Samoa to $50,000. The House Amendment did not contain such a limitation. The Conference Report adopts this provision of the Senate Bill.

The House Amendment amended section 5(h)(3) of the National Foundation on the Arts and the Humanities Act of 1965 to provide that no State should receive less than $75,000 for any fiscal year from funds allocated to carry out the purposes of that subsection. The Senate Bill in authorizing separate appropriations for the purpose of paragraph (3) of subsection (h) of section 5 provided that $50,000 should be allotted to each State and that any funds remaining after such an allotment would be distributed among the States in equal amounts. The Conference Report provides that from the sums appropriated to carry out the purposes of the subsection for any fiscal year not less than $65,000 shall be allotted to each State.

The House Amendment but not the Senate Bill authorized the National Council on the Humanities to initiate and support research and programs to strengthen teaching potential in the humanities. The Conference Report contains the provision of the House Amendment in this respect.

The House Amendment authorized the National Council to foster education in the humanities. The Senate Amendment contained no comparable provision. The Conference Report adopts the provision of the House Amendment.

The House Amendment authorized the establishment of an Executive Committee on the National Council of the Humanities. The Senate Bill contained no comparable provision. The Conference Report does not contain this provision.

The Senate Bill, unlike the House Amendment, amended section 9 of the National Foundation on the Arts and the Humanities Act of 1965 to include the Archivist of the United States as a member of the Council. The Conference Report contains the provisions of the Senate Bill.

The Senate Bill contains separate authorizations of appropriations to each Endowment for the various activities under the Foundation while the House Amendment consolidated the authorization of appropriations into a single sum to be appropriated to the Foundation. In addition, the House Amendment placed no limit on appropriations for fiscal years 1972 and 1973. The Senate Bill placed overall limitations on appropriations of $60 million for fiscal year 1972 and $80 million for fiscal year 1973. The Conference Report adopts the provisions of the Senate Bill in these respects.

CARL D. PERKINS,
FRANK THOMPSON, JR.,
JOHN BRADEMAS,
OGDEN REID,
Managers on the Part of the House.

EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

WORLD OXYGEN SUPPLY IS SAFE

HON. MILTON R. YOUNG

OF NORTH DAKOTA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, July 10, 1970

Mr. YOUNG of North Dakota. Mr. President, one of the best editorials I have read with reference to our environmental problems appeared in the Forum, North Dakota's largest newspaper, published at Fargo, on July 6, 1970.

There has been so much exaggeration and misinformation on this subject that it is refreshing to read a commonsense down-to-earth appraisal of this question.

Mr. President, I believe that the editorial will attract widespread interest. I ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the Extensions of Remarks.

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

REPORT THAT WORLD OXYGEN SUPPLY SAFE OVERSHADOWED BY DOOMSDAY PREDICTIONS

With the continuing uproar about the danger which modern civilization represents to the world's ecology or physical environment, all the pessimistic theories about the harmful effects that modern civilization has on the earth and its atmosphere get prime attention in most news media, from newspapers to television to magazines. Even the most fantastic theories about the deterioration of the natural environment are accepted as proven fact and not as far-fetched theories.

Not long ago some scientists said the earth is in danger of over-heating because of the tremendous amount of air pollution generated by the fumes of factories, refineries and power plants throughout the world. The claim was that all of these man-made fires were using up the oxygen in the air faster than it could be regenerated by green plants and trees which are nature's system of converting carbon dioxide back to oxygen and carbon. The doomsday scientists predicted that within the next half century there would be a layer of carbon dioxide surrounding the earth that would drastically reduce the amount of sunlight reaching the earth's plantlife, and thereby reduce the amount of oxygen released by the plants.

Last week the U.S. Weather Bureau reported that there has been no discernible change in the world's oxygen supply for the last 69 years, substantiated by a study conducted by two scientists in the U.S. Department of Commerce.

Dr. Lester Machta of the Environmental Science Services Administration and Ernest Hughes of the National Bureau of Standards have also concluded that if all the known recoverable reserves of fossil fuels (coal, oil and wood) were ultimately burned, there would be no significant effect of oxygen reduction on human breathing.

But this report that our oxygen supply is safe receives scant attention compared to the headlines over the doomsday predictions mentioned earlier. The fact that our oxygen supply is safe, though, doesn't mean that we can pollute the air with impunity. Certainly the citizens of a city or an industrial community can call for safeguards against locally thick layers of dirty smoke which choke the air with soot, irritating smells and irritating chemical gases. But there seems to be no reason why a controlled amount of burning in city dumps shouldn't be permitted, if the smoke doesn't adversely affect the neighborhood, for instance.

The same is true about industry. Perhaps one, two or three smoke stacks would be acceptable within the community, but 10 would not be. In some areas, surrounded by hills, the disturbing effects of smog are much more noticeable than they would be in the flat country which permits no concentrations of smoke.

All of the concern about the pollution of our environment is understandable when people generally, and the politicians in particular, fail to note the offsetting evidence that makes some of the doomsday predictions suspect. Throughout the history of the world, volcanoes and forest fires have produced in some areas as much smoke as all the factories of the world produce today, yet the earth has continued to exist. The workings of nature have a remarkable facility for overcoming the pollution of any period. Burned-over forests become green again. The swamps of prehistoric areas become the oil and coal that we need for fuel in our modern civilizations. The dump grounds of past years become the archeological history of the world.

Every civilization produces its own brand of pollution. We are now embarked on a program to reduce the injurious effects of water pollution and air pollution as much as possible, but it should be heartening to realize that we are in no danger of running out of oxygen, and that the reduction of the great pile of garbage and refuse that accumulates in modern cities can continue to be destroyed by fire without endangering our ability to breathe.

MICHIGAN WEEK WINNING ESSAYS

HON. GARRY BROWN

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 9, 1970

Mr. BROWN of Michigan. Mr. Speaker, I would like to share with our colleagues the views of young residents of Michigan's Third District relating to the state of our Union. James Rice, son of Mr. and Mrs. Arnold A. Rice; Renee Story, daughter of Mr. and Mrs. Thomas B. Shaw; Glenda Nolan, daughter of Mr. and Mrs. Lewis L. Nolan; and Sally Long, daughter of Mr. and Mrs. Kenneth Long, were my guests on Capitol Hill during the first week of June. Each authored an award-winning essay on "What I Would Do If I Were President."

In Michigan each year, we celebrate Michigan Week. One day is set aside designated as Government Day. Among the Government Day activities are essay contests open to young people of school age and relating to our Government. These four outstanding, young Americans from Battle Creek were judged winners this year.

I commend James Rice, Renee Story, Glenda Nolan, and Sally Long for their work and commend to our colleagues the substance of their views. These essays manifest a broad grasp of the problems facing contemporary America and knowing that the generation which follows ours is so knowledgeable reinforces my faith in the future we seek to serve here.

This thought offered by a sixth grader might well serve as a maxim for each of us:

I would do everything in my power to make the United States and the world a cleaner, healthier, prettier and all around nicer place to live in.

The winning essays follow:

WHAT I WOULD DO IF I WERE PRESIDENT

(By Renee Story)

If I became president I would try to solve some of today's major problems. I would attempt to cure some of the ailments of society before my four years of office were finished.

I would try to master the problem of pollution. I believe there would be a way of putting a stop to the pollution of our country. The rivers, streams, lakes, and oceans we use are being contaminated. The air we breathe is also impure, due to all of the factories and other industries in this country. Automobiles, trucks, and other machines are contributing to this.

I feel if I were president I would do everything in my power to provide jobs for all the people. If people can work and take care of their own families it would save our government a lot of money in welfare aid. Many people in our country are dying of hunger and disease. Something must be done about this or many more will die.

Another big problem in the United States is drugs. I, with the help of others, would build clinics and hospitals for the sick, on drugs. I would tighten down on the raising and selling of drugs.

Also, being president I would try to control the war and the disagreements in our own country. There must be some way to bring peace and understanding between the United States and other nations.

If I were president I would also try to save our wonderful parks, forests, lakes and other nature areas. Many things are being done to save this but still it is a problem.

The president has many things to worry about. I feel he deserves the support and respect of all the American people to fulfill his work in office.

As being president I would try to keep the world and national facts open to the public. Many people do not think we tell them everything that is happening around us. I feel that it is an important factor to keep the news open to the people.

If I were president I would try to help or to solve some of todays many problems. I have not covered even a fraction of them on this paper. I would do everything in my power to make the United States and the world a cleaner, healthier, prettier and all around nicer place to live in.

WHAT I WOULD DO IF I WERE PRESIDENT

(By Sally Long)

If I were president I would see to it that everybody has equal rights. No matter what race or color.

I would try to find a solution to end the Viet Nam war in ways of peace.

As president I would fight pollution to preserve our beautiful lakes, streams, skyway, and grounds.

I would try to find ways to stop crime but do it in ways that would go along with the people.

As president, I'd try to make more countries welfare countries.

I would encourage physical education so that people would stay healthy.

I'd do something about the terrible disease, cancer.

I would help or try to help the ghetto people by building more government owned houses and apartments.

As president I would see to it that no one was disfranchised.

I would also try to help the under privildged ones who are not fortunate enough to have the proper education.

Also I would try new ways to help the country's budget and yet go exploring into outerspace and other unknown places.

I'd do something for the people in foreign countries who need help.

I would have some research done on the problem of mentally retarded people.

If I were president I would give the retired and handicapped people more chances at the world.

I would try to control demonstrations so that things won't get out of hand.

If I were president I would do something about the drug problem, so that people could use drugs under prescriptions only.

There is one line in Lincoln's Gettysburg Address that has a lot to do with people which is the main subject of this essay; "That this Nation under God shall have a new birth of freedom—and that government of the people, by the people, for the people, shall not perish from the earth."

WHAT I WOULD DO IF I WERE PRESIDENT

(By Glenda Nolan)

Can't you just see the headlines all across the country? First woman elected President! or Glenda gains goal!

I know, the idea of me, Glenda Nolan, as President of these United States may seem quite hilarious to many! but so many changes have taken place in the world in recent years, both good and bad, that the election of a woman to this highest office is not, totally, an impossibility! Because of it's being a First, however, it would mean that I would have to make every effort to prove that the electors had not been wrong in their choice—that this is not, completely, "a man's world!"

In trying to analyze just what I would do, I realized immediately the country's population blames the president for *all* . . . of America's problems. Especially these main ones:

A. The Vietnam War.
B. Health:
1. Drug.
2. Pollution.
3. Ghetto Areas.
C. Race Discrimination.

Let me, then, as president first discuss the Vietnam war. Personally, I am totally against it. Mostly because of lives lost, but also because it seems so completely unnecessary. It appears to have done nothing for the American people except weaken their faith in their government and elected officials who run it. If I were president I would try to end the war immediately. . . . If not by peace talks, then by force.

On the subject of our country's health, I would first like to consider the problem of drugs. Lately, they seem to have become "contagious!" . . . Everyday more and more people "turn on." They claim to get their supply from "friends." But are they really your friends if they help you destroy yourself, physically and mentally? Stricter laws and punishments should help to control the drug scene in America. We need the help of everyone on locating, apprehending, and rehabilitating of the pushers and users of drugs. Maybe with the majority of the American people on the "side" of the law, especially the youth, we would be able to conquer this very serious problem.

Pollution is a world-wide problem, but taking care of it in America would help. We need the help and cooperation of everyone, young and old. As president I would urge rallies, committees, seminars and a great deal of publicity on the prevention of pollution. I feel with enough people becoming involved and caring about the world they live in, we would soon be breathing easier! . . .

The Ghetto Areas are a major concern. With all the groups such as Vista and the Peace Corps we should be able to have a group of volunteers working for the benefit of *our* country. As president, I would try to form such a group. If we could clean up the Ghetto Areas it would, no doubt, help in the case of drugs, pollution, and also race discrimination.

Race Discrimination is a very touchy subject, because everyone seems to feel that everyone else is prejudiced! Very little can be accomplished with these views. I would hope that the people could be convinced that we're all members of the human race, that there are equal rights and opportunities for all. Then if people didn't take advantage of these rights, but made the best of the opportunities available in this greatest country of the world, "race discrimination" would be a forgotten phrase!

I feel that these are our major problems. I realize that if I were actually President of these United States, my views would probably change a bit. I'm sure I would be more and better informed, as well as more involved in the problems.

I appreciate that I am *free* to write my thoughts and views on this topic. There are probably many people, my age, elsewhere in the world who would say this "could only happen in the United States!"

WHAT I WOULD DO IF I WERE PRESIDENT

(By Jim Rice)

There are many problems in the United States today. If we don't learn how to cope with these problems, it may lead to the downfall of our country. One of the most important problems facing our country today is pollution. Smoke from factories and means of transportation such as cars, trucks, etc., are filling the air which we breathe. Human wastes and all sorts of trash and junk occupy our lakes and streams and rivers which we swim and fish in. Beer cans and garbage and all sorts of litter lay on our roads and highways. If I were president I would start a national campaign to clean up our lakes and cities and the air. Too much money is being spent for space exploration. All this money and more could be spent to clean up our environment. The government is spending a little money for this problem, but not nearly enough.

Another problem facing our country today is the problem between the races. It seems silly that people of different colored skins can not live together in the same city without fighting and bickering. If I were president I would hear the problems of the people and try to find out why they can't get along with each other. I would try to unite the people because a united country is a strong country. If the people still can't get along with each other, let them take their problems and themselves to another country.

The health problems of our country are unbelievable. There are a number of small communities that do not have even one doctor in their town. They have to travel many miles to get medical help. If an emergency arises it may be too late to travel for help. As president, I would get help in these communities until they had sufficient medical help. Most of the people in these towns are poor and poverty stricken. Many people living in places like these are living in poor housing conditions. But this problem is also affecting people in the larger urban areas. If I were president I would spend more money to help poor people living in our country and better housing conditions. This will take a lot of money, but it would be worth it.

Crime in our country today is outrageous. Our big cities are being robbed blind. People are being mugged on the streets. Everyone makes fun of our policemen and call them names because they can't solve every crime right away. I think that the police forces of the United States are doing an excellent job, despite the poor support from the people that they are protecting. People can not be out after dark without the fear of being attacked and robbed. Girls and young women can not be out alone without the fear of being kidnapped and molested. If I were president I would start really punishing lawbreakers and enforce every law. Another problem that has the United States in an uproar is the war in Viet Nam.

Most people don't realize the American armed forces are in Viet Nam to stop the spread of Communism. They are ignorant of the fact that Communism is a dangerous threat to all the people in the world. It can

spread to all parts of the world if it is not stopped. A lot of people protest the war and they have every right to because thousands of our brave young men are being killed each year and it is not even our war. The number of deaths in the war is terrible, but that is our fault because we became involved too late. If I were president I would get our troops out of Viet Nam and Cambodia as soon as possible because it is not our war.

The drug and narcotics problem in the United States is also a serious problem. There are present laws concerning this problem, and they are enforced pretty good. If I were president I would enforce these laws and punish the lawbreakers in much the same way they are doing it today, but I would set up rehabilitation centers all over the country and try to rid the drug addicts of the terrible habit which they have wrongly taken up. I would have all illegal drugs destroyed which are not needed in medical centers and research. The alcoholic problem is as big or bigger than the drug problem because it involves people of all ages and mostly young people are involved in addictive drugs. There are places all over the country which anyone with an alcoholic problem can get help. If I were president I would give money to places like this so anyone with a drinking problem can get all the help they need to quit drinking. Smoking is another problem endangering the health of many people in our country. I would ban all cigarette commercials from t.v. and radio because thousands and thousands of people are dying each year from cigarettes or some other form of smoking. I wouldn't make it a federal offense to smoke, because most smokers are so much in the habit of smoking that they can't quit right away.

These are just a few of the problems facing the people of the United States today. If I were President I would spend much more money for these problems than spend billons of dolairs each year for something many miles away.

CITIZEN COMMITMENT NEEDED TO CLEANLINESS—AMERICAN BUSINESS EXECUTIVE SEES NO LITTER IN RUSSIA

HON. JENNINGS RANDOLPH

OF WEST VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, July 10, 1970

Mr. RANDOLPH. Mr. President, earlier this year the Subcommittee on Air and Water Pollution of the Committee on Public Works conducted hearings on solid waste disposal problems. We heard testimony that an average of 5.3 pounds of solid wastes per person is produced every day in the United States.

This waste output is steadily growing and partially accounts for the sometimes cluttered appearance of our cities and roadsides.

The Government can and must take strong, effective action to encourage and assist in coping with this most serious problem.

But we cannot do it alone. We can pass laws every week and provide all the money necessary, but we cannot have a clean America without a determination by the people that they want it. Such a determination must be followed by the resolve by all citizens and public officials to do their part.

That the cities and the countryside can be kept clean and neat is shown in the examples set in other nations. A prime example of the progress that is being made is seen in the Soviet Union.

On July 8, Herbert S. Richey, chairman of the Natural Resources Committee of the U.S. Chamber of Commerce and president of the Valley Camp Coal Co., reported before a group of Senators and staff members on his recent trip to Russia.

Mr. Richey was one of a number of coal company executives who went to the Soviet Union to examine mining methods in that country. He was impressed, however, by many other things he saw there.

Particularly impressive, he told us, was the cleanliness and concern about their surroundings by the Russian people, Mr. Richey said even large cities are virtually devoid of litter, and in a nation where many people smoke, cigarette butts were not seen lying on the streets and sidewalks.

Russian parks are immaculate, Mr. Richey said, and all parts of the country that he visited showed a public commitment to cleanliness.

That kind of apparent commitment is needed in this country, too, if we are to create and maintain the kind of surroundings we desire. Unfortunately, it is apparent that we have not developed it. There continues to be a disregard reflected by the trash and litter we see daily and the absence of determination by the authorities to enforce existing laws.

This problem was vividly described on July 8 in an article published in the Washington Daily News. There are, however, encouraging signs that there are many citizens of the United States who are willing to shoulder their share of the burden. One such example was described in the Charleston, W. Va., Gazette, of June 8, 1970. It is a story of people contributing their time and labor to cleaning a stream.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that both articles be printed in the RECORD.

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

[From the Washington Daily News, July 8, 1970]

LETTER OF OUR LITTER LAWS LITERALLY IGNORED

(By Columbus Smith)

Anti-littering laws in the Washington area are seldom enforced and often ignored.

Area officials think litter laws are ineffective. Some officials think the public wouldn't tolerate strict enforcement of existing area litter laws, which range upward to a maximum penalty of a $1,000 fine and a year in jail.

In the first four months this year state police made only three littering arrests in Montgomery County, 12 in Prince Georges, 10 in Fairfax County and none in Arlington. Only three littering arrests were made in Arlington by state police during 1969.

COSTLY CLEANUP

The Virginia Department of Highways spent $96,272 last fiscal year cleaning up the roadsides of Fairfax and Arlington counties.

In Montgomery County the cost for one year of cleaning trash from the streets was $92,430. In Prince Georges County the estimate is $200,000 a year. In the District it is $3 million a year.

The District prosecuted 56 litter cases last year. A District Court official said most of the cases were resolved with the forfeiture of $10 in collateral.

"Under normal conditions we don't make an arrest for littering," said Deputy Chief of the District Patrol Division Tilmon B. O'Bryant. He said citations were issued when a clear case of littering was noted. The maximum penalty for littering in the District is $300 and 10 days in jail.

SUGGEST SPECIAL COURT

W. F. Roeder, chief of the District Sanitation Department, said, "If they (litter cases) were handled by a special court it might have more impact."

He said a judge faced with a docketful of really serious crimes "doesn't want to be bothered with these minor cases of littering."

He said District police "know if they take it into court they may not get a conviction—I think they bypass it." Mr. Roeder was not critical of the police who he says are concentrating on cutting down more serious crimes.

Acting Police Chief Leslie C. Saunders of Alexandria said, "If you threw a gum wrapper on the pavement I'm not sure I'd want my officer to enforce the law."

He said enforcement to the letter of the city law would be "almost unacceptable with the public." The maximum fine in Alexandria is $600 or six months in jail.

A police officer in Alexandria said he couldn't remember when a citizen had last been arrested for littering. "You stop the car and make a fuss and you have seven days of rioting because someone dropped a hamburger wrapping," the officer said.

Jerome Stanburry, city attorney for Hyattsville, a city of 30,000 said, "I've never heard of police stopping someone for throwing a beer can out the window." He said attractive trashcans, conveniently placed, were needed.

"I don't think we make a dozen cases a year," said Fairfax City Police Chief Murray Kutner.

Police Chief Lee Baker of Seat Pleasant said, "I don't think there's been one charge of littering" since he has been chief. It's more effective, the chief said "to apprehend someone in the act and make them clean it up."

LaRue Van Meter, city attorney for Falls Church where the maximum penalty is a $1,000 fine and a year in jail, said there has been "nothing in the way of arrests for littering by common citizens. Nobody has been concerned enough to make an issue of it."

"I've never seen one," said Jeff Werner, assistant state's attorney for Montgomery County.

"I don't know what happens. I've been in Peoples Court for the last year and I've never seen one."

Tom Ferguson, town administrator for Cheverly, said "I've been here two years and we've never enforced it . . . It's so damn tough to catch the offenders."

They feel that littering is now part of the American makeup and will take more than laws to correct. Almost every official contacted felt that only thru constant news coverage of the problem would Americans save litter for the trash can rather than toss it on streets and sidewalks.

"Look at the parks and tell by the lack of it (litter) the stability of the people who use the parks," said Grant Wright, chief of the U.S. Park Police.

"I don't think policemen arresting people who throw trash on the ground will have much effect on it (the litter)" said Chief Wright.

Many officials think industry could ease some of the burden by changing marketing and design habits.

Arlington Police Chief William Fawver says litter might be cut by a third if cigaret packs were made from one piece of material instead of several.

A high ranking police officer in the Prince Georges force said:

"As long as you advertise non-returnable "throw away" bottles that's what he (the citizen) will do—throw it right on the road."

Chief Fawver said, "Even for three or four cents people have an incentive to return their bottles whereas now they don't have any incentive."

Police Chief Murray Kutner of Fairfax City says that items like a six-pack of beer, soft drinks or Kleenex could have a plastic litter bag attached.

"If a bag was available in your car you would be more apt to use it," said Chief Kutner.

Cars also aren't designed with litter in mind. "They (auto makers) build an automobile and give you an ash tray that will hold three (cigaret) butts," said Chief Kutner.

[From the Charleston Gazette, June 8, 1970]

GARBAGE FLOWS LIKE WATER—OUT OF BOONE STREAM

(By William Canterbury)

Led by a young biology teacher, 13 boys in the Neighborhood Youth Corps (NYC) splashed into the Big Coal River deep in the valley floor below Whitesville.

As they worked their way downstream they stopped every few feet to bend over and pick up some trash from the riverbed or along the banks.

In the first half hour they filled seven 20-gallon garbage cans.

It was their first day on the job of the "Clean Streams" campaign, Boone County's slogan for the statewide Scenic Rivers campaign.

Pointing to a pile of refuse the youths had dumped alongside W. Va. 3 above the river bank just outside Whitesville, the group's supervisor John Hathaway said:

"The state told us we'd have to walk a long way before we'd find much and we've just started, and look at this."

The group will work all summer from Whitesville to Emmons on the Big Coal River—an estimated distance of 30 miles.

After five hours of plying the river Monday the boys had extracted a truckful of junk discarded by fellow countians. Among the items: Fences, bed springs, watermelon rinds, and, the most common sight, cans, cans and more cans, all tossed off bridges fording streams or dumped over the banks by residents.

Hathaway, who joined in wading with the boys up to his knees as they worked, said he was discouraged by the program at first. During a recent training program for supervisors, he said, "a man called over to us: 'Hey, when you get it all picked up, dump it right over the creek bank over here—that's where we dump'." The man was not just being a heckler, Hathaway said. "He meant it."

Lawrence Lyon, chairman of "Clean Streams," said the program's backers realize "it's not the final answer." But the program aims to help teenaged boys by giving them steady jobs with regular hours for the summer. At the same time it is hoped they will get some deep-felt satisfaction from improving their environment.

There are 45 boys, mostly 14 and 15 years of age, signed up in Boone County. A total of 1,400 jobs for the Scenic Rivers program was allocated by the State Department of Natural Resources, which is cosponsoring the program with the county courts.

The money to pay the youths, who make $1.45 an hour for a 32-hour week on the river work, and the supervisors, who get $2.50 an hour for 40 hours, comes from the U.S. Department of Labor. The multicounty effort is coordinated by the State Office of Economic Opportunity under Gov. Moore.

The program was expanded this summer from one volunteer cleanup project along what is now proudly billed as "Scenic Highway" 4, along the Elk River. The idea caught on to employ teenagers from poverty-level families to carry on the work at the county level.

The youths seem to find value in the work, even though the program was slow to attract workers until the eligible age was lowered from 16 to 14. Older youths were attracted by other NYC projects and jobs with the State Department of Highways—jobs which held the promise of steady work after school. Lyon said his committee views the river cleanup as "temporary," but necessary before other river channelization projects can be launched in future summers.

THE PEOPLE AMERICA FORGOT

HON. PAUL G. ROGERS

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 9, 1970

Mr. ROGERS of Florida. Mr. Speaker, a grim, ever-present reminder of the dark side of America's heritage is the depressing state of life of the American Indian.

The plight of these original Americans is becoming increasingly a matter of publice concern and justly so, but what is really needed is not rhetoric, but rather action, not only by the Congress and the executive offices of the Federal Government, but by the States and concerned citizens as well. We must endeavor to right previous wrongs but above all we must preserve the Indian culture while at the same time assisting the American Indian to adjust to our society.

The Seminole and Miccosukee Indians of Florida are a prime example of the situation which exists among American Indians and their plight was graphically documented in a recent seven-part series appearing in the Palm Beach Post entitled "The People America Forgot," written by Kent Pollock. I would like to insert the series at this point in the RECORD for the benefit of my colleagues:

THE PEOPLE AMERICA FORGOT—I: THE SEMINOLE: A FOREIGNER IN AMERICA

(By Kent Pollock)

Bonnie Billie sat down one afternoon and listened attentively to her teacher at Ahfachkee Day School tell the fable of the tortoise and the hare.

Bonnie thought carefully, then wrote her own rendition. Unlike the original story, there was no moral that persistence ends in success.

It was instead the tale heard through the ears of a youngster much different from other Americans.

Bonnie is a 10-year-old Seminole Indian. Her story goes like this:

"The rabbit and the turtle were going for a walk. They sat on the grass to rest. And then they went to sleep. They didn't have a blanket and a pillow.

"The turtle ate grass and the rabbit ate carrots. They did not have a television to watch and they got up and walked and walked and walked.

"They ran to the forest. They stopped running and settled down and rested forever."

And that's the end to Bonnie's story. It's indicative of one of many differences between Seminoles and other Americans. From childhood to death, the Seminole thinks, acts and lives in terms foreign to other Americans.

Like Bonnie, Seminoles even interpret the same stories differently than other Americans.

Bonnie's is a confused culture caught between the necessity to assimilate to American life and the desire to be an Indian, a Seminole Indian.

It is a story of assimilation for survival.

Bonnie's people have been running to the forest looking for a place to stop and settle down for as long as they can remember.

Today, some 1,400 Seminoles live on three government reservations in Florida trying to adapt to a way of life they don't really understand.

They are survivors of a tribe whittled down to less than 150 by a U.S. government policy of killing or moving all Indians out of Florida.

There were many massacres in which thousands of people died before the Seminole Indian wars ended in 1858.

The Seminole was a capable warrior. It is estimated that for every Seminole either killed or moved from Florida, the government spent $10,000 and lost one soldier.

About 3,000 Seminoles moved to Indian Territory which later became Oklahoma.

As the Indians who stayed in Florida continued to fight the government, they retreated almost willingly to the south, trying to escape what was then—as it is now—a confusing way of life.

The Indians who stayed split into two groups. Many went further south than the others and later organized as the Miccosukee Indians of the Tamiami Trail.

But the battles the Seminole fought then were easier than the struggle he fights now.

If the Seminole War of 100 years past was to retain land, the Seminole War of 1970 is one to retain culture, pride and tradition while learning to live in a white society.

The fight he faces now is paradoxical in that each victory over poverty, discrimination or education might represent a defeat in the battle to regain culture.

The American Indian has always been set aside. Although he was a resident of the United States before other Americans, he didn't even become a citizen until 1924 when Congress passed the Wheeler-Howard Act.

John Cypress is a living example of the confusion shared by most members of his race. He lives on Big Cypress Reservation about 50 miles west of Fort Lauderdale.

He leaned on a dilapidated bed with a children's reader at his side. He is 70, can't read and apologizes for not understanding English.

He smiles in embarrassment and giggles nervously. "Sometimes I understand right. Sometimes yes, sometimes no—I think there's one word I no get."

That John should apologize for not understanding a puzzling language, foreign to his mind, is sad. He speaks Miccosukee fluently.

But it's true that some members of his tribe feel embarrassed because they don't fully understand English.

John and his relatives were born into a society foreign to that of other Americans.

The Seminoles life on Big Cypress Reservation, Brighton Reservation, 35 miles northwest of Moore Haven, or Hollywood Reservation near U.S. 441 in Hollywood, is difficult to comprehend.

His life is full of anachronisms common to any cultural struggle.

It is common to see young Seminoles living in modern trailers next to their elders living in open chickees—thatched roof shacks built with dead cypress and palmetto fronds.

Or to see a family like the Bucks of Brighton Reservation living in a house with modern conveniences but still raising their children in the old way.

In the back room of the Buck residence, "Princess" Emma Jane, a newborn child, swings in a hammock strung between two walls with rope as she would be strung to two trees in years past.

Emma Jane has beads on her wrists and her ears are already pierced. She wears a dime on her right wrist, held by a piece of rawhide.

She will be raised in a world which will hopefully accept her better than her older relatives have been accepted.

But it is a small hope.

The change from Seminole to white culture will be difficult for Emma Jane. She and her friends are children of nature.

Their very name, Seminole, means "wild" like a deer is wild and free. But it is difficult to be wild and free—to be a Seminole—in 1970 America.

It is this desire to be wild and free, or to run to the forest to settle down forever, coupled with other basic differences in white American culture, that has put the Seminole Indian where he is today.

He suffers from poverty, poor health, limited education and other injustices.

The Seminole's average per capita income is somewhere around $2,200 per year, short of all poverty levels. He is essentially an uneducated person with only two college graduates and less than 150 high school graduates in his tribe of 1,400.

Most Seminoles represent a curious contrast—pride and poor self-images.

One Seminole woman working as a secretary for the tribe was asked if she ever dated white men.

"No," she said. "I never wanted to get involved with a white man."

Why?

"I could never marry a white man because I could never keep a house the way he would expect me to. I don't know his ways."

Most Seminoles don't.

John Cypress, for example, lives for today. His income comes from welfare and Social Security. He receives $116 per month.

He pays no rent and makes few trips to town. John is broke at the end of every month. He lost his credit at a nearby tribal store because he failed to pay his bills.

Now he must travel—nearly 50 miles—to Immokalee or Clewiston to do his shopping.

"I wanted to shop at tribe store over here, but those Indian people no treat me right. They call me bad Indian. Say no pay my bills," John says with a trace of bitterness.

His trips to town are his only activity. "I don't do nothing. Just sit down all the time."

John is not necessarily the typical Seminole Indian. Younger Indians go to school during the day and play sports at night.

Many live in houses with plumbing and electricity. They sleep in beds and eat from tables.

But there are those still living much like their ancestors—no plumbing or electricity, wooden platforms under thatched roofs for sleeping, family pots without utensils for eating.

They cook starchy, unhealthy meals on open fires.

Health is a definite problem. One doctor who works with the people estimates 40 per cent of the Seminoles of Florida suffer from intestinal parasites or hookworms.

Malnutrition, another crucial affliction, has been combatted through crash education programs for youngsters and adults and by providing free, balanced meals to children in school.

The meals are possibly the best thing the Seminole receives in school. His academic achievement is perilously low—if he stays long enough to be tested.

By 1968, some 67 per cent of all Seminoles who entered school in 1956 had dropped out.

Some of the troubles stem from language differences. Seminoles speak Creek or Miccosukee or a combination of both. Neither language can be accurately translated into English.

Most Seminoles speak a little English. Few have mastered it well enough to achieve success in a school oriented to other American children.

There is a belief the Seminole nation would be better off if it dropped its own language and learned English as a primary language. This is not necessarily true.

The loss of their own tongue could result in much more than a mere loss of language. It could result in the loss of their culture, tradition and self-identity.

And this would be a tragedy.

The language is not a written one, so tribal tradition and basic cultural rule is passed down verbally through generations, usually through group discussions near bedtime.

Already many children don't fully understand the legends told by their parents. And when a legend is lost, another part of culture is lost.

Billy Cypress, one of two Seminole college graduates, says his people view tradition and culture like they do a good book.

"You put it down because you don't have time for it and you promise yourself you'll pick it back up again. You know it's good for you, but you know you'll never pick it up and finish it."

And because it is a culture so unknown, so misunderstood, so ignored, if it is to be saved, the Seminole must save it.

Many attempts are under way to assist the Seminole with his struggle—some by the Department of Interior's Bureau of Indian Affairs, some by the tribal organization itself.

There are government programs aimed at health, housing, job placement and training and education.

One tribal enterprise is under way at the Hollywood Reservation where a tourist attraction attempts to display the early Seminoles' way of life.

But the attraction is mostly a sterile facility where tourists come and gawk at Seminoles making dresses or stringing beads or wrestling alligators.

It is like a zoo or a carnival where people's culture is displayed like wares at a fair.

So the Seminole's world is quickly disappearing and its replacement isn't necessarily any better.

He has accepted the white man's ways only to find himself treated as a second-class citizen or a sideshow attraction.

He is winning and losing at the same time. This is not new.

The Seminole consistenly beat the U.S. government at war but lost his prime land in the process—migrating in a calculated path towards the worst acreage in Florida.

He once won a contract with the Department of the Interior for more land "to provide more adequately for the Seminole Indians of Florida" only to lose what is now a major part of Everglades National Park in the process.

He accepted strange ways of education and religion and employment and won the right to be equal, only to find confusion and despair and poverty.

And now he's losing again.

But the battle is not over and many Seminoles intend to win. Only time can provide the result.

The story can either be the sad last chapter in a book of painful assimilation or the first chapter in a book of revived identity, of awareness of pride.

For the Seminole Indian, time is running out. The life he has pursued for years—the white American way—is rapidly approaching maturity.

For Bonnie Billie and John Cypress and "Princess" Emma Jane Buck and all other Seminoles, the future is now.

The tortoise can rest forever in the forest or he can persist and hope for success.

THE PEOPLE AMERICA FORGOT: II—ASSIMILATE TO SURVIVE

(By Kent Pollock)

For fifty cents a Seminole Indian can show his pride and self-identity.

It comes in the form of a red-and-black reflectorized bumper sticker sold at the tribal grocery store:

"Indians Discovered America."

Besides light, the sign reflects the plight of a forgotten society reaching out to be noticed.

The Seminole Indian lives in a world that demands he conform or die. It is a world much different from his own of years past.

In the old days the Seminole's life was one of hard work, but simple in motivation and reward.

He hunted plentiful game during the daytime so he could eat and enjoy himself at night.

He chose high, fertile ground for his village where he planted corn and peas and sweet potatoes; pumpkins, watermelons and beans.

When he grew tired of one location he moved to another. It was a difficult nomadic way of life, but its freedom was satisfying.

This was before the United States bought Florida from Spain in 1819. Before the Seminole had to retreat to the swampy, once considered uninhabitable land to the south.

It was before the Seminole was forced to live in a way much different from his own—forced to assimilate to survive.

The Seminole was happier then than he is now. He tells you so by his reluctance to change.

Some say so verbally.

"Lot of changes over years. Too many people and ditches and canals. Everything different now . . . better before change, looks that way," John Cypress says.

This isn't hard to understand. The Seminole's life has changed drastically.

Hunting on the three government reservations is a futile exercise. Much of the land is unfit for farming.

The Seminole has become a captive of a cultural clash. He is unable to cope with American society, and American society is unwilling to accept him as a full member.

So he suffers the humility of living in a country where he counts for nothing.

And he avoids change when possible.

His people's reluctance to move into modern homes provided by government self-help housing projects is an example of this refusal to change.

Walter Tommy sat on a wooden platform where a chickee used to stand and talked about his feelings towards modern housing.

"If they're going to build me houses they're going to have to build them the way I want. I grew up in the swamp so I must like it, huh?"

Pigs and chickens roam freely as he talks, and some of his friends gather to listen. Walter says he wants more room, more open space and less contact with other people than the housing project provides.

"This is the way I've been living all my life. A house doesn't make me happy as I know of it."

Walter lives both in Fort Pierce where he drives a tractor and on Brighton Reservation where he "rests up a bit."

He lives in this camp because he has a child here. He doesn't know the child's age. Similarly, he can't remember when he went to school or for how long.

Time means little.

Unlike Walter, there are some Seminoles who enjoy living in modern houses. Some helped build their own homes, working on them nearly 600 hours for a down-payment.

But even they sometimes miss the open air of a chickee.

Seminoles living on Hollywood Reservation are forbidden by tribal law to build chickees. They live in 60 houses built under tribal and government housing programs.

At least 86 families—or about 410 Indians—reside in the 60 dwellings. Some estimates are higher.

Despite its overcrowded atmosphere, Hollywood is a popular reservation. It provides housing near employment, unlike Big Cy-

press and Brighton Reservations which lie in relative wilderness.

The government provides money to repair Indian homes under a Home Improvement Program. Up to $4,500 per family is available.

But repairing an open-sided, thatched roof chickee is difficult.

The Seminole Tribal Housing Authority built 20 homes with modern conveniences at Brighton Reservation where about 350 Indians live.

Sixteen homes have been constructed at Big Cypress Reservation where about 435 Seminoles live. None have indoor toilets—the government decided to construct outhouses instead.

"They wouldn't use inside facilities anyway and these privies are well built," a Bureau official said.

But statistics which show housing perilously behind demand are somewhat misleading.

Fred and Wanda Tommy live in a camp consisting of three chickees about a mile off the main road through Brighton Reservation. They live there because they say they want to.

There is a sleeping chickee, a cooking chickee and an eating chickee. Electricity and gas provide power for a stove, refrigerator and radio.

A brisk wind rustles the thatched roof's palmetto fronds and a radio blares rock music as Wanda Tommy talks reluctantly about her life and her six children.

She doesn't want to be interviewed.

Her sixth child, seven-day-old Edna, sleeps in a separate chickee during the conversation. A chicken jumps on the structure's edge while Edna relaxes inside.

Where will Fred and Wanda move when the chickees decay with age?

"I think other chickee, yes sir." Her voice is barely audible as she speaks with her head hung low in distrust.

Would she like a modern home?

"No. I don't think so."

Why?

There is no answer. She turns her back—an act considered a serious insult—then faces forward again after a few moments of silence.

What does she want for her children? For Freddy and Leotta and Alice and Leoma and Phillip and Edna?

"They got enough. We got enough." Wanda is giggling because she knows how absurd her statement must sound to a white man.

But to her it is true.

Her husband was away making money, cutting palmetto fronds for 90 cents per bundle. Her older children were nearby playing, and her newborn child was sleeping well.

Wandy Tommy is closer to her old way of life than many Seminoles she knows. So she is content.

Unfortunately, it is not as easy for many of Wanda's friends.

Much has been done to reverse this trend of increased confusion among Seminoles.

The Department of Interior's Bureau of Indian Affairs has several programs in health, housing, education and job training aimed at erasing the problems of being a Seminole Indian.

South Florida Rural Legal Services, an organization aimed at providing legal advise to the poor, is attempting to expand its operation to the Indian reservations.

The Indians themselves organized as The Seminole Tribe of Florida, Inc., in 1957, to conduct their own business affairs.

The tribe has both a tribal council looking at social affairs and a board of directors regulating business activities.

Successful business, until very recent times, has been a stranger to the Seminole.

The tribe still owes the Bureau nearly $2 million in unpaid loans made to start tribal businesses. Government officials were pleased two years ago when tribal enterpises lost "only $50,000."

Lucrative land leases coupled with a successful cattle-raising program and the sale of oil and gas exploration rights are helping the Seminole rise from the economic gutter he occupied for years.

The tribe progressed well enough financially to declare $100 dividends to each member of the tribe last year.

Still, the individual Seminole suffers from poverty. The average income per family is around $2,200 per year and many Indians' incomes fall short of the average.

Even though he pays no rent and incurs few of the expenses common to other Americans, the Seminole is poor.

While the Seminole tribe finds itself progressing financially, the individual Seminole's social habits have not caught up—so he spends his money quickly and is sometimes the victim of exploitation.

It is a life of dilemmas.

Lottie Baxley, a Seminole widow who married a white man, explained the confusion. She, too, was perplexed while her husband was alive because tribal law forced her to leave the reservation for marrying a white man.

Indian men, on the contrary, are allowed to marry whites and still live on reservations.

Lottie says, "There are lots of changes in the Seminole world with (tribal) organization and all. They aren't used to the new ways . . . they used to go out in the woods and kill deer or whatever they wanted to eat. It was their whole life . . . now there ain't no woods."

Tribal chief Betty Mae Jumper says her people have trouble understanding white ways which are good and bad at the same time. She uses education, something foreign to early Seminoles, as an example.

"In a way education hurts us and in a way we need it. We need that education if we're going to live like anybody else. But then it hurts us real bad and confuses my people because all that trouble is coming in."

The trouble she speaks of is juvenile delinquency, alcoholism, criminal activity and many other afflictions of poor America once unknown to the Seminole.

She blames it all on a loss of tradition.

"Some of the old Indian ways are good ways and I think we should keep them."

There is evidence that some of the Seminole's identity and pride and culture has already been lost.

Tribal leaders, however, feel the battle is being won. Many don't agree. Some don't realize there's a battle being fought.

It's all part of a story of change.

The people aren't sure who they are or where they belong in America.

Until they know, they'll keep buying bumper stickers.

THE PEOPLE AMERICA FORGOT: III—THE PROBLEM: EDUCATING THOSE WHO DO NOT UNDERSTAND

(By Kent Pollock)

Frank Charlie has been a craftsman all his life.

He is 70 and still practices his trade 13 hours a day, six days a week. And he plans on doing it until he dies.

Frank carves canoes out of cypress trees.

He works in a secluded tree stand at Big Cypress Reservation—with only an ax, a rasp, a hatchet and a saw. There are no power tools in the swamp.

It takes Frank four months to complete one 24-foot canoe. For this, he receives $400.

Frank is like lots of other Seminole Indians. He works very hard for very little. He doesn't know the value of his own skills. He is essentially an uneducated person.

For young Seminoles who don't want to spend their lives like Frank working for $100 per month, education is vital.

But they have received little of it.

There are only two college graduates and fewer than 150 high school graduates among Florida's Seminole Indians

The government provides $600 per year for each Seminole college student, and other scholarships are available, but only four Seminoles are currently enrolled in colleges.

It wasn't until 1957 that the first Seminole was graduated from a Florida high school. And in 1963 the first Big Cypress Reservation Indian was graduated.

Unlike other Americans, education to the Seminole has never been a part of life.

But most have finally accepted the concept of education. Now the problem is for teachers to offer quality, relevant education.

The problems are vast. Poverty, poor health, undernourishment, inadequate housing—the Seminole's life doesn't lend itself to easy learning.

There are two basic sides to Seminole education—both are bad.

One side shows children living in Hollywood and Brighton Reservation going to public schools. They fall far below average achievement levels. Many drop out.

The other side includes children at Big Cypress Reservation attending a government school for four years before entering public school. They are mostly unprepared to compete.

One hundred and fifteen Seminoles attend public schools in Clewiston; 97 are enrolled in Moore Haven schools.

Seminole students who have problems at home are sent to boarding schools in Oklahoma and other states. There are 46 attending such schools.

By 1968, 67 per cent of all Seminoles who entered school in 1956 had dropped out. The national dropout average for Indians was 50 per cent in comparison to a national average for other Americans of 21 per cent.

In Palm Beach County where thousands of migrant children drop out yearly, the average is 41 per cent.

Seminoles in public schools tend to isolate themselves.

And isolation makes assimilation into a different culture more difficult.

Officials say isolation stems from either discrimination by fellow students or lack of self-confidence by Seminoles. It is probably a combination of both, coupled with the fact white students share nothing culturally with Seminoles.

One teacher at a Clewiston school said, "I don't believe they (Seminoles) are interested . . . some of them show more spark than others, but the majority don't care for what we have to offer."

What the public school system has to offer is much different from the Seminole way of life.

It is also much different from the education offered Seminoles at Big Cypress Reservation. Children there attend school until the fifth grade at a government-operated Indian school.

Government officials say the school is necessary because younger children would be harmed by the 45-mile bus trip to Clewiston's public schools.

The sign outside the government school says Ahfachkee Day School. It means Happy Day School in Miccosukee, the reservation's primary language.

But the sign doesn't represent what happens inside.

The school which 47 children attend is a failure. A Florida Atlantic University professor, Dr. Harry Kersey, calls the school "an experiment in successive regression."

When children leave Ahfachkee Day School to attend fifth grade in a public school they are ill-prepared to compete with other Americans their own age.

Only 11 Seminoles of all Indians living on Big Cypress Reservation attending Ahfachkee Day School have ever graduated from high school.

Tests show that children attending Ahfachkee Day School for four years achieve very little beyond the first grade.

A quick tour of the school explains why.

The school consists of three classrooms and a kitchen. Children are divided by age.

They wander around during classroom hours without discipline, learning very little in the process.

It's not necessarily bad behavior or rebellion—it's more a habit.

If the children are disciplined too harshly they probably won't come back.

And attendance laws either don't compel children on federal reservations to attend school or they go unenforced. Nobody seems to know which for sure—not even officials.

While some children wander and play, others work.

A fourth grade boy at the blackboard multiplies three times twelve and gets 17.

How can three times twelve be only 17?

"I don't know," the young man answers and returns to his seat. He is not ashamed because he is not different from his classmates.

The school recently tested its children to determine achievement. The results were perilously low.

When the two present teachers arrived last year, children didn't know how old they were or what grade they belonged in.

Many couldn't write their own names.

There were no curriculum folders, no achievement levels, nothing to show for their years in school.

Dr. Kersey described the situation as "a school flying blindly towards nowhere."

He said problems in educating Seminoles lie in an infinite combination of differences between Seminoles and other Americans.

He tested the children last year. He tested them again this year. Results show the children regress.

"We thought at first they suffered from extreme brain damage or hearing and sight deficiencies because their achievement levels were so low," Dr. Kersey said.

But this was not the case.

Kersey decided education was simply irrelevant to Seminole children.

A program was initiated whereby Seminole students were told to write stories they enjoyed. With the help of teachers, the stories were printed and illustrated by their authors.

When the work was completed, it was exchanged among children.

Here's one example of a Seminole book. It was written by a 10-year-old Lupe Osceola:

BOWS AND ARROWS

"The bow broke when I shot at a bird. It was a robin. I have a different bow now. I went and got Mando and we went hunting. I shot a duck with my B–B gun. Mando ate it. Then we rode bicycles and fell in the mud."

For the first time, education became interesting to the Seminole Indian. And he began learning to read.

But even this program isn't enough. Children still are progressing too slowly to keep up with others their age.

Much school time is devoted to personal services.

Children are bathed once a week. By the time they all shower in the small facility, most of the day is spent. They are fed hot meals and they brush their teeth afterwards. They learn to eat with knives and forks and how to use napkins.

It's all part of the catching-up Seminole children must do.

Many programs are aimed at accomplishing just that—helping the Seminole through his first hard years of education. But still the total effort is failing.

Twice each week, FAU students fly to Ahfachkee Day School to assist teachers. The students are knowledgeable in new concepts of motivating culturally different children.

The tribe began a Head Start program to begin Seminole education earlier than kindergarten. The centers are mostly utilized as baby-sitting services for children 2–4 years old.

Although a major part of Head Start is aimed at language development, children learn very little English. At the Big Cypress Head Start center, Miccosukee was spoken almost exclusively until recently.

An adult education program was intiated at Brighton Reservation with hopes of teaching adults enough to help their children.

The adults gather one night each week at a recreation center. They sit in rickety old surplus desks and try to learn the skills their children are learning. They are a generation of learning behind their youngsters.

So they too come here to catch up—partly for their children's sake, partly for themselves.

A similar program at Big Cypress Reservation failed for lack of interest. Officials even served free meals to attract adults, but that didn't help.

The adults are learning, but progress is slow. A second, more advanced class will open soon for those ahead of their classmates.

Dr. Kersey says more money is needed to upgrade Indian education. He says new programs and needed expansion of present ones like the texts being written by Seminoles are being held back by inadequate funding.

"Now it's a question of how much money the federal government and other private foundations are willing to pay to salvage the education of these children. We think we know how to do it, but we need more funds to proceed."

It's all part of a perplexing problem of how to educate a person who doesn't understand.

And the Seminole doesn't understand.

He doesn't understand standard motivation; he doesn't understand teaching methods; he doesn't understand why he must learn.

He doesn't understand white American culture.

Until he does—or until he is understood—he will likely continue on his present path.

His economic life can change, his health can improve, his housing might become modern.

But in the end, he must have education.

The Seminole who neglects learning in his youth gains nothing for his future and loses his past.

If current trends don't change, Seminoles will have to be content with working in fields or selling trinkets or wrestling alligators.

Or carving canoes like Frank Charlie—13 hours a day, six days a week—at age 70.

For $100 per month.

INDIAN EDUCATION—A NATIONAL TRAGEDY

"Indian Education: A National Tragedy—A National Challenge."

That's the title of the U.S. Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare's special subcommittee on Indian education's report issued in November 1969.

Here is a synopsis of that report's summary:

"For more than two years the members of this subcommittee have been gauging how well American Indians are educated. We have traveled to all parts of the country; we have listened to Indians in their homes and in their schools . . . we have looked closely into every aspect of the Indian education program this Nation offers its Indian citizens. . . .

"We are shocked at what we discovered. Others before us were shocked. They recommended and made changes. Others after us will likely be shocked, too—despite our recommendations and efforts at reform.

"For there is so much to do—wrongs to right, omissions to fill, untruths to correct—that our own recommendations, concerned as they are with education alone, need supplementation across the whole board of Indian life.

We have developed page after page of statistics. These cold figures mark a stain on our national conscience, a stain which has spread slowly for hundreds of years. They tell a story to be sure.

"But they cannot tell the whole story. They cannot for example, tell of the despair, the frustration, the hopelessness, the poignancy, of children who want to learn but are not taught; of adults who try to read but have no one to teach them; of families which want to stay together but are forced apart; or of 9-year-old children who want neighborhood schools but are sent thousands of miles away to remote and alien boarding schools.

"We have seen what these conditions do to Indian children and Indian families. The sights are not pleasant.

"We have concluded that our national policy for educating American Indians are a failure of major proportions. They have not offered Indian children—either in years past or today—an educational opportunity anywhere near equal to that offered the great bulk of American children. . . .

"Decent education has been denied Indians in the past, and they have fallen far short of matching their promise with performance. But this need not always be so. Creative, imaginative, and above all, relevant educational experiences can blot the stain on our national conscience . . .

"What concerned us most deeply, as we carried out our mandate, was the low quality of virtually every aspect of the schooling available to Indian children. The school buildings themselves; the course materials and books; the attitude of teachers and administrative personnel; the accessibility of school buildings—all these are of shocking quality.

"A few of the statistics we developed:

"The average educational level for all Indians under supervision is five school years.

More than one out of every five Indian men have less than five years of schooling. Dropout rates for Indians are twice the national average . . . the average age of top-level Bureau of Indian Affairs education administrators is 58 years. . . .

"Only 18 percent of the students in federal Indian schools go on to college; the national average is 32 per cent. The Bureau of Indian Affairs spends only $18 per year per child on textbooks and supplies compared to a national average of $40. Only one of every 100 Indian college graduates will receive a master's degree . . .

"These are only a few of the statistics which tell the story of how poor the quality of education is that American Indians have available to them . . . one theme running through all our recommendations is increased Indian participation and control of their own education programs.

"For far too long, the nation has paid only token heed to the notion that Indians should have a strong voice in their own destiny. . . .

"The scope of this subcommittee's work was limited by its authorizing resolution to education. But as we traveled, and listened, and saw, we learned that education cannot be isolated from other aspects of Indian life. These aspects, too, have much room for improvement . . .

"In conclusion, it is sufficient to restate our basic finding: that our nation's policies and programs for educating American Indians are a national tragedy."

THE PEOPLE AMERICA FORGETS IV—IT IS HARD TO GET MONEY . . . YOU GOTTA HAVE MONEY

(By Kent Pollock)

Joseph Jumper has been putting new atop a rickety chickee, jousting with exhaustion in a sweltering South Florida sun.

He nailed palmetto fronds to the two cypress logs he straddled as sweat poured down his pounding arm.

Joseph Jumper has been putting new roofs on chickees for about two years. He once worked for the government, but quit. He once repaired cars at Big Cypress Reservation, but quit.

He has never been able to find a job he really likes.

Joseph doesn't know what it's like to drive a nice car to work on a freeway every morning. He doesn't know how to punch a time-clock or take a 10-minute coffee break.

Joseph doesn't know about cost-of-living raises or overtime or vacations.

Joseph is a Seminole Indian.

He has difficulty learning to work alongside other Americans because he is different.

Joseph's ethnic group is an isolated one—not only by the distance from Seminole reservations to urban employment centers, but by culture.

The white American employment atmosphere is a perplexing thing.

But Seminoles must attain skills and attitudes foreign to their old ways to survive in 1970 America.

It isn't easy:

The American Indian finds it 10 times as hard to find a job as other Americans.

Less than 30 percent of all Florida Seminoles able to work are permanently employed. The average per capita income of those who work is about $2,200 per year.

Ninety per cent of all Seminoles earn less than $4,500 per year. Fifty per cent earn less than $1,000 and 25 per cent earn less than $500.

Most Seminoles prefer to work on reservations performing menial tasks rather than seeking employment on the outside.

If they want to work in the city, they must find transportation for the lengthy round trip. Brighton Reservation is 35 miles from the nearest small town. Big Cypress Reservation's nearest employment center is 45 miles away.

So Seminoles work in bean fields or they harvest watermelon and other crops. Some work in citrus orchards.

Only 25 Seminoles of the 1,400 in the tribe work off reservations—men in construction, women as filing clerks or secretaries.

One job admired by most Seminoles is that of the cowboy.

Indians with cattle herds are among the wealthier Seminole families. But even these families make less than $2,500 per year.

Indians purchase cattle from a tribal herd. They usually obtain low-interest loans to pay for the animals.

The 22 Indian cowboys raising cattle on Big Cypress Reservation earned an average of $2,290 per year from 1966 to 1969. Indian cattlemen at Brighton Reservation earned $2,092.

Seminoles round up their cattle four times per year. An expert in cattle management paid by the Bureau of Indian Affairs teaches Indians techniques.

Cattle are separated by brands. Then they are "doctored" for possible disease before they are turned loose.

Reservation pasture land is leased to Indians by the tribe at a low cost. Profits from pasture leasing help maintain the tribal herd to perpetuate the project.

So far, none of the Seminole cowboys has risen from debt. When the debts are erased, a well-managed herd could bring as much as $10,000 per year.

Many Seminoles struggle so their children can leave the cycle of poverty.

Mary Francis Johns wants her children to obtain the best possible education so they won't suffer the same problems she has encountered.

She drives a school bus from Brighton Reservation into Moore Haven each day. She recently began working as a janitor at the school to make extra money.

Once trained, Seminoles are said to be hard workers.

The Bureau is the largest employer of Seminoles. About 50 Indians work in clerical positions for the Bureau, but none have reached supervisory positions. Their average Bureau salary is $3,500 per year.

The Seminole tribal corporation also hires 40 Indians. They earn an average of $3,857 per year.

The tribe employs Indians to operate grocery stores at each reservation and to help in clerical positions at tribal offices in Hollywood.

The tribe's Indian Village in Hollywood employs 14 Seminoles, but there is an atmosphere of condescension, and Chief Betty Mae Jumper says some Indians won't work there.

They dislike the carnival atmosphere of stringing beads, making dresses, carving wood or wrestling alligators for tourists.

But most Seminoles work when they can, where they can—planting grass, picking tomatoes or beans, cutting cabbage buds. It is mostly seasonal, undependable, difficult work.

Walter Tommy says he makes $40–$50 per day cutting cabbage buds at Brighton Reservation. But the season lasts only about five weeks. Then he's out of work.

"I go to Fort Pierce and drive a tractor when I can't cut buds. But there's not much work . . . it's hard to get money. You gotta have money."

Unlike many other Seminoles, Walter receives no financial assistance from the government.

Seminoles don't receive special money from the government. They must qualify for financial assistance like other Americans.

About 10 per cent of all Seminole families receive some form of financial aid.

Nineteen families draw aid to dependent children from the state of Florida. But more than half the reservation families are without a working male.

The women of these families are unable to get other than low-paying jobs. If their children are too young for Head Start programs, they can't afford babysitting services while they work.

None are available on the reservations anyway. So women who work must count on friends or leave their children alone.

This might not always be the case.

The Seminoles' economic picture is changing. The tribe is rapidly paying old debts and leasing land at substantial profits.

Bureau officials estimated the tribe might gross as much as $500,000 per year within the next five years through a number of exciting new enterprises.

For years, the tribe lost hundreds of thousands of dollars. It went further and further in debt to the Bureau.

Their newfound success stems from a change in both tribal and Bureau leadership and a new outlook on land leasing.

Land is the Seminole's major resource. Leased properly, land can make the tribe rich.

Hollywood Reservation provides the brightest economic base. It is located near U.S. 441 in one of Broward County's fastest growing industrial areas.

But the tribe must be careful in signing its leases. Past experience indicates the Seminole must move with prudence in cooperating with industry.

If he doesn't, he might lose—and has already lost too much.

He has lost with his lease between the tribe and Amphinol Electronics, a coupling device manufacturer.

The 65-year-lease covers 10 acres of prime industrial land leased at $2 per year for the first five years. The price progresses each year to $200 per year after nine years.

Land nearby recently leased for as much as $15,000 per acre per year.

The tribe signed the Amphinol lease so Seminoles would have a place to work. The company said it would use "every reasonable effort to employ and train (Seminoles) . . . to the extent that their skills and abilities can be profitably utilized."

Since the lease was signed in 1966, few Seminoles have been employed successfully. Only 18 Indians work at the plant today, and only one Indian was hired last year.

Government officials say Amphinol told them Indian labor was being used as much as profitably possible.

The Amphinol lease continues. It and two other tribal leases earned the tribe a gross income in 1967 of only $30,000—$80,000 short of the year's debt.

But things are changing.

Last year's gross tribal income from four new leases alone was $250,000.

The new leases are for a mobile home factory, two mobile home parks and a section of businesss locations along U.S. 441.

The 120-acre mobile home factory was leased for $150,000 per year, plus 10 per cent of the factory's gross annual income. Frontage land for the business enterprises was leased for $15,000 per acre per year.

All the new leases carry clauses so Seminoles get first chance at employment.

But Hollywood Reservation doesn't represent the only land value to the Seminole. The tribe plans to begin recreational developments at both Brighton and Big Cypress Reservations.

Brighton Reservation's facility probably will include a marina with easy access to fishing in Lake Okeechobee.

The tribe received $230,000 last year for oil and gas exploration rights to 29,000 acres of Big Cypress Reservation. Mobil Oil Corp. also owes the tribe one-eighth of gross profits if oil is discovered.

The Seminole tribe recently was awarded $12.3 million by the Indian Claims Commission for land the government took from them in the 1800s.

The award was for some 29.7 million acres of land and fell far short of the $47 million the Seminoles sought.

But the $12.3 million must be offset by about $5 million worth of land the government figures it has already given the Seminoles in Oklahoma and Florida.

The remaining money will be divided by 3,700 Seminoles in Oklahoma and the 1,400 in the Florida tribe.

But it is doubtful individual Seminoles in Florida will share the income. Their tribe will probably pay some old debts with the money.

To help Seminoles find employment, the Bureau operates an employment assistance program. More than 1,000 job training courses are available to Seminoles, but few take advantage of the opportunity.

Only about 15 Indians from Florida attend job training schools each year.

But wealth won't help the Seminole anyway, unless he learns to cope with his affluence.

And there always will be those willing to exploit him.

But if all goes well, the Seminole could be the first tribe of Indians ever to win at the American game of capitalism.

If all goes well.

THE PEOPLE AMERICA FORGOT: V—MEDICINE MEN AND M.D.S

(By Kent Pollock)

Quickly, but with the delicacy of loving respect, Dr. Alfredo Mendez wrapped Elizabeth Billie's chubby left arm with a smooth gray band.

He pumped air into the armband, then stared in dismay at a throbbing round gauge measuring her blood pressure. He didn't like what he saw.

"I want you to lose about 60 pounds. You look young when you do this. You feel better."

Elizabeth Billie smiled, nodding her head in agreement. The 258-pound Seminole woman had been told before to lose weight.

Obesity is prevalent among Seminole Indians. It is one of many health problems affecting them.

Poor health is relatively new to Florida Seminoles.

In 1956, an author who studied them wrote of their good health and warned his readers against changing Indians lives because of health hazards.

"People concerned with the welfare of

American Indians should take careful note that Florida Seminoles who live in the old ways are far healthier than other Indians who are forced into a manner of life to which they are not well adapted," the author said.

At that time, he said, Florida Seminoles had only two poor health problems—hookworms and occasional malaria.

Now, things are different.

The Seminole suffers many of the same misfortunes of modern America and reaps few of the benefits.

Health is no exception.

Cases of intestinal parasites, diabetes, anemia, malnutrition, alcoholism and vitamin deficiency—once strangers to the Seminole—are now common.

Dr. Mendez and another physician staff health clinics at Brighton and Big Cypress Reservations.

"Disease can be a serious problem for these people if things get out of hand . . . the population is so small that when diseases strike we look at the seriousness as a matter of time rather than in terms of number of cases," Dr. Mendez said.

The Seminole's small, mostly closed society adds to the seriousness of some diseases such as diabetes, a hereditary disorder.

The clinics open twice each week. In addition to the doctors, there is a registered nurse and a clinical aide.

Dr. Mendez sits in his small examination room on those days waiting for an Indian to enter. He dresses casually.

Ida Cypress is the first patient. She wheezes in futile attempts to draw deep breaths.

Like many Seminoles who come to the clinic, Ida suffers from a cold. She is given a shot and some pills, then told to rest as much as possible.

Dr. Mendez conducts complete physicals on each Indian to determine whether less apparent disorders are present.

Margaret Johns enters the room as Ida leaves. She wears a soiled-but-colorful dress and no shoes.

"What's the trouble today, Margaret?"

"Have cold." She points to her nose. "And can't hear in ear."

Margaret, too, is given a shot. Her blood pressure is checked; then she is given vitamins and told to lose weight.

For several hours, the stream continues. Dr. Mendez talks between patients.

"Most of their problems come from the way they live. They keep untidy homes and drink water from canals—and they cook with it, too—and this is not necessarily clean water.

"They don't like to wear shoes so they catch the larvae of hookworms through their feet. These worms and other intestinal parasites present the biggest problem."

Many Seminoles visit a medicine man after seeing Dr. Mendez. This fact doesn't bother the doctor, however.

"I know they have medicine men, but that doesn't bother me. In the whole world everyone is a medicine man. Even my wife practices medicine on me sometimes."

Josie Billie, the medicine man at Big Cypress Reservation, says people don't come to him as often as they used to.

"Indians see me sometimes. Not too often. They like white man medicine. White man medicine good. It keep."

Josie even has a first-aid cabinet on the wall of his small living room. Inside are bandages and other modern medical items.

"I don't keep medicine here. Medicine in woods. Grows there. Make medicine with plants . . . this good medicine." He points to his first-aid cabinet.

But Seminoles continue to see Josie when they are sick. So he still practices some of his old tricks. One is to draw blood from his patients and show them a roach or other insect he says was inside their bodies attacking them.

Sometimes he makes medicine from plant roots which, indeed, have some medicinal purpose.

But Josie won't give his secrets to the white men. One of Josie's friends tells a story of his selling a formula for a tranquilizer to a Miami drug firm.

When the formula failed, Josie told the firm he knew white men couldn't duplicate Indian medicine. "White men no know the songs to put power in medicine," Josie is said to have told the firm's officials.

Josie's life has changed considerably over the years. He used to be an all-powerful man. Early Seminole religion didn't provide for a separation between religion and medicine.

Josie and other medicine men had the power of life or death over their people.

But now most Seminoles practice Christianity. Each reservation has a Southern Baptist and Independent Baptist Church.

Edward Leader is the Baptist missionary at Brighton Reservation's Baptist Church.

"Christianity and education work side by side. Where one is, the other will soon be. I don't care how educated you are; if your body doesn't cooperate you don't get nowhere."

Edward Leader and Josie Billie work together. Josie once preached at the Baptist churches.

But even Josie goes to white doctors when he gets sick.

A major problem is one of poor eating and living habits. Seminoles eat starchy, greasy meals.

Children eat well-balanced meals at school. But sometimes they don't finish everything.

A young girl named Leoma sat at her school desk eating the free meal. On her plate were pork steak, spinach, carrots, pears, milk, bread and butter.

When she finished, the pears, spinach, carrots and part of the milk remained.

Why didn't Leoma finish her meal?

She didn't answer. She didn't have to.

Leoma is like other Seminoles. She isn't used to eating vegetables, so she rarely tries them. Her parents don't like vegetables either, so they don't serve them at home.

A favorite dish is pumpkin or fried bread. A favorite drink is sofkee.

Fried bread is made with self-rising flour, sugar and water. The ingredients are made into dough, then fried in lard.

Sofkee is made of crushed corn meal. It is boiled in water and sometimes sugared. Drinking sofkee is like drinking grits.

A Seminole family is not likely to sit down together to eat except for breakfast when togetherness is handy. Otherwise, the Indians eat when they are hungry.

Wanda Tommy says she keeps a pot of sofkee on the stove all the time in case she gets hungry.

Because of a lack of hot water for washing, meals are often served in dirty pots or on unsanitary dishes. Many families eat from a single pot by passing a wooden ladle.

Seminoles eat lots of meat. They prefer their meat stewed. Chicken stew, beef stew and pork or turtle stew are not uncommon on their table.

Indians are constantly reminded of the importance of nutritional diets by government health agents and schoolteachers.

A sign at Big Cypress Reservation's Ahfachkee Day School reminds youngsters to eat well. "Exercise makes you strong. A good breakfast makes you healthy. Eat bacon, eggs, cereal, juice, milk, toast."

Children attending Head Start centers also are reminded to eat balanced diets. They are fed breakfast, lunch and a snack during school.

But a recent funding cutback from $128,000 to $106,000 for reservation Head Start programs resulted in a cutback of food.

Children at the centers eat less now. They drink powdered instead of fresh milk.

The lack of fresh milk adds to dental problems which are prevalent. Gum diseases and tooth cavities stem from a combination of poor dental hygiene and excessive amounts of sweets.

Many Seminoles substitute soft drinks for water or milk because they don't like milk—and canal water tastes horrible.

Total dental program funding under the U.S. Public Health Service for Indians living on the Hollywood Reservation is $1,500. Brighton and Big Cypress dental programs are funded with only $500 each.

Yet 60 per cent of Florida's Seminoles live on Brighton and Big Cypress Reservations.

Under the dental programs, children younger than 19 can go to dentists for help. But when the funding is expended, dental care is no longer available.

Horst Grabbs, director of OEO programs for the tribe, obtained three surplus dental chairs from the government with hopes of finding volunteer dentists to staff regular reservation dental clinics.

When Seminoles get seriously ill they can go to hospitals. But they can't pay their bills easily, and some Indians complain of rough treatment.

Once in a hospital, the Seminole receives treatment limited to his communication ability.

And most Seminoles can't communicate well in English.

So they remain isolated—suffering from disorders they probably caught from white men, forced to speak a foreign language for help.

THE PEOPLE AMERICA FORGOT: VII—A MESSAGE FOR AMERICA

(By Kent Pollock)

A group of Indians living in the swampy Everglades west of Miami has a message for America:

Just because we don't adopt your ways, we are not backward.

Just because we prefer our own language, we are not ignorant.

Just because we are different, we are not wrong.

These are the Miccosukee Indians of the Tamiami Trail.

They simply don't believe they must change their ways to survive in modern America.

About 280 Miccosukees belong to a tribe led by Chief Buffalo Tiger. He lives in Hialeah.

"We want to learn both Indian and white man culture and language. But we want to keep everything we know to be Indian," the chief said.

His people experience the same problems most American Indians experience—poverty, poor health, lack of relevant education.

But the chief says his people are happier than most other Indians because they have retained their culture and tradition.

"In the beginning the people thought it might be good to be like white man. But they learn soon new ways are not all good. To Indian, Indian way is better life. He happier Indian."

While most Indians negotiated with the United States government in Florida, the rebellious Misccosukees fought and retreated to the south to avoid further conflict with white America.

Tribal leaders decided years ago never to negotiate with the United States. Older Miccosukees still consider the decision valid.

So the older Indians obviously were unhappy in 1962 when the tribe organized under a constitution and began receiving assistance from the Bureau of Indian Affairs.

But Buffalo Tiger says his tribe doesn't accept any assistance if it might mean a compromise in culture or tradition.

About half the Tamiami Trail Miccosukees live in modern houses built by the Bureau. Half still prefer to live in open-side thatched-roof chickees.

About six families live far into the Everglades on land belonging to the state. Miccosukees have been given permission—in a roundabout way—to live on the land.

The 26 houses built by the Bureau lie on a 500-feet-by-5½-mile strip of land belong-

ing to the Miccosukee Tribe. Six more houses are planned, but the chief says nine families are asking for modern houses.

The tribal council will have to make a decision on what families get the houses.

It will be a tough decision, he said, because he has very few "bad Indians" in his tribe. He said all his people are "better Indians" than Seminoles.

Nannie Cypress is one of Buffalo Tiger's "good" Indians. She lives about four miles north of Tamiami Trail in a small chickee camp used often as a tourist attraction.

She spends most of her time sewing Indian patchwork on dresses and blouses to sell to tourists. Her sewing is done on a machine powered by a hand crank.

An infant, Patty Cypress, swings in a hammock near Nannie's head. The hammock is strung between two of the chickee's cypress poles by rope.

There are three chickees in the camp—one for cooking, sleeping and eating.

The cooking chickee is without a wooden floor so an open fire built with the ends of cypress logs can be built. They call it a "star" fire because the lengthy cypress logs form a star as they burn.

A kettle black with age and soot hangs from a rusty chain attached to the cooking chickee's roof. Nannie stirs some sofkee with a wooden spoon, and a sweet smell fills the air.

Like most Miccosukees living near the Tamiami Trail, Nannie can speak a little English. But she won't talk to non-Indians unless absolutely necessary.

Three children play nearby. At least one of them is old enough to be in school.

A lack of a useful education for the Miccosukee, like other Indians, is a major problem.

Buffalo Tiger has his own ideas about education.

He thinks children should be bused to his school from Miami instead of Miccosukees being bused to the city.

"We want white children to come to school here. That way they learn more about us, too."

The chief recently proposed a study to determine why education affects the Indian differently than it does other Americans.

"When we know what the problem is we can hire teachers who understand for our school and in Miami."

The Miccosukee school has two classrooms. Students are split into groups by age. The school operates almost entirely on Bureau funds.

But attempts to educate the Miccosukee have been mostly futile. The tribe has no college graduates within its ranks and has very few high school graduates.

Tribal income, like education, is also minimal. Last year the tribe grossed under $10,000. The chief says he hopes to open new recreational developments to increase tribal income.

Individual Miccosukee Indians earn their livings at jobs requiring unskilled labor. Many work in the several tourist attractions near the reservation.

One Miccosukee, John Billie, drives an airboat for $12 per day.

Talking with Buffalo Tiger about the problems of the Indian is no different than talking to other Indian leaders. He speaks in terms of poor health, poor economy and poor individual money management.

But his overall theme is one of concern for retaining tribal culture.

"We have to learn how to go to school and make money and live in a house without feeling a loss of something. Indians feel sort of unsatisfied and kind of confused when they get in white man's world.

"We have to learn to get the best of both cultures. There are good Indian things and good white man things. White man's ways look better, but in a way they force our people into slave jobs. It's looking like these ways hurt the people."

Buffalo Tiger was puppeting the message of his people.

The Miccosukee Indians living near Tamiami Trail want to be Indians—first, foremost, and always.

The white American world doesn't impress them.

THE PEOPLE AMERICA FORGOT: VII—THE LOSERS

(By Kent Pollock)

WEWOKA, OKLA.—It doesn't matter what tribe he belongs to or where he lives.

The American Indian is a loser.

He loses not because he's apathetic and not because he doesn't try.

He loses because he is an Indian.

Seminole Indians in Oklahoma—as in Florida—have been losing for a long time.

They came here from Florida because the United States decided the swampy land to the south of Georgia was worthy of development by whites. The government told the Seminoles they must leave or be killed.

Some stayed and fought, some left—both lost.

Those who came here moved because their government told them they would be free. Free from battle, free from hunger and confusion, free from the white man.

But the great white father lied, and the Indian lost.

Between 1835 and 1858, some 3,000 Seminoles came here to live in a land that was to be their own.

It was theirs because nobody else wanted it. The land was desolate.

Called Indian Territory then, the land was uncomfortable for human habitation.

But it was good enough for the Indian, the white man said.

Most Seminoles settled near Wewoka, now known as the capital of the Seminole nation of Oklahoma.

They struggled and toiled against burdensome odds to survive. They worked together and they built a community.

But it wasn't long before the white man intervened. Things were getting crowded in the East, so he decided the frontier to the west was desirable.

And the Indian lost.

White America flexed its dominant culture's hardened muscles and swallowed the Oklahoma Indian.

The struggle in Oklahoma wasn't as violent as in Florida, but it was just as cruel. Seminoles soon had no place in their own country.

Things haven't changed much since then.

The only thing Seminole about Wewoka today is the old pecan whipping tree standing outside the Seminole County Courthouse.

There are no Seminole businesses in Wewoka. The Wewoka Bank has no Seminole executives. The town's restaurant has no Seminole employes.

There is no representation in Wewoka government.

The town is apparently not too proud of its founders.

Even the Bureau of Indian Affairs is hidden—in the cellar of the Wewoka Post Office.

Seminoles in Oklahoma, however, have adapted to white culture much more than Florida Seminoles.

Some 130 Oklahoma Seminoles will be graduated from high schools this year. Less than 150 Indians have ever been graduated from high school in Florida.

Oklahoma Seminoles speak English better than their Florida counterparts, and they trust whites more readily.

But the added trust hasn't helped much.

Oklahoma Seminoles suffer from cultural isolation and poverty just like other Indians in America.

The 3,700 Oklahoma Seminoles earned an average per capita income last year of less than $2,500. Most worked on cattle ranches or in a garment factory performing menial tasks.

Many suffer from malnutrition because of poorly planned diets, and 60 per cent of the population has diabetes.

Alcoholism and divorce rates skyrocketed in recent years. Some 15 per cent of the population receives state financial aid.

Seventy-five per cent of the Seminoles over 50 years old have less than a fourth grade education. About 65 per cent of all Indians entering high school drop out.

Less than 25 per cent of the Seminoles' homes have toilets, and only 50 per cent have running water.

In addition, the Oklahoma Seminole has almost lost his culture.

"It is gone. The younger generation doesn't want anything to do with culture and tradition. It's just gone from our people," Assistant Chief Floyd Harjo said.

Things have been going downhill for a long time.

Many Seminoles earned sizable incomes during an oil boom years ago. But because the Seminole doesn't fully understand the value of money, his oil fortunes have disappeared.

Ten years ago, James Tiger received $450 per month from five oil wells. The income, coupled with other wages, provided money to spare for James Tiger.

"He used to save money, but all gone now. No save no money no more. No money!" his wife, Helen, said.

The couple lives in a dilapidated, two-room shack without indoor plumbing. Water comes from a bucket dropped down a deep, pumpless well.

If they want hot water for bathing or dishwashing, they heat it on the stove.

Soon James and Helen Tiger will live in a new home built under a Bureau of Indian Affairs program.

"We so excited we no eat yesterday. We busy running round and round. We no eat until 5 o'clock, then we have hamburgers—one each," Helen said.

The three-bedroom house's estimated value is $14,000. Some 39 other homes have been built for Seminoles, and another 250 are under contract.

The Tigers are movir g because they've been told they'll be happier in a new home.

But they don't really know why.

"They told us they were going to make house for us. They said we happier there and it's better place than here," Helen said.

"But we need help other than house. We need help for money. We need help to pay for rent and butane. He don't work no more. That's why we don't have money."

They also will need help learning to care for their new home. Formica tops and terrazo floors are alien to people accustomed to dirt and wood.

Blan Coker is another Oklahoma Seminole who needs help. He lives with his wife and seven children on 55 acres he bought with a low-interest loan.

He bought the land when he was working as a rotary driller in oil fields.

But times have changed. There hasn't been work for a long time.

"It just seems it takes a lot of work to live any more, by gosh. Everyone has to work, you know. It's pretty hard finding work, but with a big family you gotta work . . . everybody's gotta do something," Blan said.

The Bureau is helping the Cokers repair their home. Blan's family is not unhappy. Things are improving. Last year, Blan installed indoor plumbing in his house.

He figures he's better off than a lot of Florida Seminoles living in open chickees.

"I always thought we'd go down there (to Florida) and see how those Indians live . . . it's sort of curiosity instead of kinship or anything like that."

Most Oklahoma Indians are curious about how their distant relatives live in Florida.

Blan was astounded to learn he couldn't understand a tape recording made of the Seminole language in Florida.

In Oklahoma the native tongue is rapidly disappearing. Henry McGahey, superintend of the Wewoka Bureau office, expressed concern over the possible language loss.

"I'd hate to see any tribe lose its virgin language and take up English all together . . . we have to come up with a formula where both cultures and both languages can survive . . . we'll have to give a little and take a little, but it isn't impossible."

Oklahoma Seminole Chief Terry Walker isn't too concerned with the threat of cultural loss.

"Some of the Indians feel the loss but those with education don't feel it badly."

Assistant Chief Harjo was asked about the future of his people.

"We really haven't given it that much thought."

And so the Seminoles in Oklahoma—like the Seminoles in Florida and other Indians across the country—continue to lose.

He has almost lost his own culture and can't understand its white replacement.

He has lost his economic base and can't enter the business world in the city he founded.

He is unhealthy and suffers from afflictions once unknown to his society.

He is an Indian.

STUDENT EDITOR SPEAKS ON STUDENT DISRUPTIONS

HON. FRED SCHWENGEL

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 9, 1970

Mr. SCHWENGEL. Mr. Speaker, I recently had the opportunity to hear a speech made by Mr. Lowell H. Forte before the Iowa City Kiwanis Club. Mr. Forte was at the time, the editor of the Daily Iowan, which is the student newspaper at the University of Iowa. I was very impressed with the reasoned approach taken by Mr. Forte, and want to share the speech with my colleagues:

A SPEECH PRESENTED TO THE IOWA CITY KIWANIS CLUB BY LOWELL H. FORTE, EDITOR, THE DAILY IOWAN, MAY 26, 1970

You see before you today an angry man. In the last several weeks I have seen students break windows of Iowa City businesses and University buildings; I have seen violence I have seen buildings burned. All of these things were done in the name of protest perpetrated by students on fellow students; against the Nixon administration and its decision to move troops into Cambodia. In the name of sympathy for those four students killed at Kent State, I have seen students create conditions conducive to producing a Kent State on our own campus. I have heard students shout for the closing of the University as a protest against President Nixon; the same students who considered the so-called take-overs of Jessup Hall and Old Capitol viable alternatives to showing support—either by writing letters or staging nondestructive demonstrations—for those Senators who had said they wanted to respond favorably to students' desires to end the Indochina war. As one student so naively shouted from the steps of Jessup Hall on the night of May 7 in attempting to encourage members of the gathered crowd to enter the building: "What have you done for your brothers killed in Vietnam?" As if he thought Nixon was going to reel around in his chair upon hearing of the great Jessup Hall take-over and say, "Get Abrams on the phone, we have to pull those troops out of there now!"

But these are not the people who I wish to talk to you about today. These are merely the irrational and even anti-intellectual students and nonstudents who are the hangers-on, the leeches and opportunists of legitimate dissent; those who thrive neither on the stating of problems or formulating their answers, but on the creation of problems for the sake of the resulting controversy.

Those who deserve not only to be talked about, but to be commended and talked and listened to are those who took to the streets and steps of Old Capitol out of total frustration to what they saw as a move by the President of the United States that constituted a sell-out of the American youth. A move that might not only end their chances at achieving their goals in life and career but spelled the expansion of a war that has to them needlessly killed over 40,000 fellow young men, generated millions of dollars in graft for the dubious people in power in the undemocratic government of South Vietnam, and which has taken and continues to take a heavy economic and social toll on this United States.

Today's college seniors have seen an earnest Vietnam war since they were high school seniors. In February 1965, the Viet Cong attacked the U.S. outpost at Pleiku which brought the evacuation of U.S. dependents from South Vietnam. By the end of that month, we began bombing North Vietnam. And even before that, these students had watched the embryonic growth of the war since they were high school freshman. For eight years they have seen the war grow; for eight years they have seen opposition to the war increase; for eight years they have seen basically unresponsive administrations turn deaf ears to voiced concern over U.S. involvement in Southeast Asia; for eight years they have felt increasing frustration.

It's understandable that these young people might turn to the streets at a time when their patience was bent to the breaking point. It's also commendable that these young people, who constituted a majority of those in the the streets, were restrained to the point that a Kent State did not happen at Iowa.

Some of these students had never before participated in a protest rally; others had; others found such protests unnecessary before because they were ineffective; others thought one thing; others thought another. But for a length of time, students of all political persuasions shared a common goal—to show dissatisfaction with the creation of a new phrase—the Indochina war. Certainly the means varied, but the goal was there nonetheless.

But for most students the streets were not the last viable alternative to get things accomplished; rather they provided an outlet for frustrations. Certainly, there are a few who have come to believe violence—even death—is now the logical next step. Witness the bombing of the Ames City Hall. But for many the release of frustration was all that was needed; for others it was only a temporary, and perhaps not wholly rational, move that was necessary to release emotions that would only hamper their efforts to work to effect the system and the destiny of their country in more conventional ways.

Already some of the students' dissatisfaction is being channeled into the political system. Just last week, CBS aired a special news report on students cutting their hair so that they could work—in a way that would not turn people off—for the election of those who would work for peace, desegregation and honest statesmanship in state and national government. Thus, the result of the protests here and everywhere during one of the most trying weeks in the history of our Republic may well produce the shot in the arm our political system needs—concern.

That sounds idealistic doesn't it? It is. But it is an ideal that must be worked toward and not be allowed to die at the hands of apathy or skepticism.

* * * * *

Admittedly, I have so far painted a rather black and white picture, or at least allowed for only the very good, the very bad, the very ugly. However, involved in many of the student movements is an emotionalism that many times produces irrational, illogical and even anti-intellectual responses from students who should know better. Many times these responses tend to cloud if not replace the real issues of a problem or controversy. This happens when a student becomes so entrapped in the surface rhetoric of a movement that he fails to question the logic the reality or the motives behind the movement—an anomaly in these times when questions are even questioned. I would classify these responses as neither good nor bad, but rather as reality. These are human responses that have been going on since movements were invented, and I would say that was when man started to gather in groups of two or more. But these are the saddest responses because they should respond to reason but don't because with the adherence to surface rhetoric comes the closed mind, and with the closed mind comes the distortion of values and laws—those things which bind men together regardless of their personal beliefs. In the name of individuality they demand that everyone must think like they do; in the name of freedom and right they attempt to deprive others of their freedoms and rights; in the name of reform they destroy property because it is a manifestation of that which needs changing. Yet, for the most part, they are nonviolent, or at least consider themselves such—for one must remember that in today's terms of revolution, violence is that which takes place between men and not between men and property. An example: during the demonstrations, crowds of people went into intersections shouting such things as the "streets belong to the people." Yet, when one of those people drove up, were they allowed to pass through the intersection? No!

I have another example. One which is very close to me and one which many of you are no doubt very interested in—The Daily Iowan. The action of the Board of Student Publications, Inc. (SPI Board as it is usually referred to) on May 10 to postpone the traditional staff turnover because of the tense conditions prevailing on the campus at that time, and the Board's subsequent action on May 14 to dismiss the newly named editor because of an erosion of mutual trust, brought charges of political repression, censorship and blatant violation of freedom of the press.

Within a few hours of the decision to suspend the staff-designate's changeover, came threats against the physical plant of the newspaper ranging from mass sit-ins to firebombs. Threats against the persons of several staff members—including myself—were relayed to me. Actions and statements of members of the staff-designate brought the imminent firing on the night of May 14.

During that tension-filled week following May 10, members of my old staff—both paid and nonpaid—stayed and worked to put out a newspaper that was virtually under siege. These students worked for a paper which had its newsroom locked and steel sheeting welded over its print shop's windows; these students worked for a paper which was guarded by special security forces who brought extra fire extinguishers "just in case"; some of these students had to have their families leave town, mine included, because it was considered unsafe for them to remain at home, and their empty homes were guarded; these students went outside to cover anti-DI rallies where they were sometimes physically accosted by demonstrators; these students watched when on Friday, May 15, near the steps of Old Capitol, over one thousand Daily Iowans were burned at an obviously anti-DI rally. Burned were thirteen bundles of DIs that had been stolen from route pick up points between 3:30 and 5:30 a.m. that same morning.

Why use this as an example? Because the

students who stayed to publish The Daily Iowan did so not only out of loyalty to the paper, but in the name of professional journalism and the preservation of the freedom of the press. Yet those who burned The Daily Iowans in front of Old Capitol did so in the name of freedom of the press—or at least because they considered that freedom violated.

Who were the ones trapped by surface rhetoric? Those who stayed to nonviolently publish a newspaper or those who violently burned that same newspaper? The answer lies perhaps in the definitions or clarifications of the terms professional journalism and freedom of the press.

First, professional journalism. But perhaps before that we need to define journalism. Journalism is the generally nonscholarly type of writing and speaking associated with radio, television, magazines and newspapers—a writing designed to convey information about people, events and opinions in which the public has some interest or should have some interest. This is a broad definition that covers all the media and all different degrees of quality within the media. For example, the print media, newspapers in particular. For simplification let's break down newspapers into three basic categories: First, the so-called establishment press. Secondly, the alternative press. Thirdly, the underground press. By establishment press I do not mean that in the ideological sense but rather in structural terms—a newspaper that is based on the free-enterprize or profit motive. Within this classification are varying degrees of quality. There are the newspapers that in fact are mere advertising mediums with little meaningful editorial content, and with little concern over whether the editorial content should be anything other than something you use to surround ads. We then move up along the continuum where advertising, although considered very important and is treated as such, it is divorced completely from the editorial side of the operation. This is a newspaper that puts an extremely heavy emphasis not only on what is put around the advertising, but also on its content and quality—its general relevance to the reader and that which effects him.

It is here that professional journalism comes in; here, where the dedication of those in the field is not to a specific ideology or interest group, but to a diverse public; here, where its not how well you can do the job, but how well you strive to do the job as well as it can possibly be done. As Harvey Ingham wrote on July 1, 1902, as editor of the Des Moines Register and Leader:

"The first and supreme purpose of everyone concerned is to make a worthy newspaper in the broad and modern meaning of the word. This requires that the news service shall be ample and reliable, and maintained scrupulously independent of the editorial opinions of the paper.

"It means that the editorial conduct must be dignified and unprejudiced, appealing, where it attempts to influence, to the judgment of its readers, seeking to instruct and enlighten, and recognizing that the primary function of the paper in all its departments is to gather and present with fidelity to its suscribers the facts and considerations that are essential to right conclusions.

"The paper cannot give its influence to the service of individuals, or its energies to factional or personal politics. It will not undertake to make or unmake the political fortunes of individuals.

"This does not mean that the paper will never have a choice for a political position, but that it conceives its first responsibility to be to its readers, and that every choice will be a free one, made when the occasion arises, and not predetermined by factional alliances or considerations."

But professional journalism is the chain; professional journalists are the links. The really good, the really professional journalist comes from an open-minded element. The traditional, closed-minded conservative, with his trappings of intolerance, racism, bigotry and protection of the status quo, lacks the psychic empathy needed to fairly report and accurately interpret the actions, events and opinions of *all* people.

Those who represent the extreme or radical persuasions, either left or right; that is, anybody with predetermined convictions of truth, fact and accuracy, lack the qualifications needed to serve the reader professionally. Such people would use the press not for the conveyance of information or interpretation, but as a soap box. Their service is for those who see the "truth" as they see it. They write not for the public but for those who think as they do. They write not to enlighten or educate, but to reinforce the convictions of those who share similar or identical ideologies. It is the difference between the closed mind and the open mind.

Hopefully you now have a feeling of what a professional newspaper is. But what about the alternative press and the underground press. The alternative press varies in quality as much as the establishment press and it might be best described by its name—an alternative to the establishment press. The alternative press may well take the form of a new competitive newspaper or perhaps something similar to the Chicago Journalism Review, which criticizes that segment of the establishment press that is not performing up to professional or honest standards. The alternative press then may be political, a-political, of general interest or of special interest, but generally a medium designed to fill a need not being filled by the regular establishment press.

The typical undergroud press is wholly political—caught up in one or several political or ideological movements of the time—an ideological mouthpiece. The content is generally opinion in form and all too often the concepts of fact, accuracy and fairness are totally abandoned. Yet the underground press should not be dismissed on these grounds, for it does represent the opinions and feelings of a segment of our society—a segment willing to make itself heard or at least read. A distinction between the underground and alternative presses is that true underground newspapers are just that—you do not know who is responsible for its publication or much of its content.

Where does the Daily Iowan fit in? Let's determine this by classifying the paper. It is controlled by an autonomous, incorporated board of directors: five students elected by the student body and four faculty members elected by the Faculty Senate with the University President's affirmation. It attempts to make profit so that it can continuously improve its quality and survive. Its income is from two main sources: about three-fourths from advertising revenue and about one-fourth from student fees. Each student at the University pays into the DI approximately two dollars each semester in student fees. The paper is editorially staffed by students who, in the past, have been working toward careers in journalism. The policy and philosophy of the SPI Board states: "By intention The Daily Iowan is also very different from most 'student' newspapers. For more than thirty-five years it has been operated in the tradition of a quality professional daily newspaper, on the ground that this type of newspaper would be of greatest value to students, faculty and staff of the University . . ." Another quote states: "An editorial in the Iowan, ill-founded in fact or illogical in approach or even merely careless of language can do much damage to the person, persons or organizations which are the subjects of such an editorial."

Hence, The Daily Iowan is dedicated to professional journalism and the training of professional journalists. A student staff does not by its hiring have the mandate to manage the news in accordance with personal likes, dislikes or ideologies—as a good number of other similar enterprises do. The student staff of The Daily Iowan is given heavy responsibilities and great freedoms to exercise those responsibilities—responsibilities to a total student body, a faculty, a staff, a community. This is a challenge that can separate the pros from the mediocre—a challenge given them not as a right but in trust.

Has freedom of the press been violated? No. No one has the right to the control of The Daily Iowan. The first amendment provides protection against governmental interference with the press. That does not mean that even because you are hired by a newspaper you have the right to use it as you wish. It means that you have the right to to become your own editor, publisher and printer and to write and print what you wish. There is a very marked distinction here—too few have thought deep enough to see it.

The SPI Board and the staff of The Daily Iowan believe in freedom of the press; but we also believe in the paper's dedication to professional journalism and the training of professional journalists. It is the SPI Board's responsibility to see that students sharing the same dedication have the opportunity to take on the challenge of becoming professional. They have the duty to weed out those they feel would not accept this challenge, no matter how unpopular their decisions in doing so might be with certain interest groups. They have principles to live up to and may they continue to live up to them.

Thank you for your most kind attention.

CAPTIVE NATIONS

HON. ROBERT PRICE

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 9, 1970

Mr. PRICE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, whereas "Captive Nations Week'" for us, just as it is for many millions more who are less fortunate than us, is in actuality 365 days in length, I feel that we should take this week, which President Nixon has so designated, to give this vital and potentially dangerous situation a greater amount of our time and thoughts than we would ordinarily.

These countries and their people which are now being tightly held in a grasp of iron are frequently referred to as submerged nations, and as conquered nations. Above all, they are captured nations. It must be remembered that these nations have not willingly projected themselves into the Soviet orbit. They have not willingly asked to be incorporated into this foreign union. Theirs were not the wishes that were heeded when they were brought into this one-sided partnership they now find themselves to be part of. To this day their spirit for the natural—for freedom—remains whole and intact. It is only physically that they are tethered to the stake of communism.

The people continuously call out for the liberty and independence that is being denied them by a few. They long to exercise those inalienable rights which should not be denied anyone. They wish to cease being the unprivileged members of that one-third of the world which has fallen under the heel of Communist expansion and is known to all of the free world as the "Captive Nations."

These nations, truly our brothers, look to us. They seek an answer just as a slave would seek a smith to break the chain which subjugates him to the system that denies him of his human rights. And as a slave, if he could not find a smith, these nations turn to whatever else may exist that could offer them hope. Again, they turn to us. The United States, as the standard-bearer of the free world, is that hope. And we must continue to be their source, never waning.

Therefore, Mr. Speaker, with the strong desire that our Nation may increase the amount of hope which we might inspire in the people of the captive nations, I ask that we make our bonds of unity stronger. And by so strengthening our bonds we can focus our efforts most effectively on the problem confronting us.

THE PLIGHT OF THE U.S. FISHING INDUSTRY

HON. HASTINGS KEITH

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 9, 1970

Mr. KEITH. Mr. Speaker, the place of the United States among the fishing nations of the world has been declining in recent years. Nowhere has this been more evident than in Massachusetts and particularly in my district with its great fishing port of New Bedford where some of the highest quality fish are sold daily for the tables of families throughout the Nation.

Yet in some ways the plight of the U.S. fishing industry seems at times to be forgotten. The perils of the sea, the ever-growing imports and foreign depletion of U.S. fishing grounds are a constant threat to this vital national enterprise. And yet, the fishermen continue to go to sea in order to provide fresh fish for the American consumer.

Those of us who have fought for legislation to improve the lot of American fishermen know its problems well. But for those not familiar with the conditions of this important segment of the American economy, I commend a three-part series recently published in the Boston Globe describing the state of the fishing industry in Massachusetts. In my view, these articles outline only a part of the problem. There is much more that has been and will be said—but it is a fairly good basis for further discussions.

With your permission, I submit in the RECORD this insightful series for consideration by my honorable colleagues:

DEPRESSION, DESPAIR MARK FISHING INDUSTRY

(By Frank Donovan)

(NOTE.—Two traditional Massachusetts industries are shoe manufacturing and fishing. In recent years both have been faced with serious economic problems. Earlier this year, Boston Globe reporter Frank Donovan examined the shoe industry in two in-depth reports. In April and May, reporter Donovan took a similar look at the fishing industry in Boston, Gloucester and New Bedford. Today the Globe publishes the first in a series of three reports on "Massachusetts—Its Troubled Fleet.")

The Massachusetts fishing industry is like a ship without a rudder, bobbing aimlessly on a stormy sea and in danger of sinking.

As old as the landing of the Pilgrims, the industry is beset by nearly as many problems as the number of years it has been in existence.

Engaged in a battle for survival against foreign competition, the domestic fisherman finds himself undersold in his own markets and outfished in his own waters.

He has already lost the frozen fish industry to the foreign market and each year he slips a little further behind in the fresh fish segment of the business.

If this isn't enough, overfishing is jeopardizing the ocean's fish resources. Huge foreign fishing fleets with a colonial attitude toward fishing off the US coast are largely to blame.

In 1938, the United States ranked second to Japan in the amount of fish caught. Now it is in fourth place, behind Russia, which has tripled her catch, Japan and Communist China.

The United States imported 426 million pounds of groundfish last year and this represented some 80 percent of all groundfish consumed in the country. Fish imports are up 21 percent for the first quarter of 1970. A decade ago, 155.6 million pounds of groundfish were imported.

As the world grows smaller with better and better communications, so does the domestic fisherman's corner of the fresh fish market. Some 75 percent of all fresh fish sold in the US is caught by domestic fishermen. Only a few years ago it was 85 percent.

The Massachusetts fisherman has turned his weatherbeaten face toward Washington for help many times, but the mechanics of government move slowly and big promises slip through his net like the fish that got away.

The administration has promised relief for the industry, but has cut $7.5 million from the Bureau of Commercial Fisheries' 1971 budget.

A commercial fishing research vessel, to be based in New Bedford, was launched at a cost of $600,000 by private enterprise, but, at the same time, the Bureau of Commercial Fisheries announced that the $2 million research vessel Albatross IV, based at Woods Hole, will be taken from service to save money.

But while the fishermen have made many demands of Washington and their cry has been long and loud, they have done little to improve their own position.

Few industries are as fragmented as the Massachusetts fishing industry. Each fisherman is a small businessman in competition with his neighbor and foreign fleets. Against subsidizing foreign competition, the fight of the domestic fisherman is similar to that of the corner grocery store against the supermarket. The outcome will be the same.

THREE PORTS

It is unfair to consider all fishermen as one or to lump the state's major commercial fishing ports of Gloucester, New Bedford and Boston into one category.

On a good vessel, fishermen can expect to make between $12,000 and $20,000 a year. Those sitting back waiting for the government to bail them out, under $10,000 a year.

Of the ports, New Bedford is the most progressive and its fishing fleet of 200 vessels is larger than Boston (35) and Gloucester (105) combined.

If any part of the industry is unified, it is New Bedford. Yet, New Bedford has little to do with Boston and Gloucester. And, the only link between Boston and Gloucester is Boston's Fish Pier.

Russell T. Norris, director of the North Atlantic Region of the Bureau of Commercial Fisheries, US Department of the Interior, has proposed a 5-step program he feels is necessary to stabilize the New England fishing fleet.

This includes investment of private capital, a Federal subsidy, quality improvement of the product, a reduction in costs and proper access to the source.

Norris, 53, a Newburyport native, accepted the directorship of the 13-state region from Maine to Virginia last September. He is concerned about the mounting competition of foreign vessels and the declining condition of the New England fleet.

In the past 10 years, 119 New England vessels have been lost at sea.

"We have a subsidy program that pays up to 50 percent of the cost for construction of new boats," Norris said. A 1792 law, however, prohibits the construction of American boats in foreign ports and domestic built vessels cost twice as much.

In an attempt to compete with the huge foreign fleets, and especially their factory vessels, the U.S. built a similar boat, the Atlantic Seafreeze. American fishermen, however, are unaccustomed to being at sea for long periods of time and the program has only been a moderate success.

VANISHING HADDOCK

The American fishing fleet ruled Georges Bank in 1961 and brought in a catch of 112 million pounds of groundfish.

A year later, the US fleet of New England was joined by a small foreign fleet. Both the haddock and foreign ships were plentiful in 1963, but things haven't been the same since.

Nearly 950 million pounds of haddock were caught during 1965–66 by Russian, Canadian and US vessels. This was nearly double the average annual landings by all nations in previous years. As many as 300 foreign vessels have been counted on the banks.

Overfishing by this huge foreign fleet combined with natural causes has reduced the haddock stocks to a very low level and scientists estimate it will take years for them to replenish.

To preserve the species, 15 nations of the International Commission for the North Atlantic Fisheries (ICNAF) met in Warsaw Poland, in June 1969 and established catch quotas on haddock, and closed sections of Georges and Brown's Banks during March and April of this year, the time when the fish spawn. The regulations become effective Jan. 7 and are for a three-year period.

The haddock disaster motivated the Federal government to appropriate about $500,000 for research of pollock fisheries off the Northeast coast.

Kevin Allen of the Bureau of Commercial Fisheries' Boston office said the money was used for research to subsidize the fishermen and to educate the American consumer to the advantages of eating pollock.

People began eating pollock and liking it, Allen said. As the market was created, the price of the fish rose from under 10 cents a pound to a high of 29 cents a pound at the dock.

But no sooner was the market created than fresh pollock from Canada began arriving at 6 cents to 8 cents a pound and has undercut the domestic fisherman, Allen said.

Sen. Edward M. Kennedy (D-Mass.), made a whirlwind, fact-finding tour of the Massachusetts fishing ports in February to obtain information on industry problems at first hand.

The senator spent the day listening and learning and what he heard were stories of depression and despair. How imported fish, large foreign fleets, high insurance rates, old domestic vessels and government apathy had the Massachusetts fishing industry on the rocks.

Kennedy explained his bill, Senate 2825, which he filed for the second straight year in an effort to help the domestic fishing industry. The bill, he said, would expand the fishing vessel subsidy program from $10 to $20 million.

The fishing industry represents more than $100 million a year to Massachusetts. The state ranked fifth in the nation last year in volume of catch with 280 million pounds of

fish valued at $4.19 million. The record catch for the state set in 1948 is 649 million pounds.

Boston is more than just an industry, it is the home of the Cod.

John J. O'Brien, regional coordinator of the BCF's office of market news, said there has been a constant decline in Boston's fishing industry since 1950, two years after the record catch.

The industry represents $30 million a year to Boston and last year 45 million pounds of fish were landed, he said. This is, however, 15 million pounds less fish than the previous year.

Boston houses the New England Fish Exchange founded Oct. 9, 1908 to guarantee the fisherman the money he is to receive from dealers for his catch. Other than the New Bedford fish auction there isn't anything else quite like it in the world.

It was on Apr. 23 1934 that the exchange handled its largest volume—4.1 million pounds of fish were landed and sold in 45 minutes. Since 1941 when 3.09 million pounds of fish valued at $11.6 million were sold the volume of fish has been decreasing while the cash value has been increasing.

BOSTON'S FLEET

The Boston fishing fleet is comprised of eight large trawlers in the 130-foot class and another 25 smaller boats in what is known as the Italian fleet. About 400 men sail the vessels.

The biggest boat owner is Thomas Fulham of the Boston Fish Market Assn. who operates four large modern trawlers and has a fifth under construction.

The most modern vessel in Fulham's fleet is the Old Colony a 131-foot steel stern ramp trawler that was put into operation last year at a cost of nearly $1 million. A sister ship, the Tremont, is under construction in Sturgeon Bay, Wis.

Fulham formed the Boston Fishing Boat Co. nine years ago to help renovate the Boston fleet, which at that time had not had a new boat in 14 years. The first boat was the Massachusetts. All of the vessels have been built under a Federal subsidy program.

Now that he has developed a successful method of building and managing boats, Fulham is "fearful for the fish source."

Unless it comes under conservation, we will be in trouble. "Haddock has been fished down to an absolute minimum," he said.

Prior to the huge foreign fleets things were all right, but now they put so much concentrated fishing power on areas that there must be protection of the species, Fulham said.

Fulham envisions international controls under which the coastal country would be responsible for fishing over the continental shelf.

"The attitude of the national government must change. Nowhere does it declare that the fishing business is of any value, nor does it consider the fish off our coast as part of our national wealth," Fulham said.

There have been many changes in the fishing industry in recent years, he continued. Fish has become popular as a food and more people are eating it now than ever before. "It is no longer a poor man's food."

"The fishing banks, however, don't get any bigger while the population is growing. Nations have been slow to realize that the ocean source could diminish."

Fishermen aboard the Old Colony have made more money in the first quarter of 1970 than they have in history. Each man has already earned nearly $10,000.

The industry is unique in many ways, Fulham said. Where else, he said would you take a million dollar investment, turn it over to a man with about a seventh grade education and let him take your investment to sea and make all the decisions.

"Our captains are well paid and they deserve to be. They make more decisions than any corporation executive on a similar pay scale," he added.

At the far end of the Fish Pier, in the same brick building that houses the Fish Exchange, Hugh F. O'Rourke, executive secretary of the Boston Fisheries Assn., Inc., maintains his office.

In the nine years he has been watching the boats land their catch, he has seen Boston's fish industry decline by 50 percent.

O'Rourke likes to compare the fishermen to the farmer who was trying to scratch out a living in the Dust Bowl of the Midwest.

"It wasn't until the Federal government stepped in and showed the farmer how to operate his business that he became a success.

"The same thing applies here. The government must teach the fisherman the economics of his business and provide the funds to help him regain his feet," O'Rourke said.

"If the United States is to return to a position of prominence in world fisheries we must have government sponsorship for boat building, continuous research and technological projects and marketing development programs that would increase and maintain consumer interest."

Although the promotion of pollock on the domestic market has helped, O'Rourke said the fishermen failed to catch the amount of pollock that was needed to fill the demand created.

The pollock were more plentiful off the coast of Canada and they migrated from our grounds to Georges and Brown's Banks which were closed, he continued.

"We suffered a loss of 50-60 percent of our haddock supply and pollock only made up 15 percent of it," O'Rourke said.

O'Rourke said there are some 16 fish processing firms located on the pier that employ about 250 workers: "There were 21 firms on the pier in 1967, but you have to remember that 32 million pounds less fish has been landed in Boston in the past two years with the reduction in income of about $3 million in 1969," he said.

A large part of the industry's problem is internal, O'Rourke said, because of a lack of cooperation. "Every man who owns a boat is on his own and in competition. He won't be part of a cooperative venture," he said.

"We have to be the biggest fish market in the world—70 percent of all the fish we eat is imported. However, there is no private investment in the industry.

"There is no replacement for money. If we had more boats we could catch more fish. Once we supply the fish we can meet the foreign market. If we are subsidized as well as other countries, we can do as well as other countries," O'Rourke said.

"The government must get into the fishing business. How long do you think Rte. 128 would last if the government wasn't buying its products? Why should we be any different?

GLOUCESTER'S PARADOX: BUSINESS IS GOOD, BUT FISHING IS NOT

(By Frank Donovan)

(NOTE.—The Massachusetts fisherman finds himself undersold in his own markets and outfished in his own waters in his struggle against foreign competition. Meanwhile, the government fails to offer substantial aid to the domestic fisherman and is apparently willing to sacrifice him for other interests.

(In part one of this series the overall problems of the Massachusetts fishing industry, and especially Boston, were examined.)

GLOUCESTER.—Capt. Salvatore Militello tends bar and manages the St. Peter's Club, biding his time until he can get another boat.

Militello was captain and one-half owner of the 91-foot dragger John F. Kennedy out of Gloucester that burned and sank Dec. 6, 1969, 10 miles off Cape Cod.

When the vessel sank it took with it a little piece of Militello. "There will never be another boat like her," he said.

The JFK was only 8½ years old and one of the newer boats in the Gloucester fleet. The sinking just about wiped out Militello and Joseph Ciolino, his partner.

"We were doing good when the boat was operating," Militello said. "We were making $10,000 to $12,000 a share as fishermen.

"I didn't see my five kids much while I was fishing. They are grown up before they know you. My kids fishermen? Never happen . . . it's a lousy life.

"I started as a little kid to be a fisherman. What the hell do I know about anything else," Militello concluded.

Fishing in Gloucester is a family business. Change comes slowly and is reluctantly accepted. The rivalry is as strong among neighbors as it is with foreign competition.

PROCESSING IS THE BUSINESS

Gloucester is full of paradoxes. While it is the home of the second largest fishing fleet in Massachusetts, one-third of all the frozen groundfish imported to this country is processed here.

In 1950 there were 196 vessels—nearly twice as many as there are now—and 1643 crewmen. Yet today there are more people employed in the fishing industry in Gloucester than at any previous time.

Fish processing plants have taken up the slack and provided a major boost to the city's economy. Gloucester has 14 of these plants and they employ some 1500 workers.

John Silva, business agent for Local 15, Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of America, AFL–CIO, explained that the fish is imported to the country and comes to Gloucester in frozen blocks, weighing up to 50 pounds:

The blocks, he said, are cut while frozen into portions, breaded cooked, packaged and quick frozen again. The entire process takes less than 15 minutes, he said.

"The domestic fleet can't even begin to supply the amount of fish needed to keep these plants in operation," Silva said.

He said the present tariff of 15 percent on imported cooked and breaded products has been the salvation of his industry. "If it dropped, then it would be cheaper to process the fish outside the country and import it," he added.

Silva believes the domestic fisherman should have protection against the importation of fresh fish. "I think the government should help these fishermen build new boats."

The frozen food process employed in these plants was developed in Gloucester by Clarence Birdseye in the 1930s. The process was heralded as the salvation of the fishing fleet, but subsidized foreign competition undercut and eliminated domestic fish from the frozen market.

Like everyone else in Gloucester, Salvatore J. Favazza, executive secretary of the Gloucester Fisheries Commission, wants to help the local fisherman, but not at the expense of the city's frozen imported fish processing plants.

"If we could stop all imports our fleets could not supply what the country needs. Ninety percent of all frozen groundfish products are imported. If 25 years ago steps were taken things may have been different, but they weren't.

"The foreigners have the frozen fish field . . . we are losing our grasp on the 70 to 75 percent of the fresh groundfish market that we now control.

"Let's not try to do the impossible. Let's leave the frozen market alone and try and save the fresh fish market," Favazza said.

"Gloucester's fleet landed 68.2 million pounds of fish valued at $6.5 million last year," he said. There were sharp declines in the landings of haddock and whiting by Gloucester fishermen, but prices were considerably higher.

With the decline of first the redfish and now the haddock, Gloucester fishermen have turned to pollock and shrimp fishing.

Gloucester fishermen increased their shrimp catch from 114,000 pounds in 1968 to 3.9 million pounds last year, Favazza said.

To determine the potential of the shrimp industry, Favazza said a fisheries extension service is needed. "All of the leading fishing nations except the United States have nationwide, government-operated fisheries extension services. Without such a service much valuable research and information lies dormant in the filing cabinets of the fisheries agencies."

As this country develops new markets for fish, Favazza said, it must also protect them from imports. He said that the "Canadian exports to the U.S. of fresh pollock in 1969 were three times that of 1968."

There are some, however, who blame the Gloucester fishermen for not taking full advantage of the pollock market and allowing imports from Canada to get a foothold.

They claim, and no one wants to be identified, that the Gloucester fishermen refused to believe that a market could be created for pollock and did not catch the fish under the subsidy program. When the demand was created and outgrew the supply, the importers sewed up the markets, such as upstate New York, with Canadian-caught fish. Now these dealers have a Canadian source, and are stocking with it.

WIVES ARE PUSHING

The United Fishermen's Wives Organization of Gloucester, which was founded last year, is devoted to protecting the interests of the fishermen while they are at sea.

The wives have been quick to recognize the strength in unity, and are trying to get their independent-thinking husbands to organize.

Still attired in their pollock cooking aprons, the wives are trying to promote formation of the Fishing Dynamics Corp. to improve and rebuild the fishing industry.

The corporation would be comprized of shareholders, who would elect a board of directors which would appoint a manager to run the business. The manager would purchase food, fuel and equipment in bulk and the savings would be passed on to the fishermen.

Grace Parsons, 23, the organization founder, said the fishermen are accepting the proposal, which includes a training program for young fishermen.

Meanwhile, the women are continuing to distribute pro-fish propaganda to the American housewife and to take their husband's problems to Washington.

FEDERAL AID OR ELSE

Michael Orlando, president of the Atlantic Fishermen's Union with 1000 members in Gloucester, Boston and New York, claims the average boat in Gloucester, Boston and New York, is 20 years old.

He says Federal aid is needed to modernize the fleet. "The government is sacrificing us for other industries. All we get is lip service and empty promises from Washington," he said.

"Canada subsidizes its fishermen to the hilt, while our government has kicked us in the teeth. The government is throwing us an anchor when we need a life preserver."

The 50 percent federal boat building subsidy had too many strings attached to be of any benefit to the fisherman, Orlando continued. "It cost between $8,000 and $10,000 just for lawyer's fees and blueprints," he said.

Orlando admits that the fishermen are also to blame for the poor condition of the industry, but the real fault still lies with the government.

"When the fishermen were having good years the boats were in good shape," he said. "On the lean years the boats slipped further and further behind. New vessels are so expensive fishermen can't afford them.

"Cheap Canadian fish, both fresh and frozen has killed this country's groundfish industry," Orlando said.

He doesn't believe the story about the Gloucester fishermen not catching pollock. "It was Canadian pollock undercutting our prices that took the market away from us," he said.

FISH EXCHANGE NECESSARY

He said there were several Boston fresh fish processing firms interested in moving to Gloucester, but would not do so until they established a fish exchange where dealers could bid for fish on a competitive basis.

The five firms that now buy fresh fish from the Gloucester fishermen rely on prices established in Boston, Orlando said. Without a fish exchange, newcomers to Gloucester are afraid they would get the scraps after these five firms purchased what they wanted, he added.

Orlando feels that only the ability of the fishermen has kept the industry going, but that things have finally declined to a point where "without help there will be a lot less fishermen and boats in the near future."

NEW BEDFORD FISHERMEN HOPEFUL ABOUT FUTURE

NEW BEDFORD.—Rodney Avila comes from a long line of New Bedford fishermen of Portuguese descent. He has nine uncles who are fishermen.

At age 26, Avila is captain and one-third owner of the 76-foot otter trawler Trident, and fishing is good.

"I've been fishing for about 10 years and I wouldn't trade it. Sure fishing has its ups and downs, but it's a good clean life even if it is hard."

Avila takes his boat out for six or seven days at a time and spends three days in port between trips. The long hours, days at sea and hard work earn him $15,000 a year as the skipper.

"How much you make depends on how good you are as a fisherman," he said.

Flounder and scallops make up the principal part of the New Bedford fishing industry, but like other Massachusetts ports it also deals in groundfish, lobster, etc.

The outlook for the future of the fishing industry in New Bedford is optimistic and the community gets upset when lumped into the same category as Gloucester and Boston.

Landings at New Bedford last year reached 107.8 million pounds of fish valued at $17.4 million, tops in all respects in Massachusetts.

In the first quarter of 1970, the New Bedford office of the Bureau of Commercial Fisheries said 22.1 million pounds of fish were landed, less than a year ago when there were 23.0 million pounds. Value of the fish this year, however, is $4.8 million, while last year the larger catch sold for $3.1 million.

The fishing industry is worth $50 million a year to New Bedford and employs 2500 workers.

One of the biggest boosters of the New Bedford fishing industry is Howard W. Nickerson, executive director of the Seafood Dealers Assn.

MAKING MONEY

One of the biggest complaints is "pessimistic stories about the industry out of Gloucester and Boston that make it difficult for us to get financing."

Nickerson represents 13 dealers who last year purchased $13 million worth of fish at the New Bedford Fish Auction. They employ 500 workers.

"The boats and the fishermen are making money in New Bedford," Nickerson said, "but there has been some complaint from the consumer over high prices."

The New Bedford Seafood dealers need 400,000 pounds of fresh fish five days a week to operate under ideal conditions. When they are not supplied with enough domestic fresh fish to maintain this operation, Nickerson said, imported fresh fish is used to make up the difference.

What Nickerson feels the government can do to aid the New Bedford fishing industry at the present time is pass laws governing the labeling of fish products.

For example, he says, the housewife is apt to see fresh flounder from New Bedford in the fish market at 79 cents a pound. Next to it could be Greenland turbot at 59 cents a pound. Both fishes look alike and without labeling, Nickerson said, the housewife doesn't know what she is buying. "I believe the housewife should be given the choice of buying fresh domestic fish or cheaper frozen imported fish.

"We are not organized domestically and we don't have the money to do the advertising on our own.

"Boston and Gloucester have done nothing in the past 20 years to improve the industry," Nickerson said. "They have been too busy trying to make a living to worry about the industry as a whole.

"The fishermen feel the boat owners are cheating them and the boat owner feels the processor is doing the same.

"The boat owner, processor and fisherman must learn to work together," Nickerson said.

Nickerson said New Bedford will overcome the problems within the industry because "we have young executives in every plant. We have seven dealers planning new plants within the city's urban renewal project. They are putting their money where their mouth is.

"If the government becomes tough on quality, New Bedford is in good shape. The labeling act will let the house wife choose. . . . There are a lot of frozen products sold as fresh in this country and the law isn't strong enough to stop this," Nickerson said.

As Nickerson sees it, "The biggest single problem the domestic fish industry faces is imports, followed closely by the lack of natural resources, increasing vessel operating costs, a lack of a protected market for our quality seafood products and an insufficient number of trained seafood workers.

"Congress should spell out our national objectives in regard to the fishing industry and should implement those objectives with ground rules which could not be circumvented by political expediency," Nickerson said.

Nickerson said he would like to see the government purchase older domestic fishing vessels at a fair market value and then destroy these old boats. Although he doesn't believe in tariffs, he would like to see quotas established on imported fish at 1966 levels.

Austin Skinner, secretary-treasurer of the New Bedford Fishermen's Union, AFL–CIO, represents 1000 men or 90 percent of the New Bedford fishermen.

"Until recently our biggest problem has been getting experienced men. The past couple of years a lot of men have come down from Gloucester and there have been many Portuguese immigrants. We have finally reached a point where help is stable."

The lot of the New Bedford fisherman is good according to Skinner. He works long hours and is at sea a week at a time, but he is no worse off than any other fisherman and his pay is good.

"The average pay of a crewman aboard a trawler is $15,000 while a scalloper's is $11,500. We had a skipper draw $27,000 last year. All of the men had five or six weeks off," he said.

SCALLOP INDUSTRY

The New Bedford scallop industry is an excellent example of how the community learned to live with foreign competition.

"We started advertising the New Bedford sea scallop as a local product in the late 1950's," Skinner said. "We were getting 21

cents a pound at the dock for scallop and had a fleet of 80 scallop boats.

"The boat owner and dealers contributed some $80,000 into advertising scallops and did one hell of a job," he said.

Then Canada built an entire scallop fleet to take advantage of the American market created by New Bedford advertising. "As their fleet grew, ours diminished," Skinner said.

"Rather than complain about the Canadians moving in on the U.S. scallop market," Skinner said, "we approached them and asked them to contribute to the advertising program. They donated $20,000."

The combined market for scallops in the US and Canada reached 45 million pounds in 1962–63, which has also been the peak period of production. The present price of scallops is about $1.40 per pound at the dock in New Bedford and $1.10 in Canada.

Skinner was a member of the International Commission for the North Atlantic Fisheries (ICNAF), which established regulations on fishing at Georges and Brownes Banks, and feels that foreign fleets did their damage a few years back, but that it will be felt for the next 10 years.

The New Bedford Fish Auction has been in operation for 23 years, Skinner said, and helps keep the price of fish up. It also helps raise the price of fish, especially when fish are scarce, he said.

It operates much the same as the New England Fish Exchange in Boston where dealers bid for fish as they are landed at the dock.

Part of Boston's problem, Skinner feels, is the large size of its trawlers. "They are so expensive to operate that no one wants to go out."

The U.S. government must adopt a national policy toward fisheries and approve a boat subsidy bill that will benefit the boat owner, not the ship builder, Skinner said.

Both Nickerson and Skinner agree with Leonard T. Healy, general manager of the Seafood Producers' Assn., who represents the N. B. boat owners, that a 200 mile limit off the U.S. coast for foreign vessels would help solve this country's fishing problems.

After the deleted fishing stocks off the U.S. coast, Healy's complaint is the cost of insurance to boat owners. Insurance costs have increased 10 times in 20 years, he said.

"In 1950 insurance cost $125 per man and now it is over $1000 a year per man," he said. He admitted, however, that claims are substantial each year. Conditions are similar in Boston and Gloucester.

The ability of fishing to continue as a major industry in the state will depend largely on the Federal government's attitude and policy in the future.

The fishermen complain that the government never has adopted a policy toward their industry.

High labor and operating costs make it impossible for the domestic fisherman to compete against foreign fishermen, whose governments have been willing to subsidize all phases of their industry for the sake of employment.

The ports of Boston and Gloucester are dying, and in New Bedford, where the outlook for the future is brightest, there is too much dependence on one species—flounder. Although part of the blame for the fisherman's plight is internal, he has long been sacrificed by the government for other industries.

To help the domestic fishermen the government should increase its boat building subsidy program and eliminate some of the red tape an uneducated fisherman must cut to take advantage of it; initiate a Federal insurance program to help cut high premiums and adopt and enforce a strong labeling code that would give the housewife the choice of buying domestic or imported fish.

KENT STUDENTS' MEDICAL FUND, INC.

HON. J. WILLIAM STANTON

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 9, 1970

Mr. STANTON. Mr. Speaker, as Kent State University is located in my congressional district, I am extremely proud to call to the attention of my colleagues the formation of the Kent Students' Medical Fund, Inc. This organization was founded by Kent students immediately following the disastrous occurrence on their campus May 4. The purpose of the Kent Students' Medical Fund, Inc., is not to find fault with any of those involved in this tragedy, nor to explore in any way its political ramifications; their purpose is to unite all fronts in securing the funds necessary to alleviate the financial burden placed upon the families of those four students who were killed and the nine who were injured.

While it has not as yet been finally established, the total amount needed for the medical costs, over and above insurance coverage, is placed at this time at approximately $110,000.

As they commenced the planning and organization of their fund in the wake of their campus disaster, a similar situation developed at Jackson State College in Mississippi. Since the Kent group was so caught up in bringing some positive results out of what many perceived as total chaos, it was with complete group empathy and thus consensus that they moved to correlate their efforts with those of Jackson State's. The initial contact and resulting negotiations with Jackson State were carried out by Leroy Holmes, Jr., a student at Kent State and vice president of the KSMF, Inc., and Warner Buxton, president of the student government association at Jackson State. The reaction at Jackson State to those negotiations was highly favorable, resulting in a cementing of the bond between the two efforts, hoping thereby to strengthen each.

In order to implement the altruistic motivations of the Kent students' medical fund, it was necessary for the organization to become a legal entity incorporated under the statutes of the State of Ohio and this task was thus completed on June 3, 1970. A board of trustees, consisting of nine students who are elected to their posts annually, is aided by an advisory board of professional men, faculty members, and administrators. With their expert consultation, all donations secured by the fund will be distributed to the families of those students injured at the two universities. Robert Stamps, a sophomore at Kent State, who was injured in the May 4 tragedy, serves on the board.

Should enough money be raised to completely dispel all medical expenses incurred, a memorial scholarship program will be formed in the name of those students who were fatally wounded. I have given my complete support and endorsement to the Kent students' medical fund, and urge others so inclined to do the same. At a time when too many people are confusing the militant fringe with the vast majority of dedicated and deeply concerned students, this example of selfless compassion by Kent students for their colleagues is most praiseworthy and most welcome.

STUDENT LOAN MARKETING ASSOCIATION PROPOSED BY H.R. 18264

HON. WILLIAM H. AYRES

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 9, 1970

Mr. AYRES. Mr. Speaker, I wish to take this occasion to call to the attention of the House a growing problem with respect to federally insured loans for students. The problem expressed most succinctly is that long-term, low-interest student loans are increasingly unattractive to banks and other lending institutions because of the problem of liquidity: lending institutions under a variety of State and Federal laws and regulations simply cannot tie up any significant portion of their funds available for lending in notes which cannot be converted into cash. This poses a growing threat to the very successful federally insured student loan program.

Parenthetically, Mr. Speaker, let me make the point here that these insured loans benefit not only college students but tens of thousands of students in postsecondary vocational, technical, and business schools. Also, it is virtually the only federally aided help available for the children of hard-pressed blue-collar and white-collar working people who bear most of the tax burden for other forms of student assistance. This program must continue on a sound footing.

On our Committee on Education and Labor no member has been more aware of this situation or more diligent in seeking solutions than my distinguished colleague, JOHN ERLENBORN. His bill, H.R. 18264—introduced with bipartisan support—would establish a secondary market for these loans—a "Student Loan Marketing Association," or "Sally Mae"—analogous to the "Fannie Mae" operation for mortgage loans.

President Nixon has also recommended a similar device which is embodied in a bill introduced by Mr. QUIE and myself, among others, and the problem has had the detailed and sympathetic attention of our valued colleague, Mrs. GREEN, whose grasp of these problems is such that her chairmanship of the subcommittee dealing with higher education programs is a source of strength to all of American education.

Those of us in a leadership position on the Committee on Education and Labor on both sides have come to place enormous reliance upon the intellectual capacity and the propensity for hard work of our colleague JOHN ERLENBORN, and the fact that he has taken the lead in sponsoring a Student Loan Marketing Association is a good argument for its adoption.

I am appending a first-rate article by Barry Kalb which appeared in the July

5, 1970, edition of the Washington Star outlining the entire problem and giving appropriate recognition to the leadership of Congressman ERLENBORN in working toward a solution:

STUDENT LOAN CRISIS IN THE MAKING AGAIN

(By Barry Kalb)

The college student loan crisis is about to strike again.

The root of the problem in these days of tight money is, of course, money.

Last year, the commercial bankers who make the vast majority of loans under the federally guaranteed student loan program complained that with the prime interest rate at 8½ percent, they couldn't afford to make students loans at the statutory ceiling of 7 percent.

Congress came rushing to the rescue slowly, but managed—with the help of advance assurance by President Nixon that bankers would not suffer—to salvage the situation. The government agreed to pay a special allowance of up to 3 percent over the 7 percent ceiling, and figures now indicate that most students who sought loans last fall received them.

This year, the special allowance remains in effect, but many bankers are saying they can't make loans anyway because they lack liquidity, or cash in the till.

To complicate matters, the guaranteed student loans leave the banker with even less liquidity.

The solution being suggested by the administration, and heartily endorsed by the banking community, is a "secondary market," similar to the Federal National Mortgage Association ("Fanny Mae"). This would allow the banks to make loans and then sell them, thus getting their money back to lend once again.

As yet, not too much opposition to the plan has surfaced.

One exception, however, is Rep. Wright Patman, D-Tex., chairman of the House Banking and Currency Committee. He charges that the plan is simply "designed to make certain that banks continue their record-making profit picture."

In the meantime, the peak July-August borrowing period—during which 60 percent of all loans for the year are made—has arrived, and once again, hundreds of thousands of would-be students will be wondering if they will have enough money to begin school in the fall.

The situation as it now stands is reaching truly crisis proportions in some states.

For example, according to a spokesman for Rep. Edith Green's House Special Subcommittee on Education, the number of students receiving loans in Wisconsin for this fall is expected to drop by about 50 percent, and the four largest banks in Connecticut, which handle 50 percent of the state's volume, have said that they will make no loans to beginning freshmen this year.

"NOT TOO BAD" IN D.C.

In the District, the situation looks "not too bad," according to Robert A. McCormick, director of the D.C. Educational Assistance Office. The District has a unique arrangement under which lenders, instead of making loans themselves, put money into a pool, which is distributed by McCormick's office.

McCormick says that this year, everybody who has received loans in the past—students have to obtain new loans each school year—will again be able to obtain them. And the pool's 11 banks, two credit unions and two business schools have added $1 million for first-time borrowers.

In addition, he said, the National Bank of Washington, which has not been a member of the pool, will begin to make guaranteed loans this year on its own. The only two Washington banks not making such loans are the Madison Bank and the National Capital Bank of Washington, he said.

The $1 million provided for new borrowers here last year covered all who applied in the summer and all but about 5 percent who applied in January, McCormick said. But applications are increasing each year, so it is possible that this same 5 percent, plus all of this year's increase in applicants, will be left out.

Harry Knapp, assistant director of the Maryland Higher Education Loan Corp., says of the situation in his state: "I don't think it's as bright as it was last year."

"INCENTIVE" PAYMENT

Maryland is continuing its policy of paying lenders a $25 "incentive" payment for every student loan made, but despite this, Knapp said, "some banks have curtailed their participation noticeably," and he feels that the amount of applicants unable to obtain loans this year could be in the neighborhood of 20 percent.

The situation appears roughly the same in Virginia.

Charles Hill, assistant director of the Virginia State Educational Assistance Authority, didn't want to make any predictions but said carefully, "Participation (by lenders) will be less in proportion to need, I think, than it has been in the last year or two."

As is increasingly the case in other states, most Virginia banks are sticking to a policy of lending only to customers' sons or daughters.

The villain in the whole situation is the enormous and constantly rising cost of higher education, particularly at a time when the economy is so tight.

The guaranteed student loan program was established five years ago, as a provision of the Higher Education Act of 1965, in order to ease the burden for the borrower and make the proposition of lending money to students more attractive to the banker.

CONTINUES TO GROW

Despite the problems of matching the statutory interest ceiling to the current market rate—the ceiling was raised from the original 6 to 7 percent in 1968, and the 3 percent special allowance was added last summer—the program has continued to grow.

Figures gathered by the Green subcommittee show that during the past school year, 923,500 loans (in some cases, more than one to an individual) were made, totaling some $794 million. This was up from 787,000 loans totaling $687 million the previous year.

Under the program, the federal government guarantees that the loan will be repaid, even if the student defaults or dies. Thus, while the profit on such a loan might not be as high as on others, the lender runs no risk, and is encouraged to provide what the bankers like to call a public service.

The government pays all interest on the loan while the student is in school, and for a 9-month grace period after he graduates. Then, presumably making his own money, the ex-student takes over repayment of both interest and principal, with several years to pay.

But it can be 10 years before the bank even begins to get its money back for further use. What with new loans to each borrower each year plus new borrowers coming in each year, the bank finds more and more of its money tied up in non-liquid loans.

This situation, added to the general decrease of liquidity resulting from governmental restrictions, has convinced many bankers, in the words of one economic consultant, that "enough is enough."

The bankers claim that the decreased liquidity would deny them a fair profit if they were to continue making guaranteed student loans.

"ESSENTIAL STEP"

"Bankers and other lenders who have been making such loans in the knowledge that they cannot be liquidated without extreme capital sacrifices, feel that these loans are already too long," James J. O'Leary, chairman of the American Bankers Association's Task Force on Guaranteed Student Loans, told the Green subcommittee on June 12.

Establishment of a secondary market, O'Leary said, "is likely to induce bankers to add to their student loan portfolios . . . This is an essential step in the student loan program and is bound to help banks and other lenders do a better job in meeting the growing demand for these highly desirable loans."

Patman, in a scathing speech prepared for delivery early this week, brands the secondary market ideas "the biggest banker's bonanza of all."

HOW PLAN WOULD WORK

Several forms have been proposed for the secondary market, and for a similar "warehousing operation." Basically, this is how it would work:

An independent entity, known in the administration proposal as the National Student Loan Association, and in another as the Student Loan Marketing Association ("Sally Mae"), would be established through either the selling of government-guaranteed bonds or a simple government appropriation.

Depending on which plan is followed, the bank, after making a loan, would either sell the loan to Sally Mae, or deposit it with the warehouse and then borrow the majority of the money back. The bank makes a smaller profit in either case, but gets its money back almost immediately to use for further loans and further profit.

The administration bill has been stalled for the time being, and according to David Bayer of the Office of Education, "it doesn't seem likely" that it will come to a vote until at least the end of the fall.

In order to allow the secondary market proposal to be considered on its own merits, therefore, Rep. John Erlenborn, R-Ill, has lifted the proposal virtually intact from the administration bill and has introduced it as a separate measure.

TANK COMMANDER KILLED IN VIETNAM

HON. CLARENCE D. LONG

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 9, 1970

Mr. LONG of Maryland. Mr. Speaker, Sgt. Eugene Huggins, a courageous soldier from Maryland, was killed recently in Vietnam. I should like to honor his memory by including the following article in the RECORD:

TANK COMMANDER KILLED IN VIETNAM

Staff Sgt. Eugene Huggins, 40, a career soldier from Landover, was wounded while on patrol in his tank June 10 and died 13 days later, his wife said.

Sergeant Huggins enlisted in the Army December 2, 1952, and saw action in the Korean war, Mrs. Huggins said. The family moved to 3030 Brightseat road, Landover, when the sergeant was sent to Vietnam this past May.

Besides his wife, he is survived by two daughters, Miss Mary Louise Huggins, of Brooklyn, N.Y., and Miss Clara Jeanie Huggins, of Landover; his parents, Mr. and Mrs. Jake Huggins, of Conway, S.C., and four brothers and three sisters in Conway and Newark, N.J.

NATION CAN BE A HAPPY PLACE IF WE MOVE IN ONE DIRECTION

HON. BOB WILSON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 9, 1970

Mr. BOB WILSON. Mr. Speaker, in these days of mounting dissent and criticism of the administration's policies, few articles can be found that offer encouragement to the American way of life. A recent editorial in the San Diego Evening Tribune on June 13, 1970, has captured a part of the spirit which I believe to be held in the hearts of most Americans. I insert this in the RECORD:

NATION CAN BE A HAPPY PLACE IF WE MOVE IN ONE DIRECTION

No miracles are needed to restore happier times in these United States.

All we have to do is end the Vietnam war, stop inflation and sidestep recession, restore order out of domestic chaos and clean up pollution.

There is, unfortunately, no magic wand to supply simple solutions to complex problems.

Despite the demands for "action now," our difficulties were not created in a day—nor a month—nor a year. Neither can the cure be effected in an instant.

But our problems can and will be remedied.

First, however, we must face some very harsh self-judgments.

Do we want the war in Vietnam to end?

Certainly, we say. Nobody wants war.

Still, some of the shrillest voices in Congress supporting demands to end the war "now" are owned by lawmakers whose personal political goals are tied to the war's continuance.

They probably won't admit it, but there are many senators and representatives so antagonistic to President Nixon that they hope his policies in Vietnam and Cambodia fail.

Do we want to end inflation?

Of course, we cry. We're fed up with prices that increase faster than our wages.

In this area, too, political opponents of the President have made no secret of their intent to use the economy as a campaign issue in November and in 1972.

A stabilization of wages and prices and the upturn of business predicted by Mr. Nixon would not enhance their position.

Do we want to restore order to our campuses and keep our streets free of strife and violence?

A ridiculous question, we charge. No one, absolutely no one, would condone wanton destruction.

But it is condoned—sometimes in the classroom, sometimes from the pulpit—as justified when tied to "a cause."

It has become obvious that radical leaders will seize upon any issue to sustain the turmoil. If the war should end, there would be the environment, hunger, or poverty to serve as the excuse to prolong national unrest.

Campus unrest started at Berkeley over the issue of free speech. Vietnam was no issue then.

Are we truly concerned with the environment?

Undeniably, we shout. We fear for the very existence of our planet.

But do we content ourselves with pointing out the deplorable state of our air, our water and our surroundings?

How many of us are willing to accept responsibility for our own part in environmental deterioration?

As a nation, we have experienced no difficulty in recognizing our woes. We have been far from successful in finding the cures.

There is no doubt that most Americans, most members of Congress and the majority of youth want nothing more than an end, miraculous or otherwise, to all our problems.

Why, then, should the goals of peace, prosperity, domestic harmony and an unsullied environment be so elusive?

The answer, we fear, is that the "Silent Majority" made famous by Mr. Nixon has remained silent too long.

We must make it very clear to our representatives in the House and Senate that we expect them to see that the President's plan for an honorable termination of the war gets a sporting chance to make good.

While we're about it, we can also tell Congress that we're aware that the fight against inflation begins with government spending planned with some relation to revenue.

We can make it plain to the administrators of our schools that there is no justification for abandoning educational processes in favor of "political action."

We can stop wringing our hands over impure water, smog and litter and start doing our own small bit to reverse the dash to self-destruction.

Once we get rid of our few little problems, we will again be a happy, smiling nation.

And all it takes is a little unity of purpose—a little movement by all of us and all in the same direction.

TRIBUTE TO MRS. KAY OBAYASHI

HON. GLENN M. ANDERSON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 9, 1970

Mr. ANDERSON of California. Mr. Speaker, recently the Los Angeles Recreation and Youth Services Planning Council honored Mrs. Sue S. Obayashi—Mrs. Kay Obayashi—during the council's 20th annual luncheon meeting in Gardena, Calif.

Mrs. Obayashi, known fondly as "Auntie Sue," was presented the council's Golden Goblet Award. As stated in an article of June 18, 1970, in the Imperial Hollypark News:

This award is given to three persons each year whom the Council feels best typifies the ideal volunteer to an organization, agency, or project, who has made a significant and creative contribution to recreation and youth services (in the leisuretime field) in Los Angeles County.

Selections are based on a combination of the following:

First. Unique community project or service.

Second. Promotional work in bringing about policy or program development of change in a public or volunteer agency.

Third. Organizational or administrative achievement.

Fourth. The development or refinement of professional techniques or practice.

Fifth. A completed project involving research, planning, coordination and/or community organization and development.

"Auntie Sue's" qualifications and achievements, by her activity in volunteer services for youth, easily make her deserving of such recognition.

As was reported in a brief biography of "Auntie Sue" published in the council's annual report:

Mrs. Sue S. Obayashi has devoted her life to helping people, particularly youth. The fact that she has no children of her own and has always worked full time, in addition to taking care of her home, makes her a special person who richly deserves recognition.

The Soroptimist Club of Gardena also recognized the dedication and effectiveness of Mrs. Obayashi by installing her on June 9, 1970, as its president for 1970–71. This past year, "Auntie Sue" has been corresponding secretary for the club. Unofficially, she has put in almost 600 volunteer hours this year on projects involving everything from Girl Scouts to mental health, and special education; from YMCA and YWCA fund raising, to aiding the Kelp Tanglers Club of the Los Angeles County Council of Divers.

A recent volunteer project, in which she will become involved in August, is acting as adult adviser for a youth delegation visiting Japan under the auspices of the Gardena-Ichikawa Sister City Committee.

"Auntie Sue" is a citizen of whom the city of Gardena is very proud and a person whom the young people she serves can emulate. I ask my colleagues to join me and the citizens of Gardena in congratulating her for these two most recent honors, and in thanking her for the great amount of time and energy she has devoted to the welfare of our community.

DON'T LET POLITICS DEGRADE IT

HON. ANDREW JACOBS, JR.

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 9, 1970

Mr. JACOBS. Mr. Speaker, I insert the following editorial from the Criterion, the Indianapolis Catholic Archdiocesan newspaper:

DON'T LET POLITICS DEGRADE IT

An ever-increasing number of Americans, though patriots to the core of their beings, are finding it more and more difficult to display the flag, or in other ways to give traditional outward expressions of their love of country which used to be second nature to them. They feel as though tinhorn self-anointed "super-patriots" of the lunatic-fringe right wing are trying to bully them into "showing the colors—or else." Being good Americans, they decline to be bullied.

There is indeed an ugly strain of ultra-rightist chauvinism abroad in the land today. It finds its most contemptible expression in such bumper stickers as "America—Love It or Leave It" and "Let's End Poverty—Everybody Work."

In only a slightly more subtle way, such chauvinism now is being tied in with partisan politics. Windshield flag decals and flag lapel buttons are being advertised as a way of demonstrating that one supports President Nixon's highly controversial war policies in Indochina and his equally controversial assertions that the nation's economy is in fine shape.

The professional polls show that more than half of adult Americans do not approve of President Nixon's Cambodian adventure and that far more than half believe the nation is in extremely serious economic difficulties.

A lot of the people who feel that way about

the war and the economy do not want to do anything that might suggest they support Mr. Nixon in those particular matters. Therefore, they are choosing to shy away from any sort of flag display, even though their natural inclination is to be proud, flag-waving Americans.

We think they are wrong in taking such a negative course. The American Flag belongs to all Americans of whatever political persuasion, including those who find a lot more fault with their country than the facts warrant. Nobody should let a minority of crackpots or cunning political opportunists prevent him from doing what comes naturally on such occasions as the Fourth of July. If one lets them sway his decision-making faculties, he becomes in some measure their slave.

So fly your flag tomorrow! Put a flag decal on your car and wear a flag lapel button, too, if you like. Then go right on talking and voting the way you jolly well please. This is your country. As an American, you have a sacred obligation not to allow anybody to degrade your flag by trying to make it either "proof of patriotism" or a symbol of support for any political party.

SUPPORT FOR A VOLUNTEER MILITARY

HON. SHIRLEY CHISHOLM

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 9, 1970

Mrs. CHISHOLM. Mr. Speaker, almost 1 year ago in my statement of support for the Voluntary Military Procurement Act that—

A democracy which depends on conscription of often unwilling citizens is not a democracy at all. Even worse, when a country preys on its politically weakest element—non-voting youth—to carry out its military aims, it is nothing more than an elitist jungle where only the strong and the lucky can survive.

More than that, it is a political and social tinderbox. We wonder why the youth of this Nation are rebelling. Could it be because we treat them as mindless, subservient cannon fodder?

Another advocate of my position was Keith Franklin. His letter is an indication of what I have felt for so long:

[From the New York Post, May 19, 1970]

GI's LETTER: OPEN IF I DIE

(By Leo Standora)

The letter, written by a 19-year-old soldier and pressed into his mother's hand as he kissed her goodby four months ago, had lain almost forgotten between the leaves of the family Bible.

But last Saturday afternoon Mrs. Charles Franklin of Salamanca, N.Y., opened the envelope and read the message addressed to "Dear Mom and Dad" from their son, Keith.

"This war that has taken my life, and many thousands of others before me," the youth had written, "is immoral, unlawful, and an atrocity unlike any misfit of good sense and judgment known to man. . . .

"So, as I lie dead, please grant my last request. Help me to inform the American people—the silent majority who have not yet voiced their opinions.

"Help me let them know that their silence is permitting this atrocity to go on and that my death will not be in vain if by prompting them to act I can in some way help to bring an end to the war that brought an end to my life. . . ."

Less than an hour before reading the letter, the Franklins were notified that Keith, a medic, had been killed in action in Cambodia.

Mrs. Franklin tearfully recalled getting the envelope during her son's last furlough.

"We joked about it. I told him, 'You'll be back after your two years and we'll open the letter, read it, and then have a good laugh about it.' He only said 'no I won't.' "

Keith's father, a Navy reservist who saw action during World War II, said his son had volunteered for induction.

"He volunteered to get it over with because he knew he would be drafted anyway," said Charles Franklin. "The night he made his decision to go he said he didn't agree with the war . . . but he said he'd do his part and play along with this foolish game."

Keith is the city's (pop. 8500) first Vietnam-Cambodia casualty. Salamanca is located about 60 miles south of Buffalo.

"We talked about the whole thing a lot. Neither of us can understand how we got into Vietnam in the first place. But Keith was not the kind of kid to shirk his duty."

Franklin said his son volunteered for the medical corps because "he told me he didn't think he could shoot anybody . . . he just wasn't the violent type."

"He was a typical kid. He wanted to come home and go to college. Get a good job. He wrote us once a week and that's all he talked about," he said.

Neighbors remember Keith, a tall, athletic, dark-haired youth, as "a good, well liked boy" who held a number of odd jobs after graduating from Salamanca High School in 1968.

While in high school he was a member of the radio announcers club and an actor in a number of school plays.

His father said another of his son's last requests will be granted when his body is returned home this week.

"There will be no military trappings, no uniforms, no flags. He didn't want it and he won't have it," he said.

The soldier had made the request in his last letter, on May 4:

"In the letter he made kind of a joke," said Franklin. "He said dad I'm finally getting my wish. I'm getting out of Vietnam . . . I'm going to Cambodia."

Other excerpts from the letter:

"The question now is whether or not my death has been in vain. My answer is yes.

"However, the powers-that-be handed down the decision that my friends and I should go and fight. We will go and we will fight, and I have died but there is still a blank space in my mind as to why.

"President Nixon and President Johnson before him have told the American public time and time again that it was our obligation to the people of South Vietnam to save them from the surging wave of communism which has plotted to engulf them. This is a lie, the magnitude of which is witnessed only by the hundreds of thousands of GIs in South Vietnam.

"The inhabitants of this bug-infested, backward, God-forsaken hell-on-earth want no part of the American war machine. But they have no choice . . ."

IS FREEDOM DYING IN AMERICA?

HON. RICHARD L. OTTINGER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 9, 1970

Mr. OTTINGER. Mr. Speaker, in the July 14 issue of Look magazine, Henry Steele Commager, one of the most distinguished American writers and historians of this century, has an article which deserves the widest dissemination possible. Professor Commager points to Government activities which have curtailed personal freedom in the name of law and order, national security, and other such slogans which capture that unthinking portion of the public which is insufficiently alert to, or concerned about, the erosion of those liberties that distinguish our way of life from that of totalitarian countries. The struggle to obtain and broaden our liberties has been too arduous for us to yield now to the self-deluding notion that it is somehow different to surrender freedom voluntarily than to have it taken away. The end result is the same, a less free society, and it behooves us to turn around these regressive policies and practices now before we lose what we most value about America.

Professor Commager's article, "Is Freedom Dying in America?" must be read by public officials and private citizens alike for the warning it flashes to us, and I insert the article in full at this point in the RECORD and urge that my colleagues give it their most thoughtful attention:

IS FREEDOM DYING IN AMERICA?

"There are certain words,
Our own and others', we're used to—words we've used,
Heard, had to recite, forgotten,
Rubbed shiny in the pocket, left home for keepsakes,
Inherited, stuck away in the back-drawer,
In the locked trunk, at the back of the quiet mind.

"Liberty, equality, fraternity,
To none will we sell, refuse or deny, right or justice.
We hold these truths to be self-evident.

"I am merely saying—what if these words pass?
What if they pass and are gone and are no more . . .?

"It took long to buy these words.
It took a long time to buy them and much pain."

—Stephen Vincent Benét.

"Those, who would give up essential liberty to purchase a little temporary safety," said Benjamin Franklin, two centuries ago, "deserve neither liberty nor safety."

Today we are busy doing what Franklin warned us against. Animated by impatience, anger and fear, we are giving up essential liberties, not for safety, but for the appearance of safety. We are corroding due process and the rule of law not for Order, but for the semblance of order. We will find that when we have given up liberty, we will not have safety, and that when we have given up justice, we will not have order.

"We in this nation appear headed for a new period of repression," Mayor John V. Lindsay of New York recently warned us. We are in fact already in it.

Not since the days when Sen. Joseph McCarthy bestrode the political stage, fomenting suspicion and hatred, betraying the Bill of Rights, bringing Congress and the State Department into disrepute, have we experienced anything like the current offensive against the exercise of freedom in America. If repression is not yet as blatant or as flamboyant as it was during the McCarthy years, it is in many respects more pervasive and more formidable. For it comes to us now with official sanction and is imposed upon us by officials sworn to uphold the law: the Attorney General, the FBI, state and local officials, the police, and even judges. In Georgia and California, in Lamar, S.C., and Jackson, Miss., and Kent, Ohio, the attacks are overt and dramatic; on the higher levels

of national administration, it is a process of erosion, the erosion of what Thomas Jefferson called "the sacred soil of liberty." Those in high office do not openly proclaim their disillusionment with the principles of freedom, but they confess it by their conduct, while the people acquiesce in their own disinheritance by abandoning the "eternal vigilance" that is the price of liberty.

There is nothing more ominous than this popular indifference toward the loss of liberty, unless it is the failure to understand what is at stake. Two centuries ago, Edmund Burke said of Americans that they "snuff the approach of tyranny in every tainted breeze." Now, their senses are blunted. The evidence of public-opinion polls is persuasive that a substantial part of the American people no longer know or cherish the Bill of Rights. They are, it appears, quite prepared to silence criticism of governmental policies if such criticism is thought—*by the Government*—damaging to the national interest. They are prepared to censor newspaper and television reporting if such reports are considered—*by the Government*—damaging to the national interest! As those in authority inevitably think whatever policies they pursue, whatever laws they enforce, whatever wars they fight, are in the national interest, this attitude is a formula for the ending of all criticism, which is another way of saying for the ending of democracy.

Corruption of language is often a first sign of a deeper malaise of mind and spirit, and it is ominous that invasions of liberty are carried on, today, in the name of constitutionalism, and the impairment of due process, in the name of Law and Order. Here it takes the form of a challenge to the great principle of the separation of powers, and there to be equally great principle of the superiority of the civil to the military authority. Here it is the intimidation of the press and television by threats both subtle and blatant, there of resort to the odious doctrine of "intent" to punish anti-war demonstrators. Here it is the use of the dangerous weapon of consorship, overt and covert, to silence troublesome criticism, there the abuse of the power of punishment by contempt of court. The thrust is everywhere the same, and so too the animus behind it: to equate dissent with lawlessness and nonconformity with treason. The purpose of those who are prepared to sweep aside our ancient guarantees of freedom is to blot out those great problems that glare upon us from every horizon, and pretend that if we refuse to acknowledge them, they will somehow go away. It is to argue that discontent is not an honest expression of genuine grievances but of willfulness, or perversity, or perhaps of the crime of being young, and that if it can only be stifled, we can restore harmony to our distracted society.

Men like Vice President Spiro T. Agnew simplistically equate opposition to official policies with effete intellectualism, and cater to the sullen suspicion of intellectuals, always latent in any society, to silence that opposition. Frightened people everywhere, alarmed by lawlessness and violence in their communities, and impatient with the notion that we cannot really end violence until we deal with its causes, call loudly for tougher laws, tougher cops and tougher courts or—as in big cities like New York or small towns like Lamar—simply take authority into their own hands and respond with vigilante tactics. Impatient people, persuaded that the law is too slow and too indulgent, and that order is imperiled by judicial insistence on due process, are prepared to sweep aside centuries of progress toward the rule of law in order to punish those they regard as enemies of society. Timid men who have no confidence in the processes of democracy or in the potentialities of education are ready to abandon for a police state the experiment that Lincoln called "the last best hope of earth."

The pattern of repression is, alas, all too familiar. Most ominous is the erosion of due process of law, perhaps the noblest concept in the long history of law and one so important that it can be equated with civilization, for it is the very synonym for justice. It is difficult to remember a period in our own history in which due process has achieved more victories in the courts and suffered more setbacks in the arena of politics and public opinion than in the last decade. While the Warren Court steadily enlarged the scope and strengthened the thrust of this historic concept, to make it an effective instrument for creating a more just society, the political and the law-enforcement agencies have displayed mounting antagonism to the principle itself and resistance to its application. The desegregation decision of 1954 has been sabotaged by both the Federal and local governments—a sabotage dramatized by the recent decision of the Justice Department to support tax exemption for private schools organized to frustrate desegregation.

There are many other examples. Pending legislation, including the Organized Crime Control Act of 1969 provides for "preventive detention" in seeming violation of the constitutional guarantee of presumption of innocence limits the right of the accused to examine evidence illegally obtained; permits police to batter their way into a private house without notice (the no-knock provision); and provides sentences of up to 30 years for "dangerous special offenders." And the government itself, from local police to the Attorney General, persists in what Justice Holmes called the "dirty business" of wiretapping and bugging to obtain evidence for convictions, though this is a clear violation of the right of protection against self-incrimination.

Equally flagrant is the attack on First Amendment freedoms—freedoms of speech, press, petition and assembly—an attack that takes the form of intimidation and harassment rather than of overt repudiation. The President and the Vice President have joined in a crusade designed to force great newspapers like the New York Times and the Washington Post to moderate their criticism of Administration policies, and to frighten the television networks into scaling down their coverage of events that the Government finds embarrassing; a position that rests on the curious principle that the real crime is not official misconduct but the portrayal of that misconduct. Mr. Agnew, indeed, has gone so far as to call on governors to drive the news purveyed by "bizarre extremists" from newspapers and television sets; it is an admonition that, if taken literally, would deny newspaper and TV coverage to Mr. Agnew himself. All this is coupled with widespread harassment of the young, directed superficially at little more than hairstyle, dress or manners—but directed in fact to their opinions, or perhaps to their youthfulness. And throughout the country, government officials are busy compiling dossiers on almost all citizens prominent enough to come to their attention.

Government itself is engaged increasingly in violating what President Dwight D. Eisenhower chose as the motto for the Columbia University bicentenary: "Man's right to knowledge and the free use thereof." The USIA proscribes books that criticize American foreign policy at the same time that it launches a positive program of celebrating the Nixon Administration and the conduct of the Vietnam war through films and a library of "safe" books selected by well-vetted experts. The Federal Government spends millions of dollars presenting its version of history and politics to the American people. The Pentagon alone spends $47 million a year on public relations and maintains hundreds of lobbyists to deal with Congress, and the Defense Department floods schools and clubs and veterans organizations with films designed to win support for the war.

Meantime, the growing arrogance of the military and its eager intervention in areas long supposed to be exclusively civilian gravely threaten the principle of the superiority of the civil to the military power. Military considerations are advanced to justify the revival of the shabby practices of the McCarthy era—security clearances for civilians working in all establishments that have contracts with Defense—a category that includes laboratories, educational institutions and research organizations. What the standards are that may be expected to dictate security "clearance" is suggested by Vice President Agnew's proposal to "separate the [protest leaders] from our society—with no more regret than we should feel over discarding rotten apples from a barrel." That is, of course, precisely the philosophy that animated the Nazis. Military considerations, too, are permitted to dictate policies of secrecy that extend even to censorship of the *Congressional Record*, thus denying to congressmen, as to the American people, information they need to make decisions on foreign policy. Secrecy embraces, not unnaturally, facts about the conduct of the war; Attorney General Mitchell, it was reported, hoped to keep the Cambodian caper secret from Congress and the people until it was a *fait accompli*. So, too, the CIA, in theory merely an information-gathering agency, covers its far-flung operations in some 60 countries with a cloak of secrecy so thick that even Congress cannot penetrate it. The Army itself, entering the civilian arena, further endangers freedom of assembly and of speech by employing something like a thousand agents to mingle in student and other assemblies and report to the Army what they see and hear. This is, however, merely a tiny part of the some $3 billion that our Government spends every year in various types of espionage—more every year than the total cost of the Federal Government from its foundation in 1789 to the beginning of the Civil War in 1861!

It would be an exaggeration to say that the United States is a garrison state, but none to say it is in danger of becoming one.

The purpose of this broad attack on American freedoms is to silence criticism of Government and of the war, and to encourage the attitude that the Government knows best and must be allowed a free hand, an attitude Americans have thought odious ever since the days of George III. It is to brand the universities as a fountainhead of subversion and thus weaken them as a force in public life. It is to restore "balance" to the judiciary and thereby reverse some of the great achievements of the 16 years of the Warren Court and to reassure the Bourbons, North and South, who are alarmed at the spectacle of judicial liberalism. It is to return to a "strict" interpretation of the power of states over racial relations and civil liberties—a euphemism for the nullification of those liberties.

The philosophy behind all this, doubtless unconscious, is that government belongs to the President and the Vice President; that they are the masters, and the people, the subjects. A century ago, Walt Whitman warned of "the never-ending audacity of elected persons"; what would he say if he were living today? Do we need to proclaim once more the most elementary principle of our constitutional system: that in the United States, the people are the masters and all officials are servants—officials in the White House, in the Cabinet, in the Congress, in the state executive and legislative chambers; officials, too, in uniform, whether of the national guard or of the police?

Those who are responsible for the campaign to restrict freedom and hamstring the Bill of Rights delude themselves that if they can but have their way, they will return the

country to stability and order. They are mistaken. They are mistaken not merely because they are in fact hostile to freedom, but because they don't understand the relation of freedom to the things they prize most—to security, to order, to law.

What is that relationship?

For 2,500 years, civilized men have yearned and struggled for freedom from tyranny—the tyranny of despotic government and superstition and ignorance. What explains this long devotion to the idea and practice of freedom? How does it happen that all Western societies so exalt freedom that they have come to equate it with civilization itself?

Freedom has won its exalted place in philosophy and policy quite simply because, over the centuries, we have come to see that it is a necessity; a necessity for justice, a necessity for progress, a necessity for survival.

How familiar the argument that we must learn to reconcile the rival claims of freedom and order. But they do not really need to be reconciled; they were never at odds. They are not alternatives, they are two sides to the same coin, indissolubly welded together. The community—society or nation—has an interest in the rights of the individual because without the exercise of those rights, the community itself will decay and collapse. The individual has an interest in the stability of the community of which he is a part because without security, his rights are useless. No community can long prosper without nourishing the exercise of individual liberties for, as John Stuart Mill wrote a century ago, "A State which dwarfs its men, in order that they may be more docile instruments in its hands . . . will find that with small men no great thing can really be accomplished." And no individual can fulfill his genius without supporting the just authority of the state, for in a condition of anarchy, neither dignity nor freedom can prosper.

The function of freedom is not merely to protect and exalt the individual, vital as that is to the health of society. Put quite simply, we foster freedom in order to avoid error and discover truth; so far, we have found no other way to achieve this objective. So, too, with dissent. We do not indulge dissent for sentimental reasons; we encourage it because we have learned that we cannot live without it. A nation that silences dissent, whether by force, intimidation, the withholding of information or a foggy intellectual climate, invites disaster. A nation that penalizes criticism is left with passive acquiescence in error. A nation that discourages originality is left with minds that are unimaginative and dull. And with stunted minds, as with stunted men, no great thing can be accomplished.

It is for this reason that history celebrates not the victors who successfully silenced dissent but their victims who fought to speak the truth as they saw it. It is the bust of Socrates that stands in the schoolroom, not the busts of those who condemned him to death for "corrupting the youth." It is Savonarola we honor, not the Pope who had him burned there in the great Piazza in Florence. It is Tom Paine we honor, not the English judge who outlawed him for writing the *Rights of Man*.

Our own history, too, is one of rebellion against authority. We remember Roger Williams, who championed toleration, not John Cotton, who drove him from the Bay Colony; we celebrate Thomas Jefferson, whose motto was "Rebellion to tyrants is obedience to God," not Lord North; we read Henry Thoreau on civil disobedience, rather than those messages of President Polk that earned him the title "Polk the Mendacious"; it is John Brown's soul that goes marching on, not that of the judge who condemned him to death at Charles Town.

Why is this? It is not merely because of the nobility of character of these martyrs. Some were not particularly noble. It is because we can see now that they gave their lives to defend the interests of humanity, and that they, not those who punished them, were the true benefactors of humanity.

But it is not just the past that needed freedom for critics, nonconformists and dissenters. We, too, are assailed by problems that seem insoluble; we, too, need new ideas. Happily, ours is not a closed system—not yet, anyway. We have a long history of experimentation in politics, social relations and science. We experiment in astrophysics because we want to land on the moon; we experiment in biology because we want to find the secret of life; we experiment in medicine because we want to cure cancer; and in all of these areas, and a hundred others, we make progress. If we are to survive and flourish, we must approach politics, law and social institutions in the same spirit that we approach science. We know that we have not found final truth in physics or biology. Why do we suppose that we have found final truth in politics or law? And just as scientists welcome new truth wherever they find it, even in the most disreputable places, so statesmen, jurists and educators must be prepared to welcome new ideas and new truths from whatever sources they come, however alien their appearance, however revolutionary their implications.

"There can *be* no difference anywhere," said the philosopher William James, "that doesn't make a difference elsewhere—no difference in abstract truth that doesn't express itself in a difference in concrete fact. . . ."

Let us turn then to practical and particular issues and ask, in each case, what are and will be the consequences of policies that repress freedom, discourage independence and impair justice in American society, and what are, and will be the consequences of applying to politics and society those standards and habits of free inquiry that we apply as a matter of course to scientific inquiry?

Consider the erosion of due process of law—that complex of rules and safeguards built up over the centuries to make sure that every man will have a fair trial. Remember that it is designed not only for the protection of desperate characters charged with monstrous crimes; it is designed for every litigant. Nor is due process merely for the benefit of the accused. As Justice Robert H. Jackson said, "It is the best insurance for the Government itself against those blunders which leave lasting stains on a system of justice. . . ."

And why is it necessary to guarantee a fair trial for all—for those accused of treason, for those who champion unpopular causes in a disorderly fashion, for those who assert their social and political rights against community prejudices, as well as for corporations, labor unions, and churches? It is, of course, necessary so that justice will be done. Justice is the end, the aim, of government. It is implicitly the end of all governments; it is quite explicitly the end of the United States Government, for it was "in order to . . . establish justice" that the Constitution was ordained.

Trials are held not in order to obtain convictions; they are held to find justice. And over the centuries, we have learned by experience that unless we conduct trials by rule and suffuse them with the spirit of fair play, justice will not be done. The argument that the scrupulous observance of technicalities of due process slows up or frustrates speedy convictions is of course, correct, if all you want is convictions. But why not go all the way and restore the use of torture? That got confessions and convictions! Every argument in favor of abating due process in order to get convictions applies with equal force to the use of the third degree and the restoration of torture. It is important to remember that nation after nation abandoned torture (the Americans never had it), not merely because it was barbarous, but because, though it wrung confessions from its victims, it did not get justice. It implicated the innocent with the guilty, it outraged the moral sense of the community. Due process proved both more humane and infinitely more efficient.

Or consider the problem of wiretapping. That in many cases wiretapping "works" is clear enough, but so do other things prohibited by civilized society, such as torture or the invasion of the home. But "electronic surveillance," said Justice William J. Brennan, Jr., "strikes deeper than at the ancient feeling that a man's home is his castle; it strikes at freedom of communication, a postulate of our kind of society. . . . Freedom of speech is undermined where people fear to speak unconstrainedly in what they suppose to be the privacy of home or office."

Perhaps the most odious violation of justice is the maintenance of a double standard: one justice for blacks and another for whites, one for the rich and another for the poor, one for those who hold "radical" ideas, and another for those who are conservative and respectable. Yet we have daily before our eyes just such a double standard of justice. The "Chicago Seven," who crossed state lines with "intent" to stir up a riot, have received heavy jail sentences, but no convictions have been returned against the Chicago police who participated in that riot. Black Panthers are on trial for their lives for alleged murders, but policemen involved in wantonly attacking Black Panther headquarters and killing two blacks have been punished by demotion.

Turn to the role and function of freedom in our society—freedom of speech and of the press—and the consequences of laying restrictions upon these freedoms. The consequence is, of course, that society will be deprived of the inestimable advantage of inquiry, criticism, exposure and dissent. If the press is not permitted to perform its traditional function of presenting the whole news, the American people will go uninformed. If television is dissuaded from showing controversial films, the people will be denied the opportunity to know what is going on. If teachers and scholars are discouraged from inquiring into the truth of history or politics or anthropolgy, future generations may never acquire those habits of intellectual independence essential to the working of democracy. An enlightened citizenry is necessary for self-government. If facts are withheld, or distorted, how can the people be enlightened, how can self-government work?

The real question in all this is what kind of society do we want? Do we want a police society where none are free of surveillance by their government? Or do we want a society where ordinary people can go about their business without the eye of Big Brother upon them?

The Founding Fathers feared secrecy in government not merely because it was a vote of no-confidence in the intelligence and virtue of the people but on the practical ground that all governments conceal their mistakes behind the shield of secrecy; that if they are permited to get away with this in little things, they will do it in big things—like the Bay of Pigs or the invasion of Cambodia.

And if you interfere with academic freedom in order to silence criticism, or critics, you do not rid the university of subversion. It is not ideas that are subversive, it is the lack of ideas. What you do is to silence or get rid of those men who have ideas, leaving the institution to those who have no ideas, or have not the courage to express those that they have. Are such men as these what we want to direct the education of the young and advance the cause of learning?

The conclusive argument against secrecy in scientific research is that it will in the end give us bad science. First-rate scientists will not so gravely violate their integrity as to confine their findings to one government or one society, for the first loyalty of science is to scientific truth. "The Sciences," said Ed-

ward Jenner of smallpox fame, "are never at war." We have only to consider the implications of secrecy in the realm of medicine: What would we think of doctors favoring secrecy in cancer research on the grounds of "national interest"?

The argument against proscribing books, which might normally be in our overseas libraries, because they are critical of Administration policies is not that it will hurt authors or publishers, No. It is quite simple that if the kind of people who believe in proscription are allowed to control our libraries, these will cease to be centers of learning and become the instruments of party. The argument against withholding visas from foreign scholars whose ideas may be considered subversive is not that this will inconvenience them. It is that we deny ourselves the benefit of what they have to say. Suppose President Andrew Jackson had denied entry to Alexis de Tocqueville on the ground that he was an aristocrat and might therefore be a subversive influence on our democracy, We would have lost the greatest book ever written about America.

There is one final consideration. Government, as Justice Louis D. Brandeis observed half a century ago, "is the potent, the omnipresent teacher. For good or for ill, it teaches the whole people by its example." If government tries to solve its problems by resort to large-scale violence, its citizens will assume that violence is the normal way to solve problems. If government itself violates the law, it brings the law into contempt, and breeds anarchy. If government masks its operations, foreign and domestic, in a cloak of secrecy, it encourages the creation of a closed, not an open, society. If government shows itself impatient with due process, it must expect that its people will come to scorn the slow procedures of orderly debate and negotiation and turn to the easy solutions of force. If government embraces the principle that the end justifies the means, it radiates approval of a doctrine so odious that it will in the end destroy the whole of society. If government shows, by its habitual conduct, that it rejects the claims of freedom and of justice, freedom and justice will cease to be the ends of our society.

Eighty years ago, Lord Bryce wrote of the American people that "the masses of the people are wiser, fairer and more temperate in any matter to which they can be induced to bend their minds, than most European philosophers have believed possible for the masses of the people to be."

Is this still true? If the American people can indeed be persuaded to "bend their minds" to the great questions of the preservation of freedom, it may still prove true. If they cannot, we may be witnessing, even now, a dissolution of the fabric of freedom that may portend the dissolution of the Republic.

GRANT TO COLLIER TOWNSHIP

HON. JAMES G. FULTON

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 9, 1970

Mr. FULTON of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, it is a pleasure to place in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD a copy of the letter I recently sent to the good people of Collier Township in the 27th Congressional District of Pennsylvania informing them of the grant of $406,000 from the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development for the construction of a much needed water distribution system.

As we are all working for progress in America, this is a fine step forward, greatly assisting this township in my constituency.

The letter follows:

U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR FRIENDS: I am writing to advise you that 406,000 dollars has just been granted to Collier Township through the Water and Sewer Facilities Program of the US Department of Housing and Urban Development. This is a grant to the citizens of Collier Township, and *NOT* a loan!

It has been a pleasure to be a part of the team with the Commissioners of Collier Township to process this application to such a successful and heart warming result.

This project will provide for construction of a much needed water distribution system to include approximately 16.5 miles of 8 inch water mains to serve the entire Township.

The new water distribution system will eliminate the present method of supplying water by trucks to many residents of your township. Construction of this project is scheduled to get under way within six months and be completed within 28 months.

I am glad to be helpful in following up on this application with the Department of Housing and Urban Development to obtain this prompt and favorable decision, and will follow up on this until the completion of this program. The fine cooperation of the Township Commissioners makes this project a worthwhile step in the progress of Collier Township for the benefit of all of our citizens.

We are all working for the progress of our South Hills Community, and I am glad to cooperate fully with you.

Personal regards,

JIM FULTON.

PROJECT TO MAKE PLANT SMOKE USABLE IS PLANNED

HON. EMILIO Q. DADDARIO

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 9, 1970

Mr. DADDARIO. Mr. Speaker, the fight against pollution and the continuing deterioration of our environment is usually viewed as just a "cleanup" operation, an attempt to eliminate from the environment the undesirable byproducts of an industrial society. Thus we usually speak of the need to reduce or eliminate the pollutants in automobile emission and stop the discharge of solid wastes in our rivers and streams. Pollutants are seen as "garbage," undesirable substances which are to be disposed of without harmful results.

Such a view is unnecessarily nearsighted. Through the application of the intelligence and technology that produced the machines that produced the pollutants, the pollutants themselves may sometimes be turned into beneficial byproducts, not just unusable waste. Such an enlightened application of the tools of technology to the problems of pollution has recently been undertaken by a New England power company. In cooperation with the National Air Pollution Control Administration, Boston Edison will begin an experimental project to convert the harmful sulfur dioxide in powerplant smoke into usable industrial chemicals such as sulfuric acid.

An article describing this project appeared recently in the New York Times on July 8. For the benefit of other Members and readers, I insert in the RECORD a copy of that article. I commend Boston Edison for its farsighted attempt to turn a serious pollution problem into a beneficial, and hopefully profitable, business venture. I encourage other businesses to follow their lead.

The article follows:

PROJECT TO MAKE PLANT SMOKE USABLE IS PLANNED

(By Robert Reinhold)

BOSTON, JULY 7.—A large-scale experimental project to recover sulfur dioxide pollutant from power plant smoke and convert it into resalable commercial chemicals will begin in 15 months under a plan announced here today.

If state approval is given, a special "scrubber" will be installed at Boston Edison's Mystic power station in Everett, a 150,000-kilowatt facility said to be one of the major polluters of Boston's air.

According to the utility, the device is expected to remove 90 per cent of the irritating pollutant, which will then be shipped to a chemical plant in Rhode Island for conversion into 50 tons daily of raw sulfur and sulfuric acid, important industrial chemicals.

The $5-million cost of the project will be borne about equally by local utilities and the National Air Pollution Control Administration. In Washington, a spokesman for the Government agency said that the technique was already in use elsewhere but that the Boston plant was the largest yet to adopt it.

The project is one of many approaches to the control of various industrial and automobile pollutants sponsored by the agency, which spends about $48-million a year on research and development.

Nationally, sulfur dioxide accounts for about 17 per cent of all air pollutants by weight, second only to motor vehicle emissions. About 33 million tons a year are spewed into the air, mostly by fuel-burning power plants. It aggravates asthma, bronchitis and other respiratory problems, particularly in older persons.

The Boston program is supported by Boston Edison, Eastern Utilities Associates and New England Gas and Electric Association. The recovery and conversion machinery will be built by Chemical Construction Corporation of New York. The conversion will be performed at the Essex Chemical Corporation in Rumford, R.I.

At a news conference in the Engineers Club, utility officials said the device would have the same effect on emissions as burning fuel with .3 per cent sulfur content. Under Massachusetts law, no more than 1 per cent sulfur oil will be allowed this October.

LETTERS SUPPORT NATIONAL SERVICE ACT

HON. JONATHAN B. BINGHAM

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 9, 1970

Mr. BINGHAM. Mr. Speaker, since the introduction of the National Service Act, H.R. 18025, with bipartisan cosponsorship on June 10, letters have poured into my office commenting on the measure. The ratio, at this time, is approximately

10 to 1 in favor of the bill. These letters have come in from all across the country, from Concord, Mass., to Juneau, Alaska. The writers have been from all walks of life, ranging from the chief psychologist at the University of Massachusetts, to a mother of draft-age youths, to a 23-year-old policeman. These are thoughtful letters by people who are genuinely concerned about the draft's destructive effect on American society.

The sentiment indicated by these letters was supported by a Gallup poll released on July 4, reporting that over 70 percent of voting-age people support the National Service Act.

I am including, at this point, a sampling of the letters I have received. I will be periodically placing such samples in the RECORD during the coming weeks:

JUNEAU, ALASKA,
June 12, 1970.

Rep. JONATHAN B. BINGHAM,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SIR: I wish to extend to you my heartfelt gratitude and support for sponsoring the bill which would replace the current draft law with a system allowing young men to choose between military and civilian service. This is the first bit of original and creative thinking we have seen in a long time. I am writing to our Alaskan Congressmen to urge them to support this bill and do everything in their power to see that it passes as soon as possible.

There is much in our literature and history that has taught the futility of war, and I think we may have a generation of pacifists. It is long past the time when men should refuse to take part in wanton killing and destructin. I have brought up my sons to believe that they can and must serve their country and mankind in peaceful and constructive pursuits. I do not condone the violence some youth have resorted to in order to be heard. The democratic process can be ungodly slow, and your bill is a first step in relieving some of the pressure these young men have been under for a long time.

There will be problems in setting up a civilian service, but it can be done. The Public Health Service offered a program a few years ago wherein some young men were able to discharge their military duty. The Forest Service, the Park Service, Fish and Wildlife Service, Corp. of Engineers, Geologic Survey, Conservation Soil Service, Coast and Geodetic Survey, and many others, both on a state and federal level could offer comparable services and get much work done that they have neither personnel nor money for now. We could do a lot to clean up our environmental mess, and channel young men into worthwhile careers and new thinking.

I am confident the passage of this bill will do wonders in averting the revolt of our youth and in getting them united once more behind a country of which they can be proud.

Sincerely yours,
Mrs. ROBERT E. HOWE.

EDWARDSVILLE, ILL.,
June 11, 1970.

Hon. JONATHAN B. BINGHAM,
Rayburn Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN BINGHAM: I recently read an Associated Press article giving a brief explanation of the "draft" bill of which you are the principal sponsor.

Even though the information provided in the article is slight, I cannot help but be overwhelmingly pleased. I would like to add that I certainly hope the "civilian" service mentioned includes careers in policework. For I truly believe the only way the poor image held of policemen will be corrected is if we encourage young, open-minded people to seek careers in this field. I'm writing you as a 23 year old policeman myself.

I hope you seek immediate passage of this bill, and I salute you for your interest in our Nation. Knowing your time is valuable, I would like to hear from you concerning your hopes for passage.

Respectfully yours,
BENNETT W. DICKMANN.

UNIVERSITY HEALTH SERVICES,
UNIVERSITY OF MASSACHUSETTS,
Amherst, Mass., June 12, 1970.

Representative JONATHAN B. BINGHAM,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. BINGHAM: I read with interest the newspaper account of a bill which you are sponsoring aimed at replacing the current draft law with a system which allows young men to choose between military and civilian service.

I would appreciate your sending me a copy of the proposed bill and any background material or references related to it. I will be teaching a course at the University of Massachusetts next year dealing with the impact of military conscription on young men in general and on college students in particular. In our work at the University Mental Health Service we see a considerable number of young men who are deeply troubled by the prospects of military service, and I cannot help but feel that some fundamental changes in our Selective Service System are urgently needed, not to mention the even more fundamental changes necessary in our country's foreign policies and domestic priorities. I look forward to hearing from you. Thank you for your cooperation.

With best regards.

Sincerely yours,
DEAN A. ALLEN, Ph. D.,
Chief Psychologist, Mental Health Service.

UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA,
Philadelphia, June 23, 1970.

Hon. JONATHAN B. BINGHAM,
House Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. BINGHAM: I recently heard on a news broadcast that you were sponsoring a bill for a National Service Act to supplement or replace the present Selectice Service Act. From the details given on the news broadcast it sounded like a wonderful idea and I believe that it could attract a good deal of support throughout the nation in educational and professional circles. I am going to write to my own representative urging him to support your bill when it comes to the floor for debate.

Very truly yours,
R. F. SCHWARTZ,
Chairman, Graduate Group Committee in Electrical Engineering.

KALAMAZOO, MICH.,
June 12, 1970.

DEAR MR. BINGHAM: I have read about the bill concerning the Service Draft which you are sponsoring. We discussed it with a number of my friends and all agreed that it is an excellent idea. In fact, it would offer a solution to a variety of urgent problems now and also after the war in Vietnam is over.

Would you, please, let us know what can we possibly do to help you get the bill accepted. Whom to write—or what to do. Thank you for this excellent idea.

Very truly yours,
THE UPJOHN CO.,
DR. L. J. HANKA,
Cancer Research Department.

BALTIMORE, MD.,
June 11, 1970.

DEAR MR. BINGHAM: I saw an article in yesterday's Baltimore *Evening Sun* to the effect that you are the principal sponsor of a bill introduced into the House whereby young men would be offered a choice between military and civilian service.

I simply wanted to thank you. As a teacher and the mother of two sons, I am aware of the deep and genuine moral aversion many young people feel toward military service, your proposal offers a magnificent and useful alternative.

Sincerely yours,
Mrs. RUTH D. BROCK.

HILLSBOROUGH, CALIF.,
June 11, 1970.

DEAR SIR: I have just heard about and wish to support your proposed change of the draft bill for the military. I particularly support the suggestion as it would end "forced" college attendance in order to avoid military induction and would enable pacifists to avoid the hassle of having to obtain a C.O. status. Please keep up your efforts to push this bill into passage. Thank you.

Sincerely,
ELLEN B. HOLDEN.

CONCORD, MASS.,
June 30, 1970.

Hon. JONATHAN B. BINGHAM,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. BINGHAM: I have read twice of your H.R. 18025 bill—most recently your letter to the *Times*.

This bill supports a need that I have long felt should be filled and you have apparently worked out some of the solutions to alternate forms of service which I have believed should be worked out in similar ways.

I have written my Congressman . . . and urged his support for your bill. I do hope he will. . . . In any case, my main purpose in this note is to tell you of my wholehearted support for your work in developing, and presenting, and—I hope—achieving speedy passage for your National Service Bill.

One thought on one phase of the bill—"subsistence" level pay for civilian service. Certainly, nonhazardous service should receive much lower level pay. But non-military service should not be made to seem inferior in value as a national service. Nor should it be a course only open to those who can *afford* to take it.

In any case, may you be successful with your efforts in this matter.

Sincerely,
JOHN R. BEMIS.

ARLINGTON, TEX.

DEAR SIR: I have never been as pleased by a newspaper article as I was by the AP message in the June 10th Fort Worth Star Telegram, which dealt with a bill introduced in the House which would allow young men to choose between military and civilian service. I do not know how correct this article was, but if such a bill is pending, I want you to know that I support it wholeheartedly. Although I am still a young woman and a college student, I have hoped for such a system for years—in fact, I believe even women should be made to face that type of "draft." You have my sincere support, and I am sure I am joined by many others. Good luck on getting your measure through!

Sincerely,
LORELEI A. VAUGHN.

BROOKLYN, N.Y.,
July 7, 1970.

Representative JONATHAN B. BINGHAM,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. BINGHAM: The reprint of your speech introducing your National Service Plan in no way answers my objections to it.

The premise of your bill is that the defense of the United States requires. . . . In point of fact these drafted men are not being used for defense but for aggression. And not just in Vietnam. I also recall a place called the Dominican Republic.

I also resent the fact that you think the young should give involuntary service in any capacity at all which is not required of other segments of the population.

Nothing in your bill justifies such sacrifices at their expense. So far as justice is concerned no benefits will be derived from your bill. It is worthless.

Yours truly,

Miss MARTHA MENDELL.

RECESSION CANNOT CURE INFLATION

HON. RICHARD T. HANNA

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 9, 1970

Mr. HANNA. Mr. Speaker, I would like to include in the RECORD a very timely and thought-provoking article, "Recession Cannot Cure Inflation," which appeared in the July 1970 issue of Dun's. The author, Max Shapiro, is a well-known financial and economic consultant to brokerage houses and industrial concerns, and winner of last year's John Hancock Award for excellence in financial writing.

As a boy in Stuttgart, Max Shapiro witnessed the real impact of inflation, one of the few Americans who have. He recalls how, during the wild inflation of the German mark in the early 1920's, he and his father were on their way to catch a streetcar. They were literally carrying a suitcaseful of marks to pay their fares.

After walking a few blocks, and having to walk another before reaching the streetcar stop, the father observed that their destination was only a mile away. They decided it would be easier just to leave the suitcase and walk to their destination.

Max Shapiro has never forgotten how inflation can make a nation's currency so worthless that it was easier to walk a mile than to carry it. The text of the article follows:

RECESSION CANNOT CURE INFLATION

(By Max Shapiro)

"There is no cause for concern," President Herbert Hoover assured the nation a few weeks after the Great Crash of 1929. "Conditions are fundamentally sound."

With these soothing words, the Hoover Administration launched its ritualistic exercise in reassurance. In January 1930, Secretary of the Treasury Andrew Mellon announced a "revival of economic activity in the spring." And a few days later, Secretary of Commerce Robert R. Lamont told the country, "There are grounds for assuming that this is about a normal year."

By this time, the rot of Depression was spreading over the land. Thousands of farmers, unable to hold out until spring, abandoned their properties; in the cities, the breadlines lengthened. But as matters grew worse, government officials intensified their "confidence-restoring" efforts and promised that improvement was "just around the corner."

The Hoover Administration, it seemed, was bent on following the nostrums of Emile Coué, a French psychotherapist who wielded a considerable influence during the 1920s and early 1930s. According to Coué, patients could be cured by "positive autosuggestion" and by the constant repetition of the phrase, "Every day in every way, I am getting better and better." Until the full tide of events overwhelmed the country, Hoover and his aides continued to cling to the notion that good times would return if only people would have faith in their return.

Now, forty years later, in the midst of another economic crisis, the rites of reassurance have been revived. In a steady stream of "confidence-building" pronouncements over the past eighteen months, key members of the Nixon Administration have heralded the coming triumph over the nation's most crucial domestic problem: inflation.

At first, the public was given the impression that the Administration's "game plan" against soaring living costs would attain its objective in a short period of time. In April 1969, Herbert Stein, one of the President's most trusted economic advisers, asserted that "the underlying causes for inflation" were being stemmed. But the Consumer Price Index did not respond to Stein's optimism. It rose to new highs in April, May and June.

Undeterred, President Nixon in a message to Congress on June 20, 1969 said that the Administration's program of "fiscal responsibility and monetary restraint" would achieve results in several months. Once again, living costs vaulted to new levels in July, August and September—the "target date" President Nixon had set for visible "effects."

The next Hoover-like pronouncement came on August 11, 1969 from the University of Chicago's Milton Friedman, the President's most influential outside economic adviser. Said Friedman as he pushed ahead the day of victory once again: "We should not despair that the fight against inflation has not brought prices down. There is a considerable lead time between acts and results on prices." Friedman forecast specifically that the rise in the Consumer Price Index would be slowed to an annual rate of about 4% by the end of 1969 and that it would be slowed still further in early 1970.

Then in November, Commerce Secretary Maurice Stans told DUN'S ("Can They Really Stop Inflation?" DUN'S, *December 1969*) that "by spring we will have a very perceptible decrease in the rate of inflation."

Events, of course, have made a mockery of all these Coué-like predictions. The rate of inflation has not fallen at all, but has persisted at an alarming 6% annual rate month after month. And final confirmation that the battle against inflation is far from won came in the "Economic Report of the President," published in February. The Report indicated that although some moderation of prices could be expected in 1970 and 1971, the fires of inflation would not be fully quenched before 1973.

The new "target date" of 1973, is, of course, a far cry from the original forecast for 1969. But a close reading of the Report reveals an even more disturbing fact: Despite the continuing failure of the anti-inflation program, there was nowhere evident in the 284-page document the slightest indication that a policy change was being considered.

And most disquieting of all is the fact that the Report's new projections on inflation for 1970–1972 have already proved inaccurate. In one section, the Council of Economic Advisers asserted: "With continued slow increase of GNP in the early months of 1970, the growth of real output would remain close to zero and there should be some decline in the rate of inflation." There has, of course, been no decline in the early months of 1970; instead, we have witnessed another increase. The regrettable conclusion is that we have received another spate of incantatory rhetoric that holds out the promise that things will get better—only to have them become worse.

THE GAME PLAN HAS FAILED

And there is a strong likelihood that matters will deteriorate even further. The Administration's game plan has failed—and will continue to fail—because it is rooted in a basic fallacy. The core of the program rests on the supposition that wages and prices will gradually come down in an economy characterized by a "moderate" amount of unemployment.

No exact unemployment rate has been projected, but on a number of occasions top Administration officials have indicated that "a 6% unemployment rate would not be tolerated," and while the Report does not explicitly include a projected maximum rate of unemployment for 1970–1973, it clearly implies that it will lie somewhat under 6%.

The Administration rests its policy on the assumption that this rate and the resulting slide in profits will cool off our hot cost-push inflation. "Disinflation," according to the Economic Report, can be expected to develop in the following manner: "As profits per unit weakened, employers would become more resistant to granting wage increases. At the same time, a softening labor market would lessen workers' insistence on large wage increases. As a consequence, the average rate of wage increase would ultimately begin to diminish."

To expect such a deflationary process to occur while the unemployment rate is only 5% to 6% is to disregard a considerable amount of contrary empirical evidence. In each of the three postwar recession years (1949, 1958 and 1961), unemployment was higher than the rate the Administration projects for 1970–1972 (*see Table A*). Yet hourly wage rates and average weekly earnings rose each year. The average unemployment rate for the three periods came to 6½%. Yet hourly wage rates rose by 3.3%, and the average rise in weekly wages came to almost 4%.

Even more striking is the fact that wage rates in the United States have increased in every year since 1933—even during the Great Depression. The average unemployment rate for the 1934–1939 period, for example, was 18%. Yet weekly wages rose at an average annual rate of 7%. Moreover, these wage increases took place in an era of relatively weak unionism, of price stability and a time when the expectation of automatic wage hikes had not yet become a way of life.

If wages continued to rise under such dire economic conditions, how could they conceivably be held in check in today's business climate? The combination of inflation, an unemployment rate of under 6%, inordinately powerful labor unions and an ingrained expectation of automatic pay hikes virtually insures an upward spiral in labor costs. To expect labor to "diminish" its demands under such conditions is to engage in another exercise in Coueism.

Nor are the Administration's hopes for a significant lowering of prices likely to materialize. From time to time, marginal producers or retailers caught temporarily with surplus inventories may reduce prices, but such occurrences will be temporary and nonpervasive. For the most part, there will be a resistance to price reduction by business because: 1) wages will rise; 2) with wage costs increasing and production falling, executives will attempt to sustain vanishing profit margins by maintaining prices; 3) a growing number of businessmen will conclude—with good reaason—that the present "disinflationary" efforts by government will be abandoned for political, social or economic reasons.

High prices will also be perpetuated by the growing purchasing power of government employees. The number of government workers (federal, local and state) has risen from approximately three million in 1929 to over twelve million in 1969. Today, over 16% of all salaried workers are employed in government. And the annual wages for these government employees have increased from about $5 billion in 1929 to $104.5 billion in 1969.

Wage boosts for government employees continued even in the recession years of 1949, 1958 and 1961. And in this slowdown year, federal employees have been given a substantial wage hike. Given the growing power of public employee unions, the salaries of

government employees are sure to grow at an even greater rate in the years immediately ahead.

WAGE PUSH FROM THE SERVICE SECTOR

An almost parallel situation exists in the service industries. The wages of workers in the services have increased year by year during the past three decades and have gone up even during the recession years of 1949, 1958 and 1961. In 1949, total service salaries rose by $700 million; in 1958, by $2 billion; and in 1961, by $3.5 billion. Last year, the $88 billion received by service employees represented a 13% increase over 1968. This trend is almost certain to continue.

The mushrooming growth of purchases made via "time payments" will also sustain high living costs. In 1940, total consumer credit outstanding amounted to only $8 billion; by the end of 1969, it had skyrocketed to $122 billion. And the amount of goods bought "on the cuff" keeps rising year after year, even in slack periods. In each of the three recession years of 1949, 1958 and 1961, total consumer expenditures, fueled by expanding consumer credit, showed a sharp gain despite a 6% unemployment rate (*see Table 2*). These increased expenditures were the chief underlying cause for the rise of living costs in 1958 and 1961. In 1949 there was a decline of less than 2% in the Consumer Price Index, which was brought about by a sudden worldwide collapse in farm prices. Had this unusual event not occurred, the Index would have reflected a substantial rise.

Increased consumer expenditures are likely to offset the slowing effects of a moderate unemployment rate, but expanded outlays by business will also propel inflation.

In previous periods of rising unemployment, although consumer and government expenditures increased, the business sector acted as a braking element by reducing its plant outlays (*see Table B*).

A reversal of this historic trend is about to occur this year. According to private and government surveys made late in 1969, corporations planned to increase expenditures for new plants in 1970 by about 10%, or $7.5 billion. Tight money conditions and a profit squeeze in some companies have lowered this estimate, but an increase of at least $6.5 billion is a minimum expectation. So while the major inflationary impetus will come from consumers, these increased expenditures by business will go far towards minimizing any deflationary trends that will develop.

BUSINESS IS BETTING ON INFLATION

Why is this reversal occurring? Because the business sector has little confidence that present deflationary efforts will succeed. Corporate officials are becoming increasingly convinced that an unemployment rate of 5% to 6% will not cool off inflation and that government officials cannot embark on a program that will raise unemployment substantially beyond that level.

The business community has concluded, moreover, that the Fed's tight money policies are fast being abandoned to meet the borrowing needs of both government and industry. Consequently, most businessmen reason that inflation will get even worse and it would therefore be foolish to hold back on capital expenditures, which will only be more costly later on.

All of this adds up to the strong likelihood that the Administration's game plan, based predominantly on a moderate rate of unemployment, will not meet its objectives. Neither prices nor wages will decline meaningfully.

What, then, are our alternatives? The Administration could embark on a program that would bring about a 10%–12% unemployment rate. This would cause a depression and prices would fall. But such a program would be intolerable. Our nation, already rent by dissension, would be ripped apart by a government-induced massive depression.

Another alternative—the most likely one—would be to drift along with the game plan in the hope that the situation will not get out of hand. But this would be courting the whirlwind. A continuing inflation is like a cyclone. At first there is a mild disturbance. Next, the wind intensifies and then dies down a little. For a while it seems as if the gathering storm will blow itself out. Then suddenly, with deathlike swiftness, the cyclone strikes, smashing everything in its way.

We are now in the precyclonic stage. In order to grasp fully how dangerous and insidious inflation has become, we need only put the current situation into historic perspective. In April 1970, the Consumer Price Index posted its fortieth consecutive monthly advance. Unbroken since January 1967, this string of month-to-month advances is, by far, the longest in the 57-year history of the Index. In the 54 years from January 1913 through December 1966, there were only eleven cycles in which consecutive rises in living costs went beyond six months. The longest interval, created by the vast inflationary pressures of World War II, lasted 22 months and was only brought to an end by wage and price controls. But the average cycle of consecutive monthly rises lasted only four months, or only one-tenth the duration of the present span.

Moreover, the wind has ominously begun to pick up force. In 1967 the increase in the cost of living amounted to 3.5%, in 1968 it was 4.7%, and in 1969 just under 6%. During the first four months of 1970, the gain gradually crept beyond 6%.

This alarming situation has brought forth calls for some kind of an incomes policy from such leaders of the business establishment as Chairman Thomas J. Watson of IBM and Chairman David Rockefeller of The Chase Manhattan Bank. And even Federal Reserve Chairman Arthur Burns, a long-time critic of even indirect government intervention in the wage-price process, has begun to change his mind.

While an incomes or guideposts policy might have a temporary effect, the hour is already too late for such half-way measures. We must pass quickly from a failing policy, whose defects are obscured by beguiling assurances, to action that meets the problem head-on. That action—undesirable and unwelcome in a free society—is the adoption of mandatory wage and price controls. At this point, we have no other acceptable alternative.

Controls open a hornet's nest; they are onerous, difficult to administer and present all sorts of problems in implementation. But it is better to have controls than to have the destruction that a continuing inflation is bound to cause. It is no longer a matter of choices; it is a matter of survival.

TABLE A

[In percent]

Year	Unemployment rate	Percentage rise in hourly wage rates	Percentage rise in average weekly earnings
1949	5.9	+4	+2½
1958	6.8	+3	+2½
1961	6.7	+3	+6

TABLE B

Year	Unemployment rate (percent)	Change in consumer price index (percent)	Change in consumer expenditures (billions)	Change in Government expenditures (billions)	Change in new plant expenditures (billions)
1949	5.9	−2	+$3.2	+$8.8	−$2.3
1958	6.8	+2	+9.3	+12.3	−4.1
1961	6.7	+1	+10.0	+12.9	−.69

GEN. JAMES A. FARLEY—82 YEARS OF AGE

HON. HUGH L. CAREY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 9, 1970

Mr. CAREY. Mr. Speaker, it is traditional at this time of the year to pause and take note of another milestone in the life of Gen. James A. Farley, former Postmaster General and Democratic national chairman. On May 30, "Big Jim" turned 82 years of age and, as has been his custom, devoted the day to personally answering the thousands of birthday cards he received and making last-minute preparations for his annual trip abroad.

In addition to his fame as a letter-writer, Jim has established an equally impressive reputation as a partygoer and world traveler—attending an average of 120 banquets and 130 luncheons and visiting 30 countries each year. An illness in 1969 has necessitated a somewhat less ambitious schedule. This year he will visit only 14 countries and the banquets and luncheons have been curtailed to 80 and 100 respectively. Knowing Jim Farley as I do, I feel certain that as number 83 comes around he will be back on the pace.

An article by Art McGinley in the Hartford Times on June 5 offers some further insights into his phenomenal career as does Ernest Cuneo in the Philadelphia Bulletin on June 6. I include these articles to be printed at this point in the RECORD so that our colleagues may be kept abreast of the latest events in the life of Jim Farley:

[From the Philadelphia (Pa.) Bulletin, June 6, 1970]

"BIG JIM" FARLEY, 82, IS STILL "MR. DEMOCRAT"

(By Ernest Cuneo)

WASHINGTON—Postmaster General Benjamin Franklin instituted the American postal system back in colonial time and, by an odd quirk of history, another postmaster general, James A. Farley, gets the most use of it.

General James A. Farley was 82 years old on May 30. As befits the all-time champion letter writer, the New York Post Office was faced with an additional burden of thousands of birthday cards from all over the world. They will be answered personally, over the famous signature in green ink.

WROTE 36,000 PERSONAL LETTERS

Farley's all-time record still stands. Following the 1936 presidential election, eight secretaries, working in relays, pounded out 36,000 letters of personal thanks, to most of which Democratic National Chairman Farley added a personal note.

Actually he had good reason. The President had called him to report that Henry Morgenthau and Harold Ickes thought the election was lost. Farley promptly polled his countrywide friends. Then he made his famous—and exact—prediction. FDR would carry every state but Maine and Vermont.

Farley was born in Grassy Point, N.Y. When he was ten, his father went out to hitch up the horse to take the family to church. The horse kicked him and he died the following Tuesday. Farley's mother gathered her brood. Among other things, she asked "Big Jim" to swear he would never drink an alcoholic beverage. He never has and, for that matter, has never missed a mass either.

But his mother didn't mention ice cream! Hence, one of the great sights of the nation

is watching "Big Jim," wax merry, in convivial company, on an extra scoop of the great dessert.

Farley is a living example of Mark Twain's admonition that schooling should not be permitted to interfere with a man's education. He graduated from the local high school, but they forgot to deliver him his diploma. Accordingly, he is unquestionably the only man in American history who received his old diploma 60 years late, when a new high school was named after him.

Farley studied accounting at night school, but the subject he has majored in all his life is people.

The rest is history. Governor Franklin Roosevelt sent Farley out to beat the bushes. Farley came back with the report that FDR would be elected, plus a personal mailing list greater than FDR's even when he was President.

RAN THE PARTY

FDR ran the country and Farley ran the party and "the Hill." Practically all the New Deal legislation was generaled by Farley. The congressional leaders accepted him, for all practical purposes, as majority leader of the Senate and speaker of the House combined.

He and FDR broke over the third term. Venerable Sen. Carter Glass struggled out of a sickbed to nominate Farley for President. Farley stood up to be mowed down, and mowed down he was.

But, to the millions of regular Democratic workers, he was a hero. He received tons of letters and of course, all were answered.

Heavily in debt, Farley worked for the next 18 years before he was clear. In 1958, upstate New York Democrats wanted Farley for senator. Governor Harriman, Mayor Robert Wagner, National Committeeman Carmine de Sapio and State Chairman Pendergast fought Farley. They said he was too old.

DENIED NOMINATION

The upstaters were insistent. The convention was held up for two days before the downstaters prevailed. Since then, all of Farley's 1958 opposition is out of office, but Farley remains Mr. Democrat. Most pros believe the Democratic Party in New York was shattered the day the rank and file saw Farley denied the nomination they believe he had earned.

For 30 years, Farley attended an average of 120 banquets and 130 luncheons per annum, with time out for visits to an average of 30 countries.

Last year, he got sick for a month. As a result, this year he will attend only 80 banquets and 100 luncheons. He will visit only a paltry 14 countries this summer. This has grown to be a family pilgrimage: He always takes a couple of his grandchildren.

He will start in mid-June, after writing letters to the thousands who sent him a birthday card, all signed in green ink.

[From the Hartford (Conn.) Times, June 5, 1970]

BIRTHDAY FELICITATIONS SENT TO JAMES A. FARLEY, 82

(By Art McGinley)

Birthday felicitations, a few days tardily, to James A. Farley, who observed his 82nd birthday last week.

I first met him more than 40 years ago when he was a member of the New York Boxing Commission of which my cousin, George Brower, was a member.

This I note running the risk of another missive from the anonymous letterwriter who accuses me of being a "namedropper" and who, in his last letter, has said, "I expect you to say next that you had roomed at school with Winston Churchill."

Actually, I have known—and admired—Jim Farley the long years and have an occasional letter from him. He no longer writes his letters in green ink as was his habit years ago.

There was a day when I had been his companion at the luncheon table in Manhattan not having known there was to be that pleasurable circumstance. I had gone to the Saints & Sinners' luncheon as the guest of Col. Howard Dunham of Wethersfield, former Connecticut Insurance Commissioner. Hank Greenberg, who had launched his spectacular baseball career in Hartford, was the guest-of-honor that day and subjected to the merciless "ribbing" that only the Saints & Sinners can deal out.

Sitting down in the Waldorf ballroom I find two of my tablemates were Jim Farley and actor Ray Milland.

Mr. Farley talked of Hartford and I found he knew as much as I did of current news here.

Now—and for several years—Mr. Farley has been the head of the Coca-Cola Export Corp.

The last year he has been having much difficulty with his eyes and was hospitalized for a considerable time following an operation.

Jim Farley is unique among men of long service at the top in politics. I never have known of a bitter attack on him from any quarter; certainly none could question his integrity.

"I had to quit my official position in Washington"—he was postmaster-general—"to make some money," he told me, adding that the mere business of having enough to live on had become a real concern.

HE WAS A FIRST BASEMAN

In talks with Jim Farley, I had learned that baseball rather than boxing had been his first love—that he had been the first baseman for the town team in Haverstraw, N.Y., his home town in young manhood. Of his complete abstinence from liquor of any kind, he said he had seen too much of it when working as a youngster in a grocery store that had a bar.

Also he told me of how he had become the polished orator of the days when he was "selling" FDR to the nation.

"As a young man," he said, "I was terrified at the mere thought of making a speech. Al Smith told me to get appointed a district deputy by the Elks and to get around to all the lodges and, in that way, to acquire the experience of public speaking. I did and soon it came very easy to get up and to talk when called upon."

James A. Farley has given generously of his time and of his talents to countless good causes and it is easy to wish this fine American (if tardily) happy birthday and many more.

TUNNEY SALUTES IOTA PHI LAMBDA BUSINESS SORORITY

HON. JOHN V. TUNNEY

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 9, 1970

Mr. TUNNEY. Mr. Speaker, most worthwhile organizations have come into being because of an urgent need or as a result of some great vision. The founding of Iota Phi Lambda Sorority was stimulated by both.

The great depression of 40 years ago left many black people without employment. Black women who were working at white-collar jobs with comparatively new business and administrative skills were especially hard hit, for they were doubly penalized by race and sex.

In early 1962, Mrs. Lola M. Parker, of Chicago, Ill., visualized the potential of an organization which would encourage business specialization; an organization which would stimulate, inspire, foster, and give mutual assistance to persons engaged in similar vocations. In June, she and six of her friends founded the national business sorority, Iota Phi Lambda.

And from this small acorn, many great oaks have grown. First in Chicago, then in other cities, the Iota Phi Lambda Sorority chapters were organized. They grew and prospered. There are now more than 100 chapters in 85 cities ranging from the Atlantic Ocean to the Pacific, from the Great Lakes to the Gulf of Mexico. There is even a chapter in Bangalore, India.

Iota Phi Lambda's convention theme, "Women Spanning New Horizons," is most appropriate as its national organization meets for the 41st time at the Leamington Hotel in Oakland, Calif., from August 14 to 19, 1970.

As we challenge the present and prepare to meet future opportunities, the role of women in effecting change will grow tremendously. The great potential of this woman power was recognized and realized in the founding of the sorority.

Iota Phi Lambda is affiliated with the National Council of Negro Women, Leadership Conference on Civil Rights, National Committee for Children and Youth and is accredited as a nongovernmental organization at the United Nations with an official observer. Chiefly among other organizations, it supports the NAACP, Urban League, and Office of Economic Opportunity. The national president is Mrs. Bessie Coston of Youngstown, Ohio.

I congratulate the Iota Phi Lambda Sorority on its accomplishments, achievements, and contributions to humanity and offer my support and assistance as it works to attain its most laudable goals.

GROUP PLANS DRIVE TO AID POW'S

HON. BOB WILSON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 9, 1970

Mr. BOB WILSON. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent, I insert the following article in the RECORD. It deals with the laudable efforts of the "United We Stand" organization. I am sure we will all share this organization's great concern for our POW's imprisoned in North Vietnam and hope that "United We Stand" will be helpful in obtaining the release of all our valiant POW's.

[From the San Diego Evening Tribune, May 15, 1970]

GROUP PLANS DRIVE TO AID POW'S

If North Vietnam said it would take $50 million to release a few U.S. war prisoners, the money would be en route to Hanoi within

24 hours, two officials of United We Stand said here yesterday.

John A. Holman and Thomas E. Meurer, vice presidents of the Dallas-based organization, said its founder, Texas billionaire H. Ross Perot, would spare no effort to ease the plight of the POWs or secure their release.

Holman and Meurer called on leaders of San Diego aerospace firms to explain United We Stand objectives in the POW issue and also ask for their help in increasing public support for the cause.

United We Stand was founded by Perot last November to foster support for President Nixon's Vietnam war policy.

It has taken on the plight of U.S. POWs as a major national and international project.

"We are using all types of overt and covert methods to gain humane treatment for them according to the terms of the Geneva Convention," Holman said.

"If Hanoi wanted $50 million ransom for a few of them, the money would be en route within 24 hours. The money would pour in from U.S. industry and private citizens."

Perot has funded and sponsored several unsuccessful overseas attempts to bring food, medicine and mail to the POW's.

Holman, who is 30 and a Marine veteran of the Vietnam war, said the current objective of United We Stand is to launch a massive public campaign "to show Hanoi that Americans really care about the POW's."

The campaign is broken down into four elements:

First—Seek a joint session of Congress in which POW wives and parents will be invited to present personal accounts of their plights and relate details of prisoner mistreatment.

Second—Display, in Congress, replicas of North Vietnamese prison structures and devices such as human cages, solitary confinement pits and heavy confinement chains.

Third—Ask Congress to include a plea for the POW's in its daily prayers.

Fourth—Make support for the POW's a major platform element in this year's congressional election campaigns.

Holman also said barrages of letters to Congress would tend to make the POW issue one of highest national priority.

Hanoi refuses to discuss an exchange of prisoners because it officially denies that North Vietnamese troops are fighting in South Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia.

"I have talked to many North Vietnamese prisoners, however," Holman said. "They told me they had to sign documents promising not to return to North Vietnam until after the war nor attempt to write letters home."

He said of 33,000 Communist prisoners held by South Vietnam, 8,000 are North Vietnamese. There are more than 1,500 U.S. military men either held as POW's or missing behind enemy lines. Hanoi has only identified some 400 prisoners.

"North Vietnam is concerned about international opinion and can be expected to react to a major publicity effort on the part of American citizens," Holman said.

He added that rumors are circulating that Hanoi may release a token group of prisoners on a major U.S. holiday such as Memorial Day or Independence Day.

United We Stand will grow into a medium for other national issues in the future, Holman stated. The organization is now negotiating for prime television time, he said. It hopes to launch a fall "electronic town hall" in which viewers can directly ask questions or present opinion on all matters affecting the U.S.

IMPERATIVE TO ENACT WELFARE REFORM NOW

HON. RICHARD L. OTTINGER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 9, 1970

Mr. OTTINGER. Mr. Speaker, Tom Wicker in a July 9 column in the New York Times pointed to the urgency that Congress enact the family assistance plan in this session. Although I agree that the bill presently tied up in the Senate Finance Committee is not the best possible legislation on welfare reform, it is at least a step in the right direction, and I hope that Wicker's words calling for action will not go unheeded. I insert the editorial in full at this point:

IN THE NATION: FAMILY ASSISTANCE IN NEED OF HELP

(By Tom Wicker)

WASHINGTON, July 8.—The so-called family assistance program is a legislative Janus that probably could have emerged only from a conservative Administration. On the one hand, it provides for putting able bodied welfare recipients to work and allows them to keep a percentage of what they earn. Thus it holds out, to those who regard welfare recipients as deadbeats, the possibility of people working themselves off the rolls.

On the other hand, the plan would put $4.1 billion more into welfare than the Federal Government now spends, provide a Federal floor under income, establish Federal eligibility standards, and through the work incentive features permit assistance to the "working poor"—those earning just enough to prevent them from receiving welfare benefits under the present programs. These features attempt to answer most liberal criticisms that the welfare program as it has developed is niggardly, demeaning and reaches too few people.

Thus the plan—despite its inadequate income floor of $1,600 annually for a family of four—could be presented roughly as all things to all men, which was probably the only hope for a program that would, in fact, put more people on welfare and cost more money. That worked splendidly in the House. Mr. Nixon lined up the Republicans on the Ways and Means Committee, as a matter of party loyalty; confronted with that kind of unity, surprisingly good public support, and the Administration's sweeping claims for the reforms, Chairman Wilbur Mills obviously did not want to put himself or his Democrats in the role of spoilers and obstructionists. He helped speed the measure easily through the House.

SENATE TURNAROUND

Now, however, the situation has turned around in the Senate Finance Committee. Only one of its Republican members appears committed to the bill, while some liberal Democrats are proposing broader and more costly reform bills, such as the one proposed by the National Welfare Rights Organization ($5,500 a year for a family of four). In addition, the committee staff found several flaws in the family assistance plan, as passed by the House, and the Administration, in attempting to repair them, has brought in some controversial amendments.

These evoked the wrath for instance, of the militant welfare rights organization, which called them "devastatingly regressive." Among other things, these amendments would permit public housing tenants whose income increases past present eligibility levels to stay on, but at an increased rental based on a percentage of income; and beneficiaries of the family assistance plan would be made ineligible for the free Medicaid program. A compulsory health insurance program under which most of them would pay part of the insurance cost, would be substituted. Both this and a new food stamp program would to some extent abandon the basic money-to-the-poor principle of the income approach by deducting charges in advance.

These amendments illustrate the difficulty of trying to please all sides. While they may be necessary to get the bill out of the Finance Committee, the support of its ranking Republican, John Williams, has not yet been won, and some liberals may push their own bills.

IMPERATIVE FOR DEMOCRATS

Nevertheless, the political imperative is still for the Democrats to move the family assistance plan out of the committee and into debate on the Senate floor with or without the support of the Republican minority, a collection of conservatives that would make Rutherford B. Hayes turn pale. By common consent, welfare reform is long overdue; no one can be sure that the House Republicans and Chairman Mills could be again united behind an income approach, or even that Mr. Nixon, once rebuffed, would try that approach again. However recalcitrant the Finance Committee Republicans, the Democratic majority would almost surely be blamed for bottling up what the Administration claims to be the most sweeping welfare reforms since the original Social Security Act, and the country's first venture into income maintenance.

The President's counselor, Pat Moynihan, one of the program's principal authors and for the last decade an advocate of welfare reform, warned in a speech last week that this might be the only chance for another decade to get major reform. Even if Mr. Moynihan overstates somewhat the scale of the proposal, and even if the recent amendments raise new questions as to its adequacy, there seems little reason to doubt his political judgment.

The bill can be improved on the Senate floor, or in conference with the House, or by amendment in years to come. But if it languishes much longer in the Finance Committee, with its Democratic majority, it will be dead for this year and no one can say when anything like it might get another chance.

MAN'S INHUMANITY TO MAN—HOW LONG?

HON. WILLIAM J. SCHERLE

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, July 10, 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?