counties still had no access to these programs and no plans for one. Now, the number is down to less than 20 of the Nation's 3,129 counties and independent cities and we are making strenuous ef-

forts to get a food program commitment for every one of these last few counties.

In addition to providing food or Food Stamps to needy people, one of the great needs is to help them use these resources wisely. We are particularly proud of our USDA Extension Service nutrition aides. These are nonprofessional workers recruited from among the people they work with, and trained to teach practical nutrition. Some 6,900 of these aides are helping more than 500,000 in what I consider to be a real educational breakthrough.

Another significant development taking place is the increasing amount of 4-H Club activity in urban areas and among inner-city youngsters. No doubt some of you have been 4-H Club members or leaders and if so, you know the special value of 4-H experience—a program of wholesome, constructive activity. It succeeds for at least two important reasons, in my opinion: It catches youngsters at age 9 or 10, before they get sidetracked into other interests, and it creates healthy relationship with adults outside their homes and schools. The trained 4-H leaders are a special breed, and it is all to the good that their influence is becoming increasingly felt in cities.

Procedures for handling pesticide registrations have been reorganized to reassure the safeguarding of the public's health. The new arrangement brings in the Departments of Health, Education, and Welfare, and of the Interior, to the extent that they have veto power over registrations. This kind of inter-agency cooperation in an area of such great public concern makes sense, in my opinion. Should a decision be made to group together the several agency bureaus and divisions involved with protecting the quality of air and water, I would find it difficult to argue against having pesticide registration built into that kind of organization. The Department of Agriculture would continue, however, its efforts to safeguard the interests of farm producers and the general public alike in the unceasing war that must be waged against the natural enemies of crops and livestock.

Those of you from the Midwest may remember the concern a year ago when soybean supports were lowered—and you know what has happened since. Soybeans have had the largest growth in domestic use and exports ever to take place in any one year, and they are aggressively competitive in the market place.

Looking ahead, one of agriculture's greatest challenges arises in rural development—creative growth for a healthy distribution of population in the Nation's heartland. I know that this is a subject of special interest to your Association.

It is imperative that there be orderly growth outside the already congested cities. This means the development of productive employment opportunities, better educational facilities, and a wholesome environment for millions of people. It means that a significant part of the half a trillion dollar increase in Gross National Product expected in the decade of the 70's will need to occur in the non-metropolitan areas.

It will require decision-making and cooperation among some 60,000 local governmental units outside the urban areas—plans and initiatives by local people such as yourselves. The Federal and State governments can provide guidance and perhaps some financing, but in the final analysis the decisions—and the work—will be the responsibility of people. Which is as it should be in a great democracy.

All the important programs so urgently needed for building the better Nation of tomorrow depend on resolving two basic problems, however—war and inflation.

No one wants a conclusion of the Vietnam

war more than President Nixon. By the end of this month, as he pledged, our forces will be out of Cambodia. The success of the Cambodian operation bought precious time and greatly increased the safe conditions for withdrawal from Vietnam.

Meanwhile, we are making the difficult transition from years of war orientation to a peacetime economy. The task will be a tough one, after eight years of deficit financing. But the goal will be worth the struggle. That goal is, in the President's words, to "deliver a higher standard of living to a people living in peace."

There is one more ingredient, and a very important one. Once again I am reminded of the President's words when he said we Americans could have the best of everything and still be the unhappiest people in the world without "that indefinable spirit—the lift of a driving dream which has made America from its beginning the hope of the world."

These are times that urgently call for a revival of that spirit. We need a sharpened sense of national purpose, and it needs to be infused into people's awareness. You can take part in this task. I urge that you do your best to bring new perspective and purpose to our national spirit, that it may become a bright torch leading us to a better future.

U.S. CONFERENCE OF MAYORS

HON. GEORGE P. MILLER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 6, 1970

Mr. MILLER of California. Mr. Speaker, Mayor Jack Maltester of San Leandro, Calif., the outgoing president of the Conference of Mayors, in addressing the 27th annual conference in Denver, Colo., set the tone for the conference in his keynote speech when he said:

City problems are the No. 1 claimant on the wealth and prosperity of our nation, but are neglected nationally.

Reviewing developments since he took office a year earlier, Maltester said:

President Nixon must know, as we know, that to abolish hunger, provide employment and minimum incomes, assure better housing, improve transportation, health and education, reduce crime, improve our air, water and open spaces will require a refocusing of what has been our national commitment. There is no place better to start this refocusing than in the national budget. This has not been the case.

The full \$80 billion of national defense expenditures is given number one priority. All of the rest must line up below. Why not examine each of the domestic items and rebuild the priority ladder? Surely, the health and safety of our troops in the field must come first in a national budget, but of equal status should be the health and safety and the economic wellbeing of the people of the cities of America.

No Administration, Democratic or Republican, has ever undertaken such a critical examination of the whole national budget and put the individual pieces where they should fall on the scale. Until this is done, we in the cities will continue to suffer from national neglect.

Mayor James H. Tate of Philadelphia was installed as the new president of the U.S. Conference of Mayors to succeed Mayor Maltester.

NATIONAL GALLERY OF ART CAL-
ENDAR OF EVENTS, JULY 1970

HON. JAMES G. FULTON

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 6, 1970

Mr. FULTON of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, it is a pleasure to place in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the calendar of events of the National Gallery of Art for the month of July 1970. As usual, the National Gallery has planned an outstanding series of events which I am glad to call to the attention of my colleagues and the American people. I would like to especially call attention to the summer schedule for the excellent film series "Civilisation." This film series by Kenneth Clark, produced for the BBC, is so outstanding that the National Gallery in a special appeal raised the necessary funds to purchase a copy of the series for their permanent collection.

The American people are very fortunate to have this outstanding Gallery, and I urge everybody to take advantage of its excellent programs.

The calendar of events follows:

CALENDAR OF EVENTS, JULY 1970

EVENING SHOWINGS OF "CIVILISATION"

A new schedule for the National Gallery of Art's popular film series, "Civilisation," will be in effect every evening during the summer months, from June 28 through Labor Day. The films, which have been shown at the Gallery since November, have now accumulated a total audience of nearly 250,000 persons.

In the new schedule, the entire series of thirteen programs will be exhibited each week. The new evening hours will accommodate not only Washington's many summer visitors, but also those who were unable to come to the Gallery for the previous daytime screenings, and the many regular viewers who may have missed a few programs. The films, which are fifty minutes in length, have been scheduled with a forty-minute break to permit views to avail themselves of the Gallery's cafeteria adjoining the auditorium, or to explore related periods of art exhibited upstairs.

Over 3,300 people responded to the Gallery's appeal for funds to purchase its own 35-mm print of Kenneth Clark's series, produced for the BBC. Those who have made contributions of five dollars or more toward the purchase fund may make telephone reservations for the film's daily summer showings.

A schedule of the summer "Civilisation" film series follows:

Sundays

6:30: I—The Skin of Our Teeth.
8:00: I—The Skin of Our Teeth.

Mondays

6:30: II—The Great Thaw.
8:00: III—Romance and Reality.

Tuesdays

6:30: IV—Man—The Measure of All Things.
8:00: V—The Hero as Artist.

Wednesdays

6:30: VI—Protect and Communication.
8:00: VII Grandeur and Obedience.

Thursdays

6:30: VIII—The Light of Experience.
8:30: IX—The Pursuit of Happiness.

Fridays

6:30: X—The Smile of Reason.
8:00: XI—The Worship of Nature.

Saturdays

6:30: XII—The Fallacies of Hope.
8:00: XIII—Heroic Materialism.

NEW SUMMER LECTURE SERIES

During the exhibition, "Selections from the Nathan Cummings Collection", which will be on view through Labor Day, the National Gallery will present a summer series of lectures on Sunday afternoons at 4 o'clock.

The lectures will emphasize outstanding examples by eighteen major artists of the 19th and 20th centuries, including Monet, Gauguin, Picasso, Braque, Kandinsky, Léger, and sculptors Giacometti and Henry Moore. They will cover the history of modern art, discussing the important movements from 19th-century Realism, Impressionism, and Post-Impressionism through contemporary painting and sculpture. The individual lecture topics are carried in the weekly schedule listings of this Calendar.

The series begins on July 5 and continues through August 30 and is open free of charge to the public. Illustrated by slides, the lectures will be given in the auditorium by members of the National Gallery staff.

ADDITIONAL FILM PROGRAMS

Also showing daily this summer in the auditorium are two films which have been based on collections in the Gallery. *The American Vision*, written and directed in 1966 by J. Carter Brown, is an award-winning film illustrating the panorama of the American experience as exemplified by outstanding works of the 18th through the early 20th centuries. *In Search of Rembrandt*, produced last year by National Educational Television (NET), is a study of the artist seen through his own work (some of which are part of the Gallery's collection) and scenes of present-day Holland. Refer to the weekly listings of this Calendar for details.

MONDAY, JUNE 29, THROUGH SUNDAY, JULY 5

Painting of the week: Benjamin West. *The Battle of La Hogue*. (Andrew Mellon Fund)-Gallery 62. Tues. through Thurs., and Sat. 12 & 2; Sun. 3:30 & 6.

Tour: *Introduction to the Collection*. Rotunda. Mon. through Sat. 11, 1 & 3; Sun. 2:30 & 5.

Sunday lecture: *Modern Art: Daumier and Manet*. Speaker: Margaret Bouton, Curator in Charge of Educational Work, National Gallery of Art, Auditorium 4.

Sunday film: *In Search of Rembrandt*, 1. Weekday films: *The American Vision*, 2; *In Search of Rembrandt*, 4.

MONDAY, JULY 6, THROUGH SUNDAY, JULY 12

Painting of the week: Carpaccio. *The Virgin Reading* (Samuel H. Kress Collection), Gallery 20. Tues. through Sat. 12 & 2; Sun. 3:30 & 6.

Tour: *Introduction to the Collection*. Rotunda. Mon. through Sat. 11, 1 & 3; Sun. 2:30 & 5.

Sunday lecture: *Modern Art: Monet and Pissarro*. Speaker: Ann W. Kaiser, Staff Lecturer, National Gallery of Art, Auditorium 4.

Sunday film: *In Search of Rembrandt*, 1. Weekday films: *The American Vision*, 2; *In Search of Rembrandt*, 4.

MONDAY, JULY 13, THROUGH SUNDAY, JULY 19

Painting of the week: Magnasco. *The Baptism of Christ* (Samuel H. Kress Collection), Gallery 34. Tues. through Sat. 12 & 2; Sun. 3:30 & 6.

Tour: *Introduction to the Collection*. Rotunda. Mon. through Sat. 11, 1 & 3; Sun. 2:30 & 5.

Sunday lecture: *Modern Art: Gauguin and van Gogh*. Speaker: Richard Saito, Staff Lecturer, National Gallery of Art, Auditorium 4.

Sunday film: *In Search of Rembrandt*, 1. Weekday films: *The American Vision*, 2; *In Search of Rembrandt*, 4.

MONDAY, JULY 20 THROUGH SUNDAY, JULY 26

Painting of the week: Titian. *Saint John the Evangelist on Patmos* (Samuel H. Kress Collection) Gallery 25. Tues. through Sat. 12 & 2; Sun. 3:30 & 6.

Tour: *Introduction to the Collection*. Rotunda. Mon. through Sat. 11, 1 & 3; Sun. 2:30 & 5.

Sunday lecture: *Modern Art: Henry Moore and Alberto Giacometti*. Speaker: William J. Williams, Staff Lecturer, National Gallery of Art, Auditorium 4.

Sunday film: *In Search of Rembrandt*, 1. Weekday films: *The American Vision*, 2; *In Search of Rembrandt*, 4.

Gallery hours: Weekdays and Saturdays, 10 a.m. to 9 p.m.; Sundays, 12 noon to 10 p.m.

PATRIOTISM: 1776-1970

HON. GEORGE E. BROWN, JR.

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 6, 1970

Mr. BROWN of California. Mr. Speaker, patriotism is not a polemic.

Despite all the flag waving, the shouting, the taunting, the invective, we must not draw lines demarking degrees of love and tribute for our Nation.

Violence will not—cannot—force patriotism.

Nor can patriotism be correlated with a person's appearance.

Rather, patriotism is a very individual, personal feeling.

These days, many persons attempt to use patriotism as a means of stifling dissent, of homogenizing national feelings, to "line everybody up" behind certain leaders and policies.

I do not agree with such moves. America has survived since 1776 only because it could allow for dissent and a wide variety of views and positions.

And in doing so, it created a powerful patriotism, a love revered throughout the world.

We cannot allow that to change now.

As we celebrate this Nation's 194th birthday, we should look back at the roles of the Founding Fathers, how they were seen in their society, and the place of dissent and patriotism in the 1770's. In an interesting column written by Phyllis Battelle last November, these points were analyzed, and I now put that column in the RECORD:

[From the Los Angeles Examiner, Nov. 25, 1969]

VOCAL MINORITY OF 1776

(By Phyllis Battelle)

In the year 1776, there was a "vocal minority" in America. Most of them had long hair, some wore beards. All were revolutionaries. At the second Continental Congress, they drew up and signed the Declaration of Independence.

The "silent majority" in the Colonies was outraged. In every colony, the majority of the people were Loyalists. And they got even with the "vocal minority."

"Many of the men who signed for independence were wealthy—the most elegant, well-heeled revolutionaries in history. Many of them lost their fortunes—returning to

their colonies to find their estates burned to the ground. Others were hounded to death by angry people of the majority.

"Some, like Button Gwinnett, were killed in political duels. Two set sail from Philadelphia to return home, were captured by a British man-of-war, and spent years in prison on Barbados. Many men left the Congress and were homeless; the people forced them to leave their colony."

Sherman Edwards, who spent 10 years researching and writing the award-winning musical, "1776," added quietly: "Most things good happen in a country because a vocal minority calls attention to what is bad."

Further, "the vocal minority often love their country as much, or even more, than the silent majority. I think that is probably true today, I think the young people who are protesting today have pride in the idea that this country was founded on, and are terribly hurt, disappointed and angry that the dream has been allowed to go sour.

"They have a great sense of fairness, and they believe in the American legend of 'don't hit first; let the other guy get the first shot and then finish him off, if you must; but don't hit first.' They feel, in Vietnam, we have been bullies."

Edwards, a former history professor, feels for America's youth because of the hundreds of letters he receives from the young who have seen his show which depicts, in vivid musical-dramatic terms, the birth of this nation. These kids don't put their country down. They just ask, "What happened to the dream? Where did it go?"

Another aspect of today's world that troubles the 49-year-old historian and musician is the attitude of many adults toward young people's long hair. "Hair," he says, "signifyeth nothing! My God, we're not a coiffure culture. We are a culture of brain power.

"And these same adults who place so much importance on hair lengths are, in the meantime, wearing mini-skirts and trying to act like boyfriends or girlfriends to their own children. A child doesn't want that. He wants a cadre of adults around him."

Sherman Edwards isn't really angry. In fact, with three Tonys and Drama Critics Circle awards on his New Jersey mantel, and standing-room-only at his show, he is a happy man. His problem, he says, is only that as a student of history—and a specialist in revolutions—he thinks perhaps America is handling its latest revolution all wrong.

"If there is a 'silent majority,' I am not saying that they are not right. I've often thought, in fact, that if I were at the Continental Congress, I might not have signed the Declaration of Independence. It took an inordinate amount of courage to do so. But unlike the silent majority of 1776, I could wish that today's Americans would look on its young revolutionaries with understanding. They are vexed, and they hurt, and sometimes this makes them over-positive and overbearing.

"But let us not put down new ideas because we don't like the cut of the person presenting them..."

HEARINGS SCHEDULED ON BOMB CONTROL LEGISLATION

HON. EMANUEL CELLER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 6, 1970

Mr. CELLER. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to announce that Subcommittee No. 5 of the Committee on the Judiciary has scheduled public hearings on H.R. 17154, H.R. 16699, and related measures,

to amend title 18 of the United States Code to provide for better control of interstate traffic in explosives.

These hearings have been scheduled for Wednesday, July 15, and Thursday, July 16, 1970. Additional days may be scheduled.

Interested parties wishing to testify or submit statements for the hearing record should communicate with the Committee on the Judiciary, House of Representatives, room 2137, Rayburn House Office Building.

LIBERTY—NOT LICENSE

HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 6, 1970

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, one of the most impressive Fourth of July parades in my district took place in Blue Island, Ill., where, incidentally, Miss America was a featured participant.

However, the great spirit, enthusiasm, and record participation of citizens reflected the great feelings of the community on our Independence Day.

In turn this feeling was certainly stimulated by an editorial in the July 2 Blue Island Sun Standard which was a tremendous expression of the concept of liberty and freedom that has been an American tradition.

The editorial follows:

LIBERTY—NOT LICENSE

Take yourself back in mind's eye 196 years ago!

It is an early morning hour of July 4, 1776. High in the steeple of the state house in Philadelphia, Pa., the bell ringer stands, impatiently waiting an order which will be emblazoned on the pages of history books for all time.

High over his head hangs a huge metal bell. On the hard metal, engraved for evermore, are the words of Leviticus 25:10: "Proclaim liberty throughout all the land unto all the inhabitants thereof."

At last the news was brought to his ears, he grasped at the rope, pulled with all his strength and freedom's voice pealed forth.

Now, 196 years later, many of us apparently are not sure just what true liberty means. Too many think only of liberty as freedom from responsibility or restraint rather than looking on liberty as freedom for the exercise of wisdom and good will.

To be truly free, we must learn to want to do what we ought to do and to do it because we want to and not because we are forced to do so.

Today we should give special thought to just what liberty means.

Is it freedom from what we consider negative and unpleasant?

Is liberty a license to do as we please?

Does liberty mean we have the right to obey only those laws which we consider just? What is the relation between liberty and license, between rights and responsibilities?

There is much loud demanding "rights" today. But the silence at the mention of "responsibilities" is deafening.

Does liberty come from within or is it a "grant" or gift from some government? Once again, let us go to the Declaration of Independence and Constitution of the United States. It is clearly evident that our liberties were considered as God-given by the framers of these two great documents.

Thus, "with a firm reliance on the protec-

tion of divine Providence," they pledged their "Lives, . . . Fortunes . . . and sacred Honor."

"We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness.

Need Americans today be reminded that our national emblem is the American Eagle and not Mother Hen?

Should the government be called upon to guarantee us a worry-free and effortless existence under the all embracing feathers of Mother Hen?

Too many give a negative interpretation to freedom. This new idea of freedom evidently considers freedom as a freedom from everything in life they consider in an unfavorable light and demand that the government do away with these things.

This new nation was founded nearly 200 years ago by men and women who had fled the tyrannies of powerful governments in Europe, braving the perilous voyage across the Atlantic with the dream of making new homes in a strange land.

Our forefathers had first hand experience with the heavy hand of the tyrant, the oppressor. They knew from actual experience the difference between freedom and oppression and therefore set up a government which provided there was to be equal opportunity for all and special privileges for none.

The child who never is permitted to do for himself, to make his own decisions, never will become a constructive citizen of a free society. If he lacks the spark of initiative, good moral training and a sense of self control, he will not make a competent citizen.

It can not be denied by any that there was a strong religious concept in both these documents. "Our fathers, God to Thee, Author of liberty."

The ink on the constitution of the United States was hardly dry when the founding fathers added the first 10 amendments known as the Bill of Rights. These were added to "secure more thoroughly the blessings of our God-Given liberty."

It is the power of the U.S. Supreme court to interpret the constitution. These judges determine that what they feel is either "constitutional" or "unconstitutional."

Decisions of the Supreme court have been revised or reversed from time to time. Decisions often are not based on precedent and many times seem to reflect popular opinion.

We must never lack timidity in speaking out when it seems our freedoms are being cut away in the "land of the free and home of the brave."

We must never forget that freedom and liberty are not rewards for a benevolent government to hand out or revoke!

We must never forget that our liberty and freedom are God-given gifts that a just government must guarantee to all citizens!

AMBASSADOR DAVID K. E. BRUCE

HON. LESTER L. WOLFF

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 6, 1970

Mr. WOLFF. Mr. Speaker, I wish to record my pleasure at President Nixon's announcement that Ambassador David K. E. Bruce has been appointed to head our negotiating team in Paris.

For some time I have called upon the President to appoint a top-level Ambassador to the peace talks and I reiterated my strong feeling on this matter to the President personally when he met with

the Foreign Affairs Committee several weeks ago.

While the negotiations in Paris have been somewhat frustrating it is essential that we have a top-level negotiator ready to deal for peace with all the parties to this conflict. Ambassador Bruce brings to his new assignment excellent credentials and my only regret at his appointment is that it was not sooner in coming.

But now he is ready to take on this new responsibility. I wish him the best of luck and hope he is given sufficient flexibility to guarantee an effective negotiating position, for negotiations cannot take place in an atmosphere of rigidity.

THE NEED TO PROVIDE A RATIONAL ENVIRONMENT IN OUR SCHOOLS DURING A PERIOD OF SOCIETAL UNREST

HON. THOMAS P. O'NEILL, JR.

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 6, 1970

Mr. O'NEILL of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, I would like to call the House's attention to a subject matter which concerns me greatly. I wish to enter into the RECORD an excellent speech given by Mr. Robert I. Sperber, superintendent of schools in Brookline, Mass., on June 18, 1970, entitled "The Need To Provide a Rational Environment in Our Schools During a Period of Societal Unrest."

I heartily agree with Mr. Sperber's hope that the public school system will always operate as an open forum of discussion. In order to insure debate involving all opinions, we must begin with our schools. They should remain a neutral playing field, so that no student should feel uncomfortable about expressing a dissenting viewpoint. The schools, as tax-supported institutions, also hold the responsibility to the community at large to incorporate all the various opinions of its constituents. Most importantly, the public schools should provide the educated public to help improve society, rather than act as primary agents for social reconstruction.

Superintendent Sperber perceptively notes that teachers hold important responsibilities because they have strong personal influence on their students. Each faculty member should, therefore, instruct his students to make careful examination of propaganda and to avoid making judgments based on stereotyped slogans.

In order to slow down the dangerous polarization growing in our society, every citizen must make a conscious effort to maintain an open mind, and, more importantly, to never lose sight of the cohesive effect of a little kindness and humility. Public education must establish an atmosphere where open discussion is constantly encouraged and maintained.

I commend Superintendent Sperber for his thoughtful ideas and well-stated remarks. I am happy to place the full text of Mr. Sperber's speech in the RECORD at this point:

THE NEED TO PROVIDE A RATIONAL ENVIRONMENT IN OUR SCHOOLS DURING A PERIOD OF SOCIETAL UNREST

(Sixth annual talk to the faculty, by Robert I. Sperber)

My usual end-of-the-year speech in the past few years has been a summary of the accomplishments of the faculty. I am departing from this practice because the extraordinary times we live in demand that I do so. What I should like to talk about this afternoon is the need for the faculty to provide, through their relationship with their students and their personal actions, a more rational environment for our children to help them through this period of societal unrest.

Let me briefly indicate why this is our most important task. On June 1, Senator Margaret Chase Smith, speaking on the twentieth anniversary of a speech in which she attacked the late Senator Joseph McCarthy for irresponsible political tactics, said, "I spoke as I did 20 years ago because of what I considered to be the great threat from the radical right—the threat of a government of repression. I speak today," she said, "because of what I consider to be the great threat from the radical left that advocates and practices violence and defiance of the law—again, the threat of the ultimate result of a reaction of repression." She went on to warn the American public that they were being forced to choose between anarchy and repression—. . . And make no mistake about it, if that narrow choice has to be made, the American people, even if with reluctance and misgivings, will choose repression. Ironically, the excesses of dissent in the extreme left can result in repression of dissent," she added. "For repression is preferable to anarchy and nihilism to most Americans." She went on to stress that many Americans are intimidated and made mute by the emotional violence of the extreme left. "It is time that the greater center of our people," she continued, "those who reject the violence and unreasonableness of both the extreme right and extreme left, searched their consciences, mustered their moral and physical courage, shed their intimidated silence, and declared their consciences."

Given my concerns for faculty help to students in this time of unrest and Senator Smith's outstanding statement of June 1, which sets forth the problem, I'd like next to share with you my feelings about the role of the public school in dealing with significant social problems, because I think this is an important guideline for all of you in helping your students. As I indicated in an earlier general faculty speech, philosophically I think the public schools must provide a neutral forum for the examination of all significant issues with a deep commitment to help students make up their own minds in their search for truth. This school cannot itself be a primary agent for social reconstruction although it may make significant contributions both directly and indirectly to the improvement of society. Its primary role is to provide its graduates, through rigorous teaching and examination of issues, with the ability to go forth in the world and to be able, if they wish, to help reconstruct society. Undergirding this philosophy is a personal strong feeling I hold against indoctrinative teaching. Teachers, of course, must be allowed to hold to and express their own point of view, but no child must be made to feel uncomfortable because he holds an opposing viewpoint. In a political sense, I hold strongly to the need for the public schools to be a neutral forum because, as a tax-supported institution, we must represent the views of the entire community. Given this general guideline, what can we do as educators to help provide a rational environment for students in this period of great world unrest?

First, we have to recognize the tremendous personal impact we have on our students. We must set before them, through our actions, not our rhetoric, an adult model that is worthy of emulation. One of the most valuable lessons that all teachers have to learn is that the most effective way to reach students is not to act as one of the "gang," not to try and be popular, not to try and build a following, but rather to earn the respect of students by being fair and upholding reasonable standards. In the long run, our students have more respect for us if we show that we are proud of our adulthood and proud of the wisdom that accrues to many people as they get older. We must never confuse our feeling of compassion for a child by becoming childish.

The role of setting reasonable standards suggests a second task. Some of our students have never had any adults in their lifetime set any outside limits for them, nor have any adults ever enforced reasonable rules that have been established. Children have to be taught for their own benefit that they cannot expect instant gratification for every request. Never saying "no" to a child robs him of a precious experience. We are being cruel to youngsters if we do not help them learn that life in the outside, beyond the protection of home and school, will not respond so quickly with a "yes" to each request.

A third role for teachers is to help their students approach the analysis of social issues with high standards of intellectual rigor. Students must see that careful investigation must underlie the examination of controversial issues. Much of the materials, pro and con, which analyze the war in Indochina are filled with unsupported facts. As teachers we must teach our students the importance of distinguishing between propaganda and truth, to examine why propaganda is used. We must help our students understand that in the study of complex issues, no side has the monopoly on truth; that political movements involve people; and that the human beings involved in these movements—no matter how noble the cause—are subject to the same foibles of all people: greed, selfishness, and a quest for power.

Fourth, we must also teach our students to listen to all humanity. Two calls I received during the strike at Brookline High School illustrate this role for the teacher. One call came from a man who had lost his son in Vietnam. He had tried to explain to the students that we had a responsibility to be in Vietnam, but he had failed. The students working for peace had not heard his anguished voice. Another caller, a mother, equally upset, said that her child was being intimidated by students because she was active in the "peace now" activities. I mention these incidents only to underscore our critical role in trying to help all our students to hear the arguments, and to understand the emotions, of those who disagree with them.

Another important role for teachers to help students in this period of unrest is to demonstrate by actions, the importance of the simple acts of human kindness and understanding. We must teach our intellectually gifted students the value of humility. We must teach our slow children that they have a contribution to make, no matter how humble their role in society. We must teach our students the "joy of differences" among the many ethnic, racial, and religious groups that make up the student body in this community. We must help our students learn an important lesson of life, that the way to improve the quality of life is by being kind and sensitive to the needs of other people, that we can dissolve hostility and hatred and rancor, even among people of varying viewpoints, by individual acts of caring and service.

Finally, we can help our students by teaching them not to characterize a person's beliefs or ideas by reacting to symbols and slogans. No symbol today has been more caught

up in the distortions of our times than the American flag. It was thus very appropriate that the New York Times, on Flag Day, repeated a very beautiful editorial written on June 14, 1940, entitled "What's a Flag?" They brought the editorial up to date by commenting, "... It is a measure of the bitter divisions of the era in which we live that the symbolism of that flag should have become distorted and degraded by the partisan extremists of both New Left and Old Right. The flag must not be captured either by the repressive legions of the right who employ it daily to prove they are for Agnew and against the students; nor must its meaning be destroyed by the frustrated demagogues of the left who find a cheap and easy outlet by reviling it and dragging it in the dust. The flag is a symbol of the unity of America. We must not allow it to be perverted by the forces of disunity, whether the Birchers or Weathermen, that today are abroad in this land." (New York Times, June 14, (1970). It is also a sad lesson that we must teach our students, that the two slogans that the forces of anarchy and repression use to characterize the human race are "pig" and "bum." If we can't, as teachers, influence our students to describe mankind in more noble terms, then we have failed in our job.

I have been talking about what teachers can do to help provide a rational environment for their students. Let me now spend a few minutes suggesting what we must do personally to create a more rational environment.

First, I would suggest we improve the house of education. Unless we do so, the voices of the educational muckrakers, who have suggested that we are committing educational murder in the classroom (especially in the cities and in rural America), are going to be joined by the radical left, fiscally conservative citizens, and the primary victims of poor schools, the poor and the minorities, and they will run the public schools right out of business! Unless classroom teachers and administrators assume a greater sense of responsibility and accountability for their actions, we will have no public left to back this enterprise. I shall talk about this particular subject in greater depth in September.

Second, the faculty of this school system must adopt a high sense of personal ethics. We cannot afford, if we are to maintain an excellent adult model for the students, to engage in public disagreements about one another's behavior. We must eliminate our tendency, even in the privacy of the faculty room or the principal's office, to make "gossip" statements about our colleagues.

Third, those of this faculty, who represent the broad spectrum of the middle, must be willing to speak out and work with their colleagues and with students to make sure that significant issues are dealt with fairly. As a faculty, we must never cease to work with students on all their social concerns. If we do, if we remain apathetic or uninvolved, then constructive ideas can be warped by unreasonable people. Unless the moderate or centrist members of this faculty increase their efforts to talk and listen and work with our students, we invite our own form of anarchy or repression.

This has been an eventful year in the history of the Brookline Public Schools. We have received major support from Town Meeting for our elementary school building program. With the unanimous approval of construction funds for a new Pierce School, two days ago, we shall soon have a school facility that will be second to none in this country. Faculty salaries have remained in an historical position of leadership. We have launched, with School Committee support on June 15, a planning study to create prototype programs for preschool education, involving children and their parents, that will blaze exciting new trails. We are getting into planning-programming-budgeting systems that will help us define our priority

objectives for instruction. A small task force of teachers and administrators will begin next week to develop a proposal for a total staff training program as we begin to shift our emphasis in the next five years from developing curriculum to improving the quality of teaching and administration. Our collaboration with other Greater Boston suburbs and cities is laying the groundwork for the establishment of future, formal educational regional associations. At Brookline High School, the faculty and administration have begun the tough, tenuous task of improving human relations among faculty, students, parents, and community, and to build new organizational structures that will someday lead to more freedom with responsibility for its adolescent population and its teaching faculty.

None of these enterprises, and many more which are emerging with the strong, unified leadership of the School Committee and the encouragement of official bodies in Brookline, will prosper unless students, teachers, administrators, parents, and the community work together in a spirit of reasonableness. Each one of us, those over thirty and those under thirty, can make a significant contribution to this goal by being selfless, hard-working, moral human beings. There are no new or great solutions to the vexing problems of mankind. No one has yet discovered a better solution than being decent and concerned about another human being. As we leave now for varying tasks in the next eleven weeks, let us each resolve to be a little kinder to the next person, be he student or colleague—or stranger.

APPROPRIATIONS HEARINGS VOLUMES RELEASED

HON. GEORGE H. MAHON

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 6, 1970

Mr. MAHON. Mr. Speaker, the Committee on Appropriations has released the following committee hearings volumes in recent weeks:

BILL, VOLUME, AND RELEASED

Labor-HEW, part 2, Food and Drug Administration and health items, Friday, June 12.

Public Works-AEC, part 4, AEC, TVA, and Panama Canal, Tuesday, June 16.

Public Works-AEC, part 5, Members of Congress and other public witnesses, Thursday, June 18.

Labor-HEW, part 3, NIH, Monday, June 22.

Labor-HEW, part 5, Department of Labor, Thursday, June 25.

Defense, part 5, procurement, Monday, June 29.

Labor-HEW, part 4, Social Security, Social and Rehabilitation Service, department management and special institutions, Tuesday, June 30.

Labor-HEW, part 6, related agencies—OEO, and so forth—Tuesday, July 7.

To be released shortly are Labor-HEW, part 7, testimony of Members of Congress and other interested individuals and organizations; Defense, part 6, research, development, test, and evaluation; and Defense, part 7, testimony of Admiral Rickover.

Copies are available to Members and others at the committee room, H-218, Capitol Building, extension 2771, as long as the supply lasts.

MY YOUNGER GENERATION

HON. SEYMOUR HALPERN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 6, 1970

Mr. HALPERN. Mr. Speaker, a most significant and topical article, "My Younger Generation," appeared in the May 13 edition of the Page One magazine of the Newspaper Guild of New York. Because of the timeliness and appropriateness of its contents, I would like to share this piece with my colleagues in the House.

The article was written by a noted publicist and writer from my district in Queens, N.Y., Robert I. Queen, a resident of Flushing. Some of the Members of this House may recall Bob Queen when he served as an assistant to Congressman Alfred E. Santangelo from 1960 to 1963.

Mr. Queen has enjoyed a most enviable record in the field of public relations and has authored many books, a recent one being "Creative PR for Your Special Events," which is currently a reference text at a large number of universities throughout the country. Robert Queen has also written for such dramatic productions as "Suspense," "The Green Hornet," "The Web," and for Greater New York Fund panel shows and interview programs.

Besides his literary achievements, Bob Queen serves as public relations counsel to the distinguished and able State senator from Nassau County, N.Y., John R. Dunne, and has performed public relations activities for the New York City Transit Police Patrolman's Benevolent Association, the Housing Police PBA, the Police Athletic League, and the New York City Health and Hospitals Corporation Task Force.

This is surely a most commendable record of activity, experience, and achievement and I am pleased to extend my heartiest compliments to Mr. Queen.

The article follows:

MY YOUNGER GENERATION

(By Robert I. Queen)

In the last few years much emphasis has been placed on encouraging creativity and individuality in children. With absolutely no encouragement of that sort, we seem to have landed in the forefront of the movement.

We are raising three individualists with no effort on our part, though we have to admit that our nerves are shot.

Our apprenticeship started early with our first born, Alan. Once he had finished "peopling" our home with a score of imaginary persons and animals, he faced the realities of life seriously. At age four he announced that when he grew up he planned to be a "turtle doctor" and a "thinker."

At seven he decided to be an "inventor" and he refers to himself as "Con Edison Jr." When not inventing, he plans to be an artist.

Meanwhile a good part of all level surfaces in the apartment are covered with his inventions, paintings and sculptures, all of which are expected to be preserved indefinitely.

Our younger son, Joseph, who at time of writing is almost five, is in love with the English language. He plays with words as other children play with toys. In addition, he is a genuine wit and something of a philosopher.

Joseph's approach to getting into a locked bathroom is simple. First he knocks. When

told to wait a few minutes, he resorts to words. He tries "abbacadrabra," "dump truck," "tiger" and "Winnie the Pooh." When these fail, he gives up and just kicks at the door.

From the time he learned to talk, Joseph never used a one syllable word when a multi-syllable word would do as well. At two, his excuse for doing something that he wasn't supposed to do was that he was doing it "temporarily."

At three, he informed his nursery school teacher that he was wet because he was "aspiring." At four, he made a mistake in writing his name because he was "abstracted" in the course of his endeavor.

Ann Claire, who is fifteen months old, shows every indication of being as much of a character as her brothers. Her approach to picture books, for example, is strictly in terms of individualized research. She sits off by herself and pores over her books until she finds something of special interest. Then she comes to one of her sources of information and points.

Told that she was pointing at a "doggy" who goes "bow wow," she goes off again and ponders the implications of this scientific information.

When shelves were put into her room recently, her first act was to gather up all her books and put them on the one shelf she could reach.

What she will be like at age 15 staggers our imagination.

She definitely prefers red tights to mundane white ones and when not "researching" likes to dance in front of a mirror. This we accept as a hopeful sign.

All three children have entered into a solemn mutual assistance pact against parents. They quickly drop all interecine arguments to resist the common parental enemy.

TRIBUTE TO SAMUEL BROWN

HON. SILVIO O. CONTE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 6, 1970

Mr. CONTE. Mr. Speaker, I sadly rise today to inform this body of the recent death of a devoted public servant, Mr. Samuel Brown, assistant director of the legislative research bureau at the Massachusetts statehouse in Boston.

Samuel Brown was a good friend and valuable associate of mine. While I was State senator, I served as chairman of the legislative research council, and during that period, I had a very productive working relationship with him.

A graduate of Bates College and Boston College Law School, Samuel Brown was a conscientious citizen who spent most of his life in government. He was dedicated to the ideal of an efficient and reformed government and devoted a good deal of his time to the Special Committee To Study the Structure of State Government, the "Little Hoover Commission."

One of Samuel Brown's lifelong interests was public welfare. Upon his graduation from college, he went to work for the Massachusetts Department of Public Welfare. Later, as assistant director of the legislative research bureau, he maintained and expanded his special knowledge of both welfare and housing, and he was of invaluable assistance to all the members of the State legislature.

Samuel Brown was also active in the affairs of his synagogue and community. He served, for example, as the Government appeals agent for the draft board of Winthrop, Mass.

Mr. Speaker, Samuel Brown will be missed by all who knew him. I am sure I speak for all Members of the House when I extend our sympathies and regrets to his bereaved wife Jennie, and his devoted sons Louis and Richard.

CAB'S PROPOSED NEW RULES ON CHARTER FLIGHTS

HON. RICHARD L. OTTINGER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 6, 1970

Mr. OTTINGER. Mr. Speaker, as several of my distinguished colleagues have done in the past several weeks, I would also like to place in the record of this Congress my objections to the manner in which the Civil Aeronautics Board is carrying out its public responsibilities.

On June 12, I filed my objections to the CAB regarding proposed regulations on charter travel, which the Board published on May 8. Mr. Speaker, I would like to attach a copy of that letter to these remarks. My primary objection then was the arbitrary and capricious ceiling of 20,000 members that the CAB placed on groups that sought to be charterworthy. I noted also the lack of logic and consistency that ran through the proposed exceptions to this proposed rule. Here was a clear instance of a regulatory agency regulating not an industry but the general public.

Since that time, the President has put forth the statement of international air transportation policy. It is now the policy of this Nation in maintaining leadership in the air.

Even a quick reading of the President's statement of policy will reveal that the CAB is acting in direct opposition to what this country wants in air transport. The CAB's proposal is restrictive, arbitrary, narrow in concept, impossible to enforce, completely isolated from the real world of travel. It attacks air carriers, organizations of citizens, travel agents, and tour operators. It is totally disruptive. It is the document of a spoiler, not of a responsible Federal regulatory agency.

I am especially aware of the consequences of such a document, since my State of New York is—and has been for over a century—the gateway to America. Passengers and shippers the world over are familiar with John F. Kennedy International Airport, one of the busiest air terminals anywhere on earth. The Kennedy Airport is not without its problems, thanks to years of meager, stop-gap planning, favoritism, and lack of strong governmental interest. But whatever the problems may be, the solution is not to disrupt, discredit, or discourage the air transport industry, which is the approach of the CAB. On the contrary, the solution would be to follow through on some of the ideas in this statement of policy.

As contained in that statement, this country "should work for the broadest range of profitable services, designed to appeal to the broadest consumer market and based on the lowest cost of operating an efficient air transportation system." We should also take note of the idea that—

The economic and technological benefits we seek can best be achieved by encouraging competition and by a relative freedom from government restriction.

It bewilders me, as I am sure it bewilders many of my colleagues, how such a statement of policy, with its forward-thinking, positive tone, could come from the same administration that harbors the CAB and its view of the traveling public. To those of us who carry the responsibility of congressional membership, it may be time to write into law just what the public interest is and how the CAB ought to respect it.

Mr. Speaker, since filing my letter with the CAB, I have also received objections to various aspects of the proposed new rules from the following:

Mr. Ronald P. Schwemm, potentate, Cyprus Temple, Albany, N.Y.

Mr. Harold S. Low, president and chairman of the board, AITS, Inc., Chestnut Hill, Mass.

Mr. Shelby Edward Southard, the Co-operative League of the USA, Chicago, Ill.

Mr. David A. Randall, president, Travel Consultants, Inc., Washington, D.C.

Mr. Glenn A. Cramer, chairman of the board, Trans International Airlines, Oakland, Calif.

Mr. Gerard Farley, president, New York City Civil Service Retired Employees Association, New York, N.Y.

Msgr. R. J. McCarthy, pastor, St. James Church, Gouverneur, N.Y.

Dr. John P. Scullin, president, the Fifth District Dental Society, De Witt, N.Y.

It is obvious that the proposed amendments will work hardships on many legitimate organizations and their members. I am certain that many of my colleagues are receiving similar complaints, and we must act now to see that the public interest is not overridden by the CAB's ill-advised action. My June 12 letter follows:

HON. SECOR D. BROWNE,
Chairman, Civil Aeronautics Board,
Universal Building,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. CHAIRMAN: I am writing to offer my comments regarding the proposed amendments to the Board's Economic Regulations as set forth in Docket No. 22174 dated May 8, 1970.

I wish to raise objections to the amendment to Section 208.210 which proposes that charter arrangements made by organizations with a total membership of more than 20,000 shall be presumed to be solicited from the general public and shall not be eligible for charter participation unless granted a waiver. There is no explanation in the proposal as to what criteria the Board used in establishing a ceiling of 20,000 members for organizations wishing to offer the advantages of charter flights to its membership. The consequence of this amendment, if approved, will be to exclude a whole range of legitimate organizations, particularly our larger labor unions, many of which have over 20,000 members who should not be denied the right to

benefit from the reduced costs made possible by charter tour arrangements.

The Board has recognized the legitimacy of exceptions to this rule in granting an automatic waiver to students and educational staff of a single school, to participants in a study group, and to employees of a single government agency, industrial plant, or mercantile establishment. I believe that the Board has erred in not including all organizations whose memberships may exceed 20,000, just as in the groups listed above, and that the list of exceptions must be broadened or the 20,000 ceiling eliminated entirely.

It appears grossly discriminatory to make a presumption as to the legitimacy for charter flight purposes of, for example, a large automotive manufacturing plant or the Department of Agriculture, and then withhold the same privilege for a bona fide labor union, or any other organization, which individuals have joined in good faith for all the benefits that membership in such organization may confer, including reduced charter tour rates.

I respectfully request that the proposed amendment be re-worded to make it clear that all organizations composed of individuals with a common occupation, avocation, or central interest shall be presumed to be bona fide organizations with the right to arrange charter tours for its members without having to apply for a waiver.

Sincerely,

RICHARD L. OTTINGER,
Member of Congress.

GALLUP POLL SUPPORTS NATIONAL SERVICE ACT

HON. JONATHAN B. BINGHAM

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 6, 1970

Mr. BINGHAM. Mr. Speaker, a Gallup poll, published this past Sunday in the Washington Post, shows that 71 percent of the American people would have their Congressman support the National Service Act of 1970 (H.R. 18025), which I introduced less than a month ago with bipartisan support. Cosponsors of this legislation are:

Hon. DANIEL E. BUTTON, Republican of New York.

Hon. JOHN D. DINGELL, Democrat of Michigan.

Hon. JAMES G. FULTON, Republican of Pennsylvania.

Hon. SEYMOUR HALPERN, Republican of New York.

Hon. WILLIAM D. HATHAWAY, Democrat of Maine.

Hon. HENRY HELSTOSKI, Democrat of New Jersey.

Hon. THOMAS M. REES, Democrat of California.

Hon. JAMES H. SCHEUER, Democrat of New York.

Hon. FRANK THOMPSON, JR., Democrat of New Jersey.

The Gallup poll shows that 71 percent favor the National Service Act, 20 percent are opposed and 9 percent have no opinion. Although the data is not included in the Post article, Mr. Gallup has informed my office that in the 21 to 29 age group, 80 percent favor the plan, 18 percent are opposed and 2 percent have no opinion. A further breakdown of the poll is being forwarded to me and I will

place it in the RECORD as soon as I receive it.

Mr. Speaker, the overwhelming nationwide support that this bill has received makes it more imperative than ever that the Armed Services Committee hold comprehensive hearings on draft reform this year. Certainly a bill with as much support as H.R. 18025 should be a major focus of such hearings.

The text of the Washington Post article follows:

THE GALLUP POLL: 71 PERCENT FAVOR CHOICE FOR DRAFTES

(By George Gallup)

PRINCETON, N.J., July 4.—The American people vote overwhelmingly in favor of a bill recently introduced in Congress which would replace our present military draft with a National Service System and allow young men to choose civilian service as an alternative to military service.

To see how the American people would like their congressmen to vote on such a bill, the following question was put to a sample of 1519 adults in a survey conducted June 19-21 in more than 300 scientifically selected areas of the country:

Congress is now considering a proposal to replace the Selective Service System—that is, the draft—with a National Service System. Under this system a young man of 18 could choose to do any one of these three things: (1) He could volunteer for military service; (2) he could volunteer for civilian service—for example, helping in hospitals, teaching school, working in programs like VISTA, or (3) he could take his chances on being drafted.

How does this plan sound to you—would you like to have your congressman vote for or against this proposal?

Here is the national vote:

Would like congressman to vote in favor	71
Against	20
No opinion	9
	100

VETERANS' ADMINISTRATION HOSPITAL

HON. ALBERT H. QUIE

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 6, 1970

Mr. QUIE. Mr. Speaker, some of the Veterans' Administration hospitals have received adverse publicity because of an article in the May 22 Life magazine.

I have just received a letter from a veteran who received excellent care at the Veterans' Administration hospital in Minneapolis.

To provide a balanced picture of the Veterans' Administration medical program, I am submitting his letter for printing in the RECORD at this point:

DENNISON, MINN.,

June 30, 1970.

DEAR MR. QUIE: I want to let you know what sort of care I received at the V.A. Hospital in Minneapolis. It was the finest care by doctors, nurses and all the rest of the help. After spending 19 days there, I came out in pretty good shape for I was a very sick man when I went in. It was the greatest care I received that put me back on my feet.

Your friend,

JOHN ARTHUR AHERN.

TIME FOR CONSUMER PROTECTION

HON. EDWARD R. ROYBAL

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 6, 1970

Mr. ROYBAL. Mr. Speaker, as the author of H.R. 18269, the Consumer Protection Act of 1970, a bill to establish an Office of Consumer Affairs in the Executive Office of the President, and to create an independent Consumer Protection Agency to help secure effective representation of the vital interests of the Nation's consumers at the highest levels of the Federal Government, I was delighted to read two excellent editorials endorsing this legislation, which have appeared in recent editions of the New York Times and the Washington Post.

With this kind of broad editorial support developing across the country, with the House Government Operations Committee's favorable report on the measure, and with good prospects for approval of a similar bill in the Senate, I am hopeful that this landmark consumer protection statute can be enacted into law during the present session of Congress.

In view of the importance of the subject, Mr. Speaker, I would like to include in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the two editorials mentioned previously, plus a narrative summary of the major provisions of H.R. 18269, the Consumer Protection Act of 1970:

[From the New York Times, June 29, 1970]

CONSUMER CROSSROADS

The failure for many years of many manufacturers in various fields to turn out safe products, and the inability of traditional Government agencies to protect the public from resultant accidents and deaths, are leading to a legislative crossroad.

The House Government Operations Committee has already approved an important consumer bill, which, if not undermined by the Senate when a parallel version is taken up, could well result in a major forward step in consumer protection. Sponsored by Representatives Rosenthal of New York and Dwyer of New Jersey, the House bill would create an independent Consumer Protection Agency, encompassing product safety and other aspects of consumer affairs. The agency would speak up for consumers before Federal bureaus and the courts, receive and transmit complaints to the dozens of agencies in the Government that maintain consumer programs of varying degrees of effectiveness, disclose the results of testing and continue the work of the National Commission on Product Safety.

This is a handful; but only a central independent agency, staffed with economists, attorneys, investigators, could do the job. Only such an agency could intervene effectively before courts and other Federal bodies. The Rosenthal-Dwyer bill would also establish a consumer affairs office in the White House and a consumer advisory council to provide support for the agency.

Such a combined independent agency and strengthened White House office could have greater meaning than the Administration's own plan to divide consumer responsibilities between a White House office and the Justice Department. Its ambitious package of anticrime bills makes no mention of consumer offenses or redress; the fact is that Justice concentrates in another area and already has its work cut out. Taking on con-

sumer problems would dissipate enforcement.

If doubts exist about the need for an independent consumer agency, a reading of the final report of the National Commission on Product Safety should be educational—and frightening. The commission cites literally millions of burnings, explosions, poisonings and injuries caused by dangerous appliances in everyday use—from coffeepots to power mowers, from detergents to pesticides.

Industry self-regulation apparently does not work. The consumer cannot set up his own testing office in the garage. A turnaround in basic attitudes by Government is at the core of the commission's recommendations: controlling and limiting hazards "not at the option of the producer but as a matter of right to the consumer." Now there is a chance for Congress to establish an independent agency with full powers to represent all Americans in their year-round role, regardless of income or station, as consumers.

[From the Washington Post, July 6, 1970]

THE TIME FOR CONSUMER PROTECTION

Suppose that on the first day of every year 140,000 Americans were selected at random and told they would be either permanently disabled or killed during the coming 12 months. Few people could remain oblivious to this horror and fewer still would be silent. Yet, according to the recent and important report of the congressionally appointed National Commission on Product Safety, 30,000 citizens are killed every year, and 110,000 permanently disabled, merely because they bought or used consumer products that were unsafe. The hazardous items include a number of makes, models and types of products ranging from infant furniture to rotary lawnmowers.

Many consumers—excluding the surviving victims who now know better—probably think the government is protecting them through such agencies as the Federal Trade Commission or the Food and Drug Administration. Or they think that no company would dare sell an unsafe product. The consumer with notions like that is a dreamer. "Federal authority to curb hazards in consumer products," said the Product Safety Commission, "is virtually nonexistent." As for industries regulating themselves, well, forget it, said the commission; this "is legally unenforceable and patently inadequate."

With 140,000 lives on the line, plus some 20 million others whose accidents luckily stop short of death or permanent injury, the commission recommends, among other things, an independent consumer protection agency. This is obviously needed and should be quickly formed. However, safety is not the only right of the innocent consumer; in all, he has four rights, as President Kennedy said in 1962: the right to safety, to be informed, to choose, and to be heard. Currently going beyond the commission proposal are two bills before Congress that would, for once, protect these consumer rights. In the House, the Rosenthal-Dwyer bill has bipartisan support, has been voted favorably by a full committee and now awaits floor action. In the Senate, a similar bill has come out of a subcommittee chaired by Senator Ribicoff. The independent consumer agency called for by both bills would, among other things, represent consumer interests before federal regulatory agencies and in the courts; it would also test products and release results by brand names.

To no one's surprise, the Rosenthal-Dwyer and Ribicoff bills are now open targets for pro-business lobbies such as the National Association of Manufacturers and the Chamber of Commerce. What is surprising, at least initially, is that the Nixon administration is also opposing the bills, though not in the wide-open style of the business lobby. Instead, it

offers a plan that would divide consumer responsibilities between a White House office and the Justice Department. Despite the pretty ribbons tying this package together, the White House plan is an empty box. Its office for consumer affairs is already a weak operation—despite the hard work and good intentions of its staff—so why spread it out?

The Congress, after years of talking about consumer rights and protection going back to the Kefauver days, now has the chance for strong action. If any politicians are in doubt about the need for an independent consumer protection agency, they should talk to the widows and orphans of men killed by unvented gas heaters, or the parents of children blinded in one eye because of defective glass bottles, or the bloodied who walk into glass doors that were not safety-glazed. These are the people, among a few, who know something about the need for safety.

SUMMARY OF H.R. 18269, THE CONSUMER PROTECTION ACT OF 1970

To establish an Office of Consumer Affairs and a Consumer Protection Agency in order to secure within the Federal Government effective protection and representation of the interests of consumers, and for other purposes.

Its major features follow:

An *Office of Consumer Affairs* will be established in the Executive Office of the President to coordinate consumer programs and activities in the executive agencies and to assist in the development of such programs and activities throughout the Government. An independent *Consumer Protection Agency* will be created to represent the interests of consumers in proceedings before Federal agencies and the courts, and to gather and make available the results of tests and analyses of products. Also, there will be a *Consumer Advisory Council* composed of 15 members to advise the heads of the two agencies noted above.

The *Office of Consumer Affairs* will be headed by a Director, appointed by the President and confirmed by the Senate, who will direct the work of the *Office* and have the usual powers of appointing and supervising personnel, making contracts and promulgating rules. The *Consumer Protection Agency* will have an administrator, appointed by the President and confirmed by the Senate, who will have administrative powers similar to the Director of the *Office*. They both shall make annual reports to Congress which will include an evaluation of consumer programs of each Federal agency and make recommendations for needed legislation. Both shall keep appropriate committees of Congress fully and currently informed of all their activities.

FUNCTIONS OF THE OFFICE OF CONSUMER AFFAIRS

The *Office* will coordinate consumer programs and activities of all Federal agencies; help develop and implement such programs; assure that consumer interests are taken into account in formulating Government policies; transmit complaints from the public to appropriate agencies; conduct conferences and investigations on consumer problems but not duplicate activities of other agencies; develop information from other Federal agencies and from public and private sources on test results and analyses of products and services and of trade practices adversely affecting consumers; encourage consumer education and research; publish a Consumer Register of Federal agency actions and other useful information, among other functions.

FUNCTIONS OF THE CONSUMER PROTECTIVE AGENCY

The *Agency* will formally represent the interests of consumers in proceedings before Federal agencies and the courts; receive and transmit complaints to appropriate Federal agencies; develop and disseminate informa-

tion from other Federal agencies and from public and private sources of benefit to consumers, including the results of tests and analyses of products and information concerning commercial and trade practices and practices of Federal, State and local governments which adversely affect consumers; encourage and initiate research and testing pursuant to the Act; and continue the work of the National Commission on Product Safety, among other functions. The *Agency* may request another Federal agency to initiate an investigation appropriate to its authority if it determines that it is in the consumer interest.

CONSUMER COMPLAINTS

When consumer complaints are received or developed by the *Office* or *Agency* such action may be taken as is within the authority of each body. If the complaint is referred to another Federal agency the extent of the action taken thereon shall be ascertained. Duplication of the *Agency* and the *Office* in the handling of complaints will be avoided.

A *public document room* will be maintained for public inspection of complaints but in order to reduce the number and effect of frivolous or unsubstantiated complaints a complaint will only be available for public inspection with the permission of the complainant and after the party complained against has had a reasonable time, but not less than 60 days, to comment and the agency to which the complaint has been referred has indicated how it intends to handle the complaint.

PUBLIC INFORMATION AND TESTING

The *Agency* and the *Office* shall develop on their own initiatives, gather from other sources and disseminate to the public information of value to consumers. In order to assure complete fairness in the dissemination of test results which dispose product names, it shall be made clear if all products of a competitive nature have not been tested and that there is no intent or purpose to rate products tested over those not tested. No Federal agency is to declare one product to be better or a better buy than any other product. Federal agencies with testing facilities are directed to cooperate with the *Agency*.

CONSUMER ADVISORY COUNCIL

The *Council* will advise the Director and the Administrator on consumer matters and evaluate the effectiveness of laws and programs. It will have access to information in either the *Office* or the *Agency*.

PROTECTION OF CONSUMER INTERESTS

All *Federal agencies* in taking actions or making decisions are required to give due consideration to the valid interests of consumers and announce publicly the effect of their actions or decisions on consumer interests and the basis upon which the action was taken in keeping with the interests of consumers.

MAN'S INHUMANITY TO MAN—HOW LONG?

HON. WILLIAM J. SCHERLE

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 6, 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 1,500 American prisoners of war and their families.

How long?

WE SERIOUSLY ERRED IN
CAMBODIA

HON. AL ULLMAN

OF OREGON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 6, 1970

Mr. ULLMAN. Mr. Speaker, the administration has withdrawn American troops from Cambodia according to its self-appointed deadline, proclaiming that our incursion into a neutral country was a profound strategic success. I do not believe that the expansion of the war into Cambodia was a wise decision, nor do I believe that it has brought military success. In my judgment, time may well show that we seriously erred in Cambodia by opening up the entire country as a battleground in the Indochina war. We may also discover that we have destroyed all hopes for success in the administration's Vietnamization and pacification programs.

This is certainly the opinion of a friend who is an expert on the Vietnam pacification programs, Mr. Clifford Ouellette. Mr. Ouellette has recently completed 3 years of distinguished service in Vietnam for the Agency for International Development. He has worked closely with the South Vietnamese Government and people on the staff of CORDS—Civil Operations Rural Development Service—the pacification program coordinator, first as a district representative, then as a province representative, and finally as senior representative in the II Corps District. As chief liaison between the U.S. pacification program and the South Vietnamese Army in II Corps, he was in a unique position to evaluate the successes and failures of our effort.

Mr. Ouellette recently retired from Federal service, but in a letter to me expressed his opinion of the effect of the Cambodian invasion on the pacification program. His evaluation is pessimistic, but I believe clear sighted. It should give pause to those who would so quickly proclaim the Cambodia invasion a great success. I commend Mr. Ouellette's important and expert comments to the attention of my colleagues:

JUNE 27, 1970.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN ULLMAN: Although very fragile and subject to a number of unknown "ifs," there was hope, in April of this year that Vietnamization, withdrawal of American troops, and the Pacification Program, could give the Saigon Government enough stability to provide self determination for the people of South Viet Nam. Enough hope, at least, to inspire thousands of Vietnamese and Americans to work long and hard on the national strategy of political, social and economic offensive implicit in the 1970 Pacification Program. There was a chance.

Each day since the Cambodian invasion has reduced the possibility of success in Pacification. Today, in South Viet Nam you would be hard put to find a handful of advisors, working in the field on the Pacification Program, who think we have any chance left.

There were many factors in the hopes raised by the 1970 Pacification Plan, a document indicating more understanding of the

Vietnamese War than any prior paper. The plan sought to provide political stability through programs of local action in health, education, administration, economic assistance and most important local autonomy to solve local problems. An essential factor in its initial success was the vigor and enthusiasm of the Vietnamese civil servants and military personnel who would administer the program. It was there. Another factor was the reaction of the population. In II Corps alone over 150,000 refugees moved, in late 1969, from their safe havens back to their farms, many with only garden tools and without shelter or farm animals. A vital factor in the hoped for success of the Pacification Program, and repeatedly stressed over many years by our military leaders at all levels, was the absolute necessity for a security shield within which pacification programs could take root and grow. The Cambodian invasion removed that shield.

In the last half of 1969 and early 1970 we worked on the assumption that our government had concluded that a military resolution in Viet Nam was not feasible; that the conflict was essentially a political one and ultimately would have to be solved politically; that priorities and efforts would be adjusted accordingly. In spite of U.S. military leaders who continued to think in terms of herbicide operations, napalming of forest covers, massive bombing attacks, and combat offensive operations by U.S. military forces, we made these assumptions, and were reassured by withdrawals of American troops.

What happened? Perhaps we were wrong in our assumptions. I doubt it. Perhaps our military establishment, once committed to a military resolution of the Vietnamese War cannot—even if they suspect might have been wrong initially—cannot change to tactics of hold and withdraw. Perhaps there are too many reputations of high ranking officers such as Wheeler, Johnson, Westmoreland and Abrams, whose places in the military history books demand a military resolution.

The next few years, and perhaps the coming months, will prove that our objectives in Viet Nam of self determination for the South Vietnamese, and the more subtle and complex factor of our own national interest became totally unattainable with the Cambodian invasion. This invasion destroyed the last slim chance that remained. We will still leave S.E. Asia, but we will leave almost totally defeated. Rather than our greatest military victory as described by the Vice President, the Cambodian invasion will prove, in the near future, to be our greatest military blunder.

The Cambodian invasion will not achieve any of its stated objectives. Months before April 30th, the North Vietnamese and the Viet Cong had changed their tactics and strategy. Except for the major confrontations in the Highlands (in II and III Corps), which kept large numbers of ARVN and U.S. forces tied up, the enemy had broken down into small units for hit and run attacks. Kidnappings and terrorism increased. There were more and more attacks by small units in the spring of 1970. The enemy took dead aim on the pacification programs because he realized that this political, social and economic effort was what the fight was all about. Only on this front could he lose the war.

The Cambodian invasion will not insure, or even enhance, the safety of our forces in Viet Nam, because there never was, in 1970, any real danger of major U.S. units being overrun. The suggested threat of another Dien Bien Phu was not and is not justified. The armed forces of South Viet Nam are today strong enough to conduct more than a dozen large offensive operations, in a foreign

country, hundreds of miles from their main bases. We can expect them to continue to improve, and have been so re-assured by our military leaders for the past 18 months. The air, the sea, more than 85% of the people, and more than 70% of the real estate in South Viet Nam is, according to our military leaders, under the control of the government of South Viet Nam. Under these circumstances, (which would probably change only if the North and its allies escalate with new weaponry and tactics), it is difficult to understand how our armed forces were so endangered. I think it also must be conceded that what supplies and arms that have been captured in Cambodia will have been replaced long before the last of our troops leave—when the danger to them will be the greatest.

The Cambodian invasion has added further burdens to the South Vietnamese war against inflation. We worked on programs that were aimed at holding inflation to 30% a year. There was never any assurance that these programs would work, but there was hope. The present rate is above 50% and rising. Every passing day increases the possibility that there will be a military take over of the government of South Viet Nam because of the increasing economic chaos.

The Cambodian invasion will destroy what little support we had left, internationally, for our efforts in South Viet Nam.

The Cambodian invasion has caused and is causing repercussions here at home that intensify our divisions. It has destroyed the President's credibility in the minds of millions.

The Cambodian invasion has restored the priorities of military actions. The small but necessary hope that had been stirred in 1969 and early 1970 will be, if it has not already been, buried under the conviction of the South Vietnamese that pacification was just another drill. Military escalation in any form smother the possibility of political stability. The loud and war like noises coming again from Vice President Ky and his followers are the result of the Cambodian invasion.

The Cambodian invasion is being debated today on the basis of Constitutional Powers, and the best interest of the United States. Who speaks for the Cambodians? We have invaded a nation of seven million people with no more regard for the consequences to them than those invaders whom history has classified as despots and dictators. And we cannot excuse ourselves by pointing at the sanctuaries of the North Vietnamese, because the Cambodians would not and cannot do anything about it.

The Cambodian invasion has destroyed thousands of homes, hamlets and villages. Today we continue our bombing and destruction of Cambodian homes in every part of their country. As Cambodian homes go up in flames, and Cambodians die, United States Cabinet members have the effrontery to say that there is a benefit to the Cambodians from the bombing! I cannot believe that there is a single American soldier, sailor, marine or airman in South Viet Nam who wants to be protected by the destruction of Cambodian homes. We and our descendants will burn in shame at this fantastic blunder.

I cannot impugn the patriotism or good intentions of those involved in the Cambodian invasion. I still feel that the President of the United States wants to withdraw completely from Southeast Asia. There is a sadness and horror from a growing conviction that our military and defense establishment is out of control and has evolved into a system that cannot see the world as it is. I can find no other explanation for the tragic and horrendous error of the Cambodian invasion.

CLIFFORD OUELLETTE.

VANCOUVER, WASH.

THE CAMBODIAN CRISIS: REASON
AND EMOTION

HON. LESTER L. WOLFF

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 6, 1970

Mr. WOLFF. Mr. Speaker, a constituent, Mr. Nathan H. Sauberman of Great Neck, has forwarded to me an interesting editorial in the June 5, 1970, issue of *Science*, published by the American Association for the Advancement of Science.

This thoughtful editorial, by Carroll E. Izard of Vanderbilt University, is addressed to the matter of the war in Indochina and its effect on this country. Since this editorial raises some interesting questions that we in the Congress should ponder, I would like to include the aforementioned editorial in the RECORD at this point:

THE CAMBODIAN CRISIS: REASON AND EMOTION
(By Carroll E. Izard)

The invasion of Cambodia was a step backward in the struggle of today's youth to find a new humaneness. President Nixon's decision was a product of reason and, once again, reason has failed.

We can ill afford to reject reason for emotion. But we must accept the place of emotion in individual life and human affairs. We must learn to let emotion play its proper role in the reasoning process and must find the ways to channel the force of emotion appropriately. We have been taught that the emotions, especially what we call negative emotions, are dangerous and bad. But each of the emotions, like any other significant part of the human being, has an inherently adaptive function.

Distress can lead to personal discouragement and crippling depression. But unless we feel something of the personal distress of the loved ones of the wounded or dying man, whether friend or foe, we cannot have an adequately human perspective on this or any war.

Disgust with yourself can lead to alienation and aloneness, and disgust with the world can lead to dangerous indifference. But unless we experience some disgust with ourselves for the complacency over the miseries and massacres of war we cannot have an adequately human perspective on this crisis.

Contempt of self can lead to the disaster of self-rejection, and contempt of others can sustain prejudice, misconception, and conflict between peoples. But unless we have some measure of contempt for killers of men and contempt for the act of killing, we cannot have an adequately human perspective on war's destruction of humanity.

The shame of defeat would strike deep at the heartstrings of a proud nation. But unless we can find greater shame in inflicting suffering and death than in a lost or stalemated war, we cannot have the kind of perspective that can lead to peace and progress in a search for a new humaneness and a new humanity.

Anger can make a mockery of man's hope for reasoned negotiation and can increase the likelihood of destructive aggression. But a little anger properly channeled can defend a new kind of personal integrity and a new kind of integrity for humanity that disallows war's miseries and massacres.

Fear is the most toxic of all the emotions. This is not a time for panic, but, unless we have some fear of war, we cannot see the Cambodian crisis in true perspective.

I am not asking that you let distress lead to depression, disgust to indifference, con-

tempt to aloofness, shame to withdrawal, anger to destruction, or fear to panic. I am asking you to be sad over war-inflicted suffering and death. I am asking you to be a little disgusted with complacency and a little contemptuous of the forces and conditions that lead to war. I ask us all to be a little ashamed of the inability of the most powerful nation on earth to accept defeat—or simply to redefine it as a colossal mistake.

I ask you to be a little angry at the grave threat that deepening and continuing commitment to war poses to our humanness and to our very survival. I ask you to be a little afraid of the horror of becoming extinct or, perhaps even worse, of becoming less and less human. I ask you to respond to each of these emotions with constructive effort before the emotion is dissipated and comes to nought or before it goes awry and wreaks destruction.—CARROLL E. IZARD, *Vanderbilt University*.

DOCTOR OF ARTS DEGREE

HON. ORVAL HANSEN

OF IDAHO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 6, 1970

Mr. HANSEN of Idaho. Mr. Speaker, I was happy to receive the news recently that Idaho State University is among 10 universities throughout the Nation selected to receive a Carnegie planning grant to develop a far-reaching new degree program—the doctor of arts.

The doctor of arts is expected to offer an alternative to the narrow specialization of the Ph. D., which has become increasingly divorced from the needs of mass higher education. It is designed to produce teachers with broader academic training and a deeper understanding of education as well as specific training in teaching itself.

The Carnegie Corp. is to be commended for the decision to fund the establishment of this innovative teacher-oriented advanced degree and to include ISU among the universities receiving grants. I am confident that ISU, with its outstanding faculty and its exceptionally talented president, William E. Davis, will play a leading role in developing a successful new program as it moves to the top ranks among universities across the country.

I commend to the attention of my colleagues the following statement to the press from the Carnegie Corp. and report by the Council of Graduate Schools in the United States on the doctor of arts degree:

STATEMENT TO PRESS FROM CARNEGIE CORP.

NEW YORK.—Ten universities have received grants totaling \$935,000 from Carnegie Corporation to plan new graduate programs aimed at improving the quality of college teaching. In announcing the awards, Alan Pifer, president of the educational foundation, said, "The highly specialized research required for the Ph. D. is simply not appropriate training for much of undergraduate teaching. These ten institutions are dedicated to designing a new kind of degree that will attract first-rate students to teaching careers. With one possible exception, the planning envisages that this will be the Doctor of Arts degree."

The recipients of the planning grants include: Ball State University (\$35,000),

Brown University (\$85,000), Claremont University Center (\$123,000), Dartmouth College (\$103,000), Idaho State University (\$81,000), Massachusetts Institute of Technology (\$100,000), University of Michigan (\$80,000), State University of New York at Albany (\$108,000), University of Washington (\$140,000), and Washington State University (\$80,000).

Financial stringency and the much publicized "surplus" of Ph. D. holders are causing many graduate schools to reassess their doctoral programs. At the same time, there is a growing market for people trained primarily as teachers rather than researchers in the rapidly expanding community colleges and four-year state colleges, which already enroll well over fifty percent of all undergraduates. Mr. Pifer stated that "We need to encourage rather substantial numbers of Ph. D. aspirants to work toward a different kind of degree, one which will provide training appropriate for the jobs that are open."

Interest in the Doctor of Arts (D.A.) degree is developing rapidly. The first D.A. program was established in 1967 at Carnegie-Mellon University with support from a previous Corporation grant. Both the Council of Graduate Schools and the American Association of State Colleges and Universities have issued guidelines for universities interested in developing the new degree. At latest count, some seventy-five institutions are considering the idea. Clark Kerr, chairman of the Carnegie Commission on Higher Education, has recently stated, "The Doctor of Arts should become the standard degree for college teaching in the United States."

The new degree programs being planned by the ten grant recipients will begin in the fall of 1971. They will entail a minimum of three years' study beyond the bachelor's degree and will be designed to produce college teachers with broad academic training and a solid understanding of higher education. The programs will include work on a major project or dissertation focused on the organization and teaching of existing knowledge rather than the creation of new knowledge. Supervised teaching experience will also be required in most cases. All ten institutions will plan to hire, promote, and pay graduates of the new programs as they do Ph. D. holders.

Carnegie Corporation was founded in 1911 by Andrew Carnegie for the advancement and diffusion of knowledge and understanding among the peoples of the United States and of certain British Commonwealth countries. Its assets now total approximately \$280 million at market value.

REPORT ON DOCTOR OF ARTS BY THE COUNCIL OF
GRADUATE SCHOOLS IN THE UNITED STATES

INTRODUCTION

The Executive Committee of the Council of Graduate Schools and the Council have in principle recommended the establishment of graduate programs leading to the degree Doctor of Arts to prepare graduate students for a lifetime of effective teaching at the college level.

The Doctor of Arts program should be of such rigor that the degree will take its place among other respected doctoral degrees such as the Doctor of Philosophy, Doctor of Education, Doctor of Medicine, Juris Doctor, and others.

The new title is proposed in the belief that the Ph.D. degree has traditionally so emphasized research that it may be counter-productive in that many graduate students are trained along lines other than those which they will actually follow in their careers as college teachers. The Ph.D. is and should be the highest research degree; many of its recipients do in fact become excellent teaching scholars. However, others are led into expectations that will not in fact be realized, and, as a result, their level of discontent and dissatisfaction may be magnified. Relevance is achieved best if the degree struc-

ture is appropriate to the career aims and possibilities of the students as well as to the primary role of most as teaching scholars.

For many doctoral students, a program emphasizing broad subject matter competence and teaching skills and the development of synthesizing and disseminating abilities will be most appropriate. The title Doctor of Arts should connote this great emphasis on preparation of college teaching.

The orientation and preparation inherent in the Doctor of Arts degree have advantages beyond those for the teaching faculty who will find a greater continuity between their training and their actual careers. Colleges will be placed under less pressure to create research facilities if research accomplishment is no longer held up as the one single mark of success of undergraduate faculties. The present influence of research specialization on the undergraduate curriculum would also be reduced, and many students will welcome a broader orientation in curricular offerings. Much of the undergraduate curriculum today is oriented toward the research interest of the faculty members or toward the two percent of the students who will eventually seek the Ph. D. degree. We should now recognize that the great growth in enrollments and thus in teaching positions in the future will be in the community colleges, the comprehensive regional colleges, and in the university colleges—not in the research positions available in the universities or elsewhere.

The Committee recognizes that it is neither feasible nor desirable to separate sharply a university professor's teaching and research functions. Research activity is in many cases an essential element of a professor's teaching effectiveness and all graduate study must include research components. But the importance of research as a component of college teaching is considerably less for those not teaching at the Ph.D. level, and this group constitutes the majority of teachers in higher education. The necessity for research competence and activities at these other levels varies at least quantitatively and in emphasis, depending upon the subject being taught. For most college faculty it seems clear that the research competence required for the great majority of college teachers can be obtained through the proposed Doctor of Arts program.

GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS

The Degree Doctor of Arts identifies a person with at least three years of graduate study and is designed to prepare students for careers as college teachers.

The program leading to the Doctor of Arts degree will parallel other doctoral programs but will be oriented toward developing teaching competence in a broad subject matter area. In contrast, the Doctor of Philosophy program is designed to prepare a graduate student for a lifetime of creative activity and research, although it will often be in association with a career in teaching at a university or college. The degree Doctor of Education (Ed.D.) should mark a professionally oriented program at the doctoral level in the field of education.

The Doctor of Arts program should be offered only by institutions with faculty, facilities, and equipment adequate to provide for the offering of these practice-oriented Doctor of Arts programs; they must be comparable in quality, although different in character, to accepted research-oriented Ph.D. programs.

Admission, retention, and degree standards for a Doctor of Arts program should be as rigorous as those prevailing for a Ph.D. program and should be under the control of the graduate faculty of the subject-matter field. Under no circumstances should the Doctor of Arts be utilized as a consolation prize or second class, attenuated Ph. D. While program requirements will inevitably differ because of different objectives, requirements for the Doctor of Arts should be no less demanding. If it is awarded at the completion of a program equal in quality and rigor to the Ph. D., its recipients should be employed in their areas of competence on a comparable basis to those holding the Ph.D. The standards and reputation of the graduate school awarding the degree are the significant determinants.

SPECIAL CHARACTERISTICS

To insure adequate preparation of college teachers, the Doctor of Arts program should provide for the following:

First, the formal course work in the Doctor of Arts program will deal preponderantly with the subject matter to be taught by the prospective teacher. Course selection will typically be broader within a particular discipline than for the Ph. D. and may also

bridge several related disciplines. The individual courses in the Doctor of Arts program will be conducted at the same high level as Ph. D. courses and where the two programs exist side by side may well be the same courses in many instances. Foreign language or other research tool requirements will be truly functional. A comprehensive examination which is typically broader and less specialized than the usual Ph. D. comprehensive examination but not less demanding will be required upon the completion of formal course work.

Second, prospective college teachers will take an appropriate amount of formal course work and seminars in such areas as the psychology of learning, the history and sociology of higher education, and the responsibilities of faculty members within an institutional setting.

Third, as a parallel to the traditional research training for the Ph. D. degree, a structured teaching or other appropriate internship will be required. This normally will not be met by the usual teaching assistantships. The teaching internship will include progressive and responsible classroom experience in regular courses, preferably in more than one kind of course. The internship will normally be held for one year and it will be supervised, criticized, and evaluated by experienced faculty members and reinforced by relevant course work in teaching methods which are applicable to the student's particular discipline.

Fourth, the development of the capacity and habit of reading, understanding, and interpreting the results of new research and pedagogical developments appearing in the literature of the field will be encouraged.

Fifth, development of the student's ability to apply new, significant disciplinary research and teaching techniques for the benefit of college teaching is a significant part of the student's graduate education for the Doctor of Arts degree.

Sixth, independent investigation of an area in the subject matter field will lead to a suitable written thesis. Such an investigation might take the form of research on teaching problems and may make a contribution to the teaching of the subject matter. The evaluation and synthesis of materials that are potentially valuable in college teaching but have not yet been reviewed may also be acceptable.

SENATE—Tuesday, July 7, 1970

The Senate met at 11 a.m. and was called to order by Hon. THOMAS F. EAGLETON, a Senator from the State of Missouri.

The Chaplain, the Reverend Edward L. R. Elson, D.D., offered the following prayer:

O God of all grace, whose word teaches "Keep thy heart with all diligence; for out of it are the issues of life," we pause this morning hour for a more vivid sense of Thy presence so that we may work not alone but in partnership with Thee. As we grapple daily with perplexing problems, help us to lay hold on those spiritual resources Thou hast placed at our disposal and appropriate them by faith.

As we give ourselves to the service of the Nation, may we and all the people honor America not only on one day with words, but every day with our lives. May we never be content with the lesser good and with small achievements when the

higher way of Thy kingdom is open to all who follow Thee in sincerity and in truth.

Through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

DESIGNATION OF ACTING PRESIDENT PRO TEMPORE

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will please read a communication to the Senate from the President pro tempore (Mr. RUSSELL).

The assistant legislative clerk read the following letter:

U.S. SENATE,
PRESIDENT PRO TEMPORE,
Washington, D.C., July 7, 1970.

To the Senate:

Being temporarily absent from the Senate, I appoint Hon. THOMAS F. EAGLETON, a Senator from the State of Missouri, to perform the duties of the Chair during my absence.

RICHARD B. RUSSELL,
President pro tempore.

Mr. EAGLETON thereupon took the chair as Acting President pro tempore.

THE JOURNAL

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the reading of the Journal of the proceedings of Monday, July 6, 1970, be dispensed with.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

COMMITTEE MEETINGS DURING SENATE SESSION

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, with the concurrence of the distinguished Senator from Oregon (Mr. HATFIELD), I ask unanimous consent that all committees be authorized to meet during the session of the Senate today.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.