poses," to provide for accelerated payment of certain housing loans in cases of discrimination by the loan recipient; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. WYMAN:

H.R. 15758. A bill relating to taxation by a State of income received by nonresidents of that State for services performed in a Federal area; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. FASCELL:

H.J. Res. 1077. Joint resolution to amend the joint resolution authorizing appropriations for the payment by the United States of its share of the expenses of the Pan American Railways Congress Association; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. GALLAGHER:

H.J. Res. 1078. Joint resolution establishing the Commission on United States Participation in the United Nations, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. GIAIMO:

H.J. Res. 1079. Joint resolution to amend the Constitution to provide for representation of the District of Columbia in the Congress; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. MINSHALL:

H. Con. Res. 498. Concurrent resolution to express the sense of the Congress with respect to peace in the Middle East; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. RIVERS:

H. Con. Res. 499. Concurrent resolution, Paris peace conference on prisoners of war; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. WOLFF:

H. Con. Res. 500. Concurrent resolution expressing the sense of Congress that the United States should sell Israel aircraft necesary for Israel's defense; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. MATSUNAGA (for himself, Mr. DENNIS, and Mr. WILLIAM D. FORD):

H. Res. 823. Resolution to provide for record voting in the Committee on the Whole House upon the assent of one-fourth of the Members present; to the Committee on Rules.

By Mr. NELSON:

H. Res. 824. A resolution affirming U.S. policy calling for face-to-face negotiations between the governments of the nations involved in the Middle East crisis; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. SATTERFIELD (for himself, and Mr. MARSH):

H. Res. 825. Resolution calling for support of policy of direct face-to-face negotiations for peace between nations in the Middle East; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. TUNNEY:

H. Res. 826. Resolution to express the sense of the House against the persecution of persons by Soviet Russia because of their religion; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. BOB WILSON:

H. Res. 827. Resolution to create a Select Committee on the Investigation of Pornographic Enterprises; to the Committee on Rules.

PRIVATE BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

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

By Mr. BRADEMAS:

H.R. 15759. A bill for the relief of Yi-chuan Pan and Yi-jen Yu (maiden name: Yu); to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. DONOHUE:

H.R. 15760. A bill for the relief of Dr. Anthony S. Mastrian; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. EDWARDS of Alabama:

H.R. 15761. A bill for the relief of Albert H. Quarles; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. FISHER:

H.R. 15762. A bill for the relief of Lottie Emerson; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. FOLEY:

H.R. 15763. A bill for the relief of Rogelio Candanoza-Leza; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. MATSUNAGA:

H.R. 15764. A bill for the relief of Celia G. Debs; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. MOSS:

H.R. 15765. A bill for the relief of Milton E. Nix; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. POWELL:

H.R. 15766. A bill for the relief of Campbell Glenallen Emanuel, wife Daphne Olive I. Emanuel, and son Calvin Roger Emanuel; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. WATKINS:

H.R. 15767. A bill for the relief of Mrs. Maria Zahaniacz (nee Bojkiwska); to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. BOB WILSON:

H.R. 15768. A bill for the relief of Katsu Asage Whetstine; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. CHARLES H. WILSON:

H.R. 15769. A bill to authorize and direct the Secretary of the Interior to relinquish and quitclaim any title it may heretofore claim to certain lands situated in the county of San Bernardino, State of California; to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

MEMORIALS

Under clause 4 of rule XXII, memorials were presented and referred as follows:

279. By the SPEAKER: A memorial of the House of Representatives of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, relative to overriding the presidential veto of the Health, Education, and Welfare Appropriation bill; to the Committee on Appropriations.

280. Also, a memorial of the Legislature of the State of California, relative to agricultural labor-management relations; to the Committee on Education and Labor.

281. Also, a memorial of the House of Representatives of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, relative to continuing certain airline operations; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

282. Also, a memorial of the general court of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, relative to a Federal welfare system, to the Committee on Ways and Means.

283. Also, a memorial of the general court of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, relative to expanding the medicare program to include the permanently and totally disabled; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

PETITIONS, ETC.

Under clause 1 of rule XXII,

386. The SPEAKER presented a petition of the chairman, Realtors' Washington Committee, National Association of Real Estate Boards, Washington, D.C., relative to the residential mortgage market, which was referred to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

"CAPTAIN EASY" RETIRES—HELPED NATIONAL GOALS

HON. LOUIS FREY, JR.

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 5, 1970

Mr. FREY. Mr. Speaker, Les Turner of Orlando, Fla., in the congressional district which I represent, has produced for 36 years the comic strip "Captain Easy." "Captain Easy" appears in more than 600 daily and Sunday newspapers across the country and has contributed greatly to better public understanding of national problems and goals. As the creator of the comic strip, Les Turner has used his mind and ability to make the national space program more understandable to all Americans. I congratulate Mr. Turner on his retirement, and also his associates, Bill Crooks and Jim Lawrence, who will continue the comic strip. I would like to place in the RECORD a portion of an article from the Orlando Sentinel, Orlando, Fla., November 23, 1969:

LES TURNER, PRODUCER OF COMIC STRIP, RETIRES

Les Turner, artist-writer who has produced the "Captain Easy" comic strip since 1943, will retire next Sunday.

"Captain Easy," appearing in more than 600 daily and Sunday newspapers and distributed by Newspaper Enterprise Association, will continue to be produced by Turner's associate, Bill Crooks, and writer Jim Lawrence. Crooks has been working with Turner since 1945.

Turner started on the strip as an assistant in 1937. It was then carried in hundreds of newspapers as "Wash Tubbs" and its title was changed to Captain Easy in 1949.

Turner's already completed strips will continue to appear in newspapers until early 1970, being succeeded by Crooks' and Lawrence's work in mid-January.

During his many years with Wash Tubbs and Captain Easy, Turner brought many unique situations to the comic pages. He pioneered educational, sociological and scientific subjects in his strips and received praise from professionals in all fields for his accuracy and timeliness.

In one 1949 sequence, Turner's heroes helped an alcoholic win his fight to redeem himself through Alcoholics Anonymous. AA members praised Turner's understanding and his contribution to their efforts. One member wrote:

"I know of at least five hopeless alcoholics who have been saved through your comic strip."

A 1950 news bulletin of the Stanford Research Institute reproduced a strip in which Turner showed the use of the Poulter Seismic Method of Geophysical Exploration to discover oil deposits. Captain Easy had explained the technical marvel in language simple enough for the youngest of his readers.

Living in Orlando, Turner kept abreast of rocket and space developments and reported—and sometimes foretold—them in his comic strip. When the Army launched Jupiter II from Cape Canaveral March 5, 1958, Turner's story which appeared in newspapers that day showed a fictitious Cyclops rocket carrying the first man into space.

His accurate backgrounds and on-the-scene research continually gave readers dramatic stories as current as today.

A 1962 continuity explaining the Binary number system used in computers was requested in reprint by many schools because

it gave a clear explanation of a complex math system. Captain Easy had discovered spies employing Binary numbers to pass information on America's antimissile program . . . and appropriately, using the comic pages to transmit the secret data.

THE ABM—PHASE TWO

HON. HUGH SCOTT

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, February 5, 1970

Mr. SCOTT. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Extensions of Remarks an excerpt from President Nixon's press conference of January 30, 1970, and an editorial entitled "ABM's Phase Two," published in the Washington Star of February 2, 1970.

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

THE ABM AND AREA DEFENSE

Question. Sir, in connection with the ABM, there have been suggestions that expanding the ABM from a protective system for Minutemen into an area defense of cities might raise problems in connection with the negotiations on arms control.

Without going into too much detail, can you tell us whether your decision to proceed with the second phase involves area defense or simply an additional defense of Minutemen like the first phase?

The PRESIDENT. Mr. Bailey, our decision involves area defense. The Minutemen defense is only effective insofar as an attack by a major power, taking out our retaliatory capacity.

The area defense, on the other hand, is absolutely essential as against any minor power, a power, for example, like Communist China. I don't anticipate an attack by Communist China, but if such a power had some capability with ICBM's to reach the United States, an area defense, according to the information we have received, is virtually infallible against that kind of potential attack, and, therefore, gives the United States a credible foreign policy in the Pacific area which it otherwise would not have.

Question. Mr. President, you said a minute ago that your expansion of the ABM system would provide a credible defense in the Pacific. Do you mean in part by that it will expand your options in the war in Vietnam and the war in Laos in the event of unanticipated difficulties?

The PRESIDENT. No, what I was referring to was the time span of perhaps 10 years from now, and we must do now those things that we may be confronted with 10 years from now, to deal with those things.

Ten years from now the Communist Chinese, for example, among others, may have a significant nuclear capability. They will not be a major nuclear power, but they will have a significant nuclear capability. By that time the war in Vietnam will be over. By that time, I would trust, also, the Laotian war may be resolved.

But, on the other hand, with a significant nuclear capability, assuming that we have not made a breakthrough—and we are going to try to make the breakthrough in some normalization of our relationships with Communist China—then it will be very important for the United States to have some kind of defense so that nuclear blackmail could not be used against the United States or against those nations like the Philippines with which the United States is allied in the Pacific, not to mention Japan.

[From the Washington Star, Feb. 2, 1970]

ABM's PHASE TWO

One distinct surprise which emerged from the President's press conference was announcement of the decision to go ahead with the second phase of the Safeguard antiballistic missile system. That decision is one with which this newspaper is in no position to quarrel.

Mr. Nixon said the second phase, which is expected to add about $600 million to the $900 million already allocated to the ABM program in the 1971 budget, will be for "area defense." He said such a defense was "absolutely essential" to guard against attack from a "minor power . . . like Communist China."

The President added that "within the time span of perhaps 10 years" such a system would be necessary to prevent Chinese "nuclear blackmail" against the U.S., the Philippines and Japan, and to give Washington "a credible foreign policy in the Pacific."

Having just vetoed a politically popular bill because it involved $1.3 billion in excessive spending on social services, it seems to us highly unlikely that the President, many of whose congressional supporters must seek re-election this year, would commit this country to additional defense spending unless he felt it to be absolutely necessary.

Talks with the Communist Chinese are under way in Warsaw. Negotiations to limit the strategic arms race are in train with the Russians. But progress—much less agreement—is in both instances problematical and a long way off.

No one can say what the shape of the world will be a decade from now. It is right to seek political solutions to our problems with Russia and China through negotiations.

But it would be criminally wrong for any American president to base his defense strategy on the supposition that co-existence will be the policy of the leaders of China and Russia a decade from now.

Regrettable as it is in terms of fiscal policy and the fight against inflation, the President's decision seems prudent and may have been the only possible and responsible one he could have made. Better Safeguard than sorry.

RECORD LIBRARY IN THE WHITE HOUSE

HON. JACOB K. JAVITS

OF NEW YORK

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, February 5, 1970

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, the Senate Subcommittee on the Arts and the Humanities on Tuesday concluded its hearings on legislation to extend the National Foundation on the Arts and Humanities Act. Witnesses from all segments of the arts displayed enthusiasm for the administration's proposal and the interest in the arts that has been evinced by the President. I am very much pleased to note that last week further evidence of this interest has come from the White House. Last Thursday, Mrs. Nixon announced the formation of a commission to select the best available records to form the White House Record Library.

The Committee on the Preservation of the White House has endorsed this idea and the distinguished Americans who will select the discs for inclusion. From time to time these will be updated. The Recording Industry Association of America will make the records as well as equipment available to the White House, the first family, and those first families who will follow.

In the same spirit of public service, the White House and the RIAA will make available a duplicate collection of the records and the equipment in Washington so that all might enjoy them.

I ask unanimous consent the New York Times article of January 20, detailing this event, be printed in the RECORD.

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

[From the New York Times, Jan. 30, 1970]

PRESIDENT TO GET A MUSIC LIBRARY; INDUSTRY TO GIVE COLLECTION OF CLASSICS AND ROCK

(By Nan Robertson)

WASHINGTON, January 29.—The first official White House music library for this and future Presidents and their families, "perhaps the finest ever assembled," was announced today.

It will be selected by a commission of experts in fields ranging from classical through rock and country music and the spoken word, who are aiming to complete their choices of "several thousand" records by mid-March.

The Recording Industry Association of America will donate the records and the sound system to the White House. A duplicate collection will also be presented later to some institution in Washington, such as the Smithsonian or the John F. Kennedy Center for the Performing Arts, to be used by the public free.

UNDER AUSPICES OF MRS. NIXON

The commission, approved by the White House under the auspices of Mrs. Richard M. Nixon, consists of:

Classical music: Irving Kolodin, music critic and associate editor of Saturday Review, and a record critic for 40 years.

Popular: Johnny Mercer, songwriter and lyricist and four-time winner of Academy Awards for his songs. His credits include "Moon River," "Blues in the Night," "Black Magic," "Come Rain or Come Shine" and "Laura."

Jazz: Willis Conover, jazz broadcaster for the Voice of America, concert producer, and producer of the White House birthday program last April honoring Duke Ellington.

Folk and country: Paul Ackerman, music editor of Billboard, executive director of the Songwriters Hall of Fame and recipient of the Connie B. Gay President's Award for outstanding service to the Country Music Association.

The spoken word: Helen Roach, former professor at Brooklyn College of the University of the City of New York, founder and supervisor of the listening room and spoken record collection at Brooklyn College.

A WHITE HOUSE COMIC OPERA

HON. JAMES G. O'HARA

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 5, 1970

Mr. O'HARA. Mr. Speaker, those of us who have felt that the Nixon administration is devoid of a sense of humor may have been proven wrong. At least, I hope so. A careful examination of the proposed new ceremonial uniform for the White House Hussars and of the nationwide editorial response would tend to indicate that the entire proposition was a put-on from the start. Only a President with a deep and incredibly subtle sense of the ridiculous could have

so unerringly hit the national funny bone.

In a time when the news is so somber, in a time when the President sorrowfully but unmovingly decides that we cannot afford to educate our children and must reduce our efforts to wipe out disease, in a time when the national budget seeks to portray a nation which is simply fiscally unable to cope with problems affecting its very survival, it is, I suppose, heartening to have leadership that can give us, if not bread, at least comic opera.

In my view, Mr. Speaker, an editorial in the Detroit News provides the most definitive comment yet on the Pennsylvania Avenue Praetorians. I commend it to your attention:

A WHITE HOUSE COMIC OPERA

One could almost hear Jeanette MacDonald belting away at a Rudolf Friml lullaby in the wings while center stage lacked only Nelson Eddy as the White House policemen came on parade. After the initial stupefaction, those of us who recall the movies of the '30's were smugly satisfied that the generation gap had at last done itself proud. It had gone into reverse.

What Her Britannic Majesty's prime minister, Harold Wilson, thought when the chorus line of armed rockettes strutted onto the White House lawn at President Nixon's ceremonies of welcome is probably classified information. But it must have struck a fellow reared in a land where the fashion is tradition and ceremony, graced by royalty against a background of coroneted peers, scarlet-tuniced guards and beefeaters, that those upstart American colonials were trying to steal a march on England in this international sport of one-upmanship.

Camelot written and staged by Americans had been a warning, come to think of it, and then there was that white knight on a white charger cavorting around suburban homes to the ecstatic delight of housewives. The British had been alerted that America was ready to turn on.

There they stood in phalanx, a little self-conscious in their parade debut, immaculate in white double-breasted tunics trimmed with gold braid and buttons and sporting shakos emblazoned with the White House crest. They looked like policemen in their Sunday best after a Saturday toiling over the washer-dryer to prove white could be whiter than white.

Those shakos may have been loaned only temporarily by a corps of baton twirlers from a high school band. But the composite effect was not only unusual but ghastly. Elizabeth and her beefeaters and the Pope and his Swiss guards need not worry about a threat to their ceremonial supremacy.

We think Mr. Nixon was ill advised to permit this comic opera. There may be no business like show business, but this was a camp at the highest level. It is politically inept when everyone is asked to tighten his belt to let out your shakos. You should not veto one day and parade your fancy-costumed commandos the next. What did it all cost? The silent majority would like to know.

FOREIGN POLICY MISTAKE

HON. HARRY F. BYRD, JR.

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, February 5, 1970

Mr. BYRD of Virginia. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Extensions of Remarks an editorial entitled "Foreign Policy Mistake," published in the Dallas, Tex., Times-Herald of December 28, 1969.

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

[From the Dallas (Tex.) Times-Herald Dec. 28, 1969]

FOREIGN POLICY MISTAKE

The fact that Rhodesia has completed, as of last month, four years of independence from Great Britain calls to mind once again our unusual relationship with that small country. This relationship, it becomes more and more apparent, involves a foreign policy miscalculation of no small proportion on the part of the United States.

Though this was strictly a private dispute between Great Britain and Rhodesia, the United States at Great Britain's urging joined the latter in seeking U.N. economic sanctions against Rhodesia. The U.N., after a partial boycott against certain strategic materials failed, decreed a total embargo on trade with Rhodesia.

Though this embargo, supported by the U.S., has now been in effect for the past three years, Rhodesia still has not bowed to British demands and is showing no signs of doing so in the future.

Thus the situation seems to be in indefinite stalemate unless the U.N. decides to resort to force to bring Rhodesia to its knees. The use of armed force seems highly doubtful. Certainly, in such an event, indignation in this country would be so widespread as to preclude the U.S. carrying its support of Great Britain that far.

The peculiar position we are now in regarding Rhodesia was emphasized recently by Sen. Harry F. Byrd, Jr.

"The reason given," he said, "for our policy toward Rhodesia is that she has not constitutionally provided for an 'orderly transition to majority rule.' Yet recent figures show 37 member nations of the U.N. do not have a form of government based on majority rule, and the adherence to that principle is questionable in 23 others."

Sen. Byrd also pointed out that "prior to the U.N. sanctions, Rhodesia was our major source of chromium ore. Now we are in the strange position of having to purchase chrome from the Soviet Union who supplies the bulk of the raw materials for the North Vietnamese war efforts."

Former Secretary of State Dean Acheson also has deplored the U.S. policy toward Rhodesia, terming the U.N. economic sanctions "barefaced aggression, unprovoked and unjustified by a single legal or moral principle."

Just how it can be done, we do not presume to know, but somehow the U.S. should find a way to acknowledge that we made a major foreign policy mistake in siding with Great Britain in this private fuss and change our policy toward Rhodesia.

THE CHALLENGE OF AN ARCHITECT

HON. HUGH SCOTT

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, February 5, 1970

Mr. SCOTT. Mr. President, I invite attention to a Philadelphia architect who has designed Philadelphia institutions and whose work has been recognized all over the Nation. While he has designed projects outside his home city, Vincent Kling recently reached the pinnacle when he was selected to design the new Federal Triangle here in the Nation's Capital. Building Construction magazine's latest issue contains a complete profile of Vincent G. Kling. I ask unanimous consent that the article be printed in the RECORD.

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

VINCENT G. KLING AND ASSOCIATES—THE OFFICE OF AN ARCHITECT WHO FOCUSES 300 ARCHITECTS, PLANNERS, AND ENGINEERS ON DISTINCTIVE BUILDING DESIGN AND THE TOTAL OWNER PRODUCT

The practice of architecture always seemed to require, classically, and, at its best, the dominance of one creative man. Today, an architectural firm, motivated still by that ideal, while handling substantial and complex contemporary architecture, is Vincent G. Kling and (his) Associates. Their distinctive work is the result of a man blessed with sufficient drive to guide, almost personally, the work of a staff grown to nearly 300 in its 23rd year.

If you ask Vincent Kling to characterize his firm, he starts at the beginning with orderliness:

"When we build, we are telling the world what we stand for. Our structures will influence our lives for a very long time. The choices we have with which to achieve this influence are legion; no longer is it a simple matter of bricks and mortar, windows and doors. The new methods, new systems, and a seemingly endless demand from more and more people, give the designer fascinating opportunities at every turn, as we enter a building surge which, in 30 years, will witness the certain doubling of our shelters.

"The architect, a generalist by training and practice, plays the major role in the conception and execution of the design of spaces, places, and enclosures. He leads and directs a wide spectrum of specialists."

Noting the particular demands of today, Kling states, "Our fundamental conviction in approaching the design of every project is that architecture is for people, not just architects. With increasing urban concentration and megalopolitan sprawl, the greatest challenge to the architect is to recreate environments for people, within and around his structures. Elegance, grace, style, functional efficiency, economy and durability are still as important to owners as ever, but today the most pressing need is for humane spaces in which people can live and breathe.

"This, of course, makes our task more complex. Our office offers a comprehensive service from research, programming and planning, land utilization, and movement systems to finished engineering, design, construction and final inspection. This includes landscape and site preparation, interior design, space planning, communications, cost analysis and budgeting."

A more classical recital of the role of the architect for these years could hardly be composed. It could serve, of course, for any sophisticated full-service team of men, but for the Kling office, in particular, it describes really the thrust of Vincent Kling himself. Here is one of the few architectural sole proprietors of today with such a tremendous talent for personal organization and with such command of his staff, that he is able to reach deeply into the critical decision-making on any project, and earn the right to point to most of his buildings and say, "I was the architect." To be sure, without a certain pattern of capable, understanding, and supporting associates, he would be powerless. Yet, to them, he remains their ultimate source of unique directional power.

Kling can point to a surprising number of buildings right in the front yard of his office which is in the heart of Philadelphia (although his work spreads over the states of eastern U.S.): the Municipal Services building across from the venerable old City Hall, the realty of Penn Center, the IBM building, John F. Kennedy Plaza, and eight other buildings or courts. Upcoming are the twin towers of Center Square, and not far away

is the new U.S. Mint. In a city noted for its pride in Independence Hall, its traditions, and its cultural attainments, this manifestation of confidence is enviable indeed.

BEAUTY STILL SUPREME

At the heart of Kling's strength is an intense dedication to design. In these architectural years, when exploding technology in structure, materials, and methods has almost stolen the prime attention of architects and engineers, when client demands as well as labor has upped the cost of buildings, Kling still insists that while these demands are being met skillfully, each building must be composed overall to have a special humane appeal—in short, to be beautiful. Every building from his office is conceived as an example of quality in architectural design.

His beauty is of the 1970's however; not the classical beauty of visible form alone. It is the beauty of the artful blending of all the impacts of a building on the senses—lighting, air-conditioning, sound, materials, scale and proportion as they induce a response of better human well being.

The challenge to his men has resulted in superior performance, and they have earned commissions and rewards in growing and fullsome measure. Whereas 10 years ago, Kling could refer to a staff of 85 men who had earned 55 honor citations for excellence, today with a staff approaching 300 men, the office has been honored by over 150 citations nationally and locally.

To implement the work, the staff is divided into five offices or Studios, each with a Studio Director, and each with sufficient man-power to handle a project from conception to final inspection. Each Studio carries a variety of projects in various stages of design or construction, and currently the total value of the work in any one office has been running from $100 to $250 million. One studio is exceeding $300 million with a very large airport project.

HOW HE WORKS

The sessions around the conference table with the client representatives are extremely significant. Kling makes them man-to-man exchanges, thought-starting explorations, which, before he is through, are thorough and conclusive. For these, he marshals a three-man front. Kling zeros in, on center, on the parameters and opportunities of the total situation—the functions and spaces and client ambitions.

While absorbing and revealing in this direction, the other two men keep embryo ideas under control. On his right sits Frederick G. Roth, Director of Design; architect, designer, active in the fine arts, he is responsible for the design of all projects. With Kling since 1952, he is ready with observations in depth about structure, materials, vital equipment, configurations and feasibility generally. At Kling's left is Albert L. Huber, Director of Production; architect, experienced in construction supervision, with Kling since 1953. He is responsible for the control of documentation of all projects in the office and their status during construction. He is ready with observations in depth about scheduling of studies, drawings, engineering consultants, and office costs. In addition, he is there with direction about construction methods, procedures, and project time. And, as an added strength, he can discuss project costs and pattern of client financing.

When a project, or any phase of it, is ready for studies, the work is assigned to a Studio and a staff architect, who will be in charge for the life of the project. In the drafting rooms, that same trio of Kling, Roth, and Huber convene each Monday to analyze the development of all projects in the programming, schematic, and design development. Obviously, each man has learned to know how the other two think—both in the conference room and the drafting room, and the result is a finely tuned trio of complementary abilities.

Speaking of his own role, Kling is quick to state that he exercises no arbitrary veto power. To him, design is a two-way street, a process of asking, exploring, and listening, "letting outside forces impinge on your own mind." His concern is to assure that no factors which should be obvious are overlooked. And, he insists on much thinking before definitive lines appear on paper. "Too many designers begin to talk a language before they have something to say."

Working with his architects, Kling displays a fascinating talent for holding up targets of design possibility, and parcels of study, that excite the imagination and inspires the best efforts of his men. There is also the talent for judging the fitness of a direction of study and sensing intuitively its consummation. "I hold no one's pencil; I can indicate where a study should go, but I tell no one how to get there." The true magnitude of his talent for this kind of controlled concentration comes through when you learn that there may be more than a dozen substantial projects in the office at one time in this critical stage of development. And, when representatives are made to a client, several of the project's men are present, but the man who leads the session is Kling.

In short, his mastery of a project is the result of an arrangement of men who are able to help him handle the major aspects of design which he feels must reflect his judgment and direction, while his associates control the total job for the sake of the project and the welfare of the office. Those major aspects include those features which the client has been assured will reflect Kling's own interpretation.

Coming along in this spirit is his son, Vincent Kling, Jr., who, following recent degrees in architecture and planning, is working on a new civic center project. And, a brother of Kling senior, Paul Kling, is managing field work at the new and interesting Philadelphia International Airport project.

PROGRESS THROUGH A STUDIO

Each Studio Director operates with a fixed group of nine or ten staff architects plus a supporting group of draftsmen. There may be five to eight active projects going along at any one time, each under a staff architect-in-charge. A staff architect of one Studio may be loaned to another as Studio work loads and architect aptitudes may justify. There is no competition among Studios except for performance that issues in understandable pride. No Studio is allowed to become a specialist in any one building type. Each one, like the total firm, has developed design experience.

Under Jack Rutkowski, senior Director, his Studio is active on: two office buildings, a medical/dental school, a laboratory, college campus, and a private hospital, for a total of $136.5 million. Other Studios have a similar variety though the total work loads may not always be in balance.

All projects are considered to pass through five stages of production: Programing, Schematics, Preliminary Drawings, Working Drawings, and Construction. Drawing techniques and organization are still in accord with traditional practices. With Kling, they are part of the design process, which is never completed till the final drawings are issued. There is a continual striving for refinement—a heavying up of a window section, the lightening of mill profiles for a wood ceiling, another offset in a joint for better weathering. In fact, the number of hours budgeted for the working drawings is substantially greater than that allowed in most offices. Kling and Roth are involved to the very end, and drawing time is a vital factor in the presentation of their fee structure.

TO PRESERVE CONTINUITY

For continuity of production, the five Directors meet every two weeks to discuss work load and men. Each Director is responsible for not only job progress, but for satisfactory on-going client relations, holding to client budgets, and timing of client progress payments. In addition, Directors carry the prime responsibility for the morale of the men, including recommendations for promotion and compensation. In general, the Studio Director is responsible for the administration of the jobs, while Roth carries design responsibility.

Traditionally, the office goes outside for its structural engineering, and under the direction of Al Huber, the firm maintains contact with about six structural consultants.

For mechanical engineering the firm also engages appropriate outside consultants, except that just last July the office asked the firm of Charles S. Leopold, Inc., mechanical and electrical engineers to merge with Vincent G. Kling and Associates. This firm, founded in 1923, is now a corporation under the direction of James Bricker, operating as Kling-Leopold, Inc. This was a step in the direction of greater in-house capability for full range service. Kling's work calls noticeably for a thorough distribution of terminal units and control devices integrated sensitively with the architecture of the building.

For overall office continuity, and coordination, Kling and the twelve associates, which includes the five Studio Directors, meet every two weeks, (alternating with the Director's weeks). With Roth, Huber, the Financial Officer, W. C. Taylor, the Director of Communications, Gerre Jones, and the Personnel Manager, R. Bauer, the group discusses job progress and current firmwide welfare. Then monthly, the Studio Directors and all the staff architects meet with Kling and Roth to be updated on new technologies, construction procedures, findings in urban development, cost trends, etc. For a renewal of spirits, the associates, department heads, and Kling get away from the office two or three times a year for a short retreat from the phones and the office tensions.

SPECIFICATIONS AND MATERIALS

Specifications are also handled in the traditional manner. As soon as specific materials and methods evolve in the design process, the specifications chief is asked to prepare trial paragraphs. These are reviewed with the staff architect and the Studio Director, and there are additions and refinements in in a running series of exchanges with the specification department. When materials critical to exterior or interior architectural design are under consideration, Kling himself becomes involved in the material characteristics and even in brand considerations. Samples, displays, and mock-ups are subject to Kling's approval, and many times he has had preconceived preferences for a certain brand, based on research and field experience.

MATERIALS RESEARCH

To expedite the inquiries into the growing complexity of the materials applicable to the office projects, the firm set up a short time ago a Research Office with an architectural engineer, R. Lowden, well experienced with the ways of the office. To control the work load, he meets office inquiries by digging up who has the answers to problems and where he is rather than developing the technical answers himself. Then, again, he may assist in the run down of alternates, like the study that determined that the best roof surface for the unusual Richmond Coliseum would be aluminum sheets with a porcelainized finish. In policy, Kling insists on an exploration of what is available and then, a knowledge of its application.

And, research for a project does not stop on the day of dedication. It includes checking back on the completed building to appraise performance and client satisfaction. The high ratio of repeat clients which the office enjoys can be traced, in part, to this post-occupancy client contact.

CONTROLLING OFFICE COSTS

As a result of a management consultant's analysis several years ago, Walter Taylor was brought in for financial supervision. From a background of law and finance, he has gradually instituted certain controls, but his greatest contribution is a policy of continual surveillance in the drafting room. When a staff architect wants to enlarge on an avenue of study that will probably take "extra" time, there is a short discussion of its merits and cost and a balancing against the possibility of other such extras. Because of Taylor's unusual capacity for empathy with the architects in continual man-to-man discussions, he has been able to avoid any really serious compromise in their mood of creative freedom.

CONTROLLING PROJECT COSTS

For the task of cost planning, for budgeting and definitive estimating, there is an Estimating Group which serves the entire firm. The chief estimator, aided by four or five other estimators, is one of three activities operating under the manager of Construction and Research. The other two are Field Inspection—which consists of ten or eleven construction-experienced field representatives, and the Research Office. Under the direction of the manager, there is a continual playback from the field men of conditions affecting not only material unit costs and labor, but regional practices that affect general conditions items. This, and an exchange with the research manager, on cost factors revealed in current material inquiries, enables the estimators to be quite current and accurate about total job cost. Kling is proud of the office's record of estimates which have been typically within about 2 percent of contract figures.

Going at a pace that would do away most men in three months, and even with the travel flexibility of his own plane, a seven passenger Cessna #421A, Kling decided, about a year ago, to bring in a man to coordinate prospect development. Now, Gerre Jones, as Director of Communications, develops presentations to prospects as well as opportunities for work. Fortunately, much of the work comes from the former clients and referrals. As for pure sales, Kling is convinced that by insisting on quality in client relations as well as buildings he has freed himself from time-consuming promotion.

THE PROFESSION AND THE INDUSTRY

Over ten years ago, Kling began to enunciate convictions about the profession. Today, he declares, even more fervently:

Architects must concentrate, not so much on professional pride, as on "the product" of their efforts—the constructed building, the procedures by which it was realized, the client's total experience. The architect must present himself as being responsible for all of it, and he must prove it.

The architects in offices must assume aggressively the responsibility for the training of the younger men—the upcoming architects and technicians. Kling projects them into experiences that will make a young man a "total architect." Kling invites the men to client sessions and their completed buildings. "The men love it," he says. "They don't understand all that goes on in the give and take, but they come along fast."

Kling also declares that the building industry is struggling under chaotic practices. The architects as a group must take the lead, by study and research, in bringing new efficiencies into building procedures. They have the training, but they must act, and soon, or others will steal the show from them. Clients today are more sophisticated about design and management of the work. The architect must have construction management capacity.

Overall, beauty in a building shows respect for its function—"Beauty is a matter of simplifying the complexities, of doing the best with what you have, regardless of the budget . . . I advocate showing that we care (for education, for commerce) and for our community."

OPPOSITION TO THE APPOINTMENT OF G. HARROLD CARSWELL

HON. MICHAEL J. HARRINGTON

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 5, 1970

Mr. HARRINGTON. Mr. Speaker, I wish to protest the nomination by the Nixon administration of G. Harrold Carswell to the U.S. Supreme Court.

Earlier this week one of the distinguished scholars testifying before the Senate Judiciary Committee, Dean Louis Pollak of the Yale Law School, characterized Judge Carswell as "the most poorly qualified nominee in this century."

Dean Pollak came to this conclusion after examining the credentials of some of the 40 judges going back to Oliver Wendell Holmes who was nominated to the Court from the Supreme Bench of my State in 1902.

It is ironic that Judge Carswell has been nominated to fill the very seat occupied by Mr. Justice Holmes for more than 30 years and before him by a succession of great New England jurists who are part of the history of American constitutional jurisprudence—Cushing, Story, and Gray to name only the best known. Needless to say, I do not claim this seat for my State, but I do claim it for scholarship and wisdom, for judgment and gentleness, and for the highest aspirations of the Republic.

I do not condemn Judge Carswell today for his words of more than 20 years ago—bigoted and insulting as they were to Americans who will be standing before the bench on which he is nominated to sit. As Justice Frankfurter observed:

Wisdom too often never comes, and so one ought not to reject it merely because it comes late.

But Judge Carswell's record, other than his own self-serving statement that he has changed his views since 1948, does not reflect that he has indeed acquired the wisdom which would make more possible his consideration for the Supreme Court. Rather to the contrary, some disturbing indications have been brought to light before the Senate Judiciary Committee suggesting that neither in his private life nor in his conduct as a judge, has he effected the growth toward wisdom which the Nation has every right to expect of a Supreme Court nominee.

Last fall when the Nation was watching consideration of Judge Haynsworth for the same seat on the Supreme Court, I stated that his appointment would have a negating impact on the historic decisions rendered by the Court in recent years. Clearly, the nomination of Judge Carswell is no improvement over the earlier administration nomination and may indeed represent a backsliding.

At this time in our history when justice is making discernible effort to correct the imbalance which has characterized our treatment of the black minority, it can only be viewed as opportunistic politics to nominate a Harrold Carswell immediately after the rejection of a Clement Haynsworth.

It has been suggested by the dean of Massachusett's commentators, Louis M. Lyons, that it should be possible for the President to find "a judge without flaw to wear the mantle of the Court as befits a Justice of the United States."

I share this view. I urge our colleagues in the upper body to reject the nomination of Harrold Carswell for the Supreme Court.

ALCOHOLISM AND CHRONIC LIVER DISEASE

HON. JACOB K. JAVITS

OF NEW YORK

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, February 5, 1970

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, an article entitled "The Social Impact of Liver Disease," and published in the New England Journal of Medicine of December 25, 1969, represents a statement of the steering committee of the American Association for the Study of Liver Disease which I commend to the attention of the Senate. The chairman of the committee is Hans Popper, M.D., dean for academic affairs, Given Foundation professor and chairman, Department of Pathology, Mount Sinai School of Medicine of the City University of New York. The members of the committee are Charles S. Davidson, M.D., professor of medicine, Thorndike Memorial Laboratory, Harvard Medical School, Boston; Carroll M. Leevy, M.D., professor of medicine, New Jersey College of Medicine and Dentistry, Jersey City; and Fenton Schaffner, M.D., professor of pathology and medicine, Mount Sinai School of Medicine of the City University of New York.

The American Association for the Study of Liver Disease was founded 20 years ago as an academic society to deal with the scientific aspects of liver diseases and in the last 2 years has added to its goals the improvement of the medical care of patients with liver disease and has thus become concerned with the delivery of medical care.

An abstract of how the steering committee has dealt in the question of delivery of medical care follows:

Although knowledge of hepatic biology and pathology is advanced, the prevention and treatment of liver disease lag sadly. This discrepancy is attributable to lack of facilities and trained personnel. Morbidity and mortality of liver disease are increasing in frequency because of alcoholism, adverse reactions from drug use and abuse, and viral hepatitis are more prevalent. As the nature of these factors suggests, the disadvantaged are particularly at risk. To promote the application of scientific knowledge to the control of liver disease, clinical centers developed with community participation and devoted to the management of liver disease are proposed. These would improve hospital and ambulatory care for a disease that is often curable; provide medical and paramedical personnel with the specialized knowledge needed for the management of a debilitat-

ing disease, including its psychiatric overtones; facilitate further research; and ensure community participation in controlling a serious socio-economic burden.

The second problem, as viewed by the steering committee, concerns the need for including in the national and local efforts directed against alcoholism a consideration of chronic liver disease. Alcoholic liver disease is not only an important part of the problem of alcoholism in view of rising mortality rate, prolonged morbidity, high cost to society and inadequate treatment facilities but it is also the first manifestation of injury from alcoholism in many persons who have no previous policy or psychiatric record and are socially well functioning. These persons are particularly promising candidates for medical as well as alchohol withdrawal therapy. Nevertheless, the doctors point out, most of the efforts are today directed almost entirely toward the behavioral problem.

I believe the recommendations of Dr. Popper and the members of the steering committee of the American Association for the Study of Liver Disease merit serious consideration by the people and particularly by those concerned in national and local efforts directed against alcoholism. I ask unanimous consent that the article be printed in the RECORD.

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

THE SOCIAL IMPACT OF LIVER DISEASE

(By Hans Popper, M.D., Charles S. Davidson, M.D., Carroll M. Leevy, M.D., and Fenton Schaffner, M.D.)

(Statement of the Steering Committee of the American Association for the Study of Liver Disease. From the Mount Sinai School of Medicine of the City University of New York, the Thorndike Memorial Laboratory, Boston City Hospital, and the New Jersey College of Medicine and Dentistry, East Orange, N.J. (address reprint requests to Dr. Popper at Mount Sinai School of Medicine, Fifth Ave., and 100th, New York, N.Y. 10029).

ABSTRACT

Although knowledge of hepatic biology and pathology is advanced, the prevention and treatment of liver disease lag sadly. This discrepancy is attributable to lack of facilities and trained personnel. Morbidity and mortality of liver disease are increasing in frequency because alcoholism, adverse reactions from drug use and abuse, and viral hepatitis are more prevalent. As the nature of these factors suggests, the disadvantaged are particularly at risk.

To promote the application of scientific knowledge to the control of liver disease, clinical centers developed with community participation and devoted to the management of liver disease are proposed. These would improve hospital and ambulatory care for a disease that is often curable; provide medical and paramedical personnel with the specialized knowledge needed for the management of a debilitating disease, including its psychiatric overtones; facilitate further research; and ensure community participation in controlling a serious socio-economic burden.

The social revolution in medicine challenges the relevance of the present service to the sick from the points of view of the total society, of the information taught medical students and physicians and of the direction of research. The liver has been a target of many clinical and basic-science investigations because of its size, homogeneity and prominent role in metabolism. The application of molecular biology and pathology to mammalian tissue has been to a large extent carried out on the liver. The wealth of information that has been obtained in basic functional and structural studies on the liver contrasts with a relative dearth of established information concerning liver disease. The social revolution in medicine calls for reassessment of medical service, education and research in liver disease, which now represents a quantitatively important cause or morbidity in the population. Since liver disease, especially cirrhosis, is a common cause of death preceded by prolonged morbidity requiring frequent hospitalizations, it is a serious economic problem for society. A device combining service, education and research and providing the necessary co-operation with the community would be centers devoted to the management of liver diseases as part of the national programs for improvement of health care.

Cirrhosis is increasing in frequency among the causes of death. At present, it is listed as the fourth or fifth cause of death in patients above 40 years of age,[1] and the death rate from cirrhosis rose more than that from other causes in the last decade in the United States.[2] Recent surveys indicate that the disease is also on the rise in Europe. A death rate from cirrhosis in France of 34.2 per 100,000 and in Portugal of 30.4 per 100,000 population has been reported.[3]

Clinical recognition and management of liver disease varies considerably, depending on the training and interest of the physician and the availability of appropriate facilities. The concern of the physician and his interest in the somatic welfare of the patient is of particular importance in the alcoholic, who is probably more effectively persuaded to abstain from alcohol by the interested physician taking care of his physical illness than by the psychiatrist or social worker. The same thing may be true for the drug addict when he seeks medical care for hepatitis. Prevention and proper therapy require basic knowledge of etiology and epidemiology and the recognition of persons at risk of chronic disease. This is largely lacking for hepatic disease. The causative agent of the most frequent acute liver disease in adults, viral hepatitis, has not been isolated, and the etiology of cirrhosis, except the one related to chronic alcohol abuse, has not been established. Even with alcohol abuse, factors responsible for the known variation in susceptibility to cirrhosis have not been identified. Moreover, chronologic events in the conversion of a liver from normal to cirrhotic in both alcoholic and nonalcoholic persons require documentation. The problem is complicated by the need to delineate further the role in chronic liver injury of toxic agents in the environment and particularly in foods and beverages.

Inadequacy of our knowledge is also reflected in the unavailability of specific therapy for liver disease, except for bacterial and parasitic infections. We have been successful in treating the complications of liver diseases such as bleeding esophageal varices, ascites, coma and renal failure rather than in treating the sick liver itself. Asymptomatic cirrhosis is found at autopsy rather frequently. The spontaneous regulation of factors making cirrhosis sometimes almost innocuous could be imitated by proper therapy if instituted at the right time. That management may have an effect is also indicated by the change of the clinical and pathological features of cirrhosis in recent years. Later stages of the post-necrotic or macronodular types appear to be more frequent now than the previously more common Laennec or micronodular cirrhosis.[4 5]

The management of acute hepatic failure in cirrhosis as well as in acute hepatic disease, like viral hepatitis or pernicious drug reactions, by medical therapy remains a target of therapeutic attempts of limited success. This is more effective in centers where precipitating factors, such as electrolyte imbalance, renal failure and infection, are recognized earlier. Most important, however, are iatrogenic causes. When therapeutic guidelines are not established, the experience of the physician in recognizing the subtleties of many physiologic details and the variations in the response of patients and in the disease determine the fate of the patient. Specific indications and contraindications for available therapeutic approaches must be based on controlled studies that are missing. Such information will be necessary even for extracorporeal assistance or for liver transplantation. The gaps in knowledge differ in the various diseases because of specific problems.

Of the liver diseases, the one in the alcoholic is the most important economic and social problem since alcoholism is such a major health problem in the United States and in the Western world. Approximately 6,500,000 persons are affected by alcoholism in the United States, with an increase of 1,500,000 within the last decade.[6] This figure is conservative. When the relatives of patients are included, at least 20,000,000 Americans suffer from consequences of alcoholism. The major problems usually cited and supported handsomely by governmental and other agencies are those handled by psychiatrists and sociologists. The prolonged high cost to society incurred by the individual alcoholic results from chronic liver disease rather than from mental disorders, which are more frequently acute than chronic. By contrast, the alcoholic with cirrhosis presents the problem not only of absenteeism but also of long-term disability entailing expensive hospitalization and medical care. This is borne out by the available mortality statistics, which understate the case since reluctance exists to list alcoholic cirrhosis on a death certificate. Instead, the complications or consequences of cirrhosis, such as infection and hemorrhage, are listed. In 1964, 11,000 deaths in the United States were attributed to alcoholic disorders.[7] Three fourths of these were from cirrhosis, a fifth from alcoholism itself, and the rest from psychosis related to alcoholism. The death rate from alcoholic disorders had risen from 5.5 per 100,000 in 1950 to 8.7 in 1964. This increase is entirely the result of cirrhosis. This rise involves 30 per cent of white males and 90 per cent of nonwhite males. In females, the increase was 75 per cent in white and 150 per cent in nonwhite. In the nonwhite group, the increase occurred in the fourth decade, whereas in whites, it is in the 50's and 60's.[8] Life-insurance statistics dealing only with the American white population suggest that the increase was much greater at the lower than at the higher economic levels, the lower ones being industrial policy holders who are members of the urban wage-earning, lower-income families, and not including the indigent.[8] In another study, the death rate attributed to cirrhosis was compared between 1957–58 and 1965–66 in Baltimore. An increase of 47.4 per cent was found in white men, one of 76.3 per cent in white women, one of 162.7 per cent in Negro men, and one of 259.7 per cent in Negro women.[9] The authors also point out that fatty liver even without cirrhosis is a common finding in otherwise unexplained sudden death.

Fatty liver, alcoholic hepatitis or cirrhosis may occur in alcoholics who are socially functioning. As yet unsettled is the relative role of alcohol toxicity and malnutrition to the development of liver disease in alcoholics. Natural-history studies have not clearly shown the transition of fatty liver into cirrhosis. Alcoholic hepatitis with or without central hyaline sclerosis[10] seems to be an intermediary stage, in the development of cirrhosis,[11] although it is not established whether it is a necessary one. The roles of genetic predisposition, the total

Footnotes at end of article.

amount of alcohol taken and the pattern of intake may explain why some alcoholics are spared from cirrhosis. When alcoholic hepatitis develops, transition to cirrhosis is probable if alcohol abuse continues.[11] Even in fully developed cirrhosis of the alcoholic, arrest with prolonged survival is possible with sustained abstinence.[12] This points to the necessity of rehabilitation programs to reduce morbidity and mortality.[13] Their effectiveness depends upon the co-operation with community groups. The total social cost of cirrhosis in alcoholics has been estimated to be higher than $2,000,000,000 per year.[7] Thus, prevention by recognition of the asymptomatic persons at risk, treatment of hepatic failure resulting from cirrhosis and long-term management are high-priority health problems.

Although cirrhosis in the alcoholic is the most important fraction responsible for the rise of the death rate from cirrhosis, the death rate from other types of cirrhosis also seems to be increasing.[3] Viral hepatitis is possibly the main etiology of nonalcoholic cirrhosis, at least in the Western world. The size of the problem of viral hepatitis is unknown, however, because the frequency of the anicteric variety of both the serum and infectious forms is not established. The icteric form may represent as little as 10 per cent and as much as 50 per cent of all cases.[14,15] This is complicated by ignorance about the fate of anicteric hepatitis. The problem of chronicity and its relation to immunologic and fibrogenic factors is an experimental and clinical problem that might be solved with presently available technics and by epidemiologic investigation establishing the persons at risk even without a specific virologic test to determine etiology. The immediate future will tell whether the demonstration of Australia antigen[16] will be the etiologic test long searched for. Research on viral hepatitis involves virologic investigations, the study of the immunology, the management of acute hepatic failure in the patients in whom massive necrosis develops (approximately 4000 fatalities per year in the United States)[17] and the prevention of transition into cirrhosis. A special problem in viral hepatitis is its frequent development in youths using drugs by injection nontherapeutically.

The increasing number and sophistication of therapeutic agents has led to a rising number of hepatic adverse drug reactions, some of which threaten life, particularly if they result in acute massive necrosis. Drug-induced hepatic reactions make up a considerable fraction of persons with massive necrotic hepatitis with high mortality rate.[18] The problem in most of the hepatic drug reactions that involve only a small number of patients taking the drug in an unpredictable fashion lies in identifying the persons at risk rather than only in toxicologic studies in animals. This requires recognition of either genetic abnormalities of drug metabolism or immunologic factors as the basis of the disease. The study of the patient with the reaction is therefore most promising.

The list of diseases could be lengthened by inclusion of liver disease in children and by exploration of environmental factors producing hidden intoxications in food or from pesticides. The recent success in isolating the mycotoxin aflatoxin[19] is an example.

Liver disease in general is more frequent in impoverished and disadvantaged peoples in both prosperous and underdeveloped nations. This is related to increased chance of exposure to infectious agents, greater prevalence of nutritional deficiencies of various types and delayed recognition and receipt of proper treatment for initial phases of liver injury. The current effort to deliver better medical care to the disadvantaged Americans emphasizes the urgent need to bring biology of the liver and medical care of liver disease together at this time. This requires program planning at the community, state and federal level with involvement of the private sector as well as tax-supported local hospitals, the regional medical program, the Public Health Service and the Veterans Administration.

The size of the problem of liver diseases and the lack of knowledge, more of clinical factors than of basic ones, represent elements of need. Means to answer these needs are available, but progress is hampered by the following items: the lack of interest on the part of practitioners, hospital officials and the public at large in a disease that in the past has been linked to alcoholism; the inadequate facilities available for diagnosis and chronic care of patients with liver disease; and the relatively small number of physicians and clinical scientists devoting themselves primarily to liver diseases as contrasted to the many experimentalists studying basic aspects of the liver. Availability of special centers for liver disease would permit the immediate application of currently available knowledge to a larger segment of the population.

Liver centers would facilitate further clinical as well as basic research in an appropriate environment and permit rapid increase of medical and paramedical personnel with special expertise in liver diseases. They could disseminate the knowledge acquired by demonstration to the referring physicians on their own patient material. Such centers would permit development of a medical and social team approach that would extend into the community to help prevent and recognize hepatic injury and provide continuous ambulatory follow-up observation of patients with chronic liver disease. They would also assist in the rehabilitation of patients with alcoholic hepatitis, in whom the risk of development of cirrhosis is great. These centers could be affiliated with existing centers for control of alcohol or of drug abuse or could be made part of the Regional Medical Program. By these mechanisms, the centers would become part of a community effort in view of the built-in community advisory committees. The activities of the professional medical and paramedical personnel would be woven together with those of lay groups to provide broad coverage for case detection, maintenance of therapeutic supervision in chronic disease and management of drug or alcohol withdrawal.

FOOTNOTES

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THE PLASTIC BAG MENACE

HON. ABNER J. MIKVA

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 5, 1970

Mr. MIKVA. Mr. Speaker, during the last decade, over 300 infants have died in America from suffocation, their breaths stopped short by the thin film of plastic bags. This needless loss of life can be prevented by adequate safety measures. Although there has been some improvement in recent years—thinner material, providing perforation—more needs to be done. Today, I am introducing a bill which will help curb the dangerous design and uses of plastic sheeting, in the hope that other children will not die and that other families will not have to suffer like the infants described above and their families.

The bill I am introducing today would give the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare specific statutory authorization to set safety standards covering the design of plastic bags and other commercial articles utilizing plastic sheeting with dangerous adhesive characteristics.

I realize that last year Congress passed the Child Protection and Toy Safety Act of 1969, Public Law No. 91–113, as an amendment to the Federal Hazardous Substances Act. But there is some question whether the provisions of that act will in fact provide adequate authority for regulation of the manufacture and use of plastic bags and plastic sheeting. The bill I introduce today would specifically insure that the Secretary has such authority. In doing so, it would help to prevent further accidental deaths resulting from such products.

UKRAINIAN INDEPENDENCE DAY

HON. LEONARD FARBSTEIN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 5, 1970

Mr. FARBSTEIN. Mr. Speaker, more than 50 years ago when a band of brave and patriotic Ukrainians unfurled the banner of revolt against their oppressors and proclaimed their national independence, they were attaining the cherished dream of all their compatriots. As a result of the Russian revolution, czarist autocracy was shattered and it was only natural that the largest non-Russian ethnic element in Russia's polyglot empire should be the first to assert its freedom and independence. But wartime events, over which Ukrainians had no control, and unforeseen postwar international convulsions, proved too costly and disastrous to the newly proclaimed independent state. Even before the end of the war it was attacked by the Poles in the north, and at the end of the war, it was altogether too weak to withstand the deadly onslaught of the Red army. The sad result was that a little more than 2 years after its national independence Ukraine was forced to surrender its independence to the Red army in November of 1920.

Today Ukraine is the second largest socialist republic in the Soviet Union, second only in importance and population to the Russian Socialist Republic. Some 45 million Ukrainians constitute about a fifth of the Soviet Union's total population. The Ukraine has always been one of the most fertile grain-producing areas in Europe. As a matter of fact, the whole Soviet Union is dependent to a great extent for its grain supply and for a large variety of other foodstuffs on the Ukraine.

It is tragic that so many million Ukrainians, constituting such an important segment of Europe, do not enjoy many of the elemental privileges and amenities of life which are considered in free societies in the free world as the birthright of all human beings. If the Ukrainians were living under normal conditions, and if they were in a position to realize their aspirations, they would gladly seize the opportunity to establish a democratic government in their homeland. Unfortunately, however, for more than five decades conditions have not been normal in the Ukraine, and are not normal now.

Since 1920 these sturdy people have not known freedom in their native land. There is, however, one encouraging light in this rather gloomy present. The innate and inborn desire of the Ukrainian people to regain their freedom is an undying and living force in today's Ukraine. Neither the tyrants of Moscow, nor their minions in the Ukraine, can extinguish this spirit of freedom and independence which all liberty-loving Ukrainians claim as their inalienable birthright. As long as that noble spirit is kept alive, and as long as the ideal of national freedom is cherished by the people of Ukraine, no dictatorship or tyranny can rob them of their real independence—the independence of their souls and hearts. As long as they possess this spirit, they will never give up their resistance to the Red tyrants. On the observance of the 52d anniversary of the Ukrainian Independence Day I wish the people of Ukraine fortitude and luck in their national struggle.

AMERICA'S MOBILE MINORITY

HON. J. HERBERT BURKE

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 5, 1970

Mr. BURKE of Florida. Mr. Speaker, we are increasingly hearing the voices of so many differing groups of Americans, who have pooled their resources, banded together, and have organized, in large numbers and small, to demand the rights, opportunities and benefits of this great land to which they feel they are entitled as citizens. Undoubtedly, many are justified.

And yet, ironically, one group of Americans which is unequivocally the most forgotten, the neediest, and the least served of the widely differing peoples comprising our country, has not been heard from.

I refer to many of our migrant farmworkers today, who each year come forth from all parts of rural America to the agricultural scene, offering their vital services in assuring an adequate agrarian working force to reap the harvest of nature's bounty which helps to nurture all of us. Too often the lives of many of these workers are characterized by wholly inadequate housing facilities, a shameful lack of educational opportunities for their children, and a genuine need for meaningful health services.

The Congress has at times recognized that it has a responsibility to these workers and it has taken some important first steps in recognizing and fulfilling its responsibility for the improvement of the lives of migratory agricultural workers—these steps being the appropriation of funds for improving primary and secondary schools; advances in health care services; child protection; and other similar programs.

Yet, so much more remains to be done. The migrant farmworkers often travel in family groups, working side by side in the fields of America's farmland, to help to bring about abundance to Americans, but reaping few harvests, financially or otherwise, for their own benefits from their labors.

It is my hope that in the months ahead we in the Congress will not fail to direct our attention and our energies to the task of ultimately eliminating this gross error of omission of our society to our migrant farmworkers.

We must insure them and their families that they will have the opportunity to fully participate in the prosperity to which they themselves have nobly contributed.

H.R. 15631, A BILL TO INCORPORATE THE NATIONAL RIVER ACADEMY OF THE UNITED STATES

HON. BILL ALEXANDER

OF ARKANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 5, 1970

Mr. ALEXANDER. Mr. Speaker, I have introduced a bill, H.R. 15631, to incorporate the National River Academy of the United States. This bill is an outgrowth of a great deal of work in the past few months on behalf of myself and many, many people throughout this country who are interested in the orderly and rapid growth of the inland waterways industry and the continued development and utilization of our rivers' resources.

Several months ago I proposed the establishment of a National River Academy to be located at Helena, Ark. At the time I made this proposal, I said:

> The growing need for trained personnel to operate our waterways transportation network of barges, dams and ports is going to mushroom in the next fifty years. At the present time, there are not any schools which have been specifically established to train inland waterways personnel to operate towboats on the rivers and canals. This situation exists even though the vessels have been more technologically sophisticated and the traffic more dense.
>
> With the purposes for industrial expansion along the banks of our waterways and with the present need that exists for trained personnel to operate and maintain the tows and barges on the inland waterways of the United States, there appears to be a present demand for the establishment of a training academy for river personnel.

Discussions with leaders in the inland waterways industry throughout the country in recent months has only served to confirm this prediction. The case for establishing such a training institution can be easily made. At the present time, there are six academies in this country to train the 40,000 persons employed on our ocean-going vessels. And, yet, there are no formal training facilities to train the 80,000 persons who are employed on the Nation's inland waterways.

In the coming years, we hope to see a dramatic growth and development in the inland waterways industry. It is estimated that waterborne tonnage will increase 450 percent during the coming 50 years. At the same time, more sophisticated equipment and technology is constantly being introduced onto the Nation's 23,000 miles of inland waterways.

These factors add up to a challenge, in the name of both efficiency and safety, to offer the best possible training programs and opportunities to the people employed in this key industry.

The leaders of this industry have told me that this is a project they want. They, too, see the advantage of using the latest techniques and tools available to provide their personnel with the best training available. They, too, recognize that on-the-job training, while offering experience that is absolutely essential, does not offer the efficient training or the effective instruction that is necessary in a dynamic industry.

In other words, Mr. Speaker, the degree and quality of training and instruction that the National River Academy will offer is something that is needed and wanted, by the inland waterways industry throughout this country. This academy will be national in scope, it will be national in emphasis, and it will produce results that will be felt nationally.

It is for these reasons that I have introduced H.R. 15631, a bill to incorporate the National River Academy under the acts of Congress. This is a project and a goal that should be recognized publicly by this Congress. It is a project that should have the backing of this Congress.

I am hopeful that early hearings and consideration of this proposal can be scheduled, and that my colleagues in the Congress will join me in recognizing the inland waterways industry as one which is vital to the future development of this country and which needs and deserves our support.

TAX INCENTIVES FOR COLLEGE EDUCATION FUNDS

HON. ABNER J. MIKVA

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 5, 1970

Mr. MIKVA. Mr. Speaker, any family putting a child through college today knows what a thoroughly frustrating burden that can be. Each year tuition and housing costs jump again, as do the costs of books and a young person's social life. It is often discouraging for a student to look forward to years more of such a marginal existence, or for his parents to try to prepare for a future of increasing college costs for the rest of their children.

But colleges, in view of a tripling student population in the next decade, are also reaching for funds to maintain and expand their academic capacities. For everyone, then, the prospect of investing in education seems insurmountable—it is difficult enough now to find resources and any later payoff only promises to be inadequate.

In an attempt to ameliorate this dilemma, I am introducing a bill today which can offer an immediate as well as a long-term solution.

First, as an immediate aid to families supporting college students, this bill would provide for a $100 yearly tax credit for each full-time student, and a proportional credit for part-time students.

Second, as an incentive for families to invest in the future education of their children, as well as a source of development capital for colleges, this bill would establish a special educational investment fund. A $50 yearly tax credit would be granted the families of any potential college student for deposits in a restricted fund, which would be available only as loans to colleges.

It is estimated that this fund over the next 18 years would provide $25 billion for educational development, and at the same time ease some of the burden on millions of parents and students who want to insure the best college opportunity they can get.

Clearly, a break is needed by these families, and just as clearly, there must be financial help for our colleagues if they are to serve as adequately through the decade. This bill, with minimal jeopardy to any party—students, colleges or the Government—can provide that assistance.

I urge my colleagues to consider the need for and wisdom of the solution proposed today.

THE ATTACK ON HISTORY

HON. RICHARD BOLLING

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 5, 1970

Mr. BOLLING. Mr. Speaker, the "Attack on History" is the subject of a timely editorial in the current issue of Horizon magazine. Contributing Editor Walter Karp finds his answers to the attack in Thomas Jefferson's memorable writings on the purpose of studying history. I call to the attention of my colleagues the editorial, which appears in the 1970 winter edition of Horizon. It follows:

THE ATTACK ON HISTORY

It is seldom that alarming news emerges from learned journals of education and the decisions of educational committees. Such, however, is the case today, and the news is well worth pondering. It is simply that the teaching of history is being seriously undermined. Attacked by teachers, by educational leaders, and by academic scholars, the history curriculums in the nation's schools are in the process of being cut to the bare minimum prescribed by state laws. It is high time to say something in history's defense.

Of criticism, the teaching of history suffers no lack. Most of the criticism is harsh and curiously contradictory. On the one hand, history courses are accused of being mere compilations of dead facts. On the other hand, they are criticized for being mere packages of "pieties," designed to each obedience, docility, humility, according to one distinguished American educator, Edgar Bruce Wesley. The famous Harvard historian Oscar Handlin says that history should be taught only in college because it is too difficult for the average student. Mr. Wesley, on the other hand, faults history precisely because "any reasonably normal student can learn any kind of history at any grade level." Lastly and most significantly, history is scornfully compared to the social sciences, with their "exacting standards." Indeed, it is looked upon by many educators as a sentimental relic that must be replaced by the more "relevant" social sciences. Dr. Charles G. Sellers, a member of a California panel charged with drawing up a program of social studies for the state's public schools, reported recently that only the panel's historians "saw much value in retaining history in the curriculum at all."

Can the study of history be defended—to quote Dr. Sellers—"in the face of the teachers' hardheaded insistence on precision in defining the objectives" of teaching history? We think it can be, and must be. Far more is at stake than the outcome of an academic squabble.

The study of history, Thomas Jefferson long ago insisted, is the very heart of education. History, broadly speaking, is our record of the actions taken by men in the past that have made us what we are today. It is the record of men deciding and aspiring, using power and abusing power, in their ceaseless attempts to achieve their purposes. History thus reveals the ways of men when they are free, for freedom, in its most profound sense, is the capacity of men to shape their own world. If history is taught as dead facts, it is being badly taught. If it is taught to inculcate "obedience" and "docility," it has been perverted into propaganda.

As for the social sciences themselves, the one thing they can never do is replace history. By their very nature, the social sciences show us men when they are not free. Psychology describes us insofar as we are bound by behavioral "laws." Sociology describes us insofar as we are bound by social "forces." Anthropology describes us insofar as we are bound by inherited "custom." These sciences do depict mankind, but it is a partial picture. If all we knew of ourselves were derived from social science, men would know themselves only as passive creatures of ironclad laws and circumstance. Only the study of history can rectify a view of man so dangerously one-sided; can show us not only as passive creatures, which we are, but as active creators and lawmakers, which we also are.

To answer the teachers' demand for a precise "objective" in studying history, defenders of history might well turn to Jefferson's words. In a republic, he said, the purpose of history is to "enable every man to judge for himself what will secure or endanger his freedom." Surely that is "precise" enough and "relevant" enough to satisfy anyone.

A TRIBUTE TO JUDGE DAVID HOLMAN

HON. LESTER L. WOLFF

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 5, 1970

Mr. WOLFF. Mr. Speaker, although his death came immediately before the recent congressional recess, it would be a grave injustice not to take time to note the passing of David Holman, who, at the time of his death, was a New York State supreme court justice.

Judge Holman, in a long career that spanned four decades, was a public servant who epitomized the ideals of service and dedication to the public good.

While we were from different parties there was never any lack of respect for Dave Holman's honest commitment to those principles in which he believed.

His record of public service is a long one demonstrating that he possessed great energy and interest in his fellow man. At the time he took his place on the bench he was president of the Nassau County Bar Association. During his career he was, at different times, an assistant district attorney, counsel to a joint legislative committee, attorney for many local jurisdictions, and counsel for the New Hyde Park School Board, where he lived for many years.

Dave Holman's charitable activities were as diverse as his legal undertakings. Among the many philanthropic causes to which he devoted his time were the United Jewish Appeal, CARE, Cerebral Palsy, and the Long Island Committee for the U.S. Olympic Team.

One did not have to share all Dave Holman's political views to appreciate his sincere desire to serve his community

and leave a positive contribution to man's well-being. He left such a legacy and his widow, Ethel, and his son and daughter, Gary and Sandra, may be justly proud of the long and purposeful career of Dave Holman.

It is people such as David Holman that have made our country great. He will be missed.

ST. LEO COLLEGE ACTIVATES POLISH STUDY CENTER IN MEMORY OF FATHER JEROME WISNIEWSKI

HON. HENRY HELSTOSKI

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 5, 1970

Mr. HELSTOSKI. Mr. Speaker, a Polish priest, Father Jerome Wisniewski, O.S.B., who spent most of his lifetime at St. Leo Abbey and was recognized as a foremost authority on Florida history will be honored at St. Leo College with the creation of a Polish Study Center to be dedicated in his memory.

The Polish Study Center will be a repository for books and manuscripts on Polish history, music, literature, education, arts, and the governments. Here students from St. Leo College and St. Leo Abbey and interested citizens will be encouraged to pursue studies and research and where documents will be preserved, reproduced, and distributed for educational purposes as a public service.

Father Jerome, a great educator and historian, was also an accomplished poet and a noted horticulturist. He was the recipient of Peace River Valley Historical Association's first Florida History Award.

The Florida House of Representatives and the Florida Senate have passed a joint resolution paying well-deserved tribute to the late Father Jerome, O.S.B. of St. Leo Abbey.

The resolution follows:

HCR 1081–A Concurrent resolution expressing sympathy and regret over the death of Father Jerome and paying tribute to his accomplishments during his life and to his memory.

Whereas, it is appropriate to record for posterity the life and works of a dedicated educator, an accomplished poet, a noted horticulturist, a great student of history and a holy man, for whom Florida history was the most fascinating subject of the many subjects in which he was interested; and

Whereas, Father Jerome, O.S.B., born Jerome Wisniewski, of St. Leo Abbey, who was small in stature but who stood tall in intellect, spirit and accomplishments, contributed so greatly to the study of Florida history; and

Whereas, the efforts of Father Jerome in the study of Florida history have resulted in an outstanding library of rare historical volumes and documents on Florida history and a wealth of original treatises from his own pen, all of which have preserved the history and lore of this great state for the study and enjoyment of future generations of Floridians and Americans; and

Whereas, Father Jerome, the recipient of the Peace River Valley Historical Association's first Florida History Award, has left to us St. Leo College which grew and prospered because of his efforts and zeal, now therefore,

Be it resolved by the House of Representatives of the State of Florida, the Senate concurring:

That on behalf of the people of the State of Florida this Legislature does pause to pay tribute to the life and memory of Father Jerome, whose death in 1966 has removed from our midst a man of rare abilities, whose contributions to the people of our state and our country will continue to live for the benefit of all of us, and that his memory be accorded our respect and gratitude;

Be it further resolved that a copy of this Resolution, signed by the Speaker and attested to by the Clerk of the House of Representatives and by the President and Secretary of the Senate, be forwarded to the St. Leo College library to be placed with the historical collection left to the library by Father Jerome.

NEED HISTORICAL, ARCHEOLOGICAL PRESERVATION BILL

HON. CHARLES E. BENNETT

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 5, 1970

Mr. BENNETT. Mr. Speaker, with the changing environment, expanding population, and increased technology, our Nation is facing a possible "archeological gap." There is a definite threat that a majority of our scientific, prehistorical, historical, and archeological data will not be available for study in the next few decades.

Legislation I have introduced in the House of Representatives, along with 60 cosponsors will help to remedy this situation and preserve historical objects, which might be damaged or permanently lost to history because of Federal public works projects.

This bill, which has been introduced in the Senate by its chief sponsor, Senator FRANK E. MOSS of Utah, has 28 cosponsors. It is supported by the Society of Historical Archeology.

This bill amends the act, Public Law 86–523 of June 27, 1960, which provides for the salvage only of those historical and archeological remains being flooded or destroyed by dams constructed by or with the assistance of the Federal Government, by extending the coverage to all Federal and federally assisted or licensed programs which alter the terrain and thus potentially cause loss of archeological and historical data. The bill makes it clear that agencies may take the necessary steps to conserve scientific, archeological, and historical resources within the framework of their own administrative procedures rather than being required always to work through the Secretary of the Interior. It further provides that if an agency wishes to utilize the resources of the Secretary of the Interior, it is authorized to transfer funds, not to exceed 1 percent of its total program, to that Secretary to cover salvage costs.

The concept of the bill is that the cost of the salvage of the data would be related directly to the destruction or threatened destruction of irreplaceable scientific, archeological, and historical resources. Agency programs threatening the destruction of the nonrenewable resources would have the authority to expend a very minimal amount of the funds to recover, protect, and preserve the data when it was significant and had been called to their attention. The bill only authorizes expenditures; it does not demand them.

Much information about the past still lies buried in the ground awaiting investigations by scientists to recreate a meaningful picture of the lives of those who lived in this land before us. From the objects and other information in the ground, the past can be brought to life again and can become a part of the education of our children. Our children cannot preserve the past for their children unless we help preserve it for them. We who are alive today possess the last opportunity to save, preserve or record a portion of the long record of man's experience and achievement in the United States. The choice is ours whether we will preserve the manuscripts, objects, and other sources of information from which future generations may learn about those who preceded us, or whether intentionally or through neglect, we will allow our heritage from the past to be destroyed. If we do not preserve the information, all future generations will have lost forever the ability to experience and profit fully from the past.

The bill presented here is an important conservation measure designed to facilitate and promote protection and recovery of one of America's great nonrenewable resources, the evidences of the past. The need for action is urgent for it is estimated that a majority of our archeological and historical sites will be damaged or destroyed within the next 25 years.

The House cosponsors of the bill are:

H.R. 15453: BENNETT, BERRY, BURLISON of Missouri, CARTER, FUQUA, HAMMERSCHMIDT, and Mrs. MAY.

H.R. 15522; STEPHENS, TIERNAN, TUNNEY, UDALL, WALDIE, WYATT, and VANIK.

H.R. 15521: BROCK, BROOMFIELD, CHAPPELL, CLEVELAND, DADDARIO, DULSKI, EDMONDSON, FOLEY, HELSTOSKI, HULL, KEE, KUYKENDALL, MCCLOSKEY, MIKVA, Mrs. MINK, OLSEN, PRYOR of Arkansas, PURCELL, RARICK, REIFEL, RUPPE, SAYLOR, SCHERLE, and SKUBITZ.

The bill will be introduced Thursday, February 5, with the following cosponsors:

ANDERSON of Illinois, ANDREWS of North Dakota, ANNUNZIO, BYRNES of Wisconsin, DORN, HALEY, HORTON, KYL, KYROS, MATSUNAGA, MEEDS, MELCHER, MINISH, MURPHY of New York, O'NEAL, OTTINGER, PRICE, REES, SIKES, SPRINGER, STOKES, WHITEHURST, and YATES.

A UNIVERSAL INSTINCT FOR PEACE

HON. ANCHER NELSEN

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 5, 1970

Mr. NELSEN. Mr. Speaker, in a recent editorial, Ken Berg, editor of the Mankato Free Press in Mankato, Minn., chose to philosophize a bit about the deeper nature of man. It is a pleasure to share

his viewpoint with readers of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

UNIVERAL INSTINCT FOR PEACE

About the commonest observation on the part of those who are well-traveled is that people . . . human beings . . . everywhere are basically kind.

Some go a step further and suggest that generally speaking, these human beings deserve something better in the way of government than they are receiving.

This thought is prompted by a report on a visit to the Iron Curtain countries by Harry L. Page, assistant superintendent of public instruction for the State of Illinois. It contained the following:

"I discovered that peoples living in other lands, even those under a totalitarian regime, even under a hammer and sickle yoke . . . are just like our next door neighbors when you get them alone on a one-on-one basis.

"I am convinced that the hardnosed citizen of Russia, bred to believe that Americans are their perpetual enemy, can sit down and talk to us, when we get away from government, about our children and what we want in life."

"They are every bit as compatible in a discussion as our next door neighbors," the Illinois educator concluded on this point.

Our own over-riding impression, conversely bred as we were to believe that Russians are our perpetual enemy, is that humans wherever you find them hold the same aspirations and dream the same dreams as our own.

Despite an impressive amount of evidence to the contrary at this moment in history, we are convinced that the instinct for peace is the one most deeply embedded in mankind.

We reject the commonly held assumption that man is a fighting animal and that wars are inevitable.

SCOUT AT WORK

HON. EARL B. RUTH

OF NORTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 5, 1970

Mr. RUTH. Mr. Speaker, in his state of the union message, President Nixon proposed that each individual should enlist in the fight against pollution. He suggested that each person resolve to "leave his home, his property, the public places of his city or town a little cleaner, a little better, a little more pleasant for himself and those around him."

Even before the President spoke these words, a Laurinburg, N.C., Boy Scout named Richard Williams, undertook a local project to determine the extent of litter in his small part of the Nation during the month of January. On February 2, 1970, the Laurinburg Exchange in the Odds and Ends column reported the findings of Scout Williams:

SCOUT AT WORK

Richard Williams is a Boy Scout who lives on Hasty Road and has recently conducted an interesting survey. At the suggestion of his advisor in Troop 447, Alvin Hafer, Richard undertook a litter project. He set out to determine how much actual litter is deposited on Scotland County roadsides, and how much it is costing taxpayers. No attempt was made to determine the degree of unsightliness, but this is the more obvious part of it.

"For 30 days during January when litter disposal is considered the highest in the year. I collected litter each day on a designated highway section (on Hasty road, not one of the heaviest travelled roads), converted my figures to the mile and applied this to the 445 miles of paved highways in Scotland County.

"Unbelievably, Scotland County averaged 578 tin cans, 263 glass bottles and 1,630 pieces of paper per mile per month." Richard concluded during this project (he was working on a conservation merit badge) that during a given month over a quarter of a million cans, 117,000 bottles and nearly three-quarters of a million pieces of paper are dumped along our roads. And this he judges is below average for the count was done in cold weather when car windows are up most of the time and riders are not apt to make as frequent deposits as during the summer. Also he did not include the 95 miles of unpaved roads in the county's system.

HEAVY COST

"The county highway department filled two pickup trucks with litter in the short distance of 2.4 miles from the Scotland County line on the west side of Maxton and the east end of Number 74 bypass," Richard reports. "This included 13 cases of soft drink bottles and was done during the same time I was doing my study."

This persevering and concerned scout calls attention to the cost this is to the taxpayer. He has figured that if the minimum wage of $1.60 per hour is paid, it would cost $7,000 in wages for the highway department to pick up all the litter along the paved roads of Scotland County just once a year.

"Some of our complaints about high taxes is our own making through poor stewardship," Scout Williams charges. "If each person would do his part in the control of litter the taxes would be lower than what they are now. So I ask everybody to try to do their part in the control of litter."

REPORTS FROM WASHINGTON

HON. WILLIAM J. SCHERLE

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 5, 1970

Mr. SCHERLE. Mr. Speaker, Supreme Court Justice William O. Douglas, self-appointed messiah of the hippies and yippies, is at it again. This time the aging Lothario practically invites his long-haired mental midgets to thumb their noses at the law enforcement agencies of this country and obey only the laws which agree with their naive philosophy.

In his soon-to-be-published book, "Points of Rebellion," the 71-year-old swinger with a penchant for wives a half-century younger than he, endlessly tirades against the FBI, CIA, local police officials, educators, and every other organization or person with a semblance of dignified authority. He heaps praise upon the degenerate disciples of disorder while strongly hinting that the philosophy of citizens concerned about rampant crime and riotous behavior parallels that of Adolf Hitler.

The Justice, an obvious student of the extracurricular activities of Henry VIII, attempts to draw the ridiculous comparison between George II and what he describes as today's "establishment."

If Justice Douglas, whom the taxpayers are subsidizing at $60,000 a year for life, really believes his own drivel, he should resign from the Court and spend his time hiking down the pointless paths tread by the rest of the anarchists. The biggest point in his book, "Points of Rebellion," rests on top of the distinguished jurist's shoulders.

EVERY LITTER BIT

The taxpayers paid $30 million to clean up the 4.3 billion pieces of litter that Americans dumped on their major highways last year alone. These figures cover only the 270,000 miles of main arteries, and do not include the 3.4 million miles of secondary roads and city streets. The true cost of cleaning up all the debris tossed out on our roads by thoughtless drivers is undoubtedly much higher. This is a terrific price to clean up our own mess.

Litter is one of the chief polluters of our environment and almost everyone contributes to it in one form or another. Discarded paper accounts for 59 percent of all highway litter, plastic wrappers for 6 percent, bottles another 6 percent, cans 15 percent, and miscellany the remaining 14 percent. While it is easier to pinpoint the derelictions of the large-scale industrial polluters, the cumulative effect of individuals littering highways adds up to a staggering pile of costly and unsightly debris. Youthful offenders are the worst, but affluence tends to make litterbugs of us all. Even children are not interested in returning bottles to the store today—the trip would not be worth the few cents it would bring.

To cope with this problem, a battery of new antipollution laws have been proposed at the State and Federal level. It is worth noting, however, that most cities and States already have strong antilitter laws, with fines up to $100. They are rarely enforced. Therefore, before we plunge into new elaborate and expensive antipollution programs at the Federal level, we should use the weapons which now exist to fight pollution at the local level.

The problem is one of persuasion and education as well. No matter how vigorous the enforcement of laws, no police force can hope to catch every offender. People must be made to realize how much their own thoughtlessness is costing them not only in dollars but in the deterioration of the quality of life. As President Nixon pointed out in his state of the Union address:

> We have been much too tolerant of our surroundings and too willing to leave it to others to clean up our environment. . . . Each of us must resolve that each day he will leave . . . the public places of his city or town a little cleaner, a little better, a little more pleasant for himself and those around him.

BOXCAR SHORTAGE

A major problem that has habitually plagued the grain farmers of this Nation has been the critical shortage of railroad freight cars during peak harvest periods. In fact, one of the very first petitions of complaint received by the Interstate Commerce Commission after it was created in 1887 dealt specifically with this subject. The farmers' Grain Dealers Association of Iowa reported that the asso-

ciation suffered a net loss of $125,792 last year, largely because of the freight car shortage.

In order to ease this century-old burden, I introduced a bill in Congress last week that would amend the Interstate Commerce Act in order to give the Commission additional authority to alleviate freight car shortages. The provisions of the bill attack the per diem system established by the ICC in 1968, which is based on time used and mileage of freight cars. The present ICC mileage basis results in the retention of empty boxcars on foreign lines until a load is obtained to pay their way back to their owner's railroad lines. This policy has been challenged by 20 railroads and 21 States on the grounds that it does not encourage the movement of freight cars to the west to carry western grain. My proposal provides that per diem charges on empty cars would be doubled in order to prevent the retention of empty boxcars. Therefore, a 1-year-old boxcar costing $18,000 would, if allowed to sit unused, incur a per diem charge of $10.50, where the present daily charge under current ICC rates would be $4.93. This measure would encourage the rapid movement of empty freight cars to distant points of shipment.

Although additional work on a long-term solution still needs to be done, such as building new freight cars and proper maintenance of present cars, this bill would encourage the rapid movement of empty freight cars and expedite the entire procedure.

Compounding the present situation is the curtailment of loans by the Department of Agriculture to build adequate storage facilities for newly harvested grain. The food producer finds himself squeezed between inadequate storage facilities and inefficient use of the transportation system which hampers the movement of grains to the marketplace.

Secretary of Agriculture Clifford M. Hardin should reevaluate the present policy on storage and dryer loans and ease the restrictions to encourage more farm storage facilities.

STICKY SUBJECT

Admitting to countless complaints about glueless stamps, Postmaster General Winton Blount says the Post Office Department is determined to lick the problem.

THE 1971 AGRICULTURAL BUDGET

HON. THOMAS S. KLEPPE

OF NORTH DAKOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 5, 1970

Mr. KLEPPE. Mr. Speaker, I believe my colleagues will be interested in a "Summary of the Budget for the Fiscal Year 1971," as it relates to agriculture. This was prepared by the U.S. Department of Agriculture at my request. It is a handy reference for all of us who find wading through the complicated budget a difficult and often frustrating chore.

Some charges are already being circulated to the effect that farm programs got the "meat ax" treatment in the President's budget. I think even a quick glance at the summary I am including as a part of my remarks will refute that contention. In fact, considering the tight budget situation and the need to hold down total Federal spending, I believe the President showed in his budget recommendations for agriculture both awareness and concern for the serious problems of American farmers. The summary follows:

SUMMARY OF BUDGET FOR THE FISCAL YEAR 1971

The Department's activities in FY 1971 will be directed toward the major goals of (a) maintaining farm income and providing food and fiber for all Americans, (b) assisting in the development of our rural communities, including the provision of better housing, (c) protecting consumers from unwholesome food and dangerous pesticides, and (d) providing additional food assistance.

Following are the overall totals of the Department's budget:

[In millions]

	1970	1971	Change
New obligations or commitments	$8,796.6	$8,576.7	−$219.9
Expenditures (before adjustments for increased sale of insured FHA loans)	8,407.4	[1] 9,268.4	+[1] 861.0

[1] The budget proposes increases sales to private investors of Farmers Home Administration insured loans in 1971 over 1970. This has the effect of increasing receipts in 1971, thus reducing net expenditures. Such actions have no effect on program levels. Net expenditures after reflecting this increase in receipts are:

[In millions]

1970	$8,407.7
1971	7,952.7
Change	−454.7

The following items are the major changes in the budget for 1971:

1. *Commodity Credit Corporation*—The major program for helping farmers maintain their incomes, CCC is the largest item in the Department's budget. The appropriation requested will restore all losses through June 30, 1969 and will provide ample borrowing authority to enable the Corporation to meet its commitments next year and still have a balance of over $2 billion. Expenditures totaling about $3.8 billion are based on the latest projections of production, utilization, and exports expected next year. However, there are many uncontrollable factors involved in this estimate.

Following is a summary of estimated expenditures for CCC price support and related activities in 1970 and 1971 for the principal commodities (including diversion and price support payments where applicable):

[In millions]

	1970	1971
Feed grains	$1,393	$1,403
Wheat	733	647
Cotton, upland	787	945
Dairy products	26	181
All other commodities, interest, storage and handling costs, and administrative expenses	707	603
Total	3,646	3,779

2. *Farmers Home Administration*—The total program for the Farmers Home Administration, including loans (both direct and insured), grants and related administrative expenses, total $2.3 billion next year, as shown in the tabulation below. The amounts for 1970 are less than originally planned due to (1) need to hold down budget outlays, (2) high interest costs, and (3) other factors.

[In millions]

	1970	1971	Change
Farm ownership loans	$205	$205	----
Operating loans	275	275	----
Water and sewer grants	28	24	−$4
Water and sewer loans	144	126	−18
Housing programs	853	1,489	+636
Other loan and grant programs	95	101	+6
Operating expenses, FHA	72	85	+13
Total	1,672	2,305	+633

3. *Rural Electrification Administration*—These loan programs are being continued in 1971 at the same level as in 1970, i.e., $345 million for electrification loans and $125 million for telephone loans, for a total of $470 million. The request for new loan funds is $18.5 million less than 1970 primarily because of the use of prior year balances carried forward.

4. *Agricultural Conservation Program*—The budget does not include a request for a 1971 program. The necessity to hold down the budget has made it necessary to eliminate this item.

5. *Food for Peace*—The budget next year contemplates a program of $1,133 million for P.L. 480 activities. It reflects the anticipated needs of other countries needing additional food and fiber, given the need to hold the budget as low as possible. This is distributed by program as follows:

[In millions]

	1970	1971	Change
Sales for foreign currencies and long-term credit sales for dollars (title I)	$894	$782	−$112
Donations abroad (title II)	357	351	−6
Total	1,251	1,133	−118

6. *Payments to States*—The Cooperative Extension Service and the State Experiment Stations of our Land-Grant Colleges will carry a greater share of the responsibility for improving conditions in rural areas. They will emphasize activities to carry out rural development programs involving leadership, research and technical assistance to help local people help themselves. For all of these and other related purposes the budget proposes increases totaling $49.8 million, as follows:

[In millions]

	1970	1971	Change
Extension Service (increases for nutrition education, +$20 million; rural community development, +$10.4 million; increased operating costs and retirement contributions, +$9.5 million)	$132.0	$172.0	+$39.9
Cooperative State Research Service (increased payments for rural community development research, increased operating costs and forestry research; no funds requested for construction of facilities)	62.6	72.5	+9.9

7. *Food programs*—The budget includes a total of $2,274 million for food assistance programs, including commodity donations. This consists of $1,250 million for the Food Stamp Program, an increase of $640 million above 1970.

A total of $685 million is proposed for the Child Nutrition Program, including commodity donations and special feeding assistance under Section 32 funds. This is an increase of $133.3 million above 1970.

No funds are requested in the budget for the Special Milk Program for which $84 million was appropriated in 1970. Expanded lunch and breakfast programs at schools and

increased milk consumption under the larger Food Stamp Program are expected to offset the decline in milk consumption under the Special Milk Program.

Commodity donations for distribution to families are estimated at $313 million next year, an increase of $17.5 million above 1970.

8. *Forest Service*—To continue the acceleration begun in 1970 to accelerate timber production from the national forests, an additional increase of $5.3 million is requested for timber sales administration and $2.9 million for reforestation and timber stand improvement. The total estimate for Forest land management, Forest research, and State and private forestry cooperation is $278.6 million, a net increase of $10.9 million over 1970. In addition, an increase of $21 million is proposed for timber access roads, making a total program for roads and trails of $176.4 million.

9. *Other changes in 1971 budget*—There are a number of other changes in the budget. The principal ones are:

Fiscal year 1971

(In millions)

Agricultural Research Service:	
Research	+$2.1
Imported fire ant program	+2.0
Hog cholera eradication	+2.0
Pesticides regulation	+2.4
Elimination of relatively lower priority plant pest control programs (European chafer, sweet potato weevil, soybean cyst nematode, phony peach and peach mosaic)	−2.2
Soil Conservation Service:	
Watershed works of improvement (P.L. 566 small watersheds)	+8.3
Watershed planning (to achieve a better balance between planning and installation of measures)	−1.3
Resource conservation and development projects (no new projects are planned for 1971)	+3.1
Economic Research Service (principally economic analyses of foreign and domestic economic development)	+1.6
Statistical Reporting Service (principally for improvement of livestock statistics)	+1.2
Consumer and Marketing Service (principally meat and poultry inspection)	+9.5
Foreign Agricultural Service (for market development activities)	+0.7
Conservation Reserve Program (sufficient funds are available to complete payments under existing contracts)	−37.2

EXPLANATION OF H.R. 15676, TO AMEND THE OMNIBUS CRIME CONTROL AND SAFE STREETS ACT OF 1968

HON. SAM GIBBONS

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 5, 1970

Mr. GIBBONS. Mr. Speaker, yesterday, I introduced H.R. 15676, to amend the Omnibus Crime Control and Safe Streets Act of 1968. This bill has three sections, which would do the following:

Section 1 adds a new type of action grant program: crime prevention, including improved lighting of high crime areas and development of laws and ordinances and building designs to better cope with crime.

Section 2 would change the sharing formula so that cities would get 50 percent of crime-fighting Federal funds in direct grants instead of 15 percent as under present law. The present formula gives 85 percent to the State agency and only 15 percent to local governments.

My bill would allow a State to receive 20 percent additional funds if its comprehensive anticrime plan was adjudged to deal adequately with the problems of urban high crime areas and a second 20 percent bonus if the State helped the city and local governments with their portion of the non-Federal sharing.

Finally, section 3 would authorize appropriations for 3 years instead of 1 year and at a rising level of funding. It would provide $8 million for fiscal 1970, $1 billion for fiscal 1972, and $1.2 billion for fiscal 1973. The State's added shares under section 2 are provided for from discretionary Federal funds.

Let me discuss these sections in more detail. The effectiveness of better lighting in curbing crime is well documented. A study by the National League of Cities, reported in the January 1970 issue of FBI Law Enforcement Bulletin, indicated that criminal assaults dropped 70 percent and robberies by 60 percent in one midwestern city after a new lighting system was installed. Overall crime rates in a major southern city showed a similar drastic decline in a 12-block area.

The need to change the funds formula to allow cities more direct grants is likewise strongly indicated by two basic studies of Crime Control and Safe Streets since passage in 1968. These studies indicate that the primary purpose of Congress in passing this law; namely, to curb crime in the streets of high-crime urban areas, simply is not being met under the present provisions.

A study conducted by the National League of Cities, based on a survey of 31 State law enforcement plans comes to the following conclusion:

> Instead of focusing dollars on critical problems of crime in the streets, local planning funds are being dissipated broadly without regard to need and are being used to finance third levels of bureaucracy as a matter of state administrative convenience.

This report notes that 28 of these 31 State plans include regional planning agencies which, together, outnumber the 370 cities with more than 50,000 population in the Nation.

Funds appear to be going to plan administration instead of direct anticrime programs in the cities and towns where most crime is found.

There is also some indication, the NLC report concludes, that no crime incidence index is included in the State plans distribution formula, thus reducing the proportionate funds going to the high-crime cities.

A second analytical survey of the Safe Streets Act by Dr. B. Douglas Harman, assistant professor at American University's School of Government and Public Administration, dwells on the flaw in the distribution formula of the present act whereby the State gets 85 percent of the Federal grants. Dr. Harman highlights the fact that crime control is primarily a big city problem while the administrative bias is in the program toward State administration.

My own conclusion is that there are serious political obstacles to any State program which will adequately deal with the cities crime problems, and that more direct grants to the agencies with the biggest crime problems are essential.

Section 2 of this bill would take a giant step to remedy this political bottleneck while at the same time giving State agencies a financial incentive to do better than the record shows they have in the past.

If we are going to use the block grant approach in distributing anticrime funds to States and local agencies, then the Congress must guarantee that the large cities, which have the highest crime rates, get the most money to fight crime. Increasing the amounts to be granted for this anticrime fight is also essential, thus the higher amounts provided in succeeding years in this bill.

We must do even more in future years and not let this program fail. No magic formula is going to wipe out all crime. But money, not rhetoric, will do the most toward that obective. Contrary to President Nixon's campaign promises, his election has not been sufficient to restore law and order in this land. To achieve that we must put more money where the crime is—in the streets of our major cities and not into more bureaucratic mechanisms.

VIETNAM: OUR STAKE IN THE PACIFIC

HON. JAMES A. BURKE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 5, 1970

Mr. BURKE of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, I urge the Members of the House of Representatives to review J. Richard Lamere's exclusive interview with Adm. John S. McCain, Jr., commander in chief, Pacific Command.

I noted with grave concern Admiral McCain's comments on the danger that the U.S. Navy is losing its supremacy on the high seas. The expansion and rise of the Soviet navy is a fact. The vital necessity for our action in rebuilding our own sea power is crucial.

The Boston Herald interview follows:

[From the Boston Herald Traveler, Jan. 18, 1970]

VIETNAM: OUR STAKE IN THE PACIFIC

(By J. Richard Lamere)

Question. Admiral McCain, to what extent do you think the end of the Vietnam War will affect U.S. strategy in the Pacific?

Answer. An end to the major hostilities will be only one step toward peace and security in the Pacific Command area. The vital necessity for maintaining a military deterrent posture will remain. This ranges from missiles afloat and ashore to lesser forces. It could mean troops airlifted to a trouble spot, or a carrier task force hundreds of miles offshore, or a heavy bomber squadron within a few hours flight time, or an interceptor force poised ready to take off. Or it could mean a fleet of submarines deployed in areas unknown. Or even a combat-ready marine battalion cruising in sight of the beach. We cannot afford to let our military presence melt away should there be an early cessation of hostilities in South Vietnam.

Three times we have not only sheathed, but thrown away our sword when the fighting stopped. We did this after World War I, we did it again after World War II and

to a large extent after the Korean War. Each time we were called upon to rearm under crisis conditions because we had let slip through our fingers the great deterrent force of presence. I trust that we have learned our lesson.

Question. How many troops do the Communists have available in the Far East and Southeast Asia?

Answer. The Communists in Asia have some 3.8 million men under arms, comprising approximately 200 divisions and very substantial air and naval forces.

While Communist China's military forces are largely defensive in character at present, China presents a major potential threat in that it possesses nuclear weapons and soon will have missiles to deliver them. They have more than two and one-quarter million men in their ground force, which is a formidable force in itself. There is, in addition, the ever increasing naval and air strength. Communist China now has the fourth largest submarine force in the world and the third largest air force.

Question. What is the size of American military presence in the Pacific?

Answer. The Pacific Command covers some 85 million square miles of ocean, islands and mainland, or about two-fifths of the entire surface of the earth. It reaches from the California coast to the Eastern Indian Ocean and from the Aleutians to the South Pole. The East-West span is 9,000 miles and the North-South span 10,000 miles. Even the fastest jets require about 19 hours to cover the route from the West Coast of America to Saigon, and sea transport from 13 to 18 days. There are 24 different flags in addition to our own flown in this vast segment of our planet. Of these, nine can be considered firm, consistent friends of our country. The alignments of the remainder are either definitely hostile to our interests or vary between latent hostility and non-alignment.

The composition of our force in the area varies, but in a typical period we will have approximately 7,400 aircraft which includes bombers, fighters, special purpose aircraft and combat support aircraft such as transports and helicopters operated by the Army, Navy and Marines as well as Air Force. There are 560 ships operational which include carriers, cruisers, destroyer types, submarines, amphibious vessels, and special purpose ships.

In addition, approximately 300 merchant vessels carry supplies to Vietnam carriers, tanks, trucks, bulldozers and other equipment are operating. Our total military personnel active in the Pacific Command is well over a million, of whom about half serve in Vietnam.

Question. What is the significance of the Pacific Command?

Answer. The mission of the Pacific command is to defend the United States against attack through the Pacific Ocean Area and to support and advance the national policies and interests of the United States. CINCPAC is responsible for preparing plans, conducting operations and coordinating the activities of the Army, Navy, Marines and the Air Force in the Pacific. It is the largest of seven U.S. unified military commands and encompasses as I said, approximately two-fifths of the world's surface.

The United States has undertaken to help protect and strengthen the free Asian and Pacific nations. PACOM discharges responsibilities through a series of collective security and defensive arrangements. We have linked our strength to the security of the free nations in the Far East.

The treaties with our principal allies remain highly important to the security and stability of the area. Bilateral treaties provide for U.S. support to key free nations in the Pacific.

I'm assuming that you are familiar with the provisions of the agreement between the Republic of China and the United States which was signed on December 2, 1954. The ANZUS Treaty links us closely with Australia and New Zealand.

The United States has also entered into bilateral mutual defense treaties with the Philippines, Japan and Korea.

SEATO is the major multilateral treaty designed to halt aggression in Southeast Asia. In addition to the signatory powers, the treaty includes under its protective shield the Republic of Vietnam. Another major element in the strategy in the Pacific is the military assistance program. This increases the ability of free nations to defend themselves and helps to create forces which can support a common effort. The program currently includes countries throughout the world.

Military assistance program agreements are separate from the mutual defense treaties. The mutual defense treaties generally call for some degree of military response by the United States with Congressional approval in the event of aggression or attack on an allied nation.

The military assistance program agreements set forth the conditions under which the U.S. will provide military assistance in the form of equipment, training advisory functions and-or related support in accordance with the requirements of United States security foreign policy and contingent upon the necessary authorization and appropriation action by the Congress.

Question. What military action would the U.S. or SEATO nations take in the event the Communists shift aggressive actions from South Vietnam to Laos?

Answer. I wouldn't want to speculate on a hypothetical question of this kind. It's an acknowledged fact, however, that North Vietnamese Army forces are operating in Laos in violation of the Geneva Accords of 1962. In the event they should decide to substantially increase their aggressive activities in Laos, any U.S. decision would have to be made at national level.

Question. What is the estimated North Vietnamese strength in Laos and Cambodia?

Answer. In Laos, strength of NVA forces is estimated at approximately 50,000. The Royal Cambodian Government has announced recently that there are up to 40,000 NVA forces which have violated Cambodian territorial integrity by crossing Cambodia from South Vietnam.

Question. Is SEATO dying?

Answer. President Nixon reaffirmed last May 7th the U.S. resolve to continue its contributions to the "security and progress in both the Pacific area and in Southeast Asia." The U.S. considers SEATO fundamental to our strategy and position in Southeast Asia.

Question. Admiral McCain, President Nixon has been quoted as stating he will demand Japanese participation in Asian security. What are your views on this position?

Answer. As you are aware, the realm of foreign policy is not within my purview of responsibility. I might say the Japanese and United States Governments have continually cooperated in matters concerning their mutual security.

Question. There is considerable talk in Japan about assuming more responsibility for the defense of her shores. In your opinion is the Japan Self Defense Force capable of assuming such responsibilities, and what would be needed to provide an adequate defense?

Answer. We would like to see all of our allies increase their capabilities for self-defense and assist in the collective security of the Free World to the extent possible. As you know, the Treaty of Mutual Cooperation and Security between Japan and the U.S. provides that the U.S. will assist Japan in its defense.

In this context, Japanese self-defense forces are balanced, well trained and organized, and could act effectively in the defense of Japan although further expansion and modernization would be desirable. The U.S. will, of course, continue to have to provide the nuclear deterrence forces for Japan's defense.

Question. At least one foreign correspondent has indicated that a major drawback to Japan's assumption of a leading role in Asia is the fear among small nations that Japan may achieve by military means the economic domination of Asia. Do you agree with this theory?

Answer. While there may still be some latent fears, it is clear that Asia of today is greatly different from that of 25 to 30 years ago. Japan's military power is not great and the Japanese public is opposed to any foreign adventures. Japan is a great economic power and is providing economic assistance to a number of East Asian countries.

I believe that cooperation with Japan will continue and that Japan will figure in regional arrangements in an increasingly important way—primarily those dealing with economic and cultural aspects of the region.

Question. Some Japanese fear that because the bases in Japan are not used solely for the defense of Japan, there is danger of Japan being drawn into a war against her will. Is this possible?

Answer. Such a possibility is highly remote. A 1960 exchange of notes between the government of Japan and the U.S. which supplement the security treaty provides for prior consultation if we are to use our bases in Japan for combat purposes other than defense of Japan against attack.

Question. Does the reversion of Okinawa detract from our military posture in the Pacific?

Answer. Okinawa's importance to the strategic balance of East Asia cannot be overstated. It is centrally located in an arc of mutually supporting defensive bases constructed by the United States and her allies. From these bases, forces can respond promptly to all foreseeable threats; the loss of any of these bases would reduce our capability to be immediately responsive.

Further, Okinawa represents an enormous investment in time and money and represents a built-in flexibility for the deployment and supports of military units or weapons. However, the reversion of Okinawa does not entail the loss of any bases there.

Question. As a military specialist, what do you think about the military situation on the Korean peninsula?

Answer. The preservation of the rights and liberties of the people of the Republic of Korea is vital to the continued peace and growing prosperity of the Western Pacific and Asia areas.

Question. A primary objective of Kim Il Sung's regime is the reunification of the two Koreas, by force if necessary, and North Korea continues to prepare for this eventuality. With possible peace in Vietnam in the near future, are you considering repositioning your forces to counter any aggressive efforts North Korea may make in pursuing the objectives?

Answer. The President has emphasized that the United States is awaiting positive steps from the North Vietnamese government to indicate their good faith in negotiating a peaceful settlement to the Vietnam conflict. The avenue for a peaceful settlement is open. Any discussion concerning re-positioning of U.S. forces is premature. However, we have already taken measures to counter North Korean aggressive actions, and support of our ally, the Republic of Korea, continues in this regard.

Question. It is general knowledge that the North Korean Armed Forces are continuing to improve and modernize. What are we doing to increase the capability of the Republic of Korea Armed Forces to cope with this threat?

Answer. With our support, the South Koreans are adding a number of new units to their force structure.

In addition, much equipment required for modernization of their current forces and for counter-infiltration purposes is being provided the Republic of Korea by the United States. This includes special counter-infiltration equipment (such as night vision equipment), communications equipment, vehicles, weapons, ammunition and other items.

Question. In the event a sucecssful settlement is reached in Paris, would an Asian Peace-keeping Force be feasible?

Answer. Yes, it would be feasible in this event for such a force to be brought into being. How successful it might be would depend upon the political basis on which it would be constituted.

Question. Is the U.S. Navy in danger of losing is supremacy on the seas to the Soviet Union and the Communist-controlled part of the world?

Answer. To quote Admiral Thomas Moorer, the Chief of Naval Operations, "Today the threat to U.S. supremacy at sea is real. I expect it to increase in the years ahead."

Rear Admiral F. J. Harlfinger, director of Naval Intelligence, testifying before the House Armed Services Subcommittee on Seapower, also said, "There is an unmistakable dynamism about all Soviet maritime enterprises today—from research through sophisticated operations. We see nothing on the horizon to inhibit the current expansion of the Soviet Navy, indeed the entire Soviet maritime investment."

The subcommittee issued a report stating that although the U.S. is aware of the Soviet Union's desire to unseat it as the world's leading sea power, America is having difficulties in meeting this challenge.

The U.S. Navy, the subcommittee reported, is an aging collection of warships older and smaller than the Soviet Navy and unfit for battle. American ships are so old, the subcommittee reported, that in some cases crews have difficulties in obtaining spare parts because the original suppliers have either stopped making the item or gone out of business.

Two-thirds of the U.S. fleet was built more than 20 years ago. Even with costly overhauls and rebuilding, the life expectancy of these vessels is not great, the subcommittee said. Because of the complexity of new sea warfare systems, involving demands for complicated electronics, the old seagoing platforms are ill-fitted for modernization. The problem of age faced by the U.S. Navy is in marked contrast to the situation in the Soviet Navy where only 10 per cent of its warships is over 20 years old.

Question. What steps are needed for the U.S. to cope with the Communist buildup on the seas?

Answer. What is needed is a major buildup of U.S. seapower. According to the Naval Balance Report published by the House Armed Services Committee, "If the United States proceeds at full speed to augment its naval forces, the Soviet Union will not be able to wrest the trident from America's grasp."

INDEPENDENT CEYLON: SELF-GOVERNING DOMINION WITHIN BRITISH COMMONWEALTH

HON. ADAM C. POWELL

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 5, 1970

Mr. POWELL. Mr. Speaker, the people of Ceylon attained their independence on February 4, 1948. From the beginning a parliamentary form of government with two houses was set up. The leaders of Ceylon chose to remain within the British Commonwealth of Nations as a self-governing dominion. Thus the Queen of the United Kingdom is also the sovereign of the Dominion of Ceylon, but the British sovereign does not interfere in the affairs of the self-governing Dominion.

The people of Ceylon, guided by their politically mature leaders and under their democratic government, have done well during more than two decades of their independence. Ceylon is a member of the United Nations Organizations as a sovereign state, is a valued member of the British Commonwealth of Nations, and its some 10 million inhabitants value their self-governing political status.

We salute the people of Ceylon on their approaching 22d independence day.

"COMPROMISE" PROPOSAL BY PRESIDENT NIXON ON LABOR-HEW APPROPRIATION BILL

HON. CARL ALBERT

OF OKLAHOMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 4, 1970

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, President Nixon in his televised address to the American people on the veto of the Departments of Labor, and Health, Education, and Welfare appropriation bill made the impacted area aid program the villain of the increases which Congress had voted for education. He was sharply critical of this program contending that it benefited many areas of the country which did not need Federal assistance and that its continuation at a high level of funding would make impossible the development and adequate financing of quality education programs.

The Congress has now received from the President a so-called "compromise" proposal recommending new figures for the various items in the Departments of Labor, and Health, Education, and Welfare appropriation bill which are in controversy. It is obvious from those figures that the rumors which immediatley preceded the House vote on the veto were well founded. At that time we heard that White House spokesmen had informed Republican Members, whose districts received impacted aid, that if they would vote to sustain the President's veto, the President would propose substantially increased aid for the impacted area program. Undoubtedly, innumerable Republican Members, who might have otherwise voted to override on the basis of these assurances, were pursuaded to vote to sustain the veto.

The President has more than made good on the debt incurred by his lieutenants in rounding up the necessary Republican votes required to uphold his veto. Programs which clearly would fall within the President's classification of quality education are to receive but nominal increases over his original budget recommendations. For example, title I of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act would be increased by less than 12 percent, grants for vocational education by 30 percent, and education for handicapped by a token amount of 7 percent. Federal assistance in federally impacted areas, the object of so much of the President's indignation and rhetorical ire, on the other hand, would be more than doubled from $202 million to $440 million, an increase of 118 percent. This may seem large but even it is inadequate to meet proven needs and like every figure recommended by the President, is in my opinion substantially below that for which the vast majority of Democrats are going to fight.

Mr. Speaker, I stated during the debate on the veto that I believed that this was going to happen and that if it did happen, the administration would be guilty of cynical double dealing. It has happened and I now reiterate that charge—the administration is guilty of cynical double dealing.

UKRAINIAN INDEPENDENCE

HON. MARIO BIAGGI

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 5, 1970

Mr. BIAGGI. Mr. Speaker, on January 22, 1970, people throughout the world who treasure freedom paused to celebrate the 52d anniversary of Ukrainian Independence Day. A proud and brave pepole, 47 million Ukrainian citizens remain in Soviet bondage, denied the simple liberties that we too often take for granted.

It is fitting to honor these courageous people, Mr. Speaker, for theirs was a hard-won and short-lived freedom. They defended their homeland for 3½ years before the Bolshevik government, with its Communist hordes, overwhelmed their embryo republic in 1920. Still, 52 years later, the lamp of hope burns brightly in the hearts of those who remain captive through the brute strength of the Soviet Union.

Oppression is a tragedy. But, it does not stamp out a subjugated peoples' desire for freedom and national independence. Nor does it absolve us of our moral duty to sustain this desire for freedom through words and deeds and action. We must not deny others, because of our forgetfulness, the basic freedoms and liberties that each American is blessed with as his birthright.

Neither tyranny, political oppression, nor religious persecution has swayed the Ukrainian people from their quest for self-determination. Therefore, we, as free Americans, must do our part to help in this quest.

We must reaffirm mankind's right to freedom. We must rededicate ourselves to the task of supporting, in whatever appropriate manner we can, the struggle of the people of the Ukraine to regain control of their own destinies. To all those in bondage let us give hope.

Let us chastise, in 1970, those who would strip liberty and freedom from all mankind.

Independence is not a casual thing. It is molded from a dream by the blood of patriots and maintained by hard work and sacrifice. Keep it we must, and help, we must, the cause of freedom throughout the world.

Let us, therefore, work to keep the lamp of hope burning in the hearts of millions of Ukrainians who yearn for the liberation of their lives and homeland.

DRUG ABUSE EDUCATION

HON. CHARLES H. WILSON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 5, 1970

Mr. CHARLES H. WILSON. Mr. Speaker, I think all of us realize that, while we can be effective at the Federal level on many critical issues, it is vital that action on the local level play a significant role in our Nation's problem-solving activities. Nowhere is local cooperation more important than in the crucial area of drug abuse education.

The spiralling statistics on drug abuse, especially among young people today, are proof enough that we must do more on the Federal, State, and local levels to effectively combat the problem. For this reason, I would like to call to the attention of my colleagues an outstanding project recently completed in the city of Hawthorne, Calif.

The Operation Drug Alert Committee of the Kiwanis Club of Hawthorne organized and directed the distribution by 300 young people of 20,000 drug abuse pamphlets titled "A Summary for Parents and Students on the Subject of Teenage Drug Abuse".

I regret that I cannot include this pamphlet, created by Linda Lamb, in my remarks; it is an outstanding piece of work utilizing many imaginative and informative drawings and illustrations and, therefore, impossible to reproduce here. I would, however, like to include at this point in the RECORD a letter of commendation which I have sent to the Honorable Gregory Page, Hawthorne's outstanding mayor, citing those responsible for Operation Drug Alert for their excellent work.

FEBRUARY 3, 1970.

Hon. GREGORY PAGE,
Mayor, City of Hawthorne,
Hawthorne, Calif.

DEAR MAYOR PAGE: At a time when drug abuse is infecting our homes and schools, at a time when youngsters ten and eleven years of age are getting hooked on heroin, and exposed to marijuana, the activities of concerned citizen groups becomes of paramount importance in succesfully combatting the problem. As a co-sponsor of the recently passed Drug Abuse Education Act, as chief sponsor of the Comprehensive Narcotic Addiction and Drug Abuse Care and Control Act and as author of a bill to create a commission to study marijuana and other hallucinogenic drugs, I am quite familiar and quite disturbed by the magnitude and severity of the drug situation. Consequently, I was most heartened to learn of the outstanding endeavors in this area of the Operation Drug Alert Committee of the Kiwanis Club of Hawthorne.

Under the Chairmanship of Whitey Gellibrand and ably supported by Jim Crace, Dick Giles, Gene Gores, Richard Pennock and Robert Wald, the Committee organized 300 youngsters in Hawthorne to distribute 20,000 drug abuse education pamphlets that they had developed. One of the greatest causes of the rise in drug abuses is ignorance. The Kiwanis Club of Hawthorne has provided our community with a service the true value of which can never be determined, for how can one estimate the worth of the life of even one of our children. The brochure, "A Summary for Parents and Students on the Subject of Teenage Drug Abuse," provides in outline form some of the dangerous drugs, narcotics and volatile chemicals that are being used by some of our teenagers and pre-teenagers. It also describes some of the harm that results.

Mayor Page, the need for parents, teenagers, and pre-teens to learn the truth about the substances that seem to be readily available in every urban area in the nation is great. It is therefore with deep sincerity that I commend to you Whitey Gellibrand, Jim Crace, Dick Giles, Gene Gores, Richard Pennock and Robert Wald for the outstanding job they have done in protecting the lives of the children of Hawthorne. The Kiwanis Club must be congratulated for establishing their Operation Drug Alert Committee and encouraged to continue in this most beneficial and needed activity.

With best personal regards,
Very sincerely yours,

CHARLES H. WILSON.

THE MYTH OF HOUSING COSTS EXPLODED

HON. SPARK M. MATSUNAGA

OF HAWAII

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 5, 1970

Mr. MATSUNAGA. Mr. Speaker, what some "experts" on housing have been trying to tell the Congress about the high cost of labor being the biggest factor in slowing down home construction turns out to be a myth.

A recent study conducted by a nationally renowned economist, Nathaniel Goldfinger, for the AFL–CIO American Federationist shows that the proportional cost of labor in housing construction is far less than it was 20 years ago: In 1949 onsite labor costs accounted for 33 percent of the total housing construction costs; in 1969, the average onsite labor costs amounted to only 18 percent.

Mr. C. J. Haggerty, the very able president of the Building and Construction Trades Department—AFL–CIO—brought these facts, and additional pertinent information relating to labor costs on home construction, to my attention in a letter dated January 26, 1970.

I believe that my colleagues and others concerned with meeting America's housing needs should read Mr. Haggerty's letter, which I submit for insertion at this point in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD:

BUILDING AND CONSTRUCTION
TRADES DEPARTMENT,
Washington, D.C., January 26, 1970.

Hon. SPARK M. MATSUNAGA,
U.S. House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN MATSUNAGA: It has been alleged by some so-called experts that one of the greatest causes of our present housing shortage is labor costs. This charge is completely erroneous and is no doubt anti-labor in derivation.

Knowing of your desire for the true facts concerning the relationship between labor and housing costs, we are enclosing information on this vital subject. One of the enclosures is an article entitled "The Myths of Housing Costs". It is pointed out that in 1949 on-site labor costs accounted for 33% of the total housing construction costs; in 1969 on-site labor only accounted for 18%, on an average, of housing costs.

The other enclosure is a fact sheet prepared by our Milwaukee Wisconsin Building and Construction Trades Council. It shows that on-site labor costs on a typical three bedroom home in the Milwaukee area during 1969 amounted to only 16% of the total cost of the home.

We hope this information will be helpful to you in answering any inquiries you may have from constituents concerning the lowering of housing construction costs. It is our firm belief that an attack must be mounted against the real culprits: land costs, money costs and material costs.

With kindest regards, I am,
Sincerely,

C. J. HAGGERTY,
President.

OCCUPATIONAL HEALTH AND SAFETY

HON. WILLIAM A. STEIGER

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 5, 1970

Mr. STEIGER of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, the Select Labor Subcommittee has completed its hearings on proposed occupational health and safety legislation and will begin marking up the bill in the near future.

One of the major questions raised during the hearings was the use of consensus standards which have been developed over the years on a voluntary basis by the private sector as a base for Federal occupational health and safety standards.

Patrick F. Cestrone, Chief, Programing and Research Division of the Office of Occupational Safety, Bureau of Labor Standards, U.S. Department of Labor has written an excellent article outlining the Labor Department's involvement and experience in the use and application of voluntary standards, and the work that is now going on to revise existing standards.

I commend the article to my colleagues and include it at this point as part of my remarks:

SHOULD THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT DEVELOP SAFETY STANDARDS

(By Patrick F. Cestrone, chief, programming and research division, Office of Occupational Safety, Bureau of Labor Standards, U.S. Department of Labor, Washington, D.C.)[1]

The question of whether the federal government should develop safety standards is quite complex and involved. On the surface, it appears to be unencumbered, but the answer being sought really revolves around the question as to whether we should "chuck" voluntary safety standards, or diminish their role and go the federal route. Any answer as to the role of the government must be influenced by one's own experience, exposure, and degree of involvement in the utilization of safety standards. It is quite difficult to maintain a cool and objective position with all that's going on. Many are quick to overlook the contributions, the capability, and the important role played by voluntary standards during the past 50 years.

The position of many today seems to be:
"What have you done for me lately?
"What can you do for me now?"

[1] EDITOR'S NOTE.—This article has been prepared from a talk given by Cestrone at the 57th National Safety Congress.

For the past three years, voluntary standards have received unparalleled exposure and publicity—some good, some not too good. The press, congress, trade publications, wage earners, and consumers are all pushing for greater safeguards. The "standards syndrome," no doubt, originated with the demand for auto safety, meat safety, product safety, mine safety, pipline safety, radiation safety, and others. Over 1,000 safety bills were introduced in the first session of the 91st Congress (150 by the senate and 886 by the house)—some major, but most having some peripheral safety involvement. All of this, coupled with legislative hearings and plenty of press exposure, has truly made this an era of standards.

The private sector maintains that it has the know-how and the capability to do the job—voluntarily. Others say they can't do it and that the job can best be done by the federal government.

The statements made and the questions asked at recent hearings on H.R. 13373—the Occupational Safety and Health Bill (see "Wire from Washington," January issue)—are indicative of the fact that there is some degree of disenchantment with the consensus of voluntary standards. The reasons why as well as the total answer is hard to determine. Perhaps the Labor Department's involvement and experience in the use and application of voluntary standards may shed some light on the problem.

The U.S. Department of Labor is very much involved in this area. In eight laws and one executive order, the Secretary of Labor is charged with the responsibility of safeguarding some 35 million workers. Recently added to this list was the responsibility for the safety of another 2.5 million workers involved in federally financed construction.

Chief among the department's legal tools are the *Walsh-Healey Public Contracts Act, McNamara-O'Hara Service Contract Act,* and the *Longshoremen's and Harbor Workers' Compensation Act.*

The department seeks to meet its responsibility by, among other things, promulgating and administering effective safety and health standards. Such standards then constitute a master link between expression of public policy and congress and in its realization at the workplace.

Why is the department so interested in the use of voluntary safety standards?

Or better:

How has the department become so involved in the use of safety standards produced under the consensus principle by voluntary groups?

The *Public Contract Act* (PCA) (Walsh-Healey) hearings, held in 1964, to promulgate or modify the PCA Safety and Health Standards five years ago, served as a catalyst to bring on the "standards syndrome." Briefly, the 1964 hearings resulted in two major conclusions:

(1) Nearly all, including management and labor, recommended that the Secretary of Labor get away from writing his own specification type standards and move toward adoption of consensus type standards;

(2) The other recommendation, supported quite strenuously by the National Safety Council, National Association of Manufacturers, American Society of Safety Engineers, and others was for the Secretary of Labor to establish a safety advisory committee.

Late in 1965, the Secretary of Labor appointed a 12-man *ad hoc* advisory committee. This committee met in March 1966, and its recommendations were essentially the same as those that emerged from the hearings. Consequently, the Secretary of Labor established a policy of adopting safety standards, developed by voluntary groups, wherever applicable standards existed. Subsequently, the secretary formed the National Safety Advisory Committee.

In December 1967, safety and health regulations were promulgated under the *McNamara-O'Hara Service Contract Act* by adopting standards developed by nationally recognized professional organizations and those published by the federal government. This concept, that is the mix, of utilizing voluntary standards where they existed and federal standards to fill the gaps was very favorably received. There was little or no opposition to this approach.

In September 1968, using the *Service Contract Act* (SCA) approach, the department proposed a revision of the Walsh-Healey Safety and Health Standards, again adopting consensus standards wherever they existed and federal government standards to fill the gaps. Hearings were held, wrinkles ironed out, and standards were promulgated, to become effective January 1969. With a change of administration, the new Secretary of Labor delayed the effective date of the new PCA standards. This gave the secretary and his safety advisory committee an opportunity to review the new standards, the testimony of the hearings, and other appeals and considerations brought to his attention. After they were very carefully reviewed, with a high degree of involvement by the Advisory Committee and some very significant changes, the new PCA regulations, permitting adoption of consensus standards, were promulgated and became effective May 1969.

It was obvious early in 1968 that voluntary standards were going to be adopted, where possible, for the bulk of the secretary's safety responsibilities. Consequently, it became imperative to take a very close look at the safety standards resources available to the department in the voluntary private sector. A study was started.

The first phase of this study was to determine the "state of the art." This effort was directed toward determining what was available, reviewing the age or vintage of the standards, relationship of their age to current applicability, the frequency with which standards were being revised or reaffirmed; determining the cause or causes for the delay in updating the older standards; and identifying the need for new standards (that is, with respect to the program needs of the department). The 1969 phase of our evaluations was to be directed toward a qualitative evaluation of the standards and the quality of their safeguards.

In September 1968, we completed the first phase of the study and were requested to publish a report of our findings. The report was entitled, *Status of Safety Standards—A Review of Occupational Safety and Health Standards, 1968.*

With 234 ANSI standards as a base the results of this study revealed that:

Some 40 percent were less than 5 years old and considered to be current under the existing ANSI review procedures;

Nearly 60 percent of these consensus standards were five years old or more—28 percent were more than five years old, but less than 10 years old and 32 per cent were 10 years old or more.

This first report did not in any way deal with the quality of a standard, nor did it report that a standard is bad or obsolete. The prime concern of it was to identify what was available, how old it was, and point out needed standards for the department's programs. Based upon research, it was quite evident that there was a need to speed up the updating of older standards and the system for developing the new standards. It should also be noted that for every criticism made, the report contained an alternate suggestion as to how the situation might be improved. *The Status Report* outlined the many ways an effective voluntary system can be advantageous to both government and industry.

Some felt that the status report was too critical and served only as a fault finder. Actually, it served as a pathfinder. And if this report helped to communicate, motivate, and generate a higher degree of interest and participation in helping to upgrade the status of the voluntary standards it has served its purpose well.

From all indications that is the case.

On Jan. 27, 1969 Donald Peyton, managing director, ANSI, called a special meeting at Chicago to discuss the report, its findings, and the need for some serious commitments. It was concluded that a problem existed and that there was a need to establish some realistic priorities and goals for safety standards. Also needed were more effective time tables and rigid monitoring of the time schedules set. The need for more active cooperation and participation on the part of sponsors and committees was also highlighted. A series of actions and commitments were outlined:

(1) Set up a task force immediately to review outdated standards with a view toward revising or reaffirming them by the end of 1969 or dropping them;

(2) Establish a list of new priorities for the new safety standards' projects underway—this would involve a review of all work on current projects, and a "speed up" or a "drop action" would be directed to those projects making no progress;

(3) Review existing procedures or develop new ones, if necessary, to produce standards on a more timely basis;

(4) Establish specific goals and time tables for the development of new projects;

(5) Set up necessary communication to reach sponsors, committees, and, all concerned to advise them of these actions.

Then on Jan. 30, 1969, the special *ad hoc* committee for the safety standards held its first meeting. The ANSI staff was directed to develop a current action report on all ANSI safety projects. The Bureau of Labor Standards was requested to provide a realistic listing of standards it urgently needed for its regulatory program. (Other needs would be covered later.)

On Feb. 20, 1969, the Safety Standards Committee of the Industrial Conference, National Safety Council, volunteered to work up several pilot projects with a view toward broadening the scope of standards to permit wider application.

On March 6, 1969, the *ad hoc* committee received its detailed report on all committee actions. Identified were actions being taken, lagging actions, reports of sponsors failing to initiate action over a number of years, and a report of committees that were dormant. As requested, the Bureau of Labor Standards presented a realistic listing of some 83 standards, both old and new, it felt was essential to its programing needs. A critical review was made of each standard, and priority actions assigned by the *ad hoc* group. Sponsors, committees, and working groups were to be contacted by special letters, telegrams, telephone calls, and personal contacts.

The *ad hoc* group held several subsequent meetings in April, May, July, and September of 1969 to monitor the various actions it had set in motion.

Many constructive ideas and actions have emerged from the group to date. Some of the more significant ones dealt with the modification of rules to permit faster approval actions. A management machinery is being developed by ANSI's hierarchy to meet the current need for standards on a more timely basis; more staff help is being provided at the ANSI headquarters. Other suggestions dealt with the examination of the five-year cycle, establishing permanent committees, changing the balloting rules, assigning new and broader technical responsibilities to standards boards members, and giving more time to ANSI staff to keep pace with the more current needs. Suggestions were made by the National Safety Council for speeding up new projects, application of PERT systems to speed up the production of standards, the use of critical review patterns,

and a production flow chart for monitoring time tables. Many new concepts and ideas have emerged as a result of the very serious effort being put forth to move some of these standards' projects off dead center.

An interim report of what is happening on the production end of the project as a result of the special efforts of the ANSI *ad hoc* group has been prepared.

The first series of priority actions were in direct response to the 83 actions requested by the Bureau of Labor Standards.

The 83 actions involved:

Review of actions since March 1969—

(1) Category A—Standards 10 years old or more,

(2) Category B—5 years or older,

(3) Category C—New standards,

(4) Summary of the 83 actions,

(5) Actions since June 30 (checked on October 20),

(a) Four of the 12 standards under review have been moved by subcommittees to full committees for final ballot;

(b) Three projects, which were absolutely dormant in June, have been moved into a review action;

(c) Three additional standards have been balloted since June, approved, and sent to the sponsors for approval;

(d) Five standards have been finalized and sent to ANSI for approval action;

(e) Four projects still remain with no action at all.

Where no action is imminent, ANSI has been requested to appeal to get action or to ask the sponsors to withdraw from the project.

Many sponsors and committees, who worked diligently to meet the December 31 deadline, and working groups requested an extension of time.

These productive actions are indicators of concern and evidence of the fact that many in the voluntary sectors can be motivated to act when the need is pressing. Perhaps some day, similar efforts will be in direct response to the current needs, and thereby obviate the need for taking on a firefighting role everytime someone lights a fire under the voluntary system.

Thus far, the answer to the big question still hangs in the balance:

Should the federal government develop safety standards?

Working on phase two of the standards evaluation project, together with the development of guidelines for the application of voluntary standards in the new PCA safety and health regulations, has been very revealing. Guidelines will be developed into a reference handbook, containing an *Inspection Survey System* to be used by our field staff in determining compliance. The handbook will also be made available to the contractor subject to the PCA–SCA regulations, and thereby make him aware of what he can expect to be checked for during the course of a plant survey. Working on these two projects concurrently has enabled us to evaluate the standards more thoroughly with respect to coverage, content, applicability, conflicts, limitations, gaps and other shortcomings.

This flow of information comes to light as we identify the hazard category and develop a capsule version of the requirements contained in the applicable standard.

In keeping with one of the major recommendations made in last year's status report, this inspection system is being structured according to "Hazard Categories."

The inspection system has been developed into two major parts. The first part will cover the preoperational safety and health requirements and treat the conditions normally checked or looked for prior to the start of any operational process. Our studies reveal that there exists a series of situations that remain fairly static and that certain standards have common application.

For example:

Part 1—*Preoperational* will treat walking and working surfaces, general illumination, fire suppression systems, heating and general ventilation, pressure vessels and piping, sanitation, electrical wiring apparatus and equipment, personal service rooms, stairs, ladders, exits, permanent building structures, and appurtenances thereto;

Part 2 of the system will treat the operational safety requirements in situations involving material handling equipment, cranes, derricks, hoists, a multiple variety of machinery and machinery guarding, local exhaust, ventilation, surface preparation and finishing, welding, burning, electrical grounding of machinery and equipment, occupational health exposures, flammable liquids, and other environmental controls.

Every situation or hazard category will not be covered in the first issue, nor subsequent issues. There will always be something to add. This document will be a *live* document, and additional sections will be added as they are developed. Special industry requirements or situations will be handled on an individual basis and issued subsequently as an appendix to the original document.

In "searching out" the applicable safety standards to fit selected hazard categories, we have gained an excellent insight on the makeup of the standards.

The exercise reveals that many standards are *good, valuable,* and *useful.* However, woven into the fabric of the standard are many paragraphs of extraneous information—rhetoric on separability, legislative and exclusionary clauses—all tending to confuse, rather than improve, the standard *per se.* Loosening requirements and conflicts of requirements have also been found to exist within and between the NFPA and ANSI standards. These tend to create additional problems for us in our work and use of these standards.

One of the problems encountered was limitation of coverage. Some standards just don't go far enough. Coverage normally expected to be found in a selected standard is not there. As the search continues, the coverage may ultimately be found in some other standard—*usually a special industry standard.*

Our policy for the inspection survey system will be, ". . . whenever a position or requirement in one standard has application in other like situations, the principle involved will apply." One example of this was the search for specific dimensions for aisle spaces used by industrial trucks. We were unable to find the specific details in one standard, but subsequently found them in another. We have found conflicting requirements in both NFPA and the ANSI standards. These will be spelled out in detail and brought to the attention of both the ANSI and the NFPA organizations as soon as the project is finished.

Most interesting of all findings was the proliferation of terms used in characterizing safety factors and loading.

Terms used to characterize loading range from meaningless or nebulous—terms such as ample, substantial, safely, substantially strong enough, to the more meaningful and specific terms that spell out explicit safety factors, pounds per square foot with deformation tolerances, pounds per square foot with a safety factor of four, etc.

Granted, a variety of techniques for expressing safety factors are essential, but standards writers should really take a closer look at these requirements. In some standards, specific factors of safety are cited and in others, it is merely expressed in *number of pounds.* I am certain that we will find the difference between "pounds" and "pounds-per-square-inch" vital. It may make the difference between being able to safely work on a platform constructed of heavy timbers or steel, but not on one constructed of tissue paper.

Conflicts and questionable requirements were found in both the NFPA and ANSI codes, and they, too, need a closer look.

A certain number of conflicts will be inevitable. Perhaps, the establishment of a joint clearinghouse mechanism within the standards organizations may help to reduce the number.

There are areas of vulnerability in the system. We would rather air them for constructive purposes than have others do it for destructive purposes.

The Bureau of Labor Standards is doing all it can to make the voluntary system work. There is no reason for it not to work if all interested parties participate.

Based upon the department's actions to date, both legislative and regulatory, it is quite apparent that the department is doing all it can to give the private system an opportunity to work effectively. But where they fail, the government is obligated to take action.

Do you want the federal government to develop safety standards?

We don't want to.

But we can, if we have to!

ADLAI E. STEVENSON

HON. WILLIAM S. MOORHEAD

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 5, 1970

Mr. MOORHEAD. Mr. Speaker, today, February 5, 1970, would have been the 70th birthday of the late Gov. Adlai Ewing Stevenson, of Illinois. Twice the Democratic Party nominated him for that exalted honor he termed "the highest office within the gift of the American people."

In tribute to him we need not be reminded of what we have lost. That hurt is deep—and no one of us is too old to cry. We may better, then, give thanks for what we have had and rejoice in our recollections of how our good fortune came to be. Adlai Stevenson stood in the aristocratic tradition of American politics. His name is recorded with the Adamses and the Roosevelts. He had the instinct for public service, he knew that the greatest opportunities for effective public service lie in elective office. The disappointments were his in cruel measure but as one who was privileged to call him a friend let me testify that the satisfactions were his as well. We need not fear that he ever looked back with despairing regret at the way the final balance was struck.

It was appropriate that the Republic should have paid its final tribute to him when he died in July of 1965 in the National Cathedral in Washington, D.C. It is here that Woodrow Wilson is buried. Adlai Stevenson came of that generation of Princeton students who thrilled to the Wilson saga—that figure in our history in whom the contrasting worlds of university and precinct have had their most dramatic conjunction. That day in the cathedral we realized the youthful admirer had completed the course with honor and was at rest with the admired.

Those who are concerned with the fate of America in the 1970's can find a blueprint for action if they reread the speeches that Adlai Stevenson delivered in the forties, the fifties, and the sixties. Surely history will place his speeches and his writings among the great state papers of the Republic.

As Judge Carl McGowan said in the funeral oration:

That voice is stilled now but its echoes are likely to be sounding down the corridors of history for a long time. For it is the essence of faith to believe that the world in its advancing age will set no less store than we have upon reason, upon intelligence, upon gaiety, upon charity and compassion and grace— in all these things, and more, of and with which this voice has spoken to us so often and so clearly in the past. * * * He died as he would have wished, engaged in his country's business and mankind's.

THE IRREPRESSIBLE MILLS B. LANE

HON. G. ELLIOTT HAGAN

OF GEORGIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 5, 1970

Mr. HAGAN. Mr. Speaker, oftentimes the good that people accomplish in their lives is not given recognition until they pass on. Fortunately, in the case of Mills B. Lane, this is not so as his endeavors have been widely known and admired for quite some time.

The February 1970 issue of Reader's Digest has an interesting article on this outstanding Savannahian, and I wish to commend it to the attention of my colleagues:

THE IRREPRESSIBLE MILLS B. LANE

(By Irwin Ross)

When the Atlanta officers of the Citizens and Southern Bank arrived for their regular Wednesday meeting, they found a huge target hung on the wall. Its bull's-eye was a flashing red light, the only thing visible when the room suddenly went dark. A moment later came a blast of gunfire then the lights went on again, revealing five men dressed in hunting costumes, brandishing shotguns. "We're taking dead aim at new savings bonds!" shouted their leader, Mills B. Lane, Jr., the irrepressible 58-year-old president of the bank. It was Lane's way of announcing a competition among bank employes to see who could sell the most savings bonds.

The incident is typical of the zany gimmicks with which Lane enlivens the working day—and get cascades of publicity for his bank. He once rolled into an officer's meeting top a toy automobile, to emphasize the need for speed in a bank promotion. Another time, touting teamwork, he and his chief officers appeared at a meeting in football uniforms, complete with helmets. Most bankers blanch at such stunts, but they find it hard to argue with success. In his 23 years as its president, Lane has built Citizens and Southern into the largest bank in the South, with over $1.3 billion in deposits and 70 offices covering the state. Among major banks, C & S is the second most profitable in the nation, earning a 14.4 percent return on equity capital.

Over the years, these high profits have been matched by a quality of leadership and community identification unexcelled among American banks. Lane himself has won a reputation as perhaps the most imaginative, and certainly the most colorful banker in the country. "We don't take *ourselves* seriously here," he says. "But we're dead serious about banking."

Part missionary, part hardheaded businessman, Lane prefers to call himself a promoter rather than a banker. He is a bald, round-faced, bulky man, carrying a 220-pound load on his five-foot, 8½-inch frame, whose cloth often look slept-in after he's worn them for an hour. His taste runs to loud sports jackets in the office, a beret when he's behind the wheel of his car. He is exuberance personified, a quality not appreciated by everyone whose back he slaps. His standard greeting is a booming, "It's a wonderful world!" He wears ties inscribed with the same message, and has given away 4000 of them to employes and friends. A colleague once asked him whether the world was indeed so wonderful. "Of course," said Lane. "That's company policy."

Everything is a bit offbeat about Lane. He wears rimless eyeglasses with wire ear loops—a style popular 30 years ago. He is up by 5:30 a.m., breakfasts on fruit juice and tea, and is in the office soon after 7. He is usually at home again by 4:45 p.m., and in bed by 8:30 or 9 p.m.

Lane prides himself on his accessibility. His office is just off the main banking room; the door is open, and visitors often duck in to see him. He also answers his own phone, and is a superb performer when fielding calls—cordial, hearty, but businesslike and very fast. "Mills Lane," he says, in a musical upbeat tone as he lifts the receiver; then, "You *know*, it's a wonderful world!"

Lane has built Citizens and Southern to its pre-eminent position in the South through a dazzling display of speed, flexibility and imagination. At C & S, a customer who applies for a loan can generally get an answer within 24 hours. Lane's speed in approving loans is legendary. On one occasion, a local trade publication needed half a million dollars to buy out another publishing house. Two other Atlanta banks dithered about for days with the loan application. Lane was approached. He listened for five minutes—and committed C & S for the full half million.

Lane has been equally willing to go out on a limb for community projects—like the "Georgia Plan," a bank-sponsored effort to improve the living conditions of Georgia's urban poor, most of them black. The scheme has several features. The most dramatic is an annual spring clean-up day, in which volunteers scoop up debris, clean vacant lots, haul away abandoned cars. In May 1968, Lane organized the first such drive in his native Savannah. The C & S bank bought 5000 new garbage cans—one for every resident who cooperated—and 50,000 feet of new fencing. After a drumbeat of publicity that lasted for days, 10,000 Negro and white volunteers poured out into the streets with trucks, shovels and brooms. In 1969, the drive enrolled nearly 75,000 Georgians in 12 cities. Lane's bank has pledged $1 million a year for five years for such efforts, as well as for the building of playgrounds and swimming pools, and paving streets.

The "Georgia Plan" also includes an ambitious program to improve ghetto dwellings and encourage home ownership. In Savannah, where the program has been under way for over a year, the bank has made more than a thousand home-improvement loans, averaging $1500 each, to citizens who have rarely, if ever, been able to borrow funds from a bank. In addition, nearly 100 residents have been lent an average of $9000 each to become homeowners. Many applicants lacked even the money for a down payment. Lane therefore set up a wholly owned subsidiary, the Community Development Corporation, to provide the necessary down payments in return for second mortgages on the dwellings. (A bank itself is not allowed to take a second mortgage.)

The CDC has another function as well: to lend equity capital to capable ghetto residents eager to go into business. So far, 28 business loans have been made in Savannah alone, all but two to blacks. A restaurant, a dry-cleaning establishment, an electrical contracting business, a used-car agency have been among the new businesses. These are high-risk loans, but none of them is in default.

So far, the bank has lent over $2.5 million for "Georgia Plan" projects. "And we've done it all on our own, without any government money or guarantees," says Lane.

Lane is a third-generation banker. His father, Mills Lane, Sr., an austere banker of the old school, became president of the Citizens Bank of Savannah, one of the two predecessors of C & S, back in 1901, and laid solid foundations for its present empire. Mills Jr. went to work in his father's bank in 1934, at $85 a month, after graduation from Yale. When his father died in 1945, Lane was C & S's first vice president.

The president was H. Lane Young, a cousin, with whom Mills Jr. had many clashes. Young was an elderly, conservative banker who often boasted that he had never made a bad loan. Lane saw such a record as a reflection of excessive caution. He wanted to move, to innovate, to accept reasonable risks. Their difference came to a climax in 1946 over an auto-financing scheme which Lane worked out but which Young rejected. Lane resigned but was not away for long. Control of the bank was held by his family and within a few weeks Lane was back—at 34 one of the youngest bank presidents in the country.

With his optimism and flair for publicity, Lane has always been the talk of the town. To attract more savings, the bank was the first in the country to sell "Savings Bonds"—certificates of deposit, in modest denominations, which yield more than the normal interest rate when held to maturity. Another first, in 1959, was "instant money"—a cash loan upon presentation of the bank's credit card to any teller. "We've been showmen," he says today, "but not damn fools. The banking business needed humanizing."

Another novelty is his fleet of helicopters, to fly paperwork from outlying branches to the bank's computer center in downtown Atlanta, saving many hours in clearing checks. When making their rounds, the helicopters do not always land but scoop up canvas bags hoisted atop flagpoles on the roofs of banks.

Lane firmly believes in youth. The bank has for years had an aggressive recruitment program in the nation's colleges; currently 150 college trainees are enrolled. C & S already has a substantial "youth movement" among its seasoned executives. Richard L. Kattel, an executive vice president who runs the $150 million Savannah operation, is 33; William E. Green, Jr., the bank's comptroller, is 34; Eugene M. Rackley, III, the vice president for personnel, 33.

In no area has Lane so dramatically upset banking tradition as in his involvement in politics. Most bankers remain aloof from the political arena, for fear of offending customers. Lane has plunged right in. In 1961, he helped spark Ivan Allen's successful mayoralty boom. The next year, Lane got behind Carl Sanders, an enlightened young legislator who won the governorship by outpolling a bitter-end segregationist. But Lane does not win them all. He backed the loser in Atlanta's recent mayoralty race.

Win or lose, he plows ahead, heedless of convention or personal popularity, announcing "It's a wonderful world!" to all comers, even if they grimace in response. "I may be an eccentric," he concedes, "but I'm no clown." He is correct. And few states are more in debt to a banker.

ADMIRAL DORNIN RETIRES

HON. BOB WILSON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 5, 1970

Mr. BOB WILSON. Mr. Speaker, Admiral Dornin, known to all of us as "Mush" Dornin, was formerly head of the Congressional Liaison Office of the Navy, and is a friend of many of my colleagues. They will be interested to learn of his retirement in San Diego after 40 years of distinguished service to our Nation. We San Diegans are pleased that Admiral Dornin has chosen our fine community as his retirement home, but know the Navy will sorely miss him. I would like to share the following San Diego Union article which outlines a few of Mush's many accomplishments during his Navy career:

ADMIRAL RETIRES AFTER 40 YEARS

(By Kip Cooper)

Cutting into the bone and muscle of the military forces by budget conscious administrators has three times caused this nation to be militarily unprepared for war, the retiring commandant of the 11th Naval District said here yesterday.

Rear Adm. Marshall E. Dornin identified these occasions as the Washington Naval Disarmament Conference of 1921–22 leading to a naval limitations treaty between the United States, England, France and Japan, and the post-World War II and post-Korea scrapping of military equipment and ships.

"The Washington conference cut our Navy down," Dornin said. "And after World War II, the fat was going to be cut from the military forces but the bone and the muscle were cut into so we were ill-prepared for hostilities in Korea.

REDUCED AGAIN

Dornin said after Korea, military forces were reduced again and we were not too well prepared for hostilities in Vietnam.

"I honestly hope that our leaders today don't cut into the bone and muscle of our defense establishment to the extent that this nation cannot meet its international treaty commitments, that the nation's security is jeopardized and that our diplomats are forced to deal from a position of weakness," he said.

"Of course, we need a nuclear deterrent and intercontinental ballistic missiles," he said. "But we also need the tools of conventional warfare as we have seen in Vietnam."

DORNIN RETIRES

Dornin, 62, retired yesterday, ending over 40 years of military service which span the eras from coal to nuclear propulsion in naval vessels.

President Nixon awarded him the Legion of Merit, his third, for exceptionally meritorious service here as commandant of the three-state 11th Naval District from August 1967 to January 1970.

In the citation, which was read by Vice Adm. A. M. Shinn, Pacific Fleet Naval Air Force commander, Dornin was commended for his outstanding community work in San Diego and for inducing 98 per cent of the city's landlords to subscribe to non-discriminatory housing policies.

The popular admiral also was commended for his successful efforts as the Navy's principal contact with 11 community and civic organizations and for ensuring that all commands in the area worked together to provide outstanding service to the fleet.

About 500 guests, including five past commandants of the 11th Naval District, attended the ceremonies at the Naval Training Center in which Rear Adm. Joseph W. Williams Jr., assumed the commandant's duties from Dornin.

ADMIRALS ATTEND

The past commandants attending, all retired rear admirals, were C. C. Hartman, Almon E. Loomis, M. W. White, Walter H. Price and Frank A. Brandley.

Williams came to San Diego from the post of inspector general of the Pacific Fleet with headquarters in Hawaii, a transfer jokingly characterized by Shinn as "a change of hardship posts."

Williams, a veteran submariner and a former commander of the U.S. 7th Fleet, also served as commander of naval forces in Korea and as assistant chief of naval operations.

He wears the Navy Cross—second highest award for heroism—the Silver Star, Legion of Merit with four gold stars and the Bronze Star Medal with combat V.

DORNIN'S DAY

"This is Admiral Dornin's day," Williams said in a short speech, "and I don't want to detract from the honors that are rightly his."

However, warned Williams, "I want to remind those critics of the military-industrial complex that it is the civilian-military team that for 200 years has been providing the men and the equipment that have kept this nation free."

The United States, Williams said, "truly is the land of the free but only because of the brave."

The Dornins will live in San Diego after retirement.

COUNTRY NEEDS TO PURSUE ENVIRONMENT

HON. JAMES H. SCHEUER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 5, 1970

Mr. SCHEUER. Mr. Speaker, President Nixon has recognized the danger to our environment. In his state of the Union address he said:

The great question of the seventies is: shall we surrender to our surroundings, or shall we make our peace with nature and begin to make reparations for the damage we have done to our air, our land, and our water?

Mr. Nixon has gone on record with the belief that we must act soon to make those reparations. The U.S. Commissioner of Education, Dr. James Allen, has also seen the great dangers facing the environment. Recently, he declared that it was essential for students to "know the basic facts about environment." Along with my colleagues, Congressmen BRADEMAS, REID, and HANSEN, who joined me in sponsoring the Environmental Quality Education Act, I am very pleased that the President and his leading expert in education have decided to act in behalf of the environment.

And if this country is to preserve its environment, an active informed public is a necessity. It was for this purpose that the Environmental Quality Education Act was drawn up. Yet, in order for these informed citizens to wield political power they should have helpful guidelines. In a short essay, Mrs. Donald Clausen, second vice president of the League of Women Voters of the United States has offered some suggestions which I think will prove beneficial to both the general public and my colleagues.

The essay follows:

THE ROLE OF THE PRIVATE SECTOR—MOBILIZING PEOPLE POWER

(By Mrs. Donald Clausen)

It is no longer difficult to point to substantial evidence that achieving a quality environment depends in a large and increasing measure upon public awareness, interest, support, and participation. If the "public" (as we in the private sector are usually called) is to be more than an unthinking tool in the hands of the professionals in resource management, or the pressure groups representing single purpose interests, or the politicians who make the final decisions, we need to become more astute about what motivates us and how to gain strength. Obviously the challenge in mobilizing people is twofold: (1) catch their interest, and (2) channel this interest into some productive action.

Capturing the interest of people in any cause has become a highly competitive and scientific discipline. In spite of this, those who desire to bring people together in behalf of environmental causes do not always demonstrate much awareness of how to go about this feat. During the last 50 years, the League of Women Voters has learned a little about this process, and during the nearly 14 years of our involvement in water resource problems, some thoughtful attention has been given to this very problem. It seems to us that those who share environmental concern must recognize some important factors:

(1) The need to reach new elements in our society, i.e. urban dwellers, young people, and minority groups. The decisions on the important environmental questions of this generation and the next are going to be made in a large measure by those who fall into one or all of these groups. If we fail to demonstrate sufficient concern for the urban environment, or to help city dwellers to recognize their physical problems as environmental problems, or to show a renewed interest in the city and its problems, we will lose a large percentage of the population as backers for conservation causes. The money, the votes, the legislative representation, the bargaining power is becoming increasingly concentrated in cities and suburbs. Failure to recognize that we have really done very little to appeal to a large portion of our population could be disastrous in future decision-making. It is not difficult to point to selected programs involving young people and environmental awareness which could be termed successful, but we have hardly scratched the surface when it comes to making most of the next generation aware of the difficult decisions they will need to make if man is to survive on this planet. Until environmental decisions are as hotly debated as the war in Vietnam, until young people identify as closely with this spectrum of problems as they do with drugs and the draft, until they are as willing to support funds for massive protection and clean-up in our environment, we will continue to lose the battle for attention and awareness of the young.

(2) The need to see the interest and involvement of more people in environmental concerns, not as winning adherents to a cause, but as involving more people in the decision-making process which should precede solutions. It would be a mistake for us to think in terms of wanting to arouse large numbers of people to concern and action on a broad range of problems as raising an army which will defend every ounce of water, every inch of ground and every cubicle of sky against the misuse of the uniformed. If we are to involve large numbers of people in the

choices to be made, then we must be prepared to give people the facts, show them how to express their wishes, and be prepared to accept the fact that the people's choices may not always coincide with those of the pure conservationist. We must not make the mistake of assuming that "right" and "wrong" of environmental choices is so obvious that the decisions will always be what we would like them to be. What is important is that we, who because of our involvement in citizen-based organizations, have learned quite a bit about how to be politically effective, share this knowledge of technique with others without apprehension that it will not be used to support unfortunate choices.

There would be little purpose to trying to bring into the decision-making process larger numbers of people from previously-unreached parts of society unless we also focus on how to channel this interest into some productive and satisfying action. To oversimplify and surely to eliminate many possibilities, I should like to suggest a few guidelines for those who seek to arouse the public to action.

(1) Have well-defined goals for what you want to accomplish. Many a good idea goes floundering for lack of the ability to see it as a part of the whole or to articulate it to laymen. People do not like to waste their time in meetings where the nature of the problem and the aims of the group are never set forth in explicit terms.

(2) Include those whom you want to reach in the planning process, i.e., in the selection of goals and in the strategy sessions. Action by citizen organizations and individuals is not a commodity which can be turned on at the convenience of officials or lay leaders.

(3) Be prepared to show how the doer will benefit from the action. An important principle of opinion building—the identification principle—is involved. To accept an idea or a point of view, the people we are trying to reach must see clearly that it affects them.

(4) Be ready and willing to provide sufficient information and assistance to those whom you want to take action. One of the biggest blocks to more citizen action on resource problems is the feeling the average citizen has that he is incompetent to express opinions on scientific and technological matters.

(5) Identify those you want to reach and tailor your plans to fit. As in any other effort to reach people, you will need to identify the audience and adapt requests for action to what they can and will do.

(6) Be clear about what you want people to do. People do not buy ideas separated from action. Unless a means of action is provided, people tend to shrug off appeals for support.

(7) Keep the channels of communication open. Once individuals or organizations have been enlisted it is important to keep in contact in order to maintain interest.

(8) Make the doer feel he is not alone but a participant in a large effort. Don't be negative about the outlook, or the numbers of people, or the effect of citizen efforts, if you want to encourage more of the same.

(9) Praise the efforts of others—and publicize their names and/or their organizations. Subjugation of personality and organizational identity is often necessary.

(10) Be realistic about what can be accomplished and be frank. It is better to decide to do something that has a reasonable chance of success—at least in the beginning. People become disenchanted if they never see any measurable progress.

In summary, to get action from people, they must be helped to see in the dry and often technical reports of basic data, a larger view. People must be helped to the point where they are willing to accept the inconveniences, the regulations, and the expense of the solutions to the nation's environmental problems because they are fully committed to the final goals and objectives.

MORTGAGING THE OLD HOMESTEAD

HON. JEFFERY COHELAN

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 5, 1970

Mr. COHELAN. Mr. Speaker, I submit for the attention of my colleagues a most illuminating article on the environmental crisis we find our society in. "Mortgaging the Old Homestead" by Lord Ritchie-Calder is a clear and comprehensive account of the ever-increasing problem of pollution. Lord Ritchie-Calder's analysis is frightening. He depicts environmental pollution as a manmade disease with untold effects upon all of mankind. Something must be done before it reaches uncontrollable epidemic proportions.

I recommend this article as additional testimony for the need for stricter anti-pollution legislation. It follows:

MORTGAGING THE OLD HOMESTEAD

(NOTE.—The destruction of the environment, the erosion of the "quality of life," has become the foremost issue of the day. Making "our peace with nature," said President Nixon in his State of the Union Message last week, is "the great question of the '70s." As public awareness increases and indignation mounts, a torrent of words pours forth concerning the necessities and priorities of our environmental dilemma. But nowhere has the issue been faced as succinctly and provocatively as in the following article, written for the current edition of the quarterly "Foreign Affairs" by the eminent British scientific author and United Nations science adviser, Lord Ritchie-Calder. Though Lord Ritchie-Calder considers some questions that are normally outside the scope of our editorial interest, he deals with others that certainly are not. And one point is clear: if the matters he discusses are not resolved, there will be no sporting life, no leisure life, no contemplative life—perhaps no life at all. "These [smog, pollution, noise, etc.] are not the great questions that concern world leaders at summit conferences," said the President. But Lord Ritchie-Calder a convinced internationalist, says this is the summit issue, that man's last chance lies in planned cooperation between nations at the highest level. In the belief that this article deserves the widest readership, it is reprinted here in full.—The EDITORS.)

(By Lord Ritchie-Calder)

Past civilizations are buried in the graveyards of their own mistakes, but as each died of its greed, its carelessness or its effeteness another took its place. That was because such civilizations took their character from a locality or region. Today ours is a global civilization; it is not bounded by the Tigris and the Euphrates nor even the Hellespont and the Indus; it is the whole world. Its planet has shrunk to a neighborhood round which a man-made satellite can patrol 16 times a day, riding the gravitational fences of Man's family estate. It is a community so interdependent that our mistakes are exaggerated on a world scale.

For the first time in history, Man has the power of veto over the evolution of his own species through a nuclear holocaust. The overkill is enough to wipe out every man, woman and child on earth, together with our fellow lodgers, the animals, the birds and the insects, and to reduce our planet to a radioactive wilderness. Or the Doomsday Machine could be replaced by the Doomsday Bug. By gene manipulation and man-made mutations, it is possible to produce, or generate, a disease against which there would be no natural immunity; by "generate" is meant that even if the perpetrators inoculated themselves protectively, the disease in spreading round the world could assume a virulence of its own and involve them, too. When a British bacteriologist died of the bug he had invented, a distinguished scientist said, "Thank God he didn't sneeze, he could have started a pandemic against which there would have been no immunity."

Modern Man can outboast the Ancients, who in the arrogance of their material achievements built pyramids as the gravestones of their civilizations. We can blast our pyramids into space to orbit through all eternity round a planet which perished by our neglect.

A hundred years ago Claude Bernard, the famous French physiologist, enjoined his colleagues, "True science teaches us to doubt and in ignorance to refrain." What he meant was that the scientist must proceed from one tested foothold to the next (like going into a minefield with a mine detector). Today we are using the biosphere, the living space, as an experimental laboratory. When the mad scientist of fiction blows himself and his laboratory skyhigh, that is all right, but when scientists and decisionmakers act out of ignorance and pretend that it is knowledge, they are putting the whole world in hazard. Anyway, science at best is not wisdom; it is knowledge, while wisdom is knowledge tempered with judgment. Because of overspecialization, most scientists are disabled from exercising judgments beyond their own sphere.

A classic example was the atomic bomb. It was the Physicists' Bomb. When the device exploded at Alamogordo on July 16, 1945, and made a notch mark in history from which Man's future would be dated, the safebreakers had cracked the lock of the nucleus before the locksmiths knew how it worked. (The evidence of this is the billions of dollars which have been spent since 1945 on gargantuan machines to study the fundamental particles, the components of the nucleus; and they still do not know how they interrelate.)

Prime Minister Clement Attlee, who concurred with President Truman's decision to drop the bomb on Hiroshima, later said: "We knew nothing whatever at that time about the genetic effects of an atomic explosion. I knew nothing about fallout and all the rest of what emerged after Hiroshima. As far as I know, President Truman and Winston Churchill knew nothing of those things either, nor did Sir John Anderson, who coordinated research on our side. Whether the scientists directly concerned knew or guessed, I do not know. But if they did, then so far as I am aware, they said nothing of it to those who had to make the decision."

That sounds absurd, since as long before as 1927, Herman J. Muller had been studying the genetic effects of radiation, work for which he was later awarded the Nobel Prize. But it is true that in the whole documentation of the British effort before it merged in the Manhattan Project, there is only one reference to genetic effects—a Medical Research Council minute which was not connected with the bomb they were intending to make; it concerned the possibility that the Germans might, short of the bomb, produce radioactive isotopes as a form of biological warfare. In the Franck Report, the most statesmanlike document ever produced by scientists, with its percipience of the military and political consequences of unilateral use of the bomb (presented to Secretary of War Henry L. Stimson even before the test bomb exploded), no reference is made to the biological effects, although one would have supposed that to have been a very powerful argument. The explanation, of course, was that it was the Physicists' Bomb and military security restricted information and discus-

sion to the bomb-makers, which excluded the biologists.

The same kind of breakdown in interdisciplinary consultation was manifest in the subsequent testing of fission and fusion bombs. Categorical assurances were given that the fallout would be confined to the testing area, but the Japanese fishing boat *Lucky Dragon* was "dusted" well outside the predicted range. Then we got the story of radiostrontium. Radiostrontium is an analog of calcium. Therefore in bone-formation an atom of natural strontium can take the place of calcium and the radioactive version can do likewise. For all practical purposes radiostrontium did not exist in the world before 1945; it is a man-made element. Today every young person, anywhere in the world, whose bones were forming during the massive bomb-testing in the atmosphere, carries this brand mark of the Atomic Age. The radiostrontium in their bones is medically insignificant, but, if the test ban (belated recognition) had not prevented the escalation of atmospheric testing, it might not have been.

Every young person everywhere was affected, and why? Because those responsible for H-bomb testing miscalculated. They assumed that the upthrust of the H-bomb would punch a hole in the stratosphere and that the gaseous radioactivity would dissipate itself. One of those gases was radioactive krypton, which quickly decays into radiostrontium, which is a particulate. The technicians had been wrongly briefed about the nature of the troposphere, the climatic ceiling which would, they maintained, prevent the fallback. But between the equatorial troposphere and the polar troposphere there is a gap, and the radiostrontium came back through this fanlight into the climatic jet streams. It was swept all round the world to come to earth as radioactive rain, to be deposited on food crops and pastures, to be ingested by animals and to get into milk and into babies and children and adolescents whose growing bones were hungry for calcium or its equivalent strontium, in this case radioactive. Incidentally, radiostrontium was known to the biologists before it "hit the headlines." They had found it in the skin burns of animals exposed on the Nevada testing ranges and they knew its sinister nature as a "bone-seeker." But the authorities clapped security on their work, classified it as "Operation Sunshine" and cynically called the units of radiostrontium "Sunshine Units"—an instance not of ignorance but of deliberate noncommunication.

One beneficial effect of the alarm caused by all this has been that the atoms industry is, bar none, the safest in the world for those working in it. Precautions, now universal, were built into the code of practice from the beginning. Indeed it can be admitted that the safety margins in health and in working conditions are perhaps excessive in the light of experience, but no one would dare to modify them. There can, however, be accidents in which the public assumes the risk. At Windscale, the British atomic center in Cumberland, a reactor burned out. Radioactive fumes escaped from the stacks in spite of the filters. They drifted over the country. Milk was dumped into the sea because radioactive iodine had covered the dairy pastures.

There is the problem of atomic waste disposal, which persists in the peaceful use as well as in the making of nuclear explosives. Low energy wastes, carefully monitored, can be safely disposed of. Trash, irradiated metals and laboratory waste can be embedded in concrete and dumped in the ocean deeps—although this practice raises some misgivings. But high-level wastes, some with elements the radioactivity of which can persist for hundreds of thousands of years, present prodigious difficulties. There must be "burial grounds" (or, euphemistically, "farms"), the biggest of which is at Hanford, Wash. The Hanford "farm" encloses a stretch of the Columbia River in a tract covering 575 square miles where no one is allowed to live or to trespass.

There, in the 20th-century Giza, it has cost more, much more, to bury live atoms than it cost to entomb the sungod kings of Egypt. The capital outlay runs into hundreds of millions of dollars and the maintenance of the U.S. sepulchers is more than $6 million a year. (Add to that the buried waste of the U.S.S.R., Britain, Canada, France and China, and one can see what it costs to bury live atoms.) And they are very much alive. At Hanford they are kept in million-gallon carbon-steel tanks. Their radioactive vitality keeps the accompanying acids boiling like a witch's cauldron. A cooling system has to be maintained continuously. The vapors from the self-boiling tanks have to be condensed and "scrubbed" (radioactive atoms removed); otherwise a radioactive miasma would escape from the vents. The tanks will not endure as long as the pyramids and certainly not for the hundreds of thousands of years of the long-lived atoms. The acids and the atomic ferments erode the toughest metal, so the tanks have to be periodically decanted. Another method is to entomb them in disused salt mines. Another is to embed them in ceramics, lock them up in glass beads. Another is what is known as "hydraulic fraction": a hole is drilled into a shale formation (below the subsoil water); liquid is piped down under pressure and causes the shale to split laterally. Hence the atoms in liquid cement can be injected under enormous pressure and spread into the fissures to set like a radioactive sandwich.

This accumulating waste from fission plants will persist until the promise, still far from fulfilled, of peaceful thermonuclear power comes about. With the multiplication of power reactors, the wastes will increase. It is calculated that by the year 2000, the number of six-ton nuclear "hearses" in transit to "burial grounds" at any given time on the highways of the United States will be well over 3,000 and the amount of radioactive products will be about a billion curies, which is a mighty lot of curies to be roaming around a populated country.

The alarming possibilities were well illustrated by the incident at Palomares on the coast of Spain, when there occurred a collision of a refueling aircraft with a U.S. nuclear bomber on "live" mission. The bombs were scattered. There was no explosion, but radioactive material broke loose and the contaminated beaches and farm soil had to be scooped up and taken to the United States for burial.

Imagine what would have happened if the *Torrey Canyon*, the giant tanker which was wrecked off the Scilly Isles, had been nuclear-powered. Some experts make comforting noises and say that the reactors would have closed down," but the *Torrey Canyon* was a wreck and the Palomares incident showed what happens when radiocative materials break loose. All those oil-polluted beaches of southwest England and the coasts of Brittany would have had to be scooped up for nuclear burial.

The *Torrey Canyon* is a nightmarish example of progress for its own sake. The bigger the tanker, the cheaper the freightage, which is supposed to be progress. This ship was built at Newport News, Va. in 1959 for the Union Oil Company; it was a giant for the time—810 feet long and 104 feet beam—but, five years later, that was not big enough. She was taken to Japan to be "stretched." The ship was cut in half amidship and a mid-body section inserted. With a new bow, this made her 974 feet long, and her beam was extended 21 feet. She could carry 850,000 barrels of oil, twice her original capacity.

Built for Union Oil, she was "owned" by the Barracuda Tanker Corporation, the head office of which is a filing cabinet in Hamilton, Bermuda. She was registered under the Liberian flag of convenience and her captain and crew were Italians recruited in Genoa. Just to complicate the international tangle, she was under charter to the British petroleum Tanker Company to bring 118,000 tons of crude oil from Kuwait to Milford Haven in Wales, via the Cape of Good Hope. Approaching Lands End, the Italian captain was informed that if he did not reach Milford Haven by 11 p.m. Saturday night he would miss high water and would not be able to enter the harbor for another five days, which would have annoyed his employers. He took a shortcut, setting course between Seven Stones rocks and the Scilly Isles, and he finished up on Pollard Rock, in an area where no ship of that size should ever have been.

Her ruptured tanks began to vomit oil and great slicks appeared over the sea in the direction of the Cornish holiday beaches. A Dutch tug made a dash for the stranded ship, gambling on the salvage money. (Where the salvaged ship could have been taken one cannot imagine, since no place would offer harborage to a leaking tanker.) After delays and a death in the futile salvage effort, the British Government moved in with the navy, the air force and, on the beaches, the army. They tried to set fire to the floating oil which, of course, would not volatilize. They covered the slicks with detergents (supplied at a price by the oil companies), and then the bombers moved in to try to cut open the deck and, with incendiaries, to set fire to the remaining oil in the tanks. Finally the ship foundered and divers confirmed that the oil had been effectively consumed.

Nevertheless the result was havoc. All measures had had to be improvised. Twelve thousand tons of detergent went into the sea. Later marine biologists found that the cure had been worse than the complaint. The oil was disastrous for seabirds, but marine organic life was destroyed by the detergents. By arduous physical efforts, with bulldozers and flamethrowers and, again, more detergents, the beaches were cleaned up for the holiday-makers. Northerly winds swept the oil slicks down the Channel to the French coast with even more serious consequences, particularly to the valuable shellfish industry. With even bigger tankers being launched, this affair is a portentous warning.

Two years after *Torrey Canyon*, an offshore oil rig erupted in the Santa Barbara Channel. The disaster to wildlife in this area, which has island nature reserves and is on the migratory route of whales, seals and seabirds, was a repetition of the *Torrey Canyon* oil spill. And the operator of the lethal oil rig was Union Oil.

Another piece of stupidity shows how much we are at the mercy of ignorant men pretending to be knowledgeable. During the International Geophysical Year, 1957–58, the Van Allen Belt was discovered. This is an area of magnetic phenomena. Immediately it was decided to explode a nuclear bomb in the belt to see whether an artificial aurora could be produced. The colorful draperies and luminous skirts of the aurora borealis are caused by the drawing in of cosmic particles through the rare gases of the upper atmosphere—ionization it is called; it is like passing electrons through the vacuum tubes of our familiar fluorescent lighting. The name Rainbow Bomb was given it in anticipation of the display it was expected to produce. Every eminent scientist in the field of cosmology, radio astronomy or physics of the atmosphere protested at this irresponsible tampering with a system which we did not understand. And, typical of the casual attitude toward this kind of thing, the Prime Minister of the day, answering protests in the House of Commons that called on him to intervene with the Americans, asked what all the fuss was about. After all, they hadn't known that the Van Allen Belt even existed a year before. This was the cosmic equivalent of Chamberlain's remarks about Czechoslo-

vakia, at the time of Munich, about that distant country of which we knew so little. They exploded the bomb. They got their pyrotechnics and we still do not know the cost we may have to pay for this artificial magnetic disturbance.

In the same way we can look with misgivings on those tracks—the white tails of the jets that are introducing into our climatic system new factors, the effects of which are immensurable. Formation of rain clouds depends upon water vapor having a nucleus on which to form. That is how artificial precipitation is introduced—the so-called rainmaking. So the jets, crisscrossing the weather system, playing noughts and crosses with it, can produce a man-made change.

In the longer term we can foresee even more drastic effects from Man's unthinking operations. At the United Nations' Science and Technology Conference in Geneva in 1963 we took stock of the effects of industrialization on our total environment thus far. The atmosphere is not only the air which humans, animals and plants breathe, it is also the envelope that protects living things from harmful radiation from the sun and outer space. It is also the medium of climate, the winds and the rain. Those are inseparable from the hydrosphere—the oceans, covering seven-tenths of the globe, with their currents and extraordinary rates of evaporation; the biosphere, with its trees and their transpiration; and, in terms of human activities, the minerals mined from the lithosphere, the rock crust. Millions of years ago the sun encouraged the growth of the primeval forests, which became our coal, and the plant growth of the seas, which became our oil. Those fossil fuels, locked away for eons of time, are extracted by man and put back into the atmosphere from the chimney stacks and the exhaust pipes of modern engineering. About six billion tons of carbon are mixed with the atmosphere annually. During the past century, in the process of industrialization, with its release of carbon by the burning of fossil fuels, more than 400 billion tons of carbon have been artificially introduced into the atmosphere. The concentration in the air we breathe has been increased by approximately 10%, and if all the known reserves of coal and oil were burned at once the concentration would be 10 times greater.

This is something more than a public health problem, more than a question of what goes into the lungs of an individual, more than a question of smog. The carbon cycle in nature is a self-adjusting mechanism. Carbon dioxide is, of course, indispensable for plants and is, therefore, a source of life, but there is a balance which is maintained by excess carbon being absorbed by the seas. The excess is now taxing this absorption, and it can seriously disturb the heat balance of the earth because of what is known as the "greenhouse effect." A greenhouse lets in the sun's rays but retains the heat. Carbon dioxide, as a transparent diffusion, does likewise. It keeps the heat at the surface of the earth and in excess modifies the climate.

It has been estimated that, at the present rate of increase, the mean annual temperature all over the world might increase by 3.6° centigrade in the next 40 to 50 years. The experts may argue about the time factor and even about the effects, but certain things are apparent, not only in the industrialized northern hemisphere but in the southern hemisphere also. The north-polar ice cap is thinning and shrinking. The seas, with their blanket of carbon dioxide, are changing their temperature, with the result that marine plant life is increasing and is transpiring more carbon dioxide. As a result of the combination, fish are migrating, changing even their latitudes. On land the snow line is retreating and glaciers are melting. In Scandinavia, land which was perennially under snow and ice is thawing, and arrowheads of more than 1,000 years ago, when the black soils were last exposed, have been found. The melting of sea ice will not affect the sea level, because the volume of floating ice is the same as the water it displaces, but the melting of ice caps or glaciers, in which the water is locked up, will introduce additional water to the sea and raise the level. Rivers originating in glaciers and permanent snow fields will increase their flow; and if ice dams, such as those in the Himalayas, break, the results in flooding may be catastrophic. In this process the patterns of rainfall will change, with increased precipitation in some areas and the possibility of aridity in now fertile regions. One would be well advised not to take 99-year leases on properties at present sea level.

At that same conference, there was a sobering reminder of mistakes which can be writ large, from the very best intentions. In the Indus Valleys in West Pakistan, the population is increasing at the rate of 10 more mouths to be fed every five minutes. In that same five minutes in that same place, an acre of land is being lost through waterlogging and salinity. This is the largest irrigated region in the world. Twenty-three million acres are artificially watered by canals. The Indus and its tributaries, the Jhelum, the Chenab, the Ravi, the Beas and the Sutlej, created the alluvial plains of the Punjab and the Sind. In the 19th century, the British began a big program of farm development in lands which were fertile but had low rainfall. Barrages and distribution canals were constructed. One thing which, for economy's sake, was not done was to line the canals. In the early days, this genuinely did not matter. The water was being spread from the Indus into a thirsty plain and if it soaked in so much the better. The system also depended on what is called "inland delta drainage," that is to say, the water spreads out like a delta and then drains itself back into the river. After independence, Pakistan, with external aid, started vigorously to extend the Indus irrigation. The experts all said the soil was good and would produce abundantly once it got the distributed water. There were plenty of experts, but they all overlooked one thing—the hydrological imperatives. The incline from Lahore to the Rann of Kutch—700 miles—is a foot a mile, a quite inadequate drainage gradient. So as more and more barrages and more and more lateral canals were built, the water was not draining back into the Indus. Some 40% of the water in the unlined canals seeped underground, and in a network of 40,000 miles of canals that is a lot of water. The result was that the water table rose. Low-lying areas became waterlogged, drowning the roots of the crops. In other areas the water crept upward, leaching salts that accumulated in the surface layers, poisoning the crops. At the same time the irrigation regime, which used just 1½ inches of water a year in the fields, did not sluice out those salts but added, through evaporation, its own salts. The result was tragically spectacular. In flying over large tracts of this area, one would imagine that it was an Arctic landscape because the white crust of salt glistens like snow.

The situation was deteriorating so rapidly that President Ayub appealed in person to President Kennedy, who sent out a high-powered mission which encompassed 20 disciplines. This was backed by the computers at Harvard. The answers were pretty grim. It would take 20 years and $2 billion to repair the damage—more than it cost to create the installations that did the damage. It would mean using vertical drainage to bring up the water and use it for irrigation, and also to sluice out the salt in the surface soil. If those 20 scientific disciplines had been brought together in the first instance, it would not have happened.

One more instance of the far-flung consequences of Man's localized mistakes: no insecticides or pesticides have ever been allowed into the continent of Antarctica. Yet they have been found in the fauna along the northern coast. They have come almost certainly from the northern hemisphere, carried from the rivers of the farm states into the currents sweeping south. In November 1969, the U.S. Government decided to "phase out" the use of DDT.

Pollution is a crime compounded of ignorance and avarice. The great achievements of *Homo sapiens* become the disaster-ridden blunders of unthinking Man—poisoned rivers and dead lakes, polluted with the effluents of industries which give something called "prosperity" at the expense of posterity. Rivers are treated like sewers and lakes like cesspools. These natural systems—and they are living systems—have struggled hard. The benevolent micro-organisms which cope with reasonable amounts of organic matter have been destroyed by mineral detergents. Witness our foaming streams. Lake Erie did its best to provide the oxygen to neutralize the pickling acids of the great steelworks. But it could not contend. It lost its oxygen in the battle. Its once rich commercial fishing industry died and its revitalizing micro-organic life gave place to anaerobic organisms which do not need oxygen but give off foul smells, the mortuary smells of dead water. As one Erie industrialist retorted, "It's not our effluent; it's those damned dead fish."

We have had the Freedom from Hunger Campaign; presently we shall need a Freedom from Thirst Campaign. If the International Hydrological Decade does not bring us to our senses, we will face a desperate situation. Of course it is bound up with the increasing population, but also with the extravagances of the technologies which claim that they are serving that population. There is a competition between the water needs of the land which has to feed the increasing population and the domestic and industrial needs of that population. The theoretical minimum to sustain living standards is about 300 gallons a day per person. This is the approximate amount of water needed to produce grain for 2½ pounds of bread, but a diet of two pounds of bread and one pound of beef would require about 2,500 gallons. And that is nothing compared with the gluttonous requirements of steel-making, paper-making and the chemical industry.

Water—just H_2O—is as indispensable as food. To die of hunger one needs more than 15 days. To die of thirst one needs only three. Yet we are squandering, polluting and destroying water. In Los Angeles and neighboring Southern California, a thousand times more water is being consumed than is being precipitated in the locality. They have preempted the water of neighboring states. They are piping it from Northern California, and there is a plan to pipe it all the way from Canada's Northewest Territories, from the Mackenzie and the Liard, which flow northward to the Arctic Ocean, to turn them back into deserts.

Always and everywhere we come back to the problem of population—more people to make more mistakes, more people to be the victims of the mistakes of others, more people to suffer hell upon earth. It is appalling to hear people complacently talking about the population explosion as though it belonged to the future, or world hunger as though it were threatening, when hundreds of millions can testify that it is already here—swear it with panting breath.

We know to the exact countdown second when the nuclear explosion took place—5:30 a.m., July 16, 1945, when the first device went off in the desert of Alamogordo, N. Mex. The fuse of the population explosion had been lit 10 years earlier—February 1935. On that day a girl called Hildegarde was dying of generalized septicemia. She had pricked her finger with a sewing needle and the infection had run amok. The doctors could not save her. Her desperate father injected a red dye into her body. Her father was Gerhard Domagk. The red dye was prontosil, which he, a pharmaceutical chemist, had produced and had successfully used on mice lethally in-

fected with streptococci, but never before on a human. Prontosil was the first of the sulfa drugs—chemotherapeutics—which could attack the germ within the living body. Thus was prepared the way for the rediscovery of penicillin—rediscovery because, although Fleming had discovered it in 1928, it had been ignored; neither he nor anybody else had seen its supreme virtue of attacking germs within the living body. That is the operative phrase, for while medical science and the medical profession had used antiseptics for surface wounds and sores, they were always labeled "Poison, not to be taken internally." The sulfa drugs had shown that it was possible to attack specific germs within the living body and had changed this attitude. So when Chain and Florey looked again at Fleming's penicillin in 1938, they were seeing it in the light of the experience of the sulfas.

A new era of disease-fighting had begun—the sulfas, the antibiotics, DDT insecticides. Doctors could now attack a whole range of invisible enemies. They could master the old killer diseases. They proved it during the war, and when the war ended there were not only stockpiles of the drugs, there were tooled-up factories to produce them. So, to prevent the spread of the deadly epidemics which follow wars, the supplies were made available to the war-ravaged countries with their displaced persons, and then to the developing countries. Their indigenous infections and contagions and insect-borne diseases were checked.

Almost symbolically, the first great clinical use of prontosil had been in dealing with puerperal sepsis, childbed fever. It had spectacularly saved mothers' lives in Queen Charlotte's Hospital, London. Now its successors took up the story. Fewer mothers died in childbirth, to live and have more babies. Fewer infants died, fewer toddlers, fewer adolescents. They lived to marry and have children. Older people were not killed off by, for instance, malaria. The average life-span increased.

Professor Kingsley Davis of the University of California at Berkeley, the authority on urban development, has presented a hair-raising picture from his survey of the world's cities. He has shown that 38% of the world's population is already living in what are defined as urban places. More than one-fifth of the world's population is living in cities of 100,000 or more. And more than one-tenth of the world's population is now living in cities of a million or more inhabitants. In 1968, 375 million people were living in million-and-over cities. The proportions are changing so quickly that on present trends it would take only 16 years for half the world's population to be living in cities and only 55 years for it to reach 100%.

Within the lifetime of a child born today, Kingsley Davis foresees, on present trends of population increase, 15 billion people to be fed and housed—nearly five times as many as now. The whole human species would be living in cities of a million and over inhabitants, and—wait for it!—the biggest city would have 1.3 billion inhabitants. That means 186 times as many as there are in Greater London.

For years the Greek architect Doxiadis has been warning us about such prospects. In his Ecumenopolis—World City—one urban area would ooze into the next, like confluent ulcers. The East Side of World City would have as its High Street the Eurasian Highway stretching from Glasgow to Bangkok, with the Channel Tunnel as its subway and a built-up area all the way. On the West Side of World City, divided not by the tracks but by the Atlantic, the pattern is already emerging, or rather, merging. Americans already talk about Boswash, the urban development of a built-up area stretching from Boston to Washington; and on the West Coast, apart from Los Angeles sprawling into the desert, the realtors are already slurring one city into another all along the Pacific Coast from the Mexican border to San Francisco. We don't need a crystal ball to forsee what Davis and Doxiadis are predicting; we can already see it through smog-covered spectacles. A blind man can smell what is coming.

The danger of prediction is that experts and men of affairs are likely to plan for the predicted trends and confirm these trends. "Prognosis" is something different from "Prediction." An intelligent doctor, having diagnosed your symptoms and examined your condition, does not say (except in novelettes) "You have six months to live." An intelligent doctor says, "Frankly, your condition is serious. Unless you do so-and-so, and I do so-and-so, it is bound to deteriorate." The operative phrase is "do so-and-so." We don't have to plan for trends; if they are socially undesirable our duty is to plan away from them, to treat the symptoms before they become malignant.

We have to do this on the local, the national and the international scale, through intergovernmental action, because there are no frontiers in present-day pollution and destruction of the biosphere. Mankind shares a common habitat. We have mortgaged the old homestead and nature is liable to foreclose.

THE NEW REPUBLIC TAKES TIME TO EXAMINE DIRECT ELECTION

HON. WILLIAM (BILL) CLAY

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 5, 1970

Mr. CLAY. Mr. Speaker, September 18, the House of Representatives passed legislation for the direct popular election of the President and Vice President of the United States. My opposition to passage of that proposal is recorded with that of 69 other House Members, most of whom are Representatives from Southern States who, for different reasons, oppose direct election.

One need not be from the South or be a member of the conservative camp to oppose direct election. One need only study the potential disasters of such a radical and unnecessary reform as compared to a reform which would remove the most objectionable and fearful features of the present system.

I have introduced legislation proposing that the electoral college be eliminated and that electoral votes be cast automatically for the winner of each State's presidential vote. Known as the "automatic electoral system," this proposal also provides that the Senate and House of Representatives sitting in joint session would choose in such case as neither candidate were to achieve at least 40 percent of the electoral votes.

This reform would remove the two threats reponsible for the fear which now provides the momentum for the direct election forces.

I commend to the attention of my colleagues the following comment from the New Republic of September 27, 1969 when this magazine took time to evaluate and to question the action of the House on direct election. It follows:

MISREADING DEMOCRACY

The drive to abolish the electoral college and substitute direct popular election of Presidents, which achieved an important initial success last week when the House endorsed it by more than the required two-thirds, is powered by two engines: fear and ideology. The people have been told repeatedly that we are playing Russian roulette; that in close elections under the present system, such as those of 1968 and 1960, a George Wallace or the like can keep both major-party candidates from getting the necessary majority of electoral votes, and can then be the President-maker, either by selling the votes of the electors supposedly committed to him, or by letting the election go into the House. In the House, we are reminded, the Constitution now gives each state one vote for purposes of electing a President when the electoral college is deadlocked, and that vote is cast by a majority of each state's Representatives. The small states count, therefore, most disproportionately, and a George Wallace may be able to fish quite successfully.

The fears may be a trifle exaggerated, but they are nonetheless justified. Yet they do not justify abolishing the electoral college. The dangers which give rise to them can be entirely eliminated by an amendment perfecting the present arrangement: abolish the elector as a theoretically free agent, providing instead that a state's electoral vote be automatically and unavoidably cast for the winner of a majority or plurality of the popular vote in that state; and, cause deadlocks to be resolved, not by the present archaic and pointless method, but for example, by election in the House or in a joint session of Congress by a majority of the individual votes of the members.

These solutions do not commend themselves to advocates of the popular election, however, because practical worries about the workings of the electoral college are, after all, a secondary matter to them. Their position is essentially idealogical. It's the principle of the thing. Democracy, the argument runs, has one pure and simple meaning—a popular majority decides. Once in our history, under the system now in effect, the electoral college produced a deadlock, and once in the last century in an honest election it let the loser of the popular vote by a very narrow margin gain the Presidency. Otherwise, and always in this century, it has allowed a popular majority—or plurality, which is apparently equally acceptable—to be decisive. In theory, nevertheless, the electoral college *can* defeat the winner of at least a narrow popular majority or plurality. That is its chief sin, that is behind the strong drive to abolish it, that is why Tom Wicker of *The New York Times* writes that there's no better way to unify the nation "than to convert our patchwork method of choosing a national leader into a genuinely national act, in which every man's vote counts equally, and neither states nor sections matter."

Is a simple and invariable majoritariansim what we mean by democracy? Since when? The Supreme Court, which has a great deal to do with how we are governed, is not only not majoritarian, it is not even elected. The Senate also wields a good bit of power over us, (and in the judgment of many it has in recent years been more responsive to the public interest than has the House); in the Senate, each state, regardless of population, has an equal vote, of which no state may be deprived, says the Constitution, even by a duly passed and ratified amendment, without its own consent. In the House, although each state has at least one vote, the whole state may be—and some are—considerably smaller in population than the average Congressional district.

Aside from the fact that very few of our institutions, and none of our national ones, are out-and-out majoritarian, we don't choose to do everything by simple majority votes. It takes a two-thirds vote in the Senate to ratify a treaty, and a two-thirds vote in the Senate and House to propose a constitutional amendment, which must then be ratified by the legislatures of three-fourths of the states. A Congress in which the entire House and one-third of the Senate are newly-elected, and which is thus the authentic voice of a popular majority, if ever there is one in our national institutions, may pass a law, but a President elected two years earlier and now perhaps out of tune with the new majority may veto the law. If he does, it takes a two-thirds vote in the Senate and House to override his veto and make a valid law.

One may view all these institutions and devices as outrageously undemocratic, hardly less undemocratic than the electoral college, and be prepared to sweep one or all of them away also, including the Supreme Court, the next time the majoritarian broom cleans out the stables. In truth these institutions and devices tell us that throughout our history we have perceived other values in government than its reflection of simple majorities of the moment, which are in any event not easy to find or may be whipped up on demand. We have lived this democracy as a rather complex sum of these values, not just as uncompromising majoritarianism. We have, since Madison, understood that people tend to act politically not so much as individuals as in groups; that they have opinions, preferences and interests which vary in intensity, thus calling for varying degrees of respect and forebearance on the part of others, even if those others constitute a majority; that majorities sometimes act rashly and even mindlessly, and may need to be given pause; that, in short, influence and even power should be distributed more widely than they would be in rigid adherence to the majoritarian principle, so that government may rest on widespread consent rather than teetering on the knife-edge of a transient 51 percent. For we have wanted government to be stable and peaceable, and to have the most limited need to resort to coercion. What we have evolved, therefore, is a pluralistic system, in Professor Robert Dahl's phrase, of minorities rule. We have striven, perhaps it may be said, not for a majoritarian, but for a participatory democracy, in which access to the process of government is continuously available to all groups.

The question about the electoral college, then, is not whether it is inevitably and purely majoritarian. It is not, although the electoral college is very considerably more so than our other national institutions. The question is whether or not it tends to enhance minorities rule; whether it tends to include or exclude various groups from influence in the institution of government which is the Presidency, and whether, if it assigns somewhat disproportionate influence to some groups, they are the ones which are relatively short-changed in Congress, so that the total effect of the electoral college is the achievement of a balance of influence. The groups which tend to be favored by the electoral college system, as we have several times pointed out in these pages, are cohesive blocs of urban voters in the large industrial states; they are the ones which have proportionately less influence in Congress than their numbers would justify.

Practical men interested in perfecting the American democracy are well-advised to disenthrall themselves from the romance of pure majoritarianism. Diminishing the influence of the urban voter, which is one probable result of popular election of Presidents, is not a democratic result—not as the concept of democracy has been defined and applied in our tradition, or as it could conceivably be applied in the conditions of our vast and varied country.

LOS ANGELES COUNTY BOARD OF SUPERVISORS SUPPORTS EXPANDED EDUCATION AND TRAINING ASSISTANCE FOR AMERICA'S RETURNING VIETNAM VETERANS

HON. EDWARD R. ROYBAL

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 5, 1970

Mr. ROYBAL. Mr. Speaker, because of the growing nationwide interest in providing more adequate programs of education, vocational training, civilian readjustment, and job placement assistance for our returning Vietnam veterans, I would like to include in the RECORD the text of a resolution adopted by the Los Angeles County Board of Supervisors in support of congressional passage of H.R. 11959, the Veterans' Education and Training Assistance Act Amendments of 1970.

As a member of the House Committee on Veterans' Affairs, and as a strong advocate of maximum veterans' assistance in readjusting to civilian life, I deeply appreciate the support of the Los Angeles County Board of Supervisors on this matter, and I earnestly hope that the House and Senate conferees will be able to come to an early agreement on an acceptable compromise between the House- and Senate-passed versions of H.R. 11959—that will offer the most comprehensive possible program of assistance to America's young men and women who have served their country as citizen-soldiers with great distinction and often at considerable personal sacrifice.

The resolution follows:

RESOLUTION OF THE BOARD OF SUPERVISORS OF THE COUNTY OF LOS ANGELES IN SUPPORT OF HOUSE BILL 11959, AS AMENDED BY THE SENATE, RELATING TO RETURNING VIETNAM VETERANS

Whereas, the Los Angeles County Board of Supervisors represents a population in excess of seven million people; and

Whereas, the County of Los Angeles is charged with the legal responsibility of providing vital services such as judicial administration, property assessment, tax collection, public health protection, hospitals and public social services on a County-wide basis to all citizens; and

Whereas, the County of Los Angeles is further charged with providing services such as fire safety, sheriff services, building and safety code enforcement, veterinarian services, pound services, noxious weed abatement, emergency ambulance service, recreation services, planning and zoning services and street maintenance to its unincorporated territories; and

Whereas, the County of Los Angeles is further charged with providing vital services organized under special districts, such as air pollution control, flood control, fire protection and sanitation; and

Whereas, the County of Los Angeles is further charged with providing the same services rendered to its unincorporated territories to its seventy-seven incorporated cities on a contract basis; and

Whereas, the County is further charged with providing assistance to the individual citizen, especially the returning veteran from Viet Nam, who has served with his life and person; and

Whereas, the County is further charged with providing assistance to the returning veteran from Viet Nam in his return to a productive civilian life; and

Whereas, House Bill 11959 would provide an increase on a graduated scale the rates of educational assistance, vocational rehabilitation and special allowance paid to eligible veterans; and

Whereas, House Bill 11959, as amended by the Senate, would provide additional education and training assistance to veterans and preveterans who may have academic deficiencies preventing them from pursuing higher education or vocational training; and

Whereas, House Bill 11959, as amended by the Senate, would provide for a veterans outreach services program to insure that all veterans, especially those recently separated, receive personalized educational, vocational, social services and job placement assistance; and

Whereas, House Bill 11959, as amended by the Senate, in addition, would provide for the establishment of Veterans Assistance Centers in communities where large numbers of those veterans reside, such as in the East Los Angeles area; and

Whereas, House Bill 11959 has been referred to the Conference Committee of the House and Senate;

Now, therefore, be it resolved that this Board of Supervisors of the County of Los Angeles is in support of House Bill 11959, now awaiting further action by the 91st Congress, and

Be it further resolved that this Board extends Los Angeles County's appreciation to the California Congressional Delegation and California Senators as well as the members of the House Committee and the Senate Subcommittee on Veterans Affairs for their efforts in behalf of Viet Nam veterans.

State of California, County of Los Angeles ss.

I, James S. Mize, Executive Officer and Clerk of the Board of Supervisors of the County of Los Angeles, do hereby certify that the foregoing is a full, true and correct copy of an excerpt of Board Order No. 137 of January 13, 1970 of the Board of Supervisors of the County of Los Angeles, and ex officio the governing body of all other special assessment and taxing districts for which said Board so acts.

In witness whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and affixed the seal of the County of Los Angeles this 14th day of January, 1970.

JAMES M. MIZE,
Executive Officer—Clerk of the Board of Supervisors of the County of Los Angeles.

By DORIS M. FAULDI,
Deputy.

MAN'S INHUMANITY TO MAN—HOW LONG?

HON. WILLIAM J. SCHERLE

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 5, 1970

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

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

How long?

CHEMICAL TRANSPORTATION INDEX

HON. ROMAN C. PUCINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 5, 1970

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, it has come to my attention that a remarkable development is taking place in the railroad industry today; that is, an outstanding demonstration of responsibility for our Nation's interest. I not only want to share my awareness at this time, but I want to salute those extremely capable individuals who collectively are the leadership of this most basic of all modes of transportation.

This industry is currently developing the ultimate in a comprehensive program designed to mitigate against accidents involving the transporation of hazardous materials, especially chemicals. This subject has, from time to time, been brought before this House, only to accomplish frustration. Meanwhile, quietly, unobtrusively, the railroad industry has structured a solution, that has been and will be financed by private industry funds. We should take our cue from developments, such as I am about to relate, and find ways to have our Government support, complement, and extend.

The problem of transportation safety has been brought to the attention of the American public so repetitiously during the past several years that our Nation seems almost to have lost the ability to respond to the stimulus. In fact, the economy and the public it represents is in a most perplexing position. The potent materials that we have come to rely on for our Nation's comfort, well-being, and day-to-day survival, are indeed powerful.

The consequences of our wants and needs can be awesome, if not frightening. The advantages of having abundant frozen foods, is enabled by our ability to quick-freeze. Our individual command of electrical conveniences is predicated that electrical surges abound. The environment saving insecticides, the effective substitutes for DDT, are obtainable from phosgene being readily available. On one hand, we must observe that the most hazardous chemical solvent known to man, that has taken more lives and is an ever present danger, is the refreshing water we drink. While on the other hand, we must never forget the basic reality of our Nation's economic strength: that supply and demand points for our raw materials, byproducts manufacturing capacities, and ultimate consumers differ for each commodity from one section of the country to another. Since it is patently impossible to remove these materials from our transportation systems without making a shamble of our economy, our standard of living, the alternative is to find a new formula for relating man to his environment.

The essence of the transportation safety problem contains four interrelated threads: the separate modes' physical plant, equipment and right-of-way; preventive measures, rules and regulations; procedures and standby services when accidents do occur; and the individual's freedom of choice in the absence of definitive information. These threads have a cumulative effect. A problem in one area renders it difficult to solve the problems in any other area.

To focus, for example, upon preventive measures fosters a dangerous sort of tunnel vision. Appeals to conscience have little prospect of success. Legislation, unless accompanied by an inordinate amount of manpower which in itself would create a tremendous information problem, would be less than effective. How, then, can we expand on this basic scientific fact—all chemicals can be safely transported and handled if necessary precautions and control measures are observed?

The only hopeful prospect is to create a framework of information, which would encompass the entire transportation safety environment. This would define and control the community of interests, and relate them to national goals. And this is exactly what the leadership in the railroad industry has done, that this development can be used equally well by all means of transportation, fire departments, and public safety agencies.

They have created the commodity transportation safety system which consists of correlated elements, that will be progressively developed in three phases:

Phase No. 1: Element 1—The Chemical Transportation Safety Index. This is truly an information marvel. It is a plastic, oversized sliderule device enlightening the holder with immediate information on intelligent handling and safe conduct in any emergency from fire, explosion, water reaction, inherent danger—directs first aid, extinguishing of fires, toxic and corrosive pollution control—for 202 potent chemicals. Having been in distribution for only a few weeks, it already has become a standard for railroad operating men and a most welcomed tool for several urban and rural fire departments that were fortunate to receive them.

For example, the Rock Island Railroad has taken the initiative along its right-of-way and distributed to each fire chief this Chemical Transportation Index. The response to this gift from the individual fire chiefs was a chorus of grateful acknowledgments for a job well done: Clinton, Cedar Rapids, West Liberty, and West Branch, Iowa; Salina, Herington, and Sherman County, Kans.; Brinkley, Ark.; and Alva, Okla., to mention just a few. Under a headline in the Ottumwa, Iowa, Courier, Janaury 18:

> Firemen get chemical data . . . it stated that Fire Chief Hubert L. Smith called the INDEX a valuable piece of information that can help officials cope with emergency incidents such as fire or explosion, a truck accident, train derailment, pipeline break or an airplane crash.

What a contribution for our Nation's good.

But how did the railroad industry accomplish the conception—the establishment—of this commodity transportation safety system, so effectively, so expeditiously, so quietly. It is obvious that the industry has been working on this for some time. Being the organizational experts they are, the industry turned over the problem of a safety package—in order that its efforts would be quiet and unhampered—to an industry organization, the Railway Systems and Management Association—RSMA. RSMA is an educational and "think tank" organization supported entirely by the railroad industry. Without committees, but with communication, direction, and leadership; the resources available to this "think tank" quickly assembled and produced this index and right now they are working on the development of this entire system: an emergency action plan manual, that will correctly prompt the control of a total accident scene; safety charts, that will give reference and depth of understanding to avoid, to confront, to handle, to contain, any hazardous threat; an education program, for the operating men in the industry, and for local fire departments; an information program, to enlighten the public; and to complete this total environment approach, a national transportation safety data retrieval system.

It is evident that the railroad industry is positive-result oriented in its determination to establish this commodity transportation safety system. In this all too brief statement of this most needed contribution to our Nation's basic needs, I should conclude by noting that this is probably the first time, that an entire industry has concerned itself and devoted its resources to a problem, with such far-reaching social benefits for the entire Nation.

EDUCATION BY VOUCHER

HON. WILLIAM A. STEIGER

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 5, 1970

Mr. STEIGER of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, I think my colleagues will find of interest an article which appeared in the February 2, 1970, issue of National Observer.

The cost of quality education is a continuing problem and one which, needless to say, we have not yet solved in the Congress.

A plan is now being experimented with to permit parents to buy education for their children at any school they choose. The concept is not without problems, but I think the article which I include as part of my remarks sets out the pros and cons of this idea well:

PARENTS WOULD BUY SCHOOLING WITH A VOUCHER—PRESIDENT CONSIDERS PLAN FOR COMPETING SCHOOLS; UNITED STATES PAYS FOR A STUDY

(By John Morton)

CAMBRIDGE, MASS.—The Nixon Administration, having pledged "new and strong emphasis on experimentation and evaluation" in education, is studying a plan that would permit parents to buy education for their children at any school they choose.

The working name of this device is "educational voucher." A parent would be given a voucher, representing his child's share of the public-school budget. The voucher could then be "spent" at the public or private ele-

mentary or secondary school of the parent's choice, or even, in some views, at profit-making schools that might be established in response to the voucher market.

The educational-voucher plan is being developed here at the Center for the Study of Public Policy under a $196,000 grant made in December by the Office of Economic Opportunity (OEO). Little publicized until now, it is one of the experiments that President Nixon alluded to in his message last week explaining his veto of the Health, Education, and Welfare bill.

". . . In my education message, which I will shortly be submitting to the Congress, I will propose a new and searching look at our American school system," the President said. "We are placing new and strong emphasis on experimentation and evaluation to learn about more effective approaches to education."

WHY OEO IS INTERESTED

The voucher proposal has drawn support from both conservatives and liberals, although not always for the same reasons. It is especially attractive to those concerned with improving the education of the poor, which is why OEO, the poverty agency, has funded the study. In a half dozen states, legislation already has been introduced proposing various voucher plans, though none as ambitious as might grow out of the OEO project.

A voucher scheme would pose a bagful of Constitutional and other legal problems involving segregated schools, church-run schools, and the profit motive. And it is sure to draw the ire of professional education organizations devoted to a system of public schools.

Still, the Nixon Administration thinks the voucher plan holds enough promise to find out how it might work. The center here, under the direction of education critic Christopher Jencks, hopes to complete its feasibility study by spring so that OEO can start selecting cities for experimental projects by early summer.

The voucher plan has had several proponents, most notably the conservative economist Milton Friedman, who envisions it as a way to improve schools through competition. He and others also emphasize the opportunities that vouchers would give poor parents in big cities who believe their schools are inadequate and unresponsive. Inner-city schools would have to improve or lose their customers, much as they already have been losing children of more affluent parents who either send their children to private schools or move to the suburbs.

THREAT TO THE ESTABLISHMENT

"Obviously a program like this poses a tremendous threat to the educational establishment," says an OEO official in Washington, D.C. Those working on the voucher plan in Cambridge are assuming opposition from the National Education Association (NEA) as a matter of course. This will be one of the problems that must be dealt with when cities are selected for a pilot program.

Indeed, an NEA spokesman said last week that widespread use of the voucher program would be a threat to the public-school system, in the NEA's view. "This business of making it competitive will just widen the gap between the poorer and richer school districts," he said, since students would tend to flow to the better schools in rich districts to the detriment of poor districts. "Public schools are having their problems now, of course, but at least there is some form of equal opportunity."

A kind of voucher proposal that involves competition can be traced back to Adam Smith, who wrote in 1776 that the master of a public school should only partly be supported directly by the government because, "If he was wholly or even principally paid by it, he would soon learn to neglect his business." Thomas Paine proposed 20 years later that government should give poor families a certain amount of money for each child under 14 to spend on "reading, writing and common arithmetic."

Moreover, the GI Bill, started after World War II, is in effect a voucher plan for higher education that permits veterans to spend public money in all manner of public, private, segregated, church-related, or profit-making educational institutions.

OPENING A SCHOOL WITH 10 CHILDREN

Other countries have government programs that are in effect voucher systems, most notably Denmark. There, in fact, if a parent is dissatisfied with the public schools, he can get government money either to send his child to a private school or to open a school of his own.

Danish parents who assure that at least 10 children will be taught can qualify for grants to organize a school, build a school building if needed, and pay the teachers' salaries. The parents themselves run the schools or hire managers. The government reserves the right to inspect standards of sanitation and instruction in Danish and arithmetic, but beyond that the school's operation is pretty much up to the parents.

Mr. Friedman, the University of Chicago economist whose views have been especially attractive to the Nixon Administration, proposed a voucher program for American primary and secondary schools as early as 1953. One of his arguments, stated in his book *Capitalism & Freedom*, is that the public-school system may have been ideal for offering equal educational opportunity to a young nation still assimilating diverse foreign cultures, but that in today's urban society the public system "far from equalizing opportunities, very likely does the opposite. It makes it all the harder for the exceptional few—and it is they who are the hope of the future—to rise above the poverty of their initial state."

Wealthy parents, he comments, can send their children to private schools if they are unhappy with public schools. Middle-class parents can express dissatisfaction, even if they cannot afford private schools, because they can afford to move to a different public-school district. "For the rest," Mr. Friedman writes, "they can express their views only through cumbrous political channels."

ALSO ADVANCING THE IDEA

Others who have advanced the voucher idea include the late George K. Gardner, a Harvard Law school professor who proposed in 1955 that states give parents education money to spend on the school of their choice; Theodore Sizer, dean of Harvard's Graduate School of Education, and Mr. Jencks, co-author of *The Academic Revolution*, who is heading up OEO's study.

Some state legislators, intrigued by the voucher idea, have drafted legislation, but so far none has become law. The California Legislature last year looked at a bill, which died in committee, that proposed to establish a means of measuring the quality of public schools. Then, if a particular school fell below a certain standard, a parent would become eligible for a $1,000 voucher to spend on education at some other school.

Legislatures in Missouri, Wisconsin, and New Mexico, among other states, also have proposals in the works that would establish a form of voucher payment to parents who send their children to private schools. Typical of these is Wisconsin's, which would double the amounts granted if family income fell below $3,000, and triple it for incomes below $2,000.

But the amount of money is piddling by private-school standards—$50 a year per pupil for primary grades and $100 for high school in Missouri and Wisconsin, and twice that in New Mexico.

Southern states have been attracted to voucher programs as well, mainly as a way to circumvent integration by founding private schools supported by state tuition grants. But these schemes generally have been opposed by courts on the grounds that a private school principally supported by public funds, even if indirectly through tuition grants, is a public school for purposes of the Supreme Court's desegregation rulings.

In Mr. Friedman's view, parents should have absolute freedom to choose the kind of school their children attend; whether they should attend integrated schools, which he believes would be desired, should in his opinion be left to persuasion. But a virtue of the voucher system, he said last week, is that it can be devised to conform to whatever standard the issuing agency desires. "If a community at large felt strongly that you must have compulsory integration, then it could be specified that the voucher be spent only on schools that are integrated," he says.

As for attending parochial schools, he says: "I don't think a voucher system in any way violates the separation of church and state, provided that the voucher does not specify that it must be spent at a particular religious kind of school." He does not expect, however, that a voucher system would bring any great resurgence in the financially troubled parochial-school system, because other private schools would spring up to compete with them.

"Give the parents vouchers, establish an effective market for schools, and you will have an enormous proliferation in the development of new schools of a variety of kinds," Mr. Friedman says. "I may be wrong, but my prediction would be that with 5 years, and certainly within 10 years, the fraction of students going to parochial schools would be much smaller than it now is."

Mr. Jencks believes a voucher program can be designed to avoid church-state problems, noting that several states now provide some form of aid to parochial schools on secular matters, such as nonreligious textbooks. "One way of dealing with it," he says, "would be to set up a system in which you would support the nonreligious activities of church schools with vouchers."

He is more concerned with questions of segregation—not just by race, but also by economic class and ability. The courts almost surely will not permit vouchers to be used in segregated schools, he believes. But that leaves the problem that good schools will tend to attract the best students and perhaps may not have room for, or not be inclined to take, problem students. To handle distribution of students solely by a "free-market" approach, as advocated by Mr. Friedman, would be undesirable, Mr. Jencks believes.

"It seems to me that the state will have to assume ultimate responsibility for the question of distribution of students," Mr. Jencks says. "It could allow some greater or lesser degree of free choice by parents within some framework established by the state or the community or whatever. It can't be settled just by individual choice, because some individual choices will preclude the individual choices made by others."

The problem of distribution may indeed be the most difficult of all to solve, since it involves not only the question of segregation of various sorts, but also promises to complicate the lives of public-school administrators, principals, and teachers.

SOME SCHOOLS GRAVEYARDS

OEO's director of research, Thomas K. Glennan, Jr., says he worries about "what happens to the worst 20 per cent; there would be a danger that some schools would be graveyards for the kids nobody wants."

One proposed solution to this is to force every school to operate on a first-come, first-served basis, so that everybody would have

a chance to get into the best schools. But Mr. Glennan remarks: "The problem with that is, that the kids who are the worst academically, and need the good school the most, are usually the ones whose parents care the least, and who probably would be the last to apply."

Mr. Glennan also wonders how well some parents can make crucial education decisions for their children. "How much information do these people have and how intelligently can they exercise their choice? I think this is a very fundamental issue here."

But Mr. Jencks is less concerned. "We have always assumed that middleclass parents should have the privilege of making these decisions," he says. "They can send their children to any damfool school they want, so we ought to accord the same privilege of choice to parents of all income brackets.

"True, parents probably will make a lot of foolish decisions, but so does everybody else. There's no evidence that teachers are particularly well equipped to make these decisions either. The parents at least have a strong stake in making the right decision, whereas a school system may not have any particular interest in making sure that any specific child ends up in the school that is most appropriate." —JOHN MORTON.

PADEREWSKI WELL DONE BY MISS SAPIEYEVSKI

HON. ROMAN C. PUCINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 5, 1970

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, Miss Wendell Margrave, a contributing critic for the Washington Star has written an excellent review on Miss Nina Sapieyevski who performed here the other day.

I am placing the review in the RECORD today because Miss Margrave captured in a most inspiring way the real spirit of Ignace Jan Paderewski and interpreted by Miss Sapieyevski.

Paderewski was not only a great artist but also a great statesman and champion of human dignity. It is reassuring that we have artists of Miss Sapieyevski's outstanding talent to interpret the works of the great master.

The review follows:

PADEREWSKI WELL DONE BY MISS SAPIEYEVSKI

(By Wendell Margrave)

Nina Sapieyevski, piano, Barker Hall, All-Paderewski program:

Minuet, Op. 4; Nocturne, Op. 16 No. 4; Mazurka, Op. 9 No. 2; Melodie, Op. 8 No. 3; Caprice (genre Scarlatti) Op. 14 No. 3; Legende, Op. 16 No. 1; Theme varie, Op. 16 No. 3; Chant d'amour, Op. 10 No. 2; Sarabande, Op. 14 No. 2; Cracovienne Fantastique Op. 14 No. 6.

Nina Sapieyevski, a pianist trained at the University of Sopot in Poland and later at the Juilliard School of Music, was heard in recital yesterday at Barker Hall in a program of music by the great Polish pianist, composer and statesman, Ignace Jan Paderewski.

I believe it was Saint-Saens who said that Paderewski was a genius who happened to play the piano. He also happened to compose a good deal of music, including a symphony, a piano concert and an opera, Manru, which was given at the Metropolitan Opera in 1902, besides songs and a number of piano pieces.

Miss Sapieyevski played a cross section of these pieces, beginning with the minuet that every pianist used to play, and which I remember as the last event in every Paderewski recital, when the children would come trooping down the aisle calling for it. He wrote better pieces, but none so well known.

It has become the fashion (based on imperfect recording and a few jealous contemporary statements) to consider that Paderewski did not have a commanding technique, and so on. Be that as it may, he appeared like a meteor on the musical horizon and quickly won a position of preeminence, against such formidable rivals as Anton Rubinstein, Teresa Carreno, Busoni, Rachmaninoff, and the whole list of Liszt's later pupils. He was more famous and made more money (much of which he gave away to support worthy causes) than any of his rivals throughout a concert career that stretched from about 1888 to 1939.

I have never seen a man who had more presence.

Miss Sapieyevski played his music with care, respect and in style. I liked best the Mazurka and the delightful little piece in the style of Scarlatti. The audience responded with greatest enthusiasm to the brilliant theme with variations.

As an encore Miss Sapieyvski played the second movement of a sonatina by her husband, Yerszy Sapieyevski, now a graduate fellow at the Catholic University. It was bright and contemporary.

GOVERNOR McNAIR OF SOUTH CAROLINA DELIVERS OUTSTANDING ADDRESS AT NASHVILLE DEMOCRATIC DINNER

HON. JOE L. EVINS

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 5, 1970

Mr. EVINS of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, at a recent Democratic Party rally in Nashville, Gov. Robert E. McNair, of South Carolina, delivered an outstanding address worthy of consideration by others.

I place Governor McNair's address in the RECORD herewith because of its interest to my colleagues and the American people.

The speech follows:

REMARKS BY GOV. ROBERT E. MCNAIR

It is significant that South Carolina and Tennessee are sharing in the observance of this important Democratic Party function tonight. After all, that great South Carolinian, Andrew Jackson, made Tennessee his adopted home and even became President with the help of our two states. If it were not for him, we probably would not even have a Democratic Party today, at least not in its present form.

There is another important reason I am happy that we could share this important event. There are no two states in the nation where the Democratic Party is any stronger—or where its record of public service is any finer—than in South Carolina and Tennessee. On this evening when we look back upon the accomplishments and contributions of Andrew Jackson and Thomas Jefferson, it is only appropriate that we reflect upon the manner in which our two states have lived up to their tradition. Jefferson and Jackson made the Democratic Party the party of the people, and as I look out across this gathering here tonight, it is apparent that in Tennessee, the Democratic Party is still the party of the people—all the people. If there are those who have doubts and misgivings about the status of our party, they should be here this evening to see that the Democratic Party is alive and well, and tremendously enthusiastic about the important elections coming up this year.

These are crucial times, not just for the party, or the state, but the entire nation. A new administration took office in Washington more than a year ago, promising to find solutions to crime, inflation, high interest rates, and the many problems which confront our nation. The American people were led to believe that a change in administrations would lead to solutions and would provide answers to these many difficult problems. The American people have waited a year, and while they have not expected instant answers, they have looked for signs that trends are being reversed, and that improvement in conditions is taking place. Unfortunately, the people are still looking. Statistics tell us what the administration does not tell us—that it has not been able to live up to its promises, and that matters are continuing to worsen. During the past year—when the economy was supposed to cool off and slow down inflation, the cost of living for the average American citizen rose faster than it had in many years. The American housewife found that food cost eight per cent more than it did a year ago. If this is any indication of the effectiveness of the new administration in controlling inflation, then I question whether any of us can afford to live here three years from now.

In the matter of crime, the American people expressed their deep concern over the administration of law and justice, and the overall problems of public safety. The new administration again made promises, but there is little evidence of any results. A year after the new administration took office, the crime rate in our nation's capital had risen by 27 per cent. Robberies in the District of Columbia are up 44 per cent, murders by 49 per cent, and rapes by 29 per cent.

The people of our nation deserve—and demand—better performance than this. The promises of 1968 are beginning to sound hollow, and the people's confidence in the effectiveness of their government is being damaged. There are only two issues—but they are issues of primary importance to the welfare of this nation, and they are issues which must receive more effective treatment. There are others, many others. The people of our area can remember other promises, and the promises which were made in the name of the new administration. Now, as more and more of these fall empty and unfulfilled, we hear the protests of betrayal from those who placed their faith in the Republican administration. There is nothing more regrettable than the false hope generated during the heat of political campaigns, and the unpaid debts which accumulate when the promises are later discarded. It is the obligation of each citizen to judge fairly and properly the performance of this new administration, and to make a determination as to whether it has lived up to the expressed principles of its 1968 campaign. It would seem apparent that such an evaluation would lead undeniably to the conclusion that the Republican administration is creating not only a record of ineffectiveness, it is also building a monstrous Credibility Gap which threatens the right of every American citizen to know what his government is doing.

It is apparent that the honeymoon is drawing to a close, and that the American people are beginning to look for the type of alternative which can provide truly enlightened and effective leadership. This alternative can—and must—come from only one place, the Democratic Party. Unless we respond to the challenge, we will not only be misreading and misjudging the climate of the times, but we will also fail in our ob-

ligation as a political party responsive to the people.

It is not an easy task. Within our own ranks, the problems of the Democratic Party go far beyond the fact that we lost in the White House in 1968. If there are those who think the Democratic Party's sole responsibility is to regain the Presidency, then they are pursuing a narrow and restrictive course which can only further compound our problems. The defeat in 1968 was only a part of our difficulties, and what has taken place since 1968 has not been encouraging. Where we found ourselves badly divided following the Chicago convention, we have been only further fragmented by a serious failure on the part of our party leadership. Where we have needed a positive and responsible approach to reorganization, there has been only a further exploitation of the very issues which divided us in Chicago. The wounds of the 1968 convention have not healed because our leadership has gone chasing after the very elements which disrupted our convention. It is sadly ironic that on an evening when we gather to honor the memory of Thomas Jefferson and Andrew Jackson, we find that the party they founded and developed is without the type of leadership to carry forward principles they handed down to us.

The seriousness of the situation, however, requires that we do more than complain. Dissatisfaction, unless it is matched with determination to improve, is only so much negative grumbling. This is no time for negativism in the Democratic Party. If there was ever a time that our party required the positive involvement of concerned Democrats such as yourselves, it is now. We are a party without adequate leadership. We see elements of political extremism daily threatening to carry our party far beyond the limits of toleration of the American people. If this situation is to be corrected, then new leadership and influence must emerge to restore the traditional stability of the Democratic Party. That influence—that leadership—must come from this very room, from this meeting, from this state, and from all others like it where Democrats still know what it is to win an election, and to serve the people with sincere dedication. Unless people like yourselves are willing to become involved in party leadership, then we cannot legitimately criticize those who step into the leadership vacuum.

The alternatives, in this instance, appear to be quite clear. Perhaps for many people, the easy thing would be to sit on the sidelines and watch. There is no better way to deliver the party right into the hands of extremists than this sort of apathy. There is no question now that there are those who would welcome this abdication of responsibility by many elements of our party. There are those who would like nothing better than the opportunity to reshape the party in their own image, and to use it as a personal political instrument. The time has arrived when we must determine whether we shall permit this to happen, or whether we shall resist what we feel is not in the best interests of the total party. Responsible Democrats can choose but one course; otherwise, by washing their hands of party involvement, they only give their tacit endorsement to the trends our party seems to be taking at this time.

Those who choose indifference and inactivity give free rein to the zealous reformers who would replace open and free participation in the party with quota systems. They would be encouraging the type of reform which would deny Governors and other party leaders a seat on convention delegations. At a time when our party needs strengthening and rebuilding, they would be aiding those who would seek further to disrupt and discredit many leaders of our state parties.

It goes much further. The chairman of our party's so-called Reform Commission has said that we must be reformed along his commission's lines, or it will die. There are those of a similar persuasion who are convinced that the present party must die, and then be rebuilt into a narrow, restrictive organization appealing only to certain segments of the population. It appears that some people were listening more to those outside the convention hall in Chicago than to those inside the hall, and that they would now seek to impose that type of disruption and ideology on the entire party. If those of us gathered here tonight—and the many millions of responsible Democrats throughout the nation—are unwilling to resist these efforts, then we only condemn the Democratic Party to a destiny of further deterioration, fragmentation, and extremism.

There is an alternative, however, to this approach. It involves the Democrats of Tennessee, the Democrats of South Carolina, and Texas, and Connecticut, and Kansas, and Illinois, and every state in this union. It is not what the political experts would call a coalition. Jefferson and Jackson did not say that the Democratic Party must be a coalition of special interest groups. They did not say that the Democratic Party should be liberal or conservative. They said one thing—that the Democratic Party belongs to the people. Thomas Jefferson said, "I know of no safer depository of the ultimate powers of society than the people themselves." It is inconsistent with this very clear mandate that we now permit our party to be run out of the Senate Cloakroom in Washington, or that we have a situation where the national chairman puts his own interests above the organizational needs of the party.

Last fall, we had the opportunity of attending the meeting of the Democratic National Committee in Washington, and expressing our position at that time. What took place there was frighteningly similar to what took place in Chicago, on a slightly smaller scale. The same disruptive elements attempted to deny Congressman Albert Rains his seat on the National Committee from Alabama. I wonder now if the same loyalty standards will be applied uniformly to other states. I wonder if the National Committeewoman from New York will be questioned on the basis of loyalty "because she supported John Lindsay for mayor of New York."

Loyalty is a matter which works both ways—loyalty from the local and state parties to the national, and loyalty from the national party to the state and local parties. One-sided loyalty becomes nothing more than the imposition of doctrine, and this is totally inconsistent with the principles of our party. There is a need for reorganization in the party, but it doesn't stop with the selection of convention delegates. It goes right to the composition of the National Committee itself, and the fact that state parties must now demand a stronger hand in party matters.

At the September meeting, I had the opportunity of issuing a statement to the National Committee expressing my position on the party's present problems. In that statement, I said:

"There is grave apprehension about the direction our party is taking, and the alteration of basic philosophy which is under consideration. If the zeal of reform has now brought us to the brink of extremism, then I suggest that we reassess our values.

"Extremism breeds extremism. To yield our party now to either extreme would most certainly touch off a chain of reaction which could reshape the entire political structure of our nation, and damage permanently the traditional concept of our party's broad ideology. Unless I misread all the political signs in our nation today, I do not think our people are ready for a political party of extremism. I think the people of America today are looking for the politics of moderation.

"We are a party of liberals, we are a party of conservatives, we are a party of moderation encompassing that great collection of ethnic, racial, religious, economic, cultural, occupational and social minorities which have given our nation its perpetual regeneration of strength. Let us now turn from this coalition of ideals into a single-minded party bent on purging certain elements from its midst."

I reiterate most strongly that position this evening with one most important addition. If you feel as I do that our nation needs an alternative to the present administration; if you feel as I do that the Democratic Party must return to its position of strength all along the political spectrum, then I suggest that you recommit yourselves to the principles of the two gentlemen we gather here to honor. Now is the time when we must have involvement and participation. We must strengthen our base by moving into the communities and bringing into the party the youth, the women, the minorities, and all other aspects of the society. We must now open doors, not shut them, and we must oppose vigorously those in our own party who would wish to carry us down the road of extremism. It is your job—and mine—to go to the people, and to make them a full partner in the party which has always been their single best hope for good government. Andrew Jackson once said that "one man with courage makes a majority," I feel this can apply most particularly at this juncture when we do need and must have the political courage to withstand the forces of disruption and factionalism. I know of no better time than this evening for each of us to pledge ourselves to the continuing goal of preserving and strengthening the party of Jefferson and Jackson, the party of the people of America, and the party which provides our nation its brightest hope for the future.

A 1918 COMMENCEMENT ADDRESS BY MR. SOL BRACHMAN TO MARIETTA COLLEGE APPLICABLE TO TODAY'S TIMES

HON. OLIN E. TEAGUE

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 5, 1970

Mr. TEAGUE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, one of my constituents of Fort Worth, Tex., has forwarded me a copy of a commencement address made by a mutual friend, Mr. Sol Brachman of Fort Worth, to the Marietta College in 1918.

It is amazing how after 52 years, much of what Mr. Brachman had to say is applicable to our present situation. Under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to include Mr. Brachman's address:

COMMENCEMENT ADDRESS BY SOL BRACHMAN TO MARIETTA COLLEGE, IN 1918

The United States adopted Universal Military Service for the duration of the war. This is good—as far as it goes. But the United States must adopt this as a permanent policy.

It is impossible in a short time to take up the many arguments for permanent Universal Military Training. We know now the waste and inefficiency of preparing under stress! We know now the enormous cost of preparing under stress! We know now the danger of unpreparedness!

I repeat, the Untied States must adopt Universal Military Training as a permanent

policy. Why? First, because war is not yet a thing of the past. Under present day commercial and manufacturing systems all nations seek colonies or spheres of influence as outlets for their trade. Call this dream of empire, manifest destiny, a place in the sun, colonial system, or what you will! You cannot change international relations in a day. Friction and complications are inevitable. While conditions in Europe might allow it, there can be no permanent disarmament and world peace until the international status in Asia is settled.

Second, with war still possible, the United States may be involved in the future. Germany will bear no love for the United States after the present conflict. Japan is taking high-handed control of Asia and the Pacific, and the United States has a greater Pacific coast line than any other nation. Our Monroe Doctrine will be challenged after this war as never before. But it is unnecessary to prove specific possibilities. This war has shown that a nation may be dragged into conflict even though not directly involved. The United States was forced into this war by violation of all international law and justice. The United States was forced into this war to protect her interests and rights and those of her citizens. These same causes may arise in the future. It will demand then, as it does now and as it always has demanded, military strength to obtain the rights, security, and international justice which belong to all nations. No nation is ever a whit more safe than its own strength and its instant readiness to use that strength make it. The international problems which will follow this war make it imperative that the United States be strong.

Third, permanent Universal Military Training is the only method of obtaining modern national strength and preparedness. To prove this it is but necessary to examine the results of the system or the results of the lack of Universal Military Training in various countries.

We will turn first to Europe. Germany aimed at world domination with Universal Military Training and its resulting power of instant mobilization, as her master weapon. That she did not succeed is due only to the same method, adopted for defense, in France.

When the blow fell in 1914 France was the first of the Allies to mobilize and give Germany opposition. The French General Staff had seen the war coming. They had built up a comparatively large reserve army by Universal Military Training. They had the plans ready for defense. True, France failed to clear her soil of invaders. But she failed because of lack of British aid! She failed because Russia failed her in the East! But France spoiled Germany's plans. That the world has had the opportunity to defend itself against German rule is due only to France's system of permanent Universal Military Training, with its accompanying plan and preparedness for an emergency.

Now let us cross the Channel and observe the results of preparedness. In England, Lord Roberts had been laughed to scorn because he preached Universal Military Training and preparedness. If England had been prepared the war might have been over in a short time. If England had been prepared, Germany might not have risked the struggle. All her Diplomatic efforts were bent to keep England neutral. But aside from possibilities we know that it took England two years, and the adoption of Universal Service, to even attempt a drive to expel the Germans from France. England's lack of permanent Universal Military Training has cost her and France hundreds of thousands of men and billions of money.

Switzerland has suffered less than any other neutral in Europe. Why? Because she has an admirable system of Universal Military Training. In August 1914, 300,000 men were mobilized, sent to the border, and have been kept there. That was enough to furnish real opposition. Switzerland has not been invaded or even seriously threatened.

Finally, let us observe the results of the lack of Universal Military Training in the United States. After the war in Europe started no steps were taken here for an adequate army. The rights of the United States and her citizens were more and more infringed upon by the belligerents. Still no action. What was the result? The inevitable result of national weakness. The United States was involved in war without enough men to defend the Atlantic Coast. Had the United States possessed the military strength which a great and self-respecting power must have, she would probably not have been dragged into the war.

But at last systematic Universal Military Service was adopted for the duration of the war. The United States is only now becoming an important military factor. Order is coming out of chaos. Men are being sent to France in respectable numbers. Is there one here who doubts that only the adoption of universal service has brought the great strides made in building an adequate army?

We see then that the experiences of other nations, the experiences of the United States herself, point to but one course—permanent Universal Military Training.

Herbert Adams Gibbons, in his foreword to "the New Map of Europe," quotes Montesquieu as follows: "There are general causes, moral or physical, which act in each state, elevate it, maintain it, cast it down."

The general cause why the United States has been elevated and maintained as a great power is that she has been strong. She has always taken necessary measures to protect her interests and those of her citizens. National strength means preparedness. Modern national preparedness is possible only under permanent Universal Military Training. If, in the course of time, the United States must follow the fate of nations, the fate of Greece, the fate of Rome, let not the general cause be failure to learn from the events about her! Let not the general cause be refusal to be strong! Let not the general cause be lack of preparedness. Only in preparedness is there national strength and national safety!

UKRAINIANS OBSERVE 52D ANNIVERSARY OF INDEPENDENCE

HON. LESTER L. WOLFF

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 5, 1970

Mr. WOLFF. Mr. Speaker, the courage of the Ukrainian people, amply exhibited throughout the nation's history, cannot be adequately described in a few sentences.

Last month, as you know, the Ukraine celebrated its 52d anniversary of independence—an independence which unfortunately is maintained more in hope than reality since the Ukraine still strains under the oppressive hand of the Soviet Union.

From the chaos of World War I, the Ukraine, after centuries of foreign domination was able to bring independence to its people. But freedom was short lived. Within 3 years, this courageous nation was under Communist control.

Nevertheless, the dream of freedom has never been extinguished in the souls of these people. Despite hardship and anguish, that the people of the Ukraine have experienced, they still maintain the conviction that some day, in the not too distant future, the reality of freedom will again be theirs.

It is for this reason, Mr. Speaker, that I would like to take this opportunity to extend my best wishes to this small yet towering nation on its 52d anniversary. Moreover, this affords me the opportunity to also reconfirm our dedication to bring freedom to the Ukraine and to all nations which still struggle under the anguish of Communist control.

Each one of us has a stake in the future of nations such as the Ukraine which are dedicated to restoring independence to their people. For without a firm and lasting commitment to freedom for all, we can never hope to establish lasting world peace.

May the time not be too far in the future when we will be able to celebrate the freedom of all nations and the establishment of lasting world peace, rather than merely praising those who struggle against tyranny.

POPULATION AND GENOCIDE

HON. GEORGE BUSH

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 5, 1970

Mr. BUSH. Mr. Speaker, the House Republican Task Force on Earth Resources and Population of which I am chairman, has studied the facets of population growth for the past year. Through our research and hearings, we became aware of the seriousness of this problem, and the great need for family planning recommendations. This research eventually led our task force to produce a family planning report: Federal Government Family Planning Programs—Domestic and International.

One of the arguments leveled against family planning has been the fear of racial genocide. This assumption, however, is usually feared by those who have not carefully examined the crucial issues involved. Family planning is, in reality, a contributor rather than a detriment to the welfare and development of every race and nation.

Carl T. Rowan's column in the Washington Sunday Star, February 1, 1970, discusses the question of birth control and genocide. These cogent remarks probe the tenets of the genocide question, and expose the fallacious reasoning behind the philosophy of a proliferate birth rate. Mr. Rowan points out, for example, that a child is much more likely to be born prematurely if the mother is very young; bears a lot of children in rapid succession, or continues to bear children until a late age. He also points out that premature infants have two to three times as many physical defects and 50 percent more illness than full-term infants. For the benefit of my colleagues, I submit this informative article at this point in the RECORD:

[From the Washington Sunday Star, Feb. 1, 1970]

MILITANTS MISLEAD BLACKS ON BIRTH CONTROL

(By Carl T. Rowan)

With increasing frequency, I am getting reports of opposition in black ghettos to the

distribution of birth control devices and the dissemination of information about family planning.

There is talk of having to close some ghetto centers that take teen-age girls who have borne a child out of wedlock, help them over the emotional trauma, teach them about contraceptives so they will not soon become a two-time loser, get them back in school, and generally try to ensure that the birth of one illegitimate child does not mean the wrecking of two lives.

These centers are getting rough treatment from some militants who say birth control in the ghetto is a form of genocide.

Some social workers are blaming the Black Panthers. These workers say that, because the Panthers' harsh rhetoric shows them willing to stand up to the white establishment and because of their programs of providing breakfast for children and discouraging the use of narcotics, the Panthers have the ear of many thousands of people in the ghettos.

So black women supposedly are listening when a Panther says: "A black woman should have as many children as possible, whether she can afford them or not, so we can gain numerical strength and power."

This viewpoint ought not to be laid completely on the Panthers' doorstep. It is a fallout of racial polarization in this country which has affected many blacks who would not think of joining the Panthers. In fact, it goes beyond pure racism; it is an expression of nationalism which one often hears in countries like Brazil where people argue that the U.S. is pushing birth control so Brazil will never be as populous and powerful as the United States.

There are some specially tragic aspects of this situation in the U.S. They ought to be weighed carefully by any self-styled militant before he rushes out to urge black women to bear babies as fast as they can.

Dr. Frederick C. Green, a black man who is director of pediatric ambulatory care in Roosevelt Hospital, New York, has run into this anti-birth-control campaign.

"I tell them it's not quantity that's important; it's quality," Green says. "What good is it to have 10 or 15 children under undesirable conditions in which they are not able to develop their total potential."

A Negro woman social worker in Trenton, N.J., is arguing that another black baby does not necessarily mean more black power. "It doesn't mean another vote; it might mean another person on welfare. The Establishment likes this; it's another one of us they can use as a statistic."

There are some crucial statistics that the militants ought to study.

One set shows that a child is much more likely to be born prematurely if the mother is very young or bears a lot of children in rapid succession or continues to bear children until a late age. Thus, poor black women have a starkly high percentage of premature births.

Now listen to the results of several studies showing what prematurity does to babies:

"Premature infants have two to three times as many physical defects and 50 percent more illnesses than full-term infants.

"Mental retardation is ten times more likely to occur in a premature baby than in a full-term infant.

"A premature infant is 16 times more likely to die during the first 28 days of life than one whose birthweight is normal."

In sections of Chicago's ghetto, 14 black babies out of every 100 are born prematurely; in some New York City housing development areas, 15 of every 100; in one Newark, N.J., hospital, over 16 of every 100 black infants were premature.

What kind of black pride is it, what form of militancy is it, that asks black women to accept physical abuse and sometimes degradation to produce large numbers of children when the odds are that many of them will be retarded and bear other afflictions? A mentally retarded child makes a poor soldier in the fight for racial equality.

The Panthers and other militants may be in a rage; their rhetoric may sometimes seem unwise; but they are not dumb. I want to believe that they can look at the facts and see birth control and family planning working to enhance black pride and dignity. If they do, these clinics will not be driven out of areas where they are so desperately needed.

"SESAME STREET" SWINGS

HON. EDWARD R. ROYBAL

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 5, 1970

Mr. ROYBAL. Mr. Speaker, in a recent newsletter report to my constituents, I commended the new educational TV series, "Seasame Street"—the delightful children's program designed to improve the language and numerical skills of America's 12 million preschool youngsters between the ages of 3 and 5, and help prepare them for formal classroom work in elementary school—as an outstanding example of an imaginative combination of Federal and private funding used to initiate a promising experimental project to exploit the tremendous potential of our modern communications techniques for worthwhile educational purposes.

Sponsored by the U.S. Office of Education, the Corporation for Public Broadcasting, and Project Headstart, in cooperation with the Ford Foundation, the Carnegie Corporation, and the Markel Foundation, "Sesame Street" is a 26-week series of daily hour-long color programs carried on the Nation's nearly 200 public TV stations—including KCET, channel 28 in Los Angeles.

It has been described as perhaps the most ambitious single effort ever attempted to employ television as an education tool for the benefit of smaller children.

This unique project reaches and teaches preschoolers in an attractive and entertaining fashion, sustaining their interest by utilizing many popular elements borrowed from commercial children's television, such as puppets, animated cartoons, live-action films, other children, and appearances by guest celebrities.

So, I was extremely encouraged by the preliminary results of a recently announced three-State evaluation survey on "Sesame Street," which indicates that children who viewed the program's first 6 weeks of presentations greatly increased their rates of learning, exceeding the normal gains experienced by other children who did not watch the series by some 250 percent.

Such impressive results are highly significant for parents, educators, public officials, and all citizens who are concerned about the urgent necessity for improving the quality of American education, particularly in our fast-growing urban metropolitan population centers, where financially hard-pressed school districts are confronting a serious educational crisis, which they are are often inadequately equipped to handle.

Because of the importance of this subject, Mr. Speaker, I would like to include in the RECORD an article on the "Sesame Street" evaluation survey, entitled: "Tests Indicate TV Program Improves Children's Skills," which appeared in the January 28 edition of the New York Times.

The article follows:

[From the New York Times, Jan. 28, 1970]

TESTS INDICATE TV PROGRAM IMPROVES CHILDREN'S SKILLS

(By William K. Stevens)

"Sesame Street"—a brisk, rib-tickling television program that is designed to improve the language, numerical and reasoning skills of preschool children, particularly those from poor families—appears to be achieving many of its goals.

According to preliminary tests in three states, poor children who viewed "Sesame Street" regularly in the program's first six weeks of daily hour-long presentations made gains two and one-half times as great as those made by poor children who did not watch the program.

Other surveys indicate that the program is reaching about five million children, including substantial numbers of those from poor homes.

The results of the tests and surveys were disclosed yesterday in a report by the Children's Television Workshop producer of "Sesame Street" to its sponsors—the Carnegie Corporation, the Ford Foundation, the United States Office of Education, the Markel Foundation and the Corporation for Public Broadcasting. The report was made at a meeting at the Essex House.

HOPE FOR ANOTHER YEAR

After the meeting, Mrs. Joan Ganz Cooney, executive director of the workshop, said that she hoped the test results would persuade the sponsors to support the experiment for another year and that she was optimistic about this. The initial 26-week, 130-program series began last Nov. 10 and will end on May 29. It cost $8 million to produce.

Although the program has been widely acclaimed for its high degree of professionalism, originality and general level of quality, and although there was evidence that many children had become enthusiastic devotees, no evaluation of "Sesame Street's" educational impact had been available until yesterday.

In the preliminary evaluation conducted by Dr. Edward Palmer, the workshop research director, 3-, 4- and 5-year-olds in three day-care centers for poor children of working mothers in Maine, New York and Tennessee were randomly divided into two groups in each center. One group watched "Sesame Street" regularly for its first six weeks. The other group never watched it.

Before "Sesame Street" went on the air, each child in each group was asked 217 test questions to find out how well he could recognize letters, numbers and geometric forms, and how well he could sort out objects.

After six weeks of "Sesame Street," the same test was given again. The regular viewers, as a group, could answer 10 per cent more of the 217 questions than they could at the start. The nonviewers could answer 4 per cent more.

In the ability to name letters, the viewers made a 9 per cent gain, against a 3 per cent gain for the nonviewers. In naming numbers, there was a 12 per cent gain for the viewers against a 4 per cent gain for the nonviewers.

Substantial gains, somethimes 25 per cent or more, were made by regular viewers in their ability to sort, differentiate and classify objects and group them by twos and threes.

But, in one important area—recognizing the sounds of letters—there was no differ-

ence between the performance of viewers and that of nonviewers, leading Dr. Palmer to suggest that "Sesame Street's" approach in that area may have to be modified.

"Sesame Street" is broadcast each weekday by nearly 200 television stations from Maine to American Samoa. In about 100 communities it is seen both in the morning and the late afternoon. Five stations carry it a total of six times a day in the New York area—WLIW (Channel 21), WNDT (Channel 13), WYNE (Channel 25), in WNYC (Channel 31) and WPIX (Channel 11).

The program is considered the first major national effort to harness the most effective of contemporary television techniques to the task of preschool education. In particular, it adapts to the teaching of letters and numbers the fast-paced, high-impact, repetitive commercial techniques that have been successful in selling toys.

THE AUTOMOBILE AND POLLUTION

HON. WILLIAM F. RYAN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 5, 1970

Mr. RYAN. Mr. Speaker, in his state of the Union address, President Nixon recognized the peril to our environment caused by pollution.

In our constant surge toward economic growth and increased technology, we have sacrified those elements of our society which were free—our air, our water, and our land.

Air pollution is a costly hazard, both in dollars and in lives, and one of the primary polluters of the air is the automobile. Although automobile manufacturers have recently acknowledged that their products cause pollution, the fact is that they have done little, if anything, to solve the problem despite the fact that automobile pollution has been a serious problem for many years.

I am inserting in the RECORD, an article by Colman McCarthy, which appeared in the January 26 Washington Post entitled "The Way Detroit 'Wages War' on Pollution."

I urge my colleagues to read Mr. McCarthy's article, which shows that promises are not enough. If the air is to be cleansed, then rigorous emission standards must be set and strictly enforced.

The article follows:

THE WAY DETROIT "WAGES WAR" ON POLLUTION

(By Colman McCarthy)

Edward N. Cole is the president of General Motors. His company is the world's largest maker of motor vehicles. Two weeks ago, Cole made a speech in which he said GM was "committed to eliminating the automobile as a factor in the nation's air pollution problem at the earliest possible time."

As in the case of a confessed wife-beater, it is hard to know how to take Cole's statement: with tender thanks that Detroit plans finally to stop polluting the public air? Or with rage that it has deliberately been a polluter for so long and with so little concern about the damage done?

Regardless of one's feeling about Cole's statement, and the similar ones made earlier by Ford and Chrysler, Detroit's record is on the books, if not in the lungs. Automobiles account for at least 60 per cent of the nation's total air pollution. In the smog belts of some cities, car pollution is as high as 92 per cent. Each year, automobiles dump into the air, and potentially the lungs, more than 90 million tons of pollutants. In Los Angeles County alone, 9660 tons of carbon monoxide are exhausted daily from motor vehicles, despite emission controls required by law since 1966. The figures are too staggering to understand, but roughly translated they mean that if the pollutants were not diffused by the air, a person walking in the street in the Los Angeles area would be wading through toxic substance two or three feet deep.

A question in many people's mind is why is Detroit suddenly concerned about serious pollution control. The answer, not to play games, is that it realizes unequivocally that the public is aroused, the government is moving in—however slowly—and that car-makers are being sued in many states for continuing to make cars that pollute the public's air.

The latest suit was brought recently by the State of Illinois. It charged that since 1953 the car companies have conspired "to eliminate all competition" in research, development and installation of anti-pollution equipment on vehicles. "We cannot," said the Attorney General of Illinois, "afford patience and the wanton convenience of polluters any longer."

Those who have followed the car-makers closely on the issue of pollution control know that the industry has an attitude almost as poor as its record. At the 1958 National Conference on Air Pollution, in Washington, Harry Williams of the Automobile Manufacturers Association, represented the industry in a speech in which he said: "In eliminating smoke from vehicle exhaust, much progress has been made. True, there is still room for improvement, but mostly this must come from the (car) owners, who are alone responsible for the maintenance of their vehicles." In plainer words, the car-makers admitted they were selling the consumer a smoke-wagon, but after the sale is made it is the consumer's problem.

In the same speech, Williams repeated a favorite theme of automobile makers: the great benefits motor vehicles have brought to America. Not only that, but once you get to thinking about it, the notion is absurd that today's cites have an air pollution problem. Think back, said Williams, to the days "before people were liberated from the congested cities by the motor vehicle . . . There were reeking livery stables in every neighborhood. Cow barns were the customary auxiliaries to dairies. There were malodorous privies in every backyard . . . It is difficult for us to imagine that vanished world, and the air pollution that was its accepted odor. Yet, if we would retain the calm and dispassionate attitude that the scientific method demands, we should try to remind ourselves that the evils afflicting us [today] are perhaps mere pinpricks in contrast to those borne by our ancestors."

One man who has been able to live calmly with the "mere pinprick" of automobiles massively fouling the air is Henry Ford. In a Look magazine interview, May 28, 1968, Ford said that he prefered a program of "research and development" with several major oil companies in the fight against pollution. As for experimenting with non-polluting vehicles like the electric car, Ford said bluntly: "We have tremendous investments in facilities for engines, transmissions and axles, and I can't see throwing these away just because the electric car doesn't emit fumes."

Elsewhere in the interview, Ford was asked what was his company's number one problem. "That's easy," he answered. "Making more money."

Although the general public has learned only recently of the horror of automobile exhaust fumes, pollution control authorities have known all along. It was not until 1964 that any dared speak out in direct language and pointed a finger at the car-makers. Said Smith Griswold, then air pollution control chief for Los Angeles County and the man behind the tough California laws against pollution from cars:

"Everything that the industry has disclosed it is able to do today (in 1964) to control auto exhaust, was possible technically 10 years ago. No new principles had to be developed, no technological advance was needed, no scientific breakthrough was required. Crankcase emissions have been controlled by a method in use for at least half a century. Hydrocarbons and carbon monoxide are being controlled by relatively simple adjustments of those most basic engine components—the carburetor and ignition systems.

"Why has this action required ten years? One is forced to ascribe it to arrogance and apathy on the part of this, the nation's largest industry. Control of air pollution does not make cars easier to sell, it does not make them cheaper to produce, and it does not reduce comebacks on the warranty. To people interested in profits, expenses for the development and production of exhaust controls are liabilities.

"For nearly a decade, the auto industry has been telling us they have been spending a million dollars a year on air pollution control. Their announced expenditure has totalled about $9 million during that period. This provides an interesting contrast with a recent survey which revealed the earnings of the 44 highest paid executives in the country. Of these, one half, 22, are employed by the auto industry. Their combined 1963 earnings were about $9½ million dollars. In short, during the past decade the industry's total investment in controlling the nation's number one air pollution problem, a blight that is costing the rest of us more than $11 billion a year, has constituted less than one year's salary for 22 of their executives.

"The industry is spending over $1 billion to change over its models this year. Their annual expenditures for air pollution control development is one-tenth of one per cent of $1 billion. For that, the industry has bought 10 years of delay and unhampered freedom to pour millions of tons of toxic contaminants into the atmosphere."

One of the surprising parts of Edward Cole's speech was the implied criticism of the oil industry. "Research indicates that without lead in gasoline, long-time exhaust catalytic converters would become technically feasible. Exhaust manifold reactors also would have increased life. The same is true of exhaust gas recirculation systems to control oxides of nitrogen." Then, getting less scientific, Cole said that the presence of tetraethyl lead in gasoline causes most of the pollution emission. "It is important to emphasize that—if stringent control of particulates becomes a federal goal as we expect—we know of no way presently that such control can be accomplished with lead in gasoline."

To the petroleum industry, which for decades—with Detroit's encouragement—has added lead in gasoline to increase the octane levels and "no-knock" power, Cole's anti-lead remarks were like a match in the gas tank. "What has he got to lose if we go out of business," exploded R. V. Kerley, of the Ethyl Corporation, expressing his personal viewpoint the day after Cole's speech. "Who kills the most people in the United States yearly? The auto-makers, not the leaded gasoline. Let's get in proper perspective who is doing the damage."

Whether American industry's most blissfully happy marriage—between the car and oil producers—is about to break up is not likely. Before Detroit's sudden concern about pollution, disputes between the two giants were calmly and quietly worked out by the

Coordinating Research Council, an offspring of the Society of Automotive Engineers and the American Petroleum Institute. But now the dispute has become a fight, not around executive tables but in the public forum.

One reason Detroit has been able to sell tens of millions of polluting cars is that the public has never seriously demanded otherwise. It wanted horsepower, chrome, speed, comfort, bigness and gimmicks. Here and there, demands were made for battery- or steam-driven cars; but even if a manufacturer knew a way of massproducing these kinds of cars, he could not compete with the Big Four. The latter knew the public didn't really care about anti-polluting cars. But a large part of it does now, and suddenly Henry Ford is no longer saying money is his number one problem; it's pollution.

Mr. Cole said in his speech that HEW would soon issue new pollution goals for 1975 and 1980, the latter date being the deadline for a fume-free car. "This will be no easy assignment," he said. But neither Cole nor the government said what the breathing public should do with its lungs until 1980. Presumably, comfort should be taken from Cole's declaration of Detroit's passion and sincerity: "We must not neglect any area of potential improvement as we escalate the war on air pollution."

The last time the country heard talk of a war against a social evil was the Great Society's war against poverty. But the trouble there, many now say, in the war against poverty, poverty won.

NEED ADEQUATE FAMILY PLANNING SERVICE

HON. GEORGE BUSH

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 5, 1970

Mr. BUSH. Mr. Speaker, the need for family planning services for all Americans will be a paramount issue in the seventies. The research of the Republican Task Force on Earth Resources and Population of which I am chairman has emphasized the necessity for adequate family planning services. The task force has studied the interrelated problems of population, pollution, and poverty and we feel that a national population policy is essential and should have top congressional priority. In dealing with environmental problems, we must not just treat the symptoms and neglect the cause.

Yesterday, February 4, along with nine task force members, I introduced H.R. 15691, Family Planning Amendments of 1970. This bill would amend the Public Health Service Act to provide for special project grants in family planning services and contraceptive research. The task force report entitled "Federal Government Family Planning Programs—Domestic and International," issued in December and printed in the December 29, 1969, CONGRESSIONAL RECORD recommended specific levels of funding for these programs. This bill incorporates those recommendations into the legislation proposed by the administration to do much the same thing—H.R. 15159.

H.R. 15691 differs in only two respects from the administration proposal. It emphasizes the importance that private agencies, institutions and organizations have played in the family planning services and research field and specifically gives the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare the authority to make grants to these groups. Second, it ties down specific authorization levels for these purposes for the fiscal years ending June 30, 1971, through June 30, 1975. Prorated over the 5-year period, this bill calls for $485 million for family planning services and $380 million for contraceptive research.

The pill has been under heavy criticism from some quarters recently; but we must not jump out of the frying pan into the fire over the uncertainties we have about it. We must provide women with a simple alternative to unwanted pregnancy. It is convenient for millions of American women, but it is not the ultimate. We need more research in this field and we need it now.

The quality of our lives depends upon our ability to control our fertility. The case has been made; the facts are undeniably clear—we need not continue contemplating the complexities of the problem. We need action and results. This legislation gives the administration the necessary money to accomplish President Nixon's goal of providing family planning services to all Americans who wish them, but cannot afford them.

HAWAII: A LEADING MARITIME STATE

HON. SPARK M. MATSUNAGA

OF HAWAII

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 5, 1970

Mr. MATSUNAGA. Mr. Speaker, on Monday, January 26, 1970, Gov. John A. Burns presented to Hawaii's Fifth Legislature a unified legislative program which underscores the 50th State's leadership in the study and use of marine resources.

In his oceanographic message, Governor Burns said:

The Pacific Ocean is a vast treasure which surrounds Hawaii and gives to each Island of our State a band of white surf and golden sand, symbolic of an ideal marriage of environmental purity and economic prosperity.

It has been obvious for decades that Hawaii must use this treasure for her own good and for the good of mankind, and forbid its misuse. The earlier decades were decades of dreams and desires. Now, the Seventies is the Decade for Action.

Calling for a legislative program which would enable Hawaii to lead the way in this decade for action in marine science, Governor Burns offered several bills which would continue the orderly process of sequential development of Hawaii's marine science resources. His legislative packet included proposals calling for the establishment of a Hawaii Planning and Logistics Center for the international decade of ocean exploration, and the creation of the position of a marine affairs coordinator to oversee the various programs of the State.

Most of the innovative and practical proposals presented to the legislature are an outgrowth of recommendations from the recently published oceanographic report, "Hawaii and the Sea." Hawaii is the first State of the Union to issue such a report, representing the combined effort of 100 specialists in marine affairs.

Knowing of my colleagues' interest in the Nation's progress in the utilization of marine resources, I would like to have Governor Burns' message, "Using Our Pacific Treasure," printed in the RECORD, as follows:

USING OUR PACIFIC TREASURE

(A unified legislative program for immediate action to make Hawaii a leader in the study and use of marine resources)

(By John A. Burns, Governor, State of Hawaii)

The Pacific Ocean is a vast treasure which surrounds Hawaii and gives to each Island of our State a band of white surf and golden sand, symbolic of an ideal marriage of environmental purity and economic prosperity.

It has been obvious for decades that Hawaii must use this treasure for her own good and for the good of mankind, and forbid its misuse. The earlier decades were decades of dreams and desires. Now, the Seventies is the Decade for Action.

The time is at hand for specific, detailed, practical programs by the State Legislature and State Administration to study and use the rich resources of our marine environment. This is the time when a growing despoilation of our waters must cease, and when they must be restored to the crystalline cleanliness which our Hawaiian forefathers knew.

Accordingly, I have prepared and am recommending this unified program for legislative action in this first year of the Decade of the Seventies. It carries out, in logical sequence, the earlier more basic programs of our State Administration. We foresaw this day and prepared well for it. Our past Governors' conferences on science and technology, on hydrospace and astronautics, on oceanography, on fisheries, and on a number of other specialized topics, all carefully, slowly and diligently set the pattern and the pace for well-ordered scientific development in Hawaii. And in the last year of the Sixties—our Statehood Anniversary Year—this Administration produced the pioneering work among the States called *Hawaii and the Sea*, which is our broad plan for State action in marine affairs.

Nationally, there has been delay and uncertainty in the past year over the direction and extent of the Nation's commitment in marine affairs. Varying programs which culminated in the publication of the Stratton Commission's excellent report, *Our Nation and the Sea*, now appear to be waiting for Federal direction, Federal leadership, decisive Federal action. Hawaii, however, need not wait, but rather should press forward, always conscious of the dangers of cutbacks in Federal programs, but nevertheless optimistic that our own programs need not stop while we wait for the Federal projects to develop.

Today is the day we must set the leadership pattern in oceanography, this fast-developing area of human concern, toward which the eyes of all nations are only beginning to turn. Now is the time we must propose to our own Nation, and to other Pacific nations, that Hawaii is the logical—indeed, the ideal—place for oceanographic headquartering, for major ocean research projects, and for gatherings fostering international cooperation in marine affairs.

Now is the hour to get, not only down to earth, but down to the sea in ships, in undersea craft, in submerged habitats. Now is the time to jump into the water and swim.

For this session of the State Legislature, our Administration proposes a variety of measures. They have been carefully planned as a result of the outstanding effort put into *Hawaii and the Sea* by many distinguished

specialists. They contributed priceless talent and thousands of man-hours of energetic effort to pinpointing the areas in which the State can, and should, act.

These legislative proposals continue the orderly process of sequential development of Hawaii's marine science resources. They are varied in scope. They include modest proposals which will require only limited funding and which can be carried out by present State Departments which already have shown their competence and capability for producing outstanding results with limited resources. And there are also major proposals which will require bold action, pioneering action, the type of initiative for which Hawaii's Legislatures already have won national distinction. Some of these bolder proposals will challenge the vision and wisdom of our legislators, who must always balance the ever-pressing fiscal needs of todays' world with the marvelous opportunities for future prosperity and environmental excellence.

THE INTERNATIONAL DECADE OF OCEAN EXPLORATION

Foremost among the national proposals for the development of oceanography and other marine sciences is the International Decade of Ocean Exploration, born in a prior national administration and accepted by the present Administration as eminently worthy of the attention and best efforts of many nations. Hawaii is an ideal location for major activities related to this noble and practical program. Hawaii need not wait to be told what to do, or wait to be invited to participate in plans generated elsewhere. As a free and sovereign State, we must extend to our national administration—which already has expressed its great interest in our oceanographic efforts—the helping hand of bold initiatives to assist this great program in setting sail.

Accordingly, one of my major proposals to the Legislature is for a Pacific I.D.O.E. Conference which would welcome representatives of all the nations and regions of the Pacific Basin, as well as of other U.S. Pacific States, to Hawaii to consider the legal, economic and sociological aspects of the I.D.O.E. and its many proposed projects. This conference would enable the Pacific Family of Nations to offer Pacific regional plans and recommendations to I.D.O.E. which would be of immense benefit in integrating the world-wide efforts of this international effort. This proposal calls for an expenditure by the State of $25,000.

Closely related to this conference is another legislative proposal: That the State establish a Planning and Logistics Center for the International Decade of Ocean Exploration. There will be a great need to coordinate the multitudinous activities related to IDOE, and to provide the logistical support and data exchange necessary for efficient projects development. Such a center would serve to emphasize Hawaii's determination to become a major center of international oceanographic activities. An appropriation of $50,000 is requested.

SKIPJACK TUNA RESOURCE EXPLOITATION

The Central Pacific Skipjack Tuna Resource is a potential $100 million industry. Hawaii's two U.S. Senators have jointly sponsored a bill in the Senate calling for a $3 million appropriation to research and develop the practical purse-seine technology necessary to use this resource wisely. It is a resource which can be of tremendous benefit to our Sister-Islands of the Trust Territory, Guam and American Samoa. Hawaii has been a leader in calling for development of the food-from-the-sea potential of this tuna species. I have extended invitations to officials of Guam, the Trust Territory, and American Samoa to coordinate the development of this resource. I am pleased to report that American Samoa has already pledged it will contribute to this project. My legislative proposal is for an appropriation of $100,000 to carry out a three-year State program of research and sea trials which will prove the economic value of the fast-sinking purse-seine method of skipjack tuna harvesting.

MARINE AFFAIRS COORDINATOR

The report, *Hawaii and the Sea,* recommended, as a key to Hawaii's success in marine science affairs, the establishment of the position of Marine Affairs Coordinator in the Office of the Governor. The Marine Affairs Coordinator would be responsible directly to the Governor. His work would be to cross over existing departmental lines to achieve broad cooperation between existing agencies concerned with a variety of marine affairs. To date, Hawaii's oceanographic development efforts have shown excellent results in terms of intense activity in many Government Departments and in the private sector. We have now grown to the point at which the uniting of these efforts through such a Marine Affairs Coordinator is a logical and necessary step. My legislative proposal is for an appropriation of $30,000 to establish this position and carry out this coordination.

SEACAP: AN UNDER-SEA RESOURCES SURVEY OFF OAHU

Hawaii needs much more information about the nature and extent of the resources in the sea surrounding the State. Sand, precious coral, fish and shellfish, the capacity of the ocean to absorb wastes without contamination—all these need scientific study. My legislative proposal in this area is a request for $190,000 in State funds to be matched by an anticipated $410,000 in Federal Sea Grant funds and another $190,000 in Hawaiian industry contributions. These funds would finance a pilot marine resources survey from Koko Head to north of Kahana Bay, Oahu. University of Hawaii and other State and private industry scientists would form a team, and surface craft, a deep-diving submersible and a mobile manned undersea habitat would be used for this major survey. We have had exhaustive studies of the land which have been of great economic and social value; now is the time to begin the same for the lands, creatures and other phenomena under the sea around us. There is no time to lose in preserving the richness of marine life which will be surveyed. The SEACAP project will promote effective conservation and help considerably in preserving the ecological balance so essential to all forms of life in Hawaii.

THE 1967 INTERNATIONAL MARINE EXPOSITION IN HAWAII

As the United States in 1976 celebrates its Second Centennial—its 200th birthday—Hawaii will have developed a tremendous head start in marine science affairs. It will be a most appropriate and jubilant year for a major celebration in Hawaii, and not the least of our happy events must be an International Marine Exposition in which Hawaii would be host—as one of our Nation's leading maritime States—to the best exhibits of many nations. It is now, not tomorrow, that plans for such important conferences must be made. My legislative proposal, therefore, is for an appropriation of $30,000 to establish this year an International Marine Exposition Commission with necessary staff support to plan for this 1976 event. The Commission would be charged with determining an exposition site and funding methods, and making all the extensive preliminary arrangements which will prove to the intended participants that it will be an Exposition worthy of their participation and finest exhibitions.

AN ATLAS OF THE MARINE RESOURCES OF THE STATE OF HAWAII

All major movements have their bibles and bibliographies. The compilation of data, and making it available to the public in practical format, is one of the most basic needs of any important social or economic undertaking. Hawaii needs definitions and tabulations of its marine resources in the form of a Hawaii Marine Resources Atlas which will be of value both to professionals and laymen. My legislative proposal is that a sum of $75,000 be expended by the University of Hawaii in the preparation and publication of such an atlas.

OTHER LEGISLATION

Above are the highlights of this "legislative package" of our State Administration's proposals relating to marine affairs. But also an integral part of that package are a variety of programs and projects found in the operating or capital improvement budgets of the various State Departments which relate to marine affairs and which complement these new action proposals. All contribute to the one goal of this State Administration: to make Hawaii an international leader in marine science activities.

These programs and projects may be mentioned briefly:

Establishment of Marine Science Research Parks, in a manner similar to the establishment of industrial parks, to foster marine research.

Coordination in the Department of Planning and Economic Development of the variety of additional recommendations resulting from the report *Hawaii and the Sea,* so that a unified package may be prepared for the 1971 Legislature to carry on in logical order the advances already made.

Establishment of a Pacific Center for Marine Sciences, with initial studies to be made by the University of Hawaii.

Obtaining Federal designation of precious coral beds located in waters adjacent to the Hawaiian archipelago as "Creatures of the Continental Shelf," an official act which would retain U.S. ownership of such a valuable resource even when such beds occur beyond the presently recognized 12-mile fishing zone.

Designation of the State Civil Defense Agency's responsibility in the area of potential disasters in the form of massive oil spillages in Hawaiian waters.

Funding for completion of underwater parks at Hanauma Bay, Oahu, and Kealakekua Bay, Hawaii, and to initiate work on underwater in Maui and Kauai Counties.

A shoreline setback of 300 feet for State-owned lands.

Development of Snug Harbor for oceanographic research vessels.

Expansion of the Hawaii fishery vessel construction loan program to $500,000.

Extension of the shark control program.

In determining the excellence and practicality of these many projects, programs and proposals, I commend to the attention of all concerned the wonderful heritage which we have today from those ancient Polynesians who discovered these beautiful Islands. They learned through study, research, and practical programs, how harmoniously man and the sea can live together for the benefit of both. It must be our task to influence our nation and our world in the same manner in which the eternal sea has influenced us. We must reverence this Pacific treasure, and in turn accept with gratitude—and earnest effort—the multitude of gifts it offers mankind.

PERSPECTIVE ON THE DEBATE OVER DEFENSE SPENDING

HON. GEORGE E. BROWN, JR.

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 5, 1970

Mr. BROWN of California. Mr. Speaker, the current imbroglio over the HEW funding bill indicates that the battle

lines over defense spending policies are already being redrawn.

I still find it incomprehensible to see the President blaming an extremely modest increase in education funds for future inflationary pressures, while at the same time, budget requests for a whole grab-bag of marginal weapons systems get more than adequate hikes.

Time after time I have emphasized that the cause of the inflation which began in mid–1965 and continues rampant today is overspending for defense—or, rather, for war.

At any rate, I expect another turbulent spring here in Congress as the debate reopens on items such as Safeguard, AMSA, and the alphabet soup of fighter jets and other attack systems. And as this debate begins anew, I would like to point out to my colleagues a stimulating article in the current issue of the Nation magazine.

Richard F. Kaufman, of the Joint Economic Committee staff, rates as a pivotal figure in the continuing argument over defense priorities. We all owe Mr. Kaufman tremendous gratitude for the sharp and critical analysis he has provided over the past 2 years, and I think his article, "Who Won the Debate?" is must reading as a background for upcoming events.

I now place Mr. Kaufman's article in the RECORD at this point:

MILITARY SPENDING—WHO WON THE DEBATE?

(By Richard F. Kaufman)

What did the attempt in 1969 to cut defense spending accomplish and what effect will it have on the future? Post-mortems on last year's military debate have ranged from sad eulogies on the premature death of a movement to joyous celebrations for the rebirth of an old-fashioned American tradition, demobilization. To make an informed judgment one needs perspective on the clash between Pentagon and Congress.

The sixties began with a defense budget of $44 billion, moved to $49 billion by 1962, hovered around that amount of three years, then dropped down to $47 billion in 1965. That year it was decided to make Vietnam into a major war, and by 1969 military spending had shot up to almost $80 billion. The long-term trend, dating back to the pre-Korean build-up, has been for the defense budget to expand. Since 1965 this tendency has been uncontrollable.

Except for the protest votes of a few mavericks like Joseph Clark and Ernest Gruening in the Senate, and George Brown and William Fitts Ryan in the House, Congress had given little indication up to the start of last year that it would oppose the big military spenders. For years the neo-Keynesians had been assuring everyone that all forms of government spending, whether for civilian or military programs, conferred similar benefits on the economy; they went so far as to hurl epithets at the Eisenhower administration for not devoting enough of the nation's resources to national security. The idea, drawn from a deep well of New Deal, Fair Deal, New Frontier and Great Society convictions, was that it is better to turn funds over to the military for weapons procurement, which would increase employment, technical and scientific talent, technological innovations, and plant capacity, than to allow them to be spent by individual taxpayers for consumer luxuries.

The more orthodox policy makers have rarely applied their faith in fiscal responsibility beyond the narrow bounds of the civilian side of the federal budget. Thus while welfare programs were kept lean and austere, in accordance with the Protestant ethic, defense was judged by a different standard and allowed to grow fat and profuse. The standard for defense has never been clearly articulated by the guardians of fiscal morality. No doubt it was composed in part of fears engendered by the cold war and the Red menace, with a strong assist from the influential beneficiaries of high-level defense spending, the military establishment and the defense industry. The Friedmanite monetarists were able to rationalize their insensitivity to the growth of the military juggernaut on the theory that inflationary stresses from just about any amount of increased spending could be offset through proper adjustment of the money supply.

Liberals and conservatives disagreed on everything except the need for a large and continually expanding defense budget. Congress, stirred by the rhetoric of White House speech writers and its own, went along. The result was a profligate fiscal policy with regard to defense and a public works project for the military and industrial elite. Against this discouraging backdrop and in the midst of a still bloody war, with the Pentagon demanding that its funds be increased, the question was raised in Congress whether defense spending ought to be reduced.

The part played by the anti-ballistic missile program (ABM) in the overall debate was important but misunderstood. The search for an ABM system had been the subject of controversy for more than ten years and had already cost several billions of dollars when it was first seriously challenged in the Senate in 1968 (Senator Clark had single-handedly battled against it the year before). In that year Senators Hart and Cooper sponsored an amendment to delete the funds for construction of ABM sites. The purpose was to delay the program for a year, during which research and development would continue, so that in the words of Cooper, "We might find out most certainly whether the system has any value."

Much of the argument concerned what effects the new weapon would have on the arms race and whether it would work after it was deployed. Few Senators stressed as an argument against ABM the need to reduce military spending. Sen. Charles Percy inserted this statement from James Douglas, former Secretary of the Air Force and Under Secretary of Defense: "The requirement to reduce the military budget without affecting the war effort suggests postponement of any deployment of the so-called Sentinel anti-ballistic missile system." Senator Clark juxtaposed the recently enacted 10 per cent surtax for the war with the decision to cut $6 billion from federal expenditures. The entire reduction, said Clark, could be made up entirely "out of the swollen defense budget." The amendment lost 34 to 52, but observers were surprised by the number who had voted to delay the program.

When the ABM dispute arose again in 1969 the opponents had the advantage of growing public hostility to the weapon system. Site construction in cities across the nation drew protests from citizens who saw their property values and their lives endangered by arrival of nuclear-tipped missiles in their own back yards. An impressive array of scientists and former high government officials, including many from the Defense Department, reinforced the doubts about the technical performance of the system and fears as to its impact on the arms race. The Nixon Administration changed the name of the ABM game from Sentinel to Safeguard, reversed its orientation from the Chinese threat to the Soviet threat, and modified its mission from the defense of the cities to defense of the Minuteman fleet of ICBMs. As far as the critics were concerned, however, the basic facts did not change. First, ABM would escalate the nuclear arms race; second, the system would be a technical failure; third, it would cost billions of dollars—estimates ranged from $10 billion to $40 billion and up.

In 1969, concern over the way government funds were being spent was summed up by the phrase, "national priorities." By this was meant the allocation of the nation's resources to areas of low priority, when areas of high priority cried for attention. As the ABM dialogue moved forward, some participants asked whether earmarking billions for this program was a proper ordering of the nation's priorities in view of the condition of the cities, poverty, pollution, etc. But the emphasis, as in the prior year, was on the arms race consequences and especially the technical feasibility of the system. The main thrust of the opposition was not that the potential contribution of ABM to national security was so slight that it ought not to be funded, or that there were more important uses for the money it would absorb. Rather, it was that there were so many unanswered questions and doubts about the program that it needed to be slowed down and re-examined. The solution proposed was not to cancel the program; it was, in 1969 as in 1968, to delay deployment a year for further research and development.

Thus right up to the final day of debate, the Senate did not ask itself whether to put a halt to the ABM program. The Cooper-Hart amendment, offered a second time, merely proposed that funds be authorized only for the purpose of research and development, in effect suspending deployment for twelve months or until another military authorization bill was before Congress. Significantly, the amendment left untouched most of the funds requested for ABM. Only the use of the funds was being circumscribed. For this reason a number of Senators not normally eager to question the decisions of the military planners could feel comfortable supporting Cooper-Hart. Their position was that they did not oppose ABM; they only wanted to see a little more research and development spent on it.

The shocker came when Sen. Margaret Chase Smith offered an amendment on the final day of the debate to cut off all Safeguard ABM funds and thereby terminate it. Her logic was unassailable. If the program was as defective and as dangerous as many of its critics maintained, why have it at all? "Why waste funds on research and development of a system in which you have no confidence?" The ABM program, Senator Smith maintained, "is too vulnerable and too costly and would be a waste of resources at a time when we must carefully determine our national priorities." Therefore, Safeguard ought to be given no funds at all.

The Smith amendment garnered eleven votes. Cooper-Hart lost very narrowly, 51 to 49, and all other efforts to oppose military spending last year are usually compared to it. According to this criterion, the Cooper-Hart ABM vote was the high-water mark of the struggle to restrain the 1969 military spending bill, and the votes that followed represent a decline from the critics' peak strength.

But this conclusion fails to take into account the nature of the Cooper-Hart vote. It was not an accurate measure of Senate opposition to excessive military spending, because the amendment did not squarely face that issue. Since it was an oblique rather than a direct confrontation, the ABM vote had the unfortunate effect of exaggerating the growth of the new attitude toward the defensive budget, and it created the illusion that the switch of only a few votes would turn the tide altogether. The real measure, as of early August, when Senator Smith offered her challenge, was probably closer to the eleven votes registered in favor of her amendment.

The deeper significance of the ABM fight was its effectiveness as a rallying point for large segments of the public, the scientific

and academic communities, former government officials, and members of Congress against a weapon system that promised to diminish rather than enhance national security. In the process, many persons received their first lessons in defense analysis and they found the discipline accessible to ordinary reason. Because of the good showing the opponents made in the floor debates, and the excellent support they elicited from individual constituents and from such *ad hoc* citizens' groups as the National Citizens Committee Concerned About Deployment of the ABM, headed by Arthur Goldberg and Roswell Gilpatric, a number of them were emboldened to probe further into military affairs. These effects spread to the House of Representatives, where later in the fall 105 members voted in favor of a Cooper-Hart type of amendment—a display of dissatisfaction with military leadership not often seen in the House.

Following the ABM vote, and in the few days remaining before the mid-summer Congressional recess, the Senate took up the first batch of the many amendments directed against other portions of the military authorization act. Among them were an amendment, introduced by Sen. Richard Schweiker, directing the Defense Department to make quarterly reports to Congress on the costs of major weapons systems; a proposals by Sen. Gaylord Nelson to regulate the production and deployment of chemical and biological warfare agents, and one by Sens. Thomas Eagleton and Mark Hatfield to delete $54 million designated for the Main Battle Tank, pending a report by the General Accounting Office on the huge cost overruns plaguing this program. The Schweiger and Nelson amendments passed; a compromise was reached on the Main Battle Tank whereby the General Accounting Office was asked to make a report on the program to the Armed Services Committee which would then reconsider the question of continuing it. In the belief that the committee would take the funds out of the bill if the report indicated that the program was too costly, Eagleton and Hatfield withdrew their amendment.

A measure proposed by Sen. Joseph Tydings to reduce the research and development emergency fund (some called it a slush fund) was modified to a smaller cut and adopted, and Sen. William Fullbright was able to remove $45 million from the Pentagon's social science and foreign policy grant program.

It was, for the military critics, one summer of happiness. The slim margin of the ABM defeat had been heralded as a moral victory, and the string of small successes that followed was interpreted by some observers as further proof that the big military spenders were being routed. Secretary Melvin Laird's announcement during the recess that, due to Congressional pressure, defense spending would be cut by as much as $3 billion added to the euphoria. But after Labor Day, Congress and reality returned to Washington. The budget cutters put forth some of their best arguments against some of the worst programs and were voted down handily on each one: proposals to cut back or postpone the C–5A Cargo Plane, F–14 Fighter, AMSA Bomber, and Nuclear Aircraft Carrier programs were all defeated. What had happened?

The difference in the critics' fortunes before and after the recess was, to a large extent, a matter of money. The August amendments concerned new regulations and attempts to place controls over the Pentagon's use of funds in programs which, for the most part, did not involve major weapons systems or great (by Pentagon standards) amounts of money. It is one thing to attack open-air testing of lethal chemical agents and disease-producing biological micro-organisms, or to blow the whistle on military research grants into such problems as "The Decline in Paternalism Among Peruvian and Japanese Laborers." It is something else to attempt to cancel a major weapon system, for every one of these involves contracts for hundreds of millions, often billions, of dollars with large defense firms who employ workers by the tens of thousands. Obviously, military contractors do not stand idle while Congress deliberates over their contracts. In addition, each major weapon system can vitally affect the relative influence and status of the military services and they, too, become something more than dispassionate onlookers during such debates. How prestigious would the Navy be without a carrier fleet, or the Air Force without a manned bomber fleet, or the Army without a tank fleet? The one system other than ABM attacked by an amendment in August—the Main Battle Tank—after being withdrawn by agreement, was re-endorsed by the Armed Services Committee after it had received from the General Accounting Office a report very critical of the program.

On the other hand, while the attempts to take out some of the weapons were not successful, the votes indicated that the critics were making headway in the sense that more Senators went on record to eliminate large sums of money from the bill than had ever done so before. For example, twenty-three Senators voted for Sen. William Proxmire's amendment to cut out more than $500 million from the C–5A. Only eleven, it will be recalled, had voted for the Smith proposal to take all the money away from the Safeguard ABM. Senator Smith was able to improve upon her earlier showing: she reintroduced her ABM amendment on the appropriations bill on December 15 and received thirty-six votes. These votes and the corresponding ones in the House, though modest, represent dramatic progress over the year before, when Senator Clark, for example, could muster no more than six of his colleagues against the proposed new bomber defense system (called AWACS) and similar numbers on other programs, and when the opposition to his arguments against the Manned Orbiting Lab (MOL) was so rigid that he was discouraged from even introducing the amendment he had prepared against it.

The fundamental failure of the floor efforts in both Houses was that all the advanced weapons survived the challenges intact and no substantial money cuts were achieved while the bill was being considered. But this should not detract from what was accomplished. In the first place, the funds recommended by the Armed Services Committees were substantially lower than the Administration had requested, and it is generally agreed that the demands made by the military critics for defense reductions influenced the actions of the committees. In a move of long-term importance, $1 billion was taken out of the research and development program alone.

Second, the relatively minor reductions and the non-money amendments tacked on to the authorization act were also not insignificant. In addition to the amendments on chemical and biological warfare, social science research, and the Pentagon's emergency fund, Senator Proxmire successfully proposed that (1) the General Accounting Office conduct the first comprehensive study of defense profits; (2) a directory be compiled and kept up to date of retired military officers employed by defense contractors and of former contractor officials employed by the Pentagon; and (3) the category of military research known an *independent* research and development be cut 20 per cent. In addition, a ceiling was placed on total troop strength, though hardly low enough for many critics, a cost and effectiveness study of the nuclear attack aircraft carriers was ordered, the Pentagon agreed to hold up spending on the Main Battle Tank until it could complete a study of that program, and a number of small weapons were added to the list of items that must be specifically authorized each year rather than simply contained in an appropriation. This last change will improve Congress' ability to control military spending, assuming the willingness to exercise control persists.

Third, throughout the year decisions about weapons systems were announced by the Pentagon that served to vindicate those who had tried to point out the waste inherent in the defense budget by examining specific programs. In May production of the Cheyenne Helicopter was halted, a step that Rep. Otis Pike, one of the "fearless five" dissident members of the House Armed Services Committee, had been urging for more than a year. In June the MOL was canceled. In November, after the authorization acts were completed. President Nixon proclaimed a limitation of the use of chemical agents and a renunciation of germ warfare, although the germ ban has since been revealed as only a partial ban because of a recent redefining of biological toxins. Also in November, the Air Force announced that it would purchase eighty-one rather than 120 C–5A cargo planes due to its increased costs, thus conceding much of Proxmire's criticism of that program. Such developments encourage continued Congressional effort.

On December 3, some of the most stinging criticism of military spending in recent years emanated from an unlikely source, the House Appropriations Committee. Throughout the year, Rep. George Mahon, chairman of the committee, had been giving hints of dissatisfaction with the military budget and with the military in general. In an exchange on the floor of the House, May 21, Mahon asserted that "The military has made so many mistakes, it has generated a lack of confidence"—whereupon Rep. L. Mendel Rivers, chairman of the House Armed Services Committee, accused him of "playing into the hands of the enemies of the military." The December report of the Mahon committee cited chapter and verse. The year 1969, it concluded, was the year of the cost overrun; "No single year stands out in which inordinate escalations in costs for Defense weapons systems developments and procurements have been surfaced to the extent they have been this year during the hearings." Punching a hole in the Pentagon's usual explanation for cost overruns, the committee found that inflation accounted for only 11.4 per cent of the increases identified, and "It can be said that cost overruns in fact have contributed to inflation." The report went on to indict the Pentagon for sloppy contracting methods and questionable practices with regard to justifications for programs presented to Congress.

More important, the committee recommended an appropriation $5.3 billion below the Nixon revised request, and $4.4 billion below the amount actually appropriated the year before. The Senate then removed an additional $627 million, and the conference committee restored about half of that amount. The appropriation finally passed was thus $5.6 billion below Nixon's request. The Senate also placed in the bill a prohibition against the use of U.S. ground troops in Laos and Thailand and a requirement that funds appropriated but not spent or obligated by the Defense Department be identified after certain periods of time—further evidence of a strong sentiment that Congress should exercise greater control over defense spending.

The appropriation was the first since 1965 to be less than that of the year before; it showed the largest reduction since the post-Korean War year of 1954. That is not to say that total defense spending will actually be reduced by any given amount. The appropriation bill referred to contains most but not all the moneys appropriated for defense. Military construction is handled as a separate piece of legislation, as are such military-related appropriations as foreign military aid. Also, the regular defense appropriation bills can be, and usually are, augmented by supplemental appropriations. The supplementals are sometimes wildly unpredictable. In 1967 the Johnson administration asked additional

sums of close to $13 billion, because of a miscalculation of the costs of Vietnam.

There is reason for restrained optimism with regard to total appropriations this year. (They can never be considered complete while supplementals can still be introduced and acted upon, and these can be submitted any time up to June 30, the end of the fiscal year. Technically, the appropriations process is not over until the fiscal year is over.) In addition to the large reduction in the main defense appropriation, both the military construction and the military foreign aid appropriations were below the amounts requested, and the only supplemental that now appears on the horizon will be relatively small—about $1 billion to pay for the military pay raise enacted last year.

But there is a hitch: the amounts appropriated by Congress differ from the amounts spent by the Pentagon. This discrepancy arises because money appropriated in one year, but not spent, is then carried over to subsequent years. The time lags between appropriation and expenditure vary with the type of program, the greatest lag occurring on procurement. For this reason we can anticipate substantial delays between appropriation reductions and spending reductions, and the full amount of last year's cuts will not be realized immediately.

Taking all of this into account, we can estimate total Defense Department expenditures in fiscal 1970 of about $76 billion. This compares with $77.3 billion in 1968 and $77.9 billion in 1969. The difference, if the estimate holds up, would be an actual reduction of about $2 billion from last year.

Balancing off this healthy sign is the fact that, with the exception of the MOL and Cheyenne programs canceled early last year, and the cutback in the number of C–5As to be purchased, all the major weapons systems were allowed to go forward. Since an unusual number of new programs are getting off the ground or into the water this year, and since their major funding is yet to come, the stage is clearly being set for another big defense budget *Putsch*. For example, a mere $100 million was appropriated for AMSA this year, but it will probably cost more than $15 billion eventually, and annual appropriations will soon total several hundred million dollars a year. The same can be said for the new fighter aircraft, the carriers, the Main Battle Tank, and several other weapons which got their big feet in the door this year. If old and new weapons systems continue to be funded, it matters not what cuts are made in manpower, operations and maintenance, research and development, in stretch-outs of hardware programs, or in the closing of bases; the pressures will ultimately develop for once again enlarging the overall budget. Congress shied away from this issue in 1969, but one day soon it will have to be met. If there is not a weeding out of the marginal and excessively ambitious programs at various stages of the their development, last year's struggle will have achieved at best a temporary dip in expenditures, to be followed by another upward thrust.

Congress did not turn the military establishment around in 1969, and perhaps it was too much to expect that twenty years of almost constant military growth would be reversed in one. In fact, defense spending increased somewhat in fiscal 1969. But Congress did make a start. It appropriated less money and reclaimed some of its controls over the Pentagon by legislating them back into existence. Its method of analysis and attack, weapon system by weapon system, proved very effective and succeeded in keeping the military on the defensive throughout the year. The critics demonstrated their willingness to work hard in order to understand defense programs; their future success as critics will largely depend on their persistence in straightening out what Senator Fulbright has termed our cock-eyed priorities.

The Senate debate over the military authorization bill, which was the longest military debate in the history of Congress, and the many hearings into military affairs conducted by Senators Proxmire, Fulbright, Symington, Gore and Ribicoff, have helped to establish a better understanding of how the Pentagon and its industrial allies operate. It raised serious doubts, if not indignation, over the wisdom of entrusting to their hands so much of the nation's wealth and power.

At the very least, the issue of defense spending has been removed from the sanctuary of the high priests of military authority and brought into the light for all congregations to see. By doing that much, Congress has shaken itself free of some of the myths that have enveloped the military budget for so long. One was the assumption that it was somehow preordained for defense expenditures in the nuclear age to comprise between 8 and 10 per cent of the gross national product, and that so long as the figure hovered in this range it was acceptable. This supposition has been rejected partly because the enormous amount of waste disclosed by last year's investigations proved that defense spending is excessive; partly because members of Congress have learned to ask some of the more important questions and to challenge the basic assumptions underlying military policy. For example, the real question with regard to the size of the budget is not what proportion of GNP it represents, or whether the percentage should be raised or lowered, or whether it is equal to the square of the moon's diameter. The real question is whether we are investing too little or too much of our resources to achieve the only rational objective for a military establishment, national defense.

By spending such time and energy on these matters, Congressmen have begun to understand how critical it is to deal with the defense budget. The issue of defense is going through the process of socialization, just as the issues of civil rights, poverty and hunger, and pollution of the environment have gone through a similar process in recent years. Like these civilian issues, defense is no longer thought to be the exclusive province of any body of experts in the executive or legislative branches. Increasingly, members of Congress have made themselves fully qualified and competent to speak out, raise questions, make suggestions, and exercise their individual judgment about civilian issues, regardless of their committee assignments or background and training. Defense policy is rapidly coming to be viewed with the same degree of urgency. It is too important to be left to the military or to the professional experts who have botched things badly up to now.

What the public now needs to understand is that defense, like many other questions, is too important to be left to the government to determine by itself. The anti-ABM movement was one of the better examples in recent years of a coalition of people, groups and elected officials committed to a major change of policy, and the fact that it did as well as it did is a sign that it is still possible to strive toward public resolution of public issues. Unfortunately, that coalition turned out to be too ephemeral to sustain its pressure during the debate over military spending that followed the ABM vote. The steady stream up Capitol Hill of citizens groups, emissaries from the universities, ex-officials and statesmen who indefatigably buttonholed their Congressmen and Senators to argue the case against the ABM, who held conferences, wrote papers, reports and speeches, conducted press conferences and took out ads in major dailies, slowed to a trickle after that first August vote. When the debate resumed in September it had dried up almost completely. There were no packed galleries after ABM.

But for a while last year, the juices flowed again in Congress, a branch of government which many persons thought too withered to show any life. As Ruth Gordon, age 72, said upon receiving her first Academy Award in 1969, "I can't tell you how encouraging a thing like this is."

A SOLDIER VIEWS MYLAI

HON. ANCHER NELSEN

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 5, 1970

Mr. NELSEN. Mr. Speaker, the Worthington Daily Globe in my congressional district has seen fit to publish a most thoughtful look at the Mylai scene from a soldier's point of view. I believe this account by Sgt. Tim O'Brien of Worthington provides insight and understanding about the tragic situation that exists in parts of Vietnam and should be shared with the American public. I include Sergeant O'Brien's assessment, along with its editorial introduction, at this point in my remarks:

(EDITOR'S NOTE.—Sgt. Tim O'Brien, a Worthington man and a graduate of the local public schools, is now with the U.S. infantry in Vietnam. He fought at Mylai not in March 1968, when it is purported an atrocity was committed there but less than a year later. His report is powerful. O'Brien is the son of Mr. and Mrs. William T. O'Brien, 230 11th Ave.)

The villages of Mylai are scattered like wild seed in and around Pinkville, a flat stretch of sandy red clay along the northern coast of South Vietnam. Pinkville seems a silly, county fairish misnomer for such a sullen piece of the world. From the infantryman's perspective, zig-zagging through one of the most heavily mined areas in the war zone, there is little pink—or rosy—about Pinkville. Mud huts more often deserted than not, gray and filthy hamlets, bombed out pagodas, and the patently hostile faces of Pinkville's inhabitants are what he finds there, along with a spate of elaborate tunnels, bomb shelters and graves.

The place derives its name from the fact that military maps color it a shimmering shade of elephant-pink, signifying what the map legends call a "built-up area". Perhaps it once was. Now it needs to be. GIs operating in Pinkville have long since concluded that the only justification for the name is in the strength and ferocity of Viet Cong in the area, a bunch of real pinkos.

Pinkville and the villages called My Lai are well known to this unit. They were notorious and feared places even before the brazen and perhaps unfair headlines heralded the "My Lai Massacre". In January of last year, less than a year after the alleged slaughter, this unit took part in the massive Operation Russell Beach, joining forces with other Army elements, boatloads of Marines, the Navy and Air Force. Subject of the intricately planned and much touted campaign was Pinkville and the Batangan Peninsula, both of which had long served as Charlie's answer to the American R&R Center—friendly natives, home cooked rice, and nearly total sanctuary from American footsoldiers. Despite the publicity and War College strategy, the operation did not produce the anticipated results, and this unit learned some hard lessons about Pinkville. There is no reliable criterion by which the GI can distinguish a pretty Vietnamese girl from a deadly enemy; often they proved to be the same person. The unit triggered one mine

after the other during the operation, frustration and anger built with each explosion and betrayal, one hamlet and one Oriental face began to look like any other—hostile and black—and this was a group of men boiling with hate when they were pulled out of Pinkville.

THE VIETCONG WERE THERE

In May we were ordered back. Inserted by chopper in the villages of My Khe, a few thousand meters south of the My Lai's, the unit hit immediate contact, only seconds after interrogating with negative results the citizens of My Khe 3. The Viet Cong were there, waiting in ambush across the rice paddy; the people, some of them, had to know what was in store; so we went across the paddy and the Arizonan was killed and a grenade bounced off my helmet, taking Clauson out of the war. And a lieutenant swiveled the skinny Arizonan off his shoulder, into a chopper, and we went north, into the My Lai's.

It is difficult to recount the next weeks. It was a matter of walking until someone hit a mine—a frenzied call for dust-off choppers—then walking until we were mortared or until snipers plinked away at us from one of the villages.

We met a certain number of local Vietnamese along the way. Invariably they were the nonparticipants in war: children under 10 years, women, old folks who planted their eyes into the dirt and were silent. There were no military-aged men to be seen, no fathers for the children, husbands for the women; no brothers and no farmers to reap the rice which someone had to have planted. And there were never answers to the question, "Where are the men?" Not from the villagers. Not until the unit ducked poppa's bullet or exploded his fine mine into a million fragments.

The unit was fatigued and angry leaving My Lai 5: another futile search of a nearly deserted village, another fat zero turned up through interrogation. Moving north to cross the Diem Diem River, the unit took continuous sniper fire, and it intensified into a storm of sound when we reached the water and a bridge, 75 meters long and perfectly exposed, the only way across. One man at a time, churning as fast as the rucksacks and radios and machine guns allowed, the unit crossed the Song Diem Diem, the rest of the troops spraying out protective fire, waiting their own turn, and we were scared. It was a race. A lieutenant was the starter, crouched at the clay runway leading into the paddy, hollering "Go" for each of us and then letting a burst of fire to cover the guy. The CO, first man to win his race, was at the finish line. He gave the V sign to each man across, which might have signaled victory or valor but afterwards came to mean vindictive—as in vengeance.

ONE HUT AFTER ANOTHER BURNED

In the next days it took little provocation for the unit to flick the flint on their Zippo lighters. Thatched roofs take the flame quickly, and on bad days the unit burned one hut after the other. Fear, exhaustion, the torture of searching for ground that won't blow you away, day to day harassing fire—these things built, one upon the other, and the psyche finds its outlets.

When two popular soldiers were blown into a hedgerow by a booby trapped artillery round, men put their fists to the nearest Vetnamese, two frightened women living in the guilty hamlet, and when the troops were through with them, they hacked off swaks of thick black hair. The men were crying, doing this.

Fighters were called in. The hamlet was leveled and naplam was used to burn away whatever might have been living in the rubble. There were VC in that hamlet, and who else?

If the alleged incident at My Lai 4 in March, 1968, occurred as reported, it was a crime, and there is no justification to be culled from reference to the participants' brutal experiences in and around the My Lai's, just as this unit's actions are not assuaged by pointing to dead buddies, hostile civilians, and the omnipresent mines. GIs, growing up on the image of the American soldier as a khakied savior, generously giving of himself to fight for enslaved and grateful souls, has a difficult time understanding that this is not France, that My Lai is a far cry from Paris and its cheering, willing young chicks. The difference is that My Lai is not occupied nor enslaved by the enemy. The residents of Pinkville are the enemy—or his children or his wife or his bronzed old mother. And still GIs find it incomprehensible, their hostility. "Ungrateful, stupid dinks," we call them. Dinks, which is a word laden with all the contempt of World War II's "nip" and "kraut", the Korean War's "gook", Castro's "yankee".

ONE DAY IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Pinkville is the enemy's home, that can be said as surely as one can say anything about what happens here. Given that fact, the outrage of American troops at the sullen faces, mines, and unanswered questions reaches ludicrousity. What more can be expected from the enemy and his family?

If outrage does not justify what might have happened in March of last year, neither does the fact that the slain women and children were hostile relatives and friends and sympathizers of the Viet Cong. If so, we could smile at our consciences and justify similar atrocities by past and present enemies: when, in retribution for the killing of Heydrich, the Nazi occupiers of Prague traveled a few kilometeres to the west, cordoned off the village of Lidice and marched the inhabitants off to a nearby field where they were killed. The official explanation: Lidice was the suspected refuge for Heydrich's killers. Today Lidice, Czechoslovakia, is a flowered memorial to that event. One wonders how the Vietnamese will commemorate My Lai 4 20 years from today.

There is more to our unit's behavior and the behavior of Charlie Company in Pinkville than can be found in the phrase "mob psychology". There was hate and a kind of crazed frustration in the men out there. No mob leader, no anonymity in numbers was needed to carry the troops toward violence.

Nor does Cooley's "in-group, out-group" analysis penetrate deeply into what happened and, presumably, is still happening. Though it is true that the Oriental skin, poverty, and hostility found in Pinkville leads to the "we-they" complex, grouping all Vietnamese—friendly or not into the same category, the dink, it is not often that the out-group is so intensely out that they are beaten and bombed and shot.

AFFLICTION MANIFESTED IN WAR

Perhaps we should take another look at the insight of Freud (who is also "out" these days) and his concept of the Id, which Alan Watts characterizes as "the primordial instincts of the swamp and the cave." Perhaps the American condemnation of "the national character" of Nazi Germany—with its lurking brutality, authoritarianism and ethnocentrism—was too quickly and glibly confined to the Germanic culture.

Whatever the roots, the affliction seems to be manifested in war and particularly, most acutely, in the sort of throe of events this unit experienced last May in Pinkville. It was a hard way to peek into your own soul, and the headlines may have been a shocking denouncement for the American public, but some soldiers here are hoping we can proceed from a new level of understanding, individually and as a nation. Some of us are convinced, with Alan Watts, that "the most intense darkness is itself the seed of light, and all explicit warfare is implicit love."

COMMISSION ON U.S. PARTICIPATION IN THE UNITED NATIONS

HON. CORNELIUS E. GALLAGHER

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 5, 1970

Mr. GALLAGHER. Mr. Speaker, I am today introducing a resolution calling for the establishment of a Presidential Commission on United States Participation in the United Nations.

The year 1970 marks the 25th anniversary of the United Nations organization. Many things have happened since that organization came into being and many other things will happen in the years ahead. This year, therefore, would seem to offer us a timely opportunity for reviewing the record of accomplishments of the U.N. organizations, for reapprising the machinery of the U.N. system and for trying to arrive at some answers regarding the role which that instrument of international cooperation should play during the coming decade.

With these thoughts in mind, the Subcommittee on International Organizations and Movements of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, which I have the honor to chair, has planned a series of hearings relating to the U.N. These hearings will begin on February 17 and many distinguished Americans in public life and in the private sector will testify before the subcommittee.

It has been my feeling and that of some of my colleagues that any meaningful reappraisal of the United Nations and of the U.S. role in that organization cannot involve the Congress alone. The executive branch and, indeed, the whole Nation, ought to have a part in that undertaking. It is with this in mind that I am today introducing the resolution which would provide for the establishment of a Presidential commission to conduct such a reappraisal.

The text of the resolution follows:

H.J. RES. 1078

Joint resolution establishing the Commission on United States Participation in the United Nations, and for other purposes

Whereas 1970 marks the twenty-fifth anniversary of the United Nations; and

Whereas the world community has changed and new problems have arisen during this twenty-five-year period; and

Whereas the beginning of the 1970's is an appropriate time to initiate adequate planning for the future operations of the United Nations and for the role of the United States in such operations: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That (a) there is established the Commission on United States Participation in the United Nations (hereafter in this Joint Resolution referred to as the "Commission") to be composed of twenty-five members as follows:

(1) Four Members of the House of Representatives selected by the Speaker of the House of Representatives, at least two of whom shall be selected from among members of the Committee on Foreign Affairs and not more than two of whom shall be selected from the same political party.

(3) Seventeen members selected by the President of the United States from among outstanding citizens in both private and public life. The President shall designate a

member of the Commission selected by him from private life to serve as its chairman.

(b) Any vacancy in the membership of the Commission shall not affect its powers, but shall be filled in the same manner as in the case of the original appointment.

(c) Thirteen members of the Commission shall constitute a quorum for the transaction of business.

SEC. 2. (a) It shall be the duty of the Commission to review the organization and operation of the United Nations and its specialized agencies and programs for the purpose of making recommendations to the President and to the Congress regarding the role of the United States in the operations and programs of the United Nations during the decade of the 1970's.

(b) The Commission shall report in writing to the President and to the Congress, not later than one year after the date of enactment of this Joint Resolution, which report shall set forth the results of the review conducted by the Commission, together with such recommendations regarding United States participation in United Nations operations and programs as the Commission may deem appropriate. The Commission shall cease to exist sixty days after filing the written reports required by this subsection.

SEC. 3. The Commission is authorized, without regard to the civil service laws and regulations, to appoint, compensate, and remove such personnel as it may deem advisable to carry out the provisions of this Joint Resolution.

SEC. 4. (a) Each member of the Commission who is an officer or employee of the United States shall serve without compensation in addition to that received for his services as such an officer or employee, but shall be reimbursed for travel, subsistence, and other necessary expenses incurred by him when actually engaged in the performance of his duties as a member of the Commission.

(b) Each member of the Commission selected from private life shall receive compensation at the rate of $100 per diem when actually engaged in the performance of his duties as a member of the Commission, and shall be reimbursed for travel, subsistence, and other necessary expenses incurred by him in the performance of such duties.

SEC. 5. The Commission is authorized to request from any department, agency, or independent instrumentality of the United States any information and assistance it deems necessary to carry out its duties under this Joint Resolution; and each such department, agency, and instrumentality is authorized to cooperate with the Commission and, to the extent permitted by law, to furnish such information and assistance to the Commission upon request made by the chairman or any member acting as chairman.

SEC. 6. There are authorized to be appropriated such sums, not to exceed $250,000, as may be necessary to carry out the provisions of this Joint Resolution.

VETERAN RECALLS FIRST WORLD WAR

HON. HOWARD W. ROBISON

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 5, 1970

Mr. ROBISON. Mr. Speaker, Harold L. Barlow, a fine gentleman and constituent of mine, recently wrote a guest editorial for the Legionnaire, a monthly publication sponsored by Post 80 of the American Legion, Binghamton, N.Y. The editorial recounts some of Mr. Barlow's thoughts and reflects upon his experiences during World War I. It is, at once, a nostalgic and interesting piece. The full text follows:

A 75-YEAR-OLD VETERAN WRITES

When we old veterans walk down this long road of life, we see and hear things that make us laugh, things that make us cry and many things that make us wonder why.

Let us think back to days when we all wore the diaper, when Mother and Dad worked hard every day for little pay so that our future would bring forth brighter days.

To start us off right they tickled us under the chin so that we would grin. They knew this would eventually turn into laughter and would pay-off thereafter.

Oh, we cried too when we had a little pain, were hungry or if we were upset when harmful things were taken from our little hands. We didn't cry long until we started to smile or fell asleep for awhile.

Things went along nicely until we thought we were smart and did things we should not. We were soon corrected on this foolish stunt by a spanking on our growing rump.

We believe today the above mentioned things were good ideas. They taught us in later years to go along doing right and not wrong. There were times I didn't follow the right path and down the wrong path went, all for which I now repent. The times I followed the right path surely paid-off, especially in friendship ways. I don't know or, nor do I believe that I have one enemy in the U.S.A. It's a wonderful feeling, and I hope it is here to stay.

Some of us didn't have the opportunity to get much education. My parents were poor, so I left grammar school and went to work, figuring that it would help. It did help a little but not much. It didn't help me in later years when I wanted to advance to higher position and rank. I can assure you that, if I had the opportunity to go to college it would have been to seek more knowledge. Not to do like a few students, cry and stew, to ease their minds use narcotics and sniffle glue, think the college professors and teachers have no wits and that they are hypocrites, try to turn the college campus into a college rumpus. To the sincere student who wants to advance, you are where you have a chance for a profession or degree, stick it out and you will see, how much better-off you will be.

Today some young people are steering the tragic train while the parents are riding way back in the old caboose, sitting there paying no attention to where their children are headed just saying what is the use? We are comfortable in this old caboose.

Now let us look back to the year of 1917, when our President thought it best to declare war and we were told what we would be fighting for, future self defense, helping friendly nations pull their chestnuts out of the fire and fighting a war to end all wars. As we look at this last reason and think of the wars our nation has been in since, it is evident we did a darned poor job.

Anyway, to show our patriotism we enlisted and many were drafted. We didn't tear up Draft Cards or burn the Red-White and Blue, as some do, surprisingly supported and defended by supposed-to-be intelligent men.

In the attitude of these people today to make people all over the world think we are distrusting, pessimistic, capitalistic and destructive invaders, giving our enemies ideas for propaganda, or is it fear within themselves, that of going to war.

Oh, we had a few we called the "Slacker." He was so scared, that on the Fourth of July he would run when somebody set-off a small firecracker.

We sang the songs that included the following words—"America America" land that we love—It's a "Grand Old Flag," It's a "High-flying Flag" and forever in peace may it wave—It's the emblem of the land we love, the home of the Free and the brave—"We're going over, We're going over and we won't be back til it's over, over there."

So away we went, first in training. While there my Commanding Officer felt that I was qualified to be an officer in the infantry. Before I went, there was an understanding between the Sergeant who took my place as First Sergeant that, if there was any indication that the Regiment was going across, to notify me at once. Before the school started I received the message that the company was about to leave and immediately made arrangements with the Commanding Officer of the school to return to my company and arrived just in time to go along with my Buddies.

We were soon on a ship and on our way. We landed in France and within four days sent into a defensive action where the German Army was trying to enter Paris. This soon turned into an offensive action when our artillery, dough-boys and Marines drove them back. We kept driving them back through the Aisne-Marne and Oise-Aisne offensives. From there we went into the Meuse-Argonne offensive, starting from the day it began to the day it ended, November 11th 1918. Then after a ten day interval, we followed the Germans into Germany and stayed in the Army of Occupation for five and a half months.

During the actions mentioned we saw the horrible things that happen in war, Artillery men, Dough-boys, Marines and Germans alike laying dead on the ground, airplane pilots, balloon observers their planes and balloons hit in the air and come down in flames, soldiers wounded and some who had been through poisonous gas. Thank God we didn't see any women or children wounded or laying dead on the ground.

While in the Meuse-Argonne offensive I was offered another chance to enter an officers training school. This I turned down and stayed with my Buddies. When in Germany the men in my company presented me a gold watch that cost a lot of money then. Every man in that outfit, 250 in all, contributed to that cause. At the start of this writing I mentioned about making us cry. Well the tears rolled down my cheeks, not in sadness, but the thought in my mind how much those men thought of me as their First Sergeant, because I treated them the way I would like to be treated. That watch is over 50 years old now. I gave it to my son, a Korean War Veteran, so he would have it after I am gone. He can look at it then and say, as he has in the past, I hope I live to see the day that I have as many friends as my Dad.

Nothing in this writing has been mentioned in braggadocious way, but to show that it pays off to be loyal and friendly to your nation and your friends, even in time of war.

To all the people who breed hate, congregate for destruction and would like to see this country blown-up by combustion or see us go into revolution and will never change their minds: maybe it would be money well spent if our Government would furnish free transportation to the land of their choice, where for propaganda reasons would they have any voice, where if they spoke out in dissent, they would be to prison sent, or wind-up facing a firing squad. While waiting for the words "Ready-aim-fire" they would say a prayer, God forgive me for all my sinful ways, including the day I left the U.S.A.

Free transportation should also be furnished to the hijacker who holds a revolver to a pilot's dome and says "take me to Cuba or fly me to Rome."

German people were very friendly, treated us fine all the way from the border to beyond the Rhine. Just to mention a few nice things they did, the first night we crossed the border we were billeted in a tailor shop. The owners were two brothers, just discharged from the army. They were making

their uniforms over into civilian clothes. They welcomed us in, gave us a nice dinner. At night we were supposed to sleep on the shop floor. They sent us upstairs to sleep in their beds and they slept on the floor, themselves. One other night we stayed in an army officers home, they treated us well. We had a good night's rest, awoke in the morning our shoes were gone, they had cleaned and polished them and, believe me, they were well done. At Christmas time we were in the farthest outpost of the American army, in a small town. People there came from all around they brought us chicken and food. One elderly lady who had had a son killed in the war, brought me a small Christmas tree to place in my room and wished all a Merry Christmas.

It was a sad day for America when a crazy crack-pot shot and killed Martin Luther King, Junior, who would have brought about the wishes of the intelligent Negro much sooner. He preached the Gospel and asked all people not to be hostile.

To those who call policemen brutal, culprits and things I don't care to mention, give police all kinds of trouble, better look in a mirror and take a good look at themselves. A policeman is trying to protect us by enforcing the law. A policeman in his heart doesn't like to make an arrest, but is doing his best to keep law and order at its best.

Now let us pray that the day will soon come when all our brave soldiers come home, when wars will cease and all people live in peace, when all people of different creeds, race and color will get on the band-wagon together, shake hands, and ride in the freedom parade, waving the flag of the grand old U.S.A.

HAROLD L. BARLOW.

WASHINGTON POST URGES TYRANNY IN SOUTH

HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 5, 1970

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, it was said of old that judges ought to remember that their office is to interpret law and not to make law. The wisdom of that warning was recognized by the founders of our Republic, when they established the Congress for the enactment of laws and the judiciary for the judging of cases and controversies. It was recognized by generations of jurists who, time and time again entreated to waver, held to their course and refused to legislate.

Our present domestic difficulties are due in major part to weak men who broke the judicial faith. Within our lifetime we have seen their precedents—first in Russia, then in Nazi Germany.

The Bolsheviks, having abolished all law, created their "Peoples' Courts" for the administration of both criminal and civil justice measured by the yardstick of "the proletarian conscience."

One of Hitler's early actions permitted German judges to decide cases, not according to law, but according to "the healthy sentiments of the German people."

Yesterday I pointed out the true law of the land which governs the question of school desegregation—the Constitution, the Civil Rights Act of 1964, and the current HEW Appropriations Act. There is no other law which applies. All else is the bald usurpation of power—the decision of cases under such suicidal standards as Lenin's "proletarian conscience" or as Hitler's "sentiments of the German people."

Our present courts, acting outside the law, are on the very ground which history teaches leads inevitably to tyranny. In this course they are encouraged by those who, giving loud protestations of their democracy, chart the course to slavery. The editorial view of the Washington Post is typical, that of the Fort Myers News-Press a foolish following, and the column of David Lawrence the truth.

I include the clippings in my remarks:

[From the Washington Post, Feb. 4, 1970]

HELPING THE SCHOOLS IN THE SOUTH

There was some good sense, or at any rate there may have been, in what the Vice President said, or at least started to say, about school desegregation in the South on the CBS television and radio networks last Sunday. But owing to the invincible propensity of TV interviewers to interrupt and change the subject to something entirely different just as soon as the person they are interviewing begins to be interesting, it is difficult at this point to know just what Mr. Agnew had in mind.

Fairly early in the interview, Mr. Agnew said: "The President has indicated to me that he will shortly announce the formation of a cabinet-level group which I will chair that will work for the purpose of implementing the decisions of the court in the least disruptive way to quality education in the South." He went on to say that the Attorney General and the Secretary of HEW and "probably several of the President's counselors, possibly Mr. Moynihan, possibly Mr. Harlow and others," would be participants. In addition, before being cut off or taken off the hook, he observed that "much of the difficulty"—the difficulty in obtaining compliance with Supreme Court school desegregation rulings—"has come about . . . through misunderstanding of what the court really meant and what the people have taken out of the court's statements and what the Department of HEW and the Attorney General's office may have promulgated in the way of regulations."

Excuse us for indulging our own invincible propensity to interrupt at this point, but we have long thought and often said that much of the misunderstanding of what the court really meant has come about because the administration has persistently waffled, at least during the past year, about the "guidelines" governing school desegregation and about cutting off funds from school districts in violation of the law, and because the Department of Justice has persistently sought to defer application of the court's rulings, as though these could be reversed, or better still, forgotten. It is hardly open to question, we believe, that the Nixon administration has freshened and fortified Southern hopes that desegregation can be escaped by promising to appoint to the court "strict constructionists" who can be counted upon to construe the equal protection clause of the Constitution loosely and by indicating that it will not construe the Civil Rights laws passed by Congress too strictly.

Sixteen years have gone by since the court unanimously called segregated public schools unconstitutional; yet fewer than one-fifth of the black children in the South go to school with white children. The recognition of equality between the races entails a painful and difficult change for white Southerners, and no one could have expected it to come about quickly. But a whole century has elapsed since the 13th, 14th and 15th amendments were added to the Constitution, and the black people of the South can wait no longer. The President of the United States, and the Vice President, too, ought to make that plain.

It is quite true, as Mr. Agnew said, that the South needs help in making the change, in achieving equal education and quality education for blacks and whites. And the federal government ought to contribute that help; it can do a great deal through money and counsel and personnel. But the beginning of any real help has to lie in making it unmistakable that compliance with the law can no longer be delayed. "We've run out of courts, and we've run out of time, and we must adjust to new circumstances," said the Governor of South Carolina, Robert E. McNair, just the other night. If the Vice President and the new group he is to head really want to help the South, they will tell Southerners what Governor McNair told them, not what they want to hear but what they have to learn.

[From the Fort Myers News-Press, Jan. 25, 1970]

FLYING BY RADAR ON INTEGRATION

The call for Congress to lay down by statute the definite rules and requirements for school desegregation to supplant the uncertain judge-made laws now governing the matter, sounded by this paper to the limited extent that its voice may carry, has now been taken up by the Washington Post which has a rather louder voice, particularly at the capital. This is surprising since the Post is a notably liberal paper strongly supporting integration and opposing all proposals to slow its march. But it recognizes now that the situation calls for congressional investigation and action.

The Washington paper's concern is not so much with the chaos and disruption that will be caused in southern school districts, including Lee County, if the courts' impending Feb. 1 deadline for completing their desegregation is to be met. Rather, it apprehends a revival of the so-called Whitten amendment if President Nixon delivers his promised veto of the pending appropriation bill for the Department of Health, Education and Welfare (HEW) and a new bill has to be passed.

This is the amendment annually proposed by Rep. Jamie L. Whitten of Mississippi to the HEW appropriation bill to forbid any of its funds being used for busing students or assigning them to schools not of their choice to achieve racial balance. Last fall, although the amendment was passed by the House, it was defeated in the Senate. But the Post notes that now "fear of forced busing has become a potent emotion in the North" as well as the South so that if the HEW appropriation bill has to be reconsidered, the Whitten amendment is likely to be adopted.

The Post rightly warns that "nothing will be resolved—nothing fair or effective anyhow—by means of playful, Whitten-style legislative maneuver or by resounding (and aimless) political posturing. Yet that is pretty much all that the people's elected representatives, north and south, have seen fit to offer." A prime example of such political posturing, incidentally, is the mischievous plan of Gov. Claude Kirk to "order" Florida school boards not to comply with a court-ordered Feb. 1 deadline when he knows he has no authority to do so.

The influential Washington paper then makes a cogent plea for responsible congressional action. It says that Congress "would do us all an enormous service by initiating a reasoned and responsible inquiry into the nationwide problem of racial segregation in the schools" and resolving the "inequities and ambiguities." "As it is," the Post observes, "the courts and innumerable school

districts are more or less flying by radar in the absence of any direction by Congress."

A number of congressmen, Rep. William C. Cramer of Florida among them, have introduced proposed constitutional amendments aimed at reversing the court orders but this is simply more of the "political posturing" of which we have had a surfeit. What is needed and what Congress could do more practically is to supplant the desegregation "radar blips" from the courts with sound statutes.

[From the Evening Star, Feb. 4, 1970]

CONGRESS' STAND ON "RACIAL BALANCE"

(By David Lawrence)

The Constitution of the United States specifically says that Congress may by law limit the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court. Congress recently has passed such a law, forbidding the courts to issue any order to achieve "racial balance" in the schools by busing. The Civil Rights Act of 1964 says:

"Nothing herein shall empower any official or court of the United States to issue any order seeking to achieve a racial balance in any school by requiring the transportation of pupils or students from one school to another or one school district to another in order to achieve such racial balance, or otherwise enlarge the existing power of the courts to insure compliance with constitutional standards."

In another section of the same act is the following provision:

" 'Desegregation' shall not mean the assignment of students to public schools in order to overcome racial imbalance."

In the last appropriations measure for the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, there were two sections that dealt with the forced busing of students. These provide:

"Section 409. No part of the funds contained in this act may be used to force busing of students, abolishment of any school, or to force any student attending any elementary or secondary school to attend a particular school against the choice of his or her parents or parent in order to overcome racial imbalance.

"Section 410. No part of the funds contained in this act shall be used to force busing of students, the abolishment of any school or the attendance of students at a particular school in order to overcome racial imbalance as a condition precedent to obtaining federal funds otherwise available to any state, school district or school."

In the 1970 Appropriations Act for the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, which has been vetoed by President Nixon, these sections were revised to read:

"Section 407. Except as required by the Constitution, no part of the funds contained in this act may be used to force any school district to take any actions involving the busing of students, the abolishment of any school or the assignment of any student attending any elementary or secondary school to a particular school against the choice of his or her parents or parent.

"Section 408. Except as required by the Constitution, no part of the funds contained in this act shall be used to force any school district to take any actions involving the busing of students, the abolishment of any school or the assignment of students to a particular school as a condition precedent to obtaining federal funds otherwise available to any state, school district or school."

After Nixon's veto of the bill, it went back to a House Appropriations subcommittee. The phrase "except as required by the Constitution" makes the two provisions valueless because there is nothing in the Constitution that directly or indirectly deals with the compulsory busing of school children.

The Civil Rights Act of 1964 states broadly the power of Congress to forbid the use of public funds to correct "racial imbalance," but it has to be proved that this is a result of a state law or deliberate discrimination locally.

What the people everywhere are insisting upon is "freedom of choice" insofar as the districts in which they reside are concerned. They want to be able to send their children to any school within a school district, but they cannot, under court orders, object to children of other races attending the same schools.

The parents, however, do not feel their own children should be required to go to a distant school to correct "racial imbalance." Congress has specifically ruled against this remedy and has, in effect, prohibited not only the courts from issuing such an order but also the Department of Health, Education and Welfare from carrying out any such instructions of the courts.

The administration has appointed a special Cabinet committee under Vice President Spiro T. Agnew to try to solve the problem. It certainly needs further study, particularly by legal experts, so that some solution in conformity with "the law of the land" may be found.

SUSTAINS PRESIDENT'S VETO

HON. MARVIN L. ESCH

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 5, 1970

Mr. ESCH. Mr. Speaker, the vote in the House of Representatives last week on whether or not to override the President's veto was one of my most difficult decisions since I came to the Congress. As an educator for 14 years at the University of Michigan and Wayne State University and as a member of the Education and Labor Committee, I have been vitally concerned with educational programs and I have worked to advance the priority of sound Federal educational programs in such areas as vocational education, urban education, and day care centers.

However, the vote which we took was not a vote for or against education—or for or against the future of our children—but a vote on some very specific programs and it had to be assessed in light of the entire national picture. After full consideration and discussion with hundreds of educators who came to Washington, I cast my vote to sustain the President's veto. I would like to review with you the factors which led to my determination on this issue.

First, I share with the President the grave concern that the fight against inflation must hold the highest priority. I firmly agree with many who have argued that cuts should have been made in other areas—I voted for cuts of nearly $10 billion in Defense Department appropriations; I voted against the deployment of the ABM; I voted against the subsidization of the SST; I voted against increased staff for Congress. I will continue to work against such expenditures.

Unfortunately, however, the crucial public test of our national willingness to fight inflation did not come on these issues—it came on the veto of the Labor-HEW appropriations bill. This is not the battleground which I would have preferred, but it is the one which was presented to us. Success in the fight against inflation requires not only a cutback in Government expenditures, but also a clear perception on the part of all forces in the economy that the President and the Congress mean business when they talk about fighting inflation. Once the President had actually vetoed the bill and the issue was joined, an override would have been tantamount to admitting that the Congress was willing only to talk about, not fight, inflation. By signaling a lack of determination against inflation, an override might well have set off a new wave of inflation.

The stake of the educational community in the fight against inflation is as high as any other segment of the Nation. As the January issue of School Management magazine reports:

> While many administrators complain bitterly, these days, about the adverse effect on education of the Nixon Administration's tough anti-inflation measures, the Cost of Education Index makes it abundantly clear that inflation itself is far more damaging than any of the attempts to bring it under control.

Indeed, if inflation were unchecked, the rise in costs would result in a loss of $2 billion to education in the next year—more than twice the amount contained in the vetoed bill.

A second consideration in my decision was the inclusion in the vetoed bill of an increase of $400 million in funds for impacted aid to school districts. This figure, nearly half of the entire increase, was in my view completely unwarranted. Impacted aid has become the biggest boondoggle in Federal educational assistance. Designed originally to assist those school districts which were suddenly deluged with increased enrollments because of a Federal installation which did not pay local school taxes, the program has grown into a bonanza for schools near any Government center. Montgomery County, Md., for instance, is the richest county in America. After taxes, the average family income is $18,000, yet the Federal Government subsidizes Montgomery schools with $5.8 million. During that part of the year which I reside in Washington, I live in Montgomery County, pay local property taxes there and send my three children to public schools there. The Federal Government subsidizes the education of my children—and the children of all other Federal employees.

This program bases Federal payments to schools on the basis of the employment of their parents, rather than their need. While Montgomery County is receiving $5.8 million to educate its middle and upper class students, Detroit received only $619,761 from this program to assist the thousands of needy students in its overcrowded, underfunded schools through the impacted aid program. There is an immediate need to revise completely this inequitable formula and assure that Federal funds are directed at those areas where they are most needed and in programs where they will be most effective.

For years, educators and Congressmen alike have prostituted themselves in accepting and continuing impacted aid in order to secure support for other more

worthy programs. We can no longer justify this compromise with principle. This vote was an expression of my determination to press for modernization and overhaul of this program. The funds involved in impacted aid simply must be diverted into more pressing educational needs such as day care, vocational education, urban and inner city programs, and so forth.

Finally, the vetoed bill contained mandatory spending requirements which would have forced HEW to spend the funds for specific programs whether or not the funding requests seemed responsible in the remaining 4 months of the fiscal year. Had the Congress voted to override the veto, I understand that HEW was under pressure to cut back on every discretionary grant under its control—which might have resulted in major and extremely serious cuts in funds for medical and educational research. Such cuts might well have resulted in great damage to these programs.

The Federal Government is now in the eighth month of fiscal year 1970 and schools have completed more than half of the school year. It is absolutely irresponsible and indefensible that we should still be embroiled in a fight about the appropriations for Labor-HEW. The failure of the Congress to take prompt action on appropriations bills illustrates again the need for a major overhaul of our appropriations process. Had the Congress acted in a timely manner on the appropriations request, this controversy could have been settled months ago, and whatever the final appropriations figure, it could have been spent more efficiently and effectively. It is clear that we must take prompt action to reform congressional procedures to insure that delays of this nature do not take place in the future. My proposal for a calendar fiscal year which has been endorsed by the Rules Committee in its congressional reform draft bill, would go a long way toward preventing the problems we are facing today.

Mr. Speaker, as we approach the decade of the 1970's, it is clear that there must be, not only a reordering of our priorities, as is so often stated today, but rather a total reexamination of our thinking in the field of education.

Federal aid to education is here to stay. What we need now is the courage to delineate the programs which have been effective from those which are nonessential. The educational leadership in the country, and in the Congress specifically, must bear a heavy responsibility in the coming years if we are to rework our Federal education programs so as to maximize effective utilization of our funds to reach out to those school children who are in the greatest need.

Without more attention to preschool education, vocational training and urban education in the United States are sure to reach a crisis stage.

Mr. Speaker, in closing, let me reiterate that I am sorry that the key inflation vote was brought to us in the form of the Labor-HEW appropriations bill. However, once the President had chosen this as the key issue, I felt it necessary to express the interest of the Congress in fighting inflation. One side effect of this debate, however, may well be the revision of outmoded and ineffective programs, and that may prove to be an important advance for the future of all education.

CARE OF VETERANS IN TEXAS VA HOSPITALS SUFFERS FOR LACK OF FUNDS

HON. OLIN E. TEAGUE

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 5, 1970

Mr. TEAGUE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, the Committee on Veterans' Affairs is in the process of conducting a comprehensive survey of the Veterans' Administration hospital system to determine if adequate funding and staffing is being provided to promptly and properly care for America's sick and disabled veterans. This survey includes all of the 166 hospitals in the Veterans' Administration and most of the independent outpatient clinics.

Mr. Speaker, this in-depth survey, which will be followed by committee hearings, was undertaken because I was seriously concerned about recent reports which I had received from a variety of sources indicating that many VA hospitals were being caught in an impossible squeeze between higher medical and drug costs and rising workloads without receiving proportionally higher funding and staffing allocations. As I have previously stated to this body, if these policies are permitted to stand, they will wreck the VA hospital system and undermine the veterans medical program to the point of dangerous dilution in quality.

Mr. Speaker, I have not been able to thoroughly examine the 1971 budget which was submitted to the Congress a few days ago; however, a preliminary examination indicates that at best it is a "stand still" budget that may lead to further deterioration of medical care for our Nation's veterans in the future.

Mr. Speaker, the Veterans' Administration is attempting to provide first-class medical care with an inadequate staff. General medical community hospitals and State and local government hospitals have an average staff ratio of 2.72 employees for each patient, while the Veterans' Administration has only 1.5 staff for each patient. University hospitals operated in connection with medical schools are even higher, and have a staff ratio of over three employees for each patient. I have written to President Nixon and advised that I expect to seek a minimum staffing ratio for the Veterans' Administration of at least two employees for each patient in most VA general medical hospitals, and a one for one ratio in psychiatric hospitals.

The Veterans' Affairs Committee investigation of nine Texas Veterans' Administration hospitals revealed funding deficiencies in fiscal year 1970 of over $3,600,000 to operate about 5,000 hospital beds serving approximately 1,353,000 Texas veterans.

In Texas, VA hospitals are located in Amarillo, Big Spring, Bonham, Dallas, Houston, Kerrville, Marlin, and Temple. A 1,421-bed psychiatric hospital is located at Waco, and independent VA outpatient clinics are operated in Lubbock and San Antonio.

The investigation being conducted by the House Veterans' Affairs Committee revealed that under the hospital staffing formula which I advocated, Texas VA hospitals are approximately 2,700 positions short of needed staff. These extra positions would cost about $14,100,000 annually. A few of these positions would be difficult to fill, but most are recruitable. Texas VA hospital directors also reported that community nursing care programs at their hospitals were underfunded in fiscal year 1970 by over $400,000. More funds were needed approximating $250,000 for dental care due to increased workloads largely created by returning Vietnam veterans. Hospital and clinic directors were recently advised that about $91,000 was being made available to apply against this deficiency.

The 1,200-bed Houston VA hospital has made significant contributions to research of synthetic arterial replacements in cardiovascular surgery, and is one of the most active hospitals in the VA system. The Houston VA hospital reported the largest deficiency among Texas hospitals—over $2,500,000. Funds totaling more than $1,600,000 are needed to provide over 200 positions which Hospital Director Dr. John W. Claiborne reported as being needed to operate at "proper employment levels." Many of these positions are needed to properly staff special intensive care units which have already been constructed and equipped at a cost of about $460,000. The remaining deficiency of over $900,000 included shortages for drugs and medicines of $117,000, $20,000 for outpatient dental exams and treatments, mostly for returning Vietnam veterans, and the balance for medical operating supplies, maintenance and repairs of hospital facilities, replacement of old and outmoded equipment, and acquisition of new equipment.

A shortage of about 30 much needed research support personnel was also disclosed. In order to support on-going research activities, over 20 positions costing over $150,000 are being diverted from current patient care needs. Over and above these 20 positions, five additional positions costing $37,000 are needed to relieve this vital research personnel shortage at the Houston VA hospital.

Dr. James B. Chandler, director of the 700-bed Dallas VA hospital, reported the second highest deficiency amount among the Texas hospitals of over $800,000. The largest part of this deficiency was for staffing about 65 positions at a cost of about $500,000. Some of these positions are needed to correct understaffing of a special surgical intensive care unit, the hospital's recovery room, and other special clinics, laboratories, and services for cardiac catheterization, anesthesiology, audiology, prosthetics, pharmacy, and outpatient activities. Shortages of over $260,000 were reported by Dr. Chandler for other annual operating costs which include drugs, medical and dental sup-

plies, blood and blood products, and other operating costs. Unless additional funds are forthcoming, over $70,000 in equipment replacement and acquisitions will be deferred to provide funds this year for pharmacy costs and prosthetics such as arms and legs for many returning Vietnam veterans. Dr. Chandler also reported a deficiency of about $58,000 to cover the cost of placing veterans in private community nursing homes who have received maximum hospital benefits at the Dallas hospital. Dr. Chandler said that an average daily community nursing home care load of 65 could have been maintained but that initial funding from VA Central Office allowed for only 48.

Dr. Charles S. Livingston, director of the 700-bed hospital and 400-bed domiciliary at Temple reported fiscal year 1970 deficiencies of almost $216,500. Of this, $67,000 was needed to correct staffing deficiencies; $76,000 for other annual operating costs; and over $95,000 for maintenance and repairs of hospital facilities, equipment replacement, and new equipment acquisitions. Dr. Livingston also reported that funding provided to Temple for placing veterans in community nursing homes was far below needs. He said that an average daily community nursing care load of 64 could have been maintaind but that his station was allotted initial funds for only 42. Over $88,000 in additional funds were needed to fully fund this program.

Dr. Sam J. Muirhead, director of the 130-bed hospital in Amarillo, advised the Veterans' Affairs Committee that unless he received additional fiscal year 1970 funding from VA Central Office it would be necessary for him to divert approximately $19,000 from maintenance and repair and equipment funds for hospital staffing, thus delaying long needed hospital repairs and equipment replacement and acquisitions.

Bonham's hospital director, Glyndon H. Hague, reported a fiscal year deficiency of about $100,000. Hague indicated that he was short by approximately $60,000 in personnel funds and about $40,000 for other hospital operations. Hague reported that because of funding shortages it may be necessary to cancel plans to furnish a greater percentage of patients with flame retardant pajamas during 1970 even though their usage was strongly advocated by VA Central Office for patients who smoke. Present VA instructions concerning maintenance and repair at hospitals require projects costing less than $5,000 to be funded from station operating funds. This imposes an especially difficult problem for smaller VA hospitals such as Bonham, according to Hague.

Dr.W. B. Hawkins, director of the 1,421-bed psychiatric VA hospital at Waco, reported $59,000 in operating deficiencies. He also reported he could have used an additional $85,000 to properly operate Waco's community nursing care program and another $18,000 to take care of needed dental care. Funding for the dental care program was almost exhausted by December 31, 1969, due to substantially increased costs and the accelerated return of Vietnam veterans.

The major concern at Waco is the deferral of the long-sought air-conditioning and hospital modernization project. Plans have been completed at a cost of approximately $380,000 and the 91st Congress appropriated $7.5 million to fund the modernization plans even though the administration struck the Waco project from its revised budget submitted to Congress last April. Congress restored the cut but the project has been stalled because of a Nixon Executive order to all Federal departments and agencies to defer in fiscal year 1970 federally financed construction projects by 75 percent.

Dr. Hawkins stated that in order to bring his staffing ratio more into line with minimal acceptable standards of one staff to each patient, 46 additional full time permanent positions were needed which would cost about $284,000 annually at current pay scales. All of these positions were listed as being "recruitable" at present pay scales. Two psychiatrists and two psychologists positions costing over $64,000 annually were listed as being "nonrecruitable."

Director W. R. Byrd reported to the Veterans' Affairs Committee that the primary deficiency at Kerrville's 346-bed hospital was the shortage of $77,000 to fund the community nursing care program to care for veterans who have reached maximum hospital benefits and no longer need expensive hospital care. The hospital director indicated that it would have been possible to maintain a daily average of 17 more veterans in community nursing homes if funds had been provided for this purpose.

The 222-bed Marlin Hospital under the directorship of Dr. Albert T. Hume reported that they had been denied funds to purchase a $11,600 fluoroscopic image intensifier which was required for X-ray work in treating intermediate and acute medical patients which are the predominate types of patients now treated at Marlin since the surgical service was moved to Temple. Optimum use of the community nursing care program would have required about $10,000 more.

At Big Spring, VA Hospital Director Jack Powell reported that he could have used over $90,000 in additional funds during fiscal year 1970 to place veterans in community nursing homes at VA expense who no longer need expensive hospital care. He recently received an additional allocation of $5,000 earmarked for this purpose but it may still be necessary for him to defer some transfers to nursing homes in May and June of 1970.

Funds have been appropriated by Congress to construct a new 750-bed hospital in San Antonio costing over $27,000,000. However, this project was also delayed by the Nixon Executive order. Community leaders have been seeking a commitment from the Nixon administration that funds for the San Antonio VA hospital will be released in the coming year. The 1971 budget indicates that construction funds will be obligated. The proposed VA hospital was planned as a part of San Antonio's new international medical center to operate in conjunction with the new medical school which has begun operation. Another delay in the contract for the VA hospital will cause a serious problem for the new medical school.

Dr. J. J. Novak, director of the San Antonio VA outpatient clinic reported a dental fund shortage of almost $40,000 which is needed mostly to handle increased workloads for returning Vietnam veterans. The clinic director also reported staffing shortages for seven additional personnel costing approximately $100,000 annually.

The Lubbock VA outpatient clinic director, Dr. R. K. Hosman, also reported a shortage in dental funds amounting to $26,000.

Mr. Speaker the Veterans' Administration hospital system has long been considered among the best of Government-operated medical facilities. VA has been doing an exceptionally good job in operating its medical program, but they are not able to keep up with greatly increased workloads and vast improvements which are being made in medical treatment and technology under current funding and staffing formulas.

Look at what is being accomplished.

In fiscal year 1970 VA will treat 780,487 patients—38,000 more than it did in fiscal year 1966—with almost 17,000 fewer hospital beds than were in operation in fiscal year 1966.

In fiscal year 1970 outpatient visits will total about 7,425,000, an increase of 1,243,000 over fiscal year 1966.

VA provides some training for about half of the Nation's 7,500 new doctors which are graduated each year.

VA employs 4 percent of all doctors in the United States and is the world's largest employer for more than 10 different medical professions—including nurses, clinical and counseling psychologists, dietitians, medical and psychiatric social workers, physical therapists, and occupational therapists.

Conducts over 6,000 research projects covering almost every field of medicine.

Mr. Speaker, the fine accomplishments which the VA medical system has achieved cannot be allowed to deteriorate so that they become a part of a second-rate system.

Some curtailment of VA funding and staffing has been blamed on the war on inflation. I take the position the Vietnam veteran has contributed enough when he fights the shooting war and that he should not be expected to fight the inflation war also at the expense of his health.

This Nation has prided itself in its service to those who have borne the burden of battle. A bipartisan attitude has long prevailed in Congress in the funding of an adequate medical program for America's veterans, and in providing for the educational and housing needs of returning servicemen. We in Congress of both parties have always acted in the belief that the finest medical care should be made available to those who served their country in uniform, and especially to those who returned home suffering wounds and service-connected disabilities.

I do not intend to sit idly by and allow shortsighted policies to destroy a medical program that is absolutely necessary to care for America's veterans.