

through maximum use of indigenous resources, that the U.S. requirements for low-cost energy be met, and to reconcile environmental quality requirements with future energy needs; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. JOHNSON of California (for himself and Mr. Kyr):

H.R. 18709. A bill to establish a Commission on Fuels and Energy to recommend programs and policies intended to insure, through maximum use of indigenous resources, that the U.S. requirements for low-cost energy be met, and to reconcile environmental quality requirements with future energy needs; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. MILLER of Ohio:

H.R. 18710. A bill to amend title 13 of the United States Code to provide for a recount (by the State or locality involved) of the population of any State or locality which believes that its population was understated in the 1970 decennial census, and for Federal payment of the cost of the recount if such understatement is confirmed; to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

By Mr. DON H. CLAUSEN:

H.J. Res. 1334. Joint resolution proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States extending the right to vote to citizens 18 years of age or older; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. JOHNSON of Pennsylvania:

H.J. Res. 1335. Joint resolution proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States extending the right to vote to citizens 18 years of age or older; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. PATMAN:

H.J. Res. 1336. Joint resolution to extend the effectiveness of the Defense Production Act of 1950 to August 15, 1970; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

By Mr. BOB WILSON (for himself and Mr. VAN DERLIN):

H.J. Res. 1337. Joint resolution to establish a national music of the United States; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. HOWARD (for himself, Mr. BUTTON, Mr. CORBETT, Mr. DERWINSKI, Mr. DINGELL, Mr. FRIEDEL, Mr. HANNA, Mr. HELSTOSKI, Mr. HORTON, Mr. LEGGETT, Mr. McKNEALLY, Mr. MIKVA, Mrs. MINK, and Mr. MOORHEAD):

H. Con. Res. 696. Concurrent resolution expressing the sense of the Congress with respect to an international conference on the creation of an International Environmental Agency; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. HOWARD (for himself, Mr. OLSEN, Mr. OTTINGER, Mr. PIKE, Mr. POBELL, Mr. QUITE, Mr. ROSENTHAL, Mr. RYAN, Mr. SCHEUER, Mr. TIERNAN, Mr. TUNNEY, Mr. WHITE, Mr. WILLIAMS, Mr. WOLFF, and Mr. WRIGHT):

H. Con. Res. 694. Concurrent resolution expressing the sense of the Congress with respect to an international conference on the creation of an International Environmental Agency; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. PURCELL:

H. Con. Res. 695. Concurrent resolution providing that the Chief Justice of the United States be invited to address a joint session of Congress on the state of the judiciary; to the Committee on Rules.

By Mr. DON H. CLAUSEN:

H. Res. 1166. Resolution to express the sense of the House of Representatives that the U.S. maintain its sovereignty and jurisdiction over the Panama Canal Zone; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. MILLER of California:

H. Res. 1167. Resolution expressing the sense of the House of Representatives with

respect to the issuance of a commemorative postage stamp honoring the fifth anniversary of the U.S. participation in the International Biological Program; to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

PRIVATE BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 1 of rule XXII, private bills and resolutions were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. CONTE:

H.R. 18711. A bill for the relief of Michael P. Buckley; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. DANIEL of Virginia:

H.R. 18712. A bill for the relief of Mr. and Mrs. Waverly E. Wilkerson; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. DOWNING:

H.R. 18713. A bill for the relief of David Capps, formerly a corporal in the U.S. Marine Corps.; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. JOHNSON of California:

H.R. 18714. A bill to authorize the Secretary of the Interior to rectify a public land transaction; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. TEAGUE of California:

H.R. 18715. A bill for the relief of Gheorghe Jucu and Aurelia Jucu; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

PETITIONS, ETC.

Under clause 1 of rule XXII,

562. The SPEAKER presented a petition of Henry Stoner, York, Pa., relative to cataloging the statutory and treaty powers of the President of the United States, which was referred to the Committee on Government Operations.

EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

THE THREE R'S OF LAW AND ORDER

HON. JACK R. MILLER

OF IOWA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, July 29, 1970

Mr. MILLER. Mr. President, recently a distinguished attorney from Cedar Falls, Iowa, Margaret E. Santee, delivered an address focusing on what she calls "The Three R's of Law and Order."

She reminded her listeners that since law is the relationship of man and men, it must be properly coordinated through a basic understanding of the three R's of reverence, rights, and responsibilities. Her speech offers a somewhat different perspective of this critical question. I ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the Extensions of Remarks.

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

THE THREE R'S OF LAW AND ORDER

(By Margaret E. Santee)

Years ago discussion centered on the 3 R's of readin', 'ritin', 'n' 'rithmetic as the basic for our learning. Today, as we face the issues of law and order, we focus our attention on the 3 R's of reverence, rights and responsibilities.

Albert Schweitzer once said the one thing man cannot live without is reverence. Christ explains basic law as the reverence of Creator, neighbor, and self as he summarizes law as the law of love.

Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all

thy heart, with all thy mind, with all thy soul. Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself. If we substitute for the words of Christ the word "Creator" for God and "attachment" for love we discover this is a complete, yet succinct, summary of the law of artistry, of mechanics, of science, of sports—of every creative activity of any nature, including the law of MAN in a social world, in a world created by God in a spirit of love.

Law is the relationship of man and men—of unit and units—of all working parts of any creation—properly coordinated through the basic understanding of the 3 R's of—

Reverence: for the individual unit as it performs as part of the whole; for the individual unit in fulfillment of its particular function at its maximum usefulness; for the creator of the master plan for which and to fulfill the purpose of whom it was set up.

Responsibility: for performing in accordance with the needs of the entire creation; for permitting all other units the right to accept their responsibility of performance as they develop their abilities to perform with utmost skill; to accept the direction of the creator and coordinator of the creation;

Rights: merited by proper performance of the individual unit and all units as they perform to carry out the plan of their creator who has the right to coordinate the functioning of the units to secure that purpose for which he designed the creation.

The development of law and order comes through:

1. A study of the basic plan,
2. Through disciplined practice in the development of the individual unit,
3. Through coordination of performances or placement according to the plan of the creator, and under either the creator's direction, or under that of his chosen coordinator.

Mrs. Billy Graham, in her delightful book

"Our Christmas Story," writes that on Christmas Eve the Graham family read the story of the birth of the Saviour Jesus. The use of the word "saviour" challenges them to find the sin for which God sent His son Christ to the world. The Graham family return to the book of Genesis to seek the purposefulness of the creation of man, the story of the original sin. They decide that God made man with the power of choice because His creations which did His will without protest could not provide that companionship, that "give and take" of relationships which provide the incentive for sparkling the ingenuity of the human race in seeking new ways of fulfilling God's law of love. The original sin was not the choice of Adam and Eve in eating the apple. They had the right of choice. They lacked understanding of God's need for companionship, the purposefulness of their creation, when they ran from Him. Their sin was their failure to accept their responsibility in the building of that attachment of love for which they had been created, to provide companionship for their Creator.

God created human beings with the right of choice subject to the law of love which would satisfy His purpose of creation. God expects each human to accept his individual responsibilities in building a world of love as He gives men the blessings of His love. According to the family of Billy Graham, when God created men with the right of choice, He decided that He should send His son to clarify His plan of creation, to guide His loved ones in their search for a better understanding of their rights and responsibilities as part of God's world of love and companionship.

When God created man, He created the Judases, the bawdy fishermen, and the weak, vacillating Peters and Thomases. He also

created the Hitlers, the Stalins, Kossyghins, Nassers, and Lenins. God did not send Jesus to change the nature of man, to take away man's right to choose. God sent Christ not to destroy the law, but to fulfill the law by giving that direction to men in their relationships with each other which would make them responsive to the creative plan of God. Christ did not assume the responsibility of each man to develop and use his skills, his strengths, in that type of relationship with his fellow men which would fulfill the purposes of God in His plan of life. God has never taken away either the rights or the responsibilities of men. He has made them subject to His law if they expect to enjoy His blessings. He has, through His son, given men another chance if the choices they make, their acts, are contrary to His law, but they occur because of lack of understanding or training in the three Rs, and they do not jeopardize the effectiveness of the other members of God's world entitled to enjoy the blessings of God's love.

Christ drove the money changers from the Temple. He did forgive the weaknesses of God's people but expected them to follow his direction of "Go, and sin no more." Christ believed in the use of rules as guidelines to build the skills, the performance, of a well-coordinated group, God's family created to provide the companionable relationships of love. Christ criticized the Pharisees for their insistence on the rigid enforcement of rules which, by their very nature, did not develop satisfactory relationships among the group. He advocated the SPIRIT of love, the relationships of love, as he suggested "The Sabbath was made for man, and not man for the Sabbath."

Our country has won victories in war because the discipline of our soldiers is tempered by their permissive use of the power of choice as they show REVERENCE for the organization of our country and its military system, accept responsibility in doing well the particular tasks assigned to them, and expect responsibility from all other members of their units who are entitled to share in

the RIGHTS to which they—and all of their loved ones—are entitled. Through their basic understanding of the plan of attack, their plan for survival, through their respect for the direction given them as members of a group assigned to carry out certain strategic moves, they discover the possibilities of success through their basic training in the three Rs. They continue operations with success as they exercise that power of choice which is the strength of their reverence for and understanding of the master plan and the need to carry out the command thou shalt love.

It has been said that other armies cannot survive when their leadership is gone. Our American heritage is one of "team play" which finds solutions for the problems which are disrupting to the world relationships of love and understanding.

Our legal philosophy accepts the fact that Christ was not sent into the world to assume responsibilities for those acts which prevent a smoothly functioning and loving relationship among men. His mission was to prevent undue hardship for wrong choices of men. We train our citizens to "play position"—to function according to their strengths and the particular needs of the group. We train them to accept responsibility for "filling in" for other units than the ones for which they have been assigned only in the case of a potential failure of the original plan. Thou shalt love demands understanding of the three Rs—reverence, responsibilities, and rights—as the basic principles of the law of love which gives a flexibility of movement which makes colorful the sharing of the prejudices and strengths of our people as we set our goals toward the attainment of a world of love according to the purposeful planning of our Master. Thou shalt love requires the disciplined direction through practical, as well as theoretical training, which permits all units to act under those pressures which tend to temporarily weaken the performance of the units in the fulfillment of the plan of creation. The right of choice requires the disciplined

development of the particular strengths, and the overcoming of the destructive weaknesses, of those who demand the rights, the blessings of God's love. Thou shalt love is an inflexible law based on Reverence, responsibility, and rights, the 3 Rs of law and order.

MEDICAL FACILITY CONSTRUCTION PROJECTS IN WISCONSIN

HON. DAVID R. OBEY

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 28, 1970

Mr. OBEY. Mr. Speaker, I should like to insert in the RECORD a table of approved hospital and medical facility construction projects in Wisconsin that cannot be built in the next 2 years at present levels of Federal funding of the Hill-Burton program.

The table itemizes planned general hospital projects, long-term care facilities, public health centers, diagnostic and treatment centers, and rehabilitation centers.

It also lists 12 projects which could be approved under the program for construction of community facilities for the mentally retarded if there were adequate Federal funds available in these two fiscal years.

Mr. Speaker, I think this list provides eloquent evidence of why we needed the health emergency amendment of the gentleman from Massachusetts (Mr. BOLAND), which would have added \$80 million for hospital construction grants to the fiscal 1971 appropriation.

The table follows:

PROJECTS WHICH COULD BE APPROVED UNDER THE HOSPITAL AND MEDICAL FACILITIES CONSTRUCTION (HILL-BURTON) PROGRAM, IF THERE WERE NO LIMITATIONS ON FEDERAL FUNDS, FISCAL YEARS 1971 AND 1972

[List by category of facility: All general hospitals listed together, all long-term care facilities, all public health centers, etc.]

Category of facility, county, and city	Name of facility	Type of construction							Beds provided	Total cost	Estimated cost		
		New facility	Addition	Addition and remodeling	Addition and replacement	Addition, remodeling, and replacement	Remodeling only	Replacement only			Remodeling and replacement	Federal share	
												Fiscal year 1971	Fiscal year 1972
GENERAL													
Barron, Rice Lake	Lakeside Methodist Hospital			X					50	\$2,000,000	\$800,000		
Brown, Green Bay	St. Mary's Hospital		X						100	3,500,000	1,400,000		
Chippewa, Chippewa Falls	St. Joseph's Hospital								160	6,000,000	2,400,000		
Columbia, Portage	Divine Savior Hospital							X	26	1,000,000	400,000		
Crawford, Prairie du Chien	Prairie du Chien Memorial Hospital		X						20	600,000		\$240,000	
Dane, Madison	St. Mary's Hospital		X						233	3,750,000	1,500,000		
Do	University Hospital	X							750	22,500,000		9,000,000	
Dane, Stoughton	Stoughton Hospital		X						150	8,000,000		3,200,000	
Dodge, Beaver Dam	Lutheran Hospital			X					50	1,000,000	400,000		
Douglas, Superior	Superior Memorial Hospital		X						10	500,000		200,000	
Dunn, Menomonie	Memorial Hospital							X	30	1,000,000	400,000		
Eau Claire, Eau Claire	Luther Hospital							X	267	9,170,000	3,668,000		
Grant, Lancaster	Memorial Hospital			X					20	338,000	135,200		
Iowa, Dodgeville	Dodgeville General Hospital	X							100	3,000,000		1,200,000	
Kenosha, Kenosha	St. Catherine's Hospital			X					100	2,500,000	1,000,000		
La Crosse, La Crosse	La Crosse Lutheran Hospital				X				75	6,200,000	2,480,000		
Langlade, Antigo	Langlade Co. Memorial Hospital		X						106	808,000	323,200		
Lincoln, Merrill	Holy Cross Hospital	X							84	3,200,000	1,280,000		
Marathon, Wausau	Memorial Hospital							X	116	5,000,000		2,000,000	
Marinette, Marinette	Marinette General Hospital		X						60	2,000,000		800,000	
Milwaukee, Milwaukee	Johnson Municipal Hospital			X						1,000,000		400,000	
GENERAL RESEARCH													
Milwaukee, Milwaukee	Marquette-University Clinical		X						150	6,000,000		2,400,000	
Do	Mount Sinai Hospital			X					285	8,000,000	3,200,000		
Do	St. Anthony Hospital			X					64	2,095,000	742,000		
Do	St. Francis Hospital			X						500,000	200,000		

		Type of construction							Estimated cost					
Category of facility, county, and city	Name of facility	New facility	Addition	Addition and remodeling	Addition and replacement	Addition, remodeling, and replacement	Remodeling only	Replacement only	Remodeling and replacement	Beds provided	Total cost	Federal share		
												Fiscal year 1971	Fiscal year 1972	
GENERAL														
Milwaukee, Milwaukee	St. Mary's Hospital			X						250	\$8,000,000	\$3,200,000		
Do	St. Michael's Hospital			X						318	9,600,000		\$3,840,000	
Monroe, Tomah	Memorial Hospital			X						17	320,000	128,000		
Oconto, Oconto Falls	Oconto Falls Memorial Hospital	X								100	2,500,000	1,000,000		
Oneida, Rhinelander	St. Mary's Hospital			X						50	2,000,000	1,000,600		
Oneida, Woodruff	Lakeland Memorial Hospital	X								100	3,780,000	1,512,000		
Outagamie, Appleton	Memorial Hospital		X							100	3,500,000		1,400,000	
Outagamie, New London	Community Hospital			X							300,000		120,000	
Polk, Amery	Apple River Valley Memorial Hospital			X						25	1,050,000		420,000	
Polk, Frederic	Municipal Hospital				X					30	1,000,000		400,000	
Polk, St. Croix Falls	St. Croix Valley Memorial Hospital		X			X				24	600,000	240,000		
Racine, Racine	St. Luke's Hospital			X						36	264,910	105,964		
Do	St. Mary's Hospital			X						250	11,000,000		4,400,000	
Rock, Beloit	Beloit Memorial Hospital ¹	X									10,980,000	600,000		
Rock, Edgerton	Memorial Hospital			X						27	800,000		320,000	
Rock, Janesville	Mercy Hospital			X						250	8,000,000		3,200,000	
Rusk, Ladysmith	St. Mary's Hospital					X				52	1,500,000		600,000	
St. Croix, Baldwin	Baldwin Community Hospital			X						30	1,000,000	400,000		
St. Croix, River Falls	St. Joseph's Hospital		X							70	2,000,000		800,000	
Sauk, Prairie du Sac	Sauk-Prairie Memorial Hospital		X							20	500,000	200,000		
Sauk, Reedsburg	Reedsburg Municipal Hospital	X								55	2,920,000		1,168,000	
Sheboygan, Sheboygan	Memorial Hospital			X						60	1,422,000	568,800		
Washington, West Bend	St. Joseph's Hospital		X							101	3,500,000	1,400,000		
Waupaca, Waupaca	Riverside Community Memorial Hospital		X							50	1,800,000		720,000	
Total (number of projects, 49)											5,021	177,997,910	30,683,764	37,628,000
Ashland, Ashland	Trinity Lutheran Hospital						X			35	420,000	168,000		
Barron, Rice Lake	Lake Methodist Hospital		X							60	2,500,000		1,000,000	
Calumet, Chilton	Calumet Memorial Hospital			X						50	750,000	300,000		
Calumet, New Holstein	Homestead		X							75	1,250,000	500,000		
Chippewa, Chippewa Falls	Chippewa County Nursing Home	X								126	1,242,000		496,800	
Crawford, Prairie du Chien	Prairie du Chien Memorial Hospital	X								40	800,000		320,000	
Dane, Stoughton	Stoughton Hospital	X								100	1,000,000	400,000		
Douglas, Superior	St. Mary's Hospital	X								31	369,500	147,800		
Do	Superior Memorial Hospital	X								38	570,000	228,000		
Fond du Lac, Ripon	Ripon Memorial Hospital						X			30	300,000	120,000		
Grant, Lancaster	Memorial Hospital	X								20	372,000	148,800		
Grant, Platteville	Municipal Hospital		X							18	219,485		87,794	
Jefferson, Fort Atkinson	Fort Atkinson Memorial Hospital	X								100	1,200,000		480,000	
Kewaunee, Kewaunee	St. Mary's Memorial Hospital	X								30	600,000	240,000		
La Crosse, La Crosse	Eleanor Gund Home		X							40	900,000		360,000	
Langlade, Antigo	Langlade County Memorial Hospital			X						50	820,000	328,000		
Lincoln, Merrill	Lincoln County Hospital		X							11	587,000		234,800	
Lincoln, Tomahawk	Lincoln County Home	X								39	587,802	187,720		
Manitowoc, Manitowoc	Holy Family Hospital		X							50	3,169,260	1,267,784		
Do	Manitowoc Nursing Home		X							50	1,000,000	400,000		
Do	Memorial Hospital	X								40	400,000	160,000		
Marquette, Montello	Marquette County Home	X								75	675,000		270,000	
Milwaukee, Milwaukee	Badger Home for Blind		X							100	750,000	300,000		
Do	Milwaukee County Hospital		X							350	10,250,000		4,100,000	
Do	Misericordia Nursing Home		X							200	1,000,000	400,000		
LONG-TERM CARE														
Milwaukee, Milwaukee	Mount Sinai Hospital		X							50	500,000	200,000		
Do	St. Francis Hospital		X							150	3,500,000		1,400,000	
Do	St. Mary's Hospital			X						100	3,000,000	1,200,000		
Do	Wisconsin League of Senior Citizens	X								100	150,000		60,000	
Milwaukee, Wauwatosa	St. Camillus Hospital			X						22	290,000		116,000	
Pepin, Durand	St. Benedict's Hospital		X							40	900,000		360,000	
Pierce, Plum City	Plum City Hospital			X						30	1,000,000	400,000		
Polk, Amery	Apple River Valley Memorial Hospital		X							31	575,000		230,000	
Portage, Stevens Point	River Pines	X								100	1,200,000		480,000	
Rock, Beloit	Memorial Hospital						X			100	300,000		120,000	
Rock, Janesville	Mercy Hospital						X			50	650,000		260,000	
St. Croix, Baldwin	Baldwin Community Hospital	X								50	560,000		224,000	
Sauk, Baraboo	St. Mary's Ringling Manor			X						80	1,858,000		743,200	
Sauk, Reedsburg	Memorial Hospital						X			50	650,000	260,000		
Sheboygan, Plymouth	Sheboygan County, Rocky Knoll	X								100	1,000,000	400,000		
Sheboygan, Sheboygan	Memorial Hospital	X								50	1,000,000	400,000		
Walworth, Elkhorn	Lakeland Hospital	X								50	800,000	320,000		
Washington, West Bend	Washington County Home		X							231	2,400,000		960,000	
Do	Wisconsin Lutheran Homes							X		120	1,005,000	398,000		
Waukesha, Oconomowoc	Oconomowoc Memorial Hospital			X						50	1,000,000		400,000	
Do	Villa St. Ann		X							90	1,577,400		630,960	
Waupaca, Clintonville	Community Memorial Hospital		X							50	800,000	320,000		
Wausara, Wautoma	Wautoma Memorial Community Hospital			X						50	750,000		300,000	
Total (number of projects, 48)											3,502	57,197,447	9,194,104	13,633,554
PUBLIC HEALTH CENTERS														
Milwaukee, Milwaukee	North Side Health Center		X								857,000	342,800		
Do	South Side Health Center		X								18,150	7,260		
Sheboygan, Sheboygan	Sheboygan Department of Public Health						X				169,000	67,600		
Total (number of projects, 3)												1,044,150	417,660	

¹ Included on current construction schedule.

PROJECTS WHICH COULD BE APPROVED UNDER THE HOSPITAL AND MEDICAL FACILITIES CONSTRUCTION (HILL-BURTON) PROGRAM, IF THERE WERE NO LIMITATIONS ON FEDERAL FUNDS, FISCAL YEARS 1971 AND 1972—Continued

[List by category of facility: All general hospitals listed together, all long-term care facilities, all public health centers, etc.]

Category of facility, county, and city	Name of facility	Type of construction							Beds provided	Total cost	Estimated cost		
		New facility	Addition	Addition and remodeling	Addition and replacement	Addition, remodeling, and replacement	Remodeling only	Replacement only			Remodeling and replacement	Federal share	
												Fiscal year 1971	Fiscal year 1972
DIAGNOSTIC AND TREATMENT CENTERS													
Brown, Green Bay	St. Vincent's Hospital		X							\$2,000,000	\$800,000		
Clark, Neillsville	Neillsville Memorial Hospital			X						100,000		\$40,000	
Dane, Madison	Madison General Hospital		X							2,080,000	832,000		
Do	University Hospital		X							285,000	114,000		
Juneau, Mauston	Hess Memorial Hospital		X							152,500	61,000		
La Crosse, La Crosse	Lutheran Hospital		X							318,000	127,020		
Langlade, Antigo	Langlade County Memorial Hospital		X							800,000	320,000		
Milwaukee, Milwaukee	Mount Sinai Hospital			X						200,000	80,000		
Do	St. Mary's Hospital			X						2,000,000	800,000		
Do	St. Michael's Hospital				X					1,540,000	616,000		
Rock, Janesville	Mercy Hospital		X							500,000		200,000	
Total (number of projects, 11)										9,975,500	3,750,200	240,000	
REHABILITATION CENTERS													
Brown, Green Bay	Curative Workshop		X							1,162,200	464,880		
Eau Claire, Eau Claire	Luther Hospital Rehabilitation Center			X						876,000		350,400	
La Crosse, La Crosse	La Crosse Lutheran Hospital			X					60	1,800,000		720,000	
Do	St. Francis Hospital			X						1,800,000	720,000		
Milwaukee, Milwaukee	Curative Workshop		X							2,072,000	570,000		
Do	St. Mary's Hospital			X						2,000,000	800,000		
Total (Number of projects, 6)										60	9,710,200	2,554,880	1,070,400
Children's hospital for mentally retarded: Milwaukee, Milwaukee	Baptist Home for mentally retarded children	X							50	750,000		300,000	
Day facility: Dodge, Beaver Dam	Day Care Center	X							70	500,000	200,000		
Diagnostic and evaluation clinic: Manitowoc, Manitowoc	Holy Family College		X						150	1,500,000	600,000		
Sheboygan, Sheboygan	Mentally Retarded Center		X						100	800,000	320,000		
Mentally retarded school only: Milwaukee, Milwaukee	Milwaukee Public Schools	X							275	500,000	200,000		
Mentally retarded workshop and home: Waukesha, Lannon	The Ranch David Hellman Foundation	X							50	450,000	180,000		
Sheltered workshop: Barron, Rice Lake	Rice Lake Sheltered Workshop	X							20	100,000		40,000	
Eau Claire, Eau Claire	The Shelter for Handicapped, Inc.	X							65	300,000		120,000	
Lafayette, Shullsburg	Lafayette Adjustment Rehabilitation Center		X						20	50,000	20,000		
Sawyer, Hayward	Hayward Sheltered Workshop	X							20	100,000		40,000	
Training center: Dane, Madison	MARC	X							150	700,000	280,000		
Total (number of projects, 12)										1,270	7,643,900	2,040,000	500,000

ROOM FOR ALL

HON. F. BRADFORD MORSE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 29, 1970

Mr. MORSE. Mr. Speaker, living as we do, with frequent national crises, we sometimes appear to be deserting rationality in our relations with one another and choosing instead confrontation, vituperation, recrimination, and violence. It is refreshing and reassuring to hear voices of reason, restraint, and understanding.

We in Massachusetts have been spared much of the civil turmoil which has plagued many areas of the Nation in recent years, but a few days ago we were sharply reminded that we, too, have much yet to learn if we are to continue to build the just and free society to which all men of good will aspire.

In the wake of our recent troubles, an editorial appeared in the Lowell Sun which reflects such a deep comprehension of the tragic frailties which divide us that I want to share it with our colleagues. It is from such acute perceptions that we can see the reflection of

our failures, and from which we can rally our dispirited hopes in an effort to return, in peace and understanding, to the hard tasks ahead.

[From the Lowell Sun, July 25, 1970]

ROOM FOR ALL

It seems to be a matter of communication. Or blindness.

We refer to the inability of our citizens to assimilate new ideas, new thoughts, new words or new people into their daily existence.

Gone is the day that the pride of the poor keeps them off the welfare rolls. No longer will the immigrant sit idly by and watch the natives deprive him of his basic rights. The city doesn't have the same complexion it had during the depression, during the mill-town days or any other period in its history. There are new things, new words, new ideas and new people. And all are a part of our community.

We're appalled at the number of old residents who abhor the "blow-ins" but never have met one. We listen to men all up and down Merrimack street who can't stand "those people" in Bishop Markham Village, the Acre, or Shaughnessy Terrace—and then admit they're afraid to even go near those areas.

We listen to those from the above-mentioned areas who are getting sick and tired of being lumped in to one generalization—generally from an unfavorable light. Particu-

larly those who are proud to show their homes and have absolutely no apologies for the behavior of their children.

We're used to new languages and accents intruding on our broad "A" Boston accents—yet we mistrust the quiet, rapid-fire beauty of the Spanish language being spoken by more and more of our neighbors.

We listen to the Puerto Rican lad tell us how hard it is to make friends with an Irish kid in the Acre and then patiently try to explain that to a woman whose teenage boy has been assaulted by a group of youngsters speaking a foreign tongue.

There's room in town for every color, creed and idea—if all of us make an effort to meet each other.

\$321 MILLION IN TAX-FREE DIVIDENDS DISTRIBUTED BY 40 IOU'S

HON. LEE METCALF

OF MONTANA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, July 29, 1970

Mr. METCALF. Mr. President, the Consumer Federation of America recently compiled and released the figures on tax-free dividends paid by 40 investor-owned utilities in 1969.

At a time when the Nation faces a power crisis and IOU's are requesting record rate increases, despite high profits, it seems incredible that the industry would handle its tax windfalls in this manner.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to insert at this point in the RECORD, CFA's release of July 8 and accompanying tables listing company-by-company figures.

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

ELECTRIC FIRMS HAND OWNERS \$321 MILLION IN 1969 TAX-FREE

WASHINGTON.—Forty electric utilities paid out \$321 million in tax-free dividends to their

stockholders last year, Consumer Federation of America announced today.

"This represents a new, all-time high since the utilities started this practice in 1954," Erma Angevine, CFA's executive director, said in releasing the report.

"If these utilities had invested these funds in their own facilities, they'd need to borrow less capital at high interest rates, and they'd thus have reduced their operating costs and saved consumers money," she said.

These tax-free dividends result from fast tax write-offs and double bookkeeping, Mrs. Angevine explained. "The utilities keep one set of books for Internal Revenue Service, another set for Federal Power Commission and state regulatory bodies.

"If their rate base reflected their tax windfalls, consumers would have kept this \$321 million in their own pockets, instead of paying it to utilities, who handed it tax-free to their stockholders.

"Consumers are concerned that in the 1969 tax reform act, Congress failed to deny these fast tax write-offs to firms whose rates, whose prices of services are set by public bodies," Mrs. Angevine said. "We must end either fast tax write-offs for utilities or double bookkeeping, for since 1954 the practice has enabled 72 electric utilities to overcharge consumers \$1,880 million and pay this money to their stockholders tax-free."

Consolidated Edison easily led the 1969 list with \$74 million in tax-free dividends. Public Service Electric & Gas Company was a poor second with \$25 million; Northeast Utilities, third with \$24 million; and Pacific Gas & Electric, fourth with \$22 million.

CFA developed the information from publications of Prentice-Hall and Moody.

CFA is a federation of 160 community, state, regional, and national consumer-oriented organizations with millions of members.

TAX-FREE DIVIDENDS PAID BY PRIVATE POWER COMPANIES IN 1969

	Tax-free dividends paid in 1969	Percent of total dividend tax free in 1969	Total tax-free dividends since 1954
Arizona Pub. Serv.	\$3,468,000	40.0	\$40,464,989
Atlantic City Elec.	6,345,793	70.0	37,864,461
Black Hills P&L Co.	99,107	(1)	344,334
Brooklyn Edison			2,074,694
Cent. Hudson G&E	2,431,648	48.0	12,190,521
Cent. La. Elec.	1,967,533	35.3	15,933,154
Cent. Me. Pwr.			4,812,492
Cent. Vt. Pub. Serv.	1,463,770	81.0	2,587,862
Con. Edison (C)	67,967,537	100.0	368,564,511
Con. Edison (P)	6,090,445	(2)	9,161,695
Detroit Edison	11,308,798	28.0	102,440,305
Duquesne Lgt.	9,311,625	42.50	36,611,946
El Paso Elec.			2,958,458
Exeter & Hampton Elec.			7,565
Fall River Elec. Lgt.			1,022,110
Fitchburg G&E Lgt.	243,443	54.83	981,398
Florida Pwr.			760,396
Florida Pub. Utils.			222,724
Green Mountain Pwr.	813,159	85.0	2,126,338
Gulf States Utils.	2,216,505	(3)	10,752,502
Hawaiian Elec. Co.	1,002,486	21.16	4,764,257
Idaho Pwr.	2,851,200	27.00	26,508,449
Ill. Pwr. (C)			3,201,000
Ill. Pwr. (P)			1,877,064
Interstate Pwr.			2,404,220
Long Is. Lgt.	9,710,850	41.0	21,332,590
Me. Pub. Serv.	99,393	13.0	1,672,315
Mo. Pub. Serv.			339,300
New Eng. Elec. Sys.	11,935,550	55.0	70,689,981
New Eng. Pwr. (P)			347,568
Niagara Mohawk	19,049,400	60.0	155,037,231
Northeast Utils.	23,608,027	74.0	51,732,419
Northern Sts. Pwr. (Minn.)	11,063,600	40.0	25,589,440
Oklahoma G&E			10,161,303
Orange & Rockland Utils.	4,607,242	52.47	17,205,263
Pacific G&E	22,114,606	25.1	90,956,583
Pacific P&L (C)	13,601,700	70.0	135,526,616
Pacific P&L (P)			8,788,658
Portland Gen. Elec.	4,337,100	45.0	42,952,571
Potomac Elec. Pwr. Co.	7,722,773	73.0	48,132,773
Pub. Serv. Co. of Indiana			25,340,454

	Tax-free dividends paid in 1969	Percent of total dividend tax free in 1969	Total tax-free dividends since 1954
Pub. Serv. Co. of New Hamp.			\$13,456,472
Pub. Serv. E&G Co.	\$25,372,653	49.9	72,787,655
Puget Sound P&L (C)	6,720,952	100.0	36,348,848
Puget Sound P&L (P)	13,271	10.0	1,923,290
Rochester G&E (C)	7,470,000	100.0	10,102,047
Rochester G&E (P)	431,340	14.0	431,340
Savannah Elec. & Pwr.	674,763	31.0	3,085,263
Sierra Pac. Pwr. Co.	2,670,900	87.0	11,794,935
So. Caro. E&G Co.	1,146,615	(4)	2,391,046
So'western Elec. Serv. Co.	128,115	(5)	2,867,113
So'western Pub. Serv. Co.	1,862,145	(6)	21,911,306
Union Elec.	15,865,100	50.0	128,085,774
Upper Peninsula Pwr.	271,066	29.0	352,802
Utah P&L	11,416,192	77.57	20,564,529
Virginia E&P			4,062,107
Washington Wtr. Pwr.	1,849,642	24.0	44,789,041
	321,321,054		1,773,341,131

The following power companies have been merged into other utility systems:

Calif. Elec. Pwr. 7	15,345,062
Calif. Ore. Pwr. 8	18,333,924
Conn. L&P 9	26,348,153
Conn. Pwr. 9	1,340,731
Essex Co. Elec. 10	565,796
Hartford Elec. Lgt. 11	30,977,031
Haverhill Elec. 11	176,474
Lawrence Elec. 11	466,917
Lowell Elec. Lgt. 11	522,886
Merrimack-Essex Elec. 12	2,649,636
Rockland L&P 14	2,783,439
Southern Berkshire P&E 15	190,646
Suburban Elec. 15	1,480,291
Weymouth L&P 15	435,990
Worcester Co. Elec. 15	5,117,085
Total	106,734,061
Total tax-free dividends since 1954	1,880,075,192

¹ 3.45% of Mar., June and Sept. dividends; 31.90% of Dec. dividend.

² 100% of 6% cum. pfd. dividends; 2% all other pfd. dividends.

³ 8.3% of June dividend; 16.7% of Sept. and Dec. dividends.

⁴ 7.97% of July dividend; 36.59% of Oct. dividend.

⁵ 27.78% of Mar. and June dividends; (est.) 30.12% of Sept. and Dec. dividends.

⁶ 18.62% of Mar., June and Sept. dividends; (est.) 6.3% of Dec. dividend.

⁷ Merged with Southern Cal. Ed. Co. 1963.

⁸ Merged with Pacific P&L 1961.

⁹ Merged with Hartford Elec. Lgt. 1956.

¹⁰ Name changed to Merrimack-Essex 1957.

¹¹ Merged with Merrimack-Essex 1957.

¹² Merged with Mass. Elec. Co. (part of New Eng. Elec. Sys.) 1962.

¹³ Subsidiary of Northeast Utilities, 1967.

¹⁴ Name changed to Orange & Rockland Utils. 1958.

¹⁵ Merged with Mass. Elec. Co. (part of New Eng. Elec. Sys.) 1961.

Sources: For % of dividend payments considered tax-free by companies, Prentice-Hall's "Capital Adjustments" and Moody's "Public Utilities" and "Dividend Record" services. For total dividend payments, company reports to FPC and Moody's services. Computations by CFA. Dividend payments are those made on common stock, except where noted. Where company paid tax-free dividends on both common and preferred, each is identified: (C) on common stock; (P) on preferred stock.

A MERCHANT: FRIEND OR FOE

HON. ODIN LANGEN

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 29, 1970

Mr. LANGEN. Mr. Speaker, we hear a great deal lately about consumer protection and truth-in-lending. A place has even been made on the President's staff for an adviser on consumer affairs.

It is good that we show concern for the consumer, who in the free market system has become the victim on different occasions of false advertising, exaggerated claims, shoddy products, complicated and misleading warranties on merchandise purchased, hidden and excessive finance and service charges, and the like. A case has been made and has brought the buying public to a new awareness of its right to protection from such excesses.

However, while this flexing of the con-

sumer muscle is both good and necessary, we must guard against unreasonable demands and encroachments on the business community, since excess by any standard is wrong.

It is with this thought in mind that I commend a letter written to me by a businessman—a man who appeals for fairness for merchants as well as consumers. So thought-provoking is this fine letter, that I am including its contents here with the hope that each of my colleagues will benefit from reading it:

JULY 23, 1970.

HON. ODIN LANGEN,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. LANGEN: This is a letter of protest in regard to what is being said in the current hearings on consumer credit. I recognize this is not a legislative matter at this point, but it may become one, and I feel that it is time for someone to step up to defend the retail merchant. He has been depicted in the newspapers as a greedy, grasping person, willing to pull the unsuspecting customer into his credit trap, and then using the bill collector to take everything the poor fellow has. Too, Senator Proxmire seems to believe that every grantor of credit is endowed with superhuman powers and never makes a mistake. His attack on computerized billing is absolutely ridiculous.

Let's look at reality.

The average credit grantor is a merchant in your home town. His customers are your friends. Most pay their bills promptly and never complain. They are probably not charged for the privilege of credit. Possibly, five percent represent a statistical risk. This can be calculated mathematically. Of these five percent, occasionally there will be one who does not pay because of personal problems. His intentions are good, but something happens and he can't come up with the money. In most instances, the merchant goes along with the debtor. Almost none of these people are turned over to collection agencies. The final type is the credit criminal or deadbeat. This person gets credit under false pretenses and then finds some way not to pay. He is part of the vocal minority who seem to be heard lately complaining about harassment. Why is he given consideration over the honest merchant who has to pay his bills, meet a payroll, and who supports his local community?

Only the deadbeat is turned over for collection. I know because we operate a collection agency in conjunction with our association. These people buy without thought to payment. They lie to get credit and then "skip." When they are found, they scream harassment. This isn't fair. Why doesn't Congress give consideration to protective laws for businessmen? Aren't they entitled to use legal means to collect money owed them? The merchant pays 40% to a collection agency to handle an account. This means the creditor is giving up not only his profit, but part of the cost of the merchandise, too. (Average gross profit in the retail lumber industry is 25-28%—net profit under 4%). A merchant won't do this if there is any other way to get his money.

It is disheartening to find that consumer groups are becoming champions of deadbeats. This means that the merchant will have to screen people for credit much more thoroughly. It means people will be refused credit. Then we will probably hear that we must give consideration to everyone who requests credit regardless of his past record and probably a federal law will be passed forcing the merchant to grant credit to bad risks.

There is no question in my mind that truth-in-lending has been a snare and delusion to the consumer. He is being told what he pays for credit privileges, but he undoubtedly is paying more for credit than he did before. He is paying for it in higher prices to begin with since bookwork costs money, in higher prices because of the elimination of discounts for cash because of onerous reporting provisions, and the elevation of service charges. He really can't shop for credit because every credit grantor has about the same terms. Regulation Z almost guarantees this. Now, garnishment is about wiped out as a means for collecting money from the deadbeat type of debtor. This means that overall credit is going to cost each of us more. As more legislation is passed giving the

debtor more room to maneuver, it will continue to cost each of us more to get credit, and terms will become more restrictive.

I think we all realize that our system of government has been stable because there has always been credit available for growth. Now it appears that certain elements want to cause problems which will restrict growth. We give credit now because we can reasonably be expected to be repaid. If debtors can run to the government for protection against paying bills, how can government expect that credit will be granted freely?

How do we get out of this mess? Frankly, I don't know. Laws once passed seldom are taken off the books. What would help is for someone with stature in government to defend the home town merchant, to tell the world that the merchant isn't Scrooge. Our only spokesmen are industry and association people representing retailers. Their impact before committees is nil because they are representing the very people the committees are out to get. Our only salvation is to get some congressmen on our side like Proxmire et al. If this isn't done soon, the small merchants will quit, small towns will die and we will all be at the mercy of the giant merchandiser. We won't like this but we will have to accept it. Will the consumer like it? No, but he won't have any choice.

Any comments and suggestions you have will be gratefully received.

ARTICLE SPEAKS PERSUASIVELY FOR THE FUNDING AND CON- STRUCTION OF THE DICKEY PROJECT

HON. WILLIAM D. HATHAWAY

OF MAINE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 29, 1970

Mr. HATHAWAY. Mr. Speaker, the waters of the St. John River flow idly to the sea, their potential for generation of electric energy wasted as Congress delays the inevitable construction of the Dickey-Lincoln School hydroelectric power project.

Meanwhile, helpless citizens pay the price in the form of curtailed services and needless inconvenience. In New York City and elsewhere in the Northeast, earlier predictions of power shortages have become a grim reality.

The consequences are well documented in an article published in today's issue of the Wall Street Journal. Thinking my colleagues would find it of interest, I submit the article for publication in the RECORD.

The facts, as I have so often said, speak persuasively for the funding and construction of the Dickey project.

The article follows:

ONE-THIRD OF NEW YORK'S SUBWAYS HALTED
AS POWER SHORTAGE HITS NORTHEAST U.S.

The long-propheesed power crisis arrived yesterday in large sections of an Eastern Seaboard already sweltering in humid, 90-degree-plus temperatures.

New York City suffered the greatest impact. One-third of the subway system's electrically powered trains were sidelined in mid-afternoon, and the remainder ran at 18 m.p.h. Express subway trains normally travel at 40 m.p.h. to 45 m.p.h. on long runs between stops. The subway cutback followed a 1:15 p.m. appeal by Consolidated Edison Co. of New York which asked customers to cut all

nonessential services and began bringing in power from other areas. That move forced the New York State power pool to slash voltages in the eastern half of the state. At 5:40 p.m., after the peak demand for electricity had eased, normal power levels were restored.

In New England, Boston Edison Co., New England Electric System and all other utility companies reduced voltage by 5%, just as demand for electricity hit record levels.

The immediate cause of the crisis is a protracted spell of hot, humid weather. Weather Bureau officials said a stable high-pressure area from the Gulf of Mexico to New England has trapped air beneath it, in effect baking the areas under it and sending air pollution to dangerous levels. It is in periods of such extremely high temperatures that utilities experience their greatest demand as residential and commercial air conditioners run full tilt along with other power uses.

In New York City, though, the problem was compounded.

Consolidated Edison, which serves nearly all of New York City and Westchester County, has been crippled by the loss of 17% of its electric generating capacity in the last month. As demand climbed higher yesterday, the utility asked the Metropolitan Transit Authority and about 250 other major users of electricity to cut their electric usage as much as possible.

These included the New York Telephone Co., which immediately switched to its own 35,000 kilowatts of emergency generating capacity, the multibuilding Rockefeller Center complex and the Empire State Building.

Many buildings were unable to switch some operations to their own emergency power generators, while relying on the utility for other power.

But many other companies without standby facilities had to curtail operations. American Express Co., for example, received a call from Con Ed at about noon. It promptly closed down the air conditioning units at its travel operations center at 30 Church St., and sent all personnel "nonessential" to full-scale operations home, a spokesman said.

For many subway riders, the power cutback meant crowded subway platforms and even more crowded trains. The subway platforms aren't air conditioned, and some including the busy Lexington Avenue IRT station under Grand Central Station were much hotter than the 90 degrees outside. Most subway trains aren't air conditioned, either.

The transit authority said 4.5 million persons ride the subways each day, but couldn't estimate the number affected by the service curtailment. Many responded to the cutback by attempting to reach their homes by taxis, buses or by walking.

Other main transportation lines, which also operate on electricity, weren't affected. These include the Long Island Railroad, the Penn Central Railroad and the Port Authority Trans-Hudson system.

At Rockefeller Center, elevator operations were cut back about 20%, with 62 of 303 elevators being closed down. All escalators not deemed essential also were stopped.

Rockefeller Center wasn't the only building complex to relinquish some electricity. At mid-afternoon, many buildings around the city cut their lighting in lobbies, halls and reception areas. Among them were the U.S. Steel offices at 71 Broadway, where the lobby was darkened in sharp contrast to the glare of the 90-plus degree heat outside.

With no immediate break in the heat wave anticipated, many officials expect more difficulties today.

New York's Gov. Rockefeller ordered state government offices in the eastern and southeastern section of the state to reduce their use of electricity in peak hours. He didn't say how the reduction was to be achieved, only

that it had to be done, the Associated Press reported.

Meanwhile, Sen. Muskie (D., Maine) said a Senate subcommittee will hold hearings Aug. 3 on New York City's power crisis. He said he was concerned that efforts to solve the power problems may implement "hasty, ill-conceived steps which might lead to greater damage to our environment," the AP reported.

PROCESS TO SAVE MERCURY FROM WASTE IS DEVELOPED

HON. CHARLES A. VANIK

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 29, 1970

Mr. VANIK. Mr. Speaker, I would like to direct attention of the House to an article appearing in *The Evening Star* of July 28, 1970, entitled "Process to Save Mercury from Waste is Developed." Ray J. Donlan, a chemist and chief of the water laboratory in Lawrence, Mass., experimental station of the public health department, relates in this article a simple process that he claims can remove 99 percent of the mercury from liquid chemical wastes.

The process precipitates impure mercury from the liquid chemical wastes. Mr. Donlan claims that it is a commonly known process among chemists which involves simply leaving pieces of aluminum metal in the solution overnight.

I commend Chemist Donlan on his recent research and request that the U.S. Public Health Service continue to drive ahead on mercury research. Also, the U.S. Public Health Service should be responsible for keeping tighter tabs on mercury levels at water purification stations throughout the country and should report mercury levels to the public monthly as present air pollution levels are done daily.

If chemist Donlan's method of mercury removal should become available on a large scale, I suggest the installation of such units in all water purification stations and reservoirs throughout the country. Humans have a very low tolerance level for mercury consumed in drinking water. Mercury can produce irreversible damage to the liver, kidneys, and central nervous system as well as to mothers during pregnancy.

Now is the time to act on mercury poisoning in our drinking water before it further reduces the quality of our present environment and future generations.

The article is as follows:

[From the *Evening Star*, July 28, 1970]

PROCESS TO SAVE MERCURY FROM WASTE IS DEVELOPED

LAWRENCE, MASS.—A state chemist says he has developed a simple process to screen out 99 percent of the mercury from chemical wastes—and make money too.

Chemist Ray J. Donlan, chief of the water laboratory at the Public Health Department experiment station here, said yesterday the process has been used successfully at the station for more than four months.

Donlan's comments came three days after the U.S. Justice Department announced it will file suits to require 10 companies to end

discharge of mercury into navigable lakes and rivers.

Donlan said the process he developed involves placing a few scraps of aluminum into a mercury bearing solution and leaving them there overnight.

The mercury precipitates out and can be recovered and sold, in impure form, for about \$4.50 a pound, he said. Purified, it is worth around \$30 a pound.

Donlan said he thinks "every chemist is aware of the process," but he believes his laboratory is the first to make use of it.

"We discharge our wastes into the Lawrence sewage system, which flows into the Merrimac River, so we thought we should do a little housekeeping ourselves."

Donlan said the Lawrence laboratory began trying the process months ago, long before the discovery of potentially dangerous mercury concentrations in some fish.

AIR POLLUTION—THREAT TO AGRICULTURE

HON. CHESTER L. MIZE

OF KANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 29, 1970

Mr. MIZE. Mr. Speaker, it seems incredible, but air pollution costs American agriculture more each year in crop and livestock damage alone than the Congress has appropriated to control its ill effects on everyone, rural as well as urban.

Urban dwellers are not the only ones with a vital interest in the control of air pollutants from automobiles, factories, and solid waste disposal units.

Perhaps when all Americans realize that every citizen has a stake in the restoration of our environment and an improved quality of life, private industry and government can cooperate to fulfill the commitment that President Nixon has made for this decade.

Since so few persons realize the stake rural America has in containment of air contaminants, I should extend my remarks in the *Record* at this point by including an excellent article entitled "Pollution" from the August 1970 issue of *The Farm Journal*.

The article follows:

POLLUTION: HERE ARE THE FACTS TO HELP YOU COPE WITH THE OUTCRY AGAINST AIR POLLUTION

(By Glenn Lorang)

Almost overnight, air pollution threatens to spawn a rash of legal restrictions that could work a real hardship on many farmers.

That would be ironic because agriculture suffers much more from city air pollution than any damage it causes.

Air pollutants already cause an estimated \$500 million a year in crop and livestock damage, whereas agriculture adds less than 1% of the contaminants spewed into the atmosphere.

Actually, farm crops, grasses and trees are air purifiers that metabolize some noxious gases and release oxygen as a by-product.

"If you could bag the oxygen given off by 625 square feet of turf, it would sustain a grown man for a year," says George McVey, scientist with O. M. Scott & Co., Marysville, Ohio. The company is telling that fact in its advertisements on lawn care.

Some of the damage to plants comes from stack gases which contain sulfur dioxide, fluorides, lead and hydrogen sulfide. But the major source of air pollution is the gasoline-

burning engine. Just one automobile consumes more than 1000 times as much oxygen as does a person. Says Philip Leighton, Emeritus Professor of Chemistry, Stanford University: "To dilute an automobile's exhaust gases to harmless concentrations requires from 5 to 10 million times as much air as does the driver. In other words, just one automobile, driving continuously along a Los Angeles County freeway, needs as much air to disperse its waste as do all the people in the County for breathing."

Other figures that point up the problem come from John T. Middleton, Director of the National Center for Air Pollution Control, U.S. Dept. of Health, Education and Welfare. He estimates that of the 142 million tons of pollutants released into the air over the nation each year, 86 million tons comes from motor vehicles. Other sources include manufacturing, 23 million tons; generating electric power, 20 million tons; heating, 8 million tons; and refuse disposal, 5 million tons.

"Damage to vegetation is one of the most widespread effects of polluted air," says Middleton. "Indeed, many plants are more sensitive to air pollution than are humans."

SO, YOU HAVE A STAKE IN KEEPING AIR POLLUTION UNDER CONTROL

Sulfur dioxide from fuels used in homes and factories can slow down and stunt the growth of alfalfa, cereal grains, sweet corn, orchard grass, red clover and a number of other crops.

"Especially damaging to vegetables in the East are photochemical gases formed by the reaction of sunlight on chemicals in the exhaust of motor vehicles," says Robert Daines, Rutgers University, New Brunswick, N.J.

Ozone, one of these air toxicants, is a threat to tobacco, field and forage crops, leafy vegetables and fruit trees as well. It is responsible for the kill of the Ponderosa pine in the San Bernardino National Forest 80 miles east of Los Angeles.

"Ozone in the atmosphere at $\frac{1}{10}$ of a part per million for two hours will burn back the tips of onions and kill 20% of the foliage," says W. H. Gabelman, University of Wisconsin. "Every once in awhile, some fields get plastered with enough to make them look like hay fields and the yield will drop to less than half of what it might have been."

Peroxyacetyl nitrate (PAN), another chemical created by the reaction of sunlight on exhaust gases, will kill both ornamental plants and field crops including tobacco, alfalfa and a long list of leafy vegetables.

Some gases, like nitrogen dioxide, may slow plant growth with no visible injury.

Except in the Far West and East, damage from sulfur dioxide, ozone and PAN is limited to the areas, immediately surrounding urban areas. Because pollution in these areas is likely to persist, the best way to avoid crop losses is the development of resistant strains. For instance, Wisconsin scientists have developed hybrid onions which are highly resistant to ozone damage.

It is tough to collect damages from a big corporation when your crops or animals suffer, as James F. Noerr, Mifflin County, Pa., will tell you. Noerr filed suit against Sitkin Industries, Inc., after some of his 56 cows died and others had to be destroyed because of lead poisoning. Sitkin denies that lead from its melting of old batteries and radiators is the cause. But the company has installed filters.

"Now we believe we have evidence of chronic lead poisoning on two other dairies," says David C. Kradle, Pennsylvania State University. "It is a very subtle form with no clinical signs, but it does interfere with reproduction and cuts milk production 20% to 25%."

Fluorides from aluminum smelters and phosphate plants have killed trees and crops and harmed animals.

"A little fluorine makes teeth better, but too much softens them," says C. S. Hobbs, University of Tennessee.

"By the fourth year, our Hereford brood cows had worn their teeth to the gum line," says Walter Proffitt, Knox County, Tenn., who grazed pasture next to an aluminum plant. "Now that the aluminum plant has installed filters, the problem has cleared up."

A threatened ban on fired burning has Pacific Northwest grass seed growers racing against time to find other ways to control a hundred different diseases, weeds and insect pests. Originally used only to control disease, burning stimulates some kinds of grass and greatly increases seed yields. Tests at Oregon State University showed fine fescue seed yields dropped 75% when alternate-year burning was substituted for burning every year.

"No one wants to stop burning more than the grass seed grower," says Charles Kizer, Marion County, Ore. "But if there is a complete ban on burning next year, there isn't one grower in 10 who would survive." Kizer and other growers sponsored legislation to control burning, which Oregon Governor Tom McCall labeled "totally inadequate," even though it permits a complete burning ban "for the public safety."

Compared with other sources of air pollution, field burning is not large. In the Willamette Valley, the Air Pollution Authority estimates that grass and wheat stubble burning emits only 5 to 10 thousand tons of pollution each year, while 180,000 motor vehicles release 160,000 tons. "The 2000 acres we burn put less toxic material into the air than 5 automobiles each driven 30,000 miles a year," says Arden Jacklin, Spokane County, Wash.

But the field burning is done during a 6-week period in late summer. "And when you burn, everyone knows it," says Herb Jacobson, Spokane County, Wash. Jacobson is president of the Intermountain Grass Growers Assn., which is sponsoring research to find new ways to eliminate burning.

The association also finances a half dozen weather stations, and its members burn only when winds favor smoke dispersion.

They also keep the public informed so non-farmers will know that growers are attempting to phase out burning. "If we take a negative attitude on pollution, our sins will be jammed down our throats real fast," says Gerald W. Barnes, Lane County, Ore. "The best plan is to try to adapt and to support research to find alternatives to such practices as burning grassland."

WHY WE AMERICANS CHOSE THE EAGLE AS OUR NATIONAL SYMBOL

HON. G. WILLIAM WHITEHURST

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 29, 1970

Mr. WHITEHURST. Mr. Speaker, on the occasion of the visit of Prince Charles and Princess Anne to Washington, some question was raised as to why we Americans have selected the eagle as our national symbol. It is noteworthy that so few people were able to answer this question. The best answer that I have seen came from a Latin master at the Norfolk Academy in my district. Mr. Hansford Lee Farris in a letter to the editor of the Virginian-Pilot on Wednesday, July 22, wrote in part:

Many of our founding fathers, who quite literally fought for our freedom, were ardent admirers and highly capable students of Roman civilization. And since they knew that from the time of Marius (157-86 BC) the eagle (aquila) had been the standard of the Roman legions whose duty it was to fight for that civilization, it was clearly no accident that this symbol of the power of republican government in the Ancient World should become the symbol of the first republic in the New World.

With this explanation, I hope that everyone is now in a position to answer this simple but rather important question which we as Americans should have full knowledge of.

WELCOME, DR. JOHN BUNZEL

HON. DON EDWARDS

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 29, 1970

Mr. EDWARDS of California. Mr. Speaker, a new president has been appointed at San Jose State College. He is Dr. John Bunzel, formerly chairman of the political science department at San Francisco State College and now with the center for advanced studies in behavioral science at the University of Santa Clara. His impressive professional credentials are matched by a record of equally impressive courage and personal integrity, demonstrated by his conduct during the faculty strike at San Francisco State last year. I would like to join with the rest of my community in welcoming Dr. Bunzel to San Jose and wishing him all success in his new position. There being no objection, I would like to add the following editorial from the San Jose Mercury on the importance of this most welcome appointment:

NEW PRESIDENT OF SAN JOSE

Dr. John Bunzel, the newly-appointed president of San Jose State College, comes to his new post with an impressive record of qualifications and experience. He will need them.

San Jose State, perhaps more so than any other California state college today, is overcrowded, under-funded and—to a lesser degree than some other state colleges—beleaguered and belabored by a minority of politically-oriented students and faculty.

The job of a college president is never easy. It is harder than it needs to be in California today precisely because society is in a state of flux. Confusion abounds—about the nation's war aims, about its own internal priorities and about the state and direction of its economy. Public institutions of higher education are a focus for these tensions and confusions, and the college president is truly the man in the middle.

Dr. Bunzel, as a political scientist and sociologist, is surely familiar with the problems he will face at San Jose State, but knowing what to expect and coping effectively with it when it arrives are often two entirely different things. If he is to do the best possible job, Dr. Bunzel will need the confidence and cooperation of his faculty, his fellow administrators, the students of the college and the citizens of San Jose. He deserves them, if for no other reason than that every man deserves a fair chance to succeed.

There are, of course, more and better reasons for strong community cooperation with the new San Jose State College president. The college is a precious community asset. It can provide—and has on occasion provided—leadership and manpower for many community development projects. It would be a loss both to the school and the community if this relationship should be weakened.

Equally important, San Jose State College has the potential to become a first-rate university. It is well on the way to that status now, and it is imperative therefore that its president be a man dedicated to the pursuit of truth and knowledge and demanding of scholarship and professional competence from his faculty.

Dr. Bunzel's record as a professor of political science and, most recently, as chairman of the political science department at San Francisco State College, suggests that he understands the nature and value of scholarship and the responsibilities of a college—responsibilities to itself, to academic freedom and to society as a whole.

It is a pleasure to welcome Dr. Bunzel to San Jose and to wish him a successful and productive tenure as president of San Jose State College.

FOUNDER'S AWARD

HON. JOHN O. MARSH, JR.

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 29, 1970

Mr. MARSH. Mr. Speaker, recently the Izaak Walton League of America at their 48th annual convention held at the Golden Triangle Hotel in Norfolk, Va., in July of this year, presented the "Founder's Award," which is their highest award, to our colleague, JOHN SAYLOR of the 22d District of Pennsylvania.

The nature of the award and Congressman SAYLOR's achievements which led to his selection, are more fully set out in the news release of the Izaak Walton League, which I call to the attention of the membership.

Although it is not mentioned in the news release, I bring to the attention of the House that Mr. SAYLOR serves as a trustee of the Massanutten Military Academy which is located in my congressional district at Woodstock, Va. Inasmuch as I have the opportunity to serve with him as a trustee on that same board, I can state that the distinguished service reflected in the award of the Izaak Walton League is also found in his service to Massanutten Military Academy.

The article follows:

NORFOLK.—Congressman John P. Saylor (R-Pa.) has been selected to receive the prestigious Founders Award of the Izaak Walton League of America. It is the highest award given by this citizen-conservation group which is presently holding its annual convention in Norfolk, Va.

The Founders Award is given in honor of the 54 men who organized the League in 1922, and is awarded "to that person, group or institution judged to have made an outstanding contribution to the conservation of America's renewable natural resources."

In announcing the Award to Congressman

Saylor, Raymond A. Halk, president of the Izaak Walton League of America, noted, "Congressman Saylor has always been one of the first to stand up and really fight for clean air and water, the establishment of parks and our other environmental needs. He has been one of the strongest conservation leaders in Congress."

Saylor, who has served in Congress continuously since 1949, has been a staunch supporter of conservation legislation and the efforts of conservation groups. Notable among his efforts in Congress is his strong support of the Clean Water Restoration Act of 1966 and its annual funding. Saylor was one of seven key Congressmen who successfully sparked a House vote to increase the funding of the Act in 1969 from \$214 million to an \$800 million Senate-House agreement. He also gave strong support to the measure's \$1 billion funding this year in the House.

Saylor has also been a prime supporter and cosponsor of other air and water pollution legislation and of national parks' bills. He has been a strong supporter of youth conservation legislation presently pending in Congress. This measure would annually provide summer jobs in outdoor related federal government programs for youngsters 13 to 17 years of age.

He is the first member of Congress to receive the National Parks Association award for Distinguished Service on behalf of national parks and monuments, 1954; a recipient of the National Conservation Award for distinguished service to conservation given by major conservation groups, 1958; named Conservationist of the Year by the Pennsylvania Outdoor Writers Association, 1965; received the National Wildlife Federation's Conservationist of the Year Award, 1964.

He served on the President's Outdoor Recreation Resources Review Commission and the Public Land Law Review Commission which just submitted its final report to Congress and the Administration. Saylor is presently serving on the American Revolution Bicentennial Commission; National Forest Reservation Commission, and the House Interior and Insular Affairs Committee.

A native of Johnstown, Pa., Saylor is a graduate of Mercersburg Academy, Franklin, Pa., and Marshall College, Dickinson Law School. He received an Honorary LL.D. from Saint Francis College.

A World War II Navy veteran, he is a Captain in the Naval Reserve.

THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA CRIME BILL

HON. RICHARD T. HANNA

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 29, 1970

Mr. HANNA. Mr. Speaker, the District of Columbia crime bill has been signed by the President. The task now is to calm unreasonable fear and to make the law work as fairly and effectively as possible. It should be remembered by liberals that when the income tax bill was enacted, conservatives cried, "the power to tax is the power to destroy." Justice Holmes' reply should be applied to this crime bill: "Not while this Court sits."

Let us, however, be cognizant of the basic and compelling facts that remain unchanged with the passage of the new crime bill package. The conditions in the

streets and in the prisons are turning out criminals faster than society has a present ability to control. However, it is a mistaken premise that short cuts are possible in effectively coping with the complex problem of crime. Crime has many tangled roots. To treat correctively its basic feeders requires large sums of money. Society should not expect impressive progress until it has effectively applied and invested substantial sums. The cost of crime is enormous. The cost of lasting cures is equally impressive.

Unfortunately, the cost of crime is indirect and not tagged as such in the budget of governments. It is, therefore, more readily tolerated even while being decryd by political leaders. To provide sufficient money to carry out the reforms in the new crime bills and to effect other needed reforms would require budget commitments of identified and directed funds. Political leaders and this administration are not likely to assume the burdens this implies.

On the other hand, those who expect that mandatory sentences, wiretapping, preventive detention, and the "no knock" provision, will make either a dramatic or lasting imprint on the pervasive presence of antisocial behavior are heading for a port of disillusionment and disappointment.

SALT AND SAFEGUARD

HON. JEFFERY COHELAN

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 29, 1970

Mr. COHELAN. Mr. Speaker, the Senate is about to begin debate on the military procurement authorization for fiscal 1971.

A vital component of this bill is the authorization for phase 11 of the Safeguard ABM. As is well known by my colleagues I have opposed deployment of the ABM since its inception nearly half a decade ago.

While the House voted to authorize the funds for Safeguard for fiscal 1971, it appears likely that the Senate will delete this program when it considers the bill.

This deletion would be a most constructive step.

In its lead editorial for July 27, 1970, the New York Times forceful case for this deletion. I strongly recommend it to my colleagues.

The editorial follows:

SALT AND SAFEGUARD AND THE FUTURE

The Administration's claim that success in the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks (SALT) with Russia requires Congressional authorization of an expanded Safeguard program is the least credible of the many unconvincing arguments made for this antiballistic missile (ABM) system in the past year.

The Soviet Union has suggested that ABMs could be limited at "zero level," rather than at low or higher levels. This apparent readiness to ban missile defense entirely opens an attractive prospect. The hypothetical Pentagon thesis that the Soviet Union might clandestinely "upgrade" its thousands of antiaircraft missiles into

an effective antimissile defense is based on the theory that they would be secretly linked to the giant ABM radars. If those radars and the rest of the embryo Soviet ABM system around Moscow are dismantled, that would also demolish the argument that Russia could alter the power balance quickly by deploying secretly manufactured ABM launchers around those radars, which take five or six years to construct.

If missile defense were entirely banned, the Pentagon's argument for deploying MIRV multiple warhead missiles at this time would also collapse. MIRV (multiple independently targeted re-entry vehicle) is sought to insure penetration of a heavy Soviet missile defense if Moscow should build one. With a "zero ABM" agreement at SALT, no one could argue that the Soviet Union could deploy a missile defense in the future faster than the United States could increase its offensive capability to overcome it.

Yet the Nixon Administration, in its new Vienna proposals, reportedly has not proposed a MIRV ban; on the contrary, it has made unnecessary demands for intrusive on-site inspection, something it knows is anathema to Moscow, in discussions at SALT of a possible MIRV deployment halt. For eighteen months the Pentagon has been permitted to press ahead on testing and, more recently, deployment of the American MIRV.

The Soviet suggestion of an ABM ban evidently has not been rejected; it reportedly remains among the alternative "low level" ABM limits presented in the American proposals. But there are indications that the Administration prefers, and will seek at SALT, an ABM agreement that would permit both sides to have systems equal to or larger than the obsolete 64-missile defense the Soviet Union has deployed.

The agreement the Administration now projects at Vienna would not halt the strategic arms race, but would continue it in a seemingly controlled form. The degree of control, however, would be an illusion.

With ABM systems deployed on both sides, even at a low level, there would be a continuous race for qualitative improvement and, every few years, replacement of the system with a new generation of antimissiles, radars and computers. Far more dangerous, absence of limits on MIRV would permit a rapid multiplication of separately-targeted nuclear delivery vehicles in the strategic offensive missile forces of both sides. A five-fold increase is now under way in the American forces, from 1,700 to about 8,000 nuclear delivery vehicles.

Moreover, a race to improve the accuracy of MIRV warheads would also be beyond control, giving each side at some point the capability of destroying the other's fixed land-based ICBMs. Fixed land-based missiles would be made obsolete by this development and both countries would be forced to replace them with sea-based or mobile land-based ICBMs.

The tens of billions of dollars that would be devoured in this post-SALT arms race is reason enough to seek to avoid such an evolution. But even more important would be the dangerous instabilities that would be repeatedly introduced by permitting the stable nuclear balance that now exists to give way to a new kind of missile race.

The issue that confronts the Senate as it opens debate on the defense authorization bill, which includes funds both for ABM expansion and the rapidly growing MIRV deployment program, is not how to help the Administration achieve the SALT agreement it seeks. The real issue is how to influence the Administration to seek the kind of SALT agreement the country and the world needs. That would be an agreement banning both ABM and MIRV.

The Senate has already overwhelmingly voted a resolution urging the Administration to propose a halt in ABM and MIRV deployment on both sides while SALT talks proceed. The need now, is voting the defense authorization bill, is to put "in escrow" whatever funds are voted for ABM and MIRV deployment until the Administration, which has ignored the moratorium vote, implements the Senate resolution.

It may be inconvenient to permit the ABM and MIRV programs to grind to a halt pending the outcome of the SALT negotiations. But no strategic necessity requires that they go forward at this time, while every imperative of arms control demands that they be halted before it is too late.

HEW PROGRAMS NEED URGENT REVISION

HON. LAURENCE J. BURTON

OF UTAH

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 29, 1970

Mr. BURTON of Utah. Mr. Speaker, revising and consolidating anachronistic governmental systems can be an awesome and often obliterative task. HEW, under the able leadership of Secretary Elliot L. Richardson, has accepted the challenge of attempting to improve the operation and delivery of its program services.

In defining HEW's place under President Nixon's "New Federalism," Secretary Richardson emphasizes the necessity for expedient reforms in his department. Specifically, the four areas under consideration are: Grant consolidation, fund transfers, grant streamlining, and decentralization.

In past administrations we have watched the burgeoning of governmental bureaus beyond all possible organizational control. Let us take stock of these bureaucratic expansions and try to consolidate and correct with a sense of urgency. For 1 year now, a grant consolidation bill has been dormant in Congress, while thousands of federally subsidized agencies are forced either to shut down operations or are temporarily in limbo waiting for funds. I urge immediate attention to Secretary Richardson's proposals and commend the text of his July 27, 1970 speech to the National Association of Counties, in Atlanta, Ga., to the attention of my colleagues:

"TOWARD A WORKABLE FEDERALISM"

(An address by the Honorable Elliot L. Richardson)

An historian looking back on our epoch might record something totally unique in human experience. He would see that within the working lifespan of a generation we have reached the moon, conquered and eradicated age-old crippling diseases, and provided a vast majority of our citizens with a previously unimaginable standard of material welfare.

That incredible flowering of our abilities has created the expectation that our social problems can be solved by application of the same visionary dynamism. We have learned to hope, for the first time in human experience, that a society can be constructed which is at once free of poverty, abundant

in educational opportunity, tolerant of racial and ethnic diversity, and liberating for the human spirit.

The full potential for achieving the objectives of social and human renewal never existed before. At the same time, the very existence of that potential has created the expectation that these objectives can be quickly reached.

I speak for our whole Department when I say we are imbued with a sense of excitement, urgency and mission in our own determination to confront these problems. And HEW, in its interdisciplinary approach, represents the cutting edge of the Federal thrust.

Yet we who are among those Menckens once called the "chronic hoppers of the world" have also learned to temper optimism with caution. We have or should have learned that it is easier to articulate problem dimensions than problem solutions. It's too easy to fall prey to the "Washington syndrome"—the simple-minded theory that social problems will just disappear if the Federal government throws enough dollars and statute books at them. And we should also have learned that the cruel and exaggerated rhetoric of unkept promises can threaten the very credibility of government itself.

But with these high hopes—with all of our resources and dedication—what is the problem? What are we waiting for? Why hasn't the war on our social problems been won? Some would say the problem is more money, and they would be correct insofar as the spending possibilities for improving mankind's lot are virtually limitless. Some would say manpower is the problem. They would be right to the extent that skilled manpower distributed throughout the spectrum of human service professions is always a scarce commodity.

But there is something else—less visible than dollars or manpower, but at this stage even more vital to our success as a nation than those alone. I am speaking of the very structure of our Federal system, and the innate capacity of our pluralistic governmental institutions at all levels to respond and deliver in an orderly, viable, and coordinated way. This, to appropriate the title of Samuel Lubell's new book, is the hidden crisis in American politics.

In the arena of Federal, State, and local relations we are embarked on a great new mission of reform.

In a task as noble and urgent as that of the Founding Fathers, we are redefining for our own age the meanings and functions of the Federal system. Very few new values have emerged in the American political tradition. The ideals of liberty, equality, and justice have always been enshrined in our ethos. The question is how to realize them—and that is why—as it is now—issues of organization and procedure, and of the rational allocation of power and responsibility, have always been at the heart of our political debate.

Our reform effort is proceeding under great pressures. In some areas, the present non-system is near breakdown. Many of our overlapping and cumbersome institutional vehicles could have been suited for the Age of the Baroque—but they are not for ours. Crises are no longer so kind as to occur one at a time. We know that our powers as a society are very great. We know, by the same token, that the potential human consequences of error or inattention have been magnified beyond comprehension. No longer can we rely on the adage that the good Lord will look out for orphans, idiots, and the United States of America.

We know these things—and that is why I want to reaffirm to this assembly our unequivocal commitment to the fundamental

structural reform essential for a workable Federal system.

In articulating his concept of the New Federalism, the President has spoken eloquently of the need to "test new engines of social progress." The first priority item on that list of initiatives is the Family Assistance Plan. Having now testified on the bill in depth before the Senate Finance Committee, I am more convinced than ever of the critical need for welfare reform, as embodied in the Family Assistance Act. I hardly need convince his audience of that need. You who work daily with the welfare problem see the human tragedies of deprivation and despair. I daresay you also must live with the administrative morass—the costly, dependency-creating patchwork of disincentives that is the present system. We welcome your strong support—and we have profited by your questions. We need the bill, and we need it now—and I trust that by continuing our close working relationship, we will prevail.

Welfare reform is only one of the pillars underlying the New Federalism. Revenue sharing, as the President affirmed in his message a year ago, is a reform equally vital to strengthen our Federal political structure and enhance its responsiveness.

Revenue sharing is a fiscal tool and a political instrument. Given the present budgetary and taxation structures, Federal revenues in the near future are likely to increase at a rate faster than the National economy. The reverse is true at the local level—a fact with which you county officials are all too familiar. State and local revenues depend heavily on sales and property taxes. In spite of unpopular increases, these sources have not kept pace with economic growth, even as expenditures at the local level are tending to exceed that growth. The result is what President Nixon termed a "fiscal mismatch" characterized by Federal surpluses and local deficits.

The President's proposal supplements existing Federal assistance. It encourages maintenance of existing tax efforts. It is simple and understandable, and by its pass-through provisions, it is equitable in dividing funds between State and local governments.

The proposal, however, is more than a device for fiscal relief. It is a political instrument of first importance for decentralizing the intergovernmental effort and for giving greater decision-making authority to chief executives on the State, county, and city levels. Here is where the problems lie; and it is a matter of our most profound philosophical commitment that you should have the resources and flexibility to confront them.

But there is yet another obstacle to an effective federalism. It is less visible, but no less important, both in itself, and because it constitutes an incredibly wasteful diversion both of money and manpower. I speak now of the virtual strangulation of Federal efforts as grant programs proliferate and as more resources are continually forced into narrow constricting funnels long since inadequate to the task.

This subject has been of concern to me since my earlier tenure in HEW more than a decade ago.

Without attempting to qualify myself as a prophet, I want to recall my prediction of four years ago as a Massachusetts State official explaining the purposes of my proposed Community Services Act. I quote:

We are beginning to forge a whole new arsenal of weapons for the conquest of educational, emotional, and economic and physical handicaps. And in the process, we are discovering that the most serious barriers to the effective use of these weapons are barriers of communication, of jurisdictional jealousy, and of structural rigidity.

The needs of people are seldom adequately met by any single one of the narrow categorical programs through which help has traditionally been channeled. The existing sources of help, moreover, are too numerous, too scattered, and too much isolated from each other. Their administration tends to be both cumbersome and impersonal. The result is greatly to impair the effectiveness as well as the efficiency with which we are able to bring to bear on human needs our available resources of funds and manpower.

The inevitable result will be overlap, discontinuity, confusion, and—in consequence—disappointment of the very expectations to which (these programs) gave rise.

I can only report that in the four years since that statement, the situation has worsened.

A Border State neighborhood health center recently reported to us in dismay that its most serious operational mistake was to apply to numerous Federal agencies for funding. Grant application expenses exceeded \$51,000. Expert staff time diverted from productive work was irreparably lost. Federal agency guidelines were inconsistent, application procedures varied widely, and review levels were multilayered and complex. I quote from the Project Director's letter to the Department:

I see now that I made a gross mistake to encourage my staff to make approaches to a broad spectrum of Federal agencies to fund different aspects of our program. None of the agencies seem to understand that we do not run categorical programs at the Health Center, but that we conduct integrated, family-oriented team delivery of service, and the task of educating all our reviewers to this is really too much. The other Neighborhood Health Centers . . . who receive the large bulk of their funds . . . from a single agency have certainly been wiser and more productive. It would be so much easier to deal with one agency which would be completely familiar with our program and we in turn knowledgeable of their procedures and requirements.

Most of the phenomenal growth of Federal programs in recent years has occurred within the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. When asked recently what it was like to return to HEW, I thought a minute and replied that it was like meeting an old long lost friend who had grown very fat. The Department now administers 260 programs, over double the figure of a decade ago, and more in number than all of the other domestic agencies combined. Almost \$19 billion is spent through some 40,000 institutions and agencies.

The ability of these State and local agencies to secure funds and to spend them effectively is, therefore, crucial to the success of HEW's central mission. But countless examples of the experiences of Federal grant recipients similar to the story of the border State health center strongly suggest that all is not well. Their stories remind me somewhat of Bob Benchley's treatise, "Fishing from the Viewpoint of the Fish."

A Neighborhood Health Program in Denver which utilized twelve different governmental funding sources encountered almost insuperable difficulties in grant administration.

The obstacle course they faced included diverse grant periods, inconsistent program regulations, varying payment methods, and dissimilar reporting requirements. At one point, chaos ensued because all funding agencies conducted separate audits within a 45-day period. As a final insult, some agencies cut back funds based upon more generous allocations by others.

The problem is by no means limited to health care.

Approximately 30 HEW grant programs can and do support some portions of social work training in universities. These include train-

ing grant programs in support of such specialties as aging, juvenile delinquency, mental retardation, crippled children, mental health, alcoholism, and family welfare.

Yet the Dean of a major university's School of Social Work recently bemoaned the fact that his school has had to apply for and administer as many as nine training grants from HEW to assist in the provision of undergraduate and graduate social work training.

This inevitably distorts training programs in ways unrelated to the goals of the school or the students.

These anomalies do not result from the actions of venal, obstructionist, or unintelligent men. The professionals in my Department and throughout the government are as dedicated, industrious, and competent as any professionals anywhere.

Nor does the solution lie in a vast dismantling operation. We cannot retreat, even if we wanted to, to a mythical golden age of self-help in which the government—out of despair, incapacity, or indifference—abandons the attempt to conquer the age-old problems of poverty, disease, and suffering. In that sense, to paraphrase the title of Thomas Wolfe's novel, we can't go home again. And we should not want to.

We have experienced some false starts and some promising ones in the last decade. But I believe we are now at or near the point where our ability to reform and renew the Federal grant effort could determine the fate of our entire governmental system.

I have been deeply gratified to discover how much was already underway in HEW to initiate reforms. Administration officials have identified the problem and elaborated a corrective approach which recognizes how serious the situation really is. In a message to the Congress on April 30 of last year, President Nixon called attention to the fact that the most serious impediment to the accomplishment of a program's objectives may be the very existence of other programs with the same humane objectives. Seen as such, the question of organization and procedure is not peripheral, but central. It is not a mere housekeeping function, but the most important task we confront.

President Nixon's message has set in motion a concerted effort to reform the system by means of a whole series of interrelated measures.

I would like to describe, by way of thumbnail sketch, four of the most important efforts under way. These four efforts—Grant Consolidation, Fund Transfers, Grant Streamlining, and Decentralization—attempt consciously to reverse the top-heavy trend of governmental programs. They proceed from the premise that further proliferation of programs without comprehensive structural reform will be counterproductive—counterproductive in the worst sense because Federal dollars will not alleviate the human needs for which they were targeted.

The first and most important of these reform proposals is Grant Consolidation. The President has sought authority to consolidate existing grant-in-aid categories if Congress, within 60 days, does not overrule his proposals. If the all-too-typical examples I spelled out at the beginning demonstrate anything at all, they demonstrate a crying need for coordination of the Federal effort and a comprehensive view at the community level.

At the present time, just to give you a sense of the spectrum, public library grants are available in five separate programs, medical library grants in seven, health service grants in three separate formula grants and six project grant programs, and vocational education in nine separate formula grant programs and six separate project grant authorizations.

Categorical programs by themselves too

often encourage a narrow view. They focus on a specific product to the detriment of the needs of the group to be served. We have no objection to a diversity of programs and approaches; pluralism is high in the hierarchy of American values. But as the recent McNerney Task Force on Medicaid aptly put it, "One man's pluralism is another man's incoherence." In the design and execution of public programs, we must have a coordinated strategy; and a pluralism of approaches can never be as important as a coherence of outcome.

Apart from relatively minor administrative steps which are now underway, Grant Consolidation as we have formulated it will require Congressional legislation.

Unfortunately, it seems to be difficult to persuade Congress to pass the legislation. A grant consolidation bill has been dormant in Congress for about a year despite overwhelming bipartisan support for such a measure. Much of the red tape now hindering the grants programs would be eliminated if Congress were to act this session.

Each program has an interest group constituency; some legislators are reluctant to see national program mandates altered, even in the face of local needs. But we believe the governing units you represent should make the decisions on specific allocations in accordance with a closer perception of need and a more flexible approach. We believe this is the direction in which responsible and responsive government must move. The task is formidable, and the time to confront it short.

The second major effort is our proposal for Fund Transfers. The Administration's Social Services Reform Amendments to the Family Assistance Act embody just such an approach. It is frequently and correctly argued that over-centralization of decision-making at the Federal level has served to sap State and local initiative in identifying and addressing major social problems.

Under our legislative proposal, States and localities will be given incentive to coordinate and integrate their service programs in return for submission of a consolidated HEW plan.

A Governor could transfer up to 20 percent of his Federal grant funds from any one included categorical program to another of higher priority. This critical reform would allow greater flexibility in meeting county and local needs, in conjunction with State agencies and governors' offices. And we hope it would minimize the chain reaction of disaffection when last minute Federal budget alterations create major dislocations in high priority Federally-assisted State programs.

The third of our interrelated thrusts toward reform is grant streamlining. The Federal Assistance Streamline Task Force, appointed by Secretary Finch, mounted a major effort to analyze each step of every one of the 260 separate HEW grant-in-aid programs. Grant processing under each of these programs involves an average of 28 steps, and each of these steps might contain as many as 50 separate actions.

The results obtained in our first 50 program reviews have been startling and clearly demonstrate the value of reform—particularly for the grantee.

A simplified grant processing system was developed at the regional level, resulting in a decrease of total review time from six months to less than two.

We eliminated non-productive documentation in 22 State Plan programs, with the result that 6,800 fewer pages have to be prepared and submitted annually by each State. We thus saved over \$8 million and 867 man years of State and Federal effort each year.

We eliminated 182 of the 516 steps in the review process for the 23 project grant programs studied.

We freed 351 man years of State and Federal manpower annually by eliminating or reducing reports required from grantees.

The final major reform effort underway is decentralization. It is an axiom of our operations that we should bring the decision-making process of the Federal Government close to the State and local areas in which the problems lie. In the first months of his Administration, President Nixon restructured the regional boundaries of the major domestic agencies in the field so that now their headquarters cities are the same, and the regions which they cover are uniform in their boundaries. This eliminated a great amount of wasteful and unnecessary travel time.

Taking this reform as a point of departure, HEW has moved to strengthen its 60,000 man regional organization.

Traditionally, HEW Regional Offices have had little authority. We have now shifted line authority to Regional Directors and Regional Agency Heads, and reduced the lines of reporting from 38 to 9. We have made the basic policy decision that, so far as possible, headquarters staff will concentrate on policy development, program direction, and evaluation.

Field personnel will be responsible for detailed planning and implementation of programs, as well as technical and individual grant awards and compliance review.

Throughout this brief inventory of new departures emerge certain common themes. These are, first of all, structural reforms designed to make governmental action responsive more quickly, more effectively, and more visibly to the areas of greatest human need. In tandem they rationalize and integrate numerous programs and funding sources and target them comprehensively. At the same time, they upgrade State and local leadership in its effort to identify and articulate human needs.

These reforms include a long overdue emphasis upon creative use of Federal programs to build capacity at State, county, and local levels, rather than to undermine elected and appointed executives of general government by bypassing them with each new Federal initiative. There is no more important thrust in the entire Administration's program of "New Federalism" than this stress on capacity building; we feel that our Government Assistance Grants in the services amendments represent the most significant initiative in HEW in this effort.

At the same time that we seek to strengthen capacity for planning, evaluating, and training personnel for State and local programs, we also stress significantly increased accountability of State, county, and local executives for the programs operating in their jurisdictions. We will seek new combinations of governments across city, county, and State lines, to accomplish the tasks of revitalization.

All of these steps, I would reiterate, are products of bitter experience, and major components of an absolutely critical task of governmental reform.

I believe that government service can be consistent with efficiency and with human dignity. But to achieve this balance, we must recapture a sense of urgency about reform.

This same kind of concern—this sense of urgency and mutual interdependence was expressed recently by an author writing on the problem of mental retardation.

Why, the author asked, after a long history of neglect, has a grassroots movement to combat this handicapping condition at last developed such momentum? Answering her own question, in words I would like to appropriate as my own, she replied:

It is because the world is very much with

us today. We know (many of us perhaps only subconsciously) that if our way of life is to survive, every individual, be he handicapped or whole, be he a privileged American or an under-privileged peasant in India, every individual must be counted an individual and accorded his place in the sun.

In the last analysis, it is to that end—the cause of individual self-realization . . . each man's place in the sun—that we bend our efforts at reform. No task is more challenging, and no cause more worthy of our concern.

A LETTER TO THE PRESIDENT

HON. DAVID R. OBEY

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 29, 1970

Mr. OBEY. Mr. Speaker, I am inserting in the RECORD today an article which appeared in the July 28 issue of LOOK magazine in the form of a letter to the President from Maj. Murray H. Helfant, U.S. Army Medical Corps, who recently resigned his commission.

Major Helfant's letter communicates more effectively than anything I have seen the difference between viewing a war in a far off place from the vantage point of grand national strategy and viewing it from the vantage point of some of its most tragic victims.

Major Helfant's letter speaks for itself and requires no further elaboration.

The letter follows:

[Illustrations not printed in RECORD]

BOSTON, MASS.,
July, 1970.

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: I apologize for not writing sooner, but it was the difficulty I had in resuming the care of civilian patients that delayed this letter. I had never completed an assignment before without stopping by the boss's office to check out and say good-bye. However, I hope this note will in some way make up for what may seem to you the discourtesy of relinquishing a commission before completing the job. I know that you've been busy, and even though I once found myself in Washington this past winter, I didn't try to see you. Instead, I'm hoping that these notes and pictures will get my thoughts straight through to you better than I could if we had talked at the White House.

I've tried several times now to explain or describe my past few years to others, but I must admit that I've never felt satisfied with the results. Whether it was the distance in miles between there and here, or just the passage of months that blunted by sensibilities, I do not know. But I've inevitably been chagrined and depressed after trying to make my points. I still awaken at night, confronting scenes that cannot be obliterated. But maybe someday they will be gone. I'm beginning to forget some of my recent patients' names by now, and I'm hoping that in a few years, all my reminiscences will be fainter. Nevertheless, I think I owe it to you, and certainly to the boys and men who were once my patients, to see that this letter somehow reaches you. I want to provide you with the most straightforward view of what it was like by letting some pictures speak for themselves.

I had been practicing neurosurgery before my commissioning, and naturally enough assumed I'd soon be in Vietnam. The Army does move in strange ways at times, and I found myself outside Tokyo for somewhat

less than two years. C-141 transport planes would pick up our patients at various staging facilities in South Vietnam, wherever large enough airfields were secure, and would fly them to the next hospital in the evacuation chain. This meant the Philippines, Japan, occasionally Okinawa or the United States. It was never clear how the evacuation system worked. We had been told that a computer in Saigon controlled the disposition of those who were evacuated, but at times it seemed that the Vietcong were feeding data into the computer. Yet we were privileged at the 249th General Hospital in Japan to see the majority of seriously injured patients with wounds of the central nervous system, and thus had a fair overview of how things were in military neurosurgery during this time.

I'm certain that many of our patients would not have survived long after initial wounding in previous wars. It was not unusual for us to receive gravely brain-injured men who had had their initial brain surgery within one to two hours of wounding. Needless to say, because of the tactical situation, it was sometimes impossible for a helicopter to reach a man for twenty-four hours or more, but these isolated delays were more the exception than the rule. I do not know much about how the North Vietnamese handle the problem of their wounded, but I do not think their medical-evacuation system or the early care of their seriously ill is as sophisticated or efficient as ours.

I assume you've never seen the 249th General Hospital, where I worked. It's located in Asaka, just northwest of Tokyo, and it's a one-thousand-bed general hospital. We received about one thousand wounded each month and either evacuated or returned to duty slightly less than that number. The hospital gates were manned by local Japanese security guards, and the hospital complex was protected by a high wire fence. I may be mistaken, but to the best of my knowledge, during none of the demonstrations while I was there did any of the local Japanese succeed in breaking into the camp or the hospital itself. Security was indeed excellent, not only that provided by the guards but also that by the riot-trained police who came into the camp during the more violent demonstrations. I couldn't help thinking that we could have used some of their know-how during the riots at home that we were hearing about.

Each ward in the hospital had its own medical flavor, and one could tell at a glance which subspecialty was represented. We had a full service hospital of course and did just about anything you could think of, except for heart transplants. Things were sort of topsy-turvy over there, contrasted with our transplant centers back home; we had lots of potential donors but no recipients.

The two neurosurgical wards had between sixty and eighty beds, and the evacuation system kept our census fairly high. We had two fully trained neurosurgeons, myself and an awfully nice fellow from southwest of Worcester, Mass. All our patients had something wrong with one part or another of their nervous system—usually something was missing after injury. Although we usually kept patients between five days and several weeks, the turnover could be quite brisk. During times of stress—for instance, during Tet when the enemy was acquiring its psychological victory—we continued our patients' evacuations to the United States as briskly as possible. I would usually write out the patient's discharge and transfer summary at the same time that I did his admission history and physical.

May I suggest that if another "Tet-like" period occurs in this non-war, it would save a lot of time and effort if patients were sent

directly back to the United States from Southeast Asia rather than to Japan. Undeniably, Japan is a wonderful land, and its culture is fascinating, but so few of our patients really enjoyed the time they spent there. Mostly, they wanted to know why they had come to Japan, and what were they doing in that part of the world. I never really did find the answer to that question in my one year, eleven months and twenty-eight days of active duty, and must further confess that I never heard a very reasonable explanation of what any American was doing over there.

I wonder if you ever got that report from the costs analyst who visited with us in Japan. He evidently came from the Department of Defense and was an awfully pleasant fellow. I tabulated a list of patients on our ward about that time, and tried to determine from a medical point of view what percentage actually benefited in their treatment by coming to Japan instead of taking an extra five or six hours to go directly home. We had somewhat more than sixty patients on the two wards then, and I could honestly say that two or perhaps three of them might have benefited by not taking the more direct route. I'm not quite certain of the final figure the Pentagon was given, but I was told that the costs analyst received from our medical command in Japan the statement that fifty to fifty-five percent of our men benefited from their time with us. It is interesting to see how the assessment of the situation varies depending on what level in the chain of command you are watching from.

This young fellow has a fairly typical wound. What he's lost are his maxillary sinus, both eyes, and both frontal parts of the brain. We saw a lot of this type of injury, and it was handled very well in Vietnam. It involved the combined services of ear, nose and throat, ophthalmology and neurosurgery. Fortunately, the loss of both frontal lobes of the brain dulls one's emotions somewhat, and these patients were not as distressed at their plight as would be a similar patient without associated brain injury.

Many of our patients with this degree of brain injury showed very little resentment against the circumstances that found them in Vietnam. It was, of course, not feasible to consider the question of the possible effects of lobotomies on large numbers of patients who were also wounded but were more resentful and angry. In one sense, the more severely brain-injured were fortunate in that they were less aware of their deficits and certainly experienced less anguish. I doubt the same would hold true of their families.

I was never entirely satisfied with treating a slightly more severe type of problem. Briefly, the difficulty arises because such a large amount of nose, middle face and base of skull are destroyed, along with brain substance. Infection and continued leaking of spinal fluid were most difficult to manage. I do not think we have found an ideal way yet of treating this type of injury.

The loss of tissue in land-mine injuries is rather common. Such wounds are extensively debrided in Vietnam, and after five to seven days of care, they are either further debrided of dead and necrotic tissue or sutured. Many of our men had multiple-fragment wounds from rockets, land mines, booby traps or mortars. When the brain or spinal cord was also damaged, they'd be assigned to our neurosurgical service and we'd have an opportunity to extend and broaden our general surgical experience with caring for their associated injuries.

Injuries such as the ones I photographed in my operating room are really what prompted me to write you the letter. The burden of what's on my mind these days is really about patients such as these. I admit

I'm not terribly interested in dominoes, or in Laos, or in who's threatening whom in Cambodia or Thailand. My background is not in power politics, or in Southeast Asian culture; it's in caring for patients and in trying to make sick people well. I must admit I've had a terribly difficult time trying to understand why these young kids were being mashed in Vietnam when I thought they should be back home growing up a little, or with their wives and children, or with parents and friends.

This particular patient has had a penetrating wound of the brain. Many of our patients had such wounds. Their course after injury covered a fairly wide spectrum. Some men died in hospitals in Vietnam, some died in the Philippines or in Japan, and some died back in the States. Some survived to reach veterans' hospitals, and some returned to civilian life. There are some brain-injured men who will one day resume the support of their families and eventually return to ways of living pretty much the same as before they went off to non-war. These are the luckier ones who'll bear only a few scars. Their less lucky comrades will have a paralyzed limb, or two or three or four. Some will be quite bright and alert again, but some will not be able to speak, reason, protest or assent. It's for these, a sort of silent majority, that I'm writing you.

If you had visited our ward, you might have seen young soldiers on their sides and facing down so that they will not aspirate or breathe into their lungs any excess secretions or vomit that would make their situation more precarious. Tubes carry moist air through small holes cut in their windpipes, and this makes it easier for the staff to aspirate secretions and prevent pneumonia. With a large number of unconscious patients, these measures greatly reduced the incidence of pulmonary complications. As you can appreciate, these patients are unable to cough if they are deeply comatose, and they're not aware of the need to empty their bladders or evacuate their bowels.

The Vice Presidents' recent remarks that if we had shown a little more backbone in the Republic of Vietnam we would have won the war sooner reminded me of one young man I had treated. He had had a complete loss of spinal-cord substance in his midback with resultant inability to feel or move his legs. A small amount of bone protruded through his surgical incision and this was obviously infected, as was the surrounding tissue. We discovered that the whole vertebral body, a fairly vital part of this boy's backbone, was infected. When I grasped the bone itself and pulled gently, the entire segment released from its surroundings. This is a fairly easy maneuver in the autopsy room on a cadaver, but I confess I had never before done this or heard of it being done to a living person.

The Red Cross and other girl workers were awfully helpful to our troops as they returned from the combat zones. In cases like this boy's, for instance, they would write home and let the Stateside family know how the young soldier, soon to be veteran, was getting along. Their aid was invaluable with the sightless, paralyzed, amputated and mentally subdued, of course. In our ward, these girls often helped with patients confined to CircOlectric beds. These beds were so useful that I often thought the Veterans Administration should see to it that each quadriplegic patient who reached home received one along with his discharge papers. These powered beds were most useful at our hospital in Japan, as the staff could adjust a patient's position not only for comfort but also for nursing wounds other than crippling spinal injuries. As you may realize, one of the biggest problems in these cases is that not only do the patients have no movement of their limbs, but they also have

no sensation of their paralyzed parts, and these areas may break down, become necrotic and thus rather difficult to manage.

The wounds could be quite devastating to the brain. I was impressed by the amount of brain one could lose and still live, in a way. As I'm sure you know, in most people, the brain is a fairly important organ, and when mortar fragments, or dirt, or splinters of bone scatter through the head, it's pretty hard not to cause some fairly extensive injury. One boy with a very damaged head was so ill when he reached Japan that it was apparent he was not going to survive to make the trip home. His parents came over to spend his last days with him. I might just mention the local problem with the wound. You see, he had lost a great deal of skull and brain covering along with his scalp, and the wound and underlying brain were infected and under very increased tension.

Well, in any event, Christmas Eve arrived, and the children from one of the local schools were serenading the wards of the hospital while this boy's parents maintained their vigil. As the youngsters came onto the ward, you could have hoped for a little bit of a miracle, but instead, the patient passed on at that moment. We all celebrated Christmas in different ways that year.

I must sadly confess that from my vantage point, we weren't winning very much. Clearly, it was a long time ago that we were told we'd soon be done with it. We were assured and reassured that victory was almost in sight. Now, I wouldn't presume to contradict men who were my military superiors, and I wouldn't for a moment question the statements of either the elected representatives of the South Vietnamese people, or of our own field commanders and generals in the Republic of Vietnam, but I would in all humility submit that these boys and men who came under my care were not cheered by the thought that we were winning. These boys felt that they had lost; and, of course, in a simplistic sense, I guess that they had lost—an arm, a few legs, some brain, a little bone, a kidney, a lung or spleen, perhaps some liver. I must sadly observe that despite our cheery casualty figures and the statistic that we've killed fifteen times as many North Vietnamese and Vietcong as they've killed of us, the fact remains that many of my patients felt that they had lost.

Still, I have nothing but praise for your attempts to extricate us from that part of the world. If I could ever help in any way, short of reentering the military, please feel free to call on me. But back to the main substance of why I wanted to write you.

I guess it's difficult to avoid giving you the impression that I'm sort of an anti-war kind of person. I admit that I didn't feel too strongly one way or the other before putting on my uniform. It really took very little time to realize that there were better ways of dying for one's country than the ways we devised for our younger brothers and neighbors. Not all my patients were draftees or short-termers who were anxious to serve their hitch and get out; we often had patients on the ward who were career soldiers, and at times we even had some officers.

My own ward was fairly characteristic. Comatose patients certainly can be seen wherever much neurosurgery is being done, but we had a rather large volume of them. The Army cared for its paraplegic and quadriplegic patients with Stryker frames and CircOlectric beds that provided movements and changes of position the men could not provide themselves. In our ward, we had quite a bit of difficulty trying to decide who should continue evacuation back to the States and who should return to combat. I'm glad to hear that the burden of making this decision has been eased, and that all patients who reach Japan are now able to continue home. I must confess this seems quite

reasonable; the other way seemed somewhat cruel—almost like sending men back to combat because they hadn't been hurt badly enough the first time.

Enlisted men or officers, the most common problem we had was the patient who had his skull and brain and overlying scalp debrided and remained in Vietnam. After some days, if there was much tension on the wound margins, and sometimes even if there wasn't, the margins would begin to separate, and blood, pus or brain tissue would extrude through the original incision. We'd treat such problems by reopening, carefully cleaning and resuturing and leaving a few tubes and drains under the scalp through which the staff would insert antibiotics in the postoperative period. With the aid of these drugs and excellent nursing care, many of these potentially lethal wounds were healed.

I'd like just once more to reemphasize that I do not intend this letter as criticism or expression of disapproval. Why, you weren't even my Commander-in-Chief during most of this time, and the President who preceded you was being reassured that the end was just around the corner, that the enemy was on his last legs, that we had just to buckle down a little longer and the con-skin would be on our wall, etc.

I was happy to read not long ago that the Army Chief of Staff has stated that the Vietnam war has technologically been a great success. I assumed he must have had in mind such developments as a MUST unit. This is a Medical Unit Self-contained Transportable and will certainly be useful in situations where a small hospital must be rapidly set up near a large disaster area. If I understand the concept correctly, the idea is to send the hospital to any area where large numbers of casualties are being generated. I must apologize at this point for a temporary diversion.

I had never before thought of sick or wounded people as being generated. It's a concept I learned during my indoctrination period at Fort Sam Houston in Texas. You will agree, surely, that it is a modern way of thinking about these problems. It's clearly much nicer to sit in conference and hear about five hundred or five thousand casualties being generated in a given situation. It's a much nicer way to think of large groups of people in this manner, somewhat like electricity being generated at some power plant or other. Well, in any event, I just could never get it into my own head, or discipline myself to think of my patients in this fashion—being generated here, stored there, transported, re-stored, etc. This probably accounts for my hesitancy in being more outspoken with that costs analyst from the Pentagon. I just couldn't convince him that we were dealing with patients, not packages.

I must confess that despite the nice commendation the country has given me, and despite your enthusiastic support during this conflict, I didn't ever come to feel that being part of the Army team was really my cup of tea. I just never managed to get into the spirit of it. Perhaps for future doctor-draftees, you might have someone in the Pentagon devise a drill somewhat like the one they use in the military chaplain's school—something to get the men in the mood. If my sources are correct, and I believe they are, then the young chaplains at one stage in their training were expected to join in the ritual chanting of "kill, kill, kill."

This letter has far exceeded my original intention of just jotting down a quick note; but if it's provided you with any information or a viewpoint somewhat different from what has reached you through more standard and orthodox channels, then it has certainly been worth my time. I do hope I have not bored you, either, with my thoughts or these photographs.

When I left active duty and was being discharged through Oakland, I was gratified to see a welcoming sign in the corridor. I regretted only that my own patients who had been evacuated through medical channels were unable to see the concrete expression of their nation's gratitude.

I appreciated the opportunity of visiting Japan and of broadening my medical experience during that time. I regret that we lost so many men, not only in Vietnam, but also in our overseas hospitals. Some of the casualties were more difficult to retrieve or repair than others. Caring for the wounded is indeed a privilege; but I was never able to convince myself that they had been wounded for any good end. They were, after wounding, and I'm certain before wounding also, the finest men I've seen. But I cannot help but point out my feeling that this war was unworthy of them. They gave too much in that far-off place—and we should not have sent them there.

I know that you deplore this conflict as much and as intensely as I, perhaps for different reasons. I did hope that sharing these few pictures and thoughts with you would in some way explain why I felt compelled to submit my resignation as I did, rather than to extend my time in the Army. There are, happily enough, younger men now available to carry on the neurosurgical tradition in and after combat. I do hope that they are made of stronger stuff inside than I, and that their tours of duty will not remain in their minds quite so indelibly as has mine.

Knowing how the military operates, I'm certain that neither you nor your predecessors have had the opportunity to see these scenes. We who were fortunate enough to be brought into active service as two-year doctors have, of course. When we reported for duty, the threats that our orders would be changed for Vietnam if we didn't extend for a third year seemed somewhat hollow. None of our group being indoctrinated at San Antonio was cowed. Things evidently later changed, for we had several men appear in Japan this past year after having extended their tours of duty for that very reason. I must admit that I was never terribly impressed by the personnel procedures or procurement policies of the Army. But if the courts allow this practice to continue, then I suspect the military may have found a way to get one-and-one-half times as much wear out of this former group of two-year doctors. I congratulate your planners.

I really had hoped to send you this note while I was still on active duty, but we were somewhat busy most of the time, and my colleagues and superiors cautioned me that it might be more appropriate to allow a seemingly interval to pass before trying to record my recollections for you. I'm afraid I'm leaving out a great deal that seemed important to me at the time, but I'm nevertheless able to recall a few glimpses of what was occurring. I had been told that if I waited long enough, perhaps the war would go away. I did wait, but it didn't seem to go away at all.

Yours very truly,

MURRAY H. HELFANT,
Major (Resigned), U.S. Army Medical Corps.

EXPLANATION OF DIGEST NEWS ITEM

HON. BOB WILSON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 29, 1970

Mr. BOB WILSON. Mr. Speaker, A reference was made yesterday to the manner in which the Republican congress-

sional committee reported in its Daily Digest the death of one of our colleagues, Michael Kirwan. As you know, the Digest is a summary of news items carried on the Associated Press and United Press International news wires in our committee headquarters. Unfortunately, the Digest item about our colleague's death consisted of the first paragraph of a UPI story which was far from complimentary in capsuling Mike Kirwan's distinguished career in the House. I regret that this item was carried in the Digest. Those of us who worked with Mike Kirwan admired and respected him. Even though he and I squared off every election year as chairmen of our respective parties' congressional campaign committees, I considered Mike a friend and know he would understand the sincerity of my apology regarding this matter.

HOW LONG, MR. PRESIDENT,
BEFORE YOU REPLY?

HON. WILLIAM (BILL) CLAY

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 29, 1970

Mr. CLAY. Mr. Speaker, on July 23, Congressmen STOKES, HAWKINS, and I wrote to President Nixon indicating our concern for the President's failure to give audience to black representatives or consideration to the problems of black Americans.

In Vietnam, the President says he is pursuing an honorable peace which will allow him to "save face." And I maintain—that if the policy of this Government shall be to "save face" or to pursue honor—the policy should begin at home, particularly with black Americans.

Much has been said about the Nixon administration plotting great plans for directing funds into the hands of black businessmen. Much has been said about the creation of a special office of minority enterprise to coordinate programs to serve black citizens aspiring to take part in the capitalist system.

But in truth, there is no money for black business nor any authority or directive for the office of minority enterprise to follow. The hoax would be humorous were it not so tragic.

I call the attention of my colleagues to the following accounts of the Nixon failure to follow through on their rhetoric. Upon reading the account from the Detroit Free Press of July 1, 1970, and the report by columnist Jack Anderson carried in the Washington Post, July 13, 1970—my colleagues may better understand the alienation of black America.

The articles follow:

[From the Detroit Free Press,
July 1, 1970]

AID TO BLACK BUSINESSES FIZZLES

WASHINGTON.—The administration's plan to produce more minority-group capitalists, one of President Nixon's major campaign pledges, has fallen far short of its goals.

Under programs announced last fall, hundreds of companies in partnership with the federal government were to make millions of dollars available to minorities by June 30. It has not happened.

Last October, Commerce Secretary Maurice H. Stans named 18 companies that planned to set up investment firms to finance minority-group businessmen under a program called "Project Enterprise." He said the list would grow to 100 companies, with financial leverage of up to \$500 million by June 30.

So far only nine companies have kept their pledge, at \$150,000 each with 2-to-1 federal matching money. Not all nine have yet granted loans.

The secretary also reported in October that 20 major oil companies had promised to increase the number of gas station franchises held by members of minority groups to 25,000 within five years and to bring the percentage of ownership up to the minorities' percentage of the population. The companies have four years to go, but they have made a slow beginning, an official said.

Most participants in the program are black, and it began as "black capitalism." But under pressure from Spanish-speaking groups, officials now refer to it as minority entrepreneurship. One official pointed out that the Dallas investment agency financed a cargo airline, Aztec Airways, owned by Mexican-Americans.

Another program pushed by the Commerce Department was to induce companies to place their franchises, especially food franchises, in minority communities. That effort is doing poorly.

Interviews with officials and visits to several cities demonstrated that the programs were moving much more slowly than anyone had anticipated, and that the administration was being criticized for it.

Two exceptions are automobile dealerships that have gone to minority-group members and community development programs operated by the Office of Economic Opportunity.

Deputy Commerce Secretary Rocco C. Siciliano said general progress had not kept pace with expectations and we blamed the cooling of the economy.

"I think we've made extraordinary progress, considering the state of the economy," he said. "It's hard to imbue businessmen with social consciousness when business is bad. And social consciousness doesn't stop at just talking to them."

"The problem isn't getting them to serve on committees or give donations, but to make capitalists out of people who don't have a business heritage."

Siciliano echoed complaints heard from persons in several cities about getting banks to go along with the programs.

"One of our big problems is that we still have to get the banking community to understand and to participate fully," he said. "A number of individual banks are in the vanguard, but we're still working to get the bulk of them committed."

Under the minority business plan, a company puts up \$150,000, which is doubled by the Small Business Administration. The SBA also guarantees up to \$15 of bank money for every \$1 of original capital. Thus, an agency capitalized at \$300,000 could produce up to \$4.5 million of financing for minority businesses.

[From the Washington Post, July 13, 1970]

STANS OFFERS MINORITIES PIPEDREAMS

(By Jack Anderson)

The Nixon administration has used a public relations fraud to build up the hopes of blacks, Puerto Ricans and Mexican-Americans who dream of owning their own businesses.

The Commerce Department has publicized opportunities that do not exist and promised money that is not available. The glowing statistics put out by the Commerce Department have turned out to be based, in part, on shaky figures and wishful thinking.

During the 1968 presidential campaign, Richard Nixon held out hope that the minorities could share in the full fruits of capitalism. He promised to help the people of the ghettos acquire their own shops. Conservative business sense could deal with poverty, he said, more effectively than could liberal pipe dreams.

Travelling salesman for the Nixon plan is Secretary of Commerce Maurice Stans, who has whirled through 10 cities gusted by a snowstorm of press releases. In troubled urban centers such as Harlem and Chicago, Stans has gathered together hundreds of blacks, Puerto Ricans and Mexican-Americans to tell of the opportunities awaiting them.

He has dangled before minority audiences \$301 million in federal funds that are supposed to be available this year to help them become businessmen. He has boasted of commitments the Nixon administration has gained from chain companies willing to franchise shops and stores to minority owners.

The program, indeed, offers opportunities for minority businessmen. But the prospects are neither as plentiful nor as golden as the official ballyhoo proclaims.

ELUSIVE \$301 MILLION

All too often, those who pursue the government promises are rewarded only with false hopes. The \$301 million figure, for example, was never more than a public relations guess. This column has spent three weeks tracking down the funds that were supposed to make up the \$301 million. Our discovery: The actual amount available to promote minority capitalism had painfully shrunk.

The biggest cut of the \$301 million pie was supposed to be provided by the Small Business Administration, which was marked down for \$74.3 million in direct loans. The final figure for the fiscal year, which ended on June 30, isn't available yet. But with only a couple of weeks unreported, the SBA had laid out only \$68.1 million. The agency had also made only \$81.7 million in guarantees, as contrasted with their trumpeted goal of \$144.4 million.

At many agencies, the officials knew nothing about the funds they supposedly were contributing as their part of the \$301 million goal. The search for the correct figures often led reporters for this column into a hopeless bureaucratic quagmire.

Back at the Commerce Department, spokesman Israel Rubin said the \$301 million figure was "just a goal," but he couldn't identify who had set the goal.

Secretary Stans, on his whirlwind visits, preaches to a folder labeled "Minority Enterprise Profile." The folder is stuffed full of glowing facts prepared for him by the Office of Minority Business Enterprise Information Center. Copies of the summaries for several cities, marked "Not for Distribution, Official Use Only," have been examined by this column.

The Chicago summary, for example, boasts: "Twenty franchisors have committed more than 44 Chicago franchise opportunities." A check of the franchisor list, however, revealed that most had committed no specific number of franchises. Some weren't planning offerings in the Chicago area at all and had no idea how their names got on the list.

In New York City, Stans visited Harlem and the Puerto Rican community with pledges of 300 franchises from 38 companies. A check of several on the list revealed they, too, are trying to place minority businessmen but aren't committed to specific numbers.

OMBE's Walter Sorg talked enthusiastically to this column about minority franchising. About 2,000 franchises have been

placed, he said, since the program began a year ago. He admitted that there had been a "slip up" in some of the statistics and that few franchisors had made "firm commitments." He also agreed that minority franchising isn't proceeding as rapidly as the Nixon administration had hoped. But he blamed the erratic economy and tight money.

EDITORIALS SUPPORT ANTI-SECRECY AMENDMENTS

HON. WILLIAM S. MOORHEAD

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 29, 1970

Mr. MOORHEAD. Mr. Speaker, editorials from around the country continue to support the adoption of antisecrecy amendments to the Legislative Reorganization Act. These amendments would help penetrate the veil of secrecy which currently shrouds House procedures and operations.

I would like to draw particular attention to the editorial which appeared in this morning's Washington Post entitled "Open House," which deals with passage on Monday of the O'Neill-Gubser amendment to record teller votes. In my judgment, and in the judgment of the Post, the House on Monday went a long way toward restoring public confidence in our governmental institutions generally and in the Congress particularly.

In addition to the Post editorial, I include a sampling of other editorials from around the country supporting the antisecrecy amendments. The editorials are from the Los Angeles Times, the Pittsburgh Post-Gazette, the New Orleans Times-Picayune, and the Detroit Free Press.

OPEN HOUSE

Those cheers that echoed in the House of Representatives on Monday may have violated Cannon's Rules but they were nevertheless very much in order. They were cheers for democracy, for the basic idea of representative government, for the concept of government by the consent of the governed. They came in response to a historic House decision to put an end, at long last, to its ancient practice of voting in secret on amendments to pending legislation. By an almost unanimous voice vote, the members of the House approved an amendment to the congressional reorganization bill providing that in the future they shall be recorded by name as they pass up the aisle to vote on amendments.

The House, at the same time, approved some other exceedingly salutary changes in its procedures. It agreed to permit at least 10 minutes of debate on any amendment printed in advance in the Congressional Record. And it approved the installation of electronic voting equipment to speed up roll calls—provided that later on the House decides that it wishes to tally its divisions in this modern, efficient and sensible fashion. More's the pity that it did not decide also to make committee meetings open to the public as a general rule. All these changes are simply devices for transacting the public business in public. They will serve at once to help the representatives themselves to know what they are doing and to help their constituents to know what they have done.

Because in their present form the changes are amendments to a bill which must have

the concurrence of the Senate before it can become law, one cannot yet regard them as *faits accomplis*. But the support for them in the House was so strong, so healthy and so overwhelming that one can reasonably suppose the House would adopt them as rules of its own if the Senate should fail to translate them into an act of Congress. They reflect great credit on the House and will surely enhance the confidence of the country in its government.

Secrecy in the House is one of those curious folkways perpetuated as tradition long after the purpose for which it was originally contrived has been forgotten. The House of Commons in England undertook to keep its proceedings secret in order to protect its members from reprisals by James I and Charles I in the 17th century. The practice, designed to offset despotism, soon proved itself despotic. It led to all sorts of abuses difficult to unmask and to rebuke because responsibility for them could not be discerned. "Next to the existence of open constituencies, and a fair mode of election," the historian Lecky wrote, "the best security a nation can possess for the fidelity of its representatives is to be found in the system of parliamentary reporting. But this was also wanting. The theory of the statesmen of the first half of the 18th century was that the electors had no right to know the proceedings of their representatives, and it was only after a long and dangerous struggle, which was not terminated until the reign of George III, that the right of printing debates was virtually conceded."

The right of a free people to know how their elected representatives vote is a right without which elections can be considered neither free nor meaningful. The House of Commons recognized this long ago. The House of Representatives honors its best values in joining them now as a genuinely representative body.

CONGRESS, HEAL THYSELF

(Issue: How democratic can the House of Representatives claim to be when it conducts so much important business secretly?)

Offhand, we can't think of any democratic legislative body that conducts as much of its important business in secret as the U.S. House of Representatives.

Congressmen cast crucial votes anonymously on issues as important as the anti-ballistic missile, the Indochina war, crime prevention and funds for the supersonic transport.

The powerful House Appropriations Committee holds every one of its 300 annual meetings behind doors closed to press and public. In fact nearly half of all House committee hearings are held in secret.

Committee votes are taken secretly.

And even when House hearings are open, radio and television are never permitted.

This week the House has the opportunity to make itself a more open, democratic institution. A bipartisan group of Congressmen is trying to reform some of the old procedures.

The most important reform would abolish the medieval practice of avoiding a roll call—not voting by name—on some of the most important and sensitive matters that come before the House.

This procedure, which occurs while the whole House is sitting technically as a committee to amend bills, was devised by Parliament several centuries ago to protect the members under a cloak of anonymity from the king's displeasure. Parliament gave up the practice in 1832 as no longer necessary; the Senate does not have it; but the House, perhaps from laziness, perhaps from fear of constituents' displeasure, has kept it up.

It ought to go.

Congressmen sometimes hide behind the practice to vote secretly in contradiction to their publicly announced positions. And because the votes are not recorded, such balloting often bring only a third of the House to the floor. Yet it is in these anonymous ballots that the heart of important legislation is often written. The unrecorded but crucial vote on continuing funds for the supersonic transport plane recently was decided by only 194 of the 435 members of the House.

The other proposed reforms, though less important, would be useful: committee hearings to be closed only by a majority vote of the committee, committee meetings to be less dependent on the whim of the chairman, committees to be opened to radio and television coverage on majority vote of a committee, the votes taken in a committee to be made public.

There is a good deal of argument in Washington about the effect on legislation of removing some of the secrecy from House business, but there can hardly be much dispute about the principle. The public's business really ought to be conducted in public.

Incidentally, the crucial votes taken this week on these reforms will probably be cast anonymously.

ANTI-SECRECY RULES DESERVE PASSAGE

If secrecy is abhorrent in law-making, and it usually is, the House of Representatives this week has an opportunity to mend its ways.

Many of the telling votes in the federal House are on amendments. But when representatives vote on these amendments, how they vote is a secret. For many of them this is a cosy arrangement; people back home don't know how their congressman voted.

Under the proposed reform—one of the more than 100 involving rules and procedures—the public would know who voted how. Aside from the elimination of secrecy, the rule change would also have the effect of stimulating attendance on the House floor. So the public would not only know who voted how but who didn't vote at all.

The House Democratic whip, Hale Boggs, is for the rules change as is the majority leader, Carl Albert of Oklahoma.

A companion betterment in rules would also have the benefit of opening more House committee meetings to public and press. About half are now held behind closed doors.

Few reform measures have been in the public eye as these to conduct public business publicly. They have the backing of a bipartisan group of House member-reformers and should likewise enjoy widespread popular support. We believe the public would be willing to hold Congress in higher esteem if Congress deserved it.

SECRET BALLOTING REDUCES RESPONSIBILITY IN HOUSE

Though the U.S. House of Representatives, of all American political institutions, is supposed to be the most responsive to popular will, its members in fact often function in genteel obscurity. By the very force of numbers they are shielded from the glare of public attention that follows the movements of the President or even of a United States senator.

Many of the members like it that way. They can, with a little luck, enjoy the prerogatives of office free of voter interference. It can be a pleasant sinecure, like a safe and obscure vice presidency in the family firm.

Moreover, we the people have permitted the House from colonial times to operate by rules that make it more difficult to tell what the boys have done. Because of numbers, roll call votes in the House are time-consuming.

So much of the House's business is done in committee-of-the-whole, by teller vote or division of the House or voice. It is an efficient way of doing legislative business.

Efficient, yes—but it also encourages the protection of House members from the vagaries of public opinion. In other words, it lets them hide from their constituents what they are really doing. By voting on a preliminary vote in a way that he would not on a final roll-call, the member may seem to stand for one thing and actually work a quite opposite end.

There are times, certainly, when this has worked for the long-term public interest, when a congressman has been more responsible in private than he would have been in public. But it has also tended to make the House less responsive, so that it seems to be less influenced than the Senate by public opinion.

Now a vehicle is at hand for changing the practice of permitting secret preliminary votes. The House is considering a relatively mild bill to reorganize its rules. That in itself is something: The last time any major changes were made was in 1947.

A group of insurgent congressmen, reacting to the wave of demands for more responsive government, is seeking an amendment to end secret votes on preliminary motions. The House Administration Committee is also considering a proposal to establish electronic voting machines in the House, which would make roll calls simpler and faster.

The House might not really be all that much better with its members' records laid out for all to see. At least, though, representatives would know that an unruly newspaper or a ruthless opponent might haul out the old record and expose what the members had done. That, after all, is supposed to be the idea in a representative government.

Which is, we are sure, what the House members want to provide us.

HOW CONGRESS KEEPS ITS SECRETS

Although it is supposed to be the people's branch of government, Congress has devised a number of trade secrets to keep the public from knowing too much—antiquated voting procedures, an inaccurate and unreadable daily journal, concealed employee payrolls, a habit of passing backdoor pay increases that avoid record votes, and various other prerogatives that come in handy at election time.

Members of the House of Representatives borrowed the habit of nonrecord voting from the English Parliament, which abolished the practice in 1832—and went on to achieve new greatness. A bipartisan group of House members now is seeking to reduce the number of nonrecord votes, open up committee meetings, and preserve roll-call votes in committee sessions for public inspection.

Nonrecord votes usually are taken when the House is sitting as a whole committee amending bills. Amendments, many of them going to the essence of the bill, are decided by voice votes, by "divisions" in which members simply stand in their places to be counted, or by "teller" votes in which members troop chummily and anonymously up the aisle in "yea" and "nay" lines, with no official record taken. To the casual visitor, it may look like mass confusion, but crucial amendments on such matters as appropriations for the supersonic transport and anti-ballistic missile have been decided in this manner. To be sure, there is a formal vote later on whether to kill or pass the bill, but often these votes have no real significance, once controversial amendments are disposed of.

The reform-minded congressmen may be acting not so much in the interest of disseminating public information, but because

various lobbies have taken to publicizing unofficial and probably inaccurate tallies of nonrecord votes. Not surprisingly, House members have expressed resentment over the gallery "snoopers," especially if the report is not accurate. But the condition is easily cured. The House might follow the example of supposedly more unprogressive state legislatures and install voting machines. If this be too great a shock in an electronic age, some other simple device (a bakeshop customer tag?) could be used.

All that is lacking, really, is the will of our elected representatives to play fair with their constituents and achieve a reform Parliament brought about nearly 140 years ago. It is ironic—and possibly an indication of the legislators' collective mood—that voting on all the proposed amendments probably will be done on a nonrecord basis. Bad habits are hard to break.

FOR ORGANIZED CRIME PROSECUTORS

HON. WILLIAM D. FORD

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 29, 1970

Mr. WILLIAM D. FORD. Mr. Speaker, I would like to announce my cosponsorship of H.R. 16133, a bill to provide training for Federal, State, and local officials engaged in the prosecution of organized crime.

The rising crime rate is no secret to anyone in this country as we are bombarded by statistics with every newspaper we pick up. But one element of the rising crime problem which escapes such mathematical scrutiny is organized crime. This scourge has worked its way into nearly all facets of our society, and in spite of concentrated efforts still remains largely elusive and uncontrolled.

For organized crime is a business; a deadly but successful business which takes its toll in the lives of unsuspecting citizen. The men behind these organizations, though often known to police, many times escape prosecution because of familiarity with loopholes in the law, and financial resources to hire the most competent minds in the legal field.

My experiences as a former municipal judge, defense and prosecuting attorney have repeatedly impressed upon me the urgent need for specialized training in dealing with organized crime. We have a large number of extremely talented attorneys in this country, but for the most part these persons have had no experience in the particular subtleties peculiar to organized crime. H.R. 16133 will be instrumental in preparing prosecuting attorneys for problems they may be expected to face in dealing with elements of organized crime.

There are of course existing laws which can be utilized in this effort, but no law school deals with subjects related to organized crime prosecution, and only recently have such civil laws as tax, securities, and antitrust legislation proven

their worth in combatting organized crime.

In addition to establishing a national advisory committee on the training of organized crime prosecutors, this bill would direct the Attorney General to conduct an annual conference of Federal, State, and local officials on organized crime, and require the Attorney General to make an annual report to the President and Congress on the progress of eliminating this blight from our society.

Further delay will only serve to complicate an already difficult problem. We cannot afford to sit back and watch our legal system become distorted to benefit criminals. The legislative means to combat organized crime are at our disposal; proper training will insure their effective utilization. Organized crime has cast its shadow on our Nation for far too long—H.R. 16133 will prove a powerful weapon in its destruction.

IT'S GETTING HARD TO TELL THE MEN FROM WOMEN

HON. WILLIAM L. HUNGATE

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 29, 1970

Mr. HUNGATE. Mr. Speaker, a recent issue of the *Vandalia Leader and Ladonia Herald*, a weekly newspaper, carried the following article that I think is helpful:

P.S.

It's getting hard to tell the men from women, but here are some suggestions that might be helpful:

If it smiles when you address it as "Ma'am," it is feminine. If it grunts and growls, it is masculine.

If it strikes a kitchen match on the seat of its trousers, it's a him. If it waits for you to light its cigarette, it's a her.

If it takes off its shoes at the movies, it's a woman. If it gets down on its hands and knees and starts looking for the shoes, it's a man.

Does it do its fair share of pushing while going through a revolving door? It's a gentleman for sure. Does it leap in front of you and grab the taxi you just flagged down? It's a lady—every time.

If it brags about the steaks it cooked in the backyard, it's a man. If it dimples when you praise the roast it cooks indoors, it's a woman.

If it wears a red ribbon in its hair, it's a lass. If it combs its hair down over its eyes—well, there you've got me.

If it says it has given you the best years of its life—"and for what, I ask you?"—it's a wife. If it asks for lunch money before going to work, it's a husband.

If two go to the supermarket the one that pushes the loaded cart is the mister. The missus is the one that holds up the line at the checkout counter as she fumbles through the wilderness of her purse.

If it likes to dine by candlelight, because this is romantic it's the mamma bear. If it grumbles, "I can't see what I'm eating," it's the papa bear.

If you open the door to it and it tries to sell you a box of cookies, it's a Girl Scout.

If it helps old ladies across the street, it's a Boy Scout.

Does it bring its paycheck home in its mouth? It's a man. Does it think money grows on trees? It's a woman.

If it writes newspaper columns like this, it's a him. If it reads columns such as this and loses its temper, it's a her.

Now, then, any questions?

A MEMORABLE SPEECH

HON. PHILIP J. PHILBIN

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 29, 1970

Mr. PHILBIN. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent to revise and extend my remarks I include herewith a recent excerpt from the *Clinton Daily Item* of May 26, 1970, containing a most appropriate, timely, eloquent and very well received speech of Col. Nicholas A. Canzona, commanding officer of the 25th Marines at Worcester, Mass., at the very impressive Memorial Day exercises held May 25 at South Cemetery in Berlin, Mass.

Rev. Howard A. Andrews, the able distinguished and beloved pastor of the First Parish Church in the historic town of Berlin which traces its founding back to the early days of the Colonies, and a chaplain and colonel in the U.S. Army Reserve, read Colonel Logan's general orders for the first Memorial Day in 1868. While I did not have the privilege of hearing this remarkable tribute to those who have offered their lives and their blood upon the altar of American patriotism, Reverend Andrews classified it as the finest tribute he had ever heard and that it expressed his own sentiments in a very timely and forceful way, and he also stated that Colonel Canzona's delivery was fully as effective as his expression of thought.

I would like to associate myself with Reverend Andrews' appraisal of these very moving, deeply touching Memorial Day remarks of a marine and Vietnam veteran who dedicated his entire life to the service of this great Nation, fought bravely for our freedoms and knows what the bitter sacrifices of war truly mean.

I want to commend Colonel Canzona for his absorbing Memorial Day message that poignantly described the deep patriotic meaning of the supreme sacrifice and the ghastly profanity of those who would debase it by symbols of disloyalty, utterances, behaviorisms and expressions having the overtones of treason, if indeed they do not constitute treason itself.

If these people were truly responsible for their words and actions they deserve the contempt of our people and appropriate punishment in the courts of justice. But it is difficult to reconcile such behavior with rationality and it is probably more charitable simply to ask "forgive them, O Father, for they know not what they do."

The American people demand respect.

gratitude and reverence for all our departed heroes regardless of race, color, or creed. They are Americans, all who fought, bled, and died for their country, and for the cause of freedom throughout the world.

Their memories are imperishable. Their glorious deeds will be enshrined in the most sacred annals of our history, and in the hearts of our people as long as time shall endure, and every one who lives in this great country must recognize that the American people will not tolerate disrespect of our departed heroes, or disrespect for the living Commander in Chief of this great Nation.

People who demean themselves in such a manner must expect to pay a heavy price for their treasonable talk and conduct.

I would like to commend Colonel Canzona for his strong, powerful speech on Memorial Day and I am sending a copy of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD containing excerpts from the Clinton Daily Item and my own remarks to him, and to the Commandant of the Marine Corps, who will be proud, I am sure, to know of the enthusiastic response to his fine speech:

BERLIN SPEAKER HAS PRAISE FOR WAR DEAD
(By Mary Ellen Matthew)

("We honor these men, these sacred dead, because they served us well in simple obedience to a nation that they loved and respected." These words gave true meaning to the Memorial Day exercises held yesterday afternoon at the South Cemetery in Berlin.)

Colonel Nicholas A. Canzona, commanding officer of the 25th Marines in Worcester, recently returned to this country from Vietnam. His speech which included the above quotation gave the people much to think about.

Under cloudy skies, members of the American Legion, the Legion Auxiliary, Boy Scouts, Cub Scouts, and Girl Scouts paraded into the South Cemetery led by the Tahanto Regional High School Band.

Greetings were given by Commander Chester R. Stone of the H. Wallace Woodward Post 162 of the American Legion of Berlin. Rev. Howard A. Andrews, chaplain and Lt. Colonel, U.S. Army Reserve and pastor of the First Parish Church read Col. Logan's General Orders for the First Memorial Day in 1868. Following the address by Col. Canzona, the Rev. Phillip McNamara of St. Joseph's Church of Berlin offered prayer. The Legion Firing Squad gave a salute to the dead followed by taps.

At the conclusion of this program, the parade proceeded up Pleasant Street and on to the Berlin Memorial School for the following program:

Tribute by Commander Stone, Prayer by Legionnaire Henry A. Nutting, Placing of wreaths at the World War I and II honor rolls by Legionnaires Harry Bradley and Chester Cole, a salute to the dead by the Legion Firing Squad and the sounding of taps.

At the Old Burying Ground in the center of town, the Tahanto Band offered a selection followed by the recitation of the Gettysburg Address by Boy Scout Robert Leveille. Commander Stone then presented the Legion Oratory Medal to Scout Leveille. Rev. Frederick A. Krackhardt offered prayer, followed by a salute to the dead and taps.

The Tahanto Band gave a concert on the Common under the direction of Frederick W. Cronin.

Chief Marshal for the exercises was Francis E. Underwood, past commander of the Amer-

ican Legion; Honorary Chief Marshal was Harry F. Bradley and Captain of the Firing Squad was Bruce Barter.

Colonel Canzona's speech follows:

Today is a time set aside to honor the dead, those special dead who in life fought our nation's wars. It makes little difference now whether they fell on the battlefield in the flower of youth or whether they returned home to die in later years. It makes little difference whether they fought in France, Africa, Guadalcanal, Okinawa, Korea or Vietnam, whether they fought on land, at sea, or in the air. Or whether they were generals or privates. Nor does it make any difference whether they were white, black or yellow. Death is a great equalizer. Now all of them rest in peace, away from the ceaseless tumult of the world of the living.

We honor these men, these sacred dead, because they served us well in simple obedience to a nation that they loved and respected. A nation that they supported when the die was cast. Greater love hath no man. These were imperfect men who fought for the imperfect causes of an imperfect republic. They had enough common sense and faith to realize that the nation at least was headed in the right direction. As a result of their faith, common sense, and sacrifice, many countries and millions of people are free today who might otherwise have been enslaved for centuries.

Because of the simple trust and obedience of these men, our nation has enjoyed unparalleled progress and freedom—so much freedom in fact that conceivably we are free enough today to commit national suicide a thousand years before our time.

We owe a special debt of gratitude to these dead because they conquered fear, self pity and selfishness. They were no more anxious to die than you or I or any other citizen. They must have been haunted occasionally by the same loneliness, doubts, and questions that have assailed every generation of Americans at one time or another. Yet, they had the strength of character to overcome their trepidations and any innate pettiness. They did not demand an exhaustive accounting from the nation each time they crossed the line into battle.

Of these dead that we honor, relatively few in recent times fought on American soil. In furtherance of a higher responsibility, a brighter ideal, they carried the flag to distant islands, jungles, plains, mountains, and deserts. Yet, no foreign nation has ever lived in subservience to the United States as a result of their far-flung campaigns. On the contrary, and in full justification of their faith, their government has extended to friends and enemies alike a degree of compassion and generosity never before exhibited in the annals of war. So, while these honorable men were victors—and they had every right to expect victory in return for their sacrifice—they were not conquerors in the classic sense. Their most vicious enemies of a generation ago are now thriving and respected in the community of nations. This fact is a great tribute to the republic in which these honored dead had such unbounded faith.

UTTER, DISMAY

If these men who lie at rest around us could rise up today, they assuredly would look around in utter dismay. No, they would not be shocked by dissent; there was enough dissent in their day too. But they indeed would be appalled at the manifestations of dissent: the defiling of our flag, the frenzied reviling of our president and sacred institutions, the disintegration of a moral code that is 4,000 years old, the almost capricious defiance of law and order.

A typical cross-section of these American dead that we honor were officers and non-

commissioned officers. If they could awaken and rejoin us, they would hear themselves taunted and branded publicly as pigs of the establishment. They would be unable to set foot on many campuses without being subjected to the most virulent abuse.

Fellow Americans, if you and I saw this great host rise up from this hallowed ground and approach us, what would we say to them in the light of today's new left philosophy? Would we say that their lives and sacrifices have been a horrible mistake? That the republic has outlived its usefulness? That America indeed has made no significant progress or contribution? That for almost two hundred years the United States has in actuality been a gigantic fraud? That there is no standard of decency, dignity, respect and obedience that a Democracy can expect of its people? That Communist tyranny is right because America is irrevocably wrong? Would we tell the risen dead that this nation's policy is not, after all, inextricably rooted in history and justice but is only an arbitrary, brutal exercise in wealth and power?

If the republic for which these men fought is manifestly so evil and repugnant that we could say such things to the assembled dead, then perhaps we as people should continue our breastbeating until we sink into oblivion—or are pushed into it. If, with a clear conscience we could now stand over others and desecrate American flags, if over still others we could unfurl and venerate enemy flags—if indeed the United States is so foul that we could commit such abominations with a clear conscience and not out of sheer idiocy—then we as a nation would have to admit to a complete inversion of values: which is to say that the evolution of this great republic has been a blight on mankind.

Now, if we do not have the conviction and stomach to so profane the dead, then neither should we profane the living. It is essentially indecent and irrational by any standards to call a man a pig while he lives, then immediately canonize him when he dies. It is grossly inconsistent and unfair to divorce the causes for which these men died from a national policy that was born out of these causes. It is a monumental perversion of justice to expect one generation to die for the flag and allow another to drag it through the gutter.

In years gone by, it was always the custom, when a friend died, to send a remembrance of flowers. In recent years, many bereaved families have requested instead that donations be made to noble institutions such as the Heart Fund, Cancer Fund, hospitals, or cultural centers. Perhaps on the solemn occasion of Memorial Day, 1970, we, as a nation could make a practical request of ourselves. We could remember our dead not merely with flowers and ceremony, but with the visible contribution of a life of selfishness, patriotism, and faith. We could thus vindicate the deaths of these great men and the high purpose of this republic. We can begin today by silently reaffirming our allegiance, so that tomorrow we can move forward once again with traditional unity, pride, and courage. If we owe anything at all to America's dead, we owe them at least this much.

HON. JOHN C. KUNKEL

HON. JAMES A. BYRNE

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 27, 1970

Mr. BYRNE of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, it was with deep personal regret and a sense of loss that I learned of the

death of a long-time Member of this House and an old and dear personal friend, John C. Kunkel.

For nine terms—18 years—John Kunkel ably and actively represented the old 16th District of Pennsylvania until 1966, when reapportionment wiped out and divided his constituency.

I met John Kunkel when I was elected to the 83d Congress. He was already a veteran by then; but despite his heavy schedule, he was always ready with advice or assistance for a freshman congressman.

Although we sat across the aisle from each other, and indeed we did differ on many issues—we worked long and hard together for specific projects destined to aid our Nation and our Commonwealth.

I am sure this body joins me in extending the sincerest condolences to his bereaved family.

HELPING BOOST SMALL BUSINESS

HON. SILVIO O. CONTE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 29, 1970

Mr. CONTE. Mr. Speaker, critics of the Small Business Administration have never been in short supply. They are still busy nitpicking and complaining about what must surely be one of the most constructive efforts this Government has ever undertaken to help the so-called little fellow share the benefits of the free enterprise system. That is what the Small Business Administration is all about. I submit for publication in the RECORD, therefore, an interview with SBA's Administrator Hilary Sandoval, Jr., in the current issue of the Republican Congressional Committee's weekly newsletter, which sets forth the facts:

HELPING BOOST SMALL BUSINESS—AND THE AMERICAN DREAM

Mr. Sandoval, what role is SBA playing in the President's efforts to promote business opportunity for disadvantaged Americans?

SBA is on the front line when it comes to minority enterprise and expanded opportunities. After a decade of attempted political and sociological solutions to poverty and social ills, the people—and the Government—are finally realizing that perhaps the surest way of getting disadvantaged groups into the American mainstream is through the free-enterprise system.

Following presidential directives, we have stepped up our assistance programs in the field of minority enterprise.

For example, in 1969 we nearly doubled our volume of minority loans. This doesn't mean that SBA has become a purely minority-oriented agency. Far from it. However, we are convinced that we can and should do our share in taking disadvantaged people off the relief rolls and getting them back into the free marketplace.

How will you reach this goal?

By striving for greater economic parity—equality of opportunity. The identifiable minorities of this country run to about 15 or 20 percent of the population, depending on which estimate you use. Yet this 15 to 20 percent of the population owns only 2.9 percent of the businesses and holds less than one half of 1 percent of the assets. These

figures are not precise. But even allowing for a wide margin of error, it is obvious that our economic system is not living up to its promise in this important area.

What are some of SBA's specific programs for minority enterprise?

They take many forms. There are, of course, the standard loan and assistance programs, and management training to help develop skill and efficiency once a business is begun. We have also begun a series of Minority Enterprise Small Business Investment Corporations.

These private corporations, working in cooperation with SBA, help to fund, counsel and develop new businesses around the country. Leading big businesses, such as General Motors, have joined with us in establishing these corporations to provide the disadvantaged entrepreneur with the know-how and the investment capital it takes to get ahead.

How about Government contracts—about channeling them to minority firms?

We have been given authority to choose eligible subcontractors for select Government contracts for goods and service. Since our business development program was started in June of 1969, we have awarded over \$28 million in Federal subcontracts to minority-oriented businesses.

As Administrator, you have stressed the importance of non-financial aid to small business. Have you been able to put this into practice?

Two of the programs I am proudest of fall into this category.

SCORE stands for Service Corps of Retired Executives. Its members are retired men and women who have been successful in their fields and who are now willing to help others help themselves.

They have pulled many struggling small firms out of the red by introducing basic, professional techniques and know-how. Their services are free. SCORE has been so successful that I recently authorized doubling its size from 3,400 to 6,800 volunteers.

ACE stands for Active Corps of Executives. It's a new program we came up with after SCORE proved so successful. There's one major difference: ACE volunteers are all active executives in private industry, who take time off to participate. We have already recruited 1,400 of these successful, dynamic businessmen.

You've been in office for over a year now. What was the most serious problem you had to face as a newcomer taking control of a Federal agency?

Shortly after I took the oath of office, I discovered that some Mafia-linked firms had obtained SBA loans under past regimes. I was shocked to learn that at least four previous Administrators knew about these loans but did nothing.

How deep was the involvement?

Percentagewise, it was microscopic. Only a small number of Mafia-linked loans were made. But as far as I'm concerned, one dollar of taxpayers' money in underworld hands is too much.

We have rooted them out wherever this was possible under the law. Already, two loans have been shut down and collected in full in New York and another two in Chicago—all with interest.

We have also made over 40 reforms in loan procedures to avoid any backsliding.

What's the future for small business? Isn't it slowly but surely losing its place in the economy?

I don't believe so. I see a great future for small business in this country. But like all vital, growing things, small business must keep in step with the times and maintain a keen, competitive edge.

I know the heartaches and the satisfaction that can come with running a small

business. Every small business is someone's personal version of the American Dream. It is a dream full of vigor and promise for our country's future.

MYLAI INVESTIGATION

HON. JOHN BUCHANAN

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 29, 1970

Mr. BUCHANAN. Mr. Speaker, the report of the House Armed Services Investigating Subcommittee of the Committee on Armed Services on the investigation of the Mylai incident has received considerable attention and created great interest since the subcommittee released its report 2 weeks ago.

Our colleagues assigned to the Special Armed Services Subcommittee are to be commended for the manner in which they handled their tough assignment. The final determination of blame was studiously avoided by the subcommittee in order not to prejudice the findings of duly constituted courts martial and other legal proceedings.

Those of us in Alabama are particularly proud of the active participation and leadership in this important matter of our distinguished colleague, Mr. DICKINSON.

He has, once again, demonstrated his value not only to the people of his district and our State, but to the Nation as well.

I think you will find the following reprint from the RECORD, plus other articles and editorials highly interesting, as I did. I commend the text of these editorials and articles to my colleagues, and I respectfully urge you to read them. At this time, Mr. Speaker, I would like to insert these materials:

REPORT OF SPECIAL SUBCOMMITTEE ON MYLAI INVESTIGATION

(Mr. DICKINSON asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks and include an editorial.)

Mr. DICKINSON. Mr. Speaker, just last week the special subcommittee on the Mylai investigation made its report. Once again, it proved to be very newsworthy and was carried by the wire services across the country.

Mr. Speaker, I am very proud to have served on this committee because I feel we have performed a very valuable function.

Mr. Speaker, I cannot help but be concerned that the American people will view the United States as "the bad guy" in this instance, but it was one instance, it was news because it was unique, because it was different. A tragedy of this nature is not the policy of this country, and it has not been our policy in the past. Yet it seems that the news media and the public in general are either unaware or unconcerned about the atrocities committed by the North Vietnamese regularly.

Just prior to the Mylai incident, in a place called Hue, over 4,000 South Vietnamese were systematically slaughtered, many of them buried in mass graves, their hands tied behind them. Whole families were eradicated. The fact that over 4,000 human beings were slaughtered, was not even deemed particularly newsworthy by the media around the world.

In 1 month, in a South Vietnam village, the Vietcong went in with flamethrowers and burned to death every man, woman, and child in that village, over 200. Bodies were stacked like cordwood. These things did not get play in the press, and they did not hit the conscience of the public for some strange reason. I am tired of the Americans always being picked as the heavy-handed boy in Vietnam when it is the practice of the North Vietnamese and the Vietcong to commit these atrocities with premeditated regularity. At this time I would like to include an editorial from the Sunday, June 28, 1970, issue of the Birmingham News. I urge my colleagues to read the editorial opinion of James E. Jacobson. It will be well worth the few minutes it takes.

[From the Birmingham (Ala.) News,
June 28, 1970]

THE LESSON OF HUE

Uncounted columns of words have been written and uncounted feet of television film have been devoted to the alleged massacre of Vietnamese villagers at My Lai.

But one is hard to find a mention of the grisly story of Hue, where the bodies of more than 6,000 victims of Communist "liberation" have been recovered from mass graves.

The story of Hue is recounted in detail in a study written some months ago by Douglas Pike, a career official of the U.S. Information Agency and the author of books which have established him as perhaps this country's top expert on the Viet Cong.

Even more chilling than the story of what happened at Hue when the city was captured by the North Vietnamese in the 1968 Tet offensive is Pike's conclusion that as many as three million people might suffer a similar fate if the Communists are permitted to win a decisive victory in South Vietnam.

Those in this country who have urged a U.S. pull-out have tried to dismiss the suggestion that a bloodbath would follow a Communist victory as propaganda by the "hawks" to keep us in the war.

Hue is uncomfortable proof that the fears have a basis in reality. Maybe that's why it's so studiously ignored.

When the Communists took the city, Pike wrote, they began a systematic liquidation of those considered unfriendly. They were rounded up and machine-gunned—the more fortunate ones. Some were tortured and buried alive.

After the elimination of individuals whose names were on their death list, the Viet Cong assassination squads which surfaced after the North Vietnamese took the city began to move against "social negatives"—that is, those who were deemed potentially dangerous not because of who they were, individually, but because of the places they held in the community.

"... Killing in some instances was done by family unit," Pike wrote. "In one well documented case during this period, a squad with a death order entered the home of a prominent community leader and shot him, his wife, his married son and daughter-in-law, his young unmarried daughter, a male and female servant and their baby. The family cat was strangled; the family fish scooped out of the fishbowl and tossed on the floor. When the Communists left, no life remained in the house. A 'social unit' had been eliminated."

Multiply that by the times it would happen in every town and village and hamlet in South Vietnam if the Communists prevail.

But Americans might never know about it, and thus their consciences need not bother them—or so some seem to think.

One of the Communists' first acts, Pike said, would be to clear all foreigners, especially the Western reporters, out of South

Vietnam: "A curtain of ignorance would descend. Then would begin a night of long knives... But little of this would be known abroad. The Communists in Vietnam would create a silence."

"The world would call it peace."

The Communists won't prevail, if they must depend upon a military victory to do so. But in South Vietnam and in Cambodia their capacity for waging big unit war has been drastically reduced. This, Pike predicts, will motivate them to turn more to the strategy of terror, with an eye on the impact they can have on wavering public opinion in America, in the hope that the American people will lose their stomach for going on.

Vietnamization can succeed, giving the people of South Vietnam a fighting chance to survive the Communists' attempt to impose their rule, and thus to escape the fate of the 6,000 at Hue. Then, perhaps, peace can be achieved.

Are Americans really prepared to live with the other kind of "peace" which Hue forebodes?

Douglas Pike wrote:

"Apparently (the massacre at Hue) made no impact on the world's mind or conscience. For there was no agonized outcry. No demonstrations at North Vietnamese embassies around the world. Lord Russell did not send his 'war crimes tribunal' to Hue to take evidence and indict. In a tone beyond bitterness, the people there will tell you that the world does not know what happened in Hue, or if it does, does not care."

We believe some do care.

[From the Birmingham (Ala.) News, July 16, 1970]

MY LAI

The final determination of what exactly happened at My Lai and who is to blame for it will be made by duly constituted courts martial, and we would not presume to make prejudgments.

Neither did the House subcommittee—including Rep. William Dickinson of Alabama—which has been investigating My Lai make any such prejudgments. It studiously avoided them in order not to prejudice later legal proceedings.

But the subcommittee did issue a grim report that "a tragedy of major proportions" did, indeed, occur; and that furthermore the events of that day were the object of a calculated cover-up attempt by the Army at many levels.

Both findings are disturbing. But the subcommittee members are due commendation for accepting what most assuredly has been an unhappy responsibility, doing their job conscientiously and reporting their findings unflinchingly.

Anything resembling a whitewash job or another stab at the kind of cover-up the subcommittee says the Army attempted earlier would have been a disservice if the facts pointed in the opposite direction, as the report says they do. The soft-pedaling itself would be used by anti-war and anti-American propagandists to magnify the story even larger.

These men are not fluttery doves; if anything, they line up on the hawkish side. Coming from them, the report assumes particular impact.

At the same time—precisely because it does ring honestly—the report might give circulation to some balancing points which those who have seized on the tragedy to discredit America and try to force an American withdrawal from Vietnam conveniently ignore.

For the subcommittee took careful pains to say that while My Lai cannot and must not be condoned, what happened there still is the exception to the general rule of American conduct.

The committee noted that what happened was "wrong and... foreign to the normal character and actions of our military forces"—so much so, in fact, that it raises a question as to the legal sanity at the time of the men involved. The point being raised is whether, under certain circumstances under combat conditions, soldiers could suffer behavioral lapses for which they cannot be held responsible.

The report made it clear that not all American GIs, not all the men in the units involved, and not even all the men who were members of the fateful mission that day can be blamed for what took place.

That is a key point: That while tragedies like the one which apparently did occur at My Lai are sickening, they represent only a fraction of the story of American men in Vietnam. Far more men serve honorably and bravely, many of them going far beyond the call of duty to contribute personally to efforts to help the Vietnamese people improve their lives. But their side of the story is seldom told.

[From the Montgomery Alabama Journal,
July 17, 1970]

WERE THE MEN AT MY LAI INSANE?

It seems that every government agency, military or otherwise, which conducts an inquiry into the My Lai affair comes up with the sad conclusion that a horrible spectacle took place in that small South Vietnamese village on the fateful day of March 16, 1968.

The Army itself long ago faced this unpleasant fact. During the past few days, a subcommittee of the House Armed Services Committee came to the same conclusion. The committee is headed by South Carolina's Rep. L. Mendel Rivers, one who could hardly be characterized as antimilitary.

Only general conclusions of the investigation have been released so far, but Congressmen who heard some 50 or more witnesses leave little doubt as to their state of shock. Montgomery's Rep. Bill Dickinson, a member of the committee, told a news conference that he is convinced that 100 civilians were herded together and killed deliberately and without regard to age or sex.

Anyone faintly aware of Congressman Dickinson's record knows full well he would not make such an observation based on scant or dubious evidence.

Despite such findings, we see continuing evidence that the general public can't believe or won't believe, that My Lai occurred or that if it did occur, our boys can't be held responsible. Only within the past few days a small town in Texas, the hometown of one of those accused of the massacre, made plans to hold a hero's homecoming for its native son.

This is the sort of spastic reaction we could do without. It is no more proper to absolve without evidence than to convict without evidence.

Another subcommittee member, Louisiana's Rep. F. Edward Hébert—another congressional supporter of the military for many years—was so moved by what he heard at the secret hearings that he feels the only recourse for the accused soldiers would be a plea of mass insanity, claiming that they were so intoxicated by war influence that they cannot be held accountable for what they did.

Some may find Hébert's suggestion as setting the groundwork for a national cop-out and whitewash of My Lai. But there is nevertheless an element of truth in what Hébert says.

The history of the company principally involved in the alleged massacre is not a pretty one. Several of its officers were the type people who would ordinarily be called "misfits." Further, the company had endured

many weeks of bitter frustration as they pursued an elusive foe. Several popular members of the company had been killed. A sense of rage and desire for vengeance clearly pervaded the company when it descended upon the village on the fateful day.

Throughout legal history, a definition of sanity has been elusive and subject to continuing change. But legal questions aside, there is clearly something wrong with our definition of sanity if the acts said to have been committed at My Lai were committed by "sane" men.

It is important that the country not lose its sanity as well as we get on with the messy job of dealing with the accused of My Lai.

[From the Congressional Quarterly Weekly Report, July 17, 1970]

HOUSE PANEL CHARGES "COVER-UP" OF MY LAI MASSACRE

A special four-man House Armed Services Subcommittee which investigated the My Lai incident for seven months charged July 15 that a massive and planned "cover-up" had suppressed information about the killing of Vietnamese civilians by U.S. forces in 1968.

In its 53-page report, the panel also raised a question about the sanity of the U.S. servicemen involved and was highly critical of what it called a lack of Army cooperation during the investigation.

Concerning the alleged killing of civilians by U.S. soldiers, the panel observed the incident "was so wrong and so foreign to the normal character and actions of our military forces as to immediately raise a question as to the legal sanity at that time of those men involved." More than 20 U.S. Army enlisted men and officers have been charged with various offenses arising out of the My Lai incident.

The Subcommittee report made recommendations to require a test of sanity in military capital offenses, prevent dissemination of pre-court-martial publicity or information, permit the prosecution of former servicemen for military offenses and to require independent investigations of atrocity charges. The members of the Sub-committee, Representatives F. Edward Hebert (D-La.), Samuel S. Stratton (D-N.Y.), Charles S. Gubser (R-Calif.) and William L. Dickinson (D-Ala.), said they would press for legislation to implement their recommendations.

References.—Weekly Report p. 1218, 1110, 779, 397, 287, 190, 57; 1969 Weekly Report p. 2648, 2585, 2546, 2464, 2383.

Following is a partial transcript of the Subcommittee's findings and recommendations.

FINDINGS AND CONCLUSIONS

There is no question but that a tragedy of major proportions involving unarmed Vietnamese, not in uniform, occurred at My Lai 4 on March 16, 1968, as a result of military operations of units of the Americal Division.

This matter was promptly reported, at least in part, to the Task Force Commander, the Commander of the 11th Brigade, the Commander of "B" Company, 123rd Aero Scouts, the Commander of the 123rd Aviation Battalion, the Division Artillery Chaplain, the Division Chaplain, the Division S-5, the Division Chief of Staff, an Assistant Division Commander, and the Commander of the Americal Division. There is also testimony that the Third Marine Amphibious Force (III MAF) received sufficient information about this incident to have reported it to the Military Assistance Command Vietnam (MACV).

The matter was also reported to the U.S. Intelligence Community, composed of civilian and military advisers, to the South Vietnamese Son Tinh District Chief, and to the Province Chief of Quang Ngai Province.

Although there were three reporting channels that should have brought the My Lai allegations to the attention of III MAF, there is no evidence that two of these channels did so, and the third channel functioned inadequately.

There is no evidence that the My Lai allegations were reported to MACV, although directives in effect at that time made such reporting mandatory on the part of all military and staff personnel having knowledge of, or receiving a report of, such an incident. Commanders and MACV staff sections had a special obligation in this respect.

It could reasonably be concluded that responsible officers of the Americal Division and 11th Brigade failed to make adequate, timely investigation and report of the My Lai allegations.

An Army photographer and an Army reporter, both assigned to the Brigade Public Information Office, were designated to accompany the Task Force Barker operation at My Lai on March 16, 1968. Although both men have been quoted extensively on the My Lai incident since leaving the service, the Subcommittee has found no evidence that either man, while serving in uniform, made any report of atrocities, or that the photographer turned in to the Army any pictures of atrocities.

On the afternoon of March 16, 1968, an order was given by radio to the Commander of "C" Company of Task Force Barker to return to My Lai 4 that day to determine the sex, age and cause of death of those civilians killed. That order was immediately countermanded by the Commander of the Americal Division, who was monitoring the frequency on which the order was transmitted. He testified that he did so for tactical reasons. However, there is no evidence that American troops ever returned to My Lai 4 for the above purpose, although the Situation Reports for March 17, 1968, indicate that elements of both "A" and "C" Companies were in the immediate vicinity of My Lai 4 on that date and apparently could have easily made such an investigation.

It can reasonably be concluded that the My Lai matter was "covered up" within the Americal Division and by the District and Province Advisory Teams.

To keep the My Lai matter bottled up within the Americal Division and the District and Province Advisory teams required the concerted action or inaction on the part of so many individuals that it would be unreasonable to conclude that this dereliction of duty was without plan or direction.

A number of witnesses testified under oath with respect to the existence of investigative reports, statements, affidavits, correspondence and other documents relative to the My Lai incident. If they ever existed, virtually all such records have now disappeared. Only one copy of the so-called "Henderson Report" has been found. It had not been kept in the files, but was hidden in the desk drawer of the Brigade Intelligence Sergeant on instructions of his immediate superior.

There is evidence that officers and enlisted men of the Americal Division and 11th Brigade were informed, directly or indirectly, that the My Lai operation was being investigated, and, therefore, were instructed that they should not speculate on, or discuss the matter, pending completion of that investigation. While normally this might be considered proper procedure, this warning, coupled with the failure of the Division or Brigade to conduct any meaningful investigation, tends to substantiate the charge of "cover up."

Although the Intelligence Community at all times during 1968-69 had numerous individuals, both civilian and military, stationed in close proximity to My Lai 4, they deny having learned anything in more than

a year and a half which would have caused them to believe that anything untoward had happened in that hamlet on March 16, 1968. Documentary evidence, however, established that one organization attached to an intelligence agency had a report as early as March 18th, alleging the killing of civilians at Son My.

Our Intelligence personnel, whom one might reasonably expect to be able to detect or verify an incident of such magnitude, apparently saw fit to dismiss all allegations concerning it as communist propaganda, although most of these allegations, which came to them through the South Vietnamese officials, were specific as to time, place and units involved. Failure to fully investigate and report these allegations to high authority raises a serious question as to the reliability and usefulness of our intelligence activities in this area.

There was a surprising and almost unbelievable lack of recollection on the part of many of the Subcommittee witnesses whose responsibility to investigate the original My Lai allegations should have caused a more lasting impression on their minds as to the incidents and events involved.

The ground troops involved in the action at My Lai 4 had been in Vietnam less than four months, but during that time had received many casualties as a result of mines, booby traps and sniper fire. "C" Company had suffered 42 casualties since it had been assigned to Task Force Barker on January 26, 1968, thereby reducing its strength by about one-fourth.

The units involved in the My Lai operation had minimal training with respect to the handling of civilians under the Rules of Engagement and the Geneva Conventions.

At the company briefing the day prior to the My Lai 4 action, the troops were advised that all civilians were expected to be gone from the hamlet at the time set for the assault. The troops were advised that they were to destroy the hamlet and make it unusable as a base camp for the Viet Cong 48th Battalion. No specific instructions were given as to the handling of civilians in the event any were encountered.

The Subcommittee finds that, based upon the testimony it has received, it would be unfair to attribute misconduct to all members of Task Force Barker. Those who may have violated the Rules of Engagement were the exception.

As a part of the March 16th operation, the actual insertion of troops was to be preceded by artillery fire. Although this was to be directed at the western side and edge of the hamlet, some of the shells impacted within the hamlet itself. Gunships were also used in connection with the operation. It appears that the artillery and gunships accounted for some civilian casualties. At the conclusion of the artillery fire, several hundred villagers left the area and proceeded down the road to Quang Ngai unharmed. Later that day, approximately 80 residents of the Son My areas were directed by troops of "C" Company to leave the combat area and to go a refugee camp.

The helicopter pilot who first reported on civilian casualties at My Lai 4 and his two crew members were given military decorations for actions on March 16, 1968, at My Lai 4 on the basis of statements which were at substantial variance with the truth.

According to the aforesaid helicopter pilot, there was no "armed confrontation" between the U.S. helicopter crew and U.S. ground forces at My Lai 4, as widely reported by the news media. The sworn testimony of the pilot categorically denies that such an incident ever took place.

The Army overreacted by recommending charges in several cases where there was insufficient evidence to warrant such action.

RECOMMENDATIONS

1. Consideration should be given to the amending of the Uniform Code of Military Justice to provide:

(a) that no person subject to the Code shall make public release of any information respecting any investigation or the pendency of any charge until after the convening authority has referred such charge to trial by court-martial; and

(b) that no charge involving an alleged capital offense, committed during a military action against an enemy, shall be referred to trial by court-martial until a duly appointed competent authority has determined the mental responsibility of the prospective accused at the time of the alleged crime.

2. Consideration should be given to amending Section 803(a), Title 10 of United States Code to provide for trial in the United States District Courts, of persons charged with having committed offenses while on active military duty, who are no longer subject to military jurisdiction as a result of having been discharged.

3. The Secretary of the Army should:

(a) require all commanders to submit reports at specified regular intervals attesting that all personnel have had adequate refresher training with respect to the Geneva Conventions and the Rules of Engagements, with particular reference to war crimes;

(b) issue or cause to be issued such regulations as may be necessary to insure that all investigations of allegations of possible war crimes be conducted by competent, trained investigators who shall be independent of the immediate command involved in the alleged incident. The record of all such investigations shall be maintained in writing and copies forwarded to the Secretary of the Army;

(c) require official Army photographers to submit to their superiors all photographs taken while on assignment whether taken with personal equipment or that issued by the Army;

(d) require all Army photographers to receive such training as may be necessary to insure that the Army obtains the most complete pictorial coverage possible of all military operations to which photographers are assigned; and

(e) review the practices and procedures in awarding medals and decorations with particular reference to: (1) requiring that all supporting statements be dated and be in affidavit form, and (2) requiring special scrutiny of reciprocal recommendations for awards.

4. The Secretary of Defense should apply the recommendations directed to the Secretary of the Army, *supra*, to all military departments.

[From the Birmingham (Ala.) News, July 26, 1970]

FOR DICKINSON, RIVERS AND OTHERS—PROBE OF MY LAI STILL DRAWS COMPLIMENTS

(By James Free)

WASHINGTON.—Rep. William L. Dickinson, R.-Montgomery, and other members of the Special Armed Services Subcommittee—which recently took the hide off the Army for the My Lai mass killing of civilians and later attempts to suppress reports about it—are still getting compliments for the way they handled this tough assignment.

It is noteworthy that one of those who speaks highly of the report is Rep. Mendel Rivers, D-S.C., chairman of the full Armed Services Committee. As was noted by this newspaper, Chairman Rivers held up the printing of the report for about two weeks in a vain attempt to persuade the subcommittee to soften its bare knuckle language at several points.

But any differences Rivers may have had with the four-member group he appointed

last December should not obscure the fact that Chairman Rivers deserves a major share of the credit for starting this My Lai probe over strong Pentagon opposition.

Rivers' critics often charge that he works hand-in-glove with the Defense Department, that in his eyes the military can do no wrong. Such a view hardly squares with the fact that within three days after he received on April 4, 1969, a mimeographed letter from an ex-GI, Ron Ridenhour, detailing charges of the My Lai, or Pinkville, killings, Rivers sent a copy of the letter to the Army and asked for an investigation.

The record shows that Rivers later gave the Army several forceful prods to take the investigation more seriously.

On Nov. 24, 1969, Rivers announced that his investigating subcommittee had asked the Army to furnish all information on the incident at Pinkville. That same day the Army announced appointment of Lt. Gen. William R. Peers "to explore the nature and scope of the original Army investigation."

On Dec. 30, 1969, Rivers' subcommittee requested Sgt. David Mitchell and another witness be made available to testify on Dec. 31. On the 31st the Army announced that Sgt. Mitchell would be tried by a general court-martial.

It is characteristic of the Armed Services Committee under Rivers' leadership that the subcommittee report was unanimous. Two Democrats and two Republicans resolved whatever minor differences of opinion they had and got together without a minority report.

This is typical of the bi-partisan approach the full committee has taken under Rivers. The South Carolinian is not as brusque with witnesses or as arbitrary with the gavel as was his predecessor as chairman, Rep. Carl Vinson, D-Ga. But the committee functions a lot more democratically and minority members—in party and in opinion—have more chance to be heard.

Rivers is not a popular hero in the House. His strictly-from-Dixie accent, his flowing white hair, and his sometimes biting remarks in debate stir occasional strong resentment. But he has the staunch loyalty of fellow members of the Armed Services Committee, Democratic and Republican.

ALL NOT GUILTY

Along with its burning criticism of Army handling of the My Lai incident at all levels, the subcommittee stressed that by no means all of the task force in Pinkville that day were guilty of misconduct—that, in fact, most of the men did not appear to be guilty.

And, without excusing those who did kill civilians, the subcommittee made these comments about conditions prevailing at the time:

"In a war such as that in Vietnam, our forces in the field must live for extended periods of time in the shadow of violent death and in constant fear of being crippled or maimed by booby traps and mines. And added to this is the fact that this is not war in the conventional sense. The enemy is often not in uniform. A farmer or a housewife or a child by day may well be the enemy by night, fashioning or setting mines and booby traps, or giving aid, comfort, and assistance to the uniformed enemy troops.

"Under such circumstances, one can understand how it might become increasingly difficult for our troops to accept the idea that many of those who kill them by night somehow become 'innocent civilians' by day. Understandably, such conditions can warp attitudes and mental processes causing temporary deviation from normality of action, reason, or sense of values."

And—

"... It is reasonable to conclude that those 'civilians' present in the hamlet of My Lai 4, except those too young to do so, were there to aid the enemy or his cause.

They had been previously removed from the village to the safety of a refugee camp but subsequently returned. They had been repeatedly warned to leave the area because of the likelihood of military action... the village of Son My, of which My Lai 4 was a part, was a hard-core Viet Cong area and had been for more than 20 years. The hamlets were fortified by camouflaged fighting bunkers and used as base and supply camps for the Viet Cong and North Vietnamese."

MY LAI SUBCOMMITTEE: WHERE THE BUCK STOPPED

(By Brooke Nihart)

The House Armed Services Committee report on the My Lai tragedy, released on 14 July, is a sad, historic, and uncommonly blunt report. But out of it fall two particularly important and constructive recommendations:

That the Uniform Code of Military Justice be changed to prohibit pre-investigation release of charges being preferred against Servicemen, because the inevitable result of the release of charges is that "for all intents and purposes [their] professional military careers... are ended regardless of the outcome of the [pre-trial] investigations"; and

That the U.S. Code be amended to permit trial of persons separated from the Services for offenses committed while on active duty.

We can't avoid the thought of how heavily his investigation and its gut-wrenching findings must have weighed on Subcommittee Chairman F. Edward Hebert (D-La.), long a champion of the Armed Services. Hebert and his colleagues—Congressmen Samuel S. Stratton (D-N.Y.), and Charles S. Gubser (R-Calif.), and W. L. Dickinson (R-Ala.)—heard 152 witnesses, held 16 days of hearings, took 1,812 pages of sworn testimony, and produced or combed through 3,045 pages of witness statements. Their report, which many editorial writers last December said would be a "cover-up," speaks well of our government's system of checks and balances—and of the integrity of HASC Chairman L. Mendel Rivers. On his own initiative, Chairman Rivers elected to investigate a matter which could—and did—make an institution and a cause that he loves look very bad. And he gave uncompromising support to the Hebert Subcommittee, even when it concluded that indeed there had been a cover-up of the My Lai tragedy and charged that the Army had seriously impeded and delayed the Subcommittee's investigation.

President Harry S. Truman, referring to the ultimate responsibilities of his office, once said: "The buck stops here." At a critical juncture in America's agony, Mr. Rivers and Mr. Hebert chose to "stop the buck" themselves in what has to be one of Congress' finest hours—albeit a sad one—in its investigative role.

But the Hebert report triggered rather nominal news stories, and virtually no editorial comment. Thus, we can't help wondering: Where are the editorial writers who are usually so critical of both the Vietnam War and the House Armed Services Committee? Where are those who said last December that the Hebert investigation itself would be "another My Lai whitewash"? Our ears are straining to catch their comments on the Hebert Subcommittee's My Lai report.

SGT. WILLIAM C. RAY

HON. M. G. (GENE) SNYDER

OF KENTUCKY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 29, 1970

Mr. SNYDER. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to pay tribute to Sgt. William Clayton Ray, who was killed by the shattering

blast of a land mine in Vietnam on July 4, 1970.

Bill was the 114th northern Kentucky fighting man to give his life for his country in Southeast Asia.

Sgt. Ray of Kenton County, had been married barely 16 months when he made the highest sacrifice for his country and for those of us whom he died defending. I know I speak for the people of the Fourth District of Kentucky—and for all Americans—when I convey my deep sense of loss and sympathy to his young widow and the Ray family.

William Ray's heroic service, in a time when the loyalty of American youth is often brought into question, serves as an example for all patriotic Americans.

An editorial concerning the loss of Sergeant Ray in the Kentucky Post, July 10, follows:

SGT. WILLIAM C. RAY

Sgt. William Clayton Ray was doing a job he didn't like, but he was doing his duty as a soldier when his life ended with the shattering blast of a land mine in Vietnam.

The handsome, athletic, former honor student thus became Kenton County's 44th casualty and northern Kentucky's 114th of this war. His name is added to a bitter list of heroes.

And the pain is all the more poignant in that this young man and his bride of barely 16 months had suffered separation almost from their wedding date, when he was drafted, sent to camp for training, and then last January shipped out to Asia.

Our profound sympathy goes to his young widow and to his remaining family.

CHILDREN'S HOSPITAL OF THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

HON. ANCHER NELSEN

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 29, 1970

Mr. NELSEN. Mr. Speaker, a fine old institution which is doing a big job in the modern era of child health care, the Children's Hospital of the District of Columbia, is marking its hundredth year of service to sick children in the Metropolitan Washington area and in the regions beyond.

Because of my longstanding interest in improving the quality of medical service available to the children in my district, my State, and the Nation as a whole, I have watched the efforts being made by the Children's Hospital of the District of Columbia to develop a national medical center whose teaching and research programs contribute to the improvement of pediatric health care for children everywhere.

For this reason, I was associated with enactment of the District of Columbia medical facilities authorization statute of 1968 which provides a Federal grant-loan program under which the Children's Hospital of the District of Columbia can replace its outdated, inefficient, and overcrowded facility for the care of sick children and for teaching and research in pediatrics.

This authorization statute, enacted almost 2 years ago, is in line with current national thinking on construction of hospital facilities because it is limited to modernization and replacement of existing bed capacity and calls for a 50-50 Government loan-grant program to achieve its objectives.

Also, the facilities of Children's Hospital make a major contribution to providing health care for the children of the so-called inner city. Its charity work, even in an era of increased Government programs, is reflected in its \$1½ million annual deficit which is covered in large part by annual contributions from warmhearted members of the Metropolitan Washington community.

Last April 10, the Children's Hospital family held its centennial dinner as a prelude to the regular meeting of the American Academy of Pediatrics which was held in Washington to mark the hundredth anniversary of this fine institution. The academy consists of pediatricians from all parts of the country who treat sick children in all States.

I am offering for the RECORD the brief remarks made at the centennial dinner by two of the volunteer citizens of the Washington area who contribute their time and effort—along with many other dedicated people—to the development of a Children's Hospital National Medical Center for the benefit of sick children everywhere.

From these remarks, I learn of two very interesting developments: First, that Children's Hospital is planning to start the first phase of construction October 1, on land adjacent to the Washington Hospital Center, and is trying to raise money from private contributions to supplement the Federal aid indicated in the authorization statute; and, second, I am pleased to note that the physicians on the medical staff of Children's have given a big boost to the fundraising by making their own commitment for a \$1 million contribution. This certainly demonstrates their dedication to the hospital and to child health care generally.

The remarks referred to above, follow:

REMARKS BY MR. RUDOLPH KAUFFMANN II

This is a family affair. The family concerned is what we at Children's Hospital refer to as The Children's Hospital Family—Corporate Members, Directors, Doctors, Nurses, Staff, Alumni, members of kindred organizations with which we're affiliated, friends, supporters, well wishers.

On December 5 of this year, our hospital will be 100 years old. We shall no doubt discover some appropriate way of observing our actual birth date. But what could be more appropriate than to share our birthday with our alumni here for the annual convention of the American Academy of Pediatrics. For it is to the medical profession, particularly those men saw the need for specialization in the care of children, that we owe our existence.

Let me take you back to the City of Washington of 1870.

The Civil War had been over only 5 years. The city still bore the scars of war, not the least of which were the human scars—poverty, ignorance, disorientation and consequent diseases and congenital defects. The condition of many children here, especially,

if it were to confront us today, would be reminiscent of the sort of thing one finds in so-called underdeveloped nations.

Unfortunately some of these scars are still visible today. How much worse they would have remained if it had not been for Children's Hospital we have no way of knowing. But I know in my heart that they would be worse, much worse.

Fortunately, in 1870, there were dedicated physicians here who refused to view this condition of the city's children with indifference. They sought out civic-minded men of some substance and reputation in the community, men who had the vision of a city worthy of the honored name of Washington. The results: On December 5, 1870, a small group of such individuals appeared before the city's commissioner of corporations and pledged themselves to:

"... establish a charitable institution in said District of Columbia to be used as a hospital and dispensary for the treatment of the medical and surgical diseases of children, where all such may be treated gratuitously. . . ."

And in 1884 they amended this to state that:

"... the particular business and object of said corporation is to establish and maintain a hospital and dispensary for the gratuitous medical and surgical treatment of indigent children . . . without distinction of race, sex or creed . . ."

The incorporators added, as an afterthought, that fees for care could, at the hospital's discretion, be collected from parents who could pay.

We hear a lot today about voluntary "non-profit" hospitals. We are a voluntary charitable hospital. There's a difference. We have lived by the words of our founders. We intend to continue to give them meaning. We have operated at substantial deficits and have relied on the financial support of our "family" and the community to make up the difference. We shall continue to do so.

In its early years the hospital was primarily a "care" institution. But the medical staff and directors came to realize that medication, surgical procedures and nursing were not enough. The hospital's mission was gradually broadened to include the education of young doctors and nurses, later research into the causes and cures for children's diseases.

Beginning about 15 years ago we began tailoring the organization to give the fullest possible meaning to this evolution, even though handicapped by an inability to expand and modernize in a truly meaningful way the physical plant of the Hospital. What has finally evolved is a center of pediatric excellence—actually, it would be difficult to justify the Hospital's existence as anything else.

Today, we've converted our last broom closet to serve the work professionals pre-eminent in a broad spectrum of pediatric specialties. And, having moved in 1879 to our present location (it was the edge of town then) we have no alternative but to move again.

This is not a "fund-raising" dinner. It's a party. However, what we must do will cost a very great deal of money; and we are preparing to seek it. The "family" will be hearing from us.

REMARKS BY MR. WALLACE WERBLE

In the broad sweep of history, a hundred years is only a measure of time, and a second hundred years is only twice the measure.

But in the span of a lifetime, a hundred years is a significant milestone for any institution, and a second hundred years represents the dreams and aspirations of all those committed to the present and the future.

On behalf of the Hospital Board, which serves, in a sense, as the trustee for the well-being of all sick children in the Metropolitan Washington Area, it is a privilege to express gratitude to all of you who have joined with the "family" at this important moment in the history of the Hospital.

We hope that all of you will consider yourselves, henceforth, as members of our Children's Hospital "family" and we welcome the addition of the distinguished guests from Greece, from Philadelphia, from the District of Columbia "City Hall," from the new leadership in our own Health Department, and from all the parts of the nation represented by the officers and governing body of the American Academy of Pediatrics.

To the Academy of Pediatrics, we acknowledge a great debt for the fact that it scheduled one of its all-important meetings in Washington to serve as the highlight of our program for marking a hundred years of service to sick children. The Academy, in the broadest sense, is the custodian of the quality of health care made available to all children in the entire nation.

In an era when government and other interested groups—including the Academy and our own Hospital—have focused attention properly on the pressing need for heroic expansion in the quantity of health care available to children, it is still reassuring—as parents and grandparents, uncles or aunts—to know that the Academy continues as the stern and influential guardian over standards of quality.

All of us, as we strive to achieve our dreams of a Children's Hospital National Medical Center, hope that our dedication to maintaining standards of quality, at the same time that we provide community leadership to the expansion of available quantity in child health care, will make the Academy of Pediatrics forever proud of its decision to meet this spring in Washington in tribute to our hundredth year.

It would be presumptuous for me, as an individual, to attempt an expression of thanks to the members of the Hospital "family" for their presence here and for their past, present and future commitment to the support of Children's Hospital and its objectives.

I do want to express appreciation, however, to Dr. and Mrs. Elliott for joining us. Dr. Elliott is president of George Washington University, which will soon celebrate its 150th anniversary. We have recently entered an agreement for a closer affiliation in matters of pediatric education with this university.

But we also will continue to offer our Hospital for the training in pediatrics of all medical students from all medical schools in our area that wish to use our facilities for this purpose. We are particularly happy to have Dean Parks of the George Washington Medical School and Dean Rose of the Georgetown Medical School with us.

All of us in the Children's Hospital "family" are committed to serve. To us, it is an opportunity to demonstrate that we care in a world which sadly has begun to doubt whether people care for people. The members of our family do care—and they care a little bit more than most people.

Thus, in the name of all sick children, thanks and gratitude are due all of you who serve as annual members of the Hospital, as members of the newly formed Committee of 100 to mark the hundredth anniversary and as members of our Medical Board and staff, the Board of Lady Visitors, and the Child Health Center Board, which is taking over the important "outreach" responsibility in our new pattern of child health care.

Our thanks also to our affiliated Hearing and Speech Center Board, and to the Board of the Hillcrest Center for Mental Health,

with whom we are working to achieve a closer and truly meaningful relationship in this vital area of child health care.

And gratitude is due also to everyone who works at this Hospital in a medical, administrative or other capacity to insure day-in-and-day-out service for sick children.

Probably no other institution in the Washington area has ever undertaken goals of the size and scope to which the Board of Children's is committed.

We are embarking on a capital fund drive designed to raise the \$15 million in private money which, with federal funds, will finance construction of a new Children's Medical Center adjacent to the Washington Hospital Center.

At its March meeting, the Board of Children's voted to start a phased-construction program for the new Center on next October 1, providing the capital fund drive could raise \$6 million, primarily from local resources, by the end of August.

If this sub-goal can be achieved, fourteen months can be cut from the time it takes to construct a new Children's medical center. At the current rate of escalation, the cost of the new construction increases an estimated \$400,000 a month, or approximately \$5 million a year.

At the same time, our annual fund drive is committed to raising at least a million dollars a year to make up the operating deficit of the Hospital. In time, this figure will increase to a million and a half dollars.

This year, our annual fund drive—money contributed from all sources and benefits to operating expenses—will reach the million dollar mark for the first time.

These are the kind of figures to cause a sinking sensation in the pit of the stomach, but it took the doctors, fittingly enough, to cure the uneasiness experienced by all of us.

The cure, I am privileged to disclose for the first time tonight, is a commitment by the Medical Staff of our Hospital to provide at least \$1 million of the \$15 million we need to build the new medical center.

No one can conceive of a greater birthday present to Children's Hospital than this commitment. I would like to ask all the laymen in the room to rise and join with me in applauding our doctors—who by this and by their many other dedicated actions and deeds demonstrate every day that they care very deeply for all aspects of child health care.

Motivated by the inspiration from the doctors, I can assure you that the active, committed and dedicated laymen in our family approach their money-raising job with greater confidence. The movers-and-shakers in our midst don't seem to be scared by the numbers, and committees to raise the money for capital expansion and sustaining operations are hard at work—each confident it will achieve its goal so vital to the next hundred years of our institution.

The plans for our new hospital are breathtaking. Our architects and planners have devised the most modern kind of facility, the most unhospital-like hospital in the country, virtually enveloped in glass to provide maximum light and bright atmosphere.

For the doctors who are visiting with us, let me tell you of an exciting concept—we will have no out-patient department, as such. The patients described by you as clinic patients will not crowd and wait on hard benches, but will go to locations throughout the medical center, adjacent to the regular office of the physicians and specialists who treat them.

Essentially, we are engaged in a life-and-death "business" if you will pardon the word. We hope to bring children's care closer to where they live, and develop our medical center as the referral specialist in life-and-death cases. Our Board is forever aware of the question—What is the life of a single

child worth? Your child, my child, a ghetto child, any child!

By your presence here tonight, you have affirmed a continuing commitment to the great ideal on which this institution was founded—that is, that people do care what happens to other people, particularly children.

Dedication to this ideal has kept our institution alive during many dark days over the past hundred years—some of the darkest have been experienced during the past 10 or 15 years.

For the future of our institution—and perhaps for the future of a civilized society—it is more important than ever before for people who care to demonstrate this fact because it is being questioned in unprecedented ways in the wake of the complex and often disheartening sociological, medical, generational and other revolutions through which we are now struggling.

The future of everything we cherish may well depend on the efforts from all of us to demonstrate a care for people and to prove the ability of our institutions to cope with the vastly increased size and the expanded new dimensions of the health and other problems confronting us.

The next hundred years will be most interesting.

PAULA ECHEVERRIA OF PLANNERS, INC., DISCUSSES ADMINISTRATION POLICIES IN LETTER TO HUD UNDER SECRETARY VAN DUSEN

HON. HENRY S. REUSS

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 29, 1970

Mr. REUSS. Mr. Speaker, on June 9, 1970, a delegation of architects and planners under the leadership of David Todd, past president of the New York chapter of the American Institute of Architects, visited HUD Under Secretary Richard C. Van Dusen to protest the administration's war and domestic policies.

Among the group was Mrs. Paula Echeverria of Planners, Inc., who sent the following letter to Under Secretary Van Dusen on July 10, 1970, as a result of that meeting:

PLANNERS, INC.,
July 10, 1970.

Mr. RICHARD C. VAN DUSEN,
Under Secretary of Housing and Urban Development, Washington, D.C.

DEAR Mr. VAN DUSEN: I wish to add my thanks to these of David Todd for meeting with our group of architects and planners on June 9th.

I was horrified to read that your office applied pressures threatening to withhold housing allocations to Congressional Districts voting against the Cooper-Church Amendment.

Furthermore, I note, in my June 29 issue of I. F. Stone's weekly, quotations from the Baltimore Evening Sun of June 16 and Bernard Nossiter in the Washington Post of the same date rebutting your comments to us concerning the Administration's eagerness to pass the Emergency Housing Financing Act of 1970. In fact, Mr. Patman and White House Staff both corroborate the fact that no such pressures were exerted—until the President made his speech on Economic Policy.

The purpose my colleague had in coming to you was to warn you of our profound

misgivings on the course of U.S. Domestic Policy. We cannot distinguish its clear and close interrelationship with foreign policy commitments that we believe are directly contrary to the best interests of this Country. Further cause for such misgivings are seen in today's Post, when Defense Secretary Laird states that we will have to increase military aid to South Korea, to compensate for withdrawal of American troops from that country! I do not see any realistic promise of reduction in the American military role in the world, despite your statement that Human Resources Appropriations will exceed military appropriations this year.

In short, we are still confronting the wide gap between statements of policy and performance. Citizens have witnessed this gross inconsistency in government for some time now and it appears to make little difference if the Party in power is Democratic or Republican. As we said to you, behaviour like this makes it increasingly difficult for us to sustain any faith in the good intentions of those of you now responsible for leading the country. Forbearance is out of the question.

Your own splendid description of metropolitan problems is hollow indeed without immediate constructive measures to implement the policies you correctly cited: merging of the metropolitan tax base; improvement and diversity in the quality and texture of existing old centres to reestablish them as heterogeneous activity centers for citizens of all races and incomes; construction of new housing in the suburbs; improvements in the full range of services, education and day care, health and job training. But these are all empty statements without the assurance of jobs, without the assurance of adequate funding for services.

In Washington, this means a major development plan for the 2,200 acres of the Anacostia Basin to provide alternate housing resources that will speed urban renewal now moving at a snail's pace because of the lack of adequate relocation resources. Recent action on Fort Lincoln, I am happy to see, is one small step in the right direction. It further means adopting a regional housing and employment policy with an acknowledged objective of an even spread of its 25 percent Black population throughout the Metropolitan area. It means a conscious Federal Employment Policy to meet this goal. Federal site selection for both rental and owned space should be directed toward providing the necessary range of housing and urban services in conjunction with the bonanza of construction and leasing of millions of square feet of office space for Federal agencies.

I am enclosing a position paper of the Washington Planning and Housing Association, prepared under my chairmanship of its Committee on Planning and Economic Development. This demonstrates the problems of Washington as we see them—and lays out a strategy for their solution. The paper was initially prepared by me as Consultant to the Board of the Washington Urban League. It has been adopted as the joint thinking of both citizen organizations.

Each member of the Cabinet, I believe, must impress upon the President the need to plan now for conversion of the economy from war to peace time activities. The increasing unemployment due to moderate aero-space cutbacks demonstrates further the need for affirmative tools for government to initiate the conversion. Construction and new services in our cities is the obvious place to take up the slack.

This is why we are interested in an Urban Growth policy Act that not only establishes a mechanism for making urban settlement policy but also creates the necessary institutions to carry it out. There is no alterna-

tive to strong federal leadership in this regard.

Sam Jackson's Assistant, Carlos Campbell, addressed a meeting of Washington Council of Governments on June 16th. His speech was a rather ludicrous indictment of white racism as the major constraint on the solution of urban and metropolitan problems. When a representative of HUD has no policy to present and no program tools with which to implement such policies, he only starts a fruitless cycle of speculation on causes and effects. This is a weak and foolish role for a Federal official, for which I can hardly blame an earnest young man coping with an impossible public role. Your own obvious grasp of the problem was most impressive. I urge you to use your skills to redirect Federal Policy with the same passion that you summoned for that pointless political indictment of the House Banking and Currency Committee.

There is no point in the Administration's new tolerant stance vis-a-vis dissent unless it denotes a readiness to do more than dialogue with the opposition. The way to deal with dissent is to meet on its own ground and respond concretely to the gaps and deficiencies that generate such opposition. I urge you to bring these matters to the attention of Mr. Romney and Mr. Nixon.

Sincerely yours,

PAULA D. ECHEVERRIA.

LEGISLATIVE REORGANIZATION ACT OF 1970

HON. GARNER E. SHRIVER

OF KANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 29, 1970

Mr. SHRIVER. Mr. Speaker, the legislative reorganization bill under current consideration goes a long way in correcting some of the structural problems facing Congress today. Many issues remain which the reported bill does not begin to deal with, nor could we reasonably expect it to. The issue is far too complex to be dealt with in a single bill. I wholeheartedly support the current measure as indicated, but I hope that this will not represent the end of legislative reform.

I fully support efforts being made to help bring an end to the secrecy surrounding a number of House procedures. As a cosponsor of an amendment to allow for the recording of teller votes, the passage by the House on Monday of a similar amendment was most gratifying. It is important that the public have available a record of votes on major amendments while the House sits in the Committee of the Whole. The recording of teller votes, upon demand of at least 20 members, would allow for such consideration the public deserves. If this procedure is unworkable, provision should be made for recorded votes of both winning amendments and losing amendments.

The following editorial that appeared in this morning's Washington Post applauding the adoption of this much needed reform amendment is one which I commend for reading by my colleagues:

OPEN HOUSE

Those cheers that echoed in the House of Representatives on Monday may have vio-

lated Cannon's Rules but they were nevertheless very much in order. They were cheers for democracy, for the basic idea of representative government, for the concept of government by the consent of the governed. They came in response to a historic House decision to put an end, at long last, to its ancient practice of voting in secret on amendments to pending legislation. By an almost unanimous voice vote, the members of the House approved an amendment to the congressional reorganization bill providing that in the future they shall be recorded by name as they pass up the aisle to vote on amendments.

The House, at the same time, approved some other exceedingly salutary changes in its procedures. It agreed to permit at least 10 minutes of debate on any amendment printed in advance in the Congressional Record. And it approved the installation of electronic voting equipment to speed up roll calls—provided that later on the House decides that it wishes to tally its divisions in this modern, efficient and sensible fashion. More's the pity that it did not decide also to make committee meetings open to the public as a general rule. All these changes are simply devices for transacting the public business in public. They will serve at once to help the representatives themselves to know what they are doing and to help their constituents to know what they have done.

Because in their present form the changes are amendments to a bill which must have the concurrence of the Senate before it can become law, one cannot yet regard them as *faits accomplis*. But the support for them in the House was so strong, so healthy and so overwhelming that one can reasonably suppose the House would adopt them as rules of its own if the Senate should fail to translate them into an act of Congress. They reflect great credit on the House and will surely enhance the confidence of the country in its government.

Secrecy in the House is one of those curious folkways perpetuated as tradition long after the purpose for which it was originally contrived has been forgotten. The House of Commons in England undertook to keep its proceedings secret in order to protect its members from reprisals by James I and Charles I in the 17th century. The practice, designed to offset despotism, soon proved itself despotic. It led to all sorts of abuses difficult to unmask and to rebuke because responsibility for them could not be discerned. "Next to the existence of open constituencies, and a fair mode of election," the historian Lecky wrote, "the best security a nation can possess for the fidelity of its representatives is to be found in the system of parliamentary reporting. But this was also wanting. The theory of the statesmen of the first half of the 18th century was that the electors had no right to know the proceedings of their representatives, and it was only after a long and dangerous struggle, which was not terminated until the reign of George III, that the right of printing debates was virtually conceded."

The right of a free people to know how their elected representatives vote is a right without which elections can be considered neither free nor meaningful. The House of Commons recognized this long ago. The House of Representatives honors its best values in joining them now as a genuinely representative body.

We need to maintain an on-going review of Congress and its institutions. The time is long past that we can sit idly by and ignore the increasing complexity of the legislative process without modifying our procedures accordingly. The action we take now is a first step, but I certainly hope it is not the last.

URGENT NEEDS FOR H.R. 18185 MASS TRANSPORTATION FINANCING

HON. WILLIAM B. WIDNALL

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 29, 1970

Mr. WIDNALL. Mr. Speaker, a recent major poll indicates that American businessmen are very anxious to get on with development of adequate mass transportation facilities. The Chamber of Commerce of the United States released the results of its urban transportation survey in which 152 chambers in 44 States responded.

It is noted that 41 percent of the respondents reported urban transportation activities in their communities as either critical or getting progressively worse.

Only a slight majority foresee minor improvement over the next 5 years. Most chambers believe that improvement depends primarily on additional financing.

H.R. 18185, which would provide needed Federal assistance, was introduced by 26 members of the Banking and Currency Committee including myself, and was approved by the Committee on June 30.

To date it appears that the Rules Committee has not held a hearing on the bill, because there has been no reported request for a hearing by the Chairman of the Banking and Currency Committee.

This is an urgent national need and should have prompt action. I include a report on the chamber survey which further indicates the demand for attention:

URBAN TRANSPORTATION SURVEY

These findings are based on responses from 152 chambers of commerce (out of 332 queried) in 44 states.

The significance of this survey stems, in part, from the fact that greatly increased Federal assistance will probably soon be available to aid states and communities in improving their urban mass transportation systems.

In February, 1970, the Senate passed the Urban Mass Transportation Assistance Act of 1970 (S. 3154) which provides a Federal commitment of \$10 billion over a 12-year period and gives the Secretary of Transportation authority to obligate up to \$3.1 billion immediately upon the bill becoming law.

For the first time, Federal assistance would become available over a time span sufficient to accomplish the planning, decision-making and financing necessary to the orderly development of mass transportation systems.

Similar legislation (H.R. 18185) was introduced in the House on June 23. Legislation, perhaps representing a dollar compromise between the Senate and House bills, seems certain to be passed during the current Congressional session.

These survey results should be useful to local chambers in their cooperative efforts with state and local authorities to improve their urban mass transportation systems.

SURVEY HIGHLIGHTS

Sixty-three (41%) report urban transportation problems either critical or getting progressively worse.

Factors causing transit problems:

Lack of patronage.....	95
Increasing urbanization.....	79
Increasing wages and operating costs.....	60

Failure to provide adequate, comfortable, convenient, frequent and low cost service.....	54
Inadequate equipment and facilities.....	44
Fragmented political jurisdictions.....	41
Five-year changes expected:	
Slight improvement.....	77
Great improvement.....	25
Deterioration.....	23
Improvement depends on:	
Additional financing.....	78
Better roads/highways.....	57
Political developments.....	49
Better equipment.....	48
Fringe parking areas.....	39
Additional equipment.....	37

Problem solving most needed through:

City planning/action.....	69
State planning/action.....	34
Efforts to ease congestion being made through:	
Establishing one way streets.....	122
Staggering traffic lights.....	80
Eliminating parking on main thoroughfares.....	80
Providing fringe parking areas.....	60
Ninety-three communities have utilized federal assistance in planning/financing.	

(NOTE.—Because not all respondents answered all questions and because some respondents in question with multiple answers checked more than one, totals frequently are not consistent.)

SURVEY RESULTS

Number of chambers responding by population represented

Under 50,000.....	15
50,000-100,000.....	42
100,000-200,000.....	38
200,000-300,000.....	9
300,000-500,000.....	15
500,000-1,000,000.....	14
1,000,000-2,000,000.....	12
Over 2,000,000.....	7

Total.....152

1. Are transportation projects included in work program?

Yes.....	124
No.....	12

2. Does your chamber have a transportation (or similar) department?

Yes.....	70
No.....	70

Principal functions are:

Liaison with officials.....	70
Participation in regulatory proceedings.....	70
Transportation of people.....	69
Highways and airport access roads.....	67
Legislation.....	66
Transportation of goods.....	64
Planning.....	56
Parking facilities.....	34

3. Urban transportation responsibilities are assigned:

As sole responsibility of a particular committee.....	59
To a committee having other responsibilities.....	47
Not specifically to any committee.....	21

4. Separate transportation committee maintained for:

Air.....	96
Highways.....	84
Parking.....	45
Inland Waterways.....	32
Freight Traffic.....	31
Motor.....	30
Rail.....	26
Safety.....	17
Ocean.....	7

5. Special local transit authority/agency established for your area:

Yes.....	55
No.....	89

If no, is one necessary or desirable?	
Yes.....	33
No.....	40
6. Has a multistate or regional transportation compact or agreement been established in your area?	
Yes.....	43
No.....	82
In progress, 17.	
If no, is one necessary or desirable?	
Yes.....	28
No.....	32
7. Do your state constitution and statutory provisions require amendment, particularly with reference to application of available funds, in order to achieve a proper balance between highway and other modes of transportation?	
Yes.....	51
No.....	63
If yes, necessary action is:	
Being taken.....	16
Planned.....	20
Receiving no attention.....	9
8. Has your community utilized Federal assistance for mass transit facilities?	
Yes.....	93
No.....	50
What for?	
Planning grants.....	69
Capital grants.....	47
Loans.....	8
Training.....	5
9. State provides financial assistance in meeting community transit problems?	
Yes.....	55
No.....	83
a. Community has utilized this assistance?	
Yes.....	53
No.....	1
b. What for?	
System improvement.....	20
Equipment.....	15
Subsidies.....	7
10. Specific plans have been developed for meeting urban transportation requirements over:	
More than 10 years.....	36
5 to 10 years.....	21
3 to 5 years.....	10
One year.....	10
One to three years.....	8
11. Efforts have been made to ease congestion by:	
Establishing one-way streets.....	122
Eliminating parking on main thoroughfares.....	80
Staggering traffic lights.....	80
Providing fringe parking areas.....	60
Adding more traffic police during rush hours.....	59
Staggering working hours.....	49
Improving transit services.....	48
Providing express bus lanes.....	12
12. How do you rate the urban transportation situation in your community?	
Difficult and getting progressively worse.....	48
Difficult but progress being made toward solution.....	43
Minor problem.....	30
Crisis stage.....	15
No problem.....	1
13. Factors causing urban transit problem:	
Lack of patronage.....	95
Increasing urbanization.....	79
Increases in wages and operating costs.....	60
Failure to provide acceptable service.....	54
Failure to modernize equipment and facilities.....	44
Fragmented political jurisdictions.....	41
Failure of local/state authorities to take action.....	40
Poor planning.....	32
Outdated local/state regulatory procedures.....	10
14. Over the period of the next five years, urban transit facilities will show:	
Some but not much improvement.....	77

Great improvement.....	25
Deterioration.....	23
No change.....	17
15. Improvement depends most upon:	
Additional financing.....	78
Better roads-highways.....	57
Political developments.....	49
Better equipment.....	48
Fringe parking areas.....	39
Additional equipment.....	37
Additional transit systems.....	26
Technical improvements.....	23
16. Problem solving emphasis is most needed in:	

City planning.....	69
State activities.....	34
Private enterprise.....	14
Federal policies and action.....	12
17. Would like additional information on:	
Case studies covering successful actions by chambers of similar size.....	84
Meeting transportation needs of low-income residents.....	69
Responsibilities that have been assigned to and actions taken by transportation or urban transit committees of other chambers.....	63

How other chambers go about involving businessmen in mass transit problem.....	62
Reducing congestion in the central business district.....	56
Experience of cities that have established express bus lanes.....	35
Transportation of people within the central city.....	34
Legislation/city ordinances that require apartments and businesses to provide off-street parking.....	24
Transit services within the framework of overall community development.....	10

RESPONSES TO SELECTED QUESTIONS BY POPULATION GROUPS

	Under 50,000	50,000 to 100,000	100,000 to 200,000	200,000 to 300,000	300,000 to 500,000	500,000 to 1,000,000	1,000,000 to 2,000,000	Over 2,000,000
1. Has a special local transit authority/agency been established in your metropolitan area?								
(a) Yes.....	2	6	14	1	8	6	11	7
(b) No.....	12	30	26	7	5	8	1	
If no, is one necessary?								
(a) Yes.....	3	13	9	2	3	2	1	
(b) No.....	4	17	13	3	1	2		
2. Has a multistate or regional transportation compact or agreement been signed for your area?								
(a) Yes.....	3	6	14	3	2	3	8	4
(b) No.....	10	27	21	2	9	8	4	1
(c) In progress.....		7	3	2	2	2		1
If no, is one necessary or desirable?								
(a) Yes.....	4	11	6		2	3	1	1
(b) No.....	2	10	12	1	3	3	2	
3. Has your community utilized Federal assistance in planning and financing mass transit facilities?								
(a) Yes.....	4	22	23	8	10	8	12	6
(b) No.....	10	20	12	2	3	3		
If yes, what for?								
(a) Loans.....		1		1	2	2		2
(b) Capital grants.....	8	16	2	8	3		4	6
(c) Planning grants.....	4	13	16	3	8	9	10	6
(d) Training.....			2		1		1	1
(e) Other.....	1	2		2		2	2	1
4. Specific plans have been developed for meeting urban transportation requirements over:								
(a) More than 10 years.....	2	8	10	1	5	4	3	3
(b) 5 to 10 years.....	3	5	5		2	2		
(c) 3 to 5 years.....	1	4	3		1		1	
(d) 1 to 3 years.....		1	3	2	2		2	
(e) 1 year.....	1	1	2		2	1		1
5. Efforts have been made to ease congestion by:								
(a) Establishing 1-way streets.....	8	32	36	7	11	12	10	6
(b) Staggering traffic lights.....	5	19	23	5	9	7	6	6
(c) Eliminating parking on main thoroughfares.....	4	16	23	5	10	7	10	5
(d) Providing fringe parking areas.....	6	14	13	6	4	5	8	4
(e) Adding more traffic police during working hours.....	2	11	19	5	6	5	6	5
(f) Staggering working hours.....	2	9	13	3	3	10	4	5
(g) Improving transit service.....	2	9	18	2	3	2	7	5
(h) Providing express bus lanes.....			4		3	2	2	1
6. How do you rate the urban transportation situation in your community?								
(a) Difficult and getting worse.....	1	11	14	5	2	7	4	4
(b) Difficult but progress being made toward solution.....	6	11	12		7	2	2	3
(c) Minor problem.....	5	12	7	2	1	2	1	
(d) Crisis stage.....	2	3	2		4	1	3	
(e) No problem.....		2	2		1			
7. Problem solving emphasis is most needed in:								
(a) City planning.....	6	25	18	4	8	4	3	1
(b) State activities.....	4	5	4	2	3	5	5	2
(c) Private enterprise.....	3			1				
(d) Federal policies and action.....		1	2	1	2	3	2	

CHAMBERS PARTICIPATING IN SURVEY

Alabama: Mobile, Montgomery.
 Arkansas: Fort Smith, Pine Bluff.
 California: Fresno, Los Angeles, Modesto, Sacramento, San Bernardino, San Diego, San Jose, Santa Ana, Stockton, Vallejo.
 Connecticut: Hartford.
 Colorado: Colorado Springs, Denver.
 Delaware: Wilmington.
 District of Columbia: Washington.
 Florida: Daytona Beach, Hollywood, Jacksonville, Lakeland, Orlando, Tampa.
 Georgia: Atlanta, Macon.
 Hawaii: Honolulu.
 Illinois: Chicago, Decatur, Peoria, Quincy.
 Indiana: Elkhart, Gary, Kokomo, Muncie, South Bend.
 Iowa: Cedar Rapids, Des Moines, Dubuque, Waterloo.
 Kansas: Kansas City.
 Kentucky: Lexington, Louisville, Owensboro.
 Louisiana: Baton Rouge, Lake Charles, Monroe.

Maryland: Baltimore.
 Massachusetts: Cambridge, Fall River, Springfield.
 Michigan: Ann Arbor, Battle Creek, Bay City, Detroit, Flint, Jackson, Port Huron.
 Minnesota: Duluth, Minneapolis, Rochester, St. Cloud, St. Paul.
 Mississippi: Jackson, Meridian.
 Missouri: Kansas City, St. Louis, St. Joseph.
 Montana: Billings, Great Falls.
 Nebraska: Omaha.
 New Hampshire: Nashua.
 New Jersey: Newark, Trenton, Vineland.
 New York: Buffalo, Elmira, Troy, Schenectady, Watertown.
 North Carolina: Asheville, Charlotte, Burlington, Gastonia, Raleigh, Rocky Mount, Wilmington, Winston-Salem.
 North Dakota: Fargo.
 Ohio: Cincinnati, Cleveland, Columbus, Dayton, Mansfield, Marion, Toledo, Youngstown.
 Oklahoma: Tulsa, Oregon, Portland.

Pennsylvania: Harrisburg, Hazleton, Lancaster, Lebanon, Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, Reading, Wilkes-Barre.
 Rhode Island: Providence.
 South Carolina: Greenville.
 South Dakota: Sioux Falls.
 Tennessee: Chattanooga, Kingsport, Memphis.
 Texas: Abilene, Amarillo, Austin, Beaumont, Corpus Christi, Dallas, El Paso, Fort Worth, Harlingen, Galveston, Houston, Odessa, Port Arthur, San Antonio, Texarkana, Waco, Wichita Falls.
 Utah: Ogden, Salt Lake City.
 Virginia: Petersburg, Portsmouth, Richmond, Roanoke.
 Vermont: Burlington.
 Washington: Bellingham, Bremerton, Seattle, Spokane, Tacoma.
 West Virginia: Weirton.
 Wisconsin: Appleton, Fond du Lac, Green Bay, Madison, Milwaukee, Oshkosh, Sheboygan, Wausau.

TAX FREEDOM DAY

HON. FRED SCHWENGEL

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 29, 1970

Mr. SCHWENGEL. Mr. Speaker, June 11 was designated "Tax Freedom Day" because that is the day on which the average taxpayer has worked long enough to pay his various taxes for the year. While that date has passed, I feel it is most appropriate to keep this fact in mind as we consider the Congressional Reorganization Act of 1970. Hopefully, the effect of this legislation will be to make the Congress more effective, and by virtue of a more effective Congress, we should be able to cut Government spending.

Most Americans have no idea how much of their income goes to taxes. Too many have never even thought about it, except to grumble at income tax filing time. Yet taxes take a massive toll of total income, a fact that should be understood by all Americans.

In 1970, with the economy stumbling through a period of recession and inflation, a sound estimate is that 44 percent of all private income will be spent involuntarily for taxes and other Government-necessitated expenditures. The reference used for this derivation—preliminary, until the July issue, or "National Income Number," is available—is the March "Survey of Current Business," U.S. Department of Commerce, pages 8, 10, and 11. Later references used, include the "Economic Report to the President" and the "Economic Almanac" of the National Industrial Conference Board. Total expenditures of all branches of government minus Federal grants-in-aid to State and local units totaled \$315.6 billions in the year 1969. The total of all personal income before taxes was \$747.2 billions. Thus, the loss of free choice in the spending of incomes was at least 42.2 percent. Yet, even this does not account for all involuntary expenditures, some of which are not billed directly to the treasury of any government, but are nevertheless required by law. This includes the maintenance of records and bookkeeping by individual citizens on behalf of government agencies. When the total of all these involuntary expenditures is calculated, it comes to at least 44 percent. Using this figure, it can be said that the average person works from the 1st of January until the 11th of June each year just in order to make enough money to pay all of his government burdens.

Needless to say, the costs of these burdens are quite high, both in terms of the smothering of individual initiative, and in increasing the price of goods and services. This is one of the major causes of poverty. This is a situation which spreads disillusionment and misery, believing the great hopes raised by government leaders. The National Taxpayers Union believes that every legislator and administrator whose decisions affect the tax rate should be aware of this situation and act to reduce taxes now.

These figures are frightening, and represent a totally unacceptable loss of freedom in the choice of how we spend our personal income.

REPEAL OF HOUSE CONCURRENT RESOLUTION 108—INDIAN RESERVATION TERMINATION POLICY

HON. WILLIAM D. FORD

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 29, 1970

Mr. WILLIAM D. FORD. Mr. Speaker, the deplorable situation of the Indian peoples in the United States is one for which we, as Members of Congress, must accept a good deal of the responsibility. For too long we have allowed substandard conditions to exist on virtually all Indian reservations throughout the Nation.

In 1953 the 83d Congress enacted a piece of legislation, House Concurrent Resolution 108, which instead of providing benefits, has wrought hardship and misery on numerous tribes in all parts of the country. This bill expressed what has come to be known as the termination policy, which in effect ends the Government's responsibility in administering Indian affairs.

Though intended to reduce Federal dependence and bring the Indian peoples into the mainstream of American life, this bill has often ended desperately needed assistance programs. Also, the process of turning reservation land over to private ownership has victimized Indians who, lacking prior experience in business matters, fall prey to ruthless profiteers. Certainly the Indian people should be brought into the mainstream of American life, but not at the expense of their own heritage and traditions, and not with the loss of Government programs which are vital to their health, well-being, and progress.

Rather than disown our responsibilities, we should make an effort to share them and involve the Indian people with the administration of their own affairs. Too often Federal officials have been ignorant of and unresponsive to the needs of the people they are supposedly serving. But Indian citizens, administering to the needs of their own, would help end the image of the cold, impersonal Federal complex. These individuals would also have the advantage of much more detailed knowledge of local situations than administrative personnel usually possess.

In 1968 President Johnson stated that the policy of his administration was one of "self-determination" rather than termination. Recently, Secretary of the Interior Walter Hickel also rejected termination as a policy of the present administration. It is time for Congress to declare its opposition to this doctrine, and to take firm steps to better the conditions for all Indian peoples of the United States. The first step toward this goal is the repeal of House Concurrent Resolution 108.

AGE-OLD DREAM REALIZED

HON. HALE BOGGS

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 29, 1970

Mr. BOGGS. Mr. Speaker, 1 year ago, three Americans realized an age-old human dream by landing on the surface of the moon.

Today I do not believe we have begun to comprehend the full significance of that achievement or of the other achievements of this country's space program.

A recent advertisement in the Wall Street Journal provides a clear statement of the purpose and byproducts of this country's space program. I am inserting it in the RECORD for the benefit of my colleagues:

THERE ARE MANY REASONS TO CELEBRATE—MOST ARE NOT OBVIOUS

As we look back to the early morning hours of 12 short months ago and the dramatic words, "Houston, Tranquility Base here. The Eagle has landed," followed by ghost-like images bounding across our TV screens, we recall an enormous sigh of relief and a swelling of national pride.

Perhaps obscured by the magnitude of the landing on the moon lay a veritable windfall of technology which, according to one estimate, is already returning four dollars of value for every dollar invested. NASA has cataloged more than 2,500 technological innovations from its space program alone.

Although experience has shown that it takes years to transfer new technology and knowledge to other fields, the commercial "spin-off" from space has come quickly and dramatically in communications, weather forecasting, medicine, materials and electronics, to name a few.

Communications satellites today link 50 nations with telephone, TV and data transmission service, augmenting earth-bound radio and cable systems that had been clogged with international communication traffic.

Weather satellite systems provide worldwide observation of the atmosphere, early detection and tracking of storms, typhoons and hurricanes. The resultant savings in lives is beyond calculation. When Beulah hit in September, 1967, leaving some 300,000 homeless, only 41 lives were lost, thanks to a weather satellite. Besides the obvious benefits to farmers from long-range weather prediction, prevention of crop losses alone is estimated to be worth \$1.6 billion a year.

Other earth orbiting satellites track fish schools, monitor fresh water supplies, prospect for gas and oil, and search out new mineral deposits. There have been two spectacular finds in Canada.

In medicine the spin-off has been substantial with many devices already in general practice. A portable electrocardiogram unit transmits data over a standard telephone. A tiny radio transmitter about the size of a pin head monitors and reports the physiological reactions of a patient to the nurse's station. A computer program, created to solve rocket engine vibration, ignition and combustion problems, works at brain and heart research.

New materials developed for space have made a significant impact on our economy. From rocket case production came a new kind of pipe, built of plastic mortar, reinforced with fiberglass. It's lightweight, thin-walled, noncorrosive and practically unbreakable, making it perfect for water, sewage and irrigation systems.

A space sandwich material of aluminum and plastic foam is now being used for walls of prefabricated houses and strong, lightweight skis.

Composites, bonded laminates and other new combinations of substances have freed designers, engineers and architects from their dependence on traditional materials.

In the field of electronics the sensing, calculating and controlling "brain centers" of space systems have given birth to micro-miniaturized devices that herald a whole new generation of products from clocks to computers.

For example, tiny semiconductors, about 3/16" diameter and twice the thickness of a sheet of writing paper, contain more than 1,000 circuits. They're used in portable calculators that weigh only three pounds.

Computer programs developed for space have found many applications. Two of them are instant flight and reservations information for airlines, and swift handling of stock transactions for Wall Street.

But possibly the most unexpected and important spin-off of all is the management techniques that were evolved to conquer space. The systems approach—with its marshaling of government, science, industry and education—has shown us a better way to get things done.

Recently, a noted scientist described space as "only the tip of the iceberg." Beneath lies a vast base of industrial, technological and scientific excellence.

We explore space because we need its potential. The problem today is how to eliminate starvation and low living standards for two-thirds of mankind without ruining our planet's ecological balance. In the years ahead a larger world population, demanding higher living standards, must somehow be also accommodated. Earth Services from space will provide the information to properly manage the task.

Space orbits, indeed, are the new lands of our time, lands to be shared, lands on which we can build structures unlike man has ever built before. Space stations are the modest first step on the journey.

MISS CHRISTINE CAMPBELL, A HOOSIER FAR FROM HOME, WRITES OF HER COUNTRY

HON. WILLIAM G. BRAY

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 29, 1970

Mr. BRAY. Mr. Speaker, the following letter came to me recently from a young Indiana girl who is presently living with her parents in the Philippines, where her father is employed by the U.S. Government. I was deeply touched and moved by her remarks, and I wish to include them at this time:

MAY 26, 1970.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN BRAY: I'm a fourteen year old girl overseas with her family in Manila, Philippines. I had lived in Indiana all my life and I never fully realized just how great the United States is. The strange thing is that it's not only me, but it's other kids (and even adults) that haven't been away from our country, that haven't realized the greatness of the rights granted to us.

I back the Republic in its decisions. I can only do so by voice—not votes, yet I have a marvelous country and I'm proud to be an American. I'm sorry the demonstrations are run as they are. Who's going to look at this noise and say, "These guys have some good

ideas; they're smart," when they kill in the same stroke!!?

I love and respect life, mine, yours, and everybody else's, too much to want to destroy it by taking away the power of the president or by having my rights taken away.

Maybe before long, you'll have enough Silent Majority speaking out to conquer these demonstrators. President Nixon is doing a great job. I saw him when he visited the Philippines. Just about 3 weeks ago we spoke to Governor Whitcomb and his wife here on business for the Indiana Trade Commission. They were on Corregidor Island that day and he looked all over for the "Campbell family." We also got to talk to Mr. Forrest Gerig of the same committee.

And another fellow Hoosier doing a great job is the ambassador to the Philippine Islands from the U.S., Ambassador Henry Byroade.

If you look into the *Muncie Star* (Muncie, Ind.) you will see a column by Dick Green that speaks well of him.

Congressman Bray, I wish you continued luck. May God be with you.

Sincere compliments,

CHRISTINE CAMPBELL.

TEXAS PETROLEUM INDUSTRY

HON. OLIN E. TEAGUE

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 29, 1970

Mr. TEAGUE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, with the question of imports being foremost in many people's minds these days, and one of the leading commodities heading the import list being oil, I think it appropriate to insert in the Record an editorial which appeared in the *Dallas Times Herald*, Sunday, July 12, relative to the Texas oil industry. The facts contained in this editorial are interesting and indicates the tremendous part played in our economy by Texas oil:

PETROLEUM INDUSTRY: A SOLID 104 YEARS

(By Felix R. McKnight)

On a crisp fall day of 1866 a man named Lyne Tallaferra Barret of Melrose, down in Nacogdoches County, stood expectantly with his neighbors around a 106-foot hole in the ground.

A mule plodded the circle, drawing out an eight-foot auger crudely fastened to a joint of pipe that was rotated by a steam engine.

There was a rumbling from the hole and oil, water and gas started gushing to the heavens. Barret and his friends whooped—and oil had been discovered in Texas.

It has been a productive 104 years since that afternoon. More than 500,000 wells have been drilled in search of Texas oil and gas. A state, a nation and even a world has been served from Texas' black underground treasure.

The Texas Mid-Continent Oil and Gas Association, with researchers Charles Simons and John Wagner digging the records, has produced a barrel of facts about the industry. It is fascinating information about a giant that too often is politically maligned; too seldom recognized for accomplishment.

1—Texas has produced in its petroleum lifetime, 33.1 billion barrels of oil, or 36% of the U.S. total.

2—The State of Texas has derived \$76.6 billion from crude oil sales.

3—Texas oil and gas provide 26% of the fuel energy produced in the U.S.

4—Texas produced 1,151,799,000 barrels of crude oil (record high) in 1969—34.2% of U.S. production.

5—Texas has 198,000 producing oil wells in 8,500 fields located in 209 counties.

6—Each day, in their continuing fight against pollution, Texas oilmen put over six million barrels of oil field salt water back into the ground.

7—In 1950, Texas produced 22% of the world oil. In 1960, it was 12% and in 1969, 7.6%.

8—Texas has 44% of all U.S. oil reserves.

9—Texas has 16.7 billion barrels of oil reserves—13.1 in crude oil; 3.6 billion from natural gas liquids.

10—And Texas engineers estimate that an additional 2.8 billion barrels could be recovered through "water flooding" and other special recovery methods.

11—Texas oil men drilled 9,233 wells in 1969—or 29% of U.S. drilling. It all totaled 44.6 million feet of hole.

12—The same Texas oil operators spent \$671 million drilling in 1969—and lost \$235 million in dry holes. More than one-fourth of the wells drilled in 1969 were wildcat wells which seek new fields. Only 21.8% found oil or gas. (It is this risk—the quest for new fields to service the nation—that creates the oil depletion allowance periodically challenged by lawmakers.)

13—Texas royalty owners received \$589 million from oil and gas production in 1969.

14—The world's deepest producer is a Pecos County gas well at 22,340 feet.

15—And the deepest well ever drilled in the world was also a Pecos County effort—that ended in a dry hole. Operators got down to 25,340 feet before giving up.

16—Of all Texas wells drilled in 1969, about 37.9% were dry.

17—Texas had 112.4 trillion cubic feet of natural gas reserves at the end of 1969—40.9% of the U.S. total.

18—And Texas produced 38% of all U.S. natural gas in 1969.

19—The State of Texas gets back \$500 million per year for gas sold to other states. And Texas itself uses more natural gas than any other state—more than half the gas it produces.

20—More than one out of every four gallons of U.S. major oil products is made in Texas refineries.

21—Texas petroleum industry taxes account for 18.7% of all state taxes. In 1969, the Texas industry tax payments to the state government totaled \$286.5 million—while the 5c-per-gallon tax brought in another \$294 million.

22—One fourth of the gasoline tax is used for public education; the balance for roads.

23—Finally, the Texas Permanent School Fund in 1969 received \$40.1 million from the petroleum industry for lease rentals bonuses and royalty payments. Since 1932, the total has been a staggering \$734 million. The University of Texas Permanent Fund also received \$21 million in lease rentals, bonuses and royalties in 1969—a \$534.4 million total since 1924.

Not a bad track record for a Texas industry that still has a long life ahead.

THE HONORABLE CLIFF DAVIS

HON. JOHN J. RHODES

OF ARIZONA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 29, 1970

Mr. RHODES. Mr. Speaker, I was saddened by the death last month of Clifford Davis—he was a fine man and a true friend. It was my privilege to serve

with Cliff for 11 years. I knew and admired his integrity, ability, and dedicated service in the Congress. All of Cliff's colleagues were benefited by knowing him and will long remember and value their association with him. Certainly, Cliff was a true patriot who gave his best to his State and country. My heartfelt sympathy goes to Carrie Davis in her loss—a loss which is shared by all who were privileged to know Cliff.

AN OKLAHOMA NEWSMAN WRITES ABOUT OKLAHOMA'S JIM LUCAS

HON. ED EDMONDSON

OF OKLAHOMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 21, 1970

Mr. EDMONDSON. Mr. Speaker, several days ago I placed in the RECORD the eloquent remarks of Gen. Lew Walt at memorial services in Washington for Jim G. Lucas, famed war correspondent.

Today I read for the first time the moving, personal tribute to Jim Lucas written by C. Allan Mathews, editor and publisher of the Tri-State Tribune of Picher, Okla.

Allan Mathews has captured the spirit and personality of Oklahoma's best known reporter in the words which follow.

I believe all who knew and respected Jim will appreciate the opportunity to read Allan's tribute. The text, as it appeared in the Tri-State Tribune for July 23, 1970, follows:

"THE" WAR CORRESPONDENT

(By C. Allan Mathews)

He eluded death at Tarawa. His was the first story to the outside world of that bloody battle. It gave him world-wide recognition and the first step to fame. A battlefield promotion to second lieutenant was handed the young combat correspondent.

He out-maneuvered death again at Saipan. He avoided the grim reaper's clutches in the steaming jungles of Guadalcanal. And again on the hell that was Iwo Jima. Thousands gave their lives in eight Pacific Island campaigns in World War II. He was reported missing in action. He was decorated, but he came through.

He went to the South Pole. He was with Admiral Byrd at the North Pole in 1945-46. He covered the Bikini atomic bomb test.

He "lived" the Korean war. He made the Inchon landing with General MacArthur. He was at the peace table. He flew seventeen bombing raids over North Korea. He was numb and cold and scared with the GIs on Porkchop Hill and Heartbreak Ridge.

He covered the wars in Goa and Lebanon and what was to be the predecessor of Vietnam—the French Viet Minh war, when France lost control of the Indochinese peninsula.

Approaching fifty, he battled the front office for the right to report Vietnam. He spent more time there than any other newsman.

He said he was lucky. He had flirted with death for almost 25 years in every global hotspot.

He was Jim Lucas, the world's best known war correspondent.

Jim Griffing Lucas died this week. He died in bed.

What sniper bullets, machine guns, bombs, ambushes, bayonets, artillery, failed to do . . . cancer did.

Somehow I can see Jim now, exploding into an ear-to-ear grin saying, "Now, ain't that something?"

Jim was already famous when I met him several years ago. He returned to Picher, as he termed it, "I'm trying to go back." He claimed Picher as his "home town." His father was president of the bank here and Jim's years as a youngster and schoolboy had left its impression.

Although he was the first to admit, "you can never go back", I think Jim Lucas felt he had regained something in his Picher visits. Perhaps a hometown.

He was an unusual man. He never married. His family was two generations of fighting men, lonely men, men away from home.

He said in 1965: "At my age I can't look forward with any sense of anticipation to living on the field. I detest being shot at. But, at the risk of sounding corny, if I have a mission in life, this seems to be it."

A couple of years later he said: "Americans are dying every day in Vietnam. It makes it a little easier if they know their sacrifices is noted and appreciated."

Jim reported in the Ernie Pyle tradition. History will rank Lucas even above the great Pyle. He wrote of the boy-men, the individual, the human side, in combat, their dreams, their nightmares, their fears, their hopes, their lives . . . yes and too many of their deaths. "His boys", as he referred to them, loved him, respected him, trusted him. They knew the "old man" was on their side.

He could well have covered Vietnam from an air conditioned hotel room in Saigon (as many did). But the fierce pride that was a part of Jim, made him choose the rice paddies.

He was equally at home with the mighty. His opinions and experience, his grasp of situations, were respected by those formulating policy. He gave an unprecedented briefing to President Lyndon Johnson and over a hundred congressmen on the problems in Vietnam.

He was sought after as a speaker. He was acknowledged as America's best. He defended our "need" to be in Vietnam. Over and over he declared, "we've got to stop them there." At the same time he was impatient with "slow-down" war.

Still his first love was the American G.I. . . . on the field, on patrol, in the bunkers. For where the action was, there Jim was.

Jim might have shattered your impression of a war correspondent. He wasn't the trenchcoat wearing, swashbuckling, swaggering type. A quiet man and perhaps Gen. Samuel T. (Hanging Sam) Williams best summed it up. Spending a couple of weeks with the 25th division in Korea, Jim filed his copy over division teletype back to Seoul, where it was relayed to Tokyo and then to Washington. As division commander, Gen. Williams read everything that went out over the teletype, including the Lucas dispatches. One evening one of the staff officers remarked, "this fellow Lucas doesn't talk a great deal, does he?" Gen. Williams replied, "no, but he sure as the dickens listens."

You had to be alert, or often his sense of humor would escape you. He enjoyed a joke slanted toward Lucas. Perhaps his favorite was: At Ca Mau, he was in a helicopter disabled by enemy gunfire. It was able to make a rough but safe landing. Another helicopter came in behind them and others flew overhead firing to keep the Viet Cong at a respectable distance. As Jim broke and ran for the chopper which was to fly the downed crew out, a friend overhead remarked: "That's the fastest I ever saw a fat man run."

Over the years awards aplenty came to Jim Lucas. Born in Checotah, he attended Picher High School. He won the coveted Pulitzer Prize. He was awarded the National Headliners Awards; he was the only man ever to win two Ernie Pyle Awards. He was presented the VFW Omar Bradley Gold Medal, the

American Legion's 4th Estate Award, Long Island University George Polk Memorial Award, the Marine Corps "Not for self, but for country" Award. And these were only a few of the honors that came to one man in one lifetime.

He was author of "Combat Correspondent," "Dateline: Vietnam" and a biography of Vice President Spiro T. Agnew, scheduled to come off the presses this week. He coauthored "Betio Beachhead" and "The Story of the U.S. Marines on Iwo Jima."

He was a living legend in our time. As long as wars are fought, and men cover them, Jim Lucas' style will be imitated. Somehow, I believe he would say now, "Shed no tears for me. I'm off for my biggest assignment yet."

CAPTIVE NATIONS WEEK

HON. JOHN WOLD

OF WYOMING

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 29, 1970

Mr. WOLD. Mr. Speaker, the third week in July has been set aside so that we might articulate our sympathy and respect for presently one-third of the world's population that dwells behind the Iron and Bamboo Curtains. Over the last half century, Communist regimes have taken over 17 countries. During Captive Nations Week we serve notice to the world and to those nations in particular, that we will not forget the enslaved of this earth.

The people of Eastern Europe and of an increasing portion of Asia have been thrice enslaved. As nations, their independence has been consumed by the neo-colonialism of Russia and of China. As peoples, their right of self-determination has been destroyed by a system which places all power in the hands of a few. And, as individuals, their liberties have vanished in the face of a philosophy which disdains the value of the individual and declares the state to be paramount.

The brutality, intolerance, and unpopularity of the Communist regimes have been demonstrated time and again over the years. The purges of the thirties, the slaughter in the Katyn Forest, the murders of millions of Kulaks in the Ukraine, the invasions of Hungary and of Czechoslovakia, the instances are legion. The Communist bloc in 1970 has acquired a patina of subtlety which provides some protective camouflage to a regime which has not changed in substance from what it was in the 1930's.

I am concerned that the false air of legitimacy assumed by the puppet governments of Eastern Europe may cause the U.S. Government to miscalculate in its course of action toward this area.

A case in point is illustrated by an article in the April 19, 1970, issue of the New York Times concerning the national treasure of Hungary, the Crown of St. Stephen which came to the United States in the waning days of World War II.

According to the article the U.S. Government is considering returning the crown to Budapest.

In my judgment, it would be a fearful mistake to make any such action until the time comes when the Hungarian

Government is truly representative of the Hungarian people, and when Hungary is free of Soviet dominators.

The Crown of St. Stephen is a highly visible symbol of Hungarian independence and nationhood. It is a weapon for freedom. It keeps alive the hopes and dreams of a free Hungary. To return it to the present Communist government of Hungary would be to dash the hopes of millions of Hungarians at home and in exile who long for a truly free government. It would greatly strengthen the present Russian-controlled government's claim to legitimacy in the eyes of the world.

Because of my concern over this matter I have been in touch with the Department of State. I include the correspondence and the Times article to be inserted at this point:

APRIL 28, 1970.

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

DEAR MR. SECRETARY: A recent article in the New York Times referred to the possibility that the United States may be considering the return of Hungary's national treasure, the Crown of St. Stephen, to Budapest.

This letter is to inquire whether such plans are under consideration and if they are, what the rationale for such action might be.

As you know, the Crown of St. Stephen is much more than an artifact. It is the best known of the European national crowns and was for centuries regarded as the National Palladium. It became an essential element in the composition of the Hungarian state.

The Crown is unique among European regalia. For centuries it was regarded as the absolute sine qua non without which a King of Hungary could not be crowned.

The Crown has been taken by Hungarian exiles as a symbol of the freedom denied their country by Communist exploitation. Its return to Budapest, while Hungary remains under Communist domination would be a cruel blow to all free Hungarians.

With kindest regards

Sincerely,

JOHN S. WOLD,
Member of Congress.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, May 8, 1970.

HON. JOHN S. WOLD,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN WOLD: The Secretary has asked me to reply to your letter of April 28 concerning the Crown of St. Stephen of Hungary. The comments in the recent news article referring to the possibility of the early return of the Crown to Hungary were, of course, speculative.

The Crown is the property of the Hungarian nation and a Hungarian national treasure. It came into United States custody toward the end of World War II. Unsettled conditions within Hungary and chronic strains in United States-Hungarian relations made consideration of the Crown's return to Hungary inappropriate and inopportune over a long period of years. It has therefore remained in United States trust and safe-keeping.

We are fully aware that our prolonged custody of the Crown and the question of its ultimate return to Hungary have many delicate aspects. We are mindful not only of the unique character of the Crown as an historic relic of great symbolic and constitutional significance to the Hungarian people but also of the political and emotional sensibilities

with which Hungarian emigres and many Hungarian-Americans regard the Crown. Clearly, these and other sensitive factors must be taken into careful consideration.

The Hungarian Government has raised the matter of the Crown's return in recent years as relations have gradually improved between the United States and Hungary and discussions have been carried on looking toward the settlement of various longstanding bilateral problems. Although we have no present plans for the return of the Crown, the subject will continue to be a matter of interest to both Governments. We are properly concerned that any such eventual action should serve the objective of general goodwill rather than discord and should take place in circumstances and at a time appropriately marked by some further substantial improvement in the atmosphere and course of our relations with Hungary.

Please continue to call on us whenever you believe we can be helpful.

Sincerely yours,

DAVID M. ABSHIRE,
Assistant Secretary for
Congressional Relations.

In Czechoslovakia twenty years ago, a Dubcek would have disappeared overnight, probably never to be seen again unless at a public trial which would stage a confessional. Today, however, we are dealing with a "liberalized" regime and the destruction of Mr. Dubcek has been carried out in minuscule steps over a period of two years. Today, of course, he has been stripped of all posts, expelled from the Communist Party, and locked up in a sanitarium. The message to those in Eastern Europe who would dissent is no less clear for its having been delivered in a manner calculated to provoke the least public outcry.

Mr. Dubcek is not alone in being punished for Czechoslovakia's attempts at liberalization and independence. In the New York Times of June 28, 1970, we are informed that a purge of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia is under way and that, in all probability, nearly one-half of the Party will be ejected. While it is difficult to find cause for dissatisfaction in the declining membership of a communist party, one cannot but prefer a system such as our own which allows anyone to join a political party, or to leave it, as he chooses. The difference is still more vital in a country where the Communist Party is the only open channel for political expression. In Czechoslovakia men often lose their jobs with their Party membership cards. The sociology and history departments of the universities have lost large portions of their staffs in this way and some 18,000 members of regional, local, and municipal assemblies have been removed from office; seven members of the Supreme Court have lost their seats because they held "rightist, opportunist, anti-Socialist and anti-Soviet views;" and the entire presidential and secretariat of the national Trade Union Council were deprived of their posts at the end of May. All of this has been attended by little publicity, but it serves ample notice upon all that while the iron fist may have donned a velvet glove, it has not thereby ceased to be iron.

The lack of respect for human life and individuality which Communist leadership have demonstrated toward its own peoples, has also been shown over the past few years in their handling of American prisoners, both in North Viet Nam and in North Korea. At least 1500 American prisoners are held in North Viet Nam alone, where the Hanoi Government refuses to treat them in accordance with the provisions of the Geneva Convention despite the fact that it was a signatory to that agreement. The brotherhood of man—enshrined though it is in Com-

munist theory—is patently false generally, but certainly does not extend to prisoners. Nor does it extend to the thousands of Vietnamese village chiefs who have been slaughtered as part of a conscious policy of terror; nor to those whose bodies line the mass graves of Hue even as the bodies of Polish officers lined mass graves in the Katyn Forest thirty years ago; and the citizens of countries within the Communist orbit are all too well aware that it does not apply to them either.

Captive Nations Week also affords us a welcome opportunity to re-assess our own institutions, to place ourselves in perspective. There are voices abroad in the land today which tell us that our government is not responsive, that our foreign policy is imperialistic, and that governors and other officials behave as fascists. It takes but little wit to realize the absurdity of these charges as we review the plight of Eastern Europe. Our government, for nearly two centuries, has accurately reflected the views and served the will of the American people. When some take to the streets crying that the government does not respond, that "the system does not work," what they really mean is that the government does not obey them. The only desirable responsiveness, insofar as policy—as distinct from individual rights—is concerned, is responsiveness to majority will. Responsiveness to a minority is precisely that which the Sino-Soviet Bloc practices, but it is hardly desirable. Far from being an imperialistic aggressor, we have acquired an overseas empire which is as close to non-existent as any in history. On the other hand, we stand ranged today against two communist powers which together control far more than 1,000,000 square miles outside of their own boundaries and are constantly striving to increase that total. Finally, our government, rather than being fascist protects the rights of individuals to an extent unparalleled elsewhere in the world, let alone within the Communist Bloc. Those in America who cry the loudest against the "repressive American society" and attend adulatory movies of the career of Che Guevara are perhaps unaware, to cite an example, that the penalty in Cuba for free speech and open demonstrations against Castro can be the firing squad. So, in declaring our sympathy this week for the people of the captive nations, let us at the same time reaffirm the greatness of America.

In his inaugural address in 1801, President Jefferson said, "Error of opinion may be tolerated where reason is left free to combat it." Today reason is threatened everywhere. There are those who attack it indirectly by refusing to allow others to speak and there are those who openly question the value of reason and postulate instead the supremacy of emotion. The duty to defend peaceable and open debate is upon us all and the result of our failure to fulfill that duty is amply demonstrated in the unhappy fate of the captive nations which we honor this week. To them, to the rest of the globe, and to ourselves, we reiterate our commitment to assist in the defense of free institutions wherever they may be imperiled and in the restoration of liberty wherever it has been banished.

UNITED STATES AND HUNGARY PLEASED BY
IMPROVING RELATIONS
(By David Binder)

BUDAPEST, April 14.—A perceptible improvement in diplomatic and commercial relations between the United States and Hungary is prompting officials in Washington and Budapest to view the future with optimism.

According to reliable sources proving at the pace maintained in the last seven months, the day may be close when Washing-

ton finds an occasion to return Hungary's national treasure, the Crown of St. Stephen, to Budapest.

The jeweled crown is nearly 10 centuries old. It was given to St. Stephen, who was King of Hungary from 1000 to 1038, by Pope Sylvester II.

PROPERTY OF HUNGARY

Hungarian soldiers serving in Hitler Germany's wehrmacht removed it from the Budapest Castle just 25 years ago as the Red army tightened its grip on the capital. The Hungarians took it to Salzburg, Austria, where they handed it over to a United States Army unit for safekeeping. It has been locked up in Washington in a secret place ever since.

However, the United States Government has regarded it as Hungarian property.

The recent improvement in relations has occurred in two areas—diplomatic courtesies and commerce.

Last August, for example, the Hungarians lifted travel restrictions for Ambassador Alfred Puhan, only two months after he had arrived. For 13 years previously the United States ambassador had been denied access to many major cities. Washington responded with a similar removal of restrictions on the Hungarian ambassador.

The United States Information Agency has been allowed more leeway in presenting exhibitions in Hungary. A recent display of a moon rock at the National Museum was given public notice in the party organ, *Nepszabadsag*. More than 35,000 Hungarians went to view the rock in its two days on exhibition.

For a visitor familiar with Hungary since 1964 these changes represent a notable departure from the cold war attitudes that dominated relations in the past.

U.S. CONCERNS HAVE TIES

In the commercial field, three American concerns are developing cooperation with Hungarian counterparts. Corning Glass has a \$7-million operation here, making light bulbs together with the Hungarian Tungsram concern. The Hilton chain is participating in the building of a hotel on Castle Hill in Buda, the Budapest section on the west bank of the Danube. The * * * also planning a joint undertaking here.

One topic in which both the United States and Hungarian governments are interested is a consular convention that would allow Hungary to open consulates in New York and Cleveland, both of which have sizable Hungarian minorities.

While there is no need for American consulates in Hungary, Washington is interested in a consular convention as a means of providing added protection for American travelers in distress.

A long-standing issue between Budapest and Washington is United States claims on American properties confiscated or nationalized by Hungary after World War II. The two sides have made several unsuccessful attempts to negotiate this issue and still remain far apart. But another round of negotiations, the first in five years, is in the offing.

MAN'S INHUMANITY TO MAN— HOW LONG?

HON. WILLIAM J. SCHERLE

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 29, 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?

THE LATE HONORABLE THOMAS B. STANLEY

HON. DAVID E. SATTERFIELD III

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 29, 1970

Mr. SATTERFIELD. Mr. Speaker, on July 10 the many friends of Thomas B. Stanley were saddened to learn of his death just 5 days before he would have celebrated his 80th birthday. His quiet departure from life, following a brief illness, was typical of the soft-spoken and gentle manner in which he lived.

It was my high privilege to know him personally and to witness firsthand his dignity and his hospitality. I knew him as a gracious man to whom the title "gentleman" was well suited, as a successful businessman, industrialist, statesman and a devoted father and husband.

This man devoted the major portion of his life to the service of the people of his beloved Henry County, of his State, and of his Nation. He served as a member of the Virginia General Assembly for 16 years during which he rendered distinguished service as Speaker of the Virginia House of Delegates for 6 years. He served for 7 years as a Member of the U.S. Congress. His years of outstanding service gained for him the respect of all who came to know him. His devotion to public service was rewarded by his election to the office of Governor of the State of Virginia in which capacity he rendered able service during the demanding and trying days of the mid-1950's.

Tom Stanley, Bahnse, as he was known to his friends, will be missed and the service he performed throughout his life will be long remembered. The Richmond News Leader, on July 13, and the Richmond Times-Dispatch, on July 14, published editorials dedicated to him which I feel are worthy of inclusion as a part of my remarks. I include each of them at this point in the RECORD:

THOMAS B. STANLEY

Virginia was in a period of relative calm, with no real crises impending, at the time Thomas B. Stanley assumed the governorship of the state in January, 1954. But the driving rainstorm that marred the inauguration may have been an omen of rough weather ahead.

Four months later the U.S. Supreme Court handed down its momentous school desegregation decision, posing for the Stanley administration its greatest crisis.

Under Stanley, Virginia first took a moderate course, accepting as inevitable the idea of some racial mixing in the classrooms but at the same time providing means whereby no child would be forced to attend an integrated school. Virginia traveled only a short distance down that road, however, before abruptly changing directions and taking the path of "massive resistance" to any desegregation at all.

In retrospect, total and unyielding opposition to any school integration has been strongly criticized in some quarters. But throughout the four years of Tom Stanley's administration schools remained segregated, and they remained open. And that situation was what a majority of the citizens of the Old Dominion apparently wanted.

Stanley's successor, J. Lindsay Almond Jr., was occupying the governor's office when the roof figuratively fell in, with the court-administered death of massive resistance and the temporary closing of schools in some communities. And the solution to the school problem is not in sight, 16 years after the epoch-making ruling from the high tribunal early in the Stanley days at the Virginia Capitol.

The school crisis drew the spotlight, but, in general, the Stanley administration provided four years of continuing, if not spectacular, progress for the Old Dominion. In the tradition of the Byrd Democratic organization, of which he was a longtime loyal member, Stanley conducted the state's affairs in a sound, conservative, businesslike manner. The achievement which he himself labeled as No. 1 of his administration was the strengthening of the mental hospital system, with the addition of 1,000 employees and the appropriation of funds for badly needed new facilities.

Although he never lost an election and had served for 17 years in the House of Delegates and seven years in Congress before becoming governor, Stanley was not a colorful campaigner or an eloquent speaker. But he was patient, hardworking and effective in personal campaigning.

With Tom Stanley's death last week, at the age of 79, Virginia has lost a man who deeply loved his state and who gave it 28 years of dedicated public service.

THOMAS BAHNSON STANLEY

Thomas Bahnson Stanley, who died Saturday in Martinsville, was the last of Virginia's Governors to have a free ride on integration. Only five months after his inauguration the Supreme Court hit the South between the eyes with *Brown v. Board of Education*, a decision holding that public schools should be desegregated with all "deliberate speed." The decision was revolutionary; its effects still are being felt throughout the land. Governor Stanley held firm against the tides that it unleashed. He took to heart the "deliberate" aspect of the order, and was as deliberate as he could possibly be in moving Virginia toward integration—which is to say, he moved it practically not at all. During the critical years of his administration, 1954-1958, the force built up in the pressure cooker of integration: No sooner had he departed the Governor's Mansion than the top blew off.

He was a man determined to be Governor. Long before his victory over Republican Ted Dalton in 1953, Tom Stanley began working his way toward the Governor's chair. Prior to his election he served 17 years in the House of Delegates, including three terms as Speaker, and seven years in the House of Representatives. He was utterly loyal to the Byrd organization. He was dutiful, decorous, and composed. He was quiet, cautious, and amiable. He was an advocate of highway safety, industrial development, and agriculture. But above all, he was resolutely patient and calm about integration. He held on desperately to the policies of the past, and he got out before the roof fell in. Perhaps it is just as well that he did not attempt to innovate during that difficult period. For when one is unsure of the course to steer, it is prudent to go slowly. Governor Stanley did. He was deliberate when deliberation was required.

DR. JOSEPH L. SUTTON, PRESIDENT
OF INDIANA UNIVERSITY, RE-
VIEWS PAST 150 YEARS OF UN-
IVERSITY'S EXISTENCE

HON. WILLIAM G. BRAY

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 29, 1970

Mr. BRAY, Mr. Speaker, the following statement by Dr. Joseph L. Sutton, president of Indiana University, was prepared on the occasion of IU's Sesquicentennial Anniversary.

It is an eloquent tribute to a century and a half of achievement and accomplishment, and to the dedicated men and women who made it possible:

STATEMENT OF DR. JOSEPH L. SUTTON ON THE
OCCASION OF THE UNIVERSITY'S CELEBRATION
OF HER SESQUICENTENNIAL ANNIVERSARY

On one of the coldest days of this year, elected officials and legislators of the State of Indiana joined representatives of all the constituencies of Indiana University to inaugurate a year-long celebration of the University's Sesquicentennial Anniversary. It was January 20, 1970, and the site was Bloomington, the first home and still the main campus of Indiana University.

Precisely one hundred fifty years earlier to the day, the then Governor of the four-year-old State of Indiana, Jonathan Jennings, signed the Act creating the Indiana Seminary which was later to become Indiana University.

In 1820, Indiana was largely forest land. Indian tribes roamed over its northern two-thirds. Most of the settlers in southern Indiana sought little more than to clear sufficient land for a dwelling and for plantings that would yield enough food to sustain a family. These pioneers had moved southwest from Ohio, had come down the Ohio River or crossed it from Kentucky to try their fortunes in the Indiana Territory. Most were uneducated, enured to hardship and pietistic. Their sallies of wit and song were homespun. The few who were educated—men like John Badollet, John Boone, James Noble, David Maxwell and Benjamin Parke—recognized that widespread public education was a prime need if this region were to progress. Through their influence, the first Constitution of the State of Indiana included a provision that, "it shall be the duty of the general assembly, as soon as circumstances will permit, to provide by law for a general system of education, ascending in a regular gradation from township schools to a State University, wherein tuition shall be gratis and equally open to all."

The act of Congress admitting Indiana to the Union in 1816 offered to donate to the new State a township of land, to be designated by the President, for the use of a seminary of learning. The official acceptance of this offer and the selection of the township by President Monroe in the county that thenceforth bore his name was crucial in the determination of the Indiana Seminary's site. Great as have been the pressures from time to time to remove the University to a more populous and accessible spot, the original location—if not campus, for after a disastrous fire in 1883, the campus was relocated about a mile east and north of its initial site—remains the seat of its vastly-enlarged operation, geared to providing the teaching, research and public service which its constitutionally-prescribed role in the State and its responsibility to society demand.

It is interesting, but not unusual in the development of an educational system, that

Indiana's State Seminary opened its doors to students before a system of common schools had been established within the state. A former Indiana University president, David Starr Jordan, noted, "the growth in educational systems is from above, downwards. In historical sequence Oxford must precede Rugby, and the German university must come before the gymnasium." To most of the settlers in the forest-covered lands of southern Indiana, the initiation of a few young people into the mysteries of "larnin'" at the State Seminary was all right, so long as their own backwoods children were not exposed to this "corrupting" influence.

It was four to five years (historians disagree) after the signing of the enabling Act before the Indiana Seminary began enrolling students on the first day of May in 1824 or 1825. From that beginning in a simple brick building with a lone professor, Baynard Rush Hall, offering a curriculum wholly in Latin and Greek to the dozen or more applicants, Indiana University has grown to an enrollment of 54,200, 10th in size among all colleges and universities in the nation, with a faculty of approximately 3000 members, curricula in almost all of the major professions and academic fields—save agriculture and engineering—and associated campuses in six metropolitan areas, including that of the state capital, where instruction in the health professions is concentrated and both undergraduate degree programs and professional programs in the Schools of Law and Social Service are offered.

The progress of the University in the intervening years had been in no sense steady. Even though the Indiana Seminary took on the "name and style of" Indiana College in 1828 and of Indiana University in 1838, by modern standards the curriculum was at a preparatory school level until the decade of the 1870's: the institution's financial support from the State did not begin until 1867; the unvarying tradition of electing clerics to the presidency was limiting and provocative of denominational attack; and the burden of convincing the state's citizenry that the progress of Indiana University was vital to their interests still rested largely upon the University's spokesmen.

Yet from the very first graduating class had gone forth men who spearheaded advances in their communities and the state. Later classes produced graduates who held high posts in the federal government, governed the state, founded industries and fostered commerce, guided the progress of the legal and educational professions in the state or served productively as educational envoys in newly developing areas of both hemispheres. To the average Hoosier of that era, however, these various evidences of the University's usefulness and demonstrated ability to generate the needed leadership for the states were little understood.

With the election of David Starr Jordan to the presidency at the start of 1885, a significant turning point occurred. President Jordan was a scientist, the first chief administrator in the University's history without the credentials of a clergyman. Moreover, his training and temperament were such that he became an evangel for state acceptance of remodeling the University to reflect national developments in higher education and the sciences. He sought to attract the best available academics in every field, and he campaigned personally and tirelessly for the new scientific concepts, among them the Darwinian theory, which he felt vital to the survival of the University as a citadel of the search for truth. The glimmer of a state university's responsibility to lead intellectual thought as well as to educate youth was planted during his remarkable six years as Indiana University's president.

Eleven years after the resignation of Presi-

dent Jordan to assume the presidency of Stanford University, William Lowe Bryan was elected president of Indiana University. A native of Bloomington and longtime University faculty member with a background in the disciplines of education and psychology, he was destined to guide the University's fortunes from 1902 to 1937. By choice a diligent scholar and by practice an elegant orator as well, he provided sound, yet inspirational leadership during a determinative period of the University's development. One of his most significant contributions, essential to the University's progress, was the creation of academic divisions within the University and the incorporation of private medical and dental schools in the University's structure. Under his aegis, the School of Medicine, the Graduate School, the Extension Division (now, Division of University Extension), the Training School for Nurses (now, School of Nursing), the School of Commerce and Finance (now, School of Business), the School of Music, and the School of Education were successively established and the Indiana Dental College (now, School of Dentistry) was acquired. Officially autonomous neither with regard to their admissions nor in certifying the candidates for their degrees, these divisions nevertheless served a vital function, preliminary to their emergence as recognized administrative autonomies within the concept of a university.

During President Bryan's administration, the expansion of Indiana University's physical facilities kept pace with curricular and enrollment growth. On the Bloomington campus, five classroom buildings were erected and a sixth started; a men's dormitory and two women's dormitories were built and a private dormitory was acquired; and the Library, the Administration Building, the Printing Plant, Indiana Memorial Union, The Student Building, the Men's Gymnasium and Fieldhouse, the Memorial Stadium and the President's House were all begun and completed. At Indianapolis, a building to house the School of Medicine and another to accommodate the School of Dentistry were constructed in this period, as were Long, Coleman and Riley Hospitals and a nurses' home.

Beyond these substantive additions, the special quality of President Bryan's regime added lustre to the University's prestige in the state for he was the enviably articulate and highly persuasive protagonist for the values that would accrue to the student and to Indiana generally from the successful pursuit of higher education by Hoosier youth. His 35-year administration, longest in the history of the institution, served to lift the University above the irrelevant and reactionary opposition which had plagued its struggle for survival during virtually the whole of its existence. From such pettiness and provincialism he turned the question of University support to the fundamental issue of the state's faith in higher education as the means to secure the trained leaders who could foster the economic, educational and cultural advance of the state.

Named acting president in 1937 and elected President Bryan's successor in 1938, Herman B. Wells brought to the presidency a proven talent for leadership, wide acquaintance in his native state, and a professional background in business and finance that was to prove him the right man at a providential time. With a determination born of conviction, he set out to strengthen the faculty, facilitate research, encourage and protect the humanities and fine arts in an age of science, and make Indiana University a peer of the best state universities in the land. He succeeded in every respect, but more than that, he gave the University an unusual stamp. One of the first university administrators in the nation to recognize the need for nurturing and paying a debt to our historic inter-

national roots, he built a solid foundation for the international educational service which Indiana among other American universities has been called upon to perform. As a direct consequence of his leadership in this regard, Indiana University is cosmopolitan in its faculty, its student body, its curricula and its public service commitments.

There are numerous visible evidences on the Bloomington campus and elsewhere in the University system of the encouragement he gave and is still giving to the creative and performing arts—in part, for their own sake—but equally as an amenity of the community and state.

Foresighted and dynamic in his provision for the University's growth and change, he greatly expanded the physical facilities on all campuses and the residence hall system, and prompted the acquisition of land in Bloomington and Indianapolis for the University's orderly campus development. Characteristically, he also spearheaded the cooperative movement of Indiana's total higher educational system, private and public, to accommodate the returning veterans from World War II. The organization formed at that time, the Indiana Conference of Higher Education, is unique among states in the nation and still serves the valuable function of facilitating the cooperative endeavors of its members, all of Indiana's accredited colleges and universities, both private and public.

Remarkably personal in his approach, President Wells welded the constituencies of the University into a common body supportive of the University's successful strivings and aspirations to become a leading public institution in the United States. At the same time he carefully preserved a sense of the University's history through the maintenance and reinforcement of traditions.

When President Wells retired from the presidency in 1962, he was named Chancellor of the University and Elvis J. Stahr, Jr., was elected to succeed him. The six-year administration of President Stahr was shaped largely by the meteoric influx of students (more than a sixty percent increase in five years), requiring rapid expansion of physical facilities, faculty and staff. The competition for faculty nationwide made recruitment and retention of an excellent instructional staff a persistent budgetary problem, yet the level of academic distinction was nevertheless maintained.

Under President Stahr's direction, a reorganization of the University was planned, providing an administrative structure which would add strength to and permit individualization of the University's satellite campus centers.

He met, as had his predecessor, every challenge to academic freedom and, in a time of growing public awareness of the need to provide equal educational opportunity for young Black Americans, he instituted University-wide efforts to develop programs and projects contributory to such a goal.

In an entirely different area, his regime will also be remembered for a historical "first": the first visit of an Indiana University football team to the Rose Bowl.

On December 1, 1968, my own tenure as President of the University began, which has had as its most pressing task the reorganization of the administrative structure to accomplish the purposes envisioned during the early planning under Dr. Stahr. The reorganization and the staffing associated with it have been completed and each of the University's seven campuses now functions in many respects as a semi-autonomous unit of the University, typified by the granting of degrees in individual (and peaceful) Commencement ceremonies on each campus this year.

In addition, steady progress has been made toward the goal of making educational opportunities real for Black youth and toward providing viable means for students to work constructively for the changes they advocate.

Special efforts have also been extended to observe Indiana University's Sesquicentennial Anniversary suitably and memorably and, through a fund drive, to furnish the financial resources necessary to sustain a margin of excellence. Already, a large Assembly Hall, a Musical Arts Center, and a Hoosier Heritage Hall—all, Sesquicentennial projects—are in the construction stage, and a new teaching hospital has been completed and dedicated. The months have been filled with special convocations, symposia, concerts and similar events, in part paying tribute to the past, in part looking to the future.

The more than 54,000 students enrolled in the University, the faculty of approximately 3,000, the buildings and 6,500 acres of grounds which represent a value of nearly \$385 million offer a tangible measure of the University's development since its origin. Remarkable as this growth has been, many of the sources for pride and satisfaction in the University's present stature are intangible. Among these might be mentioned the international reputation of the School of Music; the prestige of the Graduate School of Business; the high national rankings accorded in several studies to our graduate programs in anthropology, astronomy, botany, chemistry, geography, microbiology, zoology, history, German, Russian, Spanish, and linguistics; the recognized distinction of the School of Dentistry; the cultural influence of the University, evidenced by the audiences attracted to presentations of the creative and performing arts; the many recognitions in various forms awarded to individual faculty members and students; and accolades such as Dr. Clark Kerr's reference in a lecture here last year to Indiana University as one of four universities which were moving forward more rapidly than any others in the nation.

At this significant point in the institution's history, we take pardonable pride in Indiana University's contributions to the state, nation and international education. Approximately 65 percent of Indiana's practicing physicians, 74 percent of Indiana dentists, 52 percent of Indiana lawyers, and a major proportion of the state's accountants, business executives, teachers and community leaders were educated at Indiana University. These percentages result directly from identifiable factors; for instance, the School of Medicine has the largest medical school enrollment in the United States; the School of Education ranks first in the country in the number of persons initially certified as teachers and in production of high school teachers, and third nationally in the number of graduate education degrees awarded; and, according to a National Academy of Sciences survey, Indiana University ranks twelfth nationally in the number of doctorates awarded in the past decade—first in fine arts and music, second in business administration and education, third in modern foreign languages and literatures, sixth in political science and international relations, and seventh in ecology and hydrobiology.

A commendable share of the sponsored basic and applied research being conducted in State universities is taking place at Indiana University. Particularly well known are research programs in genetics, the development of a mechanical heart, the use of fluorides to prevent tooth decay, highway safety, sexual behavior, and properties of lunar rock.

In addition to the comprehensive consulting service offered to business and industry by the School of Business and the continuing education programs

made available by divisions of the university, there are fifty-nine bureaus, centers, clinics, institutes and similar organizational units within the university providing direct services to the public.

Although in a midland state, the University has recognized a responsibility toward the developing nations and international education generally. Through contract projects, consultative assistance has been undertaken in East and West Pakistan, Thailand, Afghanistan, Indonesia, Korea, Yugoslavia, the Philippines, Chile, Peru, Venezuela, Brazil, Nigeria, and Sierra Leone. Programs are currently underway in several of these countries, further contributing to the identification of Indiana University as one of the leaders in international educational service.

For the more than 200,000 alumni, reflecting on their Alma Mater's Sesquicentennial in each of the fifty states and 127 foreign countries, and for the faculty, students and friends of Indiana University, the achievements of the past have taken on new significance and the survey of the present will surely elicit renewed pride.

I present this review by way of honoring all of the men and women throughout Indiana University's long life who have advanced her purposes and enhanced her distinction.

U.S. MIDEAST PEACE PROPOSAL

HON. BENJAMIN S. ROSENTHAL

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 29, 1970

Mr. ROSENTHAL. Mr. Speaker, we all hope that the U.S. peace proposal will lead to negotiations and a permanent cessation of hostilities in the Middle East. Nowhere is there a greater danger of a full scale war erupting. Nowhere is there a situation in which the United States and the Soviet Union are closer to a major military confrontation that could have fearful consequences for all mankind.

One of the great tragedies of the Middle East, Mr. Speaker, is that so many people seem trapped by events. The vast majority of Arabs and Jews would opt for a peaceful solution if they could envision it, but politics, propagandistic rhetoric, and national pride make such a concept difficult for them to conceive.

Certainly, no one is more eager for peace than the Israelis. They have lived under siege as long as their state has existed, and though they unflinchingly face the prospect of defending their land to the death, they do not like burying their sons any more than people of other nations. Anyone who thinks Israel considers itself "sitting pretty" is deluding himself. Let us not mistake determination for contentment, pride for elation, self-confidence for complacency.

Israel has shown it is aware of the grave threat to its existence and that time may not be unquestionably on its side. On the other hand, the country is resigned to be destroyed rather than compromise with its sovereignty.

Although the Israelis have coalesced into a magnificent fighting force when their state's very existence has been jeopardized, they cannot, dare not, turn their back on the hope for peace. Israel

wants peace in the Middle East, not only so it can survive, but so it can grow, prosper, enrich the surrounding cultures and in turn, be enriched by them.

We in the United States seek peace in the Middle East for the benefit of both the Israelis and Arabs. But we have our selfish motives as well; namely, the neutralization of a major military confrontation with the Soviet Union and an atmosphere in which we can peacefully compete against the Russians for economic spheres of influence in the Arab world.

The stakes are high. But a word of caution is warranted. In our zeal to bring a peaceful solution to a part of the world on the brink of war, we must not compromise the security of Israel.

There will be no end to the shooting—and certainly no peace of mind for the United States if the proposed cease-fire is merely used by the Arabs and Russians to prepare for a military offensive.

Israel should be encouraged to seize upon any straw which could lead to some dialog with the Arab world. But at the same time, we must be certain that the Israelis, if they accept a cease-fire, can act against terrorist violations or an Egyptian-Soviet military buildup without losing face—and, even more important, strategic advantages.

This means some form of international inspection should police the cease-fire and we should publicly declare our support of Israel's right to respond to any violations of the spirit of the truce.

It must be made clear that any Arab country should be held accountable for control of the guerrillas in its territory. Otherwise, what would prevent the guerrillas from utilizing Arab army posts to continue harassment of Israel's borders. The Israel Government would derive little solace from Arab governments shrugging their shoulders and disclaiming responsibility for Fedayeen terrorist acts.

Mr. Speaker, we must exhort and persuade all parties in the Middle East to settle their dispute at the council table. But we should never be party to an agreement which undermines the future of any one nation before discussions even begin.

YOUNG PEN PALS LEAP NATIONAL BARRIERS WITH ESPERANTO—"UNIVERSAL LANGUAGE" TAUGHT AT ELEMENTARY-SCHOOL LEVEL

HON. JAMES J. DELANEY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 29, 1970

Mr. DELANEY. Mr. Speaker, the need for understanding and tolerance among the peoples of the world is widely recognized. Perhaps the greatest hindrance to mutual understanding is the inability of differing nationalities to communicate effectively with each other. One promising step in remedying this situation is the growing popularity of the Esperanto language, and I would like to share with my colleagues the following article on

this subject by Mr. Kenneth G. Gehret, education editor of the Christian Science Monitor:

[From the Christian Science Monitor, June 13, 1970]

YOUNG PEN PALS LEAP NATIONAL BARRIERS WITH ESPERANTO—"UNIVERSAL LANGUAGE" TAUGHT AT ELEMENTARY-SCHOOL LEVEL

(By Kenneth G. Gehret)

SAN MATEO, CALIF.—Eight-year-old Will Mitchell recently sent a picture postcard to a boy in Poland. The message was penned neither in English nor Polish, but in Esperanto.

Will and his classmates at Highlands School here carry on weekly correspondence with Polish schoolchildren as part of their study of Esperanto, sometimes referred to as the universal language.

Other students in the three San Mateo schools that offer the subject write to pen pals in the "sister city" of Toyonaka, Japan, and receive in return directions for making origami (folded-paper designs), or exchange weather charts and other science projects with students in France, Sweden, and Spain.

"We want to open up avenues to children, all over the world," explains Philip Vondor, principal at Highlands School. "Esperanto serves as an auxiliary language for them and a contact point. It broadens their outlook."

Dr. Edwin Feldman, principal of the Lawrence School in the district, views the language as a tool for world peace and brotherhood.

"We offer Esperanto in the curriculum to promote international understanding and friendship, to promote communication between peoples," he declares. "By starting at the elementary ages, we can hope eventually to live in a more peaceful world."

"If one of the most important tasks in resolving the issues of peace and war is understanding, then a language which facilitates communication among peoples all over the world should help bring about such understanding."

Dr. Feldman finds in Esperanto a strictly educational advantage as well. He claims it is an ideal initial nonnative tongue for a child to learn because it is easy to grasp and thus helps to build positive attitudes toward language study.

There is a spillover into the learning of English, too, according to Mrs. Doris Vallon, an Esperanto specialist who teaches the subject in San Mateo schools.

"Because they can learn Esperanto quickly, they are more confident of making English work," she maintains.

Mrs. Vallon describes Esperanto as "a model language" because children soon see how it works; therefore they do not view it as a threat.

"I've seen children afraid to use the English dictionary," she says. "They often can't find a word they want since they can't spell it. But this isn't true with the Esperanto dictionary because the language is phonetic. If you can pronounce it, you can find it."

Although one needs five years of study to master Esperanto, enough of the basics can be gained in one school year to enable an individual to use the language, Mrs. Vallon claims. To illustrate, she points out that in Spanish classes the future tense is not introduced until the second year, while in Esperanto, students are very soon familiar with this tense since it means simply adding the "os" ending to the verb.

"And because of their achievement in Esperanto, there is a definite 'I can succeed' attitude evident among the pupils," the teacher declares.

The teaching of Esperanto in the San Mateo area can be traced back to 1962, when Mrs. William Schulze conducted a course in

the language for principals and teachers. The group met two evenings a week for three months. Among those attending were Dr. Feldman, Mr. Vondor, and Mrs. Vallon, all of whom immediately felt that the subject should be introduced into the classroom. One elementary school was selected as a beginning.

Dr. Feldman calls this the first "major effort" at teaching Esperanto in United States schools.

After a successful northern California conference on Esperanto that same year, an extension course for teachers was given in 1963. Instructors were the three San Mateo educators and Mrs. Schulze. Of the 15 teachers attending, six came from local schools. They provided the necessary staffing for expanding the San Mateo program to additional schools at grade levels 4, 5, and 6.

However, the program has suffered in recent years for lack of sufficient teachers. The number of periods of instruction varies from school to school, and study is now restricted to one full year at best.

But Mr. Vondor looks for a breakthrough. He has drawn up a three-year program of Esperanto study, which will go into effect at Highlands School in the fall. Its length will provide additional opportunity for students to communicate and become better acquainted with young people in other countries and to gain a better understanding of their cultures.

An adequate supply of books is available in the Esperanto language, published in the United States and overseas. The staff is making its own tape recordings to aid in the instruction.

Further help in staffing may come through an intensive three-week workshop to be held at San Francisco State College next month. The emphasis will be on learning the language and developing the ability to teach it to others.

SCIENTIFIC BREAKTHROUGH: NON-POLLUTING PESTICIDES

HON. J. J. PICKLE

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 29, 1970

Mr. PICKLE. Mr. Speaker, thanks to the scientific endeavors of two Texas scientists, we may soon be able to use agricultural chemicals for crop control with negligible danger of pollution and perhaps, simultaneously, with even greater efficiency.

Most pollution for agricultural chemicals comes in the runoff of drainage water which carries the chemicals into surface and subsurface water supplies, polluting the water itself and damaging other vegetation it comes in contact with. Drs. M. L. Beasley and R. I. Collins, of the Austin Research Institute, Austin, Tex., acting on an accidental find of Dr. Beasley's, believe they have found a way to keep the chemicals from being washed away to areas where they may do harm. They tie the chemicals up in water-degradable polymers, and the upshot is simply that the chemicals do not wash away. This also means, of course, that the quantity of chemical needed for any one area is significantly reduced.

For example, the common herbicide 2,4-d is readily polymerized with iron. This polymer releases minute amounts of 2,4-d over an entire growing season for

protection of grassland from weeds, ending the current need for repeated applications in a single growing season. Moreover, even in bar ditches, weeds are killed at the point of application but not downstream from that point.

Tests conducted with 2,4-d on a bank incline of 30 degrees attest to the absence of chemical migration when polymers are used. The herbicide effectively controlled the weeds in the field at the top of the incline, but no trace of 2,4-d was found in a second test crop just below it on the slope. Nor was any 2,4-d found in the surface water at the bottom of the incline.

The 2,4-d iron polymer does the same work chemically as 2,4-d acid, but at a much slower and safer rate. Department of Agriculture standards limit herbicide absorption in plant foliage during the first few days of plant growth to 10 parts per million to insure that the herbicide will not build up in animals that consume the weeds during this time when they are palatable—2,4-d acid normally does not meet this standard. It is absorbed too easily by the plant. The first Department of Agriculture tests of 2,4-d polymer in these young plants, however, showed an absorption of zero parts per million.

Beasley and Collins are optimistic, too, about the use of 2,4-d polymer as a solid. Being solid, it does not stick to the leaves, as do normal herbicides, but sifts to the ground, reducing the chance of consumption.

The discovery is not limited to herbicides. Nematocides, slimicides, fungicides, rodenticides, and defoliants can be polymerized for agricultural uses. Stearic copper polymer may be useful to prevent barnacle growth on marine equipment. We may also be able to construct self-destructible containers out of polymerized degradable chemicals.

I find it most heartening that top-flight scientists such as Dr. Beasley and Dr. Collins have been directing their efforts to this complex and difficult problem. Whether they succeed or not, their efforts are to be commended. These two believe they are on the track of a viable solution. Let us hope that, as further data is gathered, their beliefs prove true.

POWER DRIVE—PRISONER OF WAR EFFECTIVE RELEASE

HON. ED FOREMAN

OF NEW MEXICO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 29, 1970

Mr. FOREMAN. Mr. Speaker, in our continuing effort to secure reasonable treatment of American prisoners of war in Communist prison camps, I should like to bring the following article from the *Enchanted News*, a publication of the inmates of the Penitentiary of New Mexico, to the attention of my colleagues:

POWER DRIVE—PRISONERS OF WAR EFFECTIVE RELEASE

The stereotype image of a convict is a variable thing. It seems to depend upon the immediate purpose of its use. The image can be frightening, comical, or even pathetic. But it remains exactly that only—an image.

In fact, convicts are people . . . human

beings . . . individuals. And it may come as a surprise to find that they possess the same emotions and capacities as their free-world counterparts. Convicts think, worry and regret. They get hungry, cold, sick, happy and lonesome. They work, play, laugh, and even cry. In other words they feel every single emotion that nonconvicts do. Maybe they feel some things even deeper.

Recently, Mrs. James L. Hughes met with Warden Felix Rodriguez and Deputy Warden H. O. Herrera at the Penitentiary of New Mexico to discuss the possibilities of having the penitentiary art department design and layout art work concerning release and humane treatment of prisoners of war. Mrs. Hughes' husband is a prisoner of war in North Viet Nam.

Mrs. Hughes told of many fruitless efforts to find out about her husband's status and welfare, including a trip to Thailand to visit the North Viet Nam Embassy in Bangkok. She heard from her husband only after purchasing a full-page ad in the *Bangkok Post* to appeal her situation. She has heard nothing since.

It became apparent to Mrs. Hughes, and many other families who have men held as a prisoner of war, that appeals through paid advertisements in neutral countries would be their greatest hope in securing word about their men. As a result, Rescue-Line was established toward that aim. The creation of Rescue-Line was a sort of last resort to effect the release—or at the very least, some news—of these men. The organization has been attempting to raise the funds necessary to accomplish their goal, but these efforts have not met with the success of which such a campaign is worthy. As an example, an advertisement soliciting funds was run in an Albuquerque newspaper at a cost of more than one hundred dollars. The ad drew some thirty dollars in contributions! This, and other experiences, moved Mrs. Hughes to seek assistance in other—some might say peculiar—places. With the idea of prisoners helping prisoners, Mrs. Hughes sought assistance at the Penitentiary of New Mexico. She felt that men at the penitentiary, being prisoners themselves and locked away from their families and loved ones, might be able to offer some suggestions in art and other ideas that would bring the situation concerning the men held as prisoners of war to the attention of the world.

Mrs. Hughes pointed out that some 1,406 families—including some 4,000 children—await anxiously some news, day by day, that their husbands or fathers are safe. But that word never comes. The men are held without even the privilege of communication.

Well, now! What would you expect a bunch of "cons" to do? After all, they are convicts, aren't they? Well here is what they did. Are doing!

With the approval of Warden Felix Rodriguez and Deputy Warden H. O. Herrera, a committee was formed to organize ideas for a concentrated campaign. The name POWER DRIVE was coined—standing for Prisoners Of War Effective Release Drive—and to prevent anyone from taking part through the hope of personal gain or recognition, an agreement was made that there would be no names involved. All work would be performed anonymously. With this understanding, the planning got underway. Special art work was done and posters prepared. These have been designed for use anywhere in the world. Publicity and advertising ideas were worked out. Service clubs and other inmate groups were contacted and told the story. Ideas for an effective campaign began to take shape. And money started to come in, money from convicts.

Needless to say, convicts aren't among the nation's high income groups, but contributions ranging from \$1.00 to \$10.00 have been received. And through the combined cooperation of the administration and officials of the blood plasma program, arrangements

have been made whereby inmates without money can give blood and have \$5.00 deposited to the account of Rescue-Line. At the time of this writing well over \$300.00 has been received, and money continues to come in.

Those inmates active in POWER DRIVE hope to spread the campaign from the Penitentiary of New Mexico to other penal institutions, and through inside service clubs, to the outside. It is their hope that enough money can be raised, enough publicity generated, to aid in the release of—or at least the establishment of communications with—those Americans held as Prisoners of War.

One of the interesting aspects of the POWER DRIVE campaign is that personal feelings about American involvement in the Viet Nam conflict seem to have little effect on the willingness of inmates to help. One of the men summed up the general feeling when he said, "No matter why a man is locked up, he should be treated like a human." That seems to be the whole idea, Humanity. And right now, at this moment, for the first and probably only time, many of the inmates of the Penitentiary of New Mexico can say, "I'm proud to be a convict."

INDIANAPOLIS CITIZENS FORUM "TELLS IT LIKE IT IS"—AND GETS IT DONE LIKE IT SHOULD BE

HON. WILLIAM G. BRAY

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 29, 1970

Mr. BRAY. Mr. Speaker, it is said our country, and our society, is drifting apart, or being driven apart. We have many indeed who are quick to assign blame, and many who seek to use this theory as a vehicle to pursue their own selfish interests.

But we have few indeed, very few, who are actively working to refute this theory and are showing, by their imagination, skill, and dedication, that it is not so, that it need not be so, and that any such dangers can be headed off well before they begin to grow serious.

Let us consider two of the prime problems that face our cities. The first is their physical appearance; this is generally conceded. It is true that much that must be done has to be done on a large scale, involving a great deal of time and money. But it is also true that individual citizens, banded together in block or neighborhood groups, can make a tremendous difference and contribute so very much to their city merely by noting what is to be done, right in their own backyards and in their own streets. It is said that charity begins at home. So, it must be added, does keeping a neighborhood or a yard beautiful. One neighborhood or one yard, alone, might not mean much in a major city. But put a series of them together, and much of so-called urban blight is not only stopped but pushed back.

The second is police/community relations. Law and order is the cornerstone of any society. Those who enforce and uphold law and order must have community trust and respect, or their role is severely crippled, and sometimes almost beyond repair. This trust and respect, it must be added, is a two-way street. Public officials and authorities in all agencies, on all levels, must of necessity get closer

to the people they serve. This can only enhance the welfare of the community as a whole. Each must understand the role and problems of the other, and, more important, have a very real hand in sharing, feeling and working to overcome these problems, many of which are mutual and common.

The Indianapolis Citizens Forum is an organization of nationwide renown, and quite deservedly so. Under the direction and guidance of Mrs. Mattie Coney, it has become a hallmark and a watchword for constructive, hard-working, dedicated community improvement. And it has accomplished so much with the relative outlay of so little except common-sense, some sound organization, and hard work on the part of those who have taken part.

Community spirit in America is something as old as our Republic's history. It has always existed and always will. No divisive force can really tear it apart; it can grow rusty and stiff through neglect, but once mobilized and utilized, it is capable of accomplishing wonders. This is what Mrs. Coney has done with large sections of a city that is now the 10th or 11th largest in the United States, and her efforts have been recognized and rewarded at the highest levels of the Federal Government.

Citizens' Forum has taught another major lesson, too, that should be copied in all other cities in addition to their fine examples of what community spirit can do. That is, what can be accomplished by simple reliance on common sense, and thrift. There is no need in many instances for large transfusions of State, city or Federal funds. People, suitably motivated, can and will do for themselves what no one else could possibly do for them, although, regrettably enough, this is an overlooked and neglected lesson.

Neither does a community plan for civic betterment have to be put forth in high-sounding and noble—but sometimes totally incomprehensible—phrases. Simple phrases, stressing and exemplifying the simplest, yet seemingly most neglected, human virtues and values; this is all it takes.

The following is one program sponsored by the Citizens' Forum that is successfully bringing the youth and the neighborhood policeman together as a team, for a better, cleaner, safer, happier and more wholesome neighborhood and city:

LITTER PREVENTION AND NEIGHBORHOOD YOUTH SAFETY PROGRAM

The 1970 Citizens Forum, Inc. Greater Indianapolis Beautification Committee and the Indianapolis Police Department are cosponsoring a Litter Prevention and Neighborhood Youth Safety Program.

We feel that this is one step that can ultimately involve all school students and their parents. Out of an involvement with anti-litter and safety activities, there is the growth of an awareness of beautification and Individual Responsibility. With anti-litter forces providing the basic thrust, the development of a critical eye . . . and mind . . . toward beauty and the safety of our neighborhoods will naturally follow.

A challenge and an opportunity for each person to accept his individual responsibility as an Indianapolis citizen. An opportunity for the city of Indianapolis to be No. 1. We can

be the first city to conquer its land pollution. It can be a coordinated effort of citizens (youth and adults) and local government supported by the private sector.

Indianapolis citizens will inspire one another through activity and recognition. Individual pride begets civic pride.

We can truly have a meaningful celebration of the 200th anniversary of America here in Indianapolis in 1976.

A SUGGESTED APPROACH TO SPREAD GOOD WILL AND TO CLEAN UP INDIANAPOLIS

Activity outline: Joint Press conference by Police Department and Citizens Forum, Inc. as soon as possible, encouraging all Indianapolis School pupils to clean their front and back yards including the alley, sidewalk and curbs. This will show cooperation with the Governor's State-Wide Operation Clean Sweep and the Greater Indianapolis Beautification Program.

We are able to accelerate and motivate our anti-litter and safety program by encouraging all pupils to make a safe play space in their back yards.

Every pupil is encouraged to develop a game area in the confines of their back yard only.

Suggested games that require small areas are: Horseshoes, checkers, jacks, hopscotch, chess, marbles, badminton, drawing, sculpturing, gardening, handicraft, etc.

When the yard is ready for activity call Citizens Forum, Inc.

A member of the nearest Block Club will go check the home for cleanliness and safe play. They will suggest improvement or approval.

When the yard has been approved, the Indianapolis Police Department will send an invitation to each family to appear for a reception. A short program orienting the guest on the good intentions of the Police Department and Citizens Forum, Inc., the presentation of certificates, a tour of the Police Department and refreshments.

All pupils encouraging others to participate may return as a "recruiter" with their candidate, receive a star on their certificate and a pass to a movie. The pupil that excels as a recruiter will be recognized at the Citizens Forum, Inc. 6th Annual Banquet, Saturday, September 5th, 1970, at the Indianapolis Hilton.

The weekly receptions at the Police Department will begin the week following school closing.

Weekly mass media announcements will tell who has been approved, invited to a reception and their location in the city, etc.

All citizens (youth & adults) are encouraged to display flags on Patriotic Days.

All citizens will be visiting the "Oasis of Beauty" in over 2000 blocks during "Visit Your Neighbor Month" in the month of August.

"Be Prepared" with your Guest Book as company arrives.

Youth Groups and Block Clubs are beautifying traffic islands and unsightly spots along our waterways and highways.

All oil companies are being asked to keep their premises including sidewalk and curbs clean. Shell Oil Company of Indianapolis is the first to respond to our appeal. We are alerting all customers to speak to managers or proprietors about the cleanliness of their Service Stations.

Mr. Speaker, the Citizens' Forum has combined all these things to attack the combined problems of urban residential blight and the invisible but still crippling barrier that often comes between citizens and local police. But let us look, briefly, at a most important side effect which has future implications that cannot possibly be measured.

Let us consider what sort of an example Citizens' Forum is setting for young people in the areas where it oper-

ates. It is instilling in them a sense of pride and belonging where their neighborhood is concerned. They are being taught, by word, deed, and example, in their youth, one of the most important lessons of all: they are being taught to care.

And, in learning this lesson, they are learning another of equal importance: that the policeman is their friend; that the man in blue who walks the beat or patrols their community in a squad car is there because he, too, cares. He cares, as do they, that their streets are safe; that their homes are not broken into; that their neighborhoods are peaceful, quiet, happy, and clean places. He wants to know them, the people he moves among; he wants them to know him. He wants to be free to come to them, and he wants them to be equally free to come to him.

Hundreds, perhaps thousands of Indianapolis youth are being encouraged to take part in this program, and to participate to the fullest extent possible. The net result is going to be a new generation, taking their place in the world as adults, who have known and met their responsibilities as children, and who are superbly equipped to carry them out as they assume their role of our Republic's leaders and builders.

SURVEY RESULTS PUBLISHED

HON. CHARLES E. WIGGINS

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 29, 1970

Mr. WIGGINS. Mr. Speaker, as is my practice twice each year. I mailed in May a questionnaire to the residents of the 25th Congressional District of California. Today I would like to report the results of that mailing.

The survey dealt with labor-management issues. I selected this topic because employee strikes, threatened strikes, and management lockouts are so much in the news and are of great concern to the people of this Nation.

To assist me in analyzing the survey results, I also asked respondents to classify themselves in the political spectrum. You should also know that the 25th District includes part of northern Orange County and a portion of San Gabriel Valley in eastern Los Angeles County.

The questionnaire follows:

QUESTIONNAIRE RESULTS

Here are some facts:

In the Orange County portion of the 25th Congressional District:

There are more Republicans than Democrats;

There is relatively low union membership; There is relatively high per capita income; and

The political label "conservative" is worn openly and with pride.

In the Los Angeles County portion of the 25th District:

There are more Democrats than Republicans;

There is relatively high union membership; There is relatively low per capita income; and

The "conservative" label is carefully avoided by office seekers for fear of offending the electorate.

In summary, these two areas would appear to be miles apart politically as well as geographically. But they are not. Every successive questionnaire which I have distributed as your Congressman reaffirms the conclusion that on political issues (although not always on political personalities) the people of my District tend to think alike. This unity of political thought most probably reflects the fact that we are all parents, home owners, consumers, taxpayers—in short, concerned citizens of this country—before we are Republicans, Democrats, or union members; and these common concerns tend to mold and unify our thinking on issues.

My most recent questionnaire distributed in May dealt exclusively with labor-management issues. Because of the factual differences noted between the counties, one would expect wide differences of opinion to prevail on these controversial and often emotional questions. Once again, however, it was demonstrated that we all tend to think substantially alike.

Here are the results of the survey:

1. Should the "right to strike" be guaranteed to all employees, public and private, regardless of the national consequences of the strike?

Yes, 16.5%; no, 81%; not sure, 2.5%.

The unlimited right to strike (or to lock out) must be renounced, in my opinion, if we are to abandon the law-of-the-jungle philosophy, which permeates so much of our labor legislation. We have rejected the primitive view that "might makes right" in all civilized disputes between private parties, except in the labor relations field. It is encouraging to me to find a decisive majority in each county of both men and women respondents opposed to an unrestricted right to strike, regardless of the consequences of that action.

2. If the "right to strike" is denied to some employees and an illegal strike nevertheless occurs, the striking employees should:

(a) be fired—36%.

(b) be retained but lose seniority or other employee rights—20%.

(c) be reinstated without penalty—10%.

(d) Not sure—34%.

This is a difficult question, yet it faces governmental leaders regularly. In general, public employees are denied the right to strike. In recent months, however, we have seen teachers, postmen, firemen, sanitation workers, and hospital employees, to mention only a few, walk off the job. In 1968 alone, over 200,000 government employees were involved in 254 strikes, and preliminary figures in 1969 are showing significantly higher totals. When one considers that there are approximately 12.5 million public employees in the United States, the magnitude of this problem is readily apparent.

If masses of public employees should illegally leave their work either in a formal strike or an informal "sick-in," should they be fired for doing so? The Mayor of Atlanta, Georgia, recently attempted to discharge a substantial group of municipal employees who had participated in an illegal strike and he quickly discovered that the essential functions of government collapsed as the result of his reaction. Although the outright firing of an employee participating in an illegal strike may be practically impossible, it is clear that some penalty must be attached to either the employee or the offending union, for such an illegal act, if similar outlaw strikes are to be avoided in the future.

Several suggestions have been discussed, such as imposing substantial fines and the loss of exclusive bargaining rights against unions, or the loss of certain benefits to employees participating in illegal strikes. But as yet, no legislation is in process which would impose these penalties. At the present time, the influence of unions in the legislative process is so great that any such re-

form legislation would doubtless be characterized as repressive by organized labor, and its chances of passage would be remote.

3. Do you approve of compulsory arbitration as an alternative to the strike or lockout?

(a) for all employers and employees?—47%.

(b) for public employers and employees only?—12%.

(c) I disapprove in all cases—10%.

(d) Not sure—31%.

For many years, the idea that labor disputes should be resolved by arbitration has been opposed by both management and labor. Each felt that it was a denial of their fundamental right to bargain collectively and to strike, or lock out, if the parties were unsuccessful in reaching an agreement. In recent years, however, there has been a gradual recognition that the public interest requires protection and that management and labor cannot be permitted the unrestricted power to inflict irreparable damage to vast sections of the economy and innocent bystanders who may be affected by a strike or lock out. Arbitration is now required under the Railway Labor Act and under the postal reform bill recently passed by the House of Representatives. The use of binding arbitration agreements is becoming more common in private union contracts.

This is a wholesome trend and I am pleased to note the general support of this trend as reflected in the answers to this question.

4. Unions are now exempt from anti-trust laws. Should they be?

Yes, 9%; no, 84%; not sure, 7%.

Much of the legislation which exists regulating the conduct of unions and the relationship of employers and the government toward unions was written in the 1930's. The Norris-La Guardia Act, for example, was written in the early 1930's and prohibits Federal courts from issuing injunctions against certain union activities. The Wagner Act also was enacted during the 1930's and was described as the "Magna Carta" of labor, since it firmly recognized the right of employees to organize into unions and imposed upon employers the duty of bargaining collectively with employee organizations. Much of this legislation was clearly needed since employers, often in concert with government, had suppressed union activities for many years. It was in this spirit of providing needed protection to the union movement that national unions were granted exemption from the anti-trust laws, thereby permitting agreements tending to restrain trade which would be illegal if made by employer groups.

The weakness of the union movement during the 1930's has been replaced by the politically and economically strong unions of today. Many employers complain that they are unable to cope with these strong unions, and collective bargaining becomes a farce. Some employers are presented contracts on a "take it or leave it" basis and the give and take of bargaining, so essential if the individual needs of separate employers are to be recognized, is entirely absent.

Subjecting unions to the limitations of anti-trust legislation would seriously curtail their activities and doubtless would be opposed bitterly by the national union leadership, but the continued misuse of union power makes a consideration of legislation to subject unions to anti-trust laws a clear possibility.

5. Should industry-wide bargaining and strikes be permitted?

Yes, 30%; no, 59%; undecided, 11%.

The process of collective bargaining between major corporations and national unions often gives the appearance of a polite seminar between economists, lawyers, and accountants. But the superficial appearance is deceiving.

The results of any bargaining session—whether in the Paris "peace talks," on a used

car sales lot, or between management and labor—reflects the relative power of the bargainer.

The power to shut down an entire industry gives both management and labor a tremendous bargaining lever against the other. The public, of course, is caught in the middle as are many union members who have no real grievance with their immediate employer.

Because of the bargaining power afforded by the threat of industry-wide shut downs, neither management nor labor will eagerly surrender it. Reform will be difficult, but we must work toward a system which tends to limit a dispute to the immediately affected parties and does not involve innocent workers and employers in someone else's controversy.

6. Are you a union member or the spouse of a union member?

Yes, 21%; no, 79%.

This question was asked in order to determine whether the respondents were truly representative of the actual union membership in the district. Since union members comprise approximately 24% of the work force in Los Angeles County and 20% in Orange County, I am satisfied that the views of both union and non-union members are truly reflected in the answers to this questionnaire.

7. In political matters, do you regard yourself as:

(a) Conservative—35%.

(b) Liberal—4%.

(c) Moderate—30%.

(d) No opinion—31%.

These replies are real shockers. I would have assumed that most people would describe themselves as political moderates with a minority dividing the Liberal and Conservative labels between them in approximately equal proportions. But the facts are otherwise.

The most probable explanation for these answers is that a growing number of citizens of both parties do not wish to identify themselves with the irresponsible antics of a few who are self-styled "Liberals."

It is especially interesting to note that the above percentages held for all parts of my district. "Conservative" Orange County, therefore, is a misnomer. It should more properly be described as "Republican" Orange County since the Los Angeles County portion of my district matches its "Conservatism."

Local union members apparently do not agree with the liberal badge prominently displayed by their national officers. In both Orange and Los Angeles Counties, a higher percentage of union members describe themselves as Conservative than the district averages for all respondents.

It is my practice to invite seniors from those high schools in the district willing to participate to answer the questionnaire. Since the number of returns is too small to draw accurate conclusions therefrom, the responses of these 17 and 18 years olds is reported without comment.

1. Unlimited right to strike? Yes, 30%; no, 50%; not sure, 20%.

2. If illegal, should illegal strikers be:

(a) Fired—30%; (b) punished—33%; (c) reinstated without punishment—34%.

3. Approve of compulsory arbitration: (a) for all—50%; (b) public employees only—30%; (c) for none—20%.

4. Should unions be exempt from anti-trust laws?

Yes, 27%; no, 48%; undecided, 25%.

5. Industry-wide bargaining permitted:

Yes, 35%; no, 42%; undecided, 23%.

6. Do you regard yourself as:

(a) Conservative—20%; (b) Liberal—24%;

(c) Moderate—30%.

Thank you very much for assisting me with this important survey.

Sincerely yours,

CHARLES E. WIGGINS,
Member of Congress.