

H.R. 19132. A bill to amend the Library Services and Construction Act, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Education and Labor.

By Mr. BRADEMAM (for himself and Mr. HATHAWAY):

H.R. 19133. A bill to reinforce the Federal system by strengthening the personnel resources of State and local governments, to improve intergovernmental cooperation in the administration of grant-in-aid programs, to provide grants for improvement of State and local personnel administration, to authorize Federal assistance in training State and local employees, to provide grants to State and local governments for training of their employees, to authorize interstate compacts for personnel and training activities, to facilitate the temporary assignment of personnel between the Federal Government, and State and local governments, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Education and Labor.

By Mr. BRINKLEY:

H.R. 19134. A bill to amend the Civil Rights Act of 1964 by adding a new title, which restores to local school boards their constitutional power to administer the public schools committed to their charge, confers on parents the right to choose the public schools their children attend, secures to children the right to attend the public schools chosen by their parents, and makes effective the right of public school administrators and teachers to serve in the schools in which they contract to serve; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. LUKENS:

H.R. 19135. A bill to amend the Social Security Act to provide for medical and hospital care through a system of voluntary health insurance financed in whole for low-income groups, through issuance of certificates, and in part for all other persons through allowance of tax credits, and to provide a system of peer review of utilization, charges, and quality of medical service; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. EILBERG:

H.R. 19136. A bill designating certain election days as legal public holidays; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. GIBBONS:

H.R. 19137. A bill to amend title II of the Social Security Act to provide in certain cases for an exchange of credits between the old-age, survivors, and disability insurance system and the civil service retirement system so as to enable individuals who have some coverage under both systems to obtain maximum benefits based on their combined service; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. HECHLER of West Virginia:

H.R. 19138. A bill to prohibit flight in interstate or foreign commerce to avoid prosecution for the killing of a policeman or fireman; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. QUILLEN:

H.R. 19139. A bill to provide for a program of Federal assistance in the development, acquisition, and installation of aircraft anti-hijacking detection systems, and for other

purposes; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. SLACK:

H.R. 19140. A bill to amend the Consumer Credit Protection Act to retain the effectiveness of materialmen's and mechanic's liens; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

H.R. 19141. A bill to amend title 38 of the United States Code to increase the rates and income limitations relating to payment of pension and parents' dependency and indemnity compensation, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Veterans' Affairs.

By Mr. TIERNAN:

H.R. 19142. A bill to amend the Social Security Act to provide for medical and hospital care through a system of voluntary health insurance financed in whole for low-income groups, through issuance of certificates, and in part for all other persons through allowance of tax credits, and to provide a system of peer review of utilization, charges, and quality of medical service; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

H.R. 19143. A bill to amend the Communications Act of 1934 and the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 to provide permanent financing for the Corporation for Public Broadcasting; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. VANIK:

H.R. 19144. A bill to create a health security program; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. WYATT:

H.R. 19145. A bill to direct the Secretary of the Army to release on behalf of the United States a condition in a deed conveying certain land to the State of Oregon to be used as a public highway; to the Committee on Armed Services.

By Mr. FRASER:

H.R. 19146. A bill to promote the public welfare; to the Committee on Government Operations.

By Mr. ADAIR:

H.J. Res. 1363. Joint resolution proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States extending the right to vote to citizens 18 years of age or older; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. ANNUNZIO:

H.J. Res. 1364. Joint resolution recognizing the State of Illinois as host in 1992 of the official quinquennial celebration of the discovery of America; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. BROOMFIELD:

H.J. Res. 1365. Joint resolution authorizing the President to declare one week each September as "National SS Hope Week"; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. BRADEMAM (for himself and Mr. MEEDS):

H. Con. Res. 723. Concurrent resolution expressing the sense of the Congress with respect to international agreements providing for mandatory extradition of aircraft hijackers; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. EDWARDS of California:

H. Con. Res. 724. Concurrent resolution calling for an international convention on the treatment of airline terrorists and the

nations that give them support and asylum; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. TAFT:

H. Con. Res. 725. Concurrent resolution for new initiatives at the Paris peace talks including a cease-fire and other matters; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. WOLFF:

H. Con. Res. 726. Concurrent resolution expressing the sense of the Congress with respect to international aircraft hijacking; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. MILLER of Ohio:

H. Con. Res. 727. Concurrent resolution to create a joint congressional committee to provide Congress with a plan for legislation to deal with the problems of rural America; to the Committee on Rules.

By Mr. PHILBIN:

H. Con. Res. 728. Concurrent resolution appealing to Soviets to cease persecution of Jews in Russia; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. SHRIVER:

H. Con. Res. 729. Concurrent resolution expressing the sense of the Congress with respect to international agreements providing for mandatory extradition of aircraft hijackers; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. BROTZMAN (for himself, Mr. HOSMER, Mr. BOLAND, Mr. REIFEL, Mr. SIKES, Mr. EDWARDS of California, Mr. BRAY, Mr. TUNNEY, Mr. DONOHUE, Mr. LANGEN, Mr. FULTON of Pennsylvania, Mr. MICHEL, Mr. ST GERMAIN, Mr. SCHWENDEL, and Mr. RODINO):

H. Res. 1206. Resolution to amend the Rules of the House of Representatives to create a standing committee to be known as the Committee on Environment; to the Committee on Rules.

By Mr. SYMINGTON:

H. Res. 1207. Resolution expressing the sense of the House of Representatives with respect to the spreading practice of international hijacking and the kidnapping of diplomatic personnel; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

## PRIVATE BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

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

By Mr. ADDABBO:

H.R. 19147. A bill for the relief of Frank Morgan; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. BROYHILL of Virginia (by request):

H.R. 19148. A bill for the relief of Lilia C. Sanjur; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. CLARK:

H.R. 19149. A bill for the relief of Nabil George H. Yaldo; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. TEAGUE of California:

H.R. 19150. A bill for the relief of Robert W. Patterson; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. WYATT:

H.R. 19151. A bill for the relief of Fred Devine, doing business as Fred Devine Diving Co.; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

## EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

### CODORUS STATE PARK

#### HON. GEORGE A. GOODLING

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 10, 1970

Mr. GOODLING. Mr. Speaker, Codorus State Park in my congressional district came into being as the result of

the cooperative efforts of the State of Pennsylvania and the P. H. Glatfelter Co. The State of Pennsylvania has obtained a valuable piece of scenic real estate, the Glatfelter Co. has gained a dependable water reserve, and the people have won an impressive recreational area located in the area I serve.

Because Codorus State Park vividly illustrates what can be done through the

cooperative efforts of State government and private industry, I include in the RECORD an article prepared by the Pennsylvania Department of Forests and Waters on this interesting project, the first of its type in the entire country:

#### CODORUS STATE PARK

Pennsylvania's Codorus State Park is one of the Commonwealth's most recently acquired acres for the development of outdoor

recreational facilities and represents an outstanding example of cooperation between private industry and State government.

Located in York County, the Codorus State Park is being developed by the Pennsylvania Department of Forests and Waters' Bureau of State Parks in cooperation with the P. H. Glatfelter Co., of Spring Grove, one of the nation's leading manufacturers of paper products, for the benefit of the general public.

The Codorus State Park is a multiple purpose project:

1. It provides much needed outdoor recreational facilities, and

2. It satisfies the need for a more substantial water supply for the P. H. Glatfelter Co.

Consequently, because of this successful joint venture, Pennsylvania has a new and important recreational area in an urbanized region and the Spring Grove Industry has an ample reserve supply of water upon which it can depend in the future.

This water resources development program was inaugurated following two years of intensive study of the water needs of the Codorus Creek Basin by the Department of Forests and Waters. Taken into consideration at the same time was the need, or demand, of the surrounding area for water oriented recreational activities.

Some 3,326 acres of land were acquired with funds from Project 70, Pennsylvania's Land Acquisition and Borrowing Act, and it was the P. H. Glatfelter Co., in cooperation with the Commonwealth, which constructed a 1,690 foot long, 109 foot high impoundment dam to create a 1,275 acre lake now known as Lake Marburg.

The paper manufacturing firm is permitted, by agreement, to draw water from the lake to a maximum of a 23 foot drop in the lake level. This would reduce the lake's size to 800 acres which is considered still ample enough to provide opportunities for recreation, such as, boating and fishing.

When the impoundment structure was dedicated on Aug. 5, 1965, William W. Scranton, then governor of Pennsylvania, described the project as "not only a major milestone within the entire 'Project 70' concept but it also marks, for the first time, a conservation wedding of private industry with State government for the mutual benefit of the people themselves."

Maurice K. Goddard, Secretary of Forests and Waters, has since emphasized that this "joint construction and development of the Codorus State Park by the State and the P. H. Glatfelter Co. is without parallel in the United States."

Following the impoundment of Lake Marburg, the department provided day-use facilities and a temporary boat mooring and access area, and just last May 9 another dedication took place there to mark the completion of permanent boat launching facilities.

This program not only marked the dedication of new facilities but also indicated the completion of the first Project 500 construction contract at a State park in Pennsylvania.

"Project 500," the Commonwealth's Land and Water Conservation and Reclamation Act, was approved by the voters at the 1967 Primary Election and was implemented by Gov. Raymond P. Shafer on Jan. 19, 1968. It provides the Department of Forests and Waters with funds for the development of State park lands acquired under "Project 70."

The original study of the area, involving outdoor recreational needs, revealed that water oriented facilities would attract over 600,000 visitors from Pennsylvania each year. This is based on the prospectus that the population of York County will just about double over the next 50 years.

That estimate (over 600,000 visitors annually) was readily acceptable when it is

realized that 329,800 persons reside within a 25 mile radius of the park and there are over 1,140,000 persons within a 50 mile radius.

More recently a new contract was awarded for second phase park development which includes construction of an access road, overlook point and parking areas for picnicking and concession marina use.

Under design as part of the future development of the park are two major day-use areas and a maintenance area. Marina facilities are included in one day-use area project which will include a general marina building, with a repair shop and restroom facilities; an additional 400 car parking lot, picnic areas, and a restaurant with adjacent parking area.

The second day-use area will include a swimming complex with a one-half acre swimming area, a bathhouse, concession building, boat rental building, life guard and first aid station, sunbathing area, parking facilities for over 1,000 cars, picnic areas and playground facilities. Also planned is a mooring area for about 50 small rental craft and two group picnicking areas.

Campground facilities are also planned for those persons who prefer to "rough it" with sites to be developed at out-of-the-way areas which will be reached only by boat and thus provide a primitive atmosphere for the outdoorsman. A tent and trailer campground with approximately 400 sites is also proposed.

One of the most popular forms of outdoor recreation currently in force at Codorus is fishing and one other state agency, the Pennsylvania Fish Commission, has done much to stimulate interest by carrying out a stocking program to provide a variety of game fish for the angler.

This program began in 1967 and each year since then, with the exception of 1969, the commission stocked 80,000 northern pike fry in the lake. Some 80,000 muskellunge fry were stocked during 1967 and the following year saw another 80,000 fry, of this same species of game fish, placed in the lake.

Some 2,000,000 walleye fry were stocked during 1967, another 2,000,000 in 1968 and during the early part of 1970 the Fish Commission placed 300 adult walleye, ranging from 16 to 18 inches long, in the recreational impoundment.

The stocking program also included large numbers of largemouth bass. In 1967 there were 200,000 fry placed in the lake and later that same year some 4,000 fingerling were stocked. Another 200,000 fry went in during 1968 and that same year saw another stocking of 6,000 fingerling.

Black crappie and even channel catfish were included in the program. During 1967 and 1968 the commission stocked 42,000 fingerling black crappie in the lake, and during 1968 stocked the area with 80,000 channel catfish fry and 16,000 fingerling.

Therefore when total development is achieved, the Codorus State Park will offer a variety of outdoor recreational opportunities and will emerge as one of Pennsylvania's finest State parks as planned, designed and developed to serve the public not only for the present but for many years to come.

#### NEW LEGISLATION TO AID IN FIGHT AGAINST KIDNEY DISEASE

### HON. RICHARD S. SCHWEIKER

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, September 10, 1970

Mr. SCHWEIKER. Mr. President, the Senate has passed a measure vital to the basic health needs of our country, S.

3355, the Health Service Improvement Act of 1970. S. 3355 extends the regional medical program for a 5-year period beginning in fiscal year 1971 and provides \$120 million for the program for this year, increasing to \$250 million for fiscal year 1975.

In addition to extending the regional medical program, S. 3355 will extend and improve the comprehensive health planning and services program. It will also extend and improve the authority for the National Center for Health Service Research and Development, and, finally, it will create a National Council on Health Policy in the Executive Office of the President to set goals for a national health policy for the United States.

However, I particularly wish to call attention to another significant aspect of this bill—the \$15 million authorization specifically for kidney disease. I have taken a strong personal interest in the serious problem of kidney disease, which afflicts about 8 million Americans and kills about 60,000 each year. In addition to cosponsoring S. 2482, the National Kidney Disease Act of 1970, I testified on February 17, 1970, before the Senate Health Subcommittee on S. 3355, the bill which has just been passed, and its importance in the fight against chronic kidney disease.

As I noted in my testimony before the Health Subcommittee last February, I am pleased that S. 3355 explicitly adds kidney disease to heart disease, cancer, and stroke as one of the diseases to which the program is specifically addressed.

In Pennsylvania, for example, this will allow the three regional medical programs, the Greater Delaware Valley regional medical program, the Susquehanna Valley regional medical program, and the Western Pennsylvania regional medical program, to become outlets for artificial kidney machines and related medical services. This bill will assist in prevention and rehabilitation, as well as diagnosis and treatment.

Increased research in this field is making possible much more preventive activity and Federal programs must keep pace. Until the passage of this legislation, there was no Federal program to provide kidney hemodialysis equipment for widespread treatment among the general public. The costs of maintaining a kidney machine are high. The kidney hemodialysis machines help keep a kidney patient alive by recirculating the patient's blood through the machine, thus removing poisonous wastes from the blood. However, kidney machines cost \$3,000 to \$6,000 to buy and install in the home, plus \$50 a week maintenance cost. An estimated 8,000 kidney patients die each year for lack of this treatment. Mr. President, we can no longer accept statistics such as these in 1970 in the United States.

I am proud to say, Mr. President, that in many Pennsylvania communities there are private citizens, working through their civic and service organizations and labor unions, who are determined to help victims of kidney disease by raising funds for machines. Practically every week, in my mail, I learn of some local



fund-raising venture in Pennsylvania to secure a kidney machine for a deserving patient.

The United Steelworkers of America has been making a special effort to obtain better care for kidney patients. Many locals of the USW in Pennsylvania have established funds to purchase kidney machines. The USW nationally has backed such legislation as S. 3355, and the executive committee of the National Kidney Foundation has recognized the president of the USW, Mr. I. W. Abel, for his union's contribution to the fight against kidney disease. I, too, want to commend this labor union for devoting itself not just to the specific needs of steelworkers but also to the general needs of the community for better health care. It is a leadership role that this union has often taken.

In recent years, Mr. President, public awareness of kidney disease has greatly increased and it has become a matter of utmost concern for Federal and private research efforts. We have seen a major development of kidney dialysis techniques, but thus far these techniques remain beyond the financial resources of the average family. I hope that passage of S. 3355 by the Senate will go a long way toward providing the staff, facilities, research, and equipment that are needed.

ESSEX COUNTY, MASS., WEEKLY  
SEES NEED FOR MAINE POWER  
FACILITY

HON. WILLIAM D. HATHAWAY

OF MAINE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 10, 1970

Mr. HATHAWAY. Mr. Speaker, an article published recently in the *Pennysaver*, the largest weekly newspaper in Essex County, Mass., evinces strong concern for the power crisis which the northeastern area of the United States has experienced for the past several years. But the article also expresses confidence that the crisis can be substantially eased by the introduction of Federal hydroelectric power in New England.

In this regard, the *Pennysaver* piece answers a number of questions concerning construction of the proposed Dickey-Lincoln school hydroelectric power project in northern Maine—answers which provide a cogent argument for the project's completion.

In the very near future, a House-Senate Conference Committee will convene to resolve differences between respective versions of the fiscal year 1971 public works appropriations bill. A budget request totaling \$807,000 in preconstruction planning funds for the Dickey project will be one of the points of discussion. I sincerely hope that the conferees will agree to inclusion of the funding, and that the Members of this House will subsequently endorse their agreement. In the meantime, I respectfully urge all my colleagues to review the contentions of the Massachusetts weekly's article:

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS ON THE  
DICKEY-LINCOLN SCHOOL

1. What is the Dickey-Lincoln school project? The Dickey-Lincoln school project will consist of two dams located on the St. John River in Maine. It is the first Federal multipurpose water resource project to be authorized by Congress for construction in New England, and will provide 100,000 kilowatts of firm power to preference customers in Maine, and 650,000 kilowatts of peaking power to preference customers and private utilities throughout New England.

Electric power constitutes the major benefit from the project. Additional benefits in flood control and area redevelopment will be realized by Dickey-Lincoln, and the project will contribute significantly to the advancement and future development of the economy of Maine and New England, as well as bringing, for the first time, Federal resource development to an area where consumers pay the Nation's highest electric bills.

2. What action has Congress taken on the project? Dickey-Lincoln was authorized by Congress in 1965; funds appropriated for initial planning totaled \$1.9 million through fiscal year 1967. The President's budget request for fiscal year 1968 included \$1,676,000 for final engineering and design of the project. This amount was approved by the House Appropriations Committee on July 20, 1967, but rejected by the full House (233-169) in an amendment offered by Rep. Robert Giaimo (D., Conn.) on July 25, 1967.

3. Has Dickey-Lincoln been fully studied and justified? No other multipurpose hydroelectric project authorized by Congress has received such close scrutiny as Dickey-Lincoln School. As well as being approved by the Interior Department, Corps of Engineers, Federal Power Commission, Atomic Energy Commission, and the Bureau of Appropriations Committee. The Committee found the project to be completely justified, with a benefit-cost ratio of 1.9 to 1.

Since fiscal year 1963, Congress has authorized 17 other Federal hydroelectric projects, with benefit-cost ratios ranging from 1.11 to 1.97. Dickey-Lincoln School ranks with the best.

4. Is Dickey-Lincoln School a good investment for American taxpayers? The project meets all criteria for economically feasible multipurpose water resources development as required by Senate Document 97. It will pay for itself in full, with interest, in 50 years, with power revenues. After that, all revenues will go to the Federal Treasury.

5. Does Dickey-Lincoln school offer the lowest cost alternative for electric power production? The staff study showed that, under the criteria required in Senate Document 97, Dickey-Lincoln meets the test of the lowest possible alternative, including conventional steam, nuclear, or pumped storage facilities.

6. Is there a market for Dickey-Lincoln power? The Department of the Interior has received letters of intent to purchase power from preference customers indicating a desire to purchase 100,000 kw of firm power in Maine and over 650,000 kw of peaking power elsewhere in New England.

7. Is hydroelectric power outdated? As stated in the staff study: "Hydroelectric capacity, both conventional and pumped storage, is best adapted for providing swift peaking capacity and spinning reserve for load protection." Hydro power also offers the advantage of instant start-up in the event of a power shortage.

8. How will Dickey-Lincoln affect electric consumers in New England? According to the Federal Power Commission, electric consumers in New England pay the highest electric bills in the nation. The FPC also reports that 98 percent of the power generated in New England comes from private utilities. New

England is the only area in the United States that does not have a multipurpose Federal hydroelectric development.

Construction of Dickey-Lincoln will introduce in New England the "yardstick" of Federal competition which has not only lowered electric rates throughout the nation but has spurred the private utilities into modernizing and streamlining their operations. In addition, Dickey-Lincoln will bring an annual savings to preference customers of more than \$9 million, even though it will generate only 3% of New England's power requirements.

9. What will Dickey-Lincoln cost? Based on current figures, the total construction cost of the Dickey-Lincoln School project is presently estimated to be \$229,313,000, according to the Corps of Engineers. The staff study showed that an increase of about 4% per year could be anticipated during the six year construction period based on experience with other Federal projects; however, this would not alter the fact that Dickey-Lincoln offers the lowest cost alternative for power production when compared to any other method, including nuclear generation.

10. Are the private utilities in New England planning for the future so as to prevent blackouts? The Northeast blackout of November, 1965, and recent outages on Cape Cod have shown that the private company opponents of Dickey are not meeting their public responsibilities. The so-called "Big Eleven" loop was formed in response to public outcry; however, no evidence of regional planning, including generation and transmission, has been produced by the private companies. An official of the private companies admitted under oath that the "Big Eleven" loop consisted solely of a newspaper ad.

11. Will Dickey-Lincoln create jobs? It is estimated that 11,200 man-years of work will be required to complete the project. The project will consume nearly 600,000 tons of concrete, 25,000 tons of reinforced steel in the dam and 45,000 tons of steel in transmission facilities. Construction of transmission lines would involve about 800 man-years of work. The power plant alone will cost \$60,000,000, which will create more jobs in the electrical equipment industry.

PEOPLE FED UP WITH CAMPUS  
ANTICS

HON. STROM THURMOND

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, September 10, 1970

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, an editorial column entitled "Public up to Here With Campus Antics" written by columnist James J. Kilpatrick, was published in the State newspaper in Columbia, S.C., on August 30, 1970.

Mr. Kilpatrick reports that the American people who support our institutions of higher learning are fed up with the disorders and destruction which shut down many colleges and universities last spring.

He reports further that college administrators and faculty members are facing demands from trustees, Governors, legislators and others that necessary control be exercised to restore order on campuses around the country.

Administrators cannot come crying to the President of the United States to

change conditions overnight and thus restore order to their campuses. These administrators need to show a little backbone and offer a little leadership. Many of them would do well to start with the firing of some faculty members who inspired and encouraged these disorders.

I ask unanimous consent that the article be printed in the Extensions of Remarks.

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

**PUBLIC "UP TO HERE" WITH CAMPUS ANTICS—  
ORDER TO BE RESTORED**

(By James J. Kilpatrick)

Forecasting coming events is a risky business as ever pundit knows, but I venture this prediction anyhow: Things will be better on American college campuses this fall. The flood tide of violent protest is about to be checked.

Two reasons prompt this view. One is the force of public reaction, which is slow to rise but irresistible in the end. The other is a sense of responsibility that belatedly is creeping over the college faculties. Together, these pressures will compel a restoration of order.

The level of public fedupness, which began as a small cloud over Columbia and Berkeley, is rolling up like a thunderhead in the Rockies. The people have invested great affection and great wealth in their institutions. They are now demanding of their governors, state legislators and college administrations that the violence be stopped and the disrupters be punished.

They mean business. Even before the tragic bombing at Madison a few days ago, Wisconsin residents were boiling over. "We have had it," writes a correspondent in Green Bay, "right up to here." The same anger is evident in California and Kansas. The next revolutionary who strikes a match in Seattle may start a political firestorm. Candidates who fail to sense this mood, and to respond actively to it, are asking for defeat in November.

If a counter-wave of repression is to be restrained, it will be up to the members of the faculties to build effective levees this fall. In the whole wretched chronicle of campus violence, no chapter tells a story more disgraceful than is told in their record of connivance, cowardice, and betrayal.

This is not my view alone. Dr. Sidney Hook, an eminent professor of philosophy and a certified liberal, laid it on the line last month in testifying before the Scranton Commission on Campus Unrest. He spoke scathingly of "fanatical student extremists" who have imposed their own brand of fascism on their institutions. "And most shameful of all," said Dr. Hook, "these students have faculty allies who encourage and extenuate attacks on the academic freedom of their colleagues."

Dr. Hook laid his lash on "opportunistic administrators with flexible backbones," but in the last analysis, he said, "it has been the faculty who have been chiefly responsible for the decline in academic freedom. For they have lacked the moral courage to uphold the professional standards of their calling as teachers and seekers of the truth."

This "failure of nerve and intelligence," in Dr. Hook's view, has presented American colleges and universities with "the gravest crisis in their history." For the past several months, as president of University Centers for Rational Alternatives, he has been throwing his own formidable energies into a revitalization of faculty morale. His grassroots organization of scholars proposes something more effective than hand-wringing at faculty teas. They propose to restore true academic freedom, and they have an orderly plan for gaining that end.

The tactical proposals advanced by Dr. Hook call for the promulgation at every institution, at the start of the academic year, of a clear statement of principles and rules governing the expression of dissent. Faculty, students, and administrators, acting together, would define the kinds of impermissible conduct and behavior. Punishments would be spelled out with equal clarity.

Violations would be dealt with first by faculty-student marshals, then by obtaining court injunctions. If disorder escalates into arson, assault and vandalism, the university marshals should accompany police "so that their mission can be accomplished without force where resistance is not offered, and with minimum force where it is." Academic sanctions against guilty students and teachers must be strictly enforced. There can be no amnesty and no appeasement.

These proposals do indeed offer "rational alternatives" to the intolerable disorder of recent years. And this bears repeating: If responsible students, teachers, and administrators fail to embrace such plans this fall, by next winter an outraged body of parents, alumni, and legislators will impose much harsher plans of their own.

**DICTATORSHIP OF THE MINORITY?**

**HON. F. EDWARD HÉBERT**

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 10, 1970

Mr. HÉBERT. Mr. Speaker, Maj. Gen. James F. Cantwell, president of the National Guard Association of the United States, has written in the National Guardsman magazine words worthy of our attention.

General Cantwell is experienced, knowledgeable, and respected in National Guard affairs. I can say this because I know him and know of his accomplishments personally.

Therefore, I believe what he says about criticism leveled at the guard for its handling of civil and campus disorders and his views on current unrest are of interest to all of us. I am inserting his article, which speaks for itself, at this point in the RECORD:

[From the National Guardsman, Sept. 1970]

**DICTATORSHIP OF THE MINORITY**

(By James F. Cantwell)

Some curious, and I think fallacious, propositions have been voiced with great frequency in the widespread debate that has preoccupied this Nation since the Cambodia decision and the Kent State incident. They embrace such ideas as these:

That the only way to bring student violence to an end is to terminate our involvement in the war in Southeast Asia.

The police and National Guardsmen have been more to blame than the New Left agitators and campus rowdies in the recent upsurge of campus-related violence.

That law enforcement officers and Guardsmen should not carry weapons while dealing with student mobs.

That defiance of the law, violence and rebellion are not only acceptable, but are to be desired, if that's what it takes to overturn our traditional structure of values and to remake our society.

That the student and faculty militants, and their mixed bag of political-intellectual-New Left supporters are right in their aspirations for America and their strivings for power, and

that the vast majority of Americans—Middle America, they have been called—are wrong.

It is not the fact that such propositions are being uttered that is frightening, for a free society by its very definition must encourage open and free discussion of the manner in which that society should function.

What is shocking is the absolute insistence by a small and noisy group of radicals that they, and only they, know what is best for America, and their willingness to use any means—violence, intimidation, lies, and other reprehensible means—to attain their ends. Equally shocking is the equanimity with which many Americans are submitting to these radical ideas and to the techniques by which they are being spread.

There is much to be said for the apprehensions recently voiced by retired General Harold K. Johnson, that America is closer than many think to "a dictatorship of the minority."

It seems long past time for concerned Americans at every level to start expounding some counter-propositions, in clear and forceful terms:

That students and others with an idealistic fervor must expose their ideas to the same democratic processes as anyone else.

That young people may not always be right in what they envision as proper goals for our Nation, and that their Utopian yearnings may not always be acceptable as National policy.

That all of us must obey the laws that govern our society, else the Nation itself may perish.

That the burning of buildings, and physical violence, and other excesses not only will not be accepted as modes of expression but will be forcibly halted when persuasion fails.

That no one, whether police or National Guard, should be expected to cope with screaming, rock-hurling mobs of campus hoodlums without the means of protecting themselves and the lives and property of their fellow-citizens.

That peace, while it is eminently to be desired in all parts of the World, is not as simple as merely walking out on a conflict and leaving your friends to suffer the consequences.

When hearings are held by such agencies as the Presidential Commission on Campus Unrest, or various Congressional committees, such ideas as these are expressed, but they never seem to receive the same prominent coverage by the news media as the viewpoint of ultra-liberal or radical spokesmen.

Middle America can, and should, insist on being heard, else many of the Country's most cherished values may be lost, along with our greatness as a free Nation and a free people.

**TOY SAFETY BILL**

**HON. FRANK E. MOSS**

OF UTAH

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, September 10, 1970

Mr. MOSS. Mr. President, one of the important advances in consumer protection is the Toy Safety bill, which has been enacted at this session.

Miss Betty Furness, who is a member of the Consumer Subcommittee's Advisory Council, was enthusiastic about the bill at the time I introduced it, and she has now written an excellent summary of it for her "Cost of Living" column in the August issue of McCall's.

Miss Furness deals not only with the money loss to the parents and the disappointment to the child when a toy is



defective and immediately breaks, but with the far more serious problem of toys which are so poorly and carelessly constructed that they are dangerous to the child—as dangerous as a lethal weapon.

Miss Furness points out that the new law has not been put into operation because no funds have been appropriated. As lamentable as this fact is, it, of course, follows normal legislative procedures. Authorization bills do not carry appropriations, and new programs are usually funded in the budget requests sent to Congress the year following their authorization. If the Toy Safety Act is not adequately funded, I shall certainly do what I can to see that it is.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Betty Furness comprehensive and informative discussion of the toy safety bill be printed in the Extensions of Remarks.

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

#### THE COST OF LIVING

(By Betty Furness)

By the time a child is old enough to ask questions about Santa Claus, he may also have a few questions about other manufacturers of his toys. Frustrated consumers are getting younger every day. Any parent who has coped with tears by noon on Christmas because a toy fell apart or failed to live up to its promises has faced a tragedy bigger than toy-size. As one mother wrote:

"Have you every tried to explain to a little girl on Christmas Day why her dancing ballerina won't dance any more or her baby doll won't eat, even though Santa brought it especially for her? This has happened to us two years in a row!"

Grown-ups have long suspected built-in obsolescence as one important element in the adult version of the consumer game. And many children are growing up suspecting that built-in sloppiness is one element in their version of the same game.

Two boys write with similar complaints. One says:

"I live in Chester, Pennsylvania. My name is Robert Bowden. I'm in the 7th grade.

"I want you to investigate a product called Triky Tommy Turtle.

"They claim it is supposed to move when you blow a whistle and stop when you blow it again. But it does not."

The other complains:

"My brother got a tricky tomy turtle and when we blew the whistle it just sat there and we tried different batteries and then we tried it again and it just sat there. And when we went visiting my cousin got one to and his didn't work.

"Your Friend,

BOB MYERS."

Although this young man has not learned how to get from their to there, he has discovered products that don't live up to his expectations of their own promise.

These letters raise questions a lot more complicated than the failure of a particular toy or the reality of Santa Claus. How can we teach children to respect their toys if their toys haven't been made to respect the children?

What happens to kids who grow up anticipating that nothing works and everything breaks? Will these developing consumers learn to scream their heads off (as indeed they should) when they buy a badly made automobile, or will these early-childhood ex-

periences simply lead them to believe "that's how it is—and that's how it will be."

The first two definitions of "toy" in the Random House dictionary are:

"1. an object, often a small representation of something familiar, as an animal, object, person, etc., for children or others to play with; plaything.

"2. a thing or matter of little or no value or importance; a trifle."

According to the complaints I hear, too many manufacturers are following the second definition. For instance, there are \$8 microscopes with glass of such poor quality you can't see through it, \$17.50 guitars that can't be tuned, and \$8 pedometers that can't be adjusted without breaking. All these so-called educational toys can possibly teach is an early disrespect and cynicism.

So much for the toys that don't work. They may be frustrating, but they don't do any physical harm. Some toys do. Take toy stoves. Some of them really cook. They cook cookies and hamburgers, and some of them even cook little girls.

There's a miniature corn popper that reaches a temperature of 500 degrees inside, 350 degrees on the side, and 190 degrees on the upper part of the handle.

The Magic Cool Oven says right on the package: "Outside safe for little fingers to touch." Yet little fingers don't always stay where they belong, and eager little girls don't always read instructions. Even when they can read. Punched into the metal of the Magic Cool Oven is this warning: "Caution: contact with hands inside of oven or inside of cooling chamber may cause burns." Also, "Remove plug before cleaning. Do not immerse in water. Clean with a damp cloth only."

Do they really think little girls are going to follow these instructions?

Along similar lines is a metal-casting set, sold as a toy, that reaches 800 degrees on the heating surface and 600 degrees on the sides. Some toy.

On the other hand, a toy electric iron that has been so carefully designed not to heat enough to hurt a child also doesn't heat enough to take the wrinkles out of anything. And that is just plain frustrating.

It seems to me very young children do fine with a fake toy iron or stove. Their imaginations will happily supply heat, electricity, and anything else. When a child is old enough to really cook, she can learn on a real live stove, under real supervision, and if you're feeling extravagant, a few small utensils of her own may heighten the fun.

In this sophisticated world, toy safety seems like such an obvious problem people always feel that somewhere out there someone is riding herd on it all. Well, unfortunately it isn't true.

The National Commission on Product Safety investigating toys found rattles of easily breakable plastic covering steel spikes that could be lethal in the hands of a baby. It found dolls and toy animals with legs attached with steel spikes (and not attached too well), and blowguns that were supposed to blow darts but, clumsily used, turned into suction tubes through which children inhaled metal pins. The commission felt that was enough of that and requested that the Federal Hazardous Substances Act be amended to cover dangerous toys. Congress and President Nixon agreed, and now we have the Child Protection and Toy Safety Act. Unfortunately, all we have is the act, not the protection. The law was to take effect January 6, 1970, but Congress hasn't appropriated any money for its enforcement, so we still have to be our own policemen in selecting toys. We and the child psychologists, who must predetermine how a child might use a toy. Not how it is intended to be used, but how it might be used by a child.

A survey on toy safety reported that "with respect to commercial toys, injuries usually result from misuse." But misuse is the order of the day with toys. You can't give an infant a toy with a list of do's and don'ts. A small child can't be expected to know what is hot or cold, sharp or dull, up or down, or even chewable.

Morris Kaplan, technical director of Consumers Union, says, "In designing a toy, a manufacturer has a responsibility to choose materials and methods of construction that require a minimum of education of the user to make it safe. Ideally," he goes on, "it should be childproof—that is, no imaginable use or abuse by a child should make it unsafe."

The National Safety Council doesn't agree with Mr. Kaplan. Its child consultant, Richard Manuell, told the Product Safety Commission, "A child has to experience some minor injuries, minor experiences of trauma, in order to learn." You betcha, Mr. Manuell; but as parents and grandparents, we don't have to pay high prices for toys that will provide these educationally traumatic experiences.

There are many considerations besides safety and shoddiness in choosing toys. Very like our grown-up marketplace, the variety of choice gets more staggering each year. In 1962 we bought a billion dollars' worth of toys and games. In 1969 sales amounted to two billion dollars. That's a lot of money to pay for anything—and too much to put out for unsatisfactory experiences.

How do you recognize a good toy?

Well, you start by recognizing the bad. Refuse to get swept up in fads. Refuse the ugly. The shoddy. Things that are obviously poorly made.

If you hate the way a doll looks or is dressed, don't buy it.

If your instinct tells you a toy will fall apart in a few hours, forget it.

If you can't follow the "simple" instructions on the box, the chances are your child won't be able to, either.

You know that if you buy yourself a washing machine with three new mechanical features, that's three things that potentially can go wrong.

The same is true of toys. A doll that can walk and talk and wet and suck its thumb and throw a kiss can also stop all this mechanical behavior and just sit there like any nice doll costing a lot less.

As obvious as it is that there are poor toys, it's equally obvious that there are splendid ones, responsibly made and sold, and a remarkable number of these toys are not unlike those that were right for you and me and our parents. Balls, good dolls, and hardwood blocks are still the stuff childhood should be made of.

If your budget is limited, build a toy collection the way you buy clothes. Spend good money on basics, and then improvise. A solid wooden dollhouse—empty—is a far better toy than an inexpensive, junky dollhouse full of poorly made furniture that can't possibly last. Furthermore, furnishing and decorating it can be a family project far more valuable than the money saved at the outset.

Try not to let your children grow up victims of every day and high-pressure television campaign. In the old days, when the time came for a child to get an important present, like a bike, the child and his family generally had a pretty good idea just what kind of bike it ought to be. The care and feeding of a bike was often a youngster's first important lesson in responsibility. Today's children are tempted by the potential delights of hi-risers, twenty-inch wheels, ten-speed speedsters, superduper handlebars, and fancy seats, often designed (according to a fourteen-year-old friend) "to look

good, but not necessarily work." But good bikes are still around, if you look for them.

Finally, make sure the toy you buy is self-contained; that if it needs batteries, it has batteries. A stamp book without stamps is not much fun.

In fact, nothing is more frustrating to a child than to come face to face with missing pieces. Here are a couple of letters I have received on that subject:

"I have bought many, many models and things with many pieces to them. I have found out that many of the pieces are missing. Especially in big models and models with lots of pieces.

"I am 12 years old and models is my favorite hobby. It makes me mad when I'm half way through the model and one of the most needed pieces to complete the model is missing. It would make me very happy if you would investigate this.

"Sincerely yours,

"BRAD KING."

"My name is Donald Pierce and I'm a 7th Grader. I was told to right a letter to you. I was cheated on a model that I bought. Half of the pieces were missing from it. We couldn't take it back because we already started putting it together."

Well, fellas, I phoned the Hobby Industry Association and was told that model pieces are all made from one piece of plastic, or wood, or whatever, and put immediately into a package, and sealed, so there couldn't be any pieces missing. Maybe the package became unglued, or got opened in the store, and pieces fell out, the man said. I think he sensed that his answer wasn't good enough for Brad or Donald or me, so he suggested that if a game player or model maker finds pieces missing, he write to the company that made the kit and complain. Loudly. You'll find the name and address on the box.

There's one element in model making that makes everything we've talked about so far seem truly child's play. That's the glue. Too many children have found that sniffing the glue used to put models together makes them feel high and giddy and takes them on more of a trip than any model plane will. Glue sniffing can easily lead to drug taking, and has. And glue sniffing can cause permanent liver and brain damage, and has.

Recognizing a need to put an end to this horror, the Hobby Industry Association assembled a list of 94 possible additives that might turn a glue sniffer off instead of on. The Testor Company, makers of glue, started testing the additives with number one, and when they hit number 34, they had it. Its name is allyl isothiocyanate, or oil of mustard, known to its friends as horseradish. A child assembling a model won't notice that it's been added to the glue; but if put in a paper bag and sniffed, it affects your eyes the way a spoonful of hot mustard affects your mouth. It causes a lot of harmless tears and is something you wouldn't want to try twice.

The Testor Company immediately put the additive in its own glue and offered the formula free of charge, no royalty attached, to the glue industry. Testor reports that about 85 percent of the industry is now using it.

There's now a law in New York State that no glue can be sold within the state without the additive, and for once a whole industry hopes more such laws will be passed.

One could wish that the Toy Manufacturers of America, Inc., shared the enlightened self-interest of the Hobby Industry Association. A lawyer, speaking on their behalf at the Product Safety Commission hearings, said, "I am almost tempted to remark that if we wanted to be completely safe, maybe we should stay in bed."

I have a better idea. Instead of staying in

bed, why don't the toy manufacturers get up earlier and develop better, more durable, safer toys?

### THE BOOKKEEPING APPROACH TO WELFARE

HON. JEROME R. WALDIE

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 10, 1970

Mr. WALDIE. Mr. Speaker, recently, thousands of handicapped persons in California were subjected to a shocking demonstration of insensitivity that may well leave a lasting imprint upon their trust and faith in the institution of government.

These handicapped individuals, dependent upon assistance from the State's aid to the totally disabled program, were informed that Gov. Ronald Reagan had instituted a deep cut in assistance to the program for home attendant care for the aged, blind, and disabled.

Understandably, this cruel announcement evoked fear and despair among the recipients and anger and criticism from the public.

Reacting to the latter rather than the former, the Governor hastily withdrew this ill-advised "economy" and announced that he was restoring the funds. However, Mr. Speaker, untold damage had already occurred to recipients of the program in the form of fear and distrust. These damages, I fear, may never be mitigated and the State administration must and should shoulder the blame for this sad and tragic misjudgment. No amount of scapegoating will absolve the true responsible in this matter.

An article by Bernice Scharlach in the August 23, 1970, issue of the San Francisco Sunday Examiner and Chronicle demonstrates the sad facts of this matter and I insert this article in the RECORD:

"THE BOOKKEEPING APPROACH TO WELFARE"  
(By Bernice Scharlach)

Judy Taylor, a political science major at UC Berkeley, eagerly awaits the opening of classes for the fall semester. A month ago she didn't care. At that time there was little chance of her going anywhere except a convalescent hospital for the rest of her life.

Judy is a quadriplegic with only partial sensation and mobility in her arms and none in her legs. She became paralyzed six years ago as a result of a car accident. Enrolled in the educational program at the university for severely disabled students and planning a career as a teacher, she makes her home at the university's Cowell Hospital.

Under the Aid to the Totally Disabled program, she has a grant that enables her to employ a personal assistant for \$300 a month for help in bathing, dressing, getting in and out of bed, bowel and bladder care, etc.

#### REAGAN CUTBACK

Last month, when Governor Ronald Reagan ordered a \$10 million reduction—from \$24 million to \$14 million—in funds for the home attendant care program for the state's aged, blind and disabled, it meant for Judy not only the loss of her helper, but the loss of her hopes. It couldn't have happened at a worse time. She was using her summer vacation to undergo another round of surgery.

Now, with the rescission of that order that came two weeks later, Judy looks forward to the day when, with her teaching credential, she will be employable and self-supporting.

Leah P. was a licensed vocational nurse up until five years ago when she was stricken with rheumatoid arthritis. Now instead of working with the handicapped, she is one of them herself.

Although her doctor declared her to be 90 per cent disabled, she voluntarily cut down the size of her grant six months ago, requesting only a 10 per cent disability allowance. There are so many others so much worse off than I," she told her social worker.

#### TURN TO PANIC

Her allowance of \$25 a month enables her to have an attendant once a week for a few hours to take her in and out of the tub, do the housework she is unable to do on crutches, and help her with her marketing.

When she was notified last month that her grant was to be discontinued, her resolve to retain what little self-sufficiency she still had turned to panic. "Suddenly I felt not 90 per cent disabled, but 100 per cent," she said. "Immediately, I notified my attendant that I would have to let her go, and then I sat down and wrote letters—six of them—to the governor and on down the State Department of Social Welfare. I hoped to make them understand what it feels like to have to beg for help."

Since the July 24 rescission for Judy and Leah and the other 32,000 people in San Francisco's home attendant care program, the distress they suffered as a result of the Governor's attempts to "cut down on the skyrocketing welfare costs" has been confined to mental anguish.

"Fortunately," said Ken Bryan, assistant general manager, San Francisco Department of Social Services, "our checks go out from this office on the first of the month. They had already been sent the usual amounts for July before the Governor issued his cutbacks the tenth of the month."

"When he reversed himself two weeks later, we were able to halt the altered August amounts in two of the three eligible groups: Old Age Assistance and Blind Aid. There wasn't time left to catch checks going to people on Aid to the Totally Disabled, but the changes were made on paper. This month we are picking up the differences in the ATD checks."

California taxpayers suffered something in addition to mental anguish. The cost to them for implementing and un-implementing the Governor's orders is near one half a million dollars, according to San Francisco Supervisor Robert Gonzales.

How did he arrive at that figure?

#### THE \$475,000 TAB

"First I made a careful estimate with Ron Born, general manager of the city's Department of Social Services, to determine what it cost San Francisco. It took one week of staff time on the part of 25 people to get out new procedural memos, to get computer readouts on those affected by the new orders to write revised checks, and then to reverse the whole procedure. In dollars and cents, that came to \$25,000.

"San Francisco has five per cent of the welfare-recipient population of the state. By projecting this city's costs over the other 95 per cent of the recipient population, you get a pretty good idea of what it cost statewide—\$475,000, or nearly a half a million taxpayer dollars."

#### WELFARE AIDES

If the Governor was not misled by welfare workers, could he have been done in by his own top welfare aides who wrote the Emergency regulations?

Although Paul Dowdall, director of social



services of San Francisco, refused to comment, he did point out a significant difference between the former state welfare director, John Montgomery, and the present chief, Robert Martin.

"Under Montgomery, before a new regulation was enacted, there were meetings of the SDSW staff and county welfare directors. Objections of county welfare directors were heard and considered. It is my opinion that under Montgomery, new regulations that were impossible to implement were never placed in effect."

Although Dowdall carries out SDSW orders in the second largest county in the state, he has never met Martin.

#### "HATCHET MAN"

James Karls, president of the Golden Gate chapter of the National Association of Social Workers, said:

"Martin is a lawyer by profession, and we feel he's in there as a hatchet man essentially. The same is true of Lucian Van der Griff, the Human Resources director, whose claim to fame is that he is a former prosecutor of welfare recipients in Butte County."

"There is a reason for some of Mr. Reagan's welfare policies. The kind of thinking that goes on with his staff is either bookkeeper mentality or legal mentality. A prosecuting attorney is not looking at people's needs, rather on whether or not the law is being violated. Bookkeepers are intent on keeping costs down. And that combination is deadly as far as human needs are concerned."

#### NEW COUNCIL

One group of concerned citizens organizing in the hope of changing the bookkeeping approach to welfare is the newly-formed California Legislative Council for Older Americans. Temporary cochairman is Isabel Van Frank, president of the East Bay Council of Senior Citizens Groups, a 14-year-old organization covering all organized recreational and church groups in the East Bay.

Mrs. Van Frank, a woman of fantastic energy, has all the crusading zeal of a latter-day bloomer girl.

Most tangible result of Mrs. Van Frank's leadership is the 10-cent fare senior citizens enjoy on AC transit. It took her 10 years to achieve it. Less tangible, but an achievement of which she is even more proud, is the fact that she removed what she called "the invisible sign that used to hang over senior citizens' recreation centers: 'Think Not As Ye Enter Here.'"

"Senior Citizens were supposed to make holiday decorations or play whist but they couldn't listen to speakers on controversial things because it might be too upsetting," she said.

Co-chairman with Mrs. Van Frank in the effort to expand the senior citizens into a statewide legislative council is Rev. Edward Peet, semi-retired minister on the staff of Gilde Memorial Church. Rev. Peet, who got his inspiration for the California group after a very successful one in Massachusetts, charges a lack of support from the Governor's office in the field of aging.

#### "NOT PARTISAN"

"This isn't a partisan attitude," he explains, "because Gov. Knight and Gov. Warren, both Republicans, were very outright in support of programs for the aging, and so, of course, was Gov. Brown. We are not partisan, but we are political."

Politics is very much on Rev. Peet's mind now. He is currently planning a giant two-day Congress of senior citizens and workers with seniors to be held on October 17 and 18 in Marina Junior High School. He expects more than 2000 people, representatives from hundreds of senior citizens' groups, to attend. They will work on the preparation of a platform of senior citizens' demands for legislative change and reform.

"Our positions will be circulated to all candidates for office from Governor on down. Then, depending on how they respond, we will decide on what candidates our group will endorse."

"We're adding a new color to the protest picture," beamed Mrs. Van Frank, "gray power!"

#### PITTSBURGH HOUSING

### HON. RICHARD S. SCHWEIKER

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, September 10, 1970

Mr. SCHWEIKER. Mr. President, I bring to the attention of the Senate an article dealing with the rehabilitation of slum areas in Pittsburgh, written by Mr. James P. Gannon, staff reporter of the Wall Street Journal, published on September 3, 1970.

The article points to the success of the rehabilitation effort in Pittsburgh through the Allegheny Housing Rehabilitation Corp. in contrast to the many other attempts which have failed. Mr. Gannon states:

The key to the success of this Pittsburgh venture is a blend of business efficiency and toughness, social conscience, help from the Federal Government—and constant effort to build rapport with the black community.

It is noteworthy that Mr. Gannon points to the business participation in this program as not being dependent on a self-interest to enlarge a market for its products. Clearly, this is a case of business skill being brought to bear on a social problem with excellent results.

I urge Senators to read Mr. Gannon's report and ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the Extensions of Remarks.

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

#### REHABILITATION OF SLUMS GAINING IN PITTSBURGH AFTER FAILING ELSEWHERE

(By James P. Gannon)

PITTSBURGH.—The Molloy family's days of slum housing are over. Until July the family of blacks on welfare lived in a crowded two-bedroom row house. All nine children shared one bedroom. Today the Molloyes are proud of their newly renovated five-bedroom brick house only a few blocks from their old place. Delighted with the change, the heavyset Mrs. Molloy recalls with a sigh, "We were so cramped and tight before."

The Molloyes benefited from a business-backed attack on slum housing that is succeeding where many similar efforts have flopped. The key to the success of this Pittsburgh venture is a blend of business efficiency and toughness, social conscience, help from the Federal Government—and constant effort to build rapport with the black community. In the white-dominated construction industry, the project has a 90% black work force and blacks help set policy.

The slum renovator, Allegheny Housing Rehabilitation Corp., is out to prove that slum rehabilitation can work. Known as Ahrcro and supported by 40 Pittsburgh corporations, the three-year-old company expects to post its first profit this fiscal year—two years ahead of schedule. In the year ending next March 31, the company will build 100 new units and rehabilitate 700 houses, up from only 22 two years earlier.

#### VISITING PITTSBURGH

"When people come to me and say they want to know all about rehabilitation, I send them to Pittsburgh," says Mr. Carter McFarland, assistant commissioner for rehabilitation in the Department of Housing and Urban Development.

Such rehabilitation is urgent. Housing authorities estimate there are more than five million deteriorating but salvagable homes in aging city cores. A workable rehabilitation system could greatly alleviate urban decay.

Ahrcro may become a model for projects in other cities. "We want to generate more operations like Ahrcro," says HUD's Mr. McFarland. Civic and business delegations from San Francisco, Washington, D.C., Wilmington, Del., and other cities have visited Ahrcro recently. Charles Percy of Illinois has said: "Nowhere do I know of such a comprehensive, well-conceived attack on slum housing and community problems."

The Pittsburgh project avoids the usual pitfalls. Unlike many business-sponsored programs, it doesn't seek to develop markets for assorted construction products. Yet it has the business methods and financial backing that sometimes elude nonprofit projects.

#### AN APPROACH THAT FLOPPED

Thus Ahrcro is getting better results than a Federal rehabilitation project in New York three years ago, which finally cost \$45 a square foot—nearly three times the estimated cost and twice the price of brand new construction. Ballyhooed with nationwide publicity, the ill-fated project involved ripping the roofs off Lower East Side slum apartment buildings and dropping prefabricated room units into place. With far less fanfare at its death than at its birth, the project was killed.

Similarly, Armstrong Cork, the American Plywood Association and several other enterprises motivated partly by the desire to develop markets for their own products have dropped rehabilitation projects as uneconomical. Armstrong Cork found its investment was \$5,000 more per house than the resale value. In many cases, of course, building products concerns favoring their own products tended to reduce their flexibility in cutting rehabilitation costs.

Though Ahrcro doesn't promote products, it takes a tough-minded approach. "We're not social workers, and this is no giveaway program," says Frederick H. Springer, the company's 42-year-old president.

When word spread that Ahrcro wanted a particular slum property, the owner demanded \$99,000 for the parcel of 18 units. This far exceeded the fair price and would have made rehabilitation uneconomical. Ahrcro hired a broker as a straw buyer and acquired the property for \$55,000.

#### HARD BARGAINS

Ahrcro says it rarely uses a straw buyer, but it never throws away money. "We drive a very hard bargain in purchasing," says Ralph Falbo, Ahrcro's 33-year-old financial vice president. Before joining Ahrcro, he was an accountant with Arthur Andersen & Co.

Ahrcro's financial angels, which include U.S. Steel, Alcoa, Gulf Oil, Westinghouse Electric and Koppers Co., have bought \$2.5 million of the company's debentures and common stock to provide working capital. Ahrcro directors are executives of the sponsoring companies, but a racially integrated 25-man professional management staff runs the operation. Mr. Springer, the president, is a former Federal Housing Administration official.

Ahrcro buyers scour the city's squalid inner city ghetto daily to find suitable properties for rehabilitation. The typical property is a vacant, vandalized but structurally sound row house or multiple-family dwelling. Concentrating on vacant properties reduces ten-

ant dislocation problems. Vandalized properties are often bargains.

Ahrco tries to concentrate its impact by rehabilitating many properties in a limited area. "This is what gives you total upgrading of a neighborhood," says Mr. Springer. "It doesn't do much good to go in and rehabilitate some properties, leave others untouched and leave vacant lots full of junk." Lately, Ahrco has decided the upgrading concept requires some new construction as well as rehabilitation. The company currently plans to erect 70 factory-built, steel-frame apartments on vacant land within one of its renewal projects.

Ahrco's rebuilding uses mainly old-fashioned hammer-and-nail techniques rather than new methods. But Mr. Springer did introduce a new spray-on acrylic plaster system. This cuts total rehabilitation costs by 15% and halves rehabilitation time, the official adds.

Sponsoring corporations agreed at the outset that Ahrco wouldn't favor their products. In fact, though Westinghouse Electric and Alcoa are sponsors, Ahrco uses General Electric's Hotpoint appliances and Reynolds Metals' aluminum window frames.

Rehabilitation costs average \$8,500 per unit. Property acquisition, interest and other items bring the total cost to an average of \$15,000 a unit. Ahrco relies on Federal housing subsidies. It arranges for mortgage funds at 1% to 3% annual interest rates; the Government makes up the difference between those low rates and the going mortgage rates.

The interest subsidies, coupled with Federal rent supplements, hold down costs to tenants. The 11-member Molloy family pays \$139 a month (welfare funds pay \$105 of this and the Federal rent supplement program pays the rest). Rent at the old Molloy row house was \$70 a month, all paid from welfare funds. About a fifth of Ahrco's tenants have incomes low enough to qualify for Government rent supplements; the tenant pays 25% of his income for rent and the Federal Government picks up the balance.

Ahrco usually sells its properties to non-profit sponsors like churches or community groups. With rental income, the new sponsor makes payments on the mortgage. Ahrco tries to set the sale price so that it makes a small profit on its rehabilitation. With constant turnover, the company doesn't expect to need more money from its sponsors than the \$2.5 million already subscribed.

Besides upgrading housing, Ahrco aims to create high-paying construction jobs for black workers, as well as opportunities for black subcontractors. The largely black work force doubled to 268 in the last fiscal year from 135 the previous year. Another 100 workers will be added this year.

Typically, Roger Ward a year ago was earning only \$1.50 an hour as a nonunion electrician's helper. Today the 26-year-old Negro draws \$7.36 an hour as an electrician for an Ahrco subcontractor. "I like the money," says this slender man of few words as he wires a circuit breaker box in a dark, damp-walled basement.

Similarly, Alfonso Jones eked out a living as a nonunion plumber for 25 years. As an Ahrco plumbing contractor today, he keeps a crew of six busy and has begun to diversify. With profits from rehabilitation work, he recently opened a self-service laundry in his neighborhood.

Providing such opportunities, of course, benefits Ahrco's relations with ghetto residents. Keeping a good relationship is essential to Ahrco's success, and the company works hard at it. When the militant Black Construction Coalition last year shut down nearly all Pittsburgh construction sites with pickets and mass marches, it let Ahrco's work continue uninterrupted. The coalition seeks

to remove the barriers that have long kept many Negroes out of lucrative construction jobs.

Six black community representatives sit on Ahrco's 18-man policy-setting executive committee. "Time and time again, the black members have reminded us that their lives have been a string of broken promises," says H. Edgar Lore, chairman of the Ahrco board and executive vice president of Dravo Corp., a big engineering and manufacturing company here. The black members have strongly influenced executive committee decisions, he adds. Mr. Lore contends that black representation is "absolutely essential" to the success of any slum rehabilitation project. Adds Milton A. Washington, Ahrco's black vice president for administration: "You must show you've got black guys not only as Indians but as chiefs, too."

Though Ahrco expects its revenue will soar to \$9 million this year from only \$550,000 in fiscal 1969, its relationships with blacks retain the flexibility of a small organization. Mr. Springer, the Ahrco president, recalls a black youth brought to court for stealing pipe from a house the company was rehabilitating. "He said he'd like to pay us back. So we told him we'd give him a chance to do that," says the executive. "Then we hired him. Now he's working out just fine."

#### PRESIDENT NIXON'S SOLID PROGRESS

#### HON. LOUIS C. WYMAN

OF NEW HAMPSHIRE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 10, 1970

Mr. WYMAN. Mr. Speaker, the effective administration of the Nation's affairs by President Nixon is building a record of solid progress that will stand all citizens in good stead amid the stresses of the 1970's. From North to South, East to West, our new President has steadily restructured both our foreign and domestic affairs, directing the national effort along constructive lines of redetermined national priorities that reflect both public concern and national need.

When President Nixon took office the country was on the downturn abroad and at home. His steps to combat inflation, his sound and courageous recommendation of measures to combat crime out of hand, his toning down of the American involvement in Vietnam, and his most recent leadership toward a ceasefire in the volatile Middle East, combine with his increased attention to environmental problems of waste, pollution, and noise abatement at home. His is an impressive record of solid progress.

In this connection Fortune magazine's editorial in this month's issue, September 1970, is an interesting and corroborative documentary. As Fortune says, the record of President Nixon is "A Heartening Progress Report."

The editorial follows:

NIXON: A HEARTENING PROGRESS REPORT

If an observer steps back from the daily headlines and looks at the record of what has been actually going on in Washington during the past twenty months, he may get quite a surprise. The Nixon Administration

has emerged as extraordinarily activist and effective in both foreign and domestic policy. A lot of things that needed doing have been done, and more have been put on the rails. A lot of dangers have been foreseen and avoided.

When Richard Nixon took office the U.S. position on the world scene had fallen into appalling disarray. He wrought no overnight miracles. The international picture is still one of conflicts, confusion, and danger—and will be for many years ahead. But gradually coherence, balance, and initiative have begun to appear in U.S. foreign policy.

Nixon's basic instinct on the Vietnam war has been sound, whether viewed in terms of international politics or in terms of U.S. public opinion. On both grounds, further escalation of the American commitment in Vietnam or indefinite continuation of the war at the 1968 level would have been stupid and rash. Equally dangerous would have been an abrupt American withdrawal that might have destroyed among friends and foes the future credibility of any diplomatic position taken by the U.S. in East Asia, in the Middle East, in Europe, or in Latin America.

Between these two perils a less decisive Administration might have oscillated indefinitely. Nixon laid out a third course, and he has pursued it consistently. He is winding down the war in a resolute and orderly manner that really does furnish South Vietnam a fighting chance to retain its independence. The Cambodian excursion, given the divided and jittery state of U.S. sentiment—a condition aggravated by the manner of Nixon's announcement—probably was a risk not worth the military gains. But U.S. troops did come out of Cambodia as planned—and Nixon thereupon stepped up his timetable of withdrawal from Vietnam. American casualties have been lower in the wake of the Cambodian venture, just as he said they would be: in the six weeks after Cambodia, the number of combat deaths in Vietnam was at the lowest level in four and a half years.

His policy is difficult and delicate, especially in the teeth of an unfriendly press and an inflamed segment of antiwar youth. But so far his policy has worked.

It may be beyond the practical power of the U.S. to achieve peace in Vietnam—or anywhere else on earth. In judging U.S. foreign policy it has to be remembered that international order depends upon others as well as upon us. "Success" in this field is a highly relative and contingent matter.

This is obviously and emphatically true of the Middle East crisis. The initiative taken by Secretary of State Rogers has carried further than most observers thought it would. An uneasy cease-fire, achieved by Soviet pressure on Arab states and U.S. pressure on Israel, is admittedly a long way from an enduring Middle East settlement. The cease-fire even creates new dangers. But it would be difficult to claim that it is as dangerous as the uninterrupted drift toward war that preceded it.

Such "collusion" between the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. is viewed with alarm in some quarters. But nuclear powers, whatever their ideological antagonisms, do have a common interest in avoiding war with one another—an interest shared by most other nations. Joint action with the Russians on the Middle East somewhat enhances hope for the SALT negotiations on the limitation of arms that the Nixon Administration has pursued with appropriate energy. Both at home and in other countries Nixon's long anti-Communist record has helped to reduce the suspicion that any U.S. deal with Moscow will necessarily be a bad deal.

It is unlikely that the Nixon foreign policy is working toward some dramatic triumph,



some point at which everyone will recognize that the prospect for peace and safety has improved. The most that could have been expected was that Nixon would check and perhaps begin to reverse the deterioration of the international situation. It appears—for the moment, at least—that he has done so.

#### PRIORITIES REORDERED

The Administration's most urgent domestic concern has been how to contain inflation without sliding into a serious recession. Again with fingers crossed against the unpredictable, it can be said that the Nixon Administration so far has handled this one carefully and effectively. Inflation could have been attacked with more drastic measures, but only by increasing the risk of high unemployment and a sharp downward economic spiral—which, in turn, would have called forth another round of inflationary remedies. Nixon still runs the risk of a serious budget deficit but he has maintained a steady and courageous pressure on government spending, especially for arms.

A thousand editorials have called for "a reordering of national priorities," a shift of emphasis from military expenditures to such urgent needs as education, housing, and the environment. Most editorialists do not yet appreciate that Nixon has already presided over a massive reordering of national priorities.

The article beginning on page 110 of this issue reports on some aspects of "the turn to a peacetime economy." Military spending as a proportion of the federal budget is about to reach its lowest level since 1950. Most of the saving will go into the hands of taxpayers, but the shift of emphasis within federal spending will be huge. In the 1969 federal budget, the article points out, 44 percent of the money was allocated for defense and 34 percent for what Washington calls "human resources"—including health, education, and welfare programs. In the 1971 budget these proportions will be almost reversed: 37 percent will go to defense and 41 percent to "human resources."

Given the inertia and rigidity built into all governmental programs this shift represents a tremendous policy-making initiative on the part of the Administration. Headlines proclaim that Nixon, as part of his anti-inflation balancing act, has vetoed health, housing, and education bills that provided appropriations deemed beyond the limits of fiscal prudence. Almost unnoticed is the fact that the specific gestures of restraint affect details within a vigorous trend of increasing federal emphasis on these very categories of public service.

#### BOLDLY TACKLED DEFECTS

Coming down from broad policy patterns to concrete government programs and acts, the Nixon Administration has made important advances on scores of fronts. Old defects and inadequacies, seemingly irremediable, have been boldly tackled. Items:

A system of public welfare that induced regional distortions and was increasingly costly to the taxpayers and corrosive to the recipients appeared to be hung forever around the nation's neck. Nixon's family-assistance plan is the first major effort by any Administration to make some long range sense of welfare. Still bogged down in Congress (partly because the Administration's rhetoric on the subject has been less than compelling), the new plan has mobilized the support of those concerned people who know what it is about.

The Post Office is one of the oldest areas of weakness in government. Decade after decade its performance confirmed Thomas Jefferson's fears that the quality of its service would be undermined by its susceptibility to political manipulation. Last month the Post Office was finally removed by act of Congress from political control and put on a semi-autonomous basis.

The scandalous cost of subsidies to rich farmers has been reduced, the first serious

limitation on per-farm payments in three decades of subsidies.

On school desegregation there has been more progress than the public thinks—perhaps more than some members of the Nixon Administration want southern whites to think. Presidential aide George P. Shultz was quite correct in stating recently that many southern whites have come to accept as inevitable a unitary biracial school system. To emphasize presidential support of an orderly, cooperative desegregation program, Nixon flew to New Orleans for a conference with members of biracial advisory committees set up by Shultz.

The Nixon programs on the protection of the physical environment show both a sense of urgency and a careful attention to some of the formidable legal difficulties that will be encountered in this area. His anti-pollution proposals call for more stringent laws and more active government efforts than many environmentalists had expected. His support for mass transit may help to correct a long imbalance in public policy that unduly favored highways.

The current federal-state-local cooperative drive against organized crime in one of its political strongholds, New Jersey, is a belated example of what government should have done years ago.

The independent regulatory agencies, after years of unsatisfactory performance, seem to be taking on new life.

In the broad political arrangements of the nation Nixon has supported such constructive changes as the sharing of federal revenues with the states, the reduction of the voting age to eighteen, and the reform of the method of electing Presidents.

This huge and varied program of change encounters resistance. In addition to the inertia of institutions, every proposal for change opens the doors for competing proposals. It is not the Nixon style to dramatize the conflicts his program engenders. He is loath to appeal to the public against Congress or against interest groups in unions or business. For example, as *FORTUNE* has argued, his present campaign against inflation might be more effective if he were to use guilddposts to mobilize public opinion against cases where increases of wages and prices are extreme.

In the long run Nixon's way may be achieving a faster rate of change in government than a more tumultuous and exciting Administration could achieve. The drawback of Nixon's style is that the public is not aware of what is happening; thanks to style, John Kennedy, for example, probably got credit for more good works than he deserved while Nixon comes across as though nothing were being done. An impression of governmental stagnation and drift could so undermine U.S. morale as to outweigh all of Nixon's constructive efforts. A year ago Attorney General John Mitchell told a group of Negro leaders, angry over Administration statements on desegregation, to "watch what we do instead of listening to what we say." No question, the Administration's achievements are more impressive than its rhetoric. The danger is that the rhetoric, often misleading, will conceal a vigorous political leadership of which the President and the public have a right to be proud.

#### WATER RESOURCES, ECONOMICS, AND THE ENVIRONMENT

HON. FRANK E. MOSS

OF UTAH

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, September 10, 1970

Mr. MOSS. Mr. President, the development of our water resources continues

to be a concern for all of us. In the West we have long had a great respect for water. A former member of the President's Water Pollution Control Advisory Board, Dr. William Warne, addressed himself to this vital concern for water at the 45th Annual Conference of the Western Economics Association. I ask unanimous consent that his address be printed in the Extension of Remarks.

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

#### WATER RESOURCES, ECONOMICS AND THE ENVIRONMENT

(By William E. Warne)

Beginning about 8,000 years ago, man initiated the process of managing water to improve his environment. The earliest known agriculturists began irrigating fields around the golden crescent of the Middle East. Simultaneously, the process was started of building the body of law and regulation that has guided water developments throughout history.

Generally, men may own the land, but they may only establish rights to use the waters, which remain public property. In arid lands, where possession of water rights govern the ability to make the land productive, the body of water law has become most intricate. In humid and well-watered zones, control has been less-exacting, and at times it has been deemed enough to prevent a diversion by an upstream riparian owner from drying up the watercourse, leaving downstream mill wheels high and dry.

With few exceptions, the instances of historic controversy over water have involved quantities and not the quality of the waters in question. In recent times, even since it has been seen that lowering the quality reduces the value of water, some experts have contended that water rights can be satisfied with any water so long as it is wet.

In one instance, prominent in the early history of California, the test was made and befouled water was declared not acceptable. Great water projects were built in the mountains to serve the gold miners as the techniques of hydraulic mining advanced so that massive tertiary sand deposits could be attacked through the nozzles of the iron monitors. The hydraulic mines were capitalized by international investors and at their height, they constituted the new state's most important business. Mining after the gold rush had a glamor that gave the industry a sentimental advantage over others. Sediments were sluiced into mountain streams as mountainsides were washed away. Channels to carry the mining debris were tunneled from one tributary to another. Finally, the spectacular disregard of the downstream consequences of hydraulic mining for gold spread a threat against the safety and well-being of farm and city folk alike. Farmers of the valleys, through court actions and by marshaling their political strength, stopped the hydraulic mining for gold in the Sierra. Even mining, the rich, glamorous industry, supported by tradition and sentiment, fell before the wrath of the people aroused by flagrant misuse of the water resource, but not before far-reaching changes had been wrought downstream through the aggradation of stream beds and the deposit of thick mantles of slickens over many thousands of acres of valley lands. The cessation of hydraulic mining was a victory, however, for clean water and for the principle that one interest should not use the water and its land in such ways as to damage the neighbors.

Agricultural pesticides in the water of the Golden State today are threatening the aquatic environment in somewhat the same fashion that the slickens from the mines threatened the streams and valleys a century ago. The farmers who won the old fight

are being arrayed in the position then occupied by the miners as the conservationists man their guns against DDT. Agriculture, now the glamour industry of the California valleys, has been slow in recalling the precedent. The State Department of Agriculture now is phasing out the use of persistent pesticides.

The logic of the development of water law in the United States has been confronted with a new fact as a result of rapid urbanization, facts that have disclosed the threadbare inadequacy of the old tools prepared to deal with the situations that have brought them to light. It is a fact that many streams of public water have become unhealthy, stinking and loathsome because of pollution and heavy loads of wastes. The 200,000,000 people of the United States put their wastes and the wastes of their industries into the streams, often with little regard of the consequences. Anachronistic political subdivisions, established for an earlier and simpler era, contest with each other in metropolitan areas and thwart efforts to resolve common water problems that will not yield to any but regional solutions.

Economists advocate the weighing of alternatives in the development of water plans, but they have failed to provide the engineers with a means of evaluating the public values, the amenities and the esthetics which they contend are frequently ignored. Environmentalists sometimes want planning stopped altogether as a means of preventing later actions that they believe may degrade the environment.

The acceleration of the growth in enormity of water and other environmental problems has been a function of the rapid increase in population. The point of criticality has been reached in the rivers of many regions, but the growth has not stopped. The recently forecasted 100,000,000 additional growth in the next generation will intensify problems in the field of water resources management on a far steeper line of incline than that of the increasing population, because limits of tolerance have been reached or nearly approached in many regions.

Water's influence on the quality of the environment may be both qualitative and absolute. Water fructifies the fields. Water refreshes man and beast. Water forms the still pools, lying beside which restoreth the soul. Water, however, loses its ability to satisfy the needs of irrigation farmers as its quality is deteriorated. Polluted water must not be used for drinking or bathing. Pollution and the lowering of the quality of the waters in their natural settings are adverse to the use of lakes and streams for recreation. Extreme abuse absolutely destroys the aesthetic values of both the waters and their settings, rendering their liabilities rather than assets to their neighborhoods, as everyone who has witnessed a stinking mudflat will confirm.

Today, more clearly than ever before, excellence of environment may be seen to develop good lives among the people, and repulsive, squalid environment to produce poor lives. National goals are based on these realizations. On his inauguration as the 37th President, Richard M. Nixon stated two of our national goals to be "protecting our environment and enhancing the quality of life."

Despite the new consciousness of water pollution as a menace to well-being in urban America, the programs undertaken to resolve water resources problems seem underdeveloped and hesitant. The new Federal Water Pollution Control Administration, like most of its state counterparts, where they exist, has been inadequately supported with appropriations. The Congress has not funded it vigorously to pursue its objectives. Older Federal water agencies have not been given marching orders to keep them abreast of the changing times. The WPCA is now, apparently, about to be placed in a new Environmental agency.

Under the Water Quality Act of 1965, 53 of the 55 affected jurisdictions adopted water quality standards that were in 1969 acceptable in whole or in part to the Federal Water Pollution Control Administration.

The lack of Federal financial assistance, after it has been authorized in Clean Water Restoration Act of 1966, held back progress in clean-up programs, which nevertheless have seen \$15 billion invested in municipal and industrial waste-handling facilities since 1952.

#### THE OFFICIAL SENSE OF URGENCY

There is no lack of an official sense of urgency. One WPCA official said recently:

"The American people today are making their water their business. The American people are speaking to us through the news media. They are speaking to us through the polls. They are speaking to us through the mails. And in ever-increasing numbers they are making it clear that they want action—now. Local and State Governments are feeling the pressures. Industry is feeling the pressure. And the Federal Government is feeling the pressure."

As a result of the Water Quality Act of 1965 and the Clean Water Restoration Act of 1966, Morris B. Tobin, Congressional Counsel to the Committee on Public Works, has warned industry:

"It will no longer be possible to move into an area which allows environmental degradation in order to promote rapid industrial and economic growth. . . . Water quality standards will not be allowed to be used as a device by which a State may attract industry by allowing it to pollute, and to base its economic growth on environmental degradation."

The planning and implementation programs do not always reflect the urgency that is felt, even at the Federal level, as Dr. Raymond L. Nace, of the U.S. Geological Survey, has observed:

"The interactions of science and technology, public policy, and human activity with the environment during the last 30 years, and the increasing intensity of interaction which we can foresee in the next 30, create an entirely new and irreversible frame of reference within which planning must be done. The Reclamation Act of 1902 and the Flood Control Act of 1936 were appropriate in their time, but they are not coupled with the realities of the later 20th Century."

The slow starts of other programs that after centuries reached satisfactory levels of development will be intolerable in the era of accelerated growth ahead. Little comfort is found in the history of water utilities as capsuled by Dr. Nace:

"The first American public water utility, built in colonial Boston in 1652, did not, as one might expect, trigger a revolution in water supply. Most people had always gotten their domestic water from wells and springs, and they preferred to continue that way. About 150 years later the U.S. had only 16 public water systems and in 1850 only 83. Thereafter, change was rapid, and by 1966 about 160 million people received system's service. This service brought with it a change in the public attitude toward water."

The problems to be resolved in water resources in the preserving of a good environment in an urbanized society are not all in technical fields that can be assigned to the engineers or chemists or even the economists. The more intransigent problems are found in the fields of public policy formulation and political organization and administration.

In the technical fields desalination and weather modifications are interesting prospects and certainly some amelioration of the water supply problems and perhaps even the water quality problems of some areas will come through further research into these subjects. No technical breakthroughs, however, are required to treat sewage and in-

dustrial wastes, or even to purify drinking water from them. The construction of dams and canals to store and transport water from regions of surpluses to zones of deficiencies is a mastered art.

Progress is being recorded in altering the materials we use and put into water to reduce their damage to the environment. Biodegradable detergents have been introduced and have largely replaced the types that once persisted into the groundwaters and caused pumps to froth. Pesticides that will be effective but will lose their lethal powers are being developed to replace DDT and other persistent economic poisons. The pesticide that lurks and kills long after it is needed and in places far removed from the field where it was applied is being outlawed in several states, fortunately, it is believed, before DDT has irreversibly corrupted the food chains that support fish and many waterfowl.

The progress is not similarly reassuring to those interested in enhancement of the environment, when a review is made of the fields of public policy formulation and organization of political jurisdictions. No satisfactory means have been developed of including priceless benefits in the cost-benefit ratios of project valuation.

#### THE POTOMAC RIVER

That the abuse of natural waters in the United States is an open scandal has been the basis of wry jokes. Someone has said that on the Potomac River a boatman, who had a fire aboard, would have to weigh the alternatives before leaping into waters so polluted. Studies and plans have been made, and some actions have been taken to ameliorate the situation, but the Potomac has not been cleaned up. The delay is caused by jurisdictional disunities, both among local governments and Federal agencies. The President's Water Pollution Control Advisory Board, after studying the stream standards set for the Potomac River, told Secretary of the Interior Walter J. Hickel that the standards should be "achieved promptly as a pattern of performance for the rest of the country." Because Washington is on the Potomac River, the Board said that "the Federal Government must take a leading role in financing the rehabilitation of this river and promoting such legislation as is necessary to that achievement." The Board advocated that "a model regional waste treatment program" be implemented by the Congress. The proposal seems to be that a solution be sought through Federal action. This may be necessary with respect to the Potomac River because the national capital fronts a beautiful stretch of its shore. Washington and its environs contribute to the deterioration of the quality of the river. As with any megalopolis, satellite communities and suburbs have been spawned by Washington in Maryland and Virginia. Although they are outside the jurisdiction of the District of Columbia, and therefore, for this reason, not a direct responsibility of the Federal Government as is Washington, the suburbs frequently have provided major aggravation of the pollution of the Potomac. Streams of silt running from subdivision scars into the river may frequently be seen, for example, by any passenger on a plane circling for a landing at the National Airport. The need for a unifying authority for Washington over the whole of the metropolitan area may be filled by the National Government with more justification than elsewhere, because the District of Columbia is a Federal enclave. The requirement has not yet been met, however, even in this exceptional instance.

#### THE COLORADO RIVER

Development of the use of the waters of the Colorado River has proceeded, frequently in the midst of controversy. No other river in the United States equals the Colo-



rado in the degree of its economic importance to its own basin. Draining parts of seven states, it is the greatest river wholly within the arid zone of the United States.

When settlement of the Colorado River Basin began in the 19th Century, the newcomers were dependent on irrigation. The basin is vast but the river's annual flow is more limited in proportion to the land area than any other of our great streams. There are more projects that divert water from the Colorado River watershed into other adjacent basins than there are from any other United States watershed. This rather ironic development increases the aridity of the Colorado River Basin. Such diversions are defended by Colorado water users no matter in which state they reside as being compatible with the "law of the river."

Many of the diversions of Colorado River water into other basins are made near the headwaters at elevations where they involve high quality water, of which the Colorado River Basin downstream has then a diminished amount. The remaining waters of the Colorado River are used and reused. They are stored in a succession of reservoirs and their mineral content is concentrated as the result of evaporation from the surfaces. The waters wash the shores and banks and they receive the wastes of towns and the irrigation return from the agriculture in much of the basin. The waters gradually deteriorate in quality as they move downstream.

At the point of diversion for the Colorado River Aqueduct of the Metropolitan Water District of Southern California on the west bank of Lake Havasu above Parker Dam, the water is hard and the mineral content exceeds the United States Public Health Service recommended drinking water standards. At the Imperial Dam near the Mexican border, where water is diverted for the Yuma, the Wellton-Mohawk, and the Gila Projects in Arizona and the Imperial and the Coachella Valleys in California, the mineral content frequently approaches 800 parts per million, even less acceptable as drinking water, though many residents of the project areas use the water for that purpose. At Morelos Dam, below the Wellton-Mohawk and Yuma drains, the water diverted into the Mexicali Valley became so poor that Mexican farmers once refused to accept it, creating international contention.

The Colorado River Compact of 1922, upon which rests the division of waters between the upper and the lower basins of the Colorado River, deals only in quantities of water. Other succeeding agreements, stipulations, water filings, and court decrees that go into the make-up of "the law of the river" omit considerations of water quality. The Mexican Water Treaty which became effective November 27, 1945, limited the annual entitlement of the Mexicali Valley farmers and water users to 1.5 million acre-feet of water from the Colorado River. In the debates in the United States Senate, the deliveries were described as being "wet water." In the Mexican Senate, however, it was explained that the deliveries were to be of waters of usable quality.

The reason that the water at Morelos Dam fell to such low quality on the occasion referred to was that the groundwater basin beneath the Wellton-Mohawk Project in the lower Gila River Valley was being partially evacuated of highly saline waters through the operation of a series of drainage pumps. This pumped, drainage water was returned to the Colorado River below Imperial Dam. The Bureau of Reclamation contended that the quality of water reaching Morelos Dam, the only diversion below the discharge, was monitored and never fell below tolerable levels for irrigation. The drainage water, it was contended, made up a part of the Mexican entitlement. The Mexicans said the water

that they got stunted their winter wheat and salted their lands at an alarming rate. Investigators pointed out that the Mexican farmers were not following safe irrigation practices in the use of Colorado River water within their area, but were spreading their supply of water too widely and not providing drainage to maintain proper salt balance in the soils of the lands that they irrigated. The Mexicans rioted and their government threatened to appeal for relief to the World Court at The Hague. The United States Department of State interceded. The Wellton-Mohawk drainage pumping schedule was revised. A canal to carry Wellton-Mohawk waste waters to a discharge point below Morelos Dam was hastily constructed by the Bureau with funds appropriated by the Congress for the purpose. During periods of low releases from Lake Mead, the salty drainage water is discharged through the new ditch below the point of the Mexican diversion. Since 1961, this saline discharge has been the only water from the Colorado River reaching the Gulf of California, so completely is the river controlled by its great dams and reservoirs and so fully is the flow utilized by the many projects that the river supports. The filling of Lake Powell created by Glen Canyon Dam, of course, has placed an unusual requirement on the river during this period.

The Imperial and Coachella Valley water users, unlike their Mexican neighbors, have worked out very exacting irrigation formulae to maintain a tolerable salt balance in the root zones of their crops. The districts that operate the irrigation systems have provided trunk drains to the Salton Sea. The landowners have tile-drained hundreds of thousands of acres of the farmlands in these valleys. The irrigation practice is to apply more water as the mineral content in the irrigation supply increases so as to flush the salts through the soils. Cultural practices, quite intricate, have been devised for various crops in order to avoid accumulation of alkali at the points where the plants are growing. The salt is caused to concentrate at higher points on the ridges as capillary action brings the water to a surface where it can evaporate. After harvest, the ridges are broken down and the excess salts are again flushed by heavy application of water.

The method may seem precariously complex, but the irrigators get record crops at harvest. A satisfactory balance of salt input and salt discharges has been maintained and some areas formerly unproductive because of alkali have been restored to use. These cultural practices, however, increase the water demand necessary to produce a crop. An interesting collateral effect of the drainage program, likewise, is not beneficial to the environment. The salts and residues of fertilizers and pesticides that are carried through the farm drains complicate the problem of projecting into the future the recreational uses of Salton Sea, which ultimately receives them all. The sea has experienced a remarkable popularity among fishermen and water recreationists, who flock in great numbers to its desert shores. It is destined, however, to become a dead sea in a few decades, unless it is rescued. A monumental civil engineering project has been proposed to fence off a portion of the area of the sea in which the saline concentrations can be held above the limits necessary to support life.

The Salton Sea lies at the bottom of a sink 280 feet below sea level. It was recreated by the flood waters of the Colorado River, which the promoters of irrigation in 1904 turned into the Imperial Valley. It has been maintained by the wasting of water from the irrigation systems. Whether or not the drains from the valleys continue to empty into it, the Salton Sea will suffer the same fate in the course of time, unless a rescue project is built. So long as the

drainage waters do not introduce poisons in quantities actually lethal to the fine corbina that abound in the waters, and thereby take over the responsibility for destroying the resource, their effects may be ignored as peripheral and not central to the problem of saving the Salton Sea.

Under the "law of the river," exact quantitative limitations are placed on allowable diversions from the Colorado River, although in practice they may not be strictly enforced except when shortages occur. The limitations in the Imperial Valley, for example, are based on criteria reflecting the quantity of water beneficially used in the year 1929. Since in 1929 the quality of the water from the Colorado River was better, the same quantity as was used in that year will not irrigate so many acres with the cultural requirements of today. The work the water does in growing crops is not so efficient because of deterioration of its quality. Clearly, then, the lower the quality the less the water is worth. There is an economic gain to be realized through preserving or restoring water quality. Parenthetically, I note that the economists have not yet measured this gain to my knowledge, although to do so would help in justification of alternatives that might better protect the environment.

Water users in California so far have contended they are satisfied so long as they get their allotted number of acre-feet of water from the river. This has been true with respect to both the irrigators in the low deserts and the Metropolitan Water District of Southern California, the complex public agency financed in part by taxes from its constituent municipalities and districts. The MWD wholesales Colorado River water on the Coastal Plain south of the Tehachapi Mountains.

The time may come, however, when the irrigators and the domestic users in California will join the Mexican irrigators in protesting poor quality water. The costs of softening the hard water from the Colorado River in the MWD's enormous treatment plants are high. Softening does not reduce the parts per million of dissolved solids, but rather replaces some of the minerals with others. The water which is being introduced from the Colorado River into Southern California groundwater basins, whether treated or not, is of relatively poor quality at the time of first entry. Through use and reuse after joining the groundwaters, from which it is pumped for irrigation and municipal purposes, this water is further deteriorated.

What is the solution to the problem as revealed in the review of the Colorado River record? Augmentation of the flow of the Colorado River with water of satisfactory quality is the solution that has been pointed out by the water users of the seven basin states. The Colorado could be augmented by diversion from other watersheds that have ample supplies, though suggestions along this line have drawn political fire from the Pacific Northwest. Desalination may eventually provide a supplemental source of very high quality water for mixing with and dilution of the degenerated natural waters.

The problem of protecting the quality of the waters of the Colorado River within tolerable limits for irrigating crops and within absolute limits for human consumption seems certain in the future to shape the water projects that will be constructed to serve the vast and important seven state basin.

Arizona has won authorization by the Congress of a project she sorely needed to divert her share of the Colorado's remaining water into the central part of the state. California was fearful that construction of the project would threaten curtailment of diversions from the river that are already provided for, and objected until certain

guarantees of minima were included in the authorization. Another protection was to clarify the responsibility to fulfill the demands of the Mexican Water Treaty. The Arizona project may hasten the day when augmentation of the flow of the Colorado River will become essential. Title Two (Sec. 202) of the Colorado River Basin Project Act provides:

"The Congress declares that the satisfaction of the requirements of the Mexican Water Treaty from the Colorado River constitutes a national obligation which shall be the first obligation of any water augmentation project planned pursuant to Section 201 of this Act authorized by the Congress."

While the Colorado River Basin Act authorized and directed the Secretary of the Interior to "conduct full and complete reconnaissance investigations for the purpose of developing a general plan to meet the future water needs of the Western United States," it added a proviso which took cognizance of the political sensitivity of the Columbia Basin as follows:

"Provided, That for a period of ten years from the date of this Act, the Secretary shall not undertake reconnaissance studies of any plan for the importation of water into the Colorado River Basin from any other natural river drainage basin lying outside the States of Arizona, California, Colorado, New Mexico, and those portions of Nevada, Utah, and Wyoming which are in the natural drainage basin of the Colorado River."

Since the deadline set in the Act for the Secretary to make his final report is June 30, 1977, the provision would seem to limit the planning for augmentation of the Colorado River's flow to desalting the sea, to other unproved potential sources and, practically, to diversion of water from the streams of the North Coastal Counties of California. These streams have the only appreciable surpluses remaining within the states named in the law as qualified for study during the first decade.

With reference to this discontinuity in the flow of policy within the Act, Senator Frank E. Moss, of Utah, spoke of misgivings gained from his studies of national water needs:

"I remind the Senate—and particularly Senators from the States west of Missouri—of the projection of the Senate Select Committee on National Water Resources that eight of the 22 water resources regions of this country would have their water in full use by the year 2000. These eight regions encompass an area stretching from Kansas City on the east to Los Angeles on the west, and from the Canadian border to Brownsville, the southern tip of Texas. It excludes, of course, the Columbia Basin and northern California."

Quality considered, there is already a shortage of water in the Colorado River, and also in many other streams, eastern as well as western, in the United States. The environment of large populations dependent on the Colorado River is being degraded at this time.

Difficult alternatives are presented. A crisis is upon the Colorado River Basin. The battle has been spread to include the Columbia River Basin as well. A fight may rage for decades unless facts are faced and cool heads gain control.

#### NEW JERSEY

The State of New Jersey built two reservoirs to provide needed water supplies for the multitude of local public agencies and water companies that distribute domestic supplies in the northeastern part of the state. The state was not authorized by the Legislature to construct the canals and aqueducts required to deliver the conserved waters to the local systems because of pressures exerted by local authorities. The local interests, however, have not built the aqueducts. Several local agencies meanwhile have been rationing water to their users, despite plentiful

rains since 1966, because their sources are inadequate. Sensitivity to outgrowth precepts of local option among jurisdictions with limited responsibilities has caused the Legislature to refrain from correcting the mistake it made.

In an increasing number of streams—specifically in the Sacramento-San Joaquin Delta and the Colorado River, but in others as well—water quality deterioration cannot be held above tolerable health, esthetic and agricultural limits except through augmentation of low-flow. In New Jersey and in other urbanized areas as well, supplemental water projects of regional scope are required. Under these circumstances, it is the more to be regretted that local and regional chauvinism may delay forthright action, for time is not on the side of preservation of good environments.

There may be a temptation to think the water quality people cry "wolf" when no real threat is in sight. After all, people are drinking water that does not meet the recommended Public Health Service standards in hundreds of communities in the United States. The waters will continue to degrade with intensified use brought about by increasing population. Although the standards may with impunity be blinked at for a time, there is a limit of tolerance.

Read what Dr. M. G. Candau, Director-General of the World Health Organization, said about water quality at the Water For Peace Conference in Washington, D.C. He had reviewed the situation with regard to water-borne diseases.)

"In addition to all these is the growing threat to health due to the degradation of our water sources by man's own action. Expanding populations, industrialization and urbanization make it continuously more difficult to separate our wastes from our drinking water . . . Wastes from increasingly sophisticated chemical processes are discharged from factories, and find their way into rivers, lakes, underground reservoirs and marine coastal waters, causing grave concern as to the public health, economic and aesthetic consequences of these pollutants.

"Major efforts are required to prevent man's environment from becoming hostile to his well-being and, indeed, to his survival. Conversely, well conceived planning for the optimum development of that environment will redound to man's physical, economic and social well-being. Of all the environmental factors, I believe that his water supply has the greatest and most immediate effect on his health, comfort and general well-being."

#### SANTA ANA RIVER

"Peace has finally come to the Santa Ana," James J. Doody, Southern District Engineer of California Department of Water Resources, informed the California Water Commission meeting in Los Angeles, June 6, 1969. He referred to a stipulated judgment entered in the Orange County Superior Court in settlement of litigation that involved more than 2,500 defendants and the water supply of the rapidly growing megalopolis in Orange, Riverside and San Bernardino Counties. The suit, among water agencies and users, had been begun in 1963. It was only the most recent in the series of legal actions among various groupings of litigants that began in the 1870's when the Irvine Ranch, situated near the sea in Orange County, sued upper basin interests regarding the flow of the Santa Ana River. The Irvine Ranch decree and many others were lifted in the new master settlement. There is some reason to hope that the decree has ended water rights litigation in the Santa Ana Basin and introduced an era of cooperation to take its place.

Some quite remarkable steps were taken in reaching the settlement and in the decree, itself. The physical solution, as the partici-

pants choose to call it, includes provisions for increasing or decreasing the amounts of water that are required to pass two fixed points in the basin by reason of the quality of the water reaching those points. Specifically, also, upstream water users in meeting their obligations to downstream interests are given credit for and are required to deliver to the river the effluent from their sewage treatment plants. The decree contemplates the management of all waters of the basin, surface and subsurface, whether pristine or often-used, and whether of local origin or imported from distant streams through the Colorado River Aqueduct and the California State Water Project. The quality controls are placed at two natural subdivisions in the basin. At the upper one, any increase in dissolved solids above 700 parts per million will require the delivery of 11 acre-feet of water in addition to the normal entitlements for each excessive part per million. Any decrease below 600 parts per million will earn a credit to the upper water users of 11 acre-feet per part per million, a bonus which they may withhold for themselves. Since the upper users will be buying imported water at more than \$40 an acre-foot to supplement their diversions and uses from the Santa Ana Basin, their ability to manage the quality of the water will be of economic importance to them. At the second measuring point the penalty will begin at 800 parts per million of dissolved solids. The quality bonus will be for delivering water better than 700 parts per million. The penalty and the bonus at the lower division point both will be at the rate of 35 acre-feet per part per million. The objective, at each control point, will be to maintain the quality of water delivered within a range of 100 parts per million of dissolved solids.

Another significant development in the settlement was the use of a California statute allowing local agencies with similar authorities jointly to exercise those powers. The four major water districts that, among them, cover the whole basin except for a mountainous fringe, created the Santa Ana Watershed Planning Agency and initiated water quality management of the watershed. They thus provided the metropolitan region of which they are parts with a comprehensive government for the management of one of the major natural resources that will contribute to the excellence or the degradation of the environment.

#### OTHER AREAS

A metropolitan sewer district was created a few years ago to serve the urbanized area around St. Louis. San Diego has a county water authority for water supply, and a metropolitan sewage collection agency to eliminate discharges into its bay. The San Francisco Bay and the Hudson River are still polluted, though in each instance the state is moving to help local jurisdictions to meet their responsibilities to improve the quality of their waters.

#### WATER IS ONLY A PART

Frequently, the water resources problem is cited as the exclusive contributor to environmental decline in situations where the causes are complex. Ronald B. Roble's comment on Lake Tahoe is to the point. He said: "There is no reason why local government cannot effectively encourage economic development consistent with enhancement of the environment. We have heard so much in recent years over the 'pollution' of Lake Tahoe. Utilizing federal and state funds and a significant amount of local funds, the South Tahoe Public Utility District developed an export plan and is now exporting reclaimed water to Alpine County. It has both protected the Lake and has provided irrigation and recreation opportunities in Alpine County. Similarly, export facilities are being developed at the north and west



sides of the Lake and in Nevada. Recently, I had the opportunity of talking with several people from the eastern United States who had visited Lake Tahoe last summer for the first time in a decade. They were disappointed with what they saw. But it was not pollution, but rather land use which troubled them and which is the greatest problem at Lake Tahoe. The water is still beautiful and blue, but the Alpine setting around the lake has become a hodgepodge of neon signs, and construction which has scarred, not enhanced, the area."

#### FEAR OF MISTAKES

Some of those who are responsible for public programs designed to enhance the environment hold back because of a fear of false starts.

Intensive education of the people along lines later discovered to be erroneous has marked national campaigns of conservation. These have led later to emotional resistance to introduction of sound conservation programs such as permitting the hunting of deer in order to thin deer herds that increase beyond the carrying capacities of their ranges. The United States Forest Service is now trying to turn around the popular attitude toward clearcutting of forests, a practice that it has found to have conservation advantages over selective cutting among many types of trees. Generations of former school children, who think of Smokey the Bear as a friend, retain an implanted horror of clearcutting that the word itself recalls.

In his paper on the state of water planning, Dr. Nace observed that water projects of great magnitude made it possible for great mistakes to be made through constructing them. In a race for survival, if that is what is involved in man's treatment of his environment, doubts must be resolved in favor of action. One observer has said, "Pollution of air, waters and land must be arrested, even eliminated, if our genus is to 'make it' in this environment."

#### PIE-IN-THE-SKY SOLUTIONS

Frequently, when faced with realities in an environmental situation, popular response is given to pie-in-the-sky proposals. The success to date of California in meeting her water resources requirements, under natural conditions that are more difficult to overcome than those faced in any other rapidly urbanizing area, has stemmed from the support of a strong water planning agency since early days of statehood. The California Department of Water Resources pioneered in studies of desalting the sea, and from the first has cooperated with the Federal Government's desalination programs, participating in the cost of constructing Point Loma Plant No. 1. William R. Gianelli, Director of the Department, said recently:

"Many factors that will influence the cost of desalted water in the future cannot be determined with certainty. Expectations, however, appear to be sufficiently attractive to warrant continued consideration of desalting as an alternative for further augmentation or supplementation of water supply.

"Our long-range planning will maintain its broad inquiry into the conventional reservoir and canal method of water conservation and transportation and into the possibilities of desalination, waste water reclamation, watershed management, weather modification and every other new technology that may offer promise."

Economists, political scientists, or environmentalists who offer "study the alternatives" as a solution provide small comfort to the planners unless they help to develop alternatives for study. Those who would set "zero growth" as an objective and pit it against forward planning by water agencies and others charged with meeting estimated future needs, may read, as I do, that the Bu-

reau of the Census still estimates an increase of 66,000,000 people in the United States in the next generation, even if it uses the 1969 rate of increase, which was the lowest in our national history and may be a poor base for that reason for its projections. The population continues to shift to urban centers and, apparently, more particularly to those in California and the West. These facts cannot safely be ignored. I am, however, growing increasingly wary of specific plans that are built to meet estimates of needs in the distant future. There are too many instances in my experience of unpredicted alterations in trends that have been brought on by unforeseeable developments, technological and otherwise, to warrant confidence in any blueprint of the 50-year future. This note of caution, however, is as significant to the environmentalist, and the economist as it is to the engineer. The environment can be damaged by lack of planning, as has been seen in the deteriorating central cities as well as through construction of projects that did not have in advance the benefit of full, comprehensive planning. The development of goals and continuous planning; the evaluation and reevaluation at intervals of objectives and appraisal and reappraisal from time to time of means of reaching them, will be required. The professional disciplines each will have a part to play in the process. The critics will have to drop their shield of criticism and become participating actors in this drama. The denouement will limit the range of choices of our grandchildren half a century hence, and perhaps disastrously so.

Within the welter of problems that are being recognized with respect to maintenance of a suitable environment, there is present a crisis in water. This crisis is engendering conflicts that, unless they are resolved through timely action, will break out into increasingly bitter contests as the population swells. We have placed men on the moon through establishing a goal and organizing an adequate program to achieve it, one that required technological advances and cooperation among agencies and disciplines. Astronauts may not cavort freely in the waters of the Potomac, as they did in the brown lunar dust for all to see, until some of the spirit and energy of the Lunar Project are applied to comprehensive water resources programs, and unless resources comparable to the task are put into the work of restoring clean water in the earth's environment.

#### RECOMPUTATION—A SOLDIER'S VIEW

HON. JEROME R. WALDIE

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 10, 1970

Mr. WALDIE. Mr. Speaker, I recently received a very impressive letter from a retired Army colonel regarding the issue of recomputation of retirement pay for military personnel.

The points he raises are highly important and are eloquently told. I include them in the RECORD for the benefit of the Members of the Congress:

EUGENE, OREG.,  
August 8, 1970.

HON. JEROME R. WALDIE,  
Cannon House Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. WALDIE: Thank you sincerely for your thoughtful kindness in sending to me your letter of August 4 enclosing a comment by Honorable L. Mendel Rivers, Chairman of the House Armed Services Committee con-

cerning the Administration's failure to support Recomputation.

I understand and appreciate the effort you made toward restoration of the recomputation principle, and for this I am most grateful.

As I am sure you know, those of us who were most affected, while young, chose to serve the nation through the military profession. We knew it would not lead to wealth, yet it was a good life, and had its recompenses, for most of us were motivated by ideals of service and efficiency. Happily, that motivation paid off in our performance and success in World War II, of which my contemporaries are justifiably quite proud, as I am.

To me the great pity is that our lack of success, militarily, in Korea and Vietnam, coupled with the body blows the armed services have received in the failure of recomputation, the unpopularity of the draft, and the futility of operations in Vietnam; not to mention the peace marches and the anti-ROTC riots; have so weakened our national military spirit and morale that I seriously wonder how we shall be able to restore it.

Looked at in that light recomputation seems to be a delightful dream we once had—gone now—but remembered as a dream.

I have so very greatly appreciated my brief contacts with you, sir, even though you have just about changed me to a democrat, I am very sorry to have to inform you that Mrs. Bixy and I have left Rossmoor and Walnut Creek and returned to Eugene, Oregon, where I first retired from the army and where our daughter and grandchildren clamor for our return.

Best wishes for your continued success in your career go along with this letter.

Sincerely yours,

LAWRENCE B. BIXBY.

#### "NATION'S GOVERNORS UNITE ON POW PROBLEM"

HON. E. ROSS ADAIR

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 10, 1970

Mr. ADAIR. Mr. Speaker, the 45th national convention of the American National Red Cross was held in Chicago, Ill., in May this year. Attending this conference were 3,800 delegates. A resolution was adopted on May 20 to urge fair and just treatment of our prisoners of war in North Vietnam in accordance with accepted international standards. Messages of support and endorsement for this resolution were received from the President of the United States, the Governors of each of the 50 States, the Governors of the territories, as well as messages from several other organizations. Further, Governor Ogilvie of Illinois officially proclaimed a day of dedication for the relief of American prisoners of war and their families. Therefore, I commend to the attention of my colleagues the text of this resolution, copies of telegrams and messages of support as well as an editorial of support from the Chicago Sun-Times relative to Governor Ogilvie's "day of dedication." Texts of the aforementioned documents follow:

#### RESOLUTION II PRISONERS OF WAR

Whereas, civilized decency and international law embodied in the Geneva Conven-

tion for the Protection of Prisoners of War demand that captives in armed conflicts be identified and accounted for, humanely treated, permitted to communicate and, if seriously sick or wounded, repatriated or placed in neutral hands, and

Whereas, the fate of hundreds of American servicemen captured in the Southeast Asian war is unknown except to their captors, and

Whereas, some of these helpless men have been held captive more than five years, some may be seriously sick, wounded or deceased, without the knowledge of their loved ones, and

Whereas, this cruel, intolerable and prohibited secrecy serves no purpose but to increase the revulsion felt for it by millions of people the world over who understand the grief of parents, wives and children of those imprisoned or whose fate is unknown, and

Whereas, the XXIst International Conference of the Red Cross at Istanbul in September 1969 after noting the historic role of the Red Cross as a protector of victims of war, adopted, without dissent, a resolution calling upon all countries involved in armed conflict to ensure that all prisoners of war be afforded the treatment and full measure of protection prescribed by the Geneva Convention Relative to the Treatment of Prisoners of War, and

Whereas, in the realization that the Red Cross has the potential to arouse the conscience of humanity on behalf of these prisoners, the Board of Governors on February 16, 1970 reaffirmed the resolve of The American National Red Cross to pursue every effort to assure their humane treatment and has urged similar action by every other member of the International Red Cross.

Now, therefore, be it resolved that the chapters of The American National Red Cross, united in the resolve to do all in their power to promote respect for the rights of prisoners of war, do hereby endorse the February 16, 1970 resolution of the Board of Governors, and

*Be it further resolved:* That each chapter should accept the continuing commitment within its own community to mobilize ever-increasing support in the demand for the identification and humane treatment of the prisoners, the fulfillment of their right to communicate, the repatriation of the sick and wounded, the accounting for any who may be deceased and ultimately the freedom of all of the prisoners.

MESSAGES RECEIVED FROM THE FOLLOWING INDIVIDUALS, CHAPTERS, TERRITORIES, AND ORGANIZATIONS

President Richard M. Nixon—Along with all other Americans I have noted with pride and with confidence the dedication of your Convention to unremitting efforts to obtain for American prisoners of war in Southeast Asia the humane treatment of which they are entitled under the dictates of decency and which their captors are obligated to provide under the Geneva Conventions. You have the support and the prayerful hopes for success from all men of goodwill.

*Eastern area* Governor of Connecticut—John Dempsey—Continued efforts by American Red Cross to secure improved treatment our prisoners of war in North Vietnam heartening and commendable. People of this State one of whose citizens interned many years in Red China, keenly aware protection given him and his family by adherence to articles of Geneva Conventions. Speaking their behalf and my own, I urge delegates to annual meeting of American National Red Cross now in session, take every appropriate step to demand the adherence signified by Government of Democratic Republic of Vietnam when signing these Conventions. All future actions initiated by your organization to bring about humane treatment of prisoners of war have my full support.

Governor of Delaware—Russell W. Peterson—I am writing to commend the American Red Cross and its efforts in encouraging Americans to write to the President of North Vietnam on behalf of American prisoners of war. These efforts are proving effective, and I urge the American Red Cross to continue supporting this program. On behalf of all Delawareans, especially those who have kin and friends in POW camps, I thank the American Red Cross for its work to promote humane treatment of those prisoners.

Governor of Maine—Kenneth M. Curtis—I strongly endorse the "Write Hanoi" Campaign of the American Red Cross. We must do everything possible to insure the humane treatment of United States prisoners of war in North Vietnam. I share your hope that letters from thousands of concerned citizens in this country will touch the conscience of Hanoi and move them to honor the provisions of the Geneva Convention.

Governor of Maryland—Marvin Mandel—As Governor of the free State of Maryland, may I commend the American National Red Cross for its continuing efforts to obtain more humane treatment for U.S. prisoners held by North Vietnam, it is my hope that every citizen of Maryland will participate in the Red Cross "Write Hanoi" Campaign by letters calling upon the President of North Vietnam to adhere to the Geneva POW Treaty. Best wishes to you and Convention delegates for success in this humanitarian endeavor.

Governor of Massachusetts—Francis W. Sargent—As Governor of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, I am pleased to endorse the American National Red Cross "Write Hanoi Campaign" and urge the people of Massachusetts and all Americans to cooperate in this effort to write the North Vietnamese Government regarding the treatment of prisoners of war in accordance with the Geneva Conventions. My hopes for the success of this project.

Governor of New Hampshire—Walter R. Peterson—Strongly endorse continuing efforts of American National Red Cross to obtain humane treatment of the United States prisoners of war held by Government of North Vietnam; am encouraging citizens of New Hampshire to support the Red Cross "Write North Vietnam" Program to prevail on the President, Democratic Republic of Vietnam to honor his nation's signature to the 1949 Geneva Convention.

Governor of New Jersey—William T. Cahill—On behalf of the citizens of the State of New Jersey, I want to express deep concern and wholehearted support for the humanitarian efforts of the American Red Cross in its campaign to impress upon the Government of North Vietnam its responsibility for the welfare and treatment of American servicemen held prisoner by Hanoi. In your role as a non-partisan organization, committed to the service of all in need, we sincerely hope that Red Cross will succeed in arousing the world's conscience and stirring it into action so that sensitive, justice seeking people of every race will influence the North Vietnamese to abide by the Geneva Conventions.

Governor of New York—Nelson A. Rockefeller—The American National Red Cross drive to urge Americans to write to Hanoi to secure humane treatment of prisoners of war as guaranteed by the 1949 Geneva Convention has my wholehearted support. I am pleased to join in endorsing this all-out effort to assure that war prisoners in North Vietnam receive all rights and privileges to which they are entitled. The commendable work you and your associates are doing in behalf of prisoners of war and their families merits the widest appreciation.

Governor of Ohio—James A. Rhodes—As Governor of Ohio, I endorse the "Write Hanoi" Campaign being sponsored by the American Red Cross.

Governor of Pennsylvania—Raymond P. Shafer—Strongly endorse efforts of American Red Cross in attempting to encourage expressions to Hanoi urging their compliance with Geneva Conventions with respect to persons held as prisoners of war. I am urging local citizens and groups in the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania to join in this effort being promoted by the 94 local Red Cross Chapters in Pennsylvania and implore your continued efforts.

Governor of Rhode Island—Frank Licht—I heartily support the efforts of the ARC in its activities in behalf of American prisoners of war. As a result of ARC initiative, coordinated attempts to increase communication to and from prisoners, and to encourage adherence by the Hanoi Government to the terms of the Geneva Convention have been effective. It is my hope that during these difficult days, the ARC will continue its actions, will receive the support of all the people, and will be successful in achieving positive results.

Governor of Vermont—Deane C. Davis—I wish to voice my strong endorsement of the continuing efforts of the American Red Cross in opening the channels of communications regarding the treatment of the POW's held by North Vietnam. I share with you the humane concern for the welfare of the men and urge intensified efforts to prevail upon North Vietnam to honor its signature to the Geneva Conventions.

Governor of Virginia—Linwood Holton—As Governor of the Commonwealth of Virginia, I wish to express my support of the efforts being made by the American National Red Cross to effect compliance of the Geneva Conventions, in the treatment of prisoners of war in North Vietnam. Regardless of political views, all Virginians are united in concern for humane treatment of American captives in Southeast Asia. Our wholehearted support goes to the efforts of all concerned citizens and to the endeavors of the American Red Cross in your "Write Hanoi" Campaign.

Governor of West Virginia—Arch A. Moore, Jr.—I have issued an official proclamation requesting West Virginians to write North Vietnam urging Hanoi to comply with the Geneva Convention pertaining to the treatment of prisoners of war. I commend the Red Cross for its stand in this matter and assure you I am solidly behind your efforts to gain humane treatment for Americans being held as prisoners of war by North Vietnam and to gain entry for ICRC representatives to inspect prisoner of war facilities and prompt repatriation of sick and wounded prisoners.

*Southeastern area* Governor of Alabama—Albert P. Brewer—Please be assured of my deepest appreciation of your actions to secure humane treatment for American prisoners of war in North Vietnam. I am personally urging the citizens of Alabama to join in the Red Cross "Write Hanoi" Campaign to show North Vietnam that Americans are united in their efforts to insure that their sons and husbands in North Vietnam prisons will be treated like human beings and their families here at home will be able to hear from them.

Governor of Arkansas—Winthrop Rockefeller—Please be assured of my deepest appreciation of your actions to secure humane treatment for American prisoners of war in North Vietnam. I am personally urging the citizens of Arkansas to join in the Red Cross "Write Hanoi" Campaign to show North Vietnam that Americans are united in their efforts to insure that their sons and husbands in North Vietnam prisons will be treated like human beings and that their families here at home will be able to hear from them.

Governor of Florida—Claude R. Kirk, Jr.—Floridians appreciate your efforts to secure humane treatment for American pris-



oners of war in North Vietnam. I am urging the people of Florida to join in the Red Cross "Write Hanoi" Campaign to demonstrate to the North Vietnam that we are united in our efforts to insure that our fighting men in North Vietnam prisons will be treated like human beings and that their families here at home will be able to hear from them.

**Governor of Georgia**—Lester Maddox—This is to assure you that I sincerely endorse the actions taken by the American Red Cross in support of Humane treatment of American prisoners of war in North Vietnam. As Governor of the State of Georgia, I am personally urging all citizens of this State, irrespective of individual feelings regarding the conflict in Southeast Asia, to join together unanimously in the "Write Hanoi" Campaign. This effort is to let North Vietnam know that Americans are united in their plea to treat their sons and husbands in North Vietnam like human beings and to live up to the Geneva Conventions signed by that Government.

**Governor of North Carolina**—Bob Scott—I express my appreciation to American Red Cross for its actions to secure humane treatment for American prisoners of war in North Vietnam. I urged citizens of North Carolina to join the Red Cross "Write Hanoi" Campaign to show North Vietnam Americans are united in their efforts seeking treatment for their sons and husbands that is consistent with the Geneva Conventions and seeking contact with them.

**Governor of Kentucky**—Louis B. Nunn—Please be assured of my deepest sympathy of your actions to secure humane treatment for American prisoners of war in North Vietnam. I am personally urging the citizens of Kentucky to join in the Red Cross "Write Hanoi" Campaign to show North Vietnam that Americans are united in their efforts to insure that their sons and husbands in North Vietnam prisons will be treated like human beings and that their families here at home will be able to hear from them.

**Governor of Louisiana**—John J. McKeithen—As a Veteran of World War II, I can sincerely appreciate the actions of the American Red Cross in their efforts to secure humane treatment for American prisoners of war in North Vietnam. The results to date on this campaign are worth the effort put forth thus far, and to attempt to obtain further results, I am urging the citizens of Louisiana to join the Red Cross "Write Hanoi" Campaign to show North Vietnam that our people from Louisiana and America are united in our efforts to insure that our fellow Americans being held prisoners in North Vietnam are treated like human being and that their families here at home will be able to hear from them. Two young ladies here in Baton Rouge just received letters from their husbands who are prisoners of war. This campaign is picking up momentum and seems to be reaping the desired results. Keep up the good work.

**Governor of Mississippi**—John Bell Williams—I wish to express my appreciation for and support of your efforts in attempting to secure humane treatment for American prisoners of war being held captive in North Vietnam. I have personally appealed to the people of Mississippi to participate in a letter writing campaign to convince North Vietnam that the American people stand united in their determination that their husbands and sons be treated as human beings while held as prisoners in North Vietnam and that these Americans be accorded the privilege to communicate with their loved ones.

**Governor of South Carolina**—Robert E. McNair—I am pleased to indicate by this correspondence that I am personally urging all South Carolina residents to join in the project of the American Red Cross, "Write

Hanoi". We feel it is necessary for the Government of North Vietnam to know that all Americans are of war and that we stand firm in our insistence that they be allowed to communicate with their families at home.

**Governor of Tennessee**—Buford Ellington—Please be assured that we in Tennessee are deeply appreciative of the Red Cross actions to secure humane treatment for American prisoners of war in North Vietnam. I am personally urging the citizens of Tennessee to continue their support in the Red Cross "Write Hanoi" Campaign to show North Vietnam that Americans are united in their efforts to insure that their sons and husbands in North Vietnam prisons will be treated like human beings and that their families here at home will be able to communicate with them.

**Midwestern area. Proclamation by Governor Richard Ogilvie of Illinois**—More than 1,700 United States servicemen are missing in action or detained as prisoners of war as a result of the armed conflict in Southeast Asia.

Each of the governments with armed forces involved in the conflict are signatories to the Geneva Convention Relative to the Treatment of Prisoners of War of August 12, 1949.

Nevertheless, the government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam has refused to observe the terms of the Convention and abrogated its obligation under the agreement.

The American Red Cross, which has been striving to ensure that the government of North Vietnam affords prisoners of war the protection and benefits to which they are entitled under international law and the dictates of human decency, is meeting in Chicago May 18-20.

Therefore, I, Richard B. Ogilvie, Governor of the State of Illinois, proclaim May 20, 1970, as a Day of Dedication for the relief of American prisoners of war and their families, and urge all Illinoisans to join in the humanitarian efforts to guarantee our imprisoned servicemen and their families the protection and the benefits to which they are entitled under international law and the dictates of human decency.

In witness whereof I have hereunto set my hand and caused the Great Seal of the State of Illinois to be affixed.

Done at the Capitol in the City of Springfield this Thirteenth day of May, in the Year of Our Lord one thousand nine hundred and seventy and of the State of Illinois the one hundred and fifty-second.

**Governor of Indiana**—Edgar D. Whitcomb—I wholeheartedly endorse the actions of the American Red Cross in behalf of the American prisoners of war being held captive by the North Vietnamese. I commend your organization for its efforts in this regard and urge that you continue despite whatever roadblocks may be encountered. In accordance with the Red Cross "Write Hanoi" Program, I call upon Hoosiers to send a letter to the President of the Democratic Republic of North Vietnam and urge to: (1) Identify the prisoners being held, (2) allow regular mail between prisoners and their families and (3) admit International Committee Red Cross representatives to inspect prisoner of war facilities and allow prompt repatriation of sick and wounded prisoners. I believe as do all Americans that prisoners should be afforded the treatment and protection that North Vietnam is obligated to extend under the prisoners of war Convention. I realize the urgency of this effort and its importance not only to the captured American soldier, but also to his family.

**Governor of Iowa**—Robert D. Ray—As Governor of the State of Iowa, I am especially concerned about Iowans presently being held captive by the forces of the Democratic Republic of North Vietnam and would encourage the efforts of the American Na-

tional Red Cross in its letter writing campaign to encourage the other side to observe the Geneva Conventions concerning the treatment of prisoners of war.

**Governor of Kansas**—Robert Knocking—In behalf of all Kansans and personally, I join those governors of all States and all Americans in urging the Government of North Vietnam to adhere to the Geneva Conference in their treatment of American men who have become prisoners of the war in Southeast Asia, we pray they will be treated fairly and humanely.

**Governor of Michigan**—William G. Milliken—As Governor of the State of Michigan I endorse the efforts of the American National Red Cross to influence the Hanoi Government to identify the American prisoners. To accept an exchange of mail between the prisoners and their families and to accept representatives of the International Red Cross into their prison camps.

**Governor of Minnesota**—Harold Levander—I respectfully request you to continue expending maximum effort on behalf of the American prisoners of war being held in North Vietnam and commend you for your past efforts in this regard.

**Governor of Missouri**—Warren E. Hearnes—I am pleased to urge public support for the Red Cross program of having individual Americans write letters to the officials of North Vietnam requesting humane treatment of prisoners. The release of names of prisoners and the granting of permission for them to receive mail and parcels from their families. Such a campaign at least offers hope of obtaining more information about American prisoners and better treatment for them as was promised by North Vietnam in signing the Geneva Accords.

**Governor of Nebraska**—Norbert T. Tiemann—I hereby endorse the actions taken by the American Red Cross in their effort to encourage expressions to Hanoi, urging their compliance with the Geneva Convention with respect to persons held as prisoners of war. We in Nebraska are taking up this campaign and I will personally be encouraging Nebraska citizens and groups within our state to write the President of the Democratic Republic of North Vietnam, urging compliance.

**Governor of North Dakota**—William L. Guy—I heartily endorse the "Write Hanoi" Campaign of the American National Red Cross and your organization efforts to secure more humane treatment for the U.S. prisoners of war in Vietnam. North Dakota citizens will make a concerted effort through letter writing to assist you in this current drive to persuade the Democratic Republic of North Vietnam to adhere to the Geneva Prisoner of War Convention which they signed in 1949.

**Governor of Oklahoma**—Dewey F. Bartlett—Dear Mr. Harriman: As Governor of Oklahoma, I endorse actions taken by the American Red Cross in calling on all Americans and all nations to write Hanoi and demand that prisoners of war be afforded the treatment and protection as agreed to at the Geneva Conventions. Regardless of a persons feelings about the war, the treatment of prisoners of war should be uniform as provided for under the Prisoners of War Convention.

**Governor of South Dakota**—Frank L. Farfar—Mr. Harriman: I endorse your "Write Hanoi" Campaign for the benefit to not only our men who are prisoners of war, but for all their loved ones in the free world. It is time that North Vietnam Government identify all prisoners of war; allow mail between families and prisoners, allow the International Red Cross to inspect the prisoners of war facilities; and allow the sick and injured prisoners to return to their families. Let us all pray for humane treatment of American prisoners of war and for peace.

**Governor of Texas**—Preston Smith—As

Governor of Texas I congratulate the American Red Cross for undertaking another "Write Hanoi" in continuation of your outright efforts to gain more humane treatment for the United States prisoners of war and the missing in action in Southeast Asia. All Americans are concerned about the failure of the North Vietnamese to honor the provisions of the Geneva POW Conventions. I know citizens of Texas will join in support of your campaign.

Governor of Wisconsin—Warren P. Knowles—Urge strongly continuing all-out effort to gain more humane treatment for United States prisoners of war in Vietnam and "Write Hanoi" Campaign.

Western area—Governor of Alaska—I would like to take this means of expressing my wholehearted support of American Red Cross efforts to obtain humane treatment of American personnel imprisoned by the North Vietnamese, Americans are unified in their belief that prisoners held in North Vietnam should be afforded the treatment and protection that North Vietnam is obligated to extend under the Geneva Convention provisions and the American Red Cross to continue its splendid efforts.

Governor of Arizona—Jack Williams—A number of Arizonians are being held prisoner by North Vietnam. Please accept my thanks and congratulations for your efforts to get North Vietnam to observe the Geneva Conventions. We endorse your actions and urge you to continue your efforts which seem to be having some impact.

Governor of California—Ronald Reagan—Early this month I urged all Californians to join in the observance of a national day of prayer on Sunday, May 3, for the humane treatment and safe return of American prisoners of war and servicemen missing in action in the Southeast Asia. I heartily commend the American Red Cross for its actions to encourage all Americans to write Hanoi to express indignation at their failure to adhere to the Geneva Conventions. I am hopeful your efforts on behalf of our men being held prisoner will provide the impetus that is needed to focus worldwide attention on this matter.

Governor of Colorado—John Love—Governor John Love, State of Colorado, wholeheartedly endorses the American Red Cross resolution and urges the leaders of Hanoi abide by the Geneva Convention.

Governor of Idaho—Don Samuelson—I am vigorously in support of the American Red Cross effort to encourage Hanoi to comply with the Geneva Convention with respect to persons held as prisoners of war. We are deeply concerned about the treatment of these persons who include Idahoans in the military service. My office extends strongest hopes for your early success in this endeavor. Best wishes for a productive Convention.

Governor of Montana—Forrest H. Anderson—I fully support the humanitarian objectives of the "Write Hanoi" Campaign being sponsored presently by the American Red Cross. Humane treatment of American prisoners in Vietnam under the provisions of the Geneva Convention is something that all Americans must work to achieve. Moral pressure must be brought to bear upon the leaders of North Vietnam to convince them of their responsibilities under the Convention. Americans must not forget these men. I only hope that this campaign is successful in easing some of the hardships these men and their families are enduring.

Governor of Nevada—Paul Laxalt—I would like to commend the American National Red Cross for their program in calling upon all nations to treat prisoners of war in accordance with the Geneva Convention. We must continue to encourage everyone to subscribe to your efforts by participating in the "Write Hanoi" Campaign. The success of this endeavor rests with the American people.

Governor of New Mexico—David F. Cargo—Please add my endorsement to the American National Red Cross effort toward freeing American prisoners of war in Vietnam.

Governor of Oregon—Tom McCall—Greetings to you from the State of Oregon. On the occasion of your National Convention, I commend the American National Red Cross on their efforts they have made toward asking Americans to protest to Hanoi on the treatment of U.S. prisoners held by North Vietnam. As you map your reactions for the ensuing year, may I encourage continuation of such efforts. Irrespective of individual feelings about the Vietnamese conflict, I believe there is an absolutely unanimous opinion in Oregon, as there must be throughout the nation, that prisoners should be afforded the treatment and protection that North Vietnam is obligated to extend under the Geneva Prisoner of War Convention. Evidence of such unanimity of opinion, as can be accomplished by a massive compliance with your "Write Hanoi" Campaign, may influence North Vietnam. Last month, Captain James Sehorn of Forest Grove, Oregon, who was shot down in Northern North Vietnam 16 months ago, was finally identified as a prisoner of war. Mrs. Sehorn attributes this notification to the efforts made by fellow Oregonians and others who "Write Hanoi."

Governor of the State of Washington—Daniel J. Evans—I support the efforts of the American National Red Cross to gain more humane treatment for the release of the U.S. prisoners in Vietnam. These prisoners of war are entitled to humane treatment under the statutes of international law and the dictates of moral decency. I hope that the following provision of prisoner of war Convention will be honored by North Vietnam: Prompt identification of prisoners; adequate food and clothing and medical care, communication with other prisoners and their families at home. Prompt repatriation of seriously sick or wounded prisoners; protection from abuse or reprisals and free access to prisoners and their place of detention, by such a neutral intermediary as the All-Swiss International Committee of Red Cross.

Governor of Utah—Calvin L. Rampton—Please accept my endorsement of ARC efforts to obtain humane treatment of American prisoners of war in North Vietnam. I add my voice to those urging Hanoi to follow strictly the standards set by the Geneva Convention.

State of Wyoming—Governor Stanley K. Hathaway—Proclamation—Whereas, Red Cross has become the traditional neutral intermediary in time of conflict; and

Whereas, the American Red Cross has asked the world Red Cross Societies and the American people to form a solid front in demanding that the North Vietnamese meet humanitarian standards in the treatment of American prisoners; and

Whereas, the United States Senate and House of Representatives have passed a resolution demanding compliance with the Geneva Conventions on treatment of prisoners of war and calling for the United Nations and the International Red Cross to obtain humane treatment and release of American prisoners; and

Whereas, the American Red Cross is asking the American people to exert more pressure on the North Vietnamese by increasing participation in its "Write Hanoi" campaign;

Now, therefore, I, Stanley K. Hathaway, Governor of the State of Wyoming, do hereby proclaim the month beginning May 17, 1970, as Support Our Prisoners in Vietnam Month, and urge the citizens of the state to participate in the "Write Hanoi" campaign to demand that the North Vietnamese honor the Prisoner of War provisions of the Geneva Conventions.

State of Hawaii—From the Governor—As Governor of the State of Hawaii, whose spirit

of aloha is often the last contact that our servicemen have with their country before giving honorable military service in Southeast Asia, and which, through its vast military resources gives support to those operations, I offer my full endorsement of the efforts of the American Red Cross in seeking humane treatment for American prisoners of war held by North Vietnam, the Viet Cong and Laotian forces. Irrespective of any personal feeling about the Vietnam conflict, it is God's will and the heartfelt desire of all Americans that prisoners of war be afforded the treatment and protection that North Vietnam is obligated to extend under the Geneva Prisoner of War Convention. In Hawaii, Sunday, May 24 will be recognized in churches throughout the State as Prisoner of War Prayer Day with the attendant request that our citizens participate in the National Write Hanoi Campaign initiated by the American Red Cross. With our previous similar effort having its effect with some easing by North Vietnam of its stand, I support your continued dedication of this worthy task. May God be with you in your earnest endeavors in behalf of all American prisoners of War. John A. Burns, Governor.

Territories—Mr. Leber, Governor of the Canal Zone—I sincerely endorse the resolution adopted at the 21st International Conference of the Red Cross calling on all nations to ensure humane treatment of prisoners of war and fully support the American Red Cross in its continuing world-wide efforts to encourage compliance with the Geneva Conventions extending protection to such prisoners.

Governor of Puerto Rico—Luis A. Ferre—The people of Puerto Rico join me to express our support of the action taken by the American Red Cross on behalf of prisoners of war in North Vietnam and willfully cooperate with the Write Hanoi Campaign the continuation of these efforts is the responsibility of all nations.

Governor of American Samoa, John M. Haydon—Please be advised that I as Governor and the people of American Samoa wholeheartedly support and appreciate Red Cross efforts to encourage humane treatment of Prisoners of War. A good number of our young men are involved in the Vietnam conflict, and several have lost their lives in support of our countries' principles. We recognize diversification of nationalities, cultures, and customs in the world, but we believe that kindness and decency unite or should unite all men and it is incumbent on the United States and Allied countries and likewise the Government of North Vietnam to treat their prisoners of war with humane decency. Your efforts toward the accomplishment of this objective will continue to encourage better treatment of prisoners regardless of race, color, or creed and will in the long run help to bring all men together in a spirit of harmony and love. Again our sincere appreciation.

Governor of Virgin Islands, Melvin H. Evans—People in government of Virgin Islands highly endorse the role and activities of the American Red Cross on behalf of prisoners of war. Your write Hanoi campaign carried out by via Red Cross Chapters. Sincere wish for success this and similar projects.

#### ORGANIZATIONS

Mrs. James B. Stockdale, National Coordinator for the National League of Families of American Prisoners in Southeast Asia—Please extend to every delegate at your Convention the heartfelt gratitude of the wives and families of captured and missing American servicemen for the help you have given our men in the past. We deeply appreciate your continuing interest and efforts toward insuring humane treatment for our loved ones and wholeheartedly support and encourage renewed appeals for your "Write



Hanoi" campaign. Our burden seems lighter knowing you are continually increasing your efforts to get help to our men. We thank you most sincerely.

Mrs. Erwin Frees Seimes, President General, *National Society Daughters of the American Revolution*—Dear Mr. Collins: Your letter of May 13 has been read with interest and appreciation. We are enclosing a copy of the resolution adopted at the 79th Continental Congress entitled "Prisoners of War," which we feel is in line with your "Concurrent Resolution."

Also, for your information, the following paragraph appeared in the last Circular Letter sent by me to my National Board: "We have been asked by the Committee of United We Stand, Inc. (H. Ross Perot's Mission to bring relief to POW's in Vietnam) to write as individuals to express their concern to 'H. Ross Perot, Post Office Box 100,000, Dallas, Texas 75222.' Please transmit this word to your Chapters in order that they may express their feelings on this subject."

Best wishes for a most successful Convention.

Prisoners of war resolution, 79th Continental Congress, April 1970.

Whereas unknown numbers of servicemen have suffered long terms of imprisonment or the ambiguous status of "missing in action" in North Viet Nam; and

Whereas apparently nothing stronger than the usual words and platitudes from responsible United States officials and United Nations headquarters have led Hanoi to the belief that they have nothing to fear from the United States of America in their treatment of American prisoners; and

Whereas it is known that numbers of the Armed Forces of the United States of America have been murdered or allowed to die from malnutrition, disease or wounds; and

Whereas the North Vietnamese have stated that all captured Americans are regarded as war criminals and they will be tried by the "People's Court"; and

Resolved, that the National Society Daughters of the American Revolution express grave concern for the treatment and fate of United States prisoners of war and other Americans wrongfully held;

Resolved, that the National Society Daughters of the American Revolution believe that we must take all necessary steps to obtain the release of these American prisoners of war and in no circumstances abandon these brave men.

*The American Legion, National Headquarters.*

The American Legion shares your concern for the well being of American prisoners of war held by North Vietnam. Our Resolution No. 8, adopted May 6-7, 1970, joins with you in assuring the compliance with the Geneva Convention regarding the treatment of prisoners of war and cooperates with you in your "Write Hanoi" campaign.

J. MILTON PATRICK,

National Commander, *The American Legion.*

*Ex Prisoners of War—Stalag Luft III.*

Strongly applaud your Red Cross National Convention's commitment unrelentingly to pursue every possible course to ensure that American prisoners of war in Southeast Asia be afforded all the protection and benefits to which they are entitled and their captors are obligated to extend under the Geneva convention. Our organization which consists exclusively of former American prisoners of war, many of whose lives were saved by Red Cross efforts on their behalf, has unanimously endorsed your efforts and assures you of our unqualified support.

EX PRISONERS OF WAR,

*Stalag Luft III.*

[From the Chicago (Ill.) Sun-Times,

May 20, 1970]

"DAY OF DEDICATION"

The lot of a prisoner of war is always grim, even in a war where the adversaries recognize the rules of the Geneva Conventions for the treatment of prisoners. In the Vietnam conflict, an undeclared war with an enemy that considers those it takes prisoner to be "war criminals," the fate of the prisoners themselves is uncertain, the suffering of their families great.

Gov. Ogilvie has proclaimed today to be a "day of dedication" for those Americans who are prisoners of war of North Vietnam and to recognize the special agonies their families endure.

North Vietnam is holding 450 American prisoners of war. There may be more. Another 955 Americans are listed as missing in action. Some of these may be prisoners.

Gov. Ogilvie is supporting the nationwide effort of the American Red Cross to bring pressure to bear on North Vietnam's leaders to treat their prisoners fairly and humanely.

The power of moral suasion is difficult to measure. But in dealing with an enemy that has closed the normal international channels of access to prisoners of war it could be a considerable factor in gaining better treatment for the prisoners. We urge all Illinois members of Congress to join Gov. Ogilvie and the Red Cross in this effort.

#### ATTACKS ON VICE PRESIDENT HYPOCRITICAL

### HON. CLARENCE J. BROWN

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 10, 1970

Mr. BROWN of Ohio. Mr. Speaker, I was disturbed to read in yesterday's papers that a Member of the other body has accused Vice President AGNEW of trying to silence dissenters and repeal the rules of democracy. This is a most ridiculous and absurd charge and yet one which is being used with increasing frequency in some quarters. It never ceases to amaze me when I hear the administration's most caustic critics cry "foul" when someone dares to challenge their reckless rhetoric and atrocious attacks. For some reason, these critics think that only they should have the right to dissent and any counterdissent is immediately labeled by them as repressive and undemocratic.

Mr. Speaker, this is blatant political hypocrisy at its worst. There are those who would like to muzzle the Vice President so they can continue their one-sided debates unchallenged. They should know that there is no such thing as a one-sided debate in a democracy and that administration spokesmen have every right to defend their record and respond to their critics.

The Vice President has never asked for either conforming consensus or submissive silence from anyone; rather, he has urged a free and open debate on all issues and has forcefully presented his views on these issues. Apparently the administration's Democratic critics are not up to this challenge or they wouldn't be trying so desperately to

silence their most worthy debating opponent.

#### JUDICIAL ETHICS NEED REFORM

### HON. CHARLES E. BENNETT

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 10, 1970

Mr. BENNETT. Mr. Speaker, for the first time in history, Federal judges, including some members of the U.S. Supreme Court, have made a public disclosure of their outside earned income, investments, and gifts.

I applaud this action, which follows a March 1970 order by the Judicial Conference of the United States. But what has been required of Federal judges in the field of financial disclosure falls far short of what is needed to uphold the high traditions of the judiciary and the bar in the United States.

While the Judicial Conference requirements are a step in the right direction, I believe a stronger measure is necessary.

I have a bill, H.R. 12237, pending in the House Judiciary Committee, which would establish a code of ethics for Federal judges, including Supreme Court Justices. The legislation would ban outside fees and require disclosure by all judges, including Justices. Earlier this year I testified in support of my bill before the Senate Judiciary Committee hearing proposals in this field.

The people of America have been shocked with the disclosure of outside interests by Supreme Court Justices and judges. One Justice resigned under attack; and great concern has been expressed by the public over the outside affairs of Justices of the U.S. Supreme Court.

The Supreme Court, as an institution, has suffered in recent years in public opinion polls. In a recent Gallup Poll, almost one-fourth of those responding rated the Court as "poor." The personal and nonjudicial involvement of Justices has had a negative effect on public ratings of the Court.

It is my opinion that all Federal officials, including Members of Congress and judges, should have no earned income, especially when the salaries are as high as they are now.

I am pleased that the American Bar Association through its special Committee on Standards of Judicial Conduct has taken action in the area of judicial ethics. The recommendation as outlined in the interim report of the committee which was released in June of this year clearly reflects the concern of the American Bar Association. The committee sought the views of all major bar associations, all Federal judges, and many others. Replies were received from a large number of the groups and individuals consulted and the committee carefully considered the replies. The committee's proposals are in the form of brief statements of conclusions which hopefully after extensive hearings will be adopted as new judicial canons.

The committee's recommendations in regard to the financial activities of judges are as follows:

**Financial Activities.** A judge should refrain from financial and business dealings that tend to reflect adversely upon his impartiality or integrity, or which interfere with fulfillment of his judicial duties.

(a) He should not engage in business or serve as an officer, director, or advisor of any business organization.

(b) He should not hold any investment or other financial interest in an enterprise that is likely to be involved in proceedings in his court.

(c) He should not accept gifts or loans from lawyers or litigants, or any gift of a value in excess of \$100 unless it is from a member of his family or is reported by him in the same manner as receipt of outside compensation.

(d) He should not use information obtained by him in his judicial capacity for the purpose of financial dealings or any other purpose not related to his judicial duties.

(e) Except in connection with his being disqualified in a particular proceedings, a judge is not required to disclose the identity or extent of his investments or his income therefrom.

The committee further considered the problem of outside compensation and reimbursement of expenses for Federal judges. The views of the committee in this area are as follows:

**Compensation and Expenses.** A judge may receive compensation and reimbursement of expenses for the quasi-judicial and extrajudicial activities permitted by these standards, subject to the following limitations:

(a) Compensation should be no more than reasonable in amount, no more than a non-judge would be paid for the same activity, and from a proper source.

(b) Expense reimbursement is limited to travel, food, and lodging expenses reasonably incurred by the judge and his spouse.

(c) A judge should report the compensation received from a person or organization other than the governmental agency paying his salary, indicating the name of each such person or organization making the payment, the amount or value, the date and place of the activity, and the purpose or event for which it was made.

(d) He should report the name of each such person or organization paying or reimbursing his expenses, and those of his wife if she accompanies him, the date and place of the activity, the purpose or event for which it was made, and, if the payment exceeds actual expenses, the amount of the excess.

(e) The reports should be made regularly, within not more than six months after payments are received, and should be filed as public documents with the clerk of his court or in such other place as is designated by rule of court.

I believe that the action taken by the Judicial Conduct Committee of the American Bar Association on judicial ethics is an important step in the right direction. I continue to feel that legislation such as my bill, H.R. 12237, would better protect the public by enforcing judicial ethics. My bill would also provide criminal penalties for violations whereas judicial canons can bring about only administrative action. I have asked for departmental reports and hearings in House Judiciary Committee on H.R. 12237 and I hope for speedy action.

## A SUGGESTION FOR AIDING AMERICAN RAILROADS

HON. ROBERT McCLORY

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 10, 1970

Mr. McCLORY. Mr. Speaker, my constituent, Mrs. W. C. Block, of Barrington, Ill., has brought to my attention a novel suggestion for aiding America's railroads. She has suggested the possibility of permitting the Federal Government to purchase railroad rights-of-way by the issuance of Government bonds having a 40-year maturity.

While the proposal may seem novel and startling, it should be pointed out that trucking lines do not own the highways, and airlines do not own the airfields. By payment of use taxes to the Government, the railroads would seem to be placed on a similar footing with these competing transportation agencies.

It is my hope and expectation that the Nation's railroads will continue in business and will, indeed, expand. An article which appeared in the August 19, 1970, issue of the Christian Science Monitor has been called to my attention by Mrs. Block and reads as follows:

### SHOULD RAILROADS OWN RIGHT-OF-WAY?

Suggestions of how to revitalize the nation's railroads have been stacking up in Washington since the shocking bankruptcy of the Penn Central.

There is general agreement that the status quo cannot be maintained and that, if it is, more railroads may go broke.

Suggestions range from total nationalization of all railroads to merely authorizing U.S. backing or guarantees of additional private bank loans to the ailing lines.

Nationalization—absolute government ownership and control of the railroads—is not considered a likely solution. It goes against the American grain. And simply loaning the railroads more money is not apt to do more than postpone disaster.

The railroads suggest part of the answer themselves—the elimination of government regulation of rates plus doing away with the ban on railroad ownership of other forms of transportation, such as trucking companies and airlines.

Unregulated rates, the railroads claim, would allow them to compete more effectively with truckers and airlines. Ownership of that sort would give them profitable subsidiaries and allow them to offer a shipper a full range of transportation services.

But the railroads also would accompany such changes with infusions of government money to finance modernization programs. The money would be in the form of direct subsidies. . . .

We agree that dropping rate regulations and eliminating the ban on the ownership of other forms of transportation are vital. But we shy away from government subsidies or loan guarantees.

Subsidies have a way of continuing after their justification has ended—witness the farm program—and loan guarantees would simply be risking public money for the benefit of railroad stockholders with no assurance that railroad users would gain by it.

We suggest another alternative to the subsidies and loan guarantees. Why not have the government purchase all railroad right-of-way and track? Payment could be made to

the railroads by selling government bonds which would, in turn, be paid off over, say 40 years, with track use fees levied on the railroads.

This would give every railroad the immediate and massive infusion of money which they sorely need for modernization and operating capital. The government itself would risk no money; purchasers of the bonds would. And the government would not be involved in operating the railroads.

Airlines don't own airports and trucking companies don't own highways. They pay use fees. Why not put railroads on the same footing?—Enquirer and News (Battle Creek, Mich.)

## OPEN LETTER TO THE SILENT MAJORITY

HON. JOHN G. SCHMITZ

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 10, 1970

Mr. SCHMITZ. Mr. Speaker, the column "Straight Talk" by Tom Anderson is always worth reading. However, I believe that his recent "Open Letter to the 'Silent Majority'" is especially moving and should receive wide attention. I include it in the RECORD:

### OPEN LETTER TO THE "SILENT MAJORITY"

DEAR S.M., wherever you are. (And I can't imagine there being many among regular Straight Talk readers! So pass this along to your S.M. friends.)

As you of the great Silent Majority may have heard, there are prophets of doom amongst us who are predicting civil war, dictatorship and disaster. Don't worry about a thing! The same thing happened to Rome and Rome recovered. A thousand years later.

If some of these fanatical alarmists had been in Rome the night Nero was doing his famous violin solo, they would have run amuck shouting fire! fire! Instead of listening to the beautiful music.

Why be a patriot when you can more easily be a non-person? As Alexander Pope said long ago: "A patriot is a fool in every age. Patriots are like sheep penned and milled, annoying the slumbering countryside with their bleatings." Why be smeared, reviled, bled and destroyed as a patriot when you can be neutral?

Whatever you do, don't join patriotic organizations! You "can do more good on the outside." Like the woman's club where one member is designated to stay away from each meeting so she can give those attending something to talk about.

### Look on the Bright Side!

Sixty-four percent of American wives and 50% of American husbands do *not* have sex outside marriage. Only three of the current non-fiction "Best-Sellers" are sex books and two or three of the best-read fiction books in the past five years have *not* been pornographic.

Thirty-eight percent of girls graduating from college are virgins. Two-thirds of our 18-25 age group do *not* have any venereal disease. At the present rate of takeover, we will *not* become a communist dictatorship until about 1976. Seventy-eight percent of our colleges did *not* have riots last year. And 85% of the students and faculty members at riot-ridden colleges did *not* participate. Forty-one percent of our college students *still* believe in capitalism!

There are probably fewer Marxists in our country than there are in Russia, and Rus-



sia is not even close to civil war. They don't even have riots. (They have firing squads.)

We kooks have upset the Communists so much that they might hasten the takeover, worried lest the American people wake up. They might even bomb us, since some experts say they will soon possess greater missile and anti-missile capabilities than we do. In other words, we saviors may be the death of you yet. Candidate Nixon campaigned on a "unity" program, which was as genuine as Teddy Kennedy's Chappaquiddick testimony.

Lenin, too, talked about "The silent majority." He said: "The cultured classes of the capitalist countries of Western Europe and America, i.e., the ruling classes, the financial aristocracy, the bourgeoisie and the idealistic democrats should be regarded as deaf-mutes and treated accordingly . . . they close their eyes to the above mentioned truth and so become blind, deaf and dumb. They will grant us credits, which will fill the coffers of the communist organizations in their countries while they enlarge and improve our armaments industry by supplying all kinds of wares, which we shall need for future and successful attacks against our suppliers."

What will the dedicated "deaf-mutes" do? Get on their knees and pray? The Communists have slaughtered millions of people, shooting them in the back of their necks while they were on their knees praying. I am not knocking prayer. I believe in it. But I wonder how Jesus rates prayer which comes only at the end of a gun barrel? I wonder how Jesus rates *silence*? Jesus told us to *testify, to witness, to stand up and be counted.*

Britain's Lord McCaulay forecast in 1857: "Your Republic will be as fearfully plundered and laid waste by barbarians in the 20th Century as the Roman Empire was in the 5th, with the difference that the Huns and Vandals that ravaged the Roman Empire will have come from without and that your Huns and Vandals will have been engendered within your own country by your own institutions."

And the National Council of Churches wasn't even born yet!

But don't worry about a thing: As president Johnson told you, "We never had it so good!" And as President Nixon says, "Let me just say this."

"Silent Majority!" If you (pardon the expression) *segregate* those words and analyze them separately, you learn that "*silence*" is the wisdom of the stupid," and that the *majority* is usually wrong. And has been throughout history. Could the great silent majority be merely a great glob of slob? They had a "silent majority" in Germany in 1938. They have a "silent majority" in Russia now. Recently a German woman said: "We Christians in Germany often ask ourselves at what point we made our mistake (i.e., permitting the Nazis to enslave our country and most of Europe)." We now say it was at the *beginning*. Never let any violation of human rights go unchallenged—not even one. After you have kept silent two or three times it is too late to speak out.

An old Hungarian poem puts it like this: "If you are among the brigands and you are silent, you are a brigand yourself."

As I have remarked before, brigands, when freedom is at stake, silence is not golden, it's yellow. When wrong is rampant in the land, silence is un-Christian. When God is mocked on all sides, silence is sinful.

History, good and bad, has been made not by silent majorities, but by vociferous, dedicated minorities. Whether we win or lose this titanic struggle for freedom depends on whether the dedicated minority working for what is right and good is more powerful and more effective than the dedicated minority working for what is wrong and evil.

How did we get to the brink of disaster,

revolution and dictatorship? The so-called "liberals," aided and abetted by the silent, stupid, yellow, short-sighted, ignorant majority brought us here.

The Silent Majority is not really silent of course. It prattles constantly, about the weather, food, sex, which channel to watch and Jackie and Onassis.

What can you do? Break silence! Get noisy. Get informed. Get involved. Get ready. Do the best you can, where you are, with what you've got. Work—in your church, PTA, political party. Join an effective pro-American, anti-Communist organization. And, instead of golf, take up another beneficial, invigorating and more relevant sport—target practice.

The term "silent majority" is far from new. It was used more than a century ago. It meant those who were dead. And, after a fashion, it still does. The Silent Majority won't save us from war, dictatorship and slavery! The Silent Majority has never saved any nation.

The Silent Majority sat by and saw Him crucified. The Silent Majority permitted the reign of terror in the French Revolution. The Silent Majority watched as the Christians were burned at the stake. The Silent Majority sneered when Patrick Henry pled: "Is life so dear or peace so sweet as to be purchased at the price of chains and slavery?" The Silent Majority watched as the street demonstrations in Germany were taken over by a little unknown paper-hanger and corporal named Adolf Hitler.

The Silent Majority is yellow, and always has been. History is determined by dedicated minorities. And even by inspired individuals. Only a few proclaimed: "He is the risen Lord!" Only a few defended the bridge at Concord. Only a few signed the Declaration of Independence.

Enough dedicated ants can destroy an elephant.

"There's a clever young fellow named Somebody Else,

There's nothing that fellow can't do. He's busy from morning till late at night Just substituting for you.

You're asked to do this, or asked to do that And what is your reply? Oh, why pick on me, Get Somebody Else He'll do it much better than I.

You've a worn-out excuse on the tip of your tongue Too busy, too something-or-other.

When the truth of the matter is You simply don't want to bother. So much to do in this weary old world, So much, and the workers so few; And Somebody Else is all tired and worn Just substituting for you.

'Tis time that this faithful old Somebody Else

Gets a much-needed vacation— Suppose you start substituting for him and Building up your own reputation."

You of the famed Silent Majority, when will you come down out of the grandstand and get into the game? When will you rebel? When it's too late? Thousands of American youths have trained in Cuba to become efficient revolutionaries who, when the time comes, can take over our country and your children.

What are you going to do, if in 1972 you hear a radio alert saying that a mob of 700,000 people are milling around the White House and will soon sack it? That the President and the Congress are virtual prisoners and have signed a bill "nationalizing" all essential means of production? That Congress later passed an "Equal Property Act" making all citizens equal owners of all property? That United Nations forces have taken over to "restore order?"

What will you tell your children—if they're still alive?

Some head-burlers are still saying: "But

protest is necessary and healthy! We are just going through a phase. It won't last."

They refuse to believe it. Like the drunk on the Titanic who said, as he heard the crunch: "I ordered ice—but this is ridiculous!"

Sincerely,

TOM ANDERSON.

## AN UNDERRATED GENERATION

HON. JOHN C. KLUCZYNSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 10, 1970

Mr. KLUCZYNSKI. Mr. Speaker, recently I received a copy of an address which was delivered by Eric A. Walker, president, Pennsylvania State University, to a graduating class. It is without a doubt one of the best speeches that I have read or heard. I recommend it to all my colleagues, and his remarks follow:

### AN UNDERRATED GENERATION

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

This ceremony marks the completion of an important phase of your life. It is an occasion in which all who know you can share in your sense of pride and accomplishment. But no one has more pride in your accomplishment than the older generation. But I am not going to tell that older generation how bright you are. Nor am I going to say we have made a mess of things and you—the younger ones—are the hope of mankind. I would like to reverse that process. For if you of the graduating class will look over into the bleachers to your left or right, I will introduce you to representatives of some of the most remarkable people ever to walk the earth. People you might want to thank on this graduation day. These are people you already know—your parents and grandparents. And, if you will bear with me for five minutes, I think you will agree that a remarkable people they are indeed. Let me tell you about them.

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

These—your parents and grandparents—are the people who within just the last five decades—have by their work increased your life expectancy by approximately 50 percent—who while cutting the working day by a third, have more than doubled per capita output.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

While they have done all these things, they have had some failures. They have not yet found an alternative for war, nor for racial hatred. Perhaps you, the members of this graduating class, will perfect the social mechanisms by which all men may follow their ambitions without the threat of force—so that the earth will no longer need police to enforce the laws, nor armies to prevent some men from trespassing against others. But they—those generations—made more progress by the sweat of their brows than in any previous era, and don't you forget it. And, if your generations can make as much progress in as many areas as these two generations have, you should be able to solve a good many of the world's remaining ills.

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

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

Good-by and good luck to all of you.

## NIXON AND SCHOOL INTEGRATION

### HON. F. BRADFORD MORSE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 10, 1970

Mr. MORSE. Mr. Speaker, a constant complaint of some so-called liberal columnists is that the Nixon administration has been less than avid in furthering school integration, particularly in the South. However, the Boston Herald Traveler points out in its editorial "Good News from the South" that more southern schools will be integrated this fall than ever before. That almost all of the 500 southern school districts, will have been integrated by now is particularly important in view of the fact that only

5 percent of Negro children in the South were attending integrated schools in 1968.

In his column "Nixon Doing Prime Job of Desegregation," on which the Herald Traveler editorial was based, George Minot questions what happened to the Emergency School Aid Act of 1970, proposed by President Nixon. This act would make funds available to aid in the dismantling of dual school systems where they exist and would assist in reversing the course of de facto segregation elsewhere.

I believe both the editorial and Mr. Minot's column will be beneficial to my colleagues, and I therefore insert them in the RECORD:

#### GOOD NEWS FROM THE SOUTH

This week more schools were integrated below the Mason-Dixon line than ever before in history. And the fact that, though they may not have liked it, Southerners generally accepted this latest round of desegregation peacefully is most encouraging. For it proves that, given time and patience, changes once resisted as impossible can be accepted as inevitable, and that after their appeals and challenges have been exhausted, those who oppose a law will generally obey it without further resistance.

Although nearly all of the dual school systems in the South outlawed by the Supreme Court 16 years ago have now been dismantled, the problem of integration has by no means been completely solved. Within their new unitary school districts, there still remains a good deal of de facto segregation in the South—although, ironically, the separation of black and white students as a result of residential housing patterns and neighborhood schools is more glaring now North of the Mason-Dixon line.

But if some of the problems and difficult issues pertinent to integration continue to confront Americans, Northern and Southern, it is also encouraging to note that the Supreme Court hopes to resolve them as soon as possible. Chief Justice Warren E. Burger announced on Monday that the court will begin hearings on the opening day of its new term to listen to appeals in six cases involving busing, racial balance laws and other issues which have yet to be settled.

Many people, of course, believe that these issues should have been resolved years ago. And while it is true that the process of desegregation seems to have been painfully slow since the Warren Court handed down its landmark Brown vs. Board of Education decision in 1954, it is also astonishing how much progress has been made in the last two years.

This seems especially noteworthy, in view of the frequent charges that have been made that the Nixon administration is dragging in feet on integration and employing a "Southern strategy" in a blatant appeal for the votes of segregationists.

As George Minot points out in his column in the Herald Traveler today, only five percent of the South's black children were attending desegregated school systems in September 1968. Now, two years later and thanks in large measure to the efforts of Mr. Nixon—and Attorney General John Mitchell almost all of the 500 school districts in the 11 Southern states have been desegregated and more than a quarter of a million Negro children are going to school with white classmates for the first time this year.

More progress undoubtedly can and will come. But when such solid accomplishments have been made, when we have come so far that the Governor of Virginia has enrolled his own children in predominantly black, integrated schools in a city which once served as the capital of the Confederacy, perhaps

the time has come for more applause and optimism than we've been getting lately.

#### NIXON DOING PRIME JOB OF DESEGREGATION (By George Minot)

The Nixon administration has had a "bad press" in many of its efforts during the last 20 months or so, and in its attempts to bring about an almost 100 percent desegregation of Southern schools this September, it either has been belittled or ignored by a great majority of the editorialists and professional commentators.

Next to solving the poverty problems in the United States, these attempts to bring about a peaceful desegregation of schools in the south is a tremendous undertaking that has eluded federal, state and local school officials ever since it was ordered by the Supreme Court more than 16 years ago.

This year the Nixon administration expects that almost all of 500-odd school districts in 11 Southern states will desegregate for the first time.

A dozen or two districts were desegregated when schools opened this last week, but the major test of the administration's pledge to end the dual school system in 1970 will come this week and next, when the bulk of Southern schools start classes.

Although everything has moved smoothly thus far, the big tests are still ahead. If there is to be trouble it is certain to come in metropolitan districts that will operate under recent court orders to desegregate by using extensive busing of children to integrate schools in city slum areas.

Whites opposed to such busing—an issue that has not yet been settled by the Supreme Court which is on a three-month vacation—have threatened to boycott schools in Richmond and Norfolk, Va., and in Miami and Fort Lauderdale, Fla., all of which are getting underway this week. A similar threat to stage a massive boycott of schools in Atlanta never got started despite a threat by its leaders to take 50,000 children out of the schools.

When the protesters held their widely advertised rally last Thursday only 50 housewives and as many children, most of them too young to go to school, showed up. The demonstrators wound up by singing "God Bless America" and "Onward Christian Soldiers."

Although the South has faced the greatest challenge to the reshaping of its school system—even its way of life—you never would know what was happening if you relied on most of the fast talkers on TV or read the reports—or noted the lack of them—in big liberal newspapers of the East.

Think of it! In September, 1968, 14 years after the Supreme Court had declared the dual school system to be unconstitutional, only 5 per cent of the black children in the South attended unitary systems. Where were the great liberals of the nation during this persistent failure to observe or to enforce the law of the land?

Then along came Mr. Nixon. He had no mandate as a social reformer, so they said. He wasn't elected to bring about drastic changes. Nonetheless, and with aid and cooperation of that drastic conservative, Atty. Gen. Mitchell, Nixon has done more to bring about school desegregation in the South than anybody who has occupied the White House in this generation.

And he has been belittled, discouraged or ignored all along the way. How much publicity have you noticed that the Emergency School Aid Act of 1970 has received? Nixon proposed this message to Congress and it has lain dormant there ever since.

If any of the dedicated liberals in the House or Senate have taken it up and fought for its passage their names do not readily come to mind. Yet this act would make



available \$1.5 billion in the next two years to facilitate the dismantling of dual school systems where they exist, and would go far toward reversing the course of de facto separation elsewhere.

Southerners who met with the President on his trip to the South last month expressed great interest in how this money was to be distributed and spent, but among representatives in the North and West there wasn't the slightest interest. Even the big spenders who lick their chops every time they see a chance of spending a million or so of the taxpayer's money didn't move to get the legislation off the floor.

Finally, Daniel P. Moynihan, from the inner White House circle, sent a letter to newspaper editors across the country urging them to help the President get support for his school bill, but you haven't noticed any action yet, nor are you likely to. Liberals running for Congress apparently don't see any votes there.

Indeed, the most remarkable thing about the apparent breakdown of resistance to the reshaping of Southern schools has been the fact that this September, unlike past years, there has been no consistent strategy of opposition. State leaders, perhaps with the exception of noisy Gov. Maddox of Georgia, have been silent. Candidates for the House and Senate in Virginia, Georgia and Florida have hardly opened their mouths.

One reason, of course, is that many are confused. Hardly a day passes that some Southern district court judge doesn't reverse himself or another judge.

White Southerners seem resigned in 1970 to do as little as possible to satisfy the law. Many of them undoubtedly are sick and tired of the struggle that has been going on for so many years. Others are willing to sit back and watch to see if President Nixon can obey the Supreme Court without alienating Strom Thurmond. It will at least be interesting to see if he can.

#### A TRIBUTE TO RONALD REAGAN: THEY SAID IT COULD NOT BE DONE

### HON. ODIN LANGEN

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 10, 1970

Mr. LANGEN. Mr. Speaker, just a few years ago the experts ridiculed the thought that an actor turned politician could ever govern the Nation's most populous State, especially a man who believed in such archaic concepts as a balanced budget, respect for the law, and responsibility of the individual. But in the 4 years of his first term as Governor of California, Ronald Reagan has astounded both critics and friends alike for the extreme ability with which he has conducted his office. Bringing to the governorship a no-nonsense approach which has attempted to grapple directly with the pressing problems of this microcosm of American society, Mr. Reagan has accomplished something rarely found in the political world—he has lived up to his promises.

I for one believe Ronald Reagan is deserving of commendation for a job well done. In this I am joined by the San Francisco Examiner, a one time critic turned supporter of the Governor. In a

recent editorial the newspaper reflected thoughtfully:

#### THE EXAMINER ENDORSES REAGAN

Four years ago this newspaper opposed Ronald Reagan's candidacy for Governor of California. We did not believe a man lacking prior experience in public office could govern this most populous of states.

We were wrong.

Today, as Gov. Reagan prepares to open his autumn campaign for a second four-year term, The Examiner endorses him without reservation. We intend to support him vigorously. We intend to support the team of Gov. Reagan and Lieut. Gov. Ed Reinecke.

The chief issues of the campaign currently are the costs of state government including that biggest of all costs, education, and the problem of campus disorder including the radical drive to politicize California's institutions of higher learning.

Gov. Reagan in his approach to these overriding issues has done exactly what he said four years ago that he would do. He has been the responsible conservative, giving to state government the tone of firmness and integrity that the times demanded. Everyone in California knows exactly where he stands.

In fiscal affairs Mr. Reagan has been the constant and unyielding practitioner of economy. No governor for a generation has faced spending and taxing problems as difficult as his. No governor has worked as hard to contain them. We exaggerate very little when we say he has saved the state from bankruptcy.

He faced a critical deficit upon entering office. In his first year he dealt with it by a combination of higher taxes and cost-cutting. In every year since, he has maintained a balance without higher taxes.

It is important to understand the nature of the fiscal dilemma that confronted him. In the years just before he took office, Congress and the state legislature had passed laws greatly expanding health and welfare programs. These became built-in expenditures, beyond the Governor's control, that increased the state budget very rapidly. State health and welfare costs climbed an incredible 80 percent in four years. This year they total \$1.3 billion.

Faced with this threat of bankruptcy, Mr. Reagan took three decisive steps. He compelled the utmost economy in the only health-welfare area where he did have control: administration. He turned down all new social programs (environmental controls excepted) that would increase the state budget. And he instituted strict economy in every state office under his budget control.

Those offices had 102,465 employees the day he became Governor. Today, despite population growth and a bigger volume of day-to-day state business, those offices have 102,441 employees. That, we submit, is a remarkable record.

Critics accuse the Governor of balancing the budget at the expense of higher education. They are wrong. In the last year of the Brown Administration the state spent \$3028 per University of California student and \$1265 per state college student. The figures were \$3114 and \$1500 under Reagan in the fiscal year just ended. Enrollment had gone up 35 percent; budgets had gone up 43.5 percent.

Mr. Reagan hasn't starved higher education. He just hasn't allowed it all the goodies it asked for. The educational complex, no less than the military-industrial complex, must be required to live within the public's means.

The era of campus disorder began at Berkeley in September, 1964. When Mr. Reagan took office more than two years later in January, 1967, it had grown to a national phenomenon. It still is. But it has begun to di-

minish in California's state-owned institutions of higher learning.

We consider it significant that, after Mr. Reagan's three years of uncompromising opposition to campus violence, the most serious disorder on a California campus last year occurred not at a state institution but at privately owned Stanford University.

Mr. Reagan has respected university autonomy. He has never sent police or the military to an institution in turmoil until the administrator of that institution asked for help. At the same time, in his roles as Governor, regent and trustee he has never ceased to insist that administrators act more firmly and faculties more responsibly.

That is exactly what the great majority of the public wanted him to do.

We view with regret the loss of authority by administrators and faculty over their academic communities, and their consequent loss of public respect. It is a tragedy of our times. But this loss of authority created a campus vacuum into which anarchy flowed. This required the intervention of the civil power of a strong governor.

Ronald Reagan supplied it, and stands ready to do so again.

That is but one of the many sound reasons the people should reelect him as Governor.

#### LESSONS FROM THE VIETNAM WAR

### HON. JOHN G. SCHMITZ

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 10, 1970

Mr. SCHMITZ. Mr. Speaker, the recent victory of a Communist organized and dominated popular front candidate in Chile reminds me of a statement made by English historian and scholar P. J. Honey during a seminar at the Royal United Service Institution in February of 1969. Although his remarks are directed toward the Communist program for the subjugation of the Republic of Vietnam, many facets of enemy popular or united front strategy are so clearly drawn it would seem to be worthwhile to include this summary in relation to the recent election in Chile. One wonders if the South American being counseled by Hoang Quoc Viet might not have been the General Secretary of the Chilean Communist Party Luis Corvalan.

Mr. Honey begins by talking about some of the major difficulties which the United States has encountered in Vietnam:

#### LESSONS FROM THE VIETNAM WAR

(Report of a Seminar Held at the Royal United Service Institution on Wednesday, February 12, 1969)

The first and to my mind the most important is the strategy which the Communists employed in Vietnam, firstly against the French and secondly against the United States and South Vietnam. This is the strategy of the 'United National Front', though my description of it will necessarily be oversimplified.

A South American Communist revolution-ary paid a visit last year to North Vietnam and had a long series of interviews with Hoang Quoc Viet, one of the senior North Vietnamese leaders. Among the questions he was asked was this: You have run a successful revolution in Vietnam: We have tried many

times in South America, but we failed on every occasion. Why? What is the basis of your success?

Viet's answers are summarized in copious notes which I have in my possession and which are extremely illuminating. He said: In the first place, in order to conduct a successful revolution, you have got to involve the entire people. It is no use trying to run a revolution with the Communist Party alone. In order to involve the entire people you must devise a revolutionary programme embodying objectives which will appeal to the entire people. This necessitates the division of the populace into classes, the study of the interests of each class, and the building of a programme from those which are common to all classes.

The resulting programme contains little if any Marxism/Leninism and you may not like this as a revolutionary Communist, but you have to do it if you are to have any hope of success. This will be known as the "Minimum Programme".

During the French domination of Vietnam the construction of a programme was not difficult. Our "Minimum Programme" called for the ending of French rule and the establishment of national independence, which appealed to everybody.

The "Minimum Programme" wins mass support and the revolution may then begin, under the clandestine direction and control of the Communist Party but ostensibly a spontaneous national uprising. When the revolution has progressed to a certain stage, according to Hoang Quoc Viet, then it is essential for the Communist Party to assume overt control of the movement. It does so by moving from this "Minimum Programme" to the "Maximum Programme" which simply means adding the unmistakably Communist goals to the original "Minimum Programme."

By this time a large proportion of the people have become irrevocably committed to the revolution, but others may be unwilling to fight for Communist goals. To maintain their support, the original objectives of the revolution have to be retained. Some who are opposed to Communism will inevitably abandon the movement, but the damage can be minimized by pointing out that the revolution still tries to accomplish its original objectives and by appealing to them not to help the enemy.

When the military victory is achieved, as against the French at Dien Bien Phu, the united national front is still in existence. Its constituent parts have already been assessed in terms of social class, and the aspirations of each class are already known to the controlling Communist Party. The united national front is then purged of potentially hostile elements by stages. Firstly, the whole front is turned against the most dangerous class, which in North Vietnam was the exploiting landlords. Though they have fought loyally throughout the whole revolution, they are now denigrated and cast in the role of the enemy. The rest of the united front is deployed against them. In North Vietnam this first stage was accomplished through an agrarian reform campaign, and the whole landlord class was eliminated.

The next class to go are the exploiting capitalists, the owners of big shops and factories. These successive purges are carried out by the national united front until all the classes which might oppose Communist rule have been removed from the population. When that point is reached the purges end and the Communist regime remains in control of a docile people.

I do not think this technique is even today appreciated in the United States, or indeed, elsewhere in the West. Even those who have written at length about the two Vietnam wars remain ignorant of it. Yet this technique is fundamental, and without a knowl-

edge of it this type of war cannot be understood. Had it been studied and then explained earlier, a lot of criticism that has gone on and has been such an obstacle to the United States might have been avoided.

Moving on to point two, I would criticize the Americans for never actually declaring war in South Vietnam. Consequently the United States has never been able to impose the sort of information security censorship in Vietnam which existed during World War II and the Korean War, and any other war one can think of.

Secondly, since the Korean war, television has come of age. Television in this country, in the United States, and most other countries is concerned with profits, if it is commercial, or with TAM ratings if it is non-commercial. It is not primarily concerned with presenting a truthful picture, but with presenting a picture which will get a maximum audience. This leads the television reporters into sensation seeking above all else. Television teams have never been able to get into North Vietnam unless they are in the charge of someone who the Communists feel assured will present their case sympathetically, therefore most of the television has been restricted, not only to South Vietnam, but to the South Vietnamese Government and American controlled areas. Television which depicts its own side's successes may be truthful but it is not sensational. What is sensational is when the enemy is successful. The result has been that the viewing world is subjected to partial, misleading and dishonest reporting of the war.

To a large extent, the same is true of the Press. The inevitable result has been the protest movement and criticism which has limited the freedom of the tactics and strategy they have employed.

**BRAZILIAN GOVERNMENT HONORS  
CAREY JOHNSON, OF LAWTON,  
OKLA.**

**HON. TOM STEED**

OF OKLAHOMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 10, 1970

Mr. STEED. Mr. Speaker, an unusual and outstanding honor was conferred last month on a citizen of my district, Mr. W. Carey Johnson, of Lawton, Okla., by the Government of Brazil.

Brazil recognized his work over a period of many years in behalf of Brazilian students in Oklahoma by conferring on him the degree of Officer of the Order of Rio Branco.

The Ambassador of the Republic of Brazil, Mr. Mozart Gurgel Valente, made the formal presentation August 12 at a ceremonial luncheon at the Embassy in Washington.

Carey Johnson is a native of Brazil, where he was born at Recife, while his parents, the Reverend and Mrs. L. L. Johnson, were serving as missionaries. After graduating from Shawnee, Okla., High School and the University of Oklahoma, Carey Johnson returned to Brazil and lived at Rio de Janeiro from 1954 to 1963. He served as a member of the American school board there.

For a long time he has acted as sponsor of many Portuguese-speaking students in this country. He is fluent in their language, and acts as translator and interpreter.

The Order of Rio Branco, established in 1963, is named in honor of a renowned foreign minister of Brazil, Jose Maria da Silva Paranhos, Baron of Rio Branco. During his 10 years in office early in this century Rio Branco negotiated boundary settlements that ended disputes between his country and several of its neighbors. He concluded arbitration agreements and conventions with all the other American republics.

The Order rewards those whose outstanding service or exceptional merit have made them deserving of the gratitude of the Brazilian Government. Emblem of the Order is a four-armed cross with eight white-enameled points, at the center of which is a gold sphere.

Carey Johnson is president-elect of the Oklahoma Oil Marketers Association and represents the State on the National Oil Jobbers Council in Washington, serving as a member of the gasoline marketing committee. He recently became Democratic chairman of Comanche County, Okla.

On his visit to Washington to receive the citation he was accompanied by his wife, Mary Lou, and son, Chris.

His civic work typifies the kind of spirit that motivates constructive international relations, and I am proud to join in paying tribute to him.

**HARDSHIP FOR MILITARY WIDOWS**

**HON. CHARLES E. BENNETT**

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 10, 1970

Mr. BENNETT. Mr. Speaker, a subcommittee of the House Committee on Armed Services is investigating the inadequacy of survivor benefits for all military personnel, active duty and retired. On July 23, 1970, I was privileged to appear before that subcommittee to state my full support for legislation which I introduced in the form of H.R. 19013 to establish an equitable survivor benefits program for our men and women in uniform and those who have served in a career status. This subject is receiving the attention of many news publications throughout our Nation. The Fleet Reserve Association has been the leading proponent of corrective legislation and has brought to my attention an excellent editorial from the July 21, 1970, Jacksonville, Fla. Times Union which I insert in the RECORD at this point:

**HARDSHIP FOR MILITARY WIDOWS**

It is assumed by the public that, after a lifetime of service in the armed forces of this nation, adequate provision is made for the retirement years of the military.

And, while even ranking officers do not normally receive the kind of compensation vast portfolio of stocks and become independently wealthy, they are given retirement pay and accompanying benefits which afford an adequate standard of living.

A retired admiral, in other words, doesn't have to do yard work to eke out a living. But—the catch is—no such provision is made for the admiral's widow.



This was dramatically brought out at hearings of a House subcommittee headed by Rep. Otis Pike, D-N.Y. Among those testifying was an admiral's widow; indeed the wife of a rear admiral who served as chief of staff to Adm. "Bull" Halsey in World War II.

As long as the admiral was alive, all was fine. But widows have no rights to their spouse's retirement pay after his death.

Accordingly, the admiral's widow found herself with a \$50 a month pension, a house she couldn't pay for, a seriously ill mother to look after, a lack of training for any kind of employment—and then she fell ill with cancer.

Eventually, this wife of an admiral who had once commanded the aircraft carrier Hornet wound up doing housework in return for her room and board.

This particular case offered an especially sharp contrast in the material well being and social standing of a military wife and a military widow. But it was by no means the most extreme case of hardship among military widows brought out at the hearing.

The military retirement provisions, for the ex-officer or enlisted man, do constitute a carefully prepared package—for the man himself. As such they doubtlessly contribute to the decisions of many individuals to become career men. If this "widow gap" were closed, the package would appeal to many more.

The overriding consideration, however, is to correct a simple injustice. The widows of the nation's military, whose ranks include the widows of heroes, deserve much better.

#### IS PORNOGRAPHY FIGHT LOST CAUSE?

### HON. THOMAS S. KLEPPE

OF NORTH DAKOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 10, 1970

Mr. KLEPPE. Mr. Speaker, I would like to share with my colleagues the following editorial which recently appeared in the Jamestown Sun, entitled "Is Pornography Fight Lost Cause?"

In view of the fact that so much has already been said about the report of the Commission on Obscenity and Pornography—a report which is not to be issued until late this month—I think the editorial puts the entire report and the Commission itself in the proper perspective.

#### IS PORNOGRAPHY FIGHT LOST CAUSE?

The Federal Commission on Obscenity and Pornography, authorized by Congress in 1967 and appointed by President Johnson in 1968, will shortly make its official report.

But there have been so many leaks, intentional or otherwise, about what the committee has been doing over the past two years with its \$2 million appropriation, what it has discovered and what it will recommend about the problem of pornography that the report may be anticlimactic.

Then again it may spark the biggest controversy since the Supreme Court gave its imprimatur to Lady Chatterly's Lover a few years ago, a book which by today's fast-changing standards seems only slightly racier than the Bobbsey Twins on the Farm.

As far back as last March, the only Nixon appointee to the commission, lawyer Charles H. Keating Jr., founder of the Los Angeles-based Citizens for Decent Literature, warned

the President that unless he fired 12 of the 18 members of the commission, "your administration will be tarred with the failure of a presidential commission which you did not appoint and over which you have absolutely no control."

The President's press secretary has since taken pains to make it clear that the commission was established by Nixon's predecessor.

By failure, Keating means the failure of the commission to come up with the conclusion which he, and perhaps a majority of Americans, intended it should—that pornography is an unmitigated social evil and a menace that should be stamped out.

The commission has, in fact, reached exactly the opposite conclusion, as testified to by a tentative draft statement that has been circulating around Washington like a straw in the wind:

"The existing empirical scientific evidence indicates that exposure to explicit sexual material is not a cause of antisocial behavior in either youth or adults."

The draft actually goes on to recommend the repealing of all laws against pornography for consenting adults—laws which court decisions have weakened to the vanishing point but which many people feel must remain on the books.

The commission's finding, if this is what it is, will have been based on the most thorough investigation of pornography ever made in this country or any other.

It involved interviews with thousands of individuals around the nation, studies of sex offenders in prisons and hospitals, examination of the characteristics of habitual buyers of erotica, studies of the relationship between availability of pornography and sex crimes, studies of the effects of viewing or reading pornography on individuals, polling the opinions of all state attorneys general and local prosecution and police officials, and much more.

The conclusion, whether one likes it or not, will be as solidly grounded on fact as it is possible to get in this subject.

And that conclusion, and accompanying recommendation, after causing a brief uproar, will likely be entirely ignored: If letters to congressmen are any guide, Americans are not prepared to follow the example of Denmark, which abolished all restrictions on pornography for those over 16.

"There is no single subject on which we have consistently received more mail," says Rep. Durward Hall, R-Mo., to the seconding of his colleagues. The mail is overwhelmingly anti.

So the laws will remain—may even be beefed up—and the problem will continue. So, too, will the still-unanswered question: Just what is it that the law should ban?

A significant revolution in attitudes toward sex has taken place in this country, and is taking place. Literature which even the most dedicated smut-hunter considers fairly mild today would have outraged his parents. Today's miniskirts would have led to wholesale arrests not too many years ago.

King Canute, ordering the tide to go back, had it easy compared to what faces the pornography fighters.

#### TRIBUTE TO MRS. JAYNE SPAIN

### HON. ROBERT TAFT, JR.

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 10, 1970

Mr. TAFT. Mr. Speaker, a constituent of mine, Mrs. Jayne Spain, has been

named to the board of directors of Litton Industries on August 26, 1970. Mrs. Spain is the second woman to be named to a board of directors of American industrial firms.

For the past several years, Mrs. Spain has been president of Litton Industries' Alvey-Ferguson unit and has served as executive vice chairman of the President's Committee on Employment of the Handicapped. In 1961, the U.S. Government recognized her work with the handicapped and, with its urging, she began to appear at international trade exhibitions. In 1963, Mrs. Spain was appointed to the President's Committee on Employment of the Handicapped. For the past 7 years, she has been a world emissary in the cause of training physically impaired people and developing them as an employment resource. In her own company, Alvey-Ferguson, she had maintained a ratio of one physically handicapped employee in every 10 on her payroll.

Mrs. Spain's record of honors and awards includes:

1963: Citation for meritorious service, from the President's Committee on Employment of the Handicapped Merit Award, National Employ the Handicapped Week, State of Ohio.

1964: Outstanding Employer of the Year Award, Ohio Rehabilitation Association, for vision, leadership accomplishment.

1965: Selected as the only woman member, Department of Commerce Trade and Investment Mission to India. Citation for leadership and meritorious service, Purdue University.

1966: People to People Award, President's Committee on Employment of the Handicapped and selection to be its Vice Chairman.

Citation for service and leadership in the field of the blind by Savez Slijepih Hrvatske Republike Obdor Yugoslavia, League of the Blind.

Citation for service and leadership in the field of the blind by Polskiego Zwiazku Niewidomch, Poland, Polish Association of the Blind.

Migell Medal, top award, American Foundation for the Blind.

1967: Golden Plate Award from the American Academy of Achievement, Dallas, Tex.

Top Hat Award, Business and Professional Women's Clubs, Inc., as one of the seven women that year making outstanding contributions in business and industry.

Elected to membership, Advisory Committee to the Secretary of Labor on sheltered workshops and vocational training of the mentally retarded.

Invited as a mission of one to Yugoslavia, to outline a training and employment program for the retarded in Yugoslavian industry.

1968: Invited by Great Britain's Lady Hamilton and Lady Hoare to assist in their national planning for aid of thalidomide children.

1969: Selected as the only woman

member, Department of Commerce business seminar to Iran and Turkey.

Awarded degree of doctor of laws, Edgely College, Cincinnati, Ohio, for her humanitarian work with all peoples.

1970: Awarded degree of doctor of public service by George Washington University, Washington, D.C.

Made a member of the board of trustees, Edgely College, Cincinnati, Ohio.

Made executive vice chairman, President's Committee on Employment of the Handicapped.

Mrs. Spain is an alumnus of the University of California, Berkeley, and the University of Cincinnati. She is married to Cincinnati Lawyer John A. Spain, of Lindhorst and Dreidame. They have two sons, Jeff, 17, and Kim, 14.

#### BLACK PANTHERS AND BLIND KITTENS

### HON. ROBERT L. F. SIKES

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 10, 1970

Mr. SIKES. Mr. Speaker, the American Rifleman is a courageous publication which speaks out for law-abiding sportsmen.

On more than one occasion, it has set the record straight when this was badly needed. In the September issue of the Rifleman, the record is set straight on the efforts of some to identify the Black Panthers and the National Rifle Association as having common interests. They do not. They should not even be mentioned in the same breath. The Black Panther organization is shot through with treason.

I submit for publication in the RECORD an editorial on the subject:

#### A NATION OF ARMED CITIZENS

(By Jac Weller)

Imagine a school picnic with teachers carrying submachine guns and the boys clutching Mauser rifles as they munch their lunches.

I saw just such a picnic on a recent tour of Israel, where terrorism by Arab guerrillas has made the Israelis truly a nation of armed citizens.

A Jewish bus driver who works in Gaza told me that as he stopped his bus one day to let off a passenger, a dozen Arabs drew guns from under their robes and blazed away at the bus. He fired back, killing one terrorist. The rest fled.

In the Golan Heights, territory taken from Syria in the 1967 Six-Day War, an Israeli couple and their five children were sightseeing by car. Suddenly a score of Arab terrorists opened fire from 25 yds. The father grabbed his Uzi submachine gun, firing as he scrambled from the car. His wife was killed and one child wounded, but his quick action routed the guerrillas and prevented probable annihilation of his entire family.

To survive in the face of constant Arab attacks, the Israelis use more firearms daily in proportion to population than any other nation ever has. I travelled about Israel from the Suez Canal to the Golan Heights, from the Mediterranean to below the Dead Sea, both with and without escort from the

Israeli Defense Forces (IDF). I found that the most powerful single deterrent to low-level Arab violence is the fact that most Israelis are armed and know how to use the guns they carry. Wherever there is real danger, they go about their daily lives ready to fight.

All young Israelis of both sexes who can qualify serve for three years in the IDF and are then in reserve units. The latter are normally called on for 40 days active duty each year, and some reserve officers and sergeants serve an additional month. Israelis who fail to meet the relatively low IDF physical and mental qualifications often leave Israel or even commit suicide. But most males between 18 and 55 are in the IDF in some capacity. Those who have not served in the IDF—middle-aged immigrants, for example—are issued arms and taught to shoot if they live in exposed places.

This doesn't mean that Tel Aviv and Jerusalem businessmen and shopkeepers go about their daily tasks with Uzis slung from their shoulders.

Though they are heavily outnumbered by hostile Arabs, the Israelis are likely to survive because a nation in arms is hard to destroy.

#### BLACK PANTHERS AND BLIND KITTENS

On several recent nationwide broadcasts, persons identified as spokesmen for the Black Panthers have cited the Second Amendment in support of the right to bear arms.

Because of this, certain shallow-minded antigun politicians have seized the seeming opportunity to bracket the Black Panthers and the National Rifle Association as if they were similar organizations.

There are some definite differences between the NRA and the Black Panthers that deserve to be pointed out.

On the basis of performance, the Black Panthers are an activist political organization with a strong partisan slant.

The NRA is non-political and non-partisan.

The Black Panthers are, as their name connotes, primarily racist.

The NRA makes no race distinction and its membership is open to all reputable Americans who pay allegiance to our country.

The Black Panthers, or persons identified with the organization, have published pamphlets on how to make bombs, how to assault police, how to wreak terrorism.

The NRA has refrained, in this magazine and generally, from disseminating any information which could be used in making bombs or other illegal devices for violence.

The Black Panther organization consists primarily of militants.

The NRA consists principally of sportsmen.

At least some of the Black Panthers appear willing to use violence to revolutionize America for their own ends.

The NRA seeks to preserve America by peaceful means for the sake of all good Americans.

There is yet another way to tell the NRA apart from the Black Panthers. As long ago as Aug. 15, 1964, the NRA went on record publicly as saying that it "does not approve or support any group which advocates or condones activities of violence" nor "any group that by force, violence or subversion seeks to overthrow the Government and take the law into its own hands." (THE AMERICAN RIFLEMAN, Oct., 1964, pp. 72-73.) We know of no such declaration from the Black Panthers.

And so we say:

Anyone whose judgment is so feeble that he cannot distinguish between the NRA and the Black Panthers does not deserve to hold public office.

To place confidence in any such person is contrary to the public welfare, for he has no more vision than a blind kitten.

#### CONGRESSIONAL QUESTIONNAIRE RESULTS OF REPRESENTATIVE JAMES J. HOWARD

### HON. JAMES J. HOWARD

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 10, 1970

Mr. HOWARD. Mr. Speaker, the residents of the Third Congressional District of New Jersey have responded overwhelmingly to my most recent Congressional Questionnaire and I strongly support their message. The people I have the privilege of representing in the House want to cut down on unnecessary Federal spending and, at the same time, they correctly want to spend that money on cleaning up our environment, improving our commuter mess through a realistic program of mass transportation, and improving our quality of life.

After reviewing the results of the Congressional Questionnaire in great depth, I am confident that the residents of the Third Congressional District support the actions by the Congress which in fiscal 1970 cut the President's budget requests by \$6.4 billion.

A great concern of the residents of the Third Congressional District of New Jersey is evidenced by the fact that almost 19,000 questionnaires were returned, which is an extremely high rate. Each question listed separate "His" and "Hers" spaces resulting in more than 29,000 individual responses.

The first question listed asked my constituents where they would cut the budget if they had the responsibility. I listed 12 separate areas, and despite the wide choice given, a total of 15,929 of the some 29,000 persons responding listed the Department of Defense budget as the place to cut unnecessary spending. This was followed by 13,366 persons who also wanted the space budget cut.

Mr. Speaker, the results of the Congressional Questionnaire follow:

	Num-ber	Per-cent
THE FEDERAL BUDGET		
Percent inflationary pressures require restraint in Federal spending. If you were required to make the choice as to where the budget should be cut, which areas would you select? (Figures in parentheses indicate percentage of 1969 budget allocated to each area.)		
Defense (44 percent) .....	15,929	54.6
International affairs, including economic assistance, Peace Corps, Food for Freedom, USA (2 percent) .....	10,930	37.4
Space (2.3 percent) .....	13,366	45.8
Agriculture (3 percent) .....	6,852	23.8
Natural resources, including pollution, recreation, flood control, conservation (1 percent) .....	462	1.5
Commerce and transportation, including highways, airports, postal services, business assistance (4.4 percent) .....	2,854	9.8
Community development and housing (1.3 percent) .....	3,461	11.9
Education and manpower (3.9 percent) .....	2,225	7.6
Social security (21.8 percent) .....	2,087	7.1
Health and welfare, including medicare, health research and manpower, food stamps, child nutrition, vocational rehabilitation (4.8 percent) .....	3,965	13.6
Veterans benefits (4.2 percent) .....	2,240	7.7
General government, including law enforcement, crime reduction, civil rights, Congress, and the courts (1.6 percent) .....	2,369	8.1



	Num-ber	Per-cent
<b>VIETNAM</b>		
Which of the following do you consider to be the most preferable course in Vietnam at the present time?		
Immediate withdrawal of all combat forces, while continuing economic and social assistance and maintaining military advisers.....	6,324	21.7
Continued phased withdrawal of American combat forces as South Vietnamese Army assumes more responsibility for conducting the war.....	13,922	47.9
Complete immediate removal of any American presence in Vietnam.....	5,344	18.4
Resumption of full scale attacks on the North with any necessary increase in American men and material.....	3,504	12.0
<b>FOREIGN COMMITMENTS</b>		
Would you favor a congressional resolution requiring the President to obtain approval of Congress before U.S. troops are committed to fight in foreign countries?		
Yes.....	21,028	74.6
No.....	5,486	19.5
Undecided.....	1,655	5.9
<b>NATIONAL SECURITY</b>		
Which one of the following do you feel poses the most immediate and serious threat to the security of the United States?		
Foreign Communist aggression.....	4,773	15.5
Instability in the developing nations of Asia, Africa, and Latin America.....	1,648	5.3
Radicals in this country.....	12,675	41.2
Unmet domestic human needs which give rise to internal tensions.....	11,705	38.0
<b>SOCIAL SECURITY</b>		
Do you favor legislation which would provide an automatic cost-of-living increase for social security recipients?		
Favor.....	22,386	76.0
Oppose.....	4,355	14.8
Undecided.....	2,695	9.2
<b>CONSUMERS</b>		
Would you favor legislation establishing a separate federal agency, either as a full Cabinet-level department or a statutory office, to consolidate and direct current consumer programs and serve as a spokesman for consumer interests?		
Favor.....	17,752	61.3
Oppose.....	6,752	23.3
Undecided.....	4,472	15.4
<b>ABM SYSTEM</b>		
Are you in favor of the multibillion-dollar antiballistic missile system as proposed by President Nixon?		
Favor.....	10,230	35.5
Oppose.....	13,180	45.7
Undecided.....	5,432	18.8
<b>SPACE PROGRAM</b>		
It has been suggested that we begin to cut down on our expenditures for our space program and direct that money for use on various domestic programs. What is your reaction to this?		
Favor.....	18,284	62.4
Oppose.....	8,273	28.2
Undecided.....	2,759	9.4

### CONGRESSMAN DUNCAN SUMMARIZES LEGISLATIVE QUESTIONNAIRE

**HON. JOHN J. DUNCAN**  
OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES  
Thursday, September 10, 1970

Mr. DUNCAN. Mr. Speaker, the results of my 1970 legislative questionnaire proved to be quite interesting. Basically, I believe they showed that young people in my district are in general agreement with the adults. For example, 80.9 per-

cent of the students who responded to my questionnaire agreed with the President's position on Cambodia while 89.6 percent of the adults expressed agreement.

In regard to air and water pollution control programs 92.7 percent of the students and 93.6 percent of the adults approved of the President's proposals to clean up the environment.

I was very pleased with my constituents' cooperation in responding to the questionnaire. I believe this is a very effective way to gather the views of the people I represent in the Congress, and knowing their views helps me to do a better job.

Following are the results in percentages of both student and adult responses to the 12-question poll:

	Non-students		Students	
	Yes	No	Yes	No
1. Do you believe the television networks and newspapers give you an accurate picture of national events?	16.0	84.0	18.6	81.4
2. Do you favor abolishing the present military draft system for an all volunteer Army?	38.5	61.5	56.0	44.0
3. Should Federal funds be withheld from colleges and universities who fail to dispel students who participate in campus disorders?	85.5	14.5	67.7	32.3
4. Do you believe enemy supply and manpower sanctuaries should be allowed to function in Cambodia while we have American boys in nearby Vietnam?	6.0	94.0	10.6	89.4
5. Do you agree with the President's position on Cambodia?	89.6	10.4	80.9	19.1
6. Do you approve of President Nixon's proposals to clean up our environment by national air and water pollution control programs?	93.6	6.4	92.7	7.3
7. Do you think more tax dollars should be spent for the above programs, and if so would you be willing to pay additional taxes for this purpose?	55.3	44.7	63.1	36.9
8. Do you favor elimination of tax exempt status for nonprofit foundations?	61.4	38.6	56.8	43.2
9. Do you favor the busing of school children to achieve racial balance?	5.2	94.8	10.6	89.4
10. Generally, do you approve of President Nixon's performance in his 1st year in office?	83.0	17.0	79.8	20.2
11. Do you believe we could cut down on crime by giving our police more authority?	85.8	14.2	72.5	27.5
12. Should Congress limit farm subsidy payments to no more than \$20,000 per family farm?	93.4	6.6	86.1	13.9

### SOUTH VIETNAMESE MOTHERS SEEK ANSWERS FROM VICE PRESIDENT AGNEW

**HON. AUGUSTUS F. HAWKINS**

OF CALIFORNIA  
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES  
Thursday, September 10, 1970

Mr. HAWKINS. Mr. Speaker, it is apparent that on his recent visit to Southeast Asia, Vice President AGNEW talked only to certain friends of U.S. policy and not always to the people of the countries he visited.

Among those unable to speak to their

distinguished visitor were the mothers of young political prisoners who were the victims of an oppressive government identified with the United States.

In order that their voices may be heard, I have been requested to release their letter so that world opinion may better judge what is happening. Perhaps this is expecting too much from our feeble efforts.

Personally, I can at least express the hope we here in America who have dear ones held in oppression by the North Vietnamese can appreciate the feelings that these mothers must have for their loved ones. Perhaps in this common understanding most of us can act to end the tragedy now occurring in Southeast Asia.

A letter from Don Luce accompanying the letter from South Vietnam mothers to Vice President AGNEW follows:

SAN FRANCISCO, CALIF.,  
August 30, 1970.

DEAR FRIENDS: Attached is a letter written by Vietnamese women whose children are in jail. I have met and talked with these women. They are mostly very poor, supplementing their family's meager income by selling things at the marketplace or working as laborers. They want to know what has happened to their children since they were arrested.

"Please help me to find out if my child is alive or dead," one old woman asked me, tears running down her cheeks. "I must know what happened to him before I die."

Eighty women, all who have children in jail as political prisoners, met from 6 p.m. to 9 p.m. on August 27 to try to find a way to get decent treatment for their children. With them was Mrs. Ngo Ba Thanh, an internationally known lawyer with a PhD from Columbia who has herself spent over two years in jail for speaking out for peace. The women decided to take advantage of Vice President Spiro Agnew's visit to write him a letter asking for basic prison reforms. "The United States must share the responsibility for the torture and injustice within the Vietnamese prison system," the women said. After all, their children had been arrested by policemen paid by the U.S. (the U.S. spends more than twice as much on "Public Safety" as on Education in its economic aid program to Vietnam), the tear gas and other tools of repression are "made in USA." the U.S.-financed Phoenix Operation and U.S. military operations are responsible for the arrest of many of those imprisoned. When the women have talked with the few who have been released from the prisons, they are told of the American advisors in the prisons. They wrote Vice President Agnew: "The role of the American advisors should be to improve the prisoners' conditions, not merely to watch the tortures done to our children who suffer in agony in jail."

But they could not meet Vice President Agnew—or even get their letter to him before he left Vietnam. When they went to the U.S. Embassy at 8:00 a.m. on Friday morning, the American MPs would not let them into the embassy. No one could enter the embassy because of Agnew's trip. The MPs would not telephone anyone inside the embassy to come out and meet the women. Nor would they accept the letter and take it inside for the women. "No is No," one of the MPs told Mrs. Thanh.

"Whenever the U.S. officials come to Vietnam, they talk only to the government officials and not to the people," said Mrs. Thanh. "If the U.S. wants to understand the aspirations of the Vietnamese it must talk to the people."

At three p.m. an officer at the U.S. Embassy received the attached letter from the women whose children are in jail. But the Vice President had left four hours earlier. When I met the women at 7 p.m. that night after they had learned that their letter did not reach Vice President Agnew before he left, they were sad and angered. They do not believe Agnew will ever read the letter.

They had tried to tell the story of what was happening to their children, but failed. I promised them that I would let my friends in the U.S. and Europe know about their letter. Now I ask you to let as many people as you can know about the day the mothers whose children are imprisoned could not meet the Vice President.

Sincerely,

DON LUCE.

COMMITTEE OF WOMEN ACTION  
FOR THE RIGHT TO LIVE.

Mr. SPIRO AGNEW, Vice President of the United States of America, c/o the U.S. Embassy, Saigon.

DEAR MR. VICE PRESIDENT: We know that your visit to Vietnam is connected with the making of important decisions. We also know that you are a father, the head of a family. As a father, you have deep love towards your children and you have experienced moments of anxiety when your children are in danger. As a leader of your country, you have many concerns on the South Vietnamese Government action. It is with this knowledge that we are taking the liberty to write to you this letter.

We are the Mothers of the political prisoners detained in the various prisons of South Vietnam. None of our children is convicted of crime or robbery. All of them are being imprisoned because they have dared spoken of Peace and Independence, a most profound desire of all the Vietnamese People after years and years of war. Our children were arrested and barbarously tortured. They have been denied food and drink, even medicine when they are sick. The limited amount of medicine provided to the prisoners by the American aid have been continuously smuggled or stolen by the prisons' authorities. We only learn about the terrible living conditions of our children through statements by recently released prisoners and report made by the U.S. Representatives Anderson and Hawkins after their investigation of Con Son Tiger Cages and the living conditions of the prisoners.

However, up to the present time, we still have not been allowed to visit or keep in touch with our children despite renewed requests. We have no means to send food to them at all. Only one exception has been given to those mothers who were allowed to visit their children once on August 25th, 1970 at the Chi Hoa prison. We have witnessed our children's health situation. After continuous beatings, their bodies were swollen; when they were allowed to see us, they could not even walk and had to be helped by two guards. Such is the actual result of our government system of repression.

Most of our children were tried by the Military Field Court, a Court which was held unconstitutional by the Supreme Court. Yet, our children have not been released. Some of them have never been tried at all.

As a father, as a leader, you are coming to Vietnam to understand our people's aspirations for Peace and Justice. We, the Vietnamese Mothers, want to speak out the terrible sufferings of thousands of mothers who have their children being tortured and ill-treated in jail. We wish to directly inform you about the crimes committed under the prison system of South Vietnam. We hope to have privilege of meeting you while you are here.

You would have to agree that the U.S. Government somehow has to be held jointly

responsible for the prison system in South Vietnam, since:

The police forces which arrest and repress our children are being paid by the Americans.

The equipment used by the Police to repress, torture and jail our children are part of the U.S. aid. The tear gas, the rockets used to repress them are "made in U.S.A." We actually witnessed the terrible repression being carried out right in front of the U.S. Embassy when we and our foreign friends demonstrated against the prison system on July 11th, 1970.

The Phoenix operation, the result of which a great number of "suspected" Vietnamese people have been arbitrarily arrested and imprisoned directly by American authorities in Saigon.

In the military operations, U.S. and Allied Forces have arrested and tortured many innocent Vietnamese farmers at the Intelligence Agencies or turned them to the South Vietnamese government for further detention without any "due process of law".

Our children witness the presence of American Advisors at the prisons. They know that more aid is being given to build more and bigger prisons.

Before such evidence it would be hard to deny and just say that the U.S. is not responsible for the prison system of South Vietnam. The roll of the American advisors should be to improve the prisoners conditions, not merely watch the tortures done to our children who suffer from hunger, thirst, disease, and survive in agony in jail.

We wish to meet you and let you know more specifically about our concern. May we ask you to convey to President Nixon, the American Government and the U.S. Congress our requests that urgent improvement on the prison system can be done. Our requests are primarily the following:

1. No citizen shall be arrested without lawful ground.
2. All prisoners should be provided with proper food and drink, and should be given appropriate care when they are sick.
3. The prisoners relatives should be allowed to correspond, visit and send extra supply to the prisoners.
4. The prisoners should be allowed to write to their families.
5. Relatives of prisoners should be immediately reported when the prisoners are arrested.
6. Corruption practice in prison should be immediately abolished so that our children's food rations are not taken away.
7. The present policy of using non-political prisoners (criminals, thieves . . .) to watch political prisoners should be immediately abolished.
8. Our children should be allowed to do some reading in jail for their own culture.
9. The prisoners whose jail terms have expired must be immediately released.
10. Those prisoners who have not been tried should be released or put on further trial by a constitutional, civil court.
11. Those prisoners who were tried by the Military Field Courts should be released or retried by a civil court if they are supposed to be guilty.
12. The old, sick and under-age prisoners should be released.
13. There should be a change in the jail staff system.
14. Tiger cages, Cattle cages, mysterious caves, separate cells, discipline cells and rooms used for inhumane tortures should be abolished, not only at Con Son but also in all the prisons throughout South Vietnam.
15. The "Coolies of the Battle-fields" system used for military prisoners and "released" political prisoners should be abolished.
16. When a prisoner dies, his body should be returned to his family for proper burial.

We also ask you to urge the American authorities to immediately end their acts of cruelty toward political prisoners and instruct them about our above mentioned requests.

In short, we want our children to have enough food, drink and medicine; their physical as well as moral life to be decently dealt with. They are not criminals but young courageous people who dared to stand up and voice for Peace. Peace is the deepest aspiration of all the Vietnamese people. Therefore, our children who are struggling for the cause of Peace and have been arrested and barbarously tortured should be considered as "Peace Heroes."

Hoping that thanks to your responsible and efficient intervention, our children will soon be removed from the present inhuman prison system of South Vietnam, may we convey to your family our best wishes of luck and happiness.

Respectfully yours,

Representatives of the Mothers whose children are being detained in the various prisons throughout South Vietnam, in the Tiger Cages, in the Disciplinary Cells . . . without trial or tried by unconstitutional Courts, or have served their jail-term or have been arrested during military operations (US, V.N. Allied).

Mothers	Son or daughter	Cities
Dang thi Muoi	Vo van Sau	Long An
Nguyen thi Thanh	Le thi Chi	Nha Be
Nguyen thi Nang	Tran thi Son	Binh Duong
Bui thi Diep	Le thi Kim Nang	Binh Dinh
Nguyen thi Van	Lua Ngoc Chan	Saigon
Vo thi Sam	Luu van An	Bien Hoa
Dang Thi Ngoc	Nguyen van Coi	Ban Me Thuot
Nguyen thi Trinh	Nguyen Dinh Tau	Phu Xuan
Nguyen thi Anh	Le Tan Viet Nam	Gia Dinh
Nguyen thi Yen	Dang Thien (sister)	Da Nang
Nguyen thi Nhu	Nguyen Truong Con (sister)	Hue
Nguyen thi Ban	Nguyen van Tam	Tay Ninh
Vo thi Khai	Vo thi Gioi	Chi Hoa
Phan thi Cam	Tran van Thien	Dien Ban
Khong thi Kim	Tu Thu	Vinh Long
Vo thi Tu	Le Anh Ton	Cho Lon
Nguyen thi Binh	Thieu thi Tao	Saigon
Dang thi Banh	Thieu thi Tam	Do
	Hoang thi Kim Ngan	Do
	Dang cong Tam (son in law)	Do
Vo thi Ti	Cao thi Hot	Do
	Phan Dinh Hoat (son in law)	Do
Dang thi Hoang	Nguyen thi Danh	Cho Lon
Le thi Ve	Pham Lang (husband)	Saigon

Note: All in Con Son Prison.

Mrs. NGO BA THANH,  
Chairman of the Presidential Committee.

THE PROBLEM OF ADEQUATE NUTRITION

HON. JEFFERY COHELAN

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 10, 1970

Mr. COHELAN. Mr. Speaker, the problem of adequate nutrition continues to be one of the most pressing problems for many of the nations of the world.

As a member of the Appropriations Foreign Operations Subcommittee, I have been intimately involved with United States and multilateral programs that assist other nations in food production and distribution. In my service on this subcommittee, I have been interested in new methods and approaches to lessen the food gap.



At the recent Second World Food Congress at The Hague, Mr. Russell Baum, vice president of Foremost Food Co., presented a provocative paper on this problem. This paper outlined a multifaceted approach to solving the food problem.

I commend this paper to my colleagues:

**TALK GIVEN BY RUSSELL H. BAUM**

I am Mr. Baum, U.S.A. Private Industry. Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen:

We have heard time and time again the developing countries' justifiable statements that their agriculture and industry must be built without undue exhaustion of their capital or an exploitation of their resources. We also realize that the necessities of food and shelter must be supplied at a minimum cost. These conditions are not suited to private commercial investment but, Mr. Chairman, there is another way in which private business can, with the cooperation of a host government, develop and harness the resources of a country to improve its standards and maintain its sovereignty over these resources.

Private business can participate with its management know-how and technical skills; these can be offered without need of venture capital investment.

I suggest this Commission consider the following as a program to harness all available resources:

1. The host country government accept the desirability and necessity of an agribusiness project and the investment responsibility for such a project, their sources for funds to be determined by them with assistance as necessary by one or more public sector agencies, foundations, or multilateral organizations.

2. The assignment of the responsibility for the economic and efficient determination and design of the project facilities as well as the manufacture, distribution, management, and marketing of the finished product would be through contract with an agribusiness company in cooperation with private local enterprise.

This could result in the following:

1. The host country government, in accepting the responsibility for the project and the requisite funds, would furnish land improvements thereto and access to the manufacturing site as well as buildings to house processing and storage facilities plus all available utilities. The country would further accept the responsibility for the organization of the agricultural community, product subsidy support, and regulations as necessary to promote development of basic indigenous raw materials.

2. As previously determined, the public sector agencies or multilateral organizations—

- a. Would provide funds for surveys and project feasibility studies.

- b. Would provide surplus raw materials and/or funds for such during the early project years to supplement local supplies until production from local sources is adequate.

- c. Would loan or assist in finding funds for processing equipment and agricultural implements necessary.

- d. Would provide or assist in obtaining loans for distribution equipment and for working capital requirements on a long-term, low-interest basis.

- e. Would assist local agriculture in developing an adequate supply of raw materials needed through the loan of funds and through providing technical expertise.

3. Private Industry—

- a. Would conduct the surveys to determine the appropriate food products to be processed and distributed.

- b. Would develop finished product formulae and processing technology in accordance with survey specifications.

- c. Would design, engineer, plan and procure, ship and install processing and other equipment to accommodate finished product technology.

- d. Would plan, organize, and supervise construction of site and buildings.

- e. Would provide engineering, technical, and plant operating personnel to start up and to train local staff and manage and operate the plant on a fee basis.

- f. Would plan and organize a system of distribution with local distributors and to train local staff and manage and operate finished product distribution.

Mr. Chairman, this concept is intended to cover instances in the developing countries in which private enterprise cannot justify investment on the basis of a return on its investment, either for the short or medium term.

This concept is compatible with free enterprise since private companies will provide the know-how in technical, management, and distribution services so that the projects are successfully conceived, installed, and operated, and will be compensated for such services on a fee basis.

Finally, provision can readily be made for the eventual equity participation by private enterprise and the local public by offering the equity to private investors at any point in time when the project is in effective operation and when its economics warrant such investment by private capital.

**DEFENSE DESERVES HIGH PRIORITY RATING**

**HON. OLIN E. TEAGUE**

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 10, 1970

Mr. TEAGUE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to include an editorial which appeared in the Fort Worth Star Telegram for September 7, 1970 entitled "Defense Deserves High Priority Rating." I commend its reading to all who want and desire peace:

**DEFENSE DESERVES HIGH PRIORITY RATING**

To a large extent the arguments over spending by the federal government are disputes over priorities. Some members of the House and Senate who have sought more costly programs for domestic assistance programs such as urban development, education and welfare have defended their positions by saying they sought no increase in budgeted spending totals but hoped to reduce the spending for defense and space programs.

There would be much more agreement on the overall aim of economic soundness if there could be more on the questions of where to spend money and where to try to save money. Some unrealistic arguments are heard when the question of defense spending vs. financing of domestic programs comes up.

The idea that war is bad and peace and prosperity are good, an idea that is so obviously correct that there is no argument against it, is used with some strange twists to make points in cases where it has no proper application.

There is no valid application, for example, in using this to make dangerous restrictions in the nation's defense capability. The defenses of America are maintained not to make war but to preserve peace. When we are unable to make aggression too costly for a conquest-minded opponent to undertake, we will become victims of conquest.

The maintenance of peace at home and the making of better lives for our people

will not be aided by neglect of our defenses. The maintenance of an adequate defense is a necessity if any domestic programs are to have any value. Without a country they would be worthless.

There can, of course, be arguments about the country's foreign policies. There can be genuine disagreement about whether they do or do not contribute to the most peaceful prospects for the future. There can be arguments about the efficiency of defense programs. There is no good argument to be made that it is safe to neglect the nation's defense.

A report by the British Institute for Strategic Studies notes that the Soviet Union now is approaching parity with the United States in nuclear arms. For a long time our superiority has caused Moscow to be cautious enough to avoid a real confrontation. Our superiority has meant safety for ourselves and for Western Europe.

We have seen in places like Czechoslovakia and Hungary what little respect Moscow has for countries unable to protect themselves.

The report also shows that the Soviets have built up the Arab defenses so that they have great superiority in quantity, if not in quality, over the Israelis. Cuba, it finds, has more combat aircraft than any other Latin American country and more men under arms than all except Brazil and Argentina.

The Soviet Union has recently become a world naval power, now equipped with new and modern vessels. Our naval power is not being maintained in comparison.

The idea that war is bad is not a valid argument against being prepared for it. Proper preparation is the best way to avoid the necessity of defending ourselves. It is not a valid argument to put defense in a low position on the nation's priority list.

**RENT SUBSIDIES DISCOURAGES WORKING NEIGHBORS**

**HON. JAMES M. COLLINS**

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 10, 1970

Mr. COLLINS. Mr. Speaker, let me read you a letter I received from a fine young mother down in Grand Prairie, Tex. There is no way to explain why people who work pay \$1,200 down on their mortgage while the welfare family pays only \$200 down on their house. The welfare neighbor with the bigger home has an \$88 monthly payment whereas the young couple who both work have to pay \$166 monthly payment. Can you understand the logic of this system. Are we discouraging the hard-working, ambitious, middle-class folks who are the base of our country:

The people in this neighborhood and myself would like you to explain something to us.

We are all young couples with children who own a home in a new housing development. My husband and I have worked for four years to save the money for the down payment on this house, \$1200. Our payments are \$166 a month at 8½% interest. We like the other couples in this neighborhood are almost starving just to make our house payment. We were informed a couple of weeks ago that the rest of the homes in our neighborhood are going to be on the new government loan 235. \$200 and you move in with \$88 house payments. Their home is larger and more expensive than ours! Like the other couples in this area we saved for years to buy this home and stay out of slums and

low class areas because of our children. The government then gives the [Welfare] a free ride, at half the price and moves the low class and slums to us. This has also dropped our property value a considerable amount.

I met the couple next door that has this new type of loan. They drive two cars and one is new. They both work, so they have a larger income than we do. They asked us if we would pay half on a new fence they are going to install, but of course we don't have \$88 house payments, so we can't afford to even pay part.

Now, they are the welfare case and we're supposedly the middle class. I'll ask you, who lives better the welfare or the middle class?

If the government keeps treating the middle class the way they are now, they're not going to have just a few riots they're going to have the whole country in a riot. Wouldn't it be a change for the middle class to riot? Or we might all decide to go on welfare since they live better than we do."

#### ROSENTHAL INTRODUCES BILL TO BAN ALL SALES PROMOTIONAL GAMES

#### HON. BENJAMIN S. ROSENTHAL

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 10, 1970

Mr. ROSENTHAL. Mr. Speaker, the sales promotional games which we see so often in supermarkets, grocery stores, and magazines, are deceptive "come-ons" designed to build consumer patronage through the use of spurious advertising which bears no relation to the quality or price of the product advertised. These games attempt to entice the consumer into thinking he stands an excellent chance of winning some fabulous prize. But the facts show that there are very few winners. An average contest has anywhere from 100,000 to 100 million entrants or potential entrants. Only a small percentage of the prizes promised are ever given out, and even if these sales promotional games were honestly run, the odds against winning would still be remote.

Sales promotional games are an abuse of the consumer's confidence. Everywhere he turns he is confronted by pleas to enter a contest and win a prize. Often the consumer buys the advertised product merely to enter the contest, or to improve his chances of winning the contest.

This is a questionable advertising practice which obscures the considerations of price and quality in competition.

The element of chance is already far too prevalent in the marketplace, due to the uneven quality of the products sold. In addition, the cost of these games is passed on to the consumer whether he wins the contest or not.

For these reasons, I have introduced a bill yesterday that would prohibit sales promotional games by designating them as a deceptive trade practice. Similar action has already been taken by Nebraska, Wisconsin, and Virginia. By amending the Federal Trade Communication Act to make these games unlawful, we shall eliminate some of the exploitive practices of advertisers which distract the con-

sumer from the primary considerations of quality and price, and add to the cost of every consumer item.

#### JAMES C. STAHLMAN, PUBLISHER, PRESENTED LEGION'S FOURTH ESTATE AWARD

#### HON. JAMES H. (JIMMY) QUILLEN

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 10, 1970

Mr. QUILLEN. Mr. Speaker, down through the years while serving in public office, I have become acquainted with thousands of persons from every walk of life, and I feel fortunate that I have made friends with many of them.

One of these persons I consider as a personal acquaintance is Mr. James C. Stahlman, owner and publisher of the Nashville Banner, one of the outstanding newspapers in Tennessee and the South.

In addition to his friendship, Mr. Stahlman has gained my utmost respect down through the years for his untiring and unceasing efforts to promote the cause of freedom and democracy in America.

Mr. Stahlman also has been an inspiration to others, who, like himself, have stood up and fought for the principles of good government and Americanism.

Recently, Mr. Stahlman was presented the American Legion's coveted Fourth Estate Award in recognition of his "distinguished public service and for furthering the principles of Americanism."

An article concerning the presentation appeared in the Banner, along with Mr. Stahlman's remarks in accepting the award and the remarks of American Legion National Commander J. Milton Patrick as he presented the award to Mr. Stahlman.

For readers of the RECORD, I am submitting the newspaper article and the remarks of Mr. Stahlman and Mr. Patrick:

[From the Nashville Banner, Sept. 3, 1970]  
AMERICAN LEGION HONORS STAHLMAN—BANNER PUBLISHER RECEIVES HIGHEST AWARD AT NATIONAL CONVENTION IN PORTLAND

(By Ken Morrell)

PORTLAND, OREG.—James G. Stahlman, owner and publisher of the Nashville Banner, today was presented the American Legion's coveted Fourth Estate Award, one of the highest national honors it can bestow, in recognition of "distinguished public service and for furthering the principles of Americanism."

Stahlman received the award from American Legion National Commander J. Milton Patrick in colorful ceremonies before 25,000 Legionnaires and guests attending the Legion's 52nd annual convention in Portland's Memorial Coliseum.

The 60-pound bronze-on-wood plaque bore the signatures of the national commander and C. D. (Deke) DeLoach, chairman of the National Public Relations Commission and retired operating chief of the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

TENNESSEE LEADERS

Joining Patrick for the presentation were Commander Percy C. Miller of Nashville, Ad-

jutant Barney Greene of Nashville and Roscoe D. Curtiss of Columbia, a member of the Legion's national public relations commission which selected Stahlman as one of the two newspaper publishers to receive the high tribute.

fin of Nashville, a member of the Legion's Others participating were Walton D. Grifnational finance committee; Jay Harville, Rogersville, the Tennessee Department's alternate national executive committeeman; Sam L. Latimer Jr., editor emeritus of the Columbia State of Columbia, S.C., vice chairman of the national public relations commission of the Legion; James C. Watkins, national public relations director of the Legion; William B. Cain of Columbia, immediate past department commander; Joe F. Hudgens, Nashville, Tennessee director of veterans affairs; and Ollie T. Frith, Nashville, a past department commander. Curtiss, Griffin, Harville and Hudgens are also past department commanders.

Also receiving the Fourth Estate Award was Jenkin Lloyd Jones, editor and publisher of the Tulsa, Okla., Tribune.

His syndicated column appears in about 150 newspapers including the Banner.

Patrick, whose home is in Skiatook, Okla., described Stahlman and Jones as "two of the nation's most distinguished publishers" and commended their untiring efforts to advance the principles of Americanism.

The national commander noted that Stahlman is in his 40th year as publisher of the Banner, which he praised as "one of the South's most distinguished newspapers." Stahlman has been associated with the Banner for 58 years, beginning his newspaper career as a cub reporter, and has served in every reportorial, editorial and managerial capacity. He became publisher in 1930, and sole owner in 1955.

In remarks preceding the presentation ceremonies, Patrick told the Legionnaires and guests that the Legion established the Fourth Estate Award because of the "importance of the role of the press in our society" to recognize those who have made outstanding contributions in the mass communication field.

"All that America has achieved throughout her nearly two centuries of nationhood," Patrick declared, "has depended on the emphasis that we as a people have placed on freedom. And for that matter, all that we can hope to achieve in the future as a society will depend on how we handle freedom . . . our integrity of purpose . . . and in how we maintain the basic condition to all freedom—freedom of the press."

Both Stahlman and Jones, he said, have played leading roles in preserving that freedom which the commander asserted is needed "as we seek light in these troubled times."

Both of the recipients of the Fourth Estate Award, he said, have several parallel accomplishments in their careers. "Both have been honored by their profession by being elected head of important professional groups, both have been honored for their professional competence and both served as Navy officers during World War II," he added.

Stahlman, a Legionnaire for 52 years, said in his response that the American Legion and its 2.7 million members represents "the greatest, most influential group of American patriots on the face of this badly muddled earth."

"Your Legion button, your Legion membership are evidences of your devotion to the United States of America whose uniform you have worn with honor and distinction in time of war and whose Flag you respect and salute with pride in time of peace," he said.

Expressing his own gratitude "from an overflowing heart," Stahlman commended Jones for his "dynamic, courageous forthright" service to his country. The immediate



past president of the United States Chamber of Commerce, Jones has been associated with the Tulsa Tribune since 1933 and is a former president of the American Society of Newspaper Editors.

The Banner publisher, closed his response by reading the inspiring tribute to The Flag, entitled "Old Glory Speaks," written by the late Amos Hurley of Montclair, Calif.

Stahlman noted that it was "a gallant old seaman," the late Capt. William Driver, a native of Nashville, who gave The Flag its name of "Old Glory," more than 100 years ago.

He also paid tribute to the memory of the late Mr. Hurley, past commander Sunshine Post of the American Legion in Montclair, Calif., who died on Aug. 17. The late Mr. Hurley's classic essay, "Old Glory Speaks," appeared on the front page of the Banner on June 13 in observance of Flag Day in Nashville.

The Banner publisher, accompanied by Mrs. Stahlman, also was a headtable guest Tuesday night during the National Commander's Banquet for distinguished guests. Red Skelton, the famed television comedian and the recipient of the 1970 American Legion National Commander's Award, delivered his impressive version of the Pledge of Allegiance at the dinner.

Elsewhere in the city, thousands of so-called antiwar demonstrators have been gathered all week, in sharp contrast to the atmosphere of patriotism which has filled Memorial Coliseum. But Gov. Tom McCall alerted 6,000 National Guardsmen in event they were needed to maintain law and order.

A delegation of nearly 80 Legionnaires from Tennessee was in the audience in the huge coliseum for the presentation of the awards to Stahlman and Jones.

The presentation highlighted the closing session of the Legion's weeklong convention along with an address by Sen. Henry M. Jackson, D-Wash., a member of the Senate Armed Forces Committee. Holding its convention in Portland, the "City of Roses," for the third time, the Legion Wednesday honored Rep. Olin E. Teague, D-Tex., a member of Congress since 1946 and chairman of the House Committee on Veterans Affairs, by conferring upon him its national Distinguished Service Award for 1970.

Because of his long service to the Legion and programs it fosters, Stahlman previously has been honored by the organization at the state and national levels.

In 1949, he received the Legion's national editorial trophy and the Tennessee Department presented him its Andrew Jackson Award "for outstanding patriotic service" in 1966. He was selected as the keynote speaker for the Tennessee Department's convention in Memphis in 1968.

The publisher also has received two George Washington honor medals from the Freedoms Foundation.

The Legion convention including about 13,000 delegates plus auxiliary members and guests for a total of about 25,000 in attendance, brought Legionnaires from the 50 states, the District of Columbia, Mexico, Canada, France, Italy, Puerto Rico, Panama Canal Zone and the Philippines.

Dozens of other prominent speakers included Gov. Luis Ferre of Puerto Rico, Portland Mayor Terry Schunk, Gov. McCall, Maj. Gen. James F. Cantwell, president of the National Guard Association of the United States; Irving Felst, president, Boy Scouts of America, A. Boyd Hines, national director, Boys Club of America and numerous military and veterans affairs leaders.

Also on the program were Thomas A. Miller, president of the Society of American Legion Founders; Robert H. Hazen, president of the 1970 American Legion National Convention Corps.; Loren Kuske, immediate past commander of the American Legion of Ore-

gon; Donald E. Johnson, administrator of veterans affairs and H. Ross Perot, the Texas businessman who has used part of his personal fortune in efforts to establish contact with American prisoners of war held by the North Vietnamese.

## INCREASING TAX BURDENS

### HON. JEROME R. WALDIE

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 10, 1970

Mr. WALDIE. Mr. Speaker, increasing tax burdens have been an increasing concern to Americans in all economic brackets. It is even a greater concern to them that, seemingly, large money interests are able to insulate themselves from their proportionate share of the tax burden.

Mr. Max Schlegel of San Pablo, Calif., a constituent of mine, calls attention to this fact and assesses the problem very articulately.

His remarks follow:

Mr. JEROME R. WALDIE,  
Congress of the United States, House of Representatives, Cannon House Office Building, Washington, D.C.

DEAR Mr. WALDIE: I read your newsletters with interest. With these letters you reach individuals of all classes. In your work you are exposed to lobby forces. These forces, by the large, represent money interests.

As you know money interests have a tendency to grow and human interests to decline.

During the past five years, I have worked (semi-retired) as a tax accountant. Prior to retirement I worked for the Internal Revenue Service—as field auditor and as Appellate Conferee.

Within the range of this experience I have worked with wealth and with poverty from a tax point of view.

The more I work with tax law, the more it is brought to my attention the lobby force of money interests in its enactment and modifications.

I set up depreciation schedules for money investments. And, I set up depletion schedules for natural resources such as oil and timber. But, I do not set up either depreciation or depletion schedules for the individual wage-earner. He has quite a bit invested in natural resource and living costs. Apparently, however, he had little to say about the tax law.

I watch with interest the way inflation is to be controlled. The rate of interest is increased. This puts more wealth in the hands of the wealthy. Unemployment is increased. This makes the poor more poor. We are told that the mass are buying too many groceries and too many luxuries. We are not told how many groceries or how much luxury indulgence the wealthy few have. It apparently is not the expenditure that is important. Rather, it is who does it.

I have no reason to complain personally. And, I am sure you have no reason to complain personally.

Solely for the purpose of considering a point of view and solely for the purpose of stimulating your thoughts within the framework of that point of view; suppose, the President of the U.S., Congressmen and others in our National leadership lived within and were economically tied into a poverty environment. This, of course, would be substandard in all respects—food stamps, and not enough to eat and the rest of it. And, with no prospects of anything else.

Under these conditions and within this framework of experience and prospects for the future; would the judgments made by our leaders be the same as they have been? Would you decide to check inflation by increasing the interest rate and increasing the unemployment rate? Would you decide to do the many things in the way you have—or, would there be another point of view? I speak of "you" as consensus of leadership that influences the lives of U.S. population, generally.

It is sometimes difficult to reconcile judgments made by our national leaders with the proposition that our government is by the people and for the people. It would be easier to support a position that these judgments are on the proposition that our nation is founded on money and for money for the benefit of a limited few who are permitted to control it.

I take no position; and I have no answers. Questions do come to mind—and I pass them on to you.

Respectively,

MAX J. SCHLEGEL,  
Tax Accountant.

## WGN EDITORIAL

### HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 10, 1970

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, politics is in the air and it is necessary for us to appreciate the lighter moments that arise in political commentary. One of the genuinely human political editorials that has come to my attention was the WGN Radio TV editorial Tuesday, August 11, commenting on a personal adjunct to the Michigan senatorial campaign:

WGN EDITORIAL

Michigan Republicans have voted for another Romney. Mrs. George Romney, wife of the former Governor and present Secretary of Housing and Urban Development, has been nominated for a race against Democrat Philip Hart in his bid for re-election to the United States Senate. We don't know how it will come out in November, but, it's interesting to speculate on a Romney victory.

Let's say a man in Flint or Lansing is unhappy about a federally-financed housing project in his community. He writes to his Senator, Mrs. Romney. Being new to her job, she may not know all about the project, so she checks with the appropriate agency, the Department of Housing and Urban Development.

And she gets an answer that she doesn't like, one that won't satisfy her constituent. At dinner that evening, Senator Romney says to Secretary Romney:

"George, dear, what about this development in Flint? My staff got some evasive answers from your staff today."

And the Secretary says:

"Well, Lenore, you know how it is with bureaucracy. I'll see what I can do when I get to the office in the morning."

"All right, George, but if I don't get the right sort of answer, I may have to suggest that my committee look into the entire operation of your department."

"Darling, is that a threat?"

As we said before, we don't know whether Mrs. Romney will be elected, but it's certainly interesting to conjecture on what might happen if she were.

CAMPUS UNREST COMMISSION  
CREATING UNREST

HON. JOHN M. ASHBROOK

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 10, 1970

Mr. ASHBROOK. Mr. Speaker, as time draws near for issuance of its report, the President's Commission on Campus Unrest is receiving a generous amount of criticism from various sources. Although a product of the Nixon administration, the Commission was attacked last Saturday by the chairman of the Senate Republican Policy Committee, Senator GORDON ALLOTT, as being "flamboyant, inflammatory, prejudged, and irresponsible," whose efforts might well turn out to be a "flaccid whitewash" of campus radicals' disruptions and possibly "pour kerosene on the flames" of new campus violence this fall.

An Evans-Novak column on the Commission appearing in the Washington Post of September 2 reports on the possibility that the Commission's pro-student bias might prevent a hard, objective appraisal of this serious problem of campus violence.

It will be recalled that a number of recent witnesses before the Commission was more preoccupied with attacking the Nixon administration than with appraising objectively the campus situation and the role of extremists in the violent disruptions, with one student body president calling for the impeachment of President Nixon. From the tone and content of some of the statements, one might well have wondered if he was listening to the usual oratory at a National Democratic Convention.

The August 22 issue of Human Events offered a possible explanation as to why a Republican-appointed Commission investigating such a serious national issue could at times be used as a political football. In reviewing the backgrounds of some of the staff members of the Commission, Human Events has found that a goodly number of liberal Democrats are ensconced in Commission positions, explaining possibly why President Nixon and not student radicals is labeled as the culprit.

At this point in the RECORD I include the above-cited Evans-Novak column and the August 22 item from Human Events.

CAMPUS PANEL'S PREDICAMENT

The predicament now facing the President's Commission on campus unrest was pointed up last week when a worried young public official paid a quiet visit to the commission's offices in Washington.

The visitor was Mayor William D. Dyke of Madison, Wis., a 40-year-old Republican who has confronted carefully escalated violence pouring out of the University of Wisconsin in his city of 260,000 ever since his election in 1969. Without fanfare, Dyke conferred with the commission, former Gov. William W. Scranton of Pennsylvania, and top commission staffers.

Dyke's story, backed up by stacks of documentary evidence simply could not have been believed a few years ago. The bombing of

the Army Mathematics Research Center on the Wisconsin campus Aug. 24 was no isolated incident but the culmination of a full year of guerrilla warfare on the university by a radical army—armed and trained—of students, non-student "street people," teaching assistants, and some full-fledged faculty members. Furthermore, there is hard intelligence of rising violence ahead when the university resumes classes this month.

What made the mayor's visit so significant was the commission's de-emphasis of this well-planned student revolution in its public hearings. Whether or not those hearings displayed a pro-student bias (vigorously denied by Scranton), it is undeniable that they did not probe deeply into campus revolutionary activities.

Actually, preliminary drafts of the commission's report take a hard line against nihilistic violence. But that raises the commission's real predicament: can it credibly oppose such violence while being sympathetic generally to student dissent and protest.

It was just such apprehension of a permissive line by the commission that led Mayor Dyke, in Washington ostensibly to confer with Justice Department officials about the crisis of law-and-order in Madison, to slip over to the commission for a visit with Scranton.

According to commission sources, Scranton and Dyke discussed only the Wisconsin situation and not the question of commission recommendations. If they had been discussed, however, it is doubtful that Scranton would have been congenial to Dyke's proposed recommendations: new legal authority for police to deal with campus mobs; the restoration of the now politicized university as an educational center; return of university-imposed discipline on students, even to the point of reestablishing curfews and dormitory regulations.

Such a hard line could scarcely be further removed from the commission's tone until now. The portion of the Washington hearings reproduced on television had such a strong pro-student tone that the commission received a pleasant feedback from the campus. That, say some commission staffers privately, was the commission's undoing.

Since then, the commission has seemed to play for cheers from the campus. The hard-boiled investigation of quick-triggered law enforcement officials at Kent State and Jackson State was not balanced by similar investigation of the organized student terror growing on the nation's great universities.

Commission hearings in Los Angeles particularly galled some state officials there. The commission heard at length from representatives of the University of California, whose many campuses have been hives of student agitation. But neither the state college system, relatively free from violence, nor the junior college network, almost entirely trouble-free, were heard from. The shock of blood and debris at Madison hit commission members hard. A two-man investigating team left Washington for Madison the same day that Dyke arrived here. Nevertheless, all signs point to the commission's attempting to separate violence of the Wisconsin variety from supposedly legitimate dissent.

Contradicting the commission's point of view is a poignant letter to a public official written last May by a 19-year-old Wisconsin coed. Contending that "this university is in real danger of falling apart because of lax discipline," she added: "I really feel that the lawmakers and the university officials have let down the students who are here to learn. My rights are infringed upon often."

Such thoughts constitute virgin territory for the Scranton commission, as it hurries to conclude its report. Yet, to critics of the

commission, responsibility of permissive university administrators for the mounting wave of campus violence is at the heart of the great crisis of liberal education in America and must be examined.

SCRANTON PANEL STACKED WITH LIBERAL  
DEMOS

Republican lawmakers are worried that the free-wheeling President's Commission on Campus Unrest, set up to probe the causes of college disturbances in the wake of the bloody riots at Kent State, is now being carefully crafted into an exploding booby trap, designed to blow up in the face of the Nixon Administration just a few weeks before the November elections. The commission, or at least some of its key staffers, is also said to be engaged in a possible plot to undermine the re-election bid in California of Gov. Ronald Reagan as well as those of other conservative Republican candidates.

This strong suspicion, alarmist though it may seem, has been reached not only by a number of GOP congressmen but also by important administration officials. So worried have several White House staffers become about the situation that they are working to delay publication of the panel's report—due to be issued October 1 at the latest—until after the elections.

Concern that the panel report might wind up as a major indictment of the Nixon Administration has existed ever since the commission opened public hearings in the Nation's Capital in mid-July.

Headed by former Gov. William Scranton, the nine-man panel paraded before it a steady stream of strident anti-Administration witnesses, many of whom harshly condemned both the President and vice president. Typical of the testimony was that delivered by Northwestern University student body President Eva Jefferson, whose suggestion that the President be impeached met with cheers from the standing-room-only crowd.

Yet even more disturbing, so far as the Administration is concerned, is the discovery that the panel, under the clever guidance of William (Matt) Byrne, its executive director, is turning into a haven for ambitious Democratic politicians, none of whom would be particularly opposed to having the commission come up with a major anti-Administration document.

Indeed, so cluttered is the commission with Democrats and their liberal camp followers that one newsman has labeled the panel "the most audacious fifth column" operating in Washington. Reasons for this pungent description are not difficult to see. For instance:

William Byrne, the commission's executive director, is described by one of his admirers as a "moderately liberal Democrat." Named to a U.S. attorney's post by President Lyndon Johnson in 1967, Byrne is known to have been working behind the scenes on behalf of Charles O'Brien, a liberal Democrat who is running for attorney general this year in California.

John Van de Kamp, a special assistant in charge of administration, was Rep. Barry Goldwater Jr.'s Democratic opponent in 1969. Once slated for a top post with Sen. Alan Cranston (D.-Calif.), Van de Kamp has been prominent in his support of Jesse Unruh's bid this year to unhorse Gov. Ronald Reagan.

Special investigator Douglas Dalton is a long-time liberal Democrat, active in California politics. Dalton, moreover, is a partner in the law firm of former Democratic Gov. Edmund (Pat) Brown, whom Reagan defeated in 1966.

Rep. Goldwater, who has been digging



deeply into the commission's operations, broke the news last week that of seven special investigators appointed on August 3, five of the attorneys served with the extremely liberal Civil Rights Division of the Justice Department under JFK and/or LBJ. A sixth was Dalton. The seventh, Peter Nickles, is associated with the prestigious Washington law firm of Covington and Burling, long associated with the Democratic party.

Nor is this all. Owen Fliss, an official with the Justice Department's Civil Rights Division under both Kennedy and Johnson, has been selected as a top research consultant. John Kirby, the deputy director, who actually served in Nixon's law firm, is described by a former classmate as philosophically "a liberal Democrat." Also interesting is that Jim Arthur is in the crucial position of administration officer. Arthur, a political independent, helped staff the Kerner commission, whose report in 1968 on racial disorders resembled the platform of any liberal Democrat.

Not only is the staff packed with liberal Democrats and their ideological allies, but the panel has clearly slanted its hearings against the Administration in favor of student radicals. Out of dozens of student witnesses appearing before the panel thus far, only one, Young Americans for Freedom Chairman David Keene, has expressed a right-of-center viewpoint. Keene, moreover, apparently would not have been permitted to testify except as a result of pressure from the office of Vice President Agnew. A number of student conservatives, furthermore, have asked to testify but have so far been ignored or deliberately frozen out.

Commission members, who include militant firebrand Joseph Rhodes, have been bombarded with the radical point of view.

The panel, for instance, recently invited testimony from Dr. Richard Flacks, an associate professor of sociology at the University of California at Santa Barbara. Flacks assailed the police and suggested that the Nixon Administration had given rise to the campus disorders by providing no "promising alternatives" to "war, racial inequality, squalor and environmental destruction."

While most of the commission members may have believed Flacks to be an objective scholar, the staffers had actually palmed off on the panel a full-blown radical (see *Human Events*, August 15, page 3). An SDS founder and Viet Cong sympathizer, Flacks has been a long-time promoter of the New Left. The panel's tolerance for such characters may be partially traced to the fact that Charles Hamilton, who with Stokely Carmichael co-authored *Black Power: The Politics of Liberation in America*, is a panel consultant.

Despite this appalling situation, however, there is a slim sliver of hope that the final report may actually be something more than just a deadly time bomb aimed at the Administration.

The hope does not lie with the panel members, who, save for Gen. Ben Davis and Martha Derthick, are considered liberal or rather naive about the student situation, but with Paul Weaver, a Harvard professor who heads up the writing team that will draft the commission report. Weaver, by all accounts, is a level-headed intellectual with a conservative bent. But many observers feel that Weaver will find it almost impossible to draft a reasonable report in the face of some of the key liberal Democratic staffers who run the commission.

Thus the belief still holds that the public report issued by the Campus Unrest commission will be the liberal Democratic campaign platform—not only for 1970 but also 1972.

## RAVAGED SUMMER

### HON. THOMAS S. KLEPPE

OF NORTH DAKOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 10, 1970

Mr. KLEPPE. Mr. Speaker, the highly emotional character of the pesticide issue has alarmed many citizens into believing that nothing has been done to regulate and encourage the safe use of pesticides. Quite to the contrary, pesticides have a long history of strict Federal and State control.

Pesticide policy for the past 23 years has been governed by the Federal Insecticide, Fungicide, and Rodenticide Act of 1947. The FIFRA, as it is often abbreviated, requires that all pesticides shipped in interstate commerce be registered with the USDA Pesticides Regulation Division. Registry is not a simple matter. Each new pesticide that comes on the market must first go through rigorous tests and a public hearing to insure its safety.

National organizations concerned with pesticide regulation which have been in existence for years include the Federal Commission on Pest Control, the President's Science Advisory Committee, the National Technical Advisory Committee on Water Quality, the Federal Air Quality Advisory Board, the Federal Interagency Committee on the Use of Herbicides.

In addition to the basic pesticide control agencies and laws, new groups have been born since the recent pesticide controversies. The White House announced in November 1969 that a new committee on pesticides of the Environmental Quality Council was to be established and chaired by the Secretary of Agriculture. Members include the Secretaries of Health, Education, and Welfare and the Interior, the executive secretary of the Environmental Quality Council, representatives from the Departments of Defense, Transportation, and State, the Agency for International Development, and the Atomic Energy Commission. The new committee replaced the Federal Commission on Pest Control.

In July 1970 President Nixon asked Congress to approve the creation of an Environmental Protection Agency which would take over and coordinate the Department of Agriculture's authority on pesticides, the Food and Drug Administration's Pesticides Research and Standard-setting Program, and the Department of the Interior's Federal Water Quality Administration, among other agencies.

Pesticides are presenting challenges, not a disaster. However, the overreaction of the American people to a pesticide scare could cause a food shortage disaster. Most people have little knowledge about chemical and pharmacological action and, through misunderstanding, have become afraid. Let us take a look at the facts.

During the first half of 1970, Secretary of Agriculture Clifford Hardin put a ban

on all uses of DDT, finalizing action which was begun in 1969 to phase out the use of the insecticide because of its total accumulative effect upon the environment. On the positive side, let's not forget that DDT helped keep the following insect-borne diseases to a minimum in the United States and the world: malaria, typhus, encephalitis, yellow fever, tick fever, bubonic plague, cholera, and dengue fever. The yield per acre of farm crops increased, crop quality improved, and production costs steadily decreased as results of the use of DDT.

At the time of its ban, DDT usage had decreased due to development of resistance to DDT in many insect pest species, development of more effective alternate pesticides, and substitution of non-persistent pesticides.

Another recent outcry has centered around the herbicide 2,4,5-T which has now been banned on more than 500 million acres of Federal lands; eliminated from use in household, aquatic and recreational areas; and canceled from use on food crops and limited on range and pastureland.

Pesticide pollution in our Nation's waterways and the poisoning of our wildlife is also of concern today. Nationwide pesticide monitoring programs carried on by the Federal Government and the States have found that environmental pesticide residues have reached a static balance between continued degradation of the pesticide and the annual input.

Wildlife populations are increasing every year. Pesticides have been used as important tools in maintaining Federal wildlife refuges and to improve the aquatic habitat of fish by removing trash fish and controlling disease.

The safest way to kill pests would, of course, be without chemicals, and researchers are moving in this direction. During the fiscal year 1969, the USDA spent about \$40 million for research to develop pest control weapons which would minimize the use of chemicals. Such research has been going on for years discovering, for example, the insect sterilization technique which has curtailed the screwworm parasite in the South. Unique approaches still in the laboratory include virus insecticides, ultraviolet light and ultra-sonic sound, hormones that interfere with normal insect growth, and manipulation of insect genes. Some of these methods are years away from practical use, so judicious use of manageable pesticides must continue to be our main weapon against pests at the present. A future goal may be to aim for 90 percent insect control by other means and 10 percent by chemicals.

Agriculture simply does not have the labor and machinery available to immediately replace all herbicides. Additional cultivation, rotation changes, and farming of more land would add about \$1 billion to direct production costs. If all herbicides and insecticides were banned, consumers might have to spend 40 percent of the budget for food, as is the case in some countries. Only 1 hour of farm labor last year produced 7½ times as

much food and fiber as it did 50 years ago, 4 times as much as it did 25 years ago, and 2½ times as much as it did 15 years ago.

Quality and quantity of food would decrease if all herbicides and insecticides were banned. Would the Nation be willing to put up with sub-quality foods in decreasing amounts and at higher prices to satisfy people who would ban all pesticides?

Flourishing insects are enjoying the effects of Eastern insecticide bans. An invasion of red and blue polka-dotted gypsy moth caterpillars into Long Island has been described by agriculturalists as the worst of a century. Connecticut is concerned because of a double invasion of gypsy moths and canker-worms which has stripped trees and driven away picnickers and campers. Many Eastern trees are in their second leafless summer, and by the third summer, they will probably be permanently damaged. The disaster thus described is man-made. Despite bitter opposition by conservationists, New York and Connecticut have sprayed 14,000 low population density acres from a total of 25,000 acres which are severely infested and in danger of defoliation. Sevin, a less effective and shorter-lived insecticide than DDT, was used.

As the issue stands today, prudent use of pesticides is still a necessary ingredient for the survival of agriculture. Researchers are hopeful that the future may hold discoveries of biological control measures as alternatives to chemicals. Meanwhile, today's crops must be protected through use of proper pesticides. Pesticides are on trial. Public and producer awareness of their danger has been one valuable contribution of the pesticide controversy.

As proof of what can happen should we allow emotionalism to gain the upper hand over reasoning, I submit and commend to my colleagues an article which appeared in Barron's Weekly of July 6 titled "Ravaged Summer; It's the Natural Sequel to 'Silent Spring'":

**RAVAGED SUMMER—IT'S THE NATURAL SEQUEL TO "SILENT SPRING"**

The New York Times, which devotes countless columns of space to chronicling air and water pollution, noisy jets and fish kills recently and with some reluctance—the story appeared on page 59—saw fit to print a different kind of tale. Headlined "Suffolk Legislature to Fight an Infestation of Gypsy Moths," the dispatch provided a graphic account of "Long Island's invasion by red and blue polka-dotted gypsy moth caterpillars," which agricultural experts describe as the worst in a century. "We are in a state of emergency," cried one resident of Shirley. "Our children cannot go out. Our pools are finished for the summer. It's a question of survival—the caterpillars or us." Last week came word—on page 37 this time, in greater detail and with pictures—of "a double invasion by gypsy moths and canker-worms (which) has stripped trees, driven away picnickers and campers, and caused widespread concern in upper Westchester County and Western Connecticut." Many of the trees, the story continued, "are in their second leafless summer;" by the third year, "most will probably begin to show signs of permanent damage."

While the active agents are creatures of Mother Nature, the disaster that has befallen

widespread areas of New York and Connecticut is strictly man-made. Thus, from the Times' story on Suffolk County, we learn—if we read far enough—that of the 25,000 acres "severely infested and in danger of defoliation," the state, against the bitter opposition of conservationists, has sprayed only "14,000 acres in areas of low population density," not with DDT, which it shuns, but with Sevin, a less effective, short-lived insecticide. In the northern part of New Jersey, which stopped the aerial spraying of DDT over half-a-decade ago, the gypsy moth for the second straight year has damaged thousands of acres of woodland, and, to the consternation of local inhabitants, caused a mass migration of copperheads and rattlesnakes to lower, shadier ground. In one state after another to ban the pesticide—at least a dozen now have made the move—strange things, ranging from the slaughter of honeybees to the accidental loss of human life from highly toxic substitutes, have been happening. Indeed, throughout the U.S., which once could boast of stamping out the anopheles mosquito and its cargo of disease and death, lately have come reports of frightening outbreaks of malaria.

Though fragmentary and scattered, the evidence should give reasonable men pause. On far less convincing claims of damage to the environment and threats to heredity—for the most part, on little more than sweeping, unproved assertions—conservationists and ecologists have made great headway in persuading or coercing Federal and State agencies, legislatures and courts to limit or prohibit the use of DDT and similar pesticides. Now, despite the alarming proliferation of signs that all is not well—that perhaps in their own way, they have upset the so-called balance of nature—such pressure groups are fanatically redoubling their efforts. Not content with what they have wrought, the Environmental Defense Fund, National Audubon Society, Sierra Club and other soul-mates of the late Rachel Carson have filed suit to compel the U.S. Department of Agriculture to suspend immediately the shipment of DDT in interstate commerce. If they succeed, their triumph will be shared not only by the gypsy moth, but also by the red-necked cane borer, climbing cutworm, carrot weevil, cabbage looper, onion maggot, daktling beetle, white grub and the rest of the estimated 210 insect pests for which, in most cases, DDT is the sole known means of control. The Nation's farm and wood lands and food supply, not to mention health and welfare, contrariwise, might not recover. Win or lose on the issue, the nature-lovers already have left their mark on the landscape. In less than a decade, "Silent Spring" has spawned ravaged summer.

The mouse, to change the metaphor, has labored and brought forth a mountain. Since 1962, when the book appeared, its influence has spread far and wide. In 1966 a lawyer in Patchogue, L.I. (a stone's throw away from afflicted Shirley) sued to prevent the Suffolk County Mosquito Control Commission from employing DDT. The agency was enjoined from using the pesticide for two years, and, to the pleasure and profit of the gypsy moth, it has not done so since. A number of States, including California, Connecticut, New Jersey, New York, and Wisconsin, have forbidden the use of DDT in whole or in part; the Labour Government in Britain and Socialist Sweden have done the same. Last fall, pursuant to recommendations of the Commission on Pesticides and Their Relation to Environmental Health, that DDT and DDD be eliminated within two years except "where essential to the preservation of human health and welfare . . ." the Department of Agriculture moved to end its use on tobacco, shade trees, in aquatic environments and in and around the home. Too little and too late, cried the Environmentalists; led by the suc-

cessful litigant cited above, they have gone to court to seek an immediate nationwide ban.

The enormity of this demand—echoed editorially by The New York Times in disregard of its own news columns—must be viewed against the proper background. Since "Silent Spring," Barron's time and again has sought to debunk the extravagant charges and wild alarmism over DDT, which have gained spurious circulation in a "largely rigged market for ideas, where anti-capitalism is the rage and anything that smacks of it, no matter how outrageous or absurd, can count on an incredible longevity." Once a voice crying in the wilderness, we now have lots of company. Thus, the U.S. Department of Agriculture, in defending its moderate stand on DDT, cites such authorities as The President's Science Advisory Committee, the National Research Council-National Academy of Sciences, the aforementioned Commission on Pesticides and the Council on Environmental and Public Health of the American Medical Association.

Despite loud claims to the contrary, USDA flatly makes the following points. There have been instances in which DDT in lakes and streams has contributed to fish mortality; however, "we know of no report of any endangerment of any species of fish as a result of the use of DDT." The same holds true of birds whose numbers (according to the Audubon Society's own count, and including the supposedly endangered robin) are constantly increasing. As to the alleged threat to mankind, USDA quotes a recent AMA finding that "the claim that DDT has a carcinogenic effect upon humans constitutes an unproved speculation." Moreover, there has been "no increase in the levels of DDT in human beings during the past decade," while "comprehensive studies of workers in DDT factories show no impairment of health attributable to occupational exposure to DDT."

Similar views have been expressed by the World Health Organization, which last summer stated: "DDT has been the main agent in eradicating malaria in countries whose populations total 550 million people, of having saved about five million lives and prevented 100 million illnesses in the first eight years of its use, of having recently reduced the annual malaria death-rate in India from 750,000 down to 1,500, and of having served at least two billion people in the world without causing the loss of a single life by poisoning from DDT alone." . . . "It is so safe that no symptoms have been observed among the spraymen or among the inhabitants of the spray areas, which numbered respectively 130,000 and 535 million at the peak of the campaign."

The perils of the substance are thus largely illusory; however, the dangers of a ban, even limited in scope, are frighteningly real. In California and Arizona, bee-keepers complain that toxic substitutes for DDT are wiping out their hives. Maine gave up DDT years ago; in 1967, when the spruce bud worm threatened to destroy its forests, the state hastily changed its mind. (At the urging of the Swedish Board of Private Forestry, the National Poisons and Pesticides Board has granted forestry a one-year exemption from the general ban. Without DDT, officials feared, the large pine weevil would cause \$20 million worth of damage to trees and seedlings.) The alarming spread of the gypsy moth—which Harold Porter, president of the National Plant Board (an organization of state plant pest-control officials) blames squarely on the lack of DDT—lately has made headlines, not only in New York State but also in New Jersey, where the number of defoliated acres is mounting geometrically from 5,000 in 1968 to well over 100,000 this year, Pennsylvania and Virginia. All told, according to the Department of Agriculture, the gypsy moth in 1969 defoliated 260,000 acres of wood-



land, triple the number destroyed in 1968. This year's toll will be far worse.

Here, in official but graphic terms, is what's involved: "In their caterpillar form, gypsy moths strip the leaves from forest, shade and fruit trees, as well as ornamental shrubs. By defoliating forests, they increase fire and erosion hazards, adversely affect stream flow, reduce land and recreational values, and destroy wildlife habitats. Plant protection officials point out that a single defoliation has been known to kill white pines, spruce and hemlock. Two defoliations can kill most hardwoods."

What the Environmentalists are seeking would be a major disaster, both at home and abroad. To deny the product to such nations as India would constitute, in the words of one scientist, "an act of genocide." To ban DDT in this country is too dangerous, while permitting its export, would be a flagrant piece of hypocrisy, which could only trigger global ill-will. The physical dangers, finally, are frightening to behold. Thus, the World Health Organization points out that in Ceylon, which discontinued the spraying of DDT several years ago, "more than a million cases of malaria have reappeared." In this country, which thought it had wiped out the disease long ago, 1,559 cases were reported in the first 24 weeks of 1970, up 25% from 1969. As to food and fiber, a Special Review Group, comprising four noted entomologists, after a thoroughgoing scrutiny of current practices, concluded last month that DDT remains essential for most domestic crops; perhaps as a wry postscript, it added that there is no satisfactory substitute for DDT in the control of rattlesnakes in the Southwest U.S. "If we had to depend on nature," an eloquent lawmaker once said, "we would probably die of disease at a fairly early age, if we did not starve first."

By their fruits ye shall know them. Through their unbridled recklessness with facts and sheer irrationality—a triumph of superstition over science, one scholarly critic has averred—so-called conservationists and ecologists have poisoned the climate of opinion. Now willy-nilly they are threatening to unleash famine and pestilence upon their fellow citizens. ("It's a question of survival," cried the resident of Shirley, "the caterpillars or us.") They profess to preserve wildlife, defend the environment, befriend the earth. Their natural prey is civilized man.

#### WITH THE VOLUNTEER ARMY DEFEAT, DRAFT REFORM MORE ESSENTIAL THAN EVER

#### HON. JONATHAN B. BINGHAM

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 10, 1970

Mr. BINGHAM. Mr. Speaker, the New York Times carried an editorial on August 28 concerning the Senate defeat of the Goldwater-Hatfield amendment, which would have provided for an all-volunteer army. The editorial quite rightly stresses the urgent need for draft reform.

The National Service Act of 1970 which I have introduced with a large number of cosponsors—H.R. 18025 and H.R. 18578—would implement just the sort of reforms the New York Times is suggesting. The editorial follows:

#### NO AMERICAN MERCENARIES

Defeat of the Senate proposal to increase substantially the financial rewards for military service has removed the threat of a

"reform" that would have made a bad situation worse. The obvious intent of the legislation, co-sponsored by Senators Barry Goldwater and Mark Hatfield, was to let an all-volunteer army in through the back door.

The nature of the incentives left little doubt that the bill's aim was to attract men to long-term military service. What was being described as a volunteer army would in reality soon have become indistinguishable from a professional army.

The Nixon Administration and its spokesman in the debate, Senator John Stennis of Mississippi, opposed the proposal only on such technical grounds as its high cost and the uncertainties in the military manpower supply. Such objections ignore far more serious risks, particularly that of a dangerous, militaristic shift in the relationship between the uniformed and civilian sectors of American society.

The immediate effect of the pay incentive offered to create an all-volunteer army would almost certainly be to induce the poor and racial minorities to liberate more privileged youths of an unpleasant obligation—a condition already much too prevalent under the inequities of present draft rules. In the long run, such an arrangement would supply the professional military establishment with a large, permanent force of men, easily manipulated to serve special military interests. This is a fundamental departure from the concept of the militia and from the traditional safeguards aimed at preventing the military from developing a life of its own, apart from the civilian society.

But defeat of the Goldwater-Hatfield proposal is no substitute for reform of the present Selective Service system's built-in imbalances. The most promising answers ought to be sought in a broader concept of national service. Young Americans deserve a variety of options—to volunteer either for the military or for demanding civilian service in hardship areas of critical need, with the draft lottery still facing those who fail to volunteer for either option.

#### JUSTICE DEPARTMENT IGNORES POLLUTION LAW

#### HON. JOHN D. DINGELL

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 10, 1970

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, pursuant to permission granted, I insert into the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, an excellent article appearing in the August 21, 1970, issue of the Outdoor News Bulletin, the official biweekly newsletter of the Wildlife National Institute. The article tells how our Attorney General, Mr. Mitchell, refuses to proceed under the Refuse Act of 1899 against industrial polluters.

One wonders how an attorney general can be for law and order where the target is crime in the streets and not for law and order where major industrial polluters are involved.

This situation rather reminds one of the old story of how the English law punished the man who stole the goose from the common, but not the man who stole the common from the goose.

The text of the article follows:

#### JUSTICE DEPARTMENT IGNORES POLLUTION LAW

Congressman Richard L. Ottinger (N.Y.) has taken sharp issue with U.S. Attorney General John Mitchell's recent decision not to enforce a 71-year-old law prohibiting pollution of the nation's waterways, the Wild-

life Management Institute reports. At a press conference in Washington, Ottinger promised to go to court, if necessary, to compel the U.S. Attorney General to enforce the Refuse Act of 1899 against industrial polluters.

The action came in response to testimony by Shiro Kashiwa, Assistant Attorney General for Lands and National Resources, that the Department would not seek indictments under the law which forbids the discharge of refuse in navigable waters unless the discharge is "accidental or infrequent." Kashiwa told a Senate committee that U.S. Attorneys throughout the nation have been ordered not to bring action to "prevent or punish industrial discharges of a continuing nature."

Ottinger accused U.S. Attorney General Mitchell of applying a double standard of law enforcement. "On the one hand, Mr. Mitchell calls for maximum enforcement of laws against individuals," the Congressman charged, "while on the other, he says he will not enforce the law against corporate polluters."

Apparently in response to widespread criticism, both from the general public and Members of the Congress, the Army Corps of Engineers has announced new permit requirements under the 1899 Refuse Act which is supposed to help curtail discharges of pollutants into navigable waters. According to a Corps of Engineers release, permits will be required for all industrial discharges into navigable waters and their tributaries. New permits will be required where existing OK's were granted without adequate consideration of the quality of the effluent. Permits also will be required for current discharges into navigable waters where none have been granted. In essence, industry will be given a license to pollute, but only to the extent that state water quality standards allow.

While permission will be required for all future discharges into navigable waters and their tributaries, the Corps of Engineers says it will concentrate initially on major sources of industrial pollution not covered by existing permits.

#### POPULARITY OF SPACE PROGRAM

#### HON. JAMES G. FULTON

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 10, 1970

Mr. FULTON of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, in these days of criticism and doubt on everything from the Bible, the U.S. Constitution, the President, the Congress, and even the rules the average U.S. citizen lives by, it is heartening to find the popularity of the science, research, and development space program.

As the ranking minority member of the House Science and Astronautics Committee, during the past several weeks I have checked through the large Pittsburgh metropolitan and industrial area and find our citizens uniformly favor keeping the United States foremost in science, research, development, space and technology. In fact, most of our citizens feel that the progress in science, research, development, and technology have been major contributory elements to the high standard of living which we Americans now enjoy.

In order to keep ahead for the future, the average western Pennsylvania citizen feels that we must continue to emphasize education, and keep the Federal Government, as well as the Pennsylvania government cooperating with our corporations in business and the develop-

ment of new practices, new products, and new horizons.

Our Allegheny County—Pittsburgh—Fair, which runs 5 days through Labor Day each year, exhibits everything from farm products to advanced technology and engineering and draws crowds by the hundreds of thousands. The total attendance this year from western Pennsylvania, northern West Virginia, and eastern Ohio exceeded 750,000 people who viewed exhibits and took part in projects. This is America at its best.

Our Allegheny County commissioners, Commissioner Staisey, Commissioner Foerster, and Commissioner William Hunt are to be complimented on this fine success of the fair this year for the benefit of our citizens.

At my request, in cooperation with the Allegheny County commissioners, the National Aeronautics and Space Administration lent a moon rock specimen brought back by the Apollo 12 crew. This moon rock exhibit of NASA was placed in a small room in the basement of the Park Administration Building. As a member of the House Science and Astronautics Committee, my office and I arranged for the display and we had five people and myself, as well as an Allegheny County Police Officer as guard assist in handling the surprising number of people who crowded in every day to view the Apollo 12 moon rock exhibit.

We gave to those people specially interested in further information on the moon rock a statement on this particular moon rock, which I am enclosing for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

Therefore, I recommend to the Members of the U.S. House of Representatives and the Members of the U.S. Senate that strong support be given to science, research, development, technology, and education to insure the future success of the United States, to maintain U.S. industry as first in research and technology, and to fund adequately our educational institutions, which is the greatest and goodly heritage this generation can give to our young people and the coming generations of American citizens.

The statement on the moon rock follows:

#### ALL ABOUT THE MOON ROCK!

DEAR FRIENDS: This excellent moon rock was brought back to Earth by the Apollo 12 Astronauts from their trip to the Moon in November 1969, a journey which carried them 953,000 miles and lasted over ten days.

Soon after the completion of the Apollo 12 flight, one scientist described the mission as "maybe a million times more important to science than Apollo 11," the first flight to put men on the Moon. The Apollo 12 mission yielded much more in the way of scientific samples for study.

This particular sample on display here was collected by Astronauts Conrad and Bean during their first moon walk outside their landing craft. Scientists have speculated that it is a chunk of bed rock that was ejected from a crater close to where it was found.

It weighs 151 grams—about one-third of a pound. Actually, it is only part of a larger rock of over four pounds which was discovered embedded beneath the lunar surface.

Because this rock has been sawed through, it is one of the best lunar samples available for public viewing. From its cross-section it is possible to distinguish its "shatter crust"

on the surface, which is slightly lighter in color than the dark grey interior. This crust was formed by the crushing of crystals by micro-meteorite bombardment.

According to its scientific designation, this rock is an "olivine dolerite." It could be from 3.5 to 4.5 billion years old, older than the oldest known rocks on Earth.

Over 150 scientific groups in the United States and abroad are cooperating in the detailed analysis of samples such as this. Through their research we will gain a greater knowledge of not only the Moon, but the Earth, the Sun, and indeed our entire universe as well.

Best wishes,

JIM FULTON.

CAPT. C. GERY BOWEN

HON. OLIN E. TEAGUE

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 10, 1970

Mr. TEAGUE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, on Thursday, August 6, the body of Marine Corps Capt. C. Gery Bowen was laid to rest with full military honors in Dallas. Captain Bowen was a career officer and one of Texas' many heroes of the Vietnam war. He flew some 311 combat missions and came through all of them unscathed, only to fall ill while serving as a flight instructor at the Naval Air Station in Beeville, Tex. He was a much decorated individual and under leave to extend my remarks, I include the text of the two most important decorations which were accorded to Captain Bowen:

U.S. MARINE CORPS,  
San Francisco, Calif.

The President of the United States takes pleasure in presenting the Distinguished Flying Cross to Captain Charles Gery Bowen, United States Marine Corps, for service as set forth in the following citation:

"For heroism and extraordinary achievement in aerial flight while serving as a Pilot with Marine Attack Squadron 211, Marine Aircraft Group Twelve, First Marine Aircraft Wing in connection with operations against the enemy in the Republic of Vietnam. On the morning of 1 February 1968, Captain BOWEN launched as Wingman in a flight of two A-4 Skyhawk aircraft assigned a landing zone preparation mission in support of a Marine reconnaissance team inserting nine miles southwest of DaNang. Enroute to the designated area, he contacted the Tactical Air Controller (Airborne) and was instructed to make bombing runs against suspected enemy position on the high ground overlooking the helicopter landing zone. After making several attack runs, Captain BOWEN was informed that the CH-46 helicopter transporting the reconnaissance team had been hit by enemy fire and had crashed over 500 meters away from the intended landing zone. While orbiting the area, he received a briefing from the Tactical Air Controller (Airborne), who reported that 200 to 300 North Vietnamese soldiers were observed in the area and were firing on the downed aircraft. With complete disregard for his own safety, Captain BOWEN unhesitatingly commenced a low level simulated strafing run toward a tree line adjacent to the Marines' position in an effort to draw the attention and the fire of the enemy away from the burning CH-46. In coordination with the approach of the extraction helicopter, he commenced his second run. Although his air-

craft was struck by enemy ground fire, damaging an aileron and the tail section, Captain BOWEN made two bombing runs against the hostile force, which enabled the extraction aircraft to land and successfully lift out the crew and passengers of the CH-46. His exceptional aeronautical ability and determined efforts were an inspiration to all who served with him and contributed significantly to the safe extraction of thirteen Marines. Captain BOWEN's courage, superb airmanship and steadfast devotion to duty in the face of great personal danger were in keeping with the highest traditions of the Marine Corps and of the United States Naval Service."

For the President,

V. H. KRULAK,  
Lieutenant General, U.S. Marine Corps,  
Commanding General, Fleet Marine  
Force, Pacific.

U.S. MARINE CORPS,  
San Francisco, Calif.

The President of the United States takes pleasure in presenting a gold star in lieu of the second Distinguished Flying Cross to Captain Charles Gery Bowen, United States Marine Corps, for service as set forth in the following citation:

"For heroism and extraordinary achievement in aerial flight while serving with Marine Attack Squadron 211, Marine Aircraft Group Twelve, First Marine Aircraft Wing in connection with operations against the enemy in the Republic of Vietnam. On 21 February 1968, Captain Bowen launched as Flight Leader of a section of two A-4 Skyhawk aircraft assigned a close air support mission for Marine units heavily engaged with a numerically superior North Vietnamese Army force in the city of Hue. Despite rapidly deteriorating weather conditions, extremely limited visibility and intense enemy ground fire, he skillfully maneuvered his aircraft over the target area and quickly located the enemy positions. With complete disregard for his own safety, Captain Bowen commenced his attack and executed four bombing runs through the heavy enemy fire, delivering all ordnance with pinpoint accuracy to within 100 meters of friendly positions. As a result of his exceptional ordnance delivery, the flight was credited with the destruction or damage of numerous structures, two secondary fires and one secondary explosion and inflicted heavy casualties on the enemy. Captain Bowen's courage, outstanding aeronautical skill and unwavering devotion to duty at great personal risk contributed significantly to the success of Operation Hue City and were in keeping with the highest traditions of the Marine Corps and of the United States Naval Service."

For the President,

V. H. KRULAK,  
Lieutenant General, U.S. Marine Corps,  
Commanding General, Fleet Marine  
Force, Pacific.

#### A GOLD RECORD AWARD

HON. JEROME R. WALDIE

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 10, 1970

Mr. WALDIE. Mr. Speaker, the Antioch Environmental Council recently initiated a worthwhile program of "honoring" the top water polluters of the month by presenting them with a Gold Record Award.

Occasionally, this dubious distinction is presented a national agency whose activities are deserving of such recognition.



Such a "distinction" was merited in the council's view—and in my own—by the U.S. Army for its remarkable decision to dispose of its undisposable accumulation of deadly nerve gas by dumping it into the Atlantic Ocean. Surely, such innovative action is worthy of attention—if not acclaim—and the Antioch Environmental Council has properly given the U.S. Army that attention.

I include their letter on this matter for your attention:

ANTIOCH ENVIRONMENTAL COUNCIL,

Antioch, Calif., August 14, 1970.

J. S. GRYGIEL,

Colonel, G. S., Deputy Director of Installation, Department of the Army, Pentagon, Washington, D.C.

Colonel GRYGIEL: Congratulations! The Antioch Environmental Council has selected the Department of the Army as the recipient of our special Gold Record Award for contributions in the field of water pollution. Each month the AEC awards gold records to the top ten air and water polluters in our country, which is Contra Costa. However, gold records also are awarded to a state and a federal agency that has made a major contribution to the pollution problems of our country.

We feel that the Department of the Army has earned the Gold Record Pollution Award for its plan to dump potentially-deadly nerve gas rockets in the Atlantic Ocean. The Army has met our qualifications for this award in that it creates excessive amounts of waste material that must eventually be disposed of in the environment.

Your department is the first to receive the National Award, and it is now a member of a not-so-exclusive group called "Polluter of the Month Club." Keep up the work and your efforts will not go unrecognized.

Regards,

Mrs. THAYER JOHNSON, Chairman,  
Antioch Environmental Council.

## NEW PROTECTIONISM

### HON. SAM GIBBONS

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 10, 1970

Mr. GIBBONS. Mr. Speaker, Mr. Hobbart Rowen, business editor of the Washington Post, has ably analyzed some of the fallacies in the now pending foreign trade bill in his column of Sunday, September 6.

His cogent appraisal of this legislation as it relates to jobs of American workmen, and its open invitation to quotas for many American industries, not just two, and a consequent international trade war should be read by every Member of this House.

I, therefore, submit for inclusion in the Record the article, as follows:

LABOR LEADERS RESENT "PROTECTIONISM" LABEL

Labor leaders appear to resent the charge that their new policy in support of import quotas amounts to "protectionism."

When they argue that the expansion of trade must be "regulated" to protect jobs, "that's not 'protectionism,' that's realism," AFL-CIO Research Director Nat Goldfinger said in a letter to The Washington Post.

The essence of Goldfinger's argument is

that the U.S. export surplus has vanished (after discounting government-financed shipments), eliminating job opportunities here. Moreover, the fast-growing multinational corporation can "juggle" jobs and production from one country to another (typically to low-cost economies outside of the United States). To cap it all, expanding imports don't necessarily result in price benefits to the consumer.

"Confronted by reality," Goldfinger says, "the AFL-CIO insists that the needed expansion of trade must be regulated. The AFL-CIO has proposed restrictions on the foreign investment outflows of U.S. companies, the end of U.S. government subsidies to companies setting up foreign subsidiaries, government regulation of U.S.-based multi-national corporations and the development of international fair labor standards in world trade.

"In addition, the AFL-CIO has recommended, as a stopgap, an orderly marketing approach to imports—with a trigger mechanism for the establishment of quotas to stem the tide of imports of a product, when such expanding imports threaten to disrupt the U.S. market."

That's the policy Mr. Goldfinger says is not protectionist. Interestingly enough, a Latin-American trade delegation which visited Washington Aug. 5 to 7, hoping to pave the way for exemptions from the threatened restrictions of the Mills bill, reported to the Council of Americas organization:

"The only strongly protectionist note which the delegation heard came from representatives of the AFL-CIO. The AFL-CIO representatives expressed firm opposition to what they called 'the export of jobs' from the U.S."

The AFL-CIO's main concern is jobs; but it is simply not true to suggest that American labor is threatened by a flood of imports. Both exports and imports have grown over the years, which means that some domestic industries (and their workers) have been faced with greater competition. By the same token, the export industries (and their workers) have gained from increasing sales.

#### ECONOMIC IMPACT

What the labor leaders seem to be saying is that everything should be frozen, with everybody keeping the same job in the same industry he started out in. As Council of Economic Advisers chairman Hendrik Houthakker said in a courageous speech last month, "This line of argument recalls the guild system of the Middle Ages and is hardly appropriate in a modern dynamic society."

As Houthakker suggested, if the textile and shoe industries that the AFL-CIO is so worried about can't meet the competition, it shows only that American workers can be more productively employed elsewhere. But in countries like Korea, the textile industry provides the most productive employment available.

"It is therefore to the advantage of both countries," Houthakker argued, "if more American workers get out of textiles and more Korean workers get into them. This shift also benefits American consumers, who can buy textiles more cheaply."

The multi-national corporation argument also doesn't really wash. There is nothing much new there. Big corporations have always tried to locate where their costs of production are the cheapest; this was true also while the AFL-CIO, years ago, backed a liberal free trade policy.

Paul Jennings, president of the International Union of Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers, makes the point that an electronics worker in Taiwan makes only 1/20th of the U.S. worker's wage. But as Houthakker notes, even though wages in the U.S. aircraft industry are much higher than similar wages elsewhere, the U.S. industry dominates world markets. Why? Because of

the high level of productivity for aircraft workers.

What is dangerous today is that the House Ways and Means Committee quota bill is likely to pass, which could result in a reduction of both imports and exports because of the undoubted retaliation in kind that will result.

The U.S. economy is powerful enough to share in growing world trade, dealing with the initial problems of industry and labor impacted by any really serious import competition.

But the approach of the House bill, notably the "general relief" provision sponsored by Rep. John W. Byrnes (R-Wis.) opens the quota door to a host of industries.

The Byrnes' formula makes eligible those industries which demonstrate that imports exceed 15 per cent of the U.S. market, have increased 3 per cent in the previous year and 5 per cent in the prior two years.

A Tariff Commission study shows that literally scores of industries would be eligible for quotas under the Byrnes formula, including many electronic products; passenger cars; bicycles; many metal ores; pottery; sporting goods; leather goods; many fish and seafood products; many agricultural products; clocks; antibiotics; umbrellas; radioactive isotopes and wigs.

Moreover, the "national interest" clause which allows the President to exempt designated countries from quotas is a reversion from the principle of multilateral trade to a narrower and discriminatory bilateral basis. (The Latin American delegation, by the way, got promises of special treatment.)

But other countries are not planning to remain idle. If they merely ape the Byrnes "basket" technique, U.S. exports will run smack into increasing protectionism abroad.

Despite assurance to the contrary by Commerce Secretary Maurice Stans, the threat of reprisals is strong. There are many clues. German Economic Minister Karl Schiller, for example, says that if U.S. quotas are slapped on, "there would be a great peril that a wave of protectionism would circle the globe in a chain reaction." German industrialist Fritz Berg more bluntly says a "trade war" is imminent.

The Italian Minister of Foreign Trade, Mario Zagari, echoing the same sentiment, adds that the return to protectionism "will mean the beginning of the end of American leadership in the world . . ."

Thus, it doesn't really matter what the AFL-CIO calls its policy; the essential point is that the industries and unions that are backing quota legislation are taking a serious backward step that threatens the total economic well-being of this country.

## CONCERN OVER TERRORIST HI-JACKINGS—A NEW WEAPON OF INTERNATIONAL WARFARE

### HON. ROBERT H. MICHEL

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 10, 1970

Mr. MICHEL. Mr. Speaker, all of us in Congress share concern over the wave of terrorist hijackings which has emerged as a new weapon of international warfare. Our hearts go out to the victims and their anxious relatives. I feel that the Government of this Nation has a clear and definite responsibility to act to meet this new threat to safety and peace of mind. Various solutions have been suggested. Some innovations have been tried—all have been found want-

ing. Inspection of passengers, various screening devices and even "frisking" of suspected hijackers has failed to protect the traveling public. The apparent only recourse is to place military armed guards on international and coastal flights originating in the United States. This is a serious step and an encroachment on traditional separation of military and civil functions. However, these are unusual and trying times. The problem we are dealing with is extremely serious—as right now 300 lives hang in the balance, depending on the decisions of fanatical Palestinian guerrillas. I would hope that other nations would follow suit, since international cooperation on return of hijackers seems beyond the realm of cooperative agreement at the present time. I urge the President to take this step with all due care to preservation of public rights, but with full-scale protection for the flying public in mind. Eventually we will undoubtedly find other ways, but today's answer must be applied to today's emergency.

#### EDUCATION IS THE KEY

### HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 10, 1970

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, as we return after the House recess, schools across the country are beginning the fall term. A very pertinent editorial emphasizing the value of a well-rounded education was carried in the Thursday, August 20 Worth-Palos, Ill., Reporter. I feel that it is an exceptionally pertinent commentary on the subject and ask to insert the editorial at this point:

#### EDUCATION IS THE KEY

(By Pat Bouchard)

The beginning of the new school year is fast approaching and one fact becomes increasingly clear. The future of American society depends to a large degree on how effective our educational system is.

Education is in an era of unrest. Schools and children are faced with social problems the community has not been able to solve. School administrators are tied up with issues of integration, sex education, drug abuse, aid to private schools, and these issues, along with the everyday striving to keep up with knowledge that is increasing at a fantastic rate, is going to require patience, diligence, and cooperation. The patience, diligence and cooperation will be required of students and parents as well as school officials.

This cooperation is an absolute must if our educational system is to grow and succeed. Educational growth and success is an absolute must if the future of America is to be assured.

A combination of student knowledge and compassion can be the insurance policy that will guarantee the survival of our society, maybe not as it is, but even better, as it should be.

The premiums on that insurance policy must be paid by all of us. The education of our children cannot be relegated merely to those hours they spend in school. Book learning alone is not enough.

If the citizens of tomorrow are to cope with the world they must develop sound and creative habits of mind. This can be done within the classroom. Further, the institutions of

learning can fulfill society's need for professionals and technicians. The teachers can do this job with the cooperation of the students in developing their intellectual resources.

However, knowledge alone will not give our young people all the necessary tools to deal with increasing social and political ills. Knowing and understanding other humans is necessary, and this is an around-the-clock project. The student's success in this area depends greatly upon the most influential teacher—the parent.

Thus we see it will take the combined efforts of educators and parents to forge the key that will unlock the force capable of solving all the problems of war, hunger, damaged environment, and the general atmosphere of violence in which we live.

That key, of course, is a well rounded education.

#### ABRIDGED HISTORY OF BIERSTADT PAINTINGS IN SPEAKER'S LOBBY

### HON. BURT L. TALCOTT

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 10, 1970

Mr. TALCOTT. Mr. Speaker, it is a pity that more visitors to our Capitol do not have an opportunity to see and appreciate the works of art located here.

Only two of the paintings which hang in the Speaker's lobby of the House of Representatives are not portraits. These are the pair of landscapes by Albert Bierstadt, prominent artist of Western America during the 19th century.

The House, in 1867, adopted by unanimous consent the resolution of Mr. Banks:

*Resolved:* That the Committee on the Library be authorized to contract with Albert Bierstadt for two paintings thoroughly American in character, representing some prominent feature of scenery or important event in the discovery or history of America to fill 2 unoccupied panels in the chamber of the House of Representatives.

Bierstadt, when contacted by the committee, asked for \$40,000 for each painting. The discussions ended there, but not permanently, for, on March 3, 1875, the chairman—of the Joint Committee on the Library—was authorized to purchase of Mr. A. Bierstadt his painting of the landing of Hendrik Hudson now on exhibition in the hall of the House of Representatives at a price not exceeding \$10,000.

This purchase was made, and, in 1878, a companion painting, "Entrance Into Monterey," was purchased from the artist, also, for \$10,000. They were 10 feet 6 inches by 6 feet each, and hung on either side of the Speaker's desk in the Chamber. Early in the 20th century—before 1910—the paintings were removed to a retiring room connected with the Speaker's lobby. They were moved again during the 1920's, and the paintings have since hung above the Members' staircases at either end of the Speaker's lobby.

The painter, Albert Bierstadt, was born in Dusseldorf, Germany, January 7, 1830. He was brought to America at an early age, but returned to Dusseldorf in 1853 and entered the academy, afterward studying in Italy and Germany. He was

elected national academician in 1860, chevalier of the Legion of Honor of France in 1867, and received medals and various orders from Austria, Germany, Bavaria, and Belgium. He was at one time a pupil of Emmanuel Leutze. He died in New York, February 18, 1902. Charles E. Fairman, Art and Artists of the Capitol of the United States of America, USGPO, Washington, 1927, p. 177.

Bierstadt was acclaimed in America and Europe for his landscapes, particularly those of the Sierras and the Rockies. He achieved national recognition following his first trip West with Gen. Frederick Lander's 1858 mapping expedition. He made a second trip in 1863, reaching California and Oregon for the first time. Following an extended European trip to make studies for the painting of Hendrik Hudson's landing, Bierstadt returned again to San Francisco in 1872, from where he visited Yosemite and Hetch Hetchie Canyon—two of his most famous subjects.

Because one of the Bierstadt paintings portrays an historic and scenic place in the congressional district which I have the honor to represent, I have researched and discovered some pertinent information which I believe will interest Members and visitors who enjoy the variety of art which adorns our Capitol.

#### ENTRANCE INTO MONTEREY

Hanging above the Members' staircase at the west end of the Speaker's Lobby in the House of Representatives is Albert Bierstadt's painting of Monterey Bay. Finished in 1878 and sold directly to the Government for \$10,000, it originally hung to the left of the Speaker's desk in the House Chamber, next to the portrait of George Washington. It was moved in the early 1900's, and again in the 1920's, when it was placed over the staircase. It has been known both as "Entrance into Monterey"—this title has been used by the Architect of the Capitol ever since the painting was acquired—and as "Viscaino Landing at Monterey, 1601." The latter title appears on the titleplate attached to the painting's frame.

There is even some doubt as to the intended subject matter of the painting. In 1897, George Hazelton wrote in his guide to the Capitol, the National Capitol, Its Architecture, Art and History, that "(m)any think it represents what might be styled the natal day of the Upper California mission"—the December, 1601 landing at Monterey by the explorer Viscaino—while "(o)thers, however, ably contend that Bierstadt intended here to celebrate with his brush the spot where Spanish tradition says Junipero Serra, the 'Father of California,' surrounded by his disciples, first said mass at Monterey in 1769, under an oak by the shores of the beautiful bay."

Sebastian Viscaino, exploring the coast of California for the King of Spain, came upon Monterey Bay in December 1602. He reported it as a wonderful harbor of refuge—thereby confusing later explorers when they happened upon this open roadstead—and named it for the then Viceroy of New Spain, the Conde de



Monterrey. Viscaino, with his fleet of four small ships, was the first to accurately map the California coast; the names he gave landmarks endure to the present day.

Father Serra landed at Monterey on June 1, 1770, after sailing up from San Diego on the San Antonio. Meeting Portola—who had come by land—they celebrated mass under a live oak close to the beach. At this time, formal possession, first claimed by Cabrillo in 1542, was reconfirmed in the name of the King of Spain.

The painting has been cleaned and restored once, in 1953 by Francis Sullivan of the National Gallery.

### I BELIEVE IN AMERICA

#### HON. HAROLD T. JOHNSON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 10, 1970

Mr. JOHNSON of California. Mr. Speaker, an example of what I consider to be the responsibility and dedication of the majority of our young people was recently called to my attention. Miss Wendy Morony of Chico, Calif., recently wrote an essay entitled "I Believe in America," winning first place in the American Legion's essay contest held annually. Because this expression of patriotism and concern so thoroughly examines both the ills plaguing our country as well as the constructive and orderly processes for rectifying these ills, as well as demonstrating the high degree of maturity and responsibility of so many of our young people, I proudly and respectfully submit Miss Morony's essay for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD:

#### I BELIEVE IN AMERICA

Today our country seems to be at a turning point. America is facing dark days which threaten her very existence. All around us are problems, many of a natural variety and others wholly manmade. Among us are those who live daily with poverty and hunger. The air we breathe, the water we drink, the cities we live in, are all fouled by dirt and pollution. Overpopulation threatens to outstrip our food supply in a few short decades. Our involvement in Vietnam has divided our country into two separate camps. A desire by minority groups to be afforded the same opportunities and privileges as all Americans has resulted in serious racial strife, particularly in our larger cities. Our educational system is at a crossroads where the authority of our universities and colleges is being challenged by campus rebels who sit-in, demonstrate, riot, burn, bomb, and destroy; and these unfortunate conditions are now, in some cases, even spreading to our high schools and grammar schools. Many believe that family life in the United States is deteriorating and that marriage and the family, as we know it today, will soon be outmoded and obsolete. The influence and prestige of the church is declining and the structure of religious belief is undergoing great change. We are in the midst of a sexual revolution, heightened by the advent of "the pill," which is reshaping codes and morals which have been in existence for centuries. The degree of alcoholism in the United States is alarmingly high. Drug abuse, espe-

cially among young people, is increasing every day, and threatens to run beyond the limits of control. Patriotism is "square;" avoiding the draft by any possible means is the prime objective of many young male Americans. Law, order, and our system of justice in the courts are being undermined by thugs and revolutionaries who seek to destroy these three basic cornerstones of a free society. They denounce the police and call them pigs, storm troopers, and racists. The police are stoned, clubbed, jeered, and spat upon. They are charged with brutality if they raise their clubs against those who riot and create disorder. They are charged with condoning violence if they fail to raise their clubs against the disrupters. Contempt for the courts and personal verbal attacks upon judges in obscene gutter language are the deliberate patterns of behavior of those who believe that the law must not prevail. Recently Vice President Agnew declared his belief that the overriding and compelling issue of the day is not inflation or the Vietnam War, but is the question of whether the government of this country will remain in the hands of its elected officials or will descend to the streets.

Although the problems and social ills of today are among the most serious ever to face our nation, I am confident that the strength and will of a majority of the American people will see us through these perilous times. I say this because I believe in America.

"I pledge allegiance to the Flag of the United States of America and to the Republic for which it stands . . ." These words ring with meaning in the hearts of all true Americans. They do not ask us to follow blindly laws that are unjust, nor do they deny the right to dissent. To good Americans, these words mean that through the orderly rule of the majority we seek to promote the good of all people, finding unity and progress in the differences that exist among us.

A minority of Americans is trying to destroy our country by violence and discord. Much has been said in recent years about individual rights. Some have used this appeal to justify rioting, looting, and killing. Those who thus openly defy the law invade the rights of others, the same rights that the violators claim to seek for themselves.

Liberty can exist only in an orderly society. The so-called "silent majority" simply will not permit its liberty to be lost to those who openly attack our country. They will use every lawful means at their disposal to assure that America will survive.

America is her people. Most of her people are good Americans. I believe in them. Therefore, I believe in America.

### WAGE-PRICE CONTROLS NOT THE ONLY ANSWER

#### HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 10, 1970

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, my mail has reflected the views of many constituents concerning the situation of the economy, specifically the battle against inflation. An editorial in the Thursday, August 20 Tribune of Harvey, Ill., effectively discusses the subject and is, I believe, an objective commentary on the economic situation:

#### WAGE-PRICE CONTROLS NOT THE ONLY ANSWER

The Nixon Administration's fight on inflation continues, but the outcome appears

still very much in the balance and leaning towards the critical side of the scale.

Not encouraging are the latest monthly figures which show inflation continuing, at a slightly faster pace, in the past month. Also, the Ford Motor company has just announced automobile price hikes of about five per cent for 1971 models and other car dealers are sure to follow. This means that most new cars are likely to be from \$100 to \$200 higher—some even more.

In this connection, the failure of the government to check inflation recently led George Meany to hint that price and wage controls may be necessary to halt the upward spiral. Meany, president of the AFL-CIO, says he isn't yet in favor of such controls but that they might be the only remedy to a "dangerous situation."

Others—some members of Congress—have also recently expressed the view that wage and price controls are the answer. It's probably accurate to say that at no other time in the nation's post-war history have more prominent economists, labor leaders and politicians leaned toward such controls.

Personally, we do not believe that wage and price controls are the answer to inflation, although they may be needed temporarily to halt both pay and price hikes. We would lean toward a complete and immediate withdrawal from Southeast Asia as a more expedient method of halting inflation.

Other government actions could include the raising of interest rates for savings; an expanded government bond program; fewer costly and wasteful projects such as the SST aircraft plan; a lessening of trade restrictions, both import and export, to lower prices; capping levels on farm subsidies. We would rather hear Mr. Meany and the Congressmen discuss the pros and cons of these alternatives before turning to wage and price controls as the only answer to the continuing spiral.

Basically, we believe that a whole new set of economic priorities should be established based on domestic needs. Curbing our problems at home could be the biggest step in cutting an inflationary spiral that has been created, for the most part, by the one-way spending for the Viet Nam war, during the past 10 years.

### PROCESS TO SAVE MERCURY FROM WASTE IS DEVELOPED

#### HON. F. BRADFORD MORSE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 10, 1970

Mr. MORSE. Mr. Speaker, earlier this summer, the Evening Star published an article describing the process being used by Ray J. Donlan, a chemist and chief of the water laboratory at the Public Health Department experimental station in Lawrence, Mass., to remove mercury from liquid chemical wastes.

The recent reports of dangerous levels of mercury content in many of our Nation's rivers and lakes make close attention to Mr. Donlan's efforts of critical importance. The process now being used in Lawrence appears to be a highly effective but relatively simple procedure, commonly known to chemists, and it offers the possibility of recovering costs through the reclamation and sale of the precipitated mercury.

I am indeed hopeful that this method has the potential for widespread application, and am deeply grateful to Mr. Don-

lan for his contribution to the battle against mercury pollution.

It is, therefore, with a particular sense of urgency, as one who is deeply concerned about the dangers to human health from mercury pollution, and it is with an especial sense of pride, as one who has the privilege of representing Lawrence, Mass., that I recall, for the careful reading of my colleagues, the text of the article:

[From the Washington Star, July 28, 1970]

**PROCESS TO SAVE MERCURY FROM WASTE IS DEVELOPED**

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

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

Donlan's comments came three days after the U.S. Justice Department announced it will file suits to require 10 companies to end discharge of mercury into navigable lakes and rivers.

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

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

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

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

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

**PRODUCT SAFETY COMMISSION**

**HON. BENJAMIN S. ROSENTHAL**

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 10, 1970

Mr. ROSENTHAL. Mr. Speaker, I introduced yesterday legislation which incorporates the legislative recommendations of the National Commission on Product Safety which recently completed its work.

The striking conclusion from the excellent and detailed studies made by the commission is that its work must not cease. The commission proved, in less than 2 years, that product safety is the proper concern of a permanent Government agency, not a temporary commission no matter how well organized nor how energetic. The commission's principal recommendation, therefore, is that Congress establish a permanent product safety commission. The legislation I introduce today would achieve that purpose.

This legislation would also authorize the new commission to establish standards for safety in consumer products; to create a consumer safety advocate who would represent the consumer before the

commission and, in appealing the commission's decisions, before Federal courts as well; to collect information on injuries and to serve as a national clearinghouse of such information; to conduct research and to make inspections of facilities manufacturing consumer products to insure that safety responsibilities are carried out.

Passage of this legislation, Mr. Speaker, would be generous evidence of the seriousness with which Congress regards the outstanding work of the National Commission on Product Safety and of the understanding which that commission engendered for programs to give consumers the permanent product safety they need and deserve.

**MADISON, WIS., COMMON COUNCIL OPPOSES SST**

**HON. ROBERT W. KASTENMEIER**

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 10, 1970

Mr. KASTENMEIER. Mr. Speaker, many citizens, including a large portion of the scientific community, have issued warnings about the excessive noise pollution the SST will cause. Now, the scientific community is concerned that the exhaust pollution the SST will create will never dissipate. The SST will fly at a high level where the atmosphere is basically stable. The effect, many believe, will be that its exhaust emissions will generate great expanses of clouds which will remain there indefinitely, reducing markedly the sunlight reaching the surface of the earth. Dr. Reid Bryson, who heads the University of Wisconsin Institute for Environmental Studies, has speculated that we may see a striking result as soon as there are several hundred supersonic jet transports in the air at the same time. They may well produce 100 percent cirrus cover over those regions where most of them will operate, and Dr. Bryson believes that such cloud cover would definitely cause climatic changes.

Another objection to the SST centers on the fact that the continued Federal subsidy for its development is a prime example of misallocation of priorities, and the American people should not be asked to contribute more of their tax money to such a nonessential frill program.

On August 5, 1970, the common council of the city of Madison, Wis., the State capital and the largest municipality in my congressional district, adopted a resolution opposing the development of the SST and prohibiting its flying within or the air space above the city limits, or using the municipal airport facilities.

I applaud this action taken by the Madison common council, and I call its resolution to the attention of my colleagues:

**RESOLUTION**

Whereas the SST is an environmental monster causing noise pollution equivalent to the sound of 50 subsonic jets taking off

simultaneously and causing upper atmospheric pollution, and

Whereas, the development of the SST is a classic case of misplaced national priorities in that United States Senate approval of H.R. 17755 appropriating \$290 million for the project would bring the total allocated to this project so far to \$1 billion—this at a time when we face the worst housing shortage in 20 years, when federal funds are being cut from mass transportation, education, anti-poverty programs, dental research, arthritis, child health, mental health Council go on record as urging the United States Senate to adopt Amendment No. 665 to the Department of Transportation appropriations bill, H.R. 17755 which would strike all funds for SST development for the coming fiscal year.

Be it further resolved that it be the policy of the City of Madison that the SST should be prohibited from flying within or the air space above the city limits or using municipal airport facilities.

Be it still further resolved that the City Clerk of the City of Madison officially communicate this decision and resolution to appropriate Federal authorities including the United States Senate so they are aware of our position.

Be it still further resolved that the Madison Common Council go on record as urging that the Wis. State Legislature adopt similar legislation on a state-wide basis to protect and define the environmental and social rights of all Wisconsin residents.

**HAIL THE WORLD CHAMPS—WAYNE, N.J., LITTLE LEAGUE**

**HON. ROBERT A. ROE**

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 10, 1970

Mr. ROE. Mr. Speaker, I am indeed privileged to bring to the attention of my colleagues the great pride we all share in the outstanding achievement of the Wayne American Little League Team of Wayne, N.J., in winning the 1970 Little League World Championship. They are truly exceptional young men of outstanding character and ability and serve as a shining example and inspiration to the youth of our Nation in portraying, by their diligence and perseverance, the opportunities and achievements that are possible and available to all of our young people under the principles of sportsmanship and fair play in our American system and way of life—or, for that matter, epitomize the American Dream.

National recognition and the heartiest congratulations are in order for the members of the team who are as follows:

Thomas (Tom) Olsen, William (Bill) Lees, Mark Epstein, Leonard (Len) Fruci, Craig Kornfeld, Michael Fantau, James (Jim) Kinney, Ronald (Ron) Webb, Anthony (Bud) Perrelli, Steven (Steve) O'Neil, Robert (Bob) Houghton, David (Dave) Shaver, Brian Hurtt, and Glen Otte.

Special commendation and plaudits are extended to Mr. Gene Cancellieri, manager of the team and 21 years old, together with Coach Tom De Angelis, 19 years old, who, as the two youngest officials ever to lead a Little League team to World Championship victory, manifest



all of those qualities of the highest standards of leadership, dedication and youthful vigor personifying the excellence of the youth of America.

I join with my colleagues here in the House, the members of the team and all other citizens of Wayne in extending our grateful appreciation to the president of the Wayne Little League, Mr. John Choka, to Commissioner James McNicholas and to all of the other participants, sponsors and supporters of the "Wayne Americans" for their great service and contribution in establishing a true communion among the youth and parents of our community.

I know you would agree with me that it is refreshing to see the national news media and television extolling the virtues of the young people of our Nation which is so poignantly characterized in the Monday, August 31, 1970, lead editorial of one of New Jersey's prestigious newspapers, The Paterson News, as follows:

#### HAIL THE CHAMPS

What does one say about the thrilling victory of Wayne's Little Leaguers in winning the World's Championship of all Little Leaguers?

For the jubilant townfolk of Wayne, the Champs' achievement was better than a cut in the tax rate, sweeter than the sweetest nectar ever served up in Passaic County's top suburban town, a gift from the gods carved out by as fine a bunch of youngsters any community has ever boasted.

It's not only the victory that sets the Wayne kids apart as Champs. It was their coolness under fire throughout the title series. While young Steve O'Neil was getting great fielding and a winning two-base hit by Davey Shaver, the rest of the team played together like a little Mets combo as they turned back their California opposition for the third victory of the World Series.

The champs will be honored at a White House lunch today.

This is America and American boys at their finest, and in a day when one of the major problems of the nation is the devastating problem of a narcotics-gripped teen-aged youth, Wayne Township—yes, and all of us as its neighbors—can hold high its collective head.

This is the America of old, and may the lengthened shadow of these wonderful boys cast its glow across the country as an example of fine, promising leaders of tomorrow.

So, hats off, all of us, to the Wayne Little Leaguers, their manager, Gene Cancellieri, and his aides, the parents of the championship kids, and to all the delirious residents and officials of Wayne who deservedly turned the town inside out in delirious celebration.

Dinners, parades, celebrations! Give 'em anything, Wayne. These kids deserve it.

And while we're at it, we'd like to point out a lesson the Wayne champions have posed for the governing officials of Wayne.

A little over a week ago, we urged Mayor Miller and the town councilmen to bury their political axes, forget their rivalries and get together for the good of the town.

We suggest now that they have an inspiring example of team play from their shining youngsters. It wasn't Steve O'Neil's pitching alone that did it. It wasn't Shaver's timely hit, nor the sparkling series play of Craig Kornfeld, Len Fruel, Mark Epstein, Mike Fantau and the other boys. It was their one-for-all, all-for-one, keep punching team play that made them champs.

Can the grown men who run the town do less? And will they learn the lesson?

## NO ONE IS PROPOSING OUTLAWING DETECTIVE AGENCIES

HON. LEONOR K. SULLIVAN

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 9, 1970

Mrs. SULLIVAN. Mr. Speaker, the tremendous number of letters I am getting from detective agencies throughout the country, and the volume of telephone calls my Subcommittee on Consumer Affairs is receiving from the offices of other Members of Congress inquiring about similar letters, lead me to take this means of reassuring the Congress—and the detective business—that we are not about to outlaw private investigators by any language in the proposed fair credit reporting bill.

Somehow—I do not know how—a staff draft of alternate language for sections of H.R. 16340 was passed along to a trade association in the private investigating field. It was described as "Working Draft of August 5." Two sections of it were singled out for a vast letter barrage to the Congress denouncing the "viciousness" of the whole idea of putting detective agencies out of business.

The so-called Working Draft of August 5 was never even considered in the subcommittee. It was one of a series of different staff drafts of language intended to solve some of the technical drafting problems we had encountered in our discussions on the bill—but the "Working Draft of August 5" was obsolete before it even appeared as a confidential subcommittee print because we had decided on August 5 to use a "Working Draft of August 4" for discussion and proposed changes, and that, too, has been superseded several times. So how the August 5 print ever got out I cannot imagine.

Apparently, after seeing or hearing about proposed language dealing with detective bureaus, the detective agencies became alarmed over the thought that we were trying to regulate them in work which has nothing to do with investigations into individuals' eligibility for credit, insurance, or employment. Obviously, if we are going to require credit bureaus to follow certain procedures in giving consumers an opportunity to find out the nature of adverse information in their credit files which might be erroneous but which could nevertheless lead to rejection of an application for credit, or for insurance, or for a job, then it would not be fair to the credit bureaus for us to permit detective agencies to do exactly the same work without similar regulation.

NOT A NEW EXTENSION OF THE BILL'S COVERAGE, BUT AN ATTEMPT AT CLARIFICATION

I think the alarm which has been spread among the detective agencies over the far-reaching consequences of these proposals has been rather mischievous. So far as I know, the trade association which circulated this material, and summoned all of the detective agencies to write to Congress in great distress over

the proposed language, never contacted us directly to find out what the bill-drafting problem was.

It is simply this: To make clear that the customary investigative work done by detective agencies for lawyers in court cases, or into insurance claims, or into thefts by employees, and so on, would not be covered by the fair credit reporting bill as long as this work was not intended to develop information for a credit grantor, or insurer, or prospective employer on the eligibility of an individual for credit, insurance, or employment, which is work normally done by credit reporting firms.

It was not the "Working Draft of August 5" that first posed this problem. Rather, that draft contained language—which also appears in previous and later drafts—designed to try to solve the jurisdictional problem as it relates to traditional detective agency work. We are interested in detective agency activities only insofar as they duplicate the work of a credit bureau in certain restricted fields of investigation. The problem has been present from the very start of our consideration of legislation dealing with the regulation of credit bureaus.

#### SUBCOMMITTEE SEEKING TO LEGISLATE RESPONSIBILITY

My Subcommittee on Consumer Affairs of the House Committee on Banking and Currency, which has been working diligently for many months on H.R. 16340, the fair credit reporting bill which I call the Good Name Protection Act, certainly recognizes the essential nature of credit bureaus in checking into the worthiness of individuals for credit, insurance or employment, and also recognizes the essential nature of detective agencies in making a wide variety of investigations into the backgrounds of individuals or into the circumstances which provide evidence for innumerable types of court cases and other matters.

So I would say to the Members of Congress who are receiving these anguished letters from detective agencies in their districts: credit our subcommittee, please, with the degree of responsibility with which we are trying to write a very important and very technical piece of legislation. We are not out to destroy or harm any legitimate business in the investigative field. We do want, however, to give the public the protections our citizens deserve as individuals in preventing—or correcting or challenging—erroneous information being circulated about them by businesses which charge a fee for obtaining personal data to be used in determining one's eligibility for a mortgage or consumer credit, a job, an insurance policy, or similar necessities.

As of the moment, the subcommittee has not reached firm conclusions or decisions on any provision of H.R. 16340, or of any of the drafts containing alternate language. Our executive sessions have been devoted to discussing concepts rather than specific language—the language is constantly being restudied.

Perhaps we need an investigative agency to find out how "Working Draft of August 5" happened to receive such

wide distribution among detective agencies when this particular staff paper was never even presented to the members of the subcommittee for consideration.

#### NO CAPITULATION TO AIR SAFETY

### HON. BENJAMIN S. ROSENTHAL

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 10, 1970

Mr. ROSENTHAL. Mr. Speaker, the world community can no longer delay decisive action against aerial hijacking. To do so not only would invite fanatics of every bent to emulate the Arab terrorists but also could lead to a breakdown of international air travel. Airplane traffic is extremely important to the Arab nations which so far have harbored and refused to prosecute the sky-jackers. The United Arab Republic has already shown signs it would be susceptible to any international pressure against air piracy. I am convinced, Mr. Speaker, that a boycott of the air terminals of those countries abetting the hijackers would result in the necessary international cooperation to curb sky-jacking, if respect for law and order and revulsion at barbarism should not be sufficient motivation. The September 10 New York Times editorial concerning the hijackings provides thoughtful recommendations on the problem:

#### BOYCOTT NEEDED

The continuing ordeal of an augmented company of international air travelers held captive on the Jordanian desert by Palestinian desperadoes is the savage consequence of the failure of the community of nations to have acted decisively long ago on the crime of aerial hijacking.

This latest and most barbaric wave of hijackings should never have been possible if interested nations, airlines and crews had moved urgently and forcefully to strengthen security arrangements—which remain pathetically primitive—and to forge binding international agreements for dealing with hijackers and with those who abet air piracy.

We have long advocated action, now so tragically overdue, to impose boycotts on the air terminals of nations which in any way offer aid or encouragement to air piracy, and to deny landing privileges to planes of such countries. This should be done on an international basis for maximum effect and because all civilized countries have a stake in curbing this threat to their citizens' safety. Belated efforts to tighten security at airports and on planes must also be accelerated on a worldwide basis, regardless of any temporary inconvenience.

The United States should be prepared to take the lead and impose boycotts unilaterally, if necessary, as Senator Goodell and others have suggested. Failing such national or international action, the hesitant airline pilots have the right and duty to impose their own boycott in the interest of the passengers for whom they are responsible.

The immediate concern of everyone must be for the safety of the desert hostages. The appeal issued by the U.N. Security Council yesterday is a limited first step toward bringing the force of world opinion to bear against the pirates and anyone who might be tempted to condone their actions. The temptation to move at once to more forceful action is great, but where so many innocent

lives are at stake diplomacy must be given every chance.

It must not be forgotten that the desperate aim of the Palestinian extremists is to wreck the revived Middle East peace talks which they have hysterically opposed. Unless this objective is frustrated, there will be diminishing security for everyone in the Middle East, and for many outside the area, for years to come.

With this larger issue in mind, it is essential that the current situation be met with restraint and the closest cooperation of all parties, including the Arab states whose vital interests are as directly threatened by the guerrilla action as are those of Israel and the rest of the civilized world.

#### JEFFERSONIAN DEMOCRAT TELLS WHAT HE BELIEVES IN

### HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 10, 1970

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, an interesting article in the Friday, August 21, New World, the official publication of the Catholic Archdiocese of Chicago, in which columnist Rev. Andrew M. Greeley frankly discusses his political views with the self-designated description of "Jeffersonian Democrat," I believe merits thoughtful reading by serious students of government. The article follows:

#### "JEFFERSONIAN DEMOCRAT" TELLS WHAT HE BELIEVES IN

(By Father Andrew M. Greeley)

The author of a column like this ought to make explicit periodically the context of convictions and commitments within which he is writing. While the reader may, if he is patient enough, be able to deduce over the long run where a columnist stands, he ought not to be required to engage in such an exercise of "form criticism."

Further, when a columnist manages to be viewed with dismay both by his own religious superiors and by the paragons of official Catholic liberalism, the reader has some right to know what philosophical principles have led the columnist to his marginal position.

At a recent meeting of a number of social scientists who were discussing ways in which the Peace Movement might communicate with the various segments of middle America I was arguing with considerable vigor that the Peace Movement, to begin with, must shed its contempt for middle America. Finally, one of my colleagues pointed a finger at me and observed, "I know what you are. You're a Populist!" He meant it is a compliment, and I took it as such, for Populism is perhaps the most powerful and elemental political movement in the whole of the American tradition.

It has at times produced rather bizarre leaders, and it can be a violent, bigoted, and destructive force, though it has also produced some of America's most creative political leadership: the Roosevelts, the LaFollettes, Hubert Humphrey (a quarter of a century ago and perhaps even today), Eugene McCarthy and, in his last years, Robert Kennedy.

I think I might have preferred even more the title of Jeffersonian Democrat because this would have cleared me of the anti-intellectual and chauvinist strain which is latent in the Populist spirit, but I'll settle for title

Populist, so long as it is understood that my Populism is more of the variety of Thomas Jefferson than it is of Andrew Jackson (or Hubert Humphrey in 1948 rather than George Wallace in 1968).

But what do I mean when I claim to be a Jeffersonian Democrat? There are three convictions which are at the root of this philosophy (at least for me), and which affect not only my political but also my religious attitudes:

1. I believe in the fundamental dignity and decency of the people; not merely intellectuals, not merely those who have Ph. D.'s, not merely those who live in certain sections of the country, but of the people; not all of the people all the time, but enough of the people enough of the time so that with the proper leadership the people will in the long run be more likely to make the correct decision rather than the incorrect one.

Indeed, they will be more likely to make the correct decision or at least support the correct decision than will be a self-anointed elite which has decided to make the people's decision for them. (I am not altogether out of sympathy with William Buckley's claim that he would rather be governed by the first 2,000 names in the Boston phone book than by the faculty of Harvard University.)

I would therefore agree with Winston Churchill that while democracy may very well be a terribly inefficient way of running a society (or a church), it looks very good indeed when compared to all other available methods.

2. I believe in the ability of men of good will to work out their differences with other men of good will so that situations can be created in which men of different backgrounds and different cultures can live with each other, if not exactly in amity, at least in some kind of peace. I do not think social conflict can ever be eliminated from society; I am convinced that there are in all social groups substantial majorities which are favorably disposed to settling conflict by dialogue, discussion, growth of mutual understanding, and compromise rather than by violence which tears a society apart.

3. I believe, finally, in the dignity, integrity, and uniqueness of people and, hence, reject any attempts to manipulate them, violate their dignity, and integrity, reduce their freedom, turn them into objects or categories, or make judgments on whole classes of people. Therefore, I view as mortal enemies of the people those demagogues of whatever color or of whatever social class who appeal to the hatred, the fear, and the resentment that smolders in the people. I further deplore those moralistic zealots who denounce the people.

I do not approve of those enthusiasts who would attempt to make feelings of guilt the beginning of social action or social reforms programs. I denounce those bigots who generalize about categories of people whatever their race, or nationality background, or religion, or economic class. I further denounce those bigots—even, and, indeed especially, when they are ministers of religion—who wish to hold whole certain classes of people today guilty for things that were done in the past.

I abhor those self-satisfied "missionaries" who are so convinced of their own rightness and righteousness that they manipulate people, thus violating their integrity and dignity so that they may do that which is "right." Hence, my profound suspicions of the forms of manipulation that go on in the abuses of group dynamics. Finally, I despise those snobs who despise the people, particularly the strutting mosquitoes of the official liberal journals, whether they be the clearly first-rate mosquitoes of the New York Review of Books or the clearly third-rate mosquitoes of such Catholic journals as Commonweal.



## FACTS ABOUT AMERICAN PRISONERS OF WAR IN SOUTHEAST ASIA

## HON. OLIN E. TEAGUE

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 10, 1970

Mr. TEAGUE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, the wives and families of prisoners of war in Southeast Asia have been working for the past several years very diligently in their quest to bring their sons and husbands home. Many of the veteran organizations of this country are assisting in every way they know how, particularly the Veterans of Foreign Wars. A nationwide effort has been launched by these wives and families, and I wish to include a sample of a fact sheet which they are distributing to clubs and organizations all over the country:

## THE FACTS ABOUT AMERICAN PRISONERS OF WAR IN SOUTHEAST ASIA

We want the world to know the truth about the treatment of American Prisoners-of-War in Southeast Asia.

## STATISTICS

Almost 1,600 U.S. Servicemen are now listed as "Missing-in-Action" or "Prisoner-of-War."

Over 1,100 are listed just as "Missing-in-Action."

Slightly over 400 U.S. Servicemen are known to be "Prisoners-of-War."

More than 200 Americans have now been held by the North Vietnamese for more than 5 years.

Less than 300 imprisoned Americans have ever been allowed to send mail to, or receive mail from their families.

## THE TRUTH ABOUT NORTH VIETNAMESE TREATMENT OF AMERICAN PRISONERS-OF-WAR

The North Vietnamese have refused to abide by a single one of the articles of the Geneva Convention Agreement regarding treatment of prisoners-of-war—an agreement which they signed in 1957. That document requires that there be the immediate release of names of those being detained, that there be neutral inspections of the prison camps, that there be allowed the free flow of mail between the prisoners and their families, that there be given adequate food and health care, and that the seriously sick and wounded be returned to their homeland promptly. The Geneva Convention Agreement calls for nothing more than what any civilized people would consider minimum with regard to prisoner treatment. And although they gave their solemn pledge to abide by those standards, the North Vietnamese have blatantly violated every one of the stipulations to which they pledged themselves.

The treatment of prisoners by the North Vietnamese is the most unconscionable in history. More than 200 Americans have been detained by the North Vietnamese for more than 5 years—the longest any American has ever been detained during an American conflict. The tortures inflicted upon the defenseless Americans by the Asian Communists include, being kept in solitary confinement, the pulling of fingernails, starvation, and being subjected to public harassment, to name only a few. Propaganda photographs disclose that prisoners, after months of captivity, still suffer from wounds incurred at the time of capture. Some are pictured with badly set bones, shrunken arms or legs from inadequate medical aid, while many are known to suffer from dysentery and stomach ailments. Pumpkin soup

with pig fat in it and some bread twice a day is the typical food that is provided. Reports include the rebreaking of broken bones, being dragged along the ground with a broken leg, being hung from a ceiling, forced statements, living in cages for literally years, and the suffering from heat rashes and fungus over 90 percent of their bodies. Men are beaten brutally for no reason. Some are known for their savage killing of captives rather than being bothered to transport them to a camp. Less than 300 of the American prisoners-of-war have ever been allowed to write to their families or to receive a letter from their families.

These men have fought for freedom and, in the process, have lost their own. It is our firm belief that it is now our turn to fight for them and their freedom. We urge you to take action now and join the thousands of deeply concerned, patriotic Americans and allies in this effort. Imagine yourself and your family in this situation and let your conscience be your guide!

## NO SUCCESS WITH POLITICAL AND MILITARY EFFORTS

There have been countless behind-the-scenes overtures made in hopes that the North Vietnamese could be reasoned with and that a rational solution to the prisoner dilemma could be achieved. All attempts to reason have fallen upon deaf ears where the North Vietnamese are concerned. We know that the Asian Communists have no concept of the value of human life. They have said that the lives of the American prisoners-of-war are not important—that it is the issues that count. The North Vietnamese say that a country of 200 million people (the US) cannot be concerned about "just 1600 men." They are not concerned about their own 8,000 men who are now being detained in South Vietnam. Innumerable attempts to effect a prisoner exchange have been made. The North Vietnamese are simply not interested in a prisoner exchange. Quiet diplomacy simply has not brought results with the North Vietnamese.

## IT IS NOT LIKELY THAT AMERICAN PRISONERS OF WAR WILL BE RELEASED THROUGH MILITARY PRESSURE

For the first time in American history the United States is disengaging from a war without first obtaining a settlement for the prisoners-of-war. The bombing of North Vietnam has been stopped, and is likely never to be resumed again. This was a unilateral action on the part of the United States, and the release of the prisoners-of-war was not a consideration when the decision to halt the bombing was made.

American troops are now being withdrawn from Vietnam, and this too is a unilateral gesture, with no provisions made for the return of the prisoners-of-war. Of course, it is hoped that the prisoners will be returned before all of the American combat troops are withdrawn, but as the number of troops withdrawn increases, the possibility diminishes of an American demand that the prisoners-of-war be released on the basis of troop withdrawals.

## HOW TO BRING HOME THE AMERICAN PRISONERS-OF-WAR

Public opinion! It must be admitted that North Vietnam has done a superlative job during this war in promoting world opinion in her favor. The indisputable fact is that North Vietnam has fought just as hard in the area of obtaining public sympathy for her cause, as on the battlefield. The reason for this "dual war" on the part of the North Vietnamese should be quite evident. North Vietnam must rely upon world sympathy in order to survive. North Vietnam is a non-industrial country. North Vietnam is also a non-agricultural country. The North Viet-

namese would find it impossible to survive or even to exist without the help of other people throughout the world. Whether in war or out of war, North Vietnam must rely upon supplies from other countries in order to endure. Daily, ships from countries from literally all over the world carry their life sustaining cargoes of goods, and supplies into Halphong Harbor in North Vietnam. The goods going into North Vietnam come from Hong Kong, England, France, Japan, Italy, India, Sweden, Canada, and Scandinavia not to mention the more obvious sources for aid to the North Vietnamese such as the Soviet Union, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Romania and the other Communist bloc countries. Last year, Sweden alone gave the North Vietnamese 43-million dollars! If Americans stop purchasing goods from the neutral and allied countries that are trading with North Vietnam, the economic pinch would soon be felt, resulting in much greater pressure upon North Vietnam to release prisoners-of-war. The North Vietnamese must be made to understand that they stand to lose everything through world opinion by keeping their hold on the American prisoners-of-war. During this past year since the issue became public, almost miraculous results have been brought about by the display of public concern. Over 200 families have been allowed to know for the first time that their loved ones are alive. The increase of mail coming from POW's to their families is now 10 times what it was a year ago. America holds the purse strings of the world. The day that all Americans let it be known that they will not tolerate the detention and torturing of American servicemen, will be the day that the American Prisoners-of-War will be released.

Yes, America holds the pursestrings of the world. And yes, the world responds to the outcry of American opinion. Every voice is needed. For every example of silence on this issue only proves to tell Hanoi that Americans don't care about those who have served them. If there is anything that has helped American servicemen to survive their years of anguish, it is their faith in America. These are the men who would do anything, suffer anything, and sacrifice all for America, because these are the men who know that the American people will never let them down. America through her concern for the 87 men of the Pueblo crew brought them home after 11 months of captivity in North Korea. America has brought her men home from the moon. If America in all her greatness can achieve these things, America too can bring home her languishing prisoners from Southeast Asia.

Although the terms North Vietnam and North Vietnamese have been used throughout these papers, let it be understood that we are just as concerned about the men being held by the Viet Cong and Pathet Lao. However North Vietnam has jurisdiction over all American prisoners in Southeast Asia.

## BELOW ARE WAYS YOU CAN HELP THE PRISONERS OF WAR IN SOUTHEAST ASIA

1. Organize local boycotts, urging your community not to buy goods from countries that trade with both North Vietnam and the United States, until our prisoners are released.

2. Set a goal for yourself and send a letter of concern as often as possible. Write to:

Ton Duc Thang, Office of the President, Democratic Republic of Vietnam, Hanoi, North Vietnam; and

Pham Van Dong, Office of the President, Democratic Republic of Vietnam, Hanoi, North Vietnam; Airmail Postage 25 cents or Air-O-Gram form letter 13 cents.

3. Clip every POW story you see in print and mail it to North Vietnam. Include a hand-written note showing circulation and audience size of publication.

4. Urge all local and national news media to take editorial positions on the POW issue.
  5. Contact churches in your community and ask them to include the prisoners and their families in prayer each Sunday until the men have safely returned.
  6. Ask the Company you work for to print this information in their Company Newspaper.
  7. Send a public opinion message telegram (15 words for \$1.00) to your two Senators and Representatives in Congress urging them to make the release of the POW's the highest priority item during their campaigns and during the next session of Congress.
  8. Pass this information on to as many people as possible.
  9. Write U.S. Senators and Representatives who favor unilateral withdrawal from Vietnam urging them to be even more aggressive in using their position to gain the release for POW's.
- All the wives and families of the prisoners thank you most sincerely.

### CAMPUS RIGHTS AND RESPONSIBILITIES: A ROLE FOR LAWYERS?

HON. JEFFERY COHELAN

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 10, 1970

Mr. COHELAN. Mr. Speaker, as this Nation prepares for a new academic year, we are faced with the possibility of continued strife on our campuses. This situation is caused by many factors—the war in Southeast Asia, the glaring inequities of our society, traditional student discontent with the status quo, and so forth.

There are many suggestions concerning the means that may be taken to remedy campus unrest. Recently, I read a provocative article in the *American Scholar* by Prof. Nathan Glazer, a former professor at Berkeley and now at Harvard.

Professor Glazer correctly points out that the principal role of the university has been and continues to be a place for critical inquiry—a place of intellectual freedom. Given this mission of the university, all activity on our Nation's campuses should be directed to preserving this most valuable condition. Authoritarian demands from the left or the right should be rejected as being incompatible with the goals of the university.

Professor Glazer illuminates some of the contradictions in the pursuit of intellectual freedom and student rights which can be used to deny intellectual freedom in this article entitled, "Campus Rights and Responsibilities: A Role for Lawyers?" This article should be read by all who are concerned with the independence of the university and its proper role and function in a free society. At this point, Mr. Speaker, I would like to have this article inserted in the *RECORD*:

CAMPUS RIGHTS AND RESPONSIBILITIES: A ROLE FOR LAWYERS?

(By Nathan Glazer)

(NOTE.—Nathan Glazer, professor of education and social structure at the Harvard Graduate School of Education, was formerly professor of sociology at the University of

California at Berkeley. His books include *American Judaism*, *The Social Basis of American Communism*, and *Beyond the Melting Pot* (with Daniel P. Moynihan). This essay is from a forthcoming collection of his writings on the student crisis, *Remembering the Answers*, to be published by Basic Books late this summer.)

On every major campus today, law school professors play an increasingly important role in university affairs. This is true at Berkeley, Chicago, Columbia, and Harvard. In the present circumstances—with powerful demands for reform in the governance of institutions, for new mechanisms for the discipline of students and faculty engaged in acts not previously envisaged in university rules and statutes, and with growing concern for individual and group rights—it is inevitable and desirable that lawyers should play an expanded role. And yet I look upon this new role with some caution, with some wariness, indeed with a certain skepticism.

My experiences with lawyers on this question go back to Berkeley in 1964. Until the beginning in that year of the disturbances that have become epidemic, professors from Boalt Hall, the Law School at Berkeley, did not play a particularly active role in most of the meetings of the Academic Senate. Once the Free Speech issue exploded, however, lawyers became central figures in its affairs.

First of all, they knew a great deal about the history of free speech and the interpretation of the First Amendment, so they were the first experts to be consulted on the issue of Free Speech itself.

Second, they knew a great deal about the responsibilities and privileges of such organizations as public universities. A great deal depended on whether these were considered organs of the state, voluntary organizations, or something else in between, and we had to count on our faculty colleagues, the lawyers, for clarification of such issues.

Third, the lawyers began to serve as counselors to students who were called up before disciplinary bodies. In the past, these disciplinary bodies had generally acted, if not actually in secret, away from the eye of campus public opinion. But since political issues were now involved, those charged very often insisted on legal counsel, and Boalt Hall lawyers and students found themselves in the difficult position of representing students and chairing the bodies that exercised, or rather attempted to exercise, discipline. They also helped develop procedures for these hearings.

Finally, as the feeling spread that a new system of government (or, as it came to be called when the matter became more serious, governance) was needed on the campus, lawyers again played a leading role, and a student-faculty commission headed by Caleb Foote of the Law School helped propose for Berkeley the most elaborate system of panels, courts, appeals and the like to ensure due process for students that I have ever seen proposed anywhere. Fortunately—and here I display my bias—it was never taken too seriously, and the report of the Commission on Governance at Berkeley has been, I believe, quite forgotten.

Nor is it only at Berkeley that lawyers have taken a leading role in campus disturbances. Michael Sovern played an important part in the events at Columbia. At Harvard, where the Law School is quite separate from the Faculty of Arts and Sciences and never meets with it, a distinguished professor of law, Milton Katz, was called in by the Faculty to chair the important special disciplinary body set up after the disturbances in the spring of 1969. A professor of law is president of the University of Chicago, and other lawyers there have also played leading roles in the response to student disturbances.

I appreciate, as does every faculty mem-

ber, the guidance of lawyers on such matters as free speech, trespass, double jeopardy, due process. But on the whole I take the position that the introduction into the university of legal principles and practices drawn from the operations of the body politic and civil society would hurt rather than help the universities and colleges.

I rest this position on two main grounds. The first is that universities and colleges have distinct objectives, objectives that would be hampered by deploying, in the university and college setting, the full range of procedures and rights that we have developed to protect people against the state and its agencies. This is not an easy position to defend. The rights of consultation, participation, due process and formal voting are now being extended into more and more areas that most of us never thought of as suitable for democratic rules and procedures. Thus, in some of the community health clinics set up by the Office of Economic Opportunity, patients as well as doctors play an important role. In welfare, there is a demand that clients be consulted, and there are such consultative bodies in New York City and elsewhere. Certainly, if patients and welfare clients have expanded their power—even if not to a point of equality with doctors and welfare officials—there seems to be argument enough for more power for graduate and undergraduate students and junior faculty.

Yet there is no escaping the reality that the chief purpose of universities and colleges is the advancement of knowledge through research and teaching. This is no justification for arbitrary and irrational authority, but the advancement of knowledge seems to demand its own settings and its own rules, and these are not the same as those that the democratic process requires. When a lawyer whose principal concern is the defense of individual rights against local police departments, vigilante groups, local and state governments, the F.B.I. and a misguided Congress, comes into such a situation, both his model and his reflexes are wrong. His model is that of a conservative or reactionary or puritanical public body that imposes its will on defenseless individuals, using all the power of the state, and his reflex is to move heaven and earth to defend the individual. When one deals with state action, this is on the whole, I think, quite right, because against the power of the state, which can wreak such injustice on single individuals and groups, we must be eternally vigilant.

When we come to institutions with subtle and complex purposes, which require certain environments for attainment, I think the lawyers' orientation is inappropriate. The full array of individual rights, which should be paramount in the state, must be limited so that institutions with specific functions can carry them out. I think this is true in any distinctive institution with distinctive ends—a church, a business, a university. The university does not have state sanction, and even the argument that it can do terrible harm to an individual is exaggerated. I know of many students expelled from one university who gained entrance to another. I know of none who have been drafted because of expulsion, although some may have been. I have sat on various admissions committees in two universities, and any fragment of merit, in the present circumstances when there are so many universities and colleges and so many kinds of fellowships, is generally rewarded, even if an applicant has been expelled. Actually, only a few score of students in the entire country have been expelled for politically inspired disruption, and most of these by a single university, the University of Chicago.

This is not to say that, because universities have distinct and complex ends, they



should be allowed to act with absolute and arbitrary power, with no intervention by the courts, or by individual lawyers defending an individual's rights. But I have seen very few examples of the exercise of such power; and what the case actually is must affect our judgment of the scale of action necessary to defend individual rights in the university. Very few students have been expelled, even though there have certainly been many actions by students that once justified such a response. After all, classes have been disrupted, many buildings on campuses have been burned and bombed, libraries have been intentionally damaged, and research notes destroyed. Academic punishments have been few and far between. The problem of arbitrary action by university authorities does not seem to me a serious one.

On the other hand, the effort to protect individuals, in the ways with which lawyers are familiar, from university authority can be harmful. It can mean, for example, that in many cases courts and open hearings, with all the paraphernalia that due process requires, would be substituted for the complex relationship between teacher and student.

Consider one area, the employment of graduate students as teaching and research assistants. At Berkeley I have engaged in negotiations with graduate students over the procedures by which they should be hired as teaching assistants. The choice of a teaching assistant, just as of a law clerk, is a subtle matter and not to be determined by negotiations that would lead to the establishment of superficially objective but really inadequate and arbitrary qualifications. It depends not only on grades and performance in class, but on a professor's judgment of how a student will handle certain material, how he will relate to undergraduates, whether he has problems with authority, how his political biases might affect his work in the course and the like. One can well see that if one let loose lawyers—that is, some lawyers—on such a problem they would come up with an ingenious Rube Goldberg solution involving panels, selections, appeals, arbitrations, *et cetera*; but I submit it would not be a better approach, and indeed I believe it would be much worse than the simple procedures we now use.

We can extend the example to other areas: examining graduate students, forming committees for theses, approving theses, recruiting faculty and granting of tenure and full professorships. In all these areas, a good deal of informality and even secrecy prevails. There are rules and determinations, but they are made by faculty, sometimes by tenured faculty alone or even by department chairmen (but in the leading universities this would only be done because the tenured faculty had decided not to exercise its rights in the area in question). One can think of many alternatives to these arrangements. For example, in various European universities, openings are publicly advertised; in some, appointments are preceded by formal public examination rather than, as is common in this country, by an informal meeting with the department faculty, and perhaps a presentation to the faculty and graduate students. Students are now being introduced, both in various West European countries and in this country, into various stages in these procedures. But I believe it is a great exaggeration to think that universities will be much improved by these changes—that is, that they will turn out better students, do better research, get better faculty, become more alert to current problems, less conservative and more flexible.

Do then professors in their wisdom always make the right choice? Of course not. But I don't know a better way to conduct the work of an educational and research institution than through the free choices of men quali-

fied by their professional peers as members of a scholarly and academic fraternity. In Orthodox Judaism, rabbis are qualified when three rabbis say, You are a rabbi. In scholarship, Ph.D.'s are made when a certain number of Ph.D.'s, having set certain tests and qualifications that have been satisfied—and having the power, just as the three rabbis do, to waive whatever they feel is unnecessary—say, You are a scholar. I would not want lawyers and legal principles to interfere in that process. I think they would worsen it. My position is similar to Winston Churchill's on democracy: it's a terrible system of government, but it happens to be better than the others.

The weaknesses of the present system of university government are well understood—conservatism, slowness or inability to recognize the new and important, self-satisfaction and smugness, patronage and personal bias. And yet, despite this bias toward the known and against the new, there are academic changes and even revolutions that occur without the pressure of student disruption. Men measure themselves against their colleagues, in the present and the past, and institutions measure themselves, too. Everything of any merit, and a good deal without merit, in the social sciences gets recognized, and fairly fast—if not at Berkeley or Harvard, then at Santa Cruz or Buffalo, or some other aspiring institution.

Thus I do not see that the introduction of elaborate processes of selection, appeal, final determination and so forth would improve the selection of faculty. Nor am I convinced that one major change in universities that a number of critics favor, the elimination of tenure, would do much to change them. Would eliminating tenure actually change the reality that it is very hard to remove a man who has been in a position, with or without formal protection, for a number of years? This is, of course, as true in business or government as in universities and colleges.

There is one possibly important point that those who argue for the elimination of tenure often don't recognize. It is one thing for a new administrator to have the power to hire his own staff, and fire those who would stand in his way. Civil service restrictions on whom a new mayor or superintendent of education can hire or fire are generally too restrictive. But it is quite another matter when hiring or firing are in the hands of a collegial group, as is the case with faculty appointments. Then inevitably the responsibility for action is a group responsibility, and the power to remove an individual would certainly introduce an additional element of distrust and suspicion into groups that even today are often torn by faction. On the other hand, who would be for introducing hierarchical principle, in which the superior alone selects his staff? For a group of faculty members is not a staff, but ideally—and often actually—a body of men of independent reputation and power.

Thus it is not easy to think of decisively better ways of faculty selection and promotion. Nor is it at all clear that the relationship between faculty and undergraduates, specifically in undergraduate education, needs new legal machinery, and a new distribution of rights and responsibilities. This is not to say that change should not take place, but a good deal of change has taken place, and I do not see at this point that an expansion of student power in this area would lead to a better process of change. Just as I have seen, during the twelve years or so in which I have been in colleges and universities, a good deal of change in graduate study, and in the bases of faculty selection, I have seen also a good deal of change in undergraduate education.

One of the explanations given for student disturbances at American universities is that there is a failure in undergraduate education and in the relationship between faculty and

students. And it is often argued that what change we have seen in undergraduate education has occurred as a result of these disturbances. I would agree that a good deal of the change in recent years has been inspired by student disturbances, in actuality or in prospect. But I do not think that the failure of education or student-faculty relations plays much role in the student disturbances. If we look at the actual events, we find that political causes and issues lead to the disturbances. Indeed, there is not a single major disturbance, so far as I know, that can be ascribed to any educational issue. (I would consider the battle over Eldridge Cleaver's course at Berkeley primarily a political matter.) Robert Somers' recurrent surveys of student opinion at Berkeley show a still substantial, although declining, majority of students who think they get a good education at Berkeley (presumably even more would think so at Columbia or Harvard). The decline in the proportions of those who think they can get a good education has paralleled the introduction of various experiments and changes that were intended to improve education, such as a new experimental undergraduate two-year program, student-initiated courses, student-conducted courses, and the like. This decline in the number of students satisfied with education at Berkeley is clearly owing not to any "objective" decline in education, but rather to the steady heightening of political sensitivity, in the course of which students are taught to see administrators and faculty more and more as political enemies. Thus it is not the poor education that leads to the political revolt; it is the political revolt that leads more and more students to see the education as poor.

I have left aside the question of whether undergraduate education is good or adequate or responsive to change. Of course, it is not good enough or responsive enough. But it is surprising how often this is seen as the failure of a faculty that is too conservative or too involved in research, rather than as the result of enormously difficult and conflicting demands. For instance, it is not clear whether undergraduate education should be a "liberal" education for an "educated" man (in which case it is not at all clear what this should be), or training and education for a profession, or the induction of values that support a democratic society, or preparation for a more advanced level of education, *et cetera*, *et cetera*. Faculty must shoulder a good part of the responsibility for the failure of undergraduate education. (While I find the failure impossible to define, I am willing to accept that it has failed.) But so too must everyone else—students with conflicting expectations and demands, parents with the same, institutions that are unclear about what part of undergraduate education, if any, they should support or reward, and a society in which these confusions and uncertainties are projected on a larger scale.

American universities and colleges probably fall least in undergraduate education. When universities around the world have their uprisings and disturbances, one of the first things that most parties agree on is instituting something like the American university and college system—organization by departments, distribution requirements, major requirements, and undergraduate core, a relatively free choice of courses, smaller classes, more discussion. A bad system—just like democracy—but it's difficult to think of decisive improvements, and we do keep on making changes and experiments even without the pressure of student disorder.

One of the myths we have to fight against is that no changes occur without student disorder. This is simply not so. The innovative new campuses of the University of California were planned before the onset of university disorder. The plan for Hampshire

College, the experimental Montelith College at Wayne State University, and other new colleges preceded student disorders, as did the program of freshman seminars at Harvard, credit in many places for advanced work done as an undergraduate, and numerous other changes. Admittedly, considerably more change has occurred since the onset of student disorder, less because students demanded it than because this was the one area in which response was possible. The university could not end the war in Vietnam, but it could introduce educational changes and give a greater voice to students in making these changes. Many of these changes are available. Some of them conceivably would have been instituted without student disorders. There was already considerable discontent with undergraduate education, even though there was no major constituency, student or faculty, that could force change. But many other changes were made simply to facilitate political activity of students on the campus. Whether this is a necessary or desirable change in undergraduate education depends in part on one's judgment about the desirability of the political viewpoint that radical students propagate as a result of these changes. Other changes, to my mind, involve an adaptation to the reality that many students are not interested in intellectual discipline, in any field, and want in their college years experiences of a different sort—they may be more interested in political organization and social action, in sensitivity training and intense personal relations. To make such experiences possible may be a valuable and necessary change, if we are to accommodate many thousands of students who are now in colleges and universities, although I think we could more efficiently provide for these experiences in other kinds of institutions. But it is hardly likely that these changes would have taken place as rapidly and on the same scale without the student disturbances.

Thus my first major ground for viewing with skepticism the entry of lawyers into the university on a large scale to define and protect rights and responsibilities is that I do not think universities will be improved thereby.

But there is a second major reason why I am unenthusiastic about proposals to change the distribution of rights and responsibilities on the campus, and this is the heart of the matter as far as I am concerned. What we have in the universities is not, as so many public figures are fond of saying, archaic and sclerotic institutions that are incapable of understanding what the youth are saying and of changing in response to their demands. What we have rather is a political struggle—one that on the whole pits students against faculty and administration, but that also pits faculty against faculty and student against student, even if the latter struggles are somewhat more muted and less sensational.

Lawyers understand that in a political struggle the issues are not only legal ones—issues of rights and responsibilities—but also issues on the distribution of power among certain interests and, even more, of the substitution of one ideological outlook for another. Many lawyers now seek to expand the rights of the poor, of welfare clients and of Negroes. In doing so, some operate within a traditional legal framework, and some more imaginatively and daringly outside it, trying, instead of only implementing and asserting established rights, to lay a foundation for new rights. Many such lawyers think of students as part of this complex of the underprivileged whose rights must be established, expanded and fixed in law. I think this is fundamentally in error.

The issue of student rights has come up

not primarily because of defects in the institutions (although they do have defects) but because of a political revolution among young people in the way that they see the world, the role of capitalism and the military, the effectiveness of democracy and the character of America's place in the world. Views on these have undergone incredibly rapid and astounding changes in the last six or seven years. Two years ago, to wave the "Little Red Book" was a put-on, a year ago a dare, and today it is waved in dead seriousness. Five years ago, all the talk of participatory democracy, and participation was really open to all. At the last convention of the S.D.S., it was pretty much back to "democratic centralism" again, and those of us with long memories know that has nothing to do with democracy. Five years ago, to use words like "imperialism" and "capitalism" marked you as a square, even if a left square. Today it is all the rage. I have referred, I know, to some rather far-out developments. As we know, more young people worked for Senator Eugene McCarthy and Representative Lowenstein than are concerned with the rehabilitation of Joseph Stalin, and yet . . . don't underestimate the number of importance of the latter.

In such a situation demands are often purely tactical. Issues are sought for and created because of an initial conviction that society is rotten; the university is implicated by being associated with society; the faculty is corrupt because it works in the university; and the whole thing must be brought down. Even the Free Speech Movement, pure, innocent and fresh as it was, compared with many things that followed, thought very much this way. By the time the Movement got to Harvard, the issues hardly mattered, and the revolutionizing of potential cadres was everything. So, for example, when at Harvard students urged that the issue of R.O.T.C. be determined by a majority vote of the students, this was denounced by the radicals as "counterrevolutionary"—in just those terms. Following the antiparliamentary position in Marxism (which all the major leaders of the Movement fully avow), they naturally consider elections purely tactical maneuvers. If they advance the revolution, one is for them; and if they do not, one is against them.

It is an unfortunate thing when the truth sounds extravagant and hysterical; one is almost embarrassed to refer to it. But I believe we must overcome that embarrassment.

Now the civil rights and liberties lawyer, finding himself in this rather extreme situation and proposing elaborate approaches to due process and rights as a means of dealing with it, is not very helpful. In responding to a political movement, one must decide what the aims of the movement are, whether one wants to advance those aims, and what the effects of those aims will be. If one is convinced that those aims are to destroy the freedom of scholarship and teaching, this should certainly affect one's conclusions. Of course, in fighting those who wish to destroy freedom, one of the major constraints must be that one does not destroy freedom oneself. Here lawyers are helpful in explaining how the principles of due process are necessary to defend freedom. But when student radicals are quite explicit about their intention to make it impossible for those who disagree with them to teach, or to turn the campus into a recruiting ground for revolutionaries, then I think a primary emphasis on defining and protecting a new legal status for students is somewhat beside the point. The issues are, does one agree with the political revolution, has the university really served capitalism and imperialism, should it now serve revolutionary socialism, do objective knowledge and scholarship exist in the university, can they

exist, should they be protected, do they matter, and so on.

I believe the issue is political, and of the kind I have described; but, unfortunately, most students do not. One reason is that, along with the political revolution, another revolution is taking place, a cultural one that cuts off young people from older people makes them sympathetic with other young people who participate in this cultural revolution, and makes them open to the leadership and influence of radical students. This cultural revolution involves sex, drugs, music, hair and dress. Many students confuse their demands for freedom in these new cultural styles with the political demands of radical students. On the whole, the better-known universities and colleges are quite tolerant of these new cultural styles, even if parents, the police, and the outside communities are not, and they do their best to ignore the sex, drug and dress habits of their students. But very often they are not allowed to do this, and, as quasi-public bodies, they are forced to cooperate with the public authorities. These are complicated questions, but if one looks at the actual practices of universities in this respect, one cannot say that they have not changed to move along fast enough with student practice and demands. There are now almost no parietal rules in the best-known colleges and universities, and the case of Linda Le Clair—the girl at Barnard who was censured for living with a male student—reads as if it were in another century.

There is another reason why the appeal of radical students to liberal students is so powerful, and that is that there are terrible things wrong with the world, and American government and society, and a good part of American enlightened opinion is responsible for just about the worst of these things, the Vietnam war. I understand the feelings aroused by these horrors. But I don't think the universities are responsible for the war—although they share in the blame, as citizens all do in a democracy; nor do I think the destruction of objective research, scholarship and teaching, and of the conditions that have developed to protect them, will do anything to end the war or atone for our crimes; it will only destroy something that is generally found to be of value in all kinds of societies. Nor do I think that our complex social problems, about which undoubtedly we could have done more, are sufficient justification for the attacks of radical students on the universities. It is a serious failure of logic to argue that because we are in Vietnam or Negroes are poor or policemen are brutal, classrooms should be disrupted, buildings occupied, and libraries destroyed. President Plimpton of Amherst, in a letter to President Nixon on student disorder, seemed to say that as long as we did not solve the problems of war and poverty, there would be disorder in the universities. Yet when those problems are solved, there will be other problems. To say that until social problems are solved there will be student disorder is to say there will be student disorder forever.

There is one other argument raised to explain student disorder and to justify it. This is that the universities are filled with conservatives, that there are no radical professors, and that it is necessary that the radical perspective be present in the classrooms and the research activity of the university.

First of all, it is a substantial exaggeration to say that there are no radicals in the universities. The agitation against the Vietnam war, the revision of the established view of the origin of the Cold War, the claim that America is dominated by a small elite committed to imperial expansion and to military adventure—all these owe a good deal to the universities. In fact, it is there



that these positions have been formulated and argued in books, lectures and discussions.

Second, if radical positions do not achieve their proper share of attention in the university (and what is a "proper" share?), it is less because there is discrimination against radicals—there is rather more discrimination I would guess in the better-known universities and colleges against conservatives and reactionaries—than because the processes of selection, which place scholarship at the top of the necessary qualifications, do not turn up as many radical faculty as radical students would wish.

Third, it would be a disaster to replace the present criteria for selection, already sufficiently flexible in response to public demand (many faculties today are looking for radicals, just as many are looking for Negroes), with even more sharply political criteria. In the 1950s, William Buckley and others argued that there were too many liberals in universities, and not enough conservatives, and professors were horror-struck to think that anyone could propose political representativeness as a criterion. Governor Ronald Reagan has also recently pointed to the dearth of conservatives, and the professors again resisted the idea that they should appoint conservatives to balance the scales. I am not so rigid. I think in the social sciences Buckley and Governor Reagan have a point. But only a small point. In the social sciences—particularly in such fields as sociology and political science, where the scientific component stretches only so far, and where social and political philosophy must play a large role—it seems reasonable to me that the representation of major different outlooks, philosophical as well as scientific, should be one basis, although not the most important, for making faculty appointments. While to select faculty on the basis of truly partisan positions (Democratic, Republican, S.D.S.) would be a disaster, I think most reasonable men would agree that it would strengthen departments of political science and sociology if they had strong advocates of the general outlook underlying conservative, liberal and radical positions. The fact that some faculties do not reflect the strong place of radical thinking among intellectuals and students stems from a time lag. How long, after all, have radical positions had intelligent and articulate defenders? The scarcity of radicals among older faculty members would not have been changed by strong student representation in the appointment of faculty in the fifties or early sixties. In the end, the position that faculty should be appointed by faculty, their qualifications judged by the qualified, still seems to me better than any alternative.

If, as I have argued, the issue is primarily a political one, in which various discontents are mobilized and exacerbated by a committed core of radical students in order to transform the university and society, what should our response in the universities be? I do not believe that student rights are ignored in the present situation, and I do believe that there is a role for an institution in which some people come to do research and teach and others to be taught and to learn how to do research. I do believe, moreover, that these institutions now have some flexibility and capacity for change, and I doubt that they could be much more flexible and responsive without harm to other objectives. My major response, therefore, to the political attack on the structure and character of present-day American universities is also political—that is, I think of what is necessary to protect these institutions and their distinctive functions.

I do not believe for an instant that uni-

versities need any special assistance or legislation from government to deal with student disorders. It would only be damaging by encouraging the false opinion of student radicals that universities are not autonomous but simply arms of American imperialism and the military-industrial complex. The chief task in the defense of the universities must fall on the faculties and on the administrations, which so largely reflect faculty views. Thus, when students engage in attacks on other students and prevent them from attending class, or professors from teaching them; when they destroy books and notes and research materials, the universities should deal with them quite independently from the state. It is an unpardonable withdrawal from responsibility for universities to leave all questions of discipline and punishment to the civilian authorities. Universities may have to call on the police to defend students, faculty and property from militant students. Beyond that, however, they themselves must determine proper standards of conduct that make it possible for a university to continue. They must find ways to assert and maintain these standards without turning the university into a police state or into a parody of the court system. If they cannot, if they fail to reach and educate enough students and faculty so that a university can be maintained without these conditions, then I think the proper response is to close the university and to set up a new one with faculty and students who do accept the common code of conduct required in an academic research and teaching institution.

It may well come to that, and I do not think that it would be a disaster if it did. We may well come to a situation in which some universities will be molded to the present desires of radical students, with students playing a key role in the choice of faculty, the determination of curriculum, the selection of students and the granting of degrees, while other universities will maintain a more traditional style of government.

What should be the role of new organs of university government—the university-wide elected bodies with representatives of students and nonteaching staff, the student committees elected to play a role in faculty recruitment and departmental policy, and the other changes we see coming, not only in American but also in French, German and other universities? The demand for some change is strong, as is the demand for representation and participation. I think both demands can be met to some extent, and these new procedures are means of meeting them. I do not in all honesty expect that they will improve the universities—quite the contrary. My own expectation is that the universities will become somewhat worse. But I would expect and hope that these new participatory institutions would serve an educational role. By teaching students (and also faculty) something of the realities of university government and the complexities of the problems they deal with, participatory institutions might have a somewhat conservatizing effect on students. On the other hand, we also know from experience that the radical students will be interested in these institutions in order to use them as forums for further radicalization, or, if they decide that this is impossible, they will simply boycott and try to destroy the new institutions, as they are doing in France. In either case, my own feeling is that the universities would be well advised to set up systems of participation, although I realize all the dangers.

The variable and informal processes by which students have influenced universities will have to be made somewhat more formal in the future, and will involve elections, representation, formal notification of proposed faculty appointments and curriculum changes, some fixed voice in these decisions

and the like. Inevitably, this will mean an additional degree of politicization in the university; there will be caucuses of professors and students, electoral campaigns, arguments over credentials and voting rights and efforts to expand the powers of student and other groups. In the varied patterns of representation now emerging, we see that the non-teaching staff is beginning to play a role. Recently a German professor told me that he was rather happy to see the nonacademic staff in his department have a vote, under their new statutes, because the janitors would vote with the professors. Similar calculations will prevail in this country—in fact, they already do. How this could improve the universities is unclear to me. But it is necessary because only through greater responsibility can we expect students to consider more seriously just what they want from universities and what they can hope to get from them, and in so doing we hope they will moderate behavior that at present is all too often irresponsible. While, then, I am not convinced by anything I see in universities that there is a need because of academic failure to expand student rights, I support the expansion because I believe it is the only way, at this point, with the loss of authority by so many institutions, including universities, that we can induce in students a greater measure of responsibility.

I am skeptical then of the effects of the new forms for re-structuring that universities are now establishing. If we think of them as expanding and transmitting learning, I do not see how a larger role for students or for community representatives will particularly advance these aims. But these larger roles may make it possible for universities to survive. Whatever the procedures that emerge from the present turmoil, the most valuable contribution of law school professors and lawyers, to my mind, will be to help make those procedures workable and to defend them from the attacks that we can be sure will be made upon them. I have emphasized attacks from the left, but there have been in the past equally serious attacks from the right, and these may become more serious in the near future than they have been in recent years. Lawyers have powerful tools with which to protect procedures. I would hope that their valuable energies could now be enlisted not only in the defense of individuals, but in the defense of a distinctive institution that needs to be in some measure set away from and protected from the pressures of society.

#### TWO VALUABLE BIBLIOGRAPHIES ON DRUG ABUSE AND THE ENVIRONMENT

HON. JEROME R. WALDIE

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 10, 1970

Mr. WALDIE. Mr. Speaker, knowing of the interest of my colleagues in the extremely important issues of drug abuse and the environment, I would like to take this opportunity to recommend two bibliographies available from paperback books in print, published by the R. R. Bowker Co., 1180 Avenue of the Americas, New York, N.Y.

The publications are the Drug Dilemma and the Environmental Crisis. Both, Mr. Speaker, would be worthy additions to the reference library, for every interested party.

PITTSBURGH JUDGE HOMER S. BROWN OUTSTANDING CIVIC LEADER

## HON. JAMES G. FULTON

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 10, 1970

Mr. FULTON of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, it is a privilege for me, as a good longtime friend of Judge Homer Brown, to bring to the attention of the U.S. Congress and the American people the fine work and dedication of Judge Homer Brown through his years of service to the people of Pittsburgh, Allegheny County and our good Commonwealth of Pennsylvania.

I am offering for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the well written and excellent biography by Frank M. Matthews, which has appeared in the Pittsburgh Post-Gazette daily magazine section for Tuesday, September 8, 1970:

JUDGE BROWN, 74, HAS WORN MANY HATS—  
JURIST, STATE REPRESENTATIVE, LAWYER,  
HUMANITARIAN

(By Frank M. Matthews)

Common Pleas Judge Homer S. Brown, will observe his 74th birthday on the 23rd of this month and the occasion creates problems for his friends.

Which Homer Brown should they congratulate? The distinguished jurist of 20 years? Former Rep. Brown, who served in the state House with unique honor from 1935 to 1950? The Constitutional lawyer? The humanitarian?

All are suitable. They add up to the Homer Brown who has been the participant in, and in part the beneficiary of, the civic and social progress of Pittsburgh over much of this century.

Turn back to 1923 when Judge Brown was graduated from the University of Pittsburgh Law School, and he and a classmate, Richard F. Jones, set up shop together.

"It was in a little place on Wylie Avenue, where the Civic Arena is now," Judge Brown recalled. "It wasn't much of a building, and in the winter we would heat the office with a little gas stove.

"At the time we finished school, it was a terrific job for a Negro to get office space. We couldn't get into the buildings Downtown. They would turn us down for one reason or another."

All wasn't bad in that period. It was during his struggle as a young lawyer that Brown met Wilhelmina Byrd, of Norfolk, Va., and married her in 1927. Like the Browns in Pittsburgh, the Byrds in Norfolk were prominent in Negro affairs and the new Mrs. Brown transferred her energies here. For years she has handled the annual Human Rights Dinner to raise funds for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

Their son, Byrd, an attorney who was graduated from Yale, until recently served as president of the local branch of the NAACP and is a civil rights activist. He sought unsuccessfully last Spring to win the Democratic nomination to Congress in the 14th District.

After 15 years with the gas stove, Homer Brown and Jones made it from the site that no longer exists to the Bakewell building, Downtown, at Grant and Diamond. Now that building also is gone, and Diamond Street has become Forbes Avenue.

The young Homer Brown's father moved to Pittsburgh in 1911 in search of educational opportunity for his children. Homer had been born in Huntington, W. Va., and subsequently had lived in Knoxville, Tenn.,

and Roanoke, Va., as his father, a Baptist minister, moved from church to church.

"He moved here and took a smaller church," Judge Brown said. "We had a family of five children, and there was no high school for the Colored in Roanoke, so he was anxious to come North because it solved the problem of continued education.

"Two of us already were on the way to a private school at Richmond, which was very expensive for my father. He didn't have the funds to put us all through, so the family moved.

The church was the Metropolitan Baptist, on Samsonia Street, Northside, "not very far from the new stadium," as Judge Brown locates it.

Brown and one brother, Joseph, continued at Whalen Academy, at Richmond, Va., and went on through Virginia Union University, a Negro institution also at Richmond.

In that time another brother, W. Roderick Brown Jr., applied for admission to Pitt medical school and was refused. Subsequently he returned to Pittsburgh, as a physician specializing in tuberculosis, and became a lecturer at Pitt Med.

Homer Brown went on to Pitt Law and Joseph, who also became a lawyer, moved to Detroit to practice with an uncle. He later became a member of the State Senate in Michigan.

"Then, we had two sisters," Judge Brown related. "One died while she was attending the University of Pittsburgh, and another graduated. So, at one time, five of us were trying to get through college at the same time. And we did, all of us except our sister who died of pneumonia when she was a sophomore.

"We worked. All of us. One sister worked in the salad-making department down there at Camp Horne. That was a camp, I think it is discontinued now, where Joseph Horne Co. employes could go for a small amount of money and have a vacation.

"My brothers worked on the steamboats up on the Great Lakes. I worked on them as a waiter, on a run from Detroit to Buffalo.

"At that time it was fashionable to take your car to Buffalo, or Sault Ste. Marie or Duluth, or someplace like that. The roads weren't like they are now, and the passenger traffic on the Great Lakes was terrific.

"We worked at anything we could get to do. I was 19 years old when I went to work as a waiter on the B & O during the summertime, running from Pittsburgh to Detroit.

"At that time, a waiter going from here to Chicago would serve dinner out of Pittsburgh, and then he would just sit up all night in the dining car to serve breakfast in Chicago.

"One of the first bills I introduced in the state legislature was that railroads coming through Pennsylvania would have to make provisions for the waiters who were going to be on a car all night," Brown said.

Brown first ran for the Legislature in 1932 and was clobbered. He made the run again in 1934 and was successful, and began a career of remarkable service. For example:

He was the only Democrat to vote against and speak against a package of bills intended to block a grand jury investigation of the scandals of the Earle administration in the late 1930s.

He also fought against legislation that was intended to rip out the office of mayor of Pittsburgh during its occupancy by the late William J. McNair.

Young legislators, and young reporters, soon learned that he was recognized by both political parties as a Constitutional authority.

In 1947, as chairman of the Allegheny county Democratic delegation in the House, he worked with the Republican chairman, now Sen. Robert D. Fleming, to push through

a package of 12 bills necessary to the Pittsburgh Renaissance and smoke control. This took some dancing through the Constitution, for which he was the choreographer.

He was twice voted the most valuable member of the House by the Pennsylvania Legislative Correspondents Association.

When Democrats were in the majority, which was not too often, he chaired the House Committee on Judiciary General. When Republicans were in the majority, and controlled the chairmanship, they made sure Brown was on the committee.

Throughout his legislative years he was the leader in the fight for passage of a Fair Employment Practices Act. It did not succeed during his tenure, but did later.

In this period Brown was national legal advisor to the National Association for Advancement of Colored People and head of the local NAACP, and became the first Negro member of the Pittsburgh Board of Education and an original member of the Pittsburgh Housing Authority.

He moved into the judiciary with election to the old Allegheny County Court in 1950, and was appointed to Common Pleas in 1956 by former Gov. George M. Leader. Since then he has been elected twice to full terms.

Since coming to the bench Judge Brown has made some rulings which have dismayed local government (against the "sick tax," for example) and churches (upholding condemnation, for another example) but for the most part they have been upheld if appealed.

Rarely, if ever, has Judge Brown been reversed solely upon the basis of Constitutional provisions.

So you ask him a question, in his 20th year on the bench and his 74th year of experience: Do you think there has been an improvement in race relations, or is it just superficial?

"I hesitate, because I don't know whether I should answer, not because I don't know how to answer," Judge Brown said.

"Let me try it this way.

"I have served on public and quasi-public bodies over the last 25 years when it was almost unthought of for a Negro to serve.

"When I went on the Board of Education, there was not a single Negro teacher in the City of Pittsburgh. I believe, when I was practicing law, there was not a Negro above the rank of patrolman on the police force.

"I was one of the first members appointed to the Housing Authority and there weren't any Negro employes that I can recall, not even a painter.

"When I went to the legislature in 1935, the only Negro who had anything to do with the House was the bootblack in the cloakroom. Now a Negro is majority leader.

"I was on the board of UNESCO (United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization) and as such was on an ad hoc committee on human rights endeavoring to establish international recognition of equality.

"So I would answer your question yes. The question is, have we made enough progress? When progress is made in one field it shows up deficiencies in other fields."

## AMERICAN-JEWISH HOSTAGES

### HON. CLARENCE D. LONG

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 10, 1970

Mr. LONG of Maryland. Mr. Speaker, yesterday the State Department expressed hesitation about guaranteeing negotiations to free American-Jewish hostages of the Palestinian hijackers.



An American is an American. Every American citizen is precious, and we fight equally hard for any American regardless of religion. I am concerned that the State Department would even consider any distinction between Americans of different religions.

#### POSTHUMOUS AWARD

### HON. CLARENCE D. LONG

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 10, 1970

Mr. LONG of Maryland. Mr. Speaker, in January of this year S. Sgt. Oliver Clifton Stamps, U.S. Marine Corps, was killed in Vietnam. On August 9 he was posthumously awarded the Silver Star Medal. That citation reads as follows:

The President of the United States takes pride in presenting the Silver Star Medal posthumously to Staff Sergeant Oliver C. Stamps, United States Marine Corps for service as set forth in the following Citation:

"For conspicuous gallantry and intrepidity in action while serving as a Platoon Sergeant with Company G, Second Battalion, Seventh Marines, First Marine Division in connection with combat operations against the enemy in the Republic of Vietnam. On the night of 7 January 1970, Staff Sergeant Stamps was leading his platoon during a combat patrol when one of the Marines alertly detected an unexploded enemy booby trap. After fearlessly examining the lethal device, Staff Sergeant Stamps determined that, because of its construction, it could not safely be disarmed. Unwilling to leave it in place and thus risk possible harm to other persons, he elected to detonate it in place. After carefully positioning his men in covered positions well away from the dangerous area, he valiantly approached the explosive device, but was mortally wounded when it prematurely exploded. His heroic and determined actions inspired all who observed him and saved several Marines from serious wounds or possible death. By his courage, selfless concern for his fellowmen, and steadfast devotion to duty, Staff Sergeant Stamps upheld the highest traditions of the Marine Corps and of the United States Naval Service. He gallantly gave his life in the service of his country."

For the President:

H. W. BUSE, JR.,

Lieutenant General, U.S. Marine Corps,  
Commanding General, Fleet Marine  
Force, Pacific.

In a recent letter to me, Mrs. Oliver Stamps quoted Cesar Chavez:

To be a man is to suffer for others. God help us to be men.

She continues:

He said those words in reference to his non-violent struggle for justice, and I use his now famous words in reference to the 40,000 plus men, including my husband, who have given their lives in the Vietnam struggle. May we all in this great country learn to ask God to help us to be men and women and not merely male and female.

My husband died protecting his fellow man. Most important, he died doing what he liked best, fulfilling his obligations as a leader to see his men safely out of a dangerous situation. His final act in life told the world of his overwhelming confidence in his own abilities, his love for his fellow man, and his tremendous faith in God. My husband loved life and he loved people and, in the final analysis, he gave his life for the people he loved.

#### TRIBUTE TO ART SHAMSKY OF THE NEW YORK METS

### HON. DOMINICK V. DANIELS

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 10, 1970

Mr. DANIELS of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, I was privileged recently to take part in ceremonies honoring one of baseball's great players, Art Shamsky, of the New York Mets.

Art is one of those great ballplayers who recognizes the tremendous joy baseball brings to all of us, especially baseball-loving children. Youngsters all over America have always looked with awe upon ballplayers and Art has given freely of his time to visit, not only with Hudson County children, but with many residents of Hudson County who, because they are blind or crippled, can only experience America's oldest and greatest sport by way of radio or television.

Mr. Speaker, Art Shamsky has given generously of his own time to visit with children of the Jersey City Elks program and the Washington Park Little League as well as with residents of St. Joseph's Home for the Blind and other community service organizations.

At the recent ceremonies honoring Art Shamsky, freeholder William J. Wolfe and I were pleased to present him with a plaque expressing the community's gratitude for his outstanding service while over 1,000 inspired Jersey City youngsters looked on.

Mr. Speaker, the Board of Chosen Freeholders of Hudson County, in an outstanding resolution of appreciation and tribute, declared August 27, 1970, "Art Shamsky Day in Hudson County."

Because I know that my colleagues in the House are interested in the good works of all Americans, I am inserting into the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD a copy of the resolution of the Hudson County Board of Freeholders, as well as newspaper articles which reported this great day in honor of a great ballplayer:

RESOLUTION, BOARD OF CHOSEN FREEHOLDERS,  
COUNTY OF HUDSON

(Presented by William J. Wolfe)

Whereas, the fame, the personality and the humanitarian deeds of Art Shamsky, Mets baseball star, have become part of Hudson County's athletic history, and his legend part of the daily lives of so many individuals in our area; and

Whereas, Art Shamsky participated in the last hours of one of our young neighbors, Joseph Barbalinardo, as an inspiration to him and a source of comfort; visited the St. Joseph's Home for the Blind on many occasions to give the patients hope and solace; and aided the Elks in their crippled children's program; and has been part of the Washington Park Little League and Minor League scene by several appearances there; and

Whereas, one of our colleagues, Freeholder William J. Wolfe is emphasizing these contributions to our Hudson County life by sponsoring an ART SHAMSKY DAY at Shea Stadium on Thursday, August 27th, when Art Shamsky will be awarded a giant size trophy presented on behalf of Freeholder William J. Wolfe and his associates in Hudson County's section of our county by Con-

gressman Dominick V. Daniels to express the giant size gratitude of our citizens for Art Shamsky's deeds here;

Resolved, by the Board of Chosen Freeholders of the County of Hudson:

1. That this Board add our own tribute to this award by declaring Thursday, August 27, 1970, as Art Shamsky Day in Hudson County.

#### COUNTY WILL HONOR SHAMSKY AT SHEA

Art Shamsky, outfielder-first baseman for the world champion New York Mets, will be honored by Hudson County residents Thursday prior to the New York Mets-Atlanta Braves afternoon Date at Shea Stadium.

Hudson County Freeholder William J. Wolfe will present the left hand hitting outfielder with a handsome trophy in a special pre-game ceremony conducted at home plate.

Both in the off season and while playing Shamsky has been a regular visitor to Hudson County. He has made several stops at St. Joseph's Home for the Blind and to the crippled children of the Jersey City Elks program.

In addition, he has spoken at the commencement exercises for the Washington Park Little Leaguers and has been active in various programs in Jersey City.

Congressman Dominick V. Daniels, Councilman Frank Quilty and scores of youngsters will accompany Wolfe to the stadium. The senior citizens will also be on hand for Hudson County's salute to Shamsky.

Everyone attending the game from Hudson County will be treated to a box lunch and soda.

A resolution has been passed by the Board of Freeholders officially declaring Thursday as Art Shamsky Day throughout Hudson County.

#### WOLFE, DANIELS, 1,000 KIDS GREET ART SHAMSKY AT SHEA

(By Nat Berg)

Some 1,000 Jersey City youngsters today are back at their normal summer play activities.

Little are they aware that their trip to Shea Stadium yesterday as guests of Freeholder William J. Wolfe for Hudson County Day for Mets' slugger Art Shamsky will be inscribed for posterity in the Congressional Record.

Rep. Dominick V. Daniels, when he returns to Washington, D.C., early next month, will have reported in the record an account of the presentation of the Freeholders' resolution, adopted two weeks ago, recognizing Shamsky for his "kindnesses, especially to the young, in Hudson County."

Daniels, who lives in Jersey City and represents most of Hudson in Congress, gave the laminated plaque to Shamsky in an on-field ceremony.

Shamsky, who contributed two of the Mets' runs in a 5-1 victory over the Atlanta Braves, is a personal friend of Wolfe.

After accepting the resolution together with a huge, gold-plated trophy, Shamsky confided to Wolfe that after the National League season is finished he "gladly will come over the Hudson and help you (in the campaign) any time you want me." Wolfe, a Democrat, is seeking to retain his seat.

Among the youngsters, transported in 14 buses and 25 private cars, was the Elks' Poster Boy. He is David Mazurowski, 7, who saw first live Mets' game.

He sat close enough in a right field box to make himself heard at times by Shamsky, covering his position nearby. David met Shamsky previously at the Elks Club in Jersey City Heights. The crippled lad and the others gobbled up 1,200 sandwiches and consumed as many containers of fruit juices.

## ARAB VIOLATIONS OF THE MIDDLE EAST CEASE-FIRE

## HON. JOSEPH G. MINISH

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 9, 1970

Mr. MINISH. Mr. Speaker, I was heartened to read a statement recently made by Dr. William A. Wexler, chairman of the Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations.

I have felt, as Dr. Wexler does, about one of the major problems of the present Middle East cease-fire agreement. I am doubtful that a permanent and peaceful agreement can be reached when, as Dr. Wexler phrases it, "one side to the conflict deliberately and flagrantly violates the terms under which the negotiations are to begin."

Mr. Chairman, I do not believe that a lasting peaceful settlement can ever be reached if the Arabs intend to use the cease-fire to improve their battlements, rather than to arrive at any permanent Arab-Israeli agreement. Moreover, it would be foolhardy, to say the least, for Israel to stand by while her hard-earned military advantages are debilitated.

America, as Israel's major ally, cannot permit her to lose her position of strength, both militarily and economically, to pursue a fruitless quest for peace. The Arabs must be shown that their word will remain their bond; otherwise any agreement that may be reached will not be worth the paper on which it is recorded.

I wrote to President Nixon on August 17, concerning the movement of Egyptian missiles during the time the cease-fire was supposed to be effective. I believe that to permit this flagrant violation of the cease-fire terms is to invite future Arab transgressions. If there is no assurance that any Arab agreements will have future validity, why bother with them at all?

The letter that I have sent to the President follows Dr. Wexler's statement.

STATEMENT BY DR. WILLIAM A. WEXLER

(Chairman of the Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations)

The hopes for peace that had been raised by the achievement of a standstill cease-fire along the Suez Canal have been severely impaired by the action of the Soviet and Egyptian forces in installing missile sites and batteries within prohibited zones along the west bank of the canal.

This defiance of the basic condition of the cease-fire agreement demonstrates the cynicism with which the Soviet and Egyptian governments have responded to the American peace initiative. By violating the fundamental principle of the cease-fire—that there shall be no change in the military position of the opposing forces—the Soviet-Egyptian axis has critically undermined the very basis for the negotiations under the auspices of Ambassador Gunnar Jarring called for by the American plan. There can hardly be productive negotiations toward a Middle East settlement if one side to the conflict deliberately and flagrantly violates the terms under which the negotiations are to begin.

In his statements to the American people and his assurances to the government of Israel, President Nixon has made clear that he will not permit the Soviet government to

strengthen its bridgehead into the Middle East. The cause of world peace, the defense of American vital interests and the security of Israel's people all demand that prompt and vigorous steps be taken to remove the missile sites and other equipment brought into the Suez Canal area since the beginning of the cease-fire; that the United States expand economic and other aid to Israel essential to the maintenance of a balance of power in the Middle East; and that our government make clear to all concerned that there can be no progress toward a just and lasting peace in the Middle East unless all parties to the conflict scrupulously respect the terms of the American initiative.

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES,  
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,  
Washington, D.C., August 17, 1970.

RICHARD M. NIXON,

President of the United States, The White House, 1600 Pennsylvania Avenue, Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: Israel has been reported to possess convincing evidence of a serious cease-fire violation on the part of the United Arab Republic. According to Israel, Egypt has violated the terms of the cease-fire agreement by moving missiles into the Suez Canal truce zone after the start of the cease-fire.

If Israel's contentions are true, the movement of Soviet SAM-2 and SAM-3 missile batteries toward the Canal presents some worrisome ramifications both as to the success of the peace negotiations and the eventual safety of the Israelis.

It is certainly not the intent of the United States to permit the cease-fire to become the vehicle whereby Israel can be destroyed, and I hope that you will therefore utilize the influence of your important office to gain the removal of the Soviet missiles from the Canal zone.

I realize the delicacy of the task, and your desire not to weaken the posture of the United States during the initial stages of the Middle East peace efforts. Nonetheless, it is absolutely necessary to insure that the peace negotiations are not used merely as a ruse to permit the Arabs to strengthen their military positions.

With kindest personal regards, I remain  
Sincerely yours,

JOSEPH G. MINISH,  
Member of Congress.

## CONGRESSMAN ROONEY OF NEW YORK APPOINTED A REGENT OF THE SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION

## HON. WILLIAM T. MURPHY

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 10, 1970

Mr. MURPHY of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, on yesterday the distinguished gentleman from New York (Mr. ROONEY) was named a Regent of the Smithsonian Institution by the distinguished Speaker of the House of Representatives, the Honorable JOHN W. McCORMACK.

The Board of Regents is the governing body of the Smithsonian Institution, the world's largest complex of museums. The Smithsonian is an independent establishment devoted to public education, basic research, and national service in the arts, sciences, and history. Congressman ROONEY is the first New York State Congressman appointed to the Board of Regents in at least 82 years.

Members of the Board of Regents are Vice President AGNEW, Senator CLINTON P. ANDERSON, Senator J. W. FULBRIGHT, Senator HUGH SCOTT, Representative FRANK T. BOW, Representative GEORGE H. MAHON, and John Nicholas Brown of Rhode Island, William A. M. Burden of New York, Crawford H. Greenwalt of Delaware, Caryl P. Haskins of Washington, D.C., and Thomas J. Watson, Jr., of Connecticut.

Since its founding in 1846 by Congress the Board of Regents has traditionally been composed of American political, cultural, and business leaders.

Centered on the Mall in Washington, D.C., the Smithsonian Institution also is concerned with facilities and activities elsewhere in Washington, across the country and overseas. These facilities and activities include: The National Museum of Natural History, the Smithsonian Astrophysical Observatory in Cambridge, Mass.; the National Zoological Park; the Smithsonian Tropical Research Institute in the Canal Zone; the Center for the Study of Man in Chicago; the Radiation Biology Laboratory; the National Museum of History and Technology; the National Collection of Fine Arts; the National Portrait Gallery; the Joseph H. Hirshhorn Museum and Sculpture Garden in New York; the Freer Gallery of Art; the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars; the Cooper-Hewitt Museum of Decorative Arts and Design in New York; the National Air and Space Museum; the planned National Armed Forces Museum; the Anacostia Neighborhood Museum; the International Exchange Service; the Science Information Exchange; the National Gallery of Art, and the John F. Kennedy Center for the Performing Arts.

Congressman ROONEY represents New York's 14th Congressional District in Brooklyn and is a senior member of the House Committee on Appropriations.

## THE 50TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE WARSAW BATTLE

## HON. LOWELL P. WEICKER, JR.

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 10, 1970

Mr. WEICKER. Mr. Speaker, the following commemorates an anniversary very dear to the hearts of my constituents of Polish descent, and I am sure, those of Polish descent throughout the world:

CONNECTICUT COMMITTEE COMMEMORATING THE 50TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE WARSAW BATTLE

The 15th of August is traditionally the Polish Army Day. Banned in Communist ruled Poland it is observed in the Free World by Polish veterans of both World Wars.

In pre-1939 Poland this day was chosen to commemorate the Polish victory of 1920 over the invading Russian Communist armies.

The year 1920 was a fateful year for Poland. The Russian Bolshevik revolution having achieved victory at home, begun the



march toward the next goal, a Soviet conquest of Europe.

Nations standing in the way of the Red armies were crushed mercilessly. In the Spring of 1920 the newly independent Ukraine was trampled. Then Poland was invaded. Under the powerful onslaught of the Communist hordes Polish armies had to retreat to avoid annihilation. On the banks of the Vistula, the first natural barrier offered by the Polish flat countryside, the Poles decided to make their last stand. Mustering all her resources and entrusting the leadership to a great soldier and patriot Joseph Pilsudski, Poland fought back. A powerful Polish counteroffensive checked the advance of the invaders and turned into a rout their retreat. The battle of the Vistula became the Victory of the Vistula which saved Poland from defeat and Central Europe from Soviet invasion. We had to wait twenty-five years to 1945 and the outcome of the 2nd World War to see the return of the Russians and their expansion into the Mainland of Europe.

In this struggle against the Bolsheviks Poland was alone. The Western European powers offered lip service and free advice. Everywhere in Europe public opinion misled by Communist propaganda was hostile to Poland. In Britain the dockers struck refusing to load the ships for Poland. In France railway workers followed their example. In Central Europe, counting on Russian victory, the Communists were reaching for power. In Germany they were preparing a take-over. In Hungary a Communist revolution led by Bela Kuhn was raging. Polish neighbors resigned to a Russian victory and begun to help themselves to Polish border lands.

The Victory of the Vistula was termed by Lord E. V. d'Abernon, a British statesman and diplomat, the eighteenth decisive battle of World's history.

This year on the 15th of August we will observe the 50th anniversary of the Battle of the Vistula. Bowing to the past we will honor those who died in the struggle, looking forward to the future we will cheer the coming Polish generations. To them we will bequeath the words of the Polish national anthem:

"Poland is not lost as long as we live";  
and our sincere belief that Poland will be free and independent someday.

### THE U.N.O. DEMANDS AGAIN— TRICK OR TREAT?

HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 10, 1970

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, the United Nations Organization has now decided that it needs more room for its nefarious activities in New York City.

As usual, the United States, with one vote and recipient of no help from this oligarchic monster, has pledged \$20 million of the \$80 million cost, or 20 percent.

The New York City leaders who constantly cries of a shortage of taxpayers dollars for aid to the poor, garbage workers, and for city improvements are to fund \$20 million in addition to the land estimated at \$12 million on which the addition to the monstrosity is to be located. The regular United Nations Organization budget is to supply \$25 million and the UNICEF children's fund, ob-

tained from Halloween donations purportedly to help needy and destitute children, is to supply \$5 million.

The Soviet Union and other debate leaders of the world are contributing nothing for their sanctuary away from home.

And as the fathers of New York City fund the U.N.O. and the U.N.O. budget can support bureaucratic building programs, the poorer members of the international community complain that they do not receive their fair share from affluent industrial nations.

The working people of America are aware of the frivolous misuse of their tax money to underwrite un-American projects like the U.N.O. The American people are becoming disenchanted at the loss of jobs and U.S. products from foreign imports and encouragement of American capital abroad under the guise of world peace efforts. They are becoming more incensed at the realization that our so-called poor tribal nations not only bloc vote against the United States in the U.N.O. but expect the American taxpayers to subsidize the welfare of their subjects.

The socialist theory of taking from those who work and giving to those who do not work is now undertaken on an international scale by the same socialist intellectuals who led the American people to believe that they were talking about Americans.

I include two related newsclippings:  
[From the Washington Post, Sept. 10, 1969]

#### U.N. BUILDING PLAN FUNDED

UNITED NATIONS.—A \$10 million investment by the United Nations Development Program has cleared the way for construction of a major addition to the U.N. headquarters building in New York.

Approval came in a 24-4 vote at a special meeting of the program's governing council on Tuesday. It had been strongly urged by the United States, which has pledged to provide \$20 million of the estimated \$80 million cost of the new building.

New York City will furnish \$20 million for the project in addition to the \$12 million value of the land on which the seven-story addition is to be located. The regular U.N. budget will supply \$25 million of the cost and the U.N. Children's Fund \$5 million.

In recent years the U.N. Secretariat has been increasingly cramped for space, and both the Development Program and UNICEF have had to rent quarters in private buildings. The new seven-story addition will cost more than the 38-story secretariat building, completed in 1951 for a little over \$65 million.

[From the Evening Star, Sept. 10, 1970]

#### POOR NATIONS GAIN SLOWLY AS AID LAGS

(By Lee M. Cohn)

Poor countries are making slow progress on economic growth, and aid from the industrial nations is lagging, according to the World Bank.

Total output of the underdeveloped countries increased by 6.7 percent last year, compared with gains of 5.9 percent in 1968 and an average 5.1 percent annually in the 1961-65 period, the Bank estimated in its annual report yesterday.

Population growth held steady at 2.5 percent, the bank said, and output per capita advanced 4.1 percent, compared with 3.3 percent in 1968 and 2.5 percent a year in 1961-65.

However, much of the apparent gain reflected inflation rather than real increases in production. Discounting price rises, the bank estimated, real output last year rose 3.5 or 4 percent, and a little over 1 percent per capita.

#### A 113-NATION ORGANIZATION

The 113-nation, \$23 billion bank, which makes loans for economic development, issued the report in advance of its annual joint meeting with the International Monetary Fund in Copenhagen later this month.

The net flow of money from industrial to underdeveloped countries increased to \$13.3 billion in 1969 from \$13.2 billion in 1968 and \$9.1 billion in 1964, the report estimated.

Of the \$13.3 billion total net flow of money last year, it said, \$7.25 billion was from governments and \$6.05 billion consisted of private investment and credit.

The governmental flow has declined as a share of the donor countries' gross national products—a measure of their capacity to provide aid—from 0.49 percent in 1964 to 0.43 percent in 1968 and 0.39 percent last year, the bank said.

If the 0.49 percent rate had been maintained, the bank said, the underdeveloped countries would have received \$3.9 billion \$1.8 billion in 1969.

#### RECORD LOANS REPORTED

The bank reported it made a record \$1.68 billion of loans in the fiscal year ended June 30, up from \$1.4 billion the year before.

In addition, the International Development Association—a bank affiliate which lends on "soft" terms to the poorest countries—provided \$606 million of credits, an increase from \$385 million.

The International Finance Corp., an affiliate working through private enterprise in underdeveloped countries, invested \$112 million, up from \$93 million.

Officials said the records show the Bank and the IDA are on course toward achieving a doubling of loans in the 1963-73 period over the preceding five years. That was the goal set by Robert S. McNamara, former U.S. secretary of defense, after he became president of the bank group.

But officials acknowledged by the bank have failed to rise parallel with the . . . loans. Money made available by loans is drawn upon only as needed by borrowing nations for approved projects.

Disbursements by the bank have remained between \$762 million and \$790 million during the last four years, while loans have risen from \$877 million to \$1.68 billion.

Analysis indicates that disbursements have lagged because loans increasingly have been made for new types of projects, which require more time to get off the drawing board, and in countries lacking experience with development programs officials said.

Recent trends indicate that disbursements will increase more rapidly this year and next, they said.

Borrowing by the bank to finance its lending declined to \$735 million in the fiscal year ended June 30 from \$1.22 billion the year before the report said. This drop apparently reflected tight conditions in world credit markets, which also raised the Bank's average borrowing cost from 6.46 to 7.69 percent.

Higher borrowing costs led the bank to raise the rate it charges on loans from 6.5 to 7.25 percent.

External debt of underdeveloped countries has approximately doubled to almost \$60 billion since 1964, the report said, and their debt service obligations—payments on principal and interest—had risen rapidly to \$4.7 billion by the end of 1968.

Debt and debt service payments have increased about twice as fast as the export earnings of underdeveloped countries during the past 10 years, the report said, noting that this has caused difficulties in some cases.

Major categories of bank loans and IDA credits last fiscal year included \$661 million for transportation projects, \$537 million for electric power and \$413 million for agriculture. Asia led with \$269 million, followed by Latin America and the Caribbean with \$714 million and Africa with \$443 million.

## WHAT IS PATRIOTISM?

### HON. OLIN E. TEAGUE

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 10, 1970

Mr. TEAGUE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, my good friend, Maj. Gen. A. R. Lueddecke, U.S. Air Force, retired, presently serving as acting president of Texas A. & M. University, College Station, Tex., addressed the Rotary Club of Bryan, Bryan, Tex., on July 1, 1970. His theme was Patriotism. Under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the text of his speech:

#### WHAT IS PATRIOTISM?

The dictionary defines patriotism as "love of country devotion to the welfare of one's country". What are the things that are implicit in love of country? It seems to me they are the same things that are implicit in love for another person. In love for another person or love for country, we would include, at least, the following emotions:

The desire and need to cherish.  
An unswerving commitment to protect.  
A need for pride and the ability to nurture it.

A strengthening of one's associations.  
A commitment to be knowledgeable of strengths and weaknesses.

A compulsion to enjoy this love when things go right as well as to nurse it tenderly when the going is rough.

If all these things are inherent in patriotism—love of country—What are the characteristics of individual citizens who reflect patriotism in their relations with others?

The individual would have knowledge of his country, of its history, of its goals, and of how his country compares with other countries.

He would believe that his country was the best and was the greatest country it could be in his today's world or he would have faith that he could change it to make it the greatest.

He would be dedicated to his country's well-being and be willing to give his energies to sustaining and improving it.

He would have courage—the courage of his conviction. The courage to stand up, the courage to fight and the courage to die if necessary.

He would have strength—the strength that comes from conviction, dedication and understanding.

He would have faith—A faith born of knowledge and understanding of his fellowman.

He would have faith in himself as a participant in providing for the welfare of his country.

If the individual is to be effective in exemplifying his love of country in our Nation, his manifestation of this patriotism must be governed by many other characteristics. They are the characteristics which give him the stature to contribute effectively to love of country. They may be listed in the simple words of honesty, integrity, humility, truth and love of fellowman. I mention these important characteristics to indicate that, to me, patriotism is not some abstract word but that it is a real and living thing. Too

many of us tend to think of patriotism as a display of flags, the marching of soldiers, the sound of guns. They are necessary elements, but patriotism is in fact a consistently present dynamic force in our lives. Our love for our country must have direction, spirit and stature. One might even say that patriotism is a way of life. True patriotism would, in any event, demand from us the very best of our way of life.

A citizen might well say "I am patriotic, I love my country, but what can I do to show my patriotism?" Let's take a look at a few examples which occur in our daily lives and ask ourselves whether the manner in which we deal with them really reflects our love of country. They are small things perhaps if compared to such heroic deeds as would normally merit the Congressional Medal of Honor. On the other hand, they may be just as important in the long run to the welfare of our country.

Right now our colleges and universities are torn by violence and plagued by militant actions of a number of minority groups. Some of the causes they espouse are just, no doubt, but many of them are not. Yet they go down this road of interruption, violence and destruction without regard to the rights of others and without even an indication that they wish to replace what they destroy with something better. There seems to be an overwhelming desire on the part of the students and other young people that their theories be accepted, in total, without compromise and without question. Those students and their leaders are the sons and daughters of Americans who, in many cases, consider themselves to be highly patriotic. Yet the parents would not think seriously of withholding the student's monthly allowance. Even though their conviction is that their offspring is wrong and that his actions are not in the best interests of the Nation, they appear to hope that someone else will convince the student that this is the case and will get them on the right path without the necessity for any action on their part. Are the parents patriotic in taking this stand? I seriously doubt it.

There has been so much said about the now generation being the most intelligent, the most highly educated, the most concerned of all previous generations. I believe this is true, but it still does not mean that they have the wisdom of Solomon. It seems entirely possible that their parents could be right about some things. It also seems to me that these parents would have the courage to say so, and to act accordingly.

Some of our long-haired boys or mini-mini-skirted girls are accompanied to college for their first day by one or both of their parents. At some point in the registration process, one of the parents will say, "I sure do hope you can get him to cut his hair." Or "I have tried to get her to lower her skirts—I hope you can make her see that she should." One could ask what this has to do with patriotism. Per se perhaps nothing; however, it certainly indicates that the parents in that case have lost control and have no influence, at least not a good influence, on their children. They are anxious to pass the buck to someone else when in fact the responsibility was one they incurred when they brought the offspring into the world. If the parents are so weak in this area, is it reasonable to expect that they have engendered into their children all those other necessary characteristics which would enable him or her to have real patriotism? Are they really able to understand love of country?

Parental love of one's children carries with it, as it should, the desire to protect those children. How far should this protection go in limiting their services to their country? Are they warranted in encouraging them to be draft dodgers? Are parents warranted in attempting to justify their children's actions when they burn their draft cards or burn

down selective service headquarters? One could say, yes—this is a manifestation of courage. Perhaps it is a manifestation of courage. He had the courage to say publicly that he did not wish to fight for his country. Perhaps it is a kind of courage, but it certainly is not the kind of courage characteristic of patriots. Are such actions by parents manifestations of love for their children or are they pleading for love from their children?

We are reminded periodically that it is our patriotic duty to make ourselves available for jury duty in our courts. Yet one of the first reactions of many when called is to determine what best excuse can be given to be excused. We all know that under our system of government we have a patriotic duty to vote, yet our exercising of the privilege is many times dependent upon our personal interest in the issue at stake. It is sometimes easier to "forget" to go to the polls and then be free to be unhappy with the results. A well-known headline in many newspapers is, "bad weather, light turnout at the polls". A true love of country would motivate us all to discharge our obligations in these everyday matters.

There is a tendency on behalf of some for love of country for its privileges; but when the chips are down and it is appropriate to discharge some of the obligations, it is felt that this might well be done by others. This attitude can hold true for little things as well as big ones. He enjoys the benefits without the acceptance of the obligations which go with them. A citizen such as this may be a quiet middle of the roader, minding his own business, but one could hardly characterize him as a patriot.

It has become popular in certain circumstances to desecrate our flag. Some have been able to get by with public demonstrations of their disrespect for this symbol. Since it stands for our country and represents the liberty for which we stand, I cannot feel it patriotic to permit others to abuse it as a means of expressing their disbelief and disrespect for the country of which they are a part. Are we being patriotic to shrug and walk away? Are we being patriotic not to cause a commotion? Would such action reflect indifference, or would we be equally guilty in such abuse?

These are but a few examples of what I believe is involved in patriotism. Our love of country is not by any means as much expressed by marching bands, public demonstrations and waving of flags as it is by all the little things we do with each passing day to provide ourselves with that strength of character which we can manifest on behalf of our country. By manifesting our love for our country, we make it strong; we make it a way of life; we encourage others to join us. We are able to praise others for the things they do to demonstrate their love of country. If the time can come when all citizens take care of all of the little day-to-day obligations and can develop their own true patriotism—true love of country, the bigger issues facing our nation can be adequately taken care of by those charged with this responsibility.

BABCOCK & WILCOX PRODUCTS  
FIGHT POLLUTION

### HON. ROGER H. ZION

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 10, 1970

Mr. ZION. Mr. Speaker, at a time when our Nation is deeply involved in the fight to save our environment, I am deeply gratified by the efforts of an industrial



concern with roots in my own congressional district.

Babcock & Wilcox, a major industrial employer at Mount Vernon, Ind., is a leading producer of boiler components. The company nationally is heavily committed to the fight against pollution of our environment. The July-August issue of the company's magazine, the *Generator*, outlines B. & W. progress in this battle. I commend the article to my colleagues:

#### BABCOCK AND WILCOX PRODUCTS FIGHT POLLUTION

Near Fernandina Beach, Fla., and around Halsey, Ore., a fresh approach to a sensitive area of community relations is being made—thanks to the installation at nearby paper mills of a Babcock & Wilcox system designed to minimize the odor that is a by-product of the kraft paper-making process.

The company has sold 11 of these systems in the United States and 4 in Canada in the past three years. The Halsey and Fernandina Beach installations were the first to go into operation. Among recent contracts for this latest-type of B&W kraft recovery odor reduction system is one from the Hoenner Waldorf Corporation for its Missoula, Mont., mill.

The Missoula mill was publicized in *Life* and *Sports Illustrated* as a major air contaminator in that community. Local housewives had picketed the mill and worked to get an air pollution control bill through the Montana legislature.

The contract there entails converting a four-year-old B&W 466-ton recovery boiler to the new kraft recovery odor reduction system. B&W also will build and install a 1,000-ton odor reduction system as part of the final \$11-million Phase II of Hoenner Waldorf's program for odor emission control at its plant.

#### SYSTEM MEETS EXPECTATIONS

The first B&W kraft recovery odor reduction system went into operation at American Can Company's Halsey mill last fall. Performance testing by engineers representing American Can, B&W and the state of Oregon proved that the recovery unit does achieve the pollution control claimed for it in advance. And, this is substantiated by the sensitive monitor the housewives and children of Missoula will use—the human nose.

Although the sale of products specifically designed to curb or eliminate air and water pollution account for only a small fraction of B&W business, the company is pursuing this area of operation aggressively and hopes to expand it.

The company's interest in such products had its origin in the 1930s, when George Tomlinson Sr., of Howard Smith Paper Mills of Canada, together with B&W, developed the Tomlinson-Babcock & Wilcox kraft recovery boiler. This boiler made it possible for the pulp and paper industry to recover—and burn for process heat—chemicals that were previously dumped into nearby streams.

Later, Tomlinson, B&W and the Weyerhaeuser Company developed the magnesia base (MgO) pulping and recovery process. Weyerhaeuser installed the first commercial unit in 1946 at its Longview, Wash., paper mill.

Today, the MgO recovery process is covered by a B&W patent.

Recently, Great Northern Paper Co. dedicated the sixteenth MgO recovery system to be put in operation in this country and abroad. The magazine *Paper Trade Journal* described the B&W recovery boiler as "the largest of its kind in the world and only the second to use water-cooled walls."

The system allows chemical wastes previously discharged into the nearby Penobscot River to be reused for further plant operations. Up to 90 per cent of the spent pulping chemicals are recovered.

Describing the system, Great Northern stated that "more than ten million dollars were invested in the creation of a system that will guarantee clean water and allow the continuing profitable operation of manufacturing facilities that provide employment for over three thousand citizens of Maine.

"... we offer Great Northern's experience as an example of how an individual industry can make important contributions to improving the environment."

#### IN THE STEEL INDUSTRY

B&W has also helped the steel industry in efforts to solve the problem of environmental pollution.

For example, the company designed and manufactures tubular membrane hoods used for heat recovery and gas cleanup for basic oxygen furnaces (BOFs). BOFs are considered the newest, fastest, most efficient steel-making equipment. They produce high-quality steel ten times faster than conventional open hearth furnaces, but also generate tremendous quantities of dust-laden gas.

The B&W membrane hoods cope effectively with this problem. Two of the hoods recently were installed at Bethlehem Steel Corporation's new basic oxygen furnace facility at Burns Harbor, Ind. Gases are captured by the hoods, cooled to accommodate a dust collection process, and the heat energy is converted into usable steam energy for many plant needs. The hoods are part of a \$3 million steam supply system fabricated by B&W.

At the first U.S. mill to produce stainless steel by the BOF process, a B&W gas cleanup system provides air pollution control. The mill is Crucible Steel Company's new Midland, Pa., facility. The wet gas cleanup system is designed to cut particulate stack emission to well below code requirements. The heart of the system—quenchers, wet venturi scrubber, cyclone separator, fans, ducts and stack—was designed and manufactured by B&W.

#### TOTAL AIR CONTROL SYSTEM INSTALLED

The Youngstown Sheet & Tube Co. recently installed its first BOF shop at its Indiana Harbor works, East Chicago, Ind. As part of a total air pollution control system, B&W built two evaporator chambers, which are tanks 30 feet in diameter by 130 feet high, lined with five inches of refractory, or heat-resistant material. Gases from the oxygen furnaces flow through these chambers after leaving the furnace hoods.

Two divisions of Babcock & Wilcox, Refractories and Power Generation, worked in close cooperation with the customer to develop proper heat resistant and to provide support design for the chambers themselves.

The Refractories division also is involved in other areas of pollution abatement. Its Kaowool, for example, has been used by Tenneco Corporation in its refinery cracker to reduce noise pollution. And, two companies which manufacture pollution-control products—Clean Air and Aqua Chem—use Kaowool in their products.

#### ELECTRIC POWER PLANTS ARE HELPED, TOO

Some B&W products and processes are also being used for pollution-control by electric power plants. The company is providing, for example, a unique combination of two-stage combustion, water cooling and gas recirculation that will enable some utility boilers to operate with sharply reduced nitrous oxide emissions.

B&W also is providing a unique combination of multiple burners, water cooling and

gas recirculation at three different points in certain utility boilers, enabling them to operate with sharply reduced stack emissions.

Diamond Power Specialty Corporation, a B&W subsidiary, is also involved in pollution abatement in this area. It has already installed about 1,000 automatic duct blowers—a device which blows deposits of fly-ash out of the ducts into the hot air stream for collection in another part of the system. The system markedly improves dust-collection efficiency and also helps to reduce the amount of particulate matter discharged from stacks.

Diamond's sales department is confident that increasingly stringent air pollution codes will result in the installation of a substantial number of gas-cleanup systems requiring duct blowers—adaptable for both existing as well as new plants. This, Diamond people feel, represents a substantial market potential.

#### MEASURING AIR POLLUTION

In still another area of pollution control—measuring performance—Diamond Power sells many of its closed-circuit television cameras to utilities and industrial plants who use them to watch stack emissions.

Another method of measuring pollutants is manufactured by Bailey Meter Company, also a B&W subsidiary. Bailey Meter's Smoke/Dust Density Recorder "lets you know exactly how much is leaving your stack before someone else does," a Bailey ad reads. The system, in other words, lets a customer know precisely just how effective a pollution-control job he is doing.

Tampa Electric Company, for example, placed a series of Bailey's recorders in ducts and stacks throughout its three-station system.

Several years after the first installation, an official of the company wrote in the magazine *Electric Light and Power* that the use of the Bailey equipment resulted in more stringent control than the law required. Additionally, the stations' efficiencies increased with the tightened controls.

Once installed, the smoke-dust density recorders verified the obvious. The greatest cause of smoke and dust, the instruments showed, is incomplete combustion, improper filtering or a combination of the two.

The sensing elements of the recorder consist of a light source and a bolometer energy-sensing element. These are mounted on either side of a duct so that smoke in the duct must rise through the light beam.

The bolometer detects energy radiated from the light source and produces an electrical signal that is proportional to the energy detected. Signals from the bolometer are transmitted to a receiver-recorder located in the control room.

More than 8,000 Bailey Smoke/Dust Recorders have been installed.

#### A VAST EFFORT UNDERWAY

In all, a vast effort is underway throughout industry to improve the air and water that its production processes have helped to contaminate.

A survey by the National Industrial Conference Board disclosed that 248 of the 1,000 largest manufacturing companies in the country spent \$238 million in 1968 for air and water pollution abatement.

Such spending is expected to rise substantially and rapidly. Within the next few years, some say, it could reach \$10 billion a year.

It's a big job, to be sure. But Babcock & Wilcox Power Generation division, Diamond Power, Bailey Meter and B&W Canada expect to continue and strengthen their efforts to help get the job done.

A TRIBUTE TO FOUR GENTLEMEN  
FOR 200 YEARS OF OUTSTANDING  
SERVICE

**HON. MARIO BIAGGI**

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 10, 1970

Mr. BIAGGI. Mr. Speaker, history has traditionally recognized and recorded the contributions of great men who, through their individual and collective efforts, helped make our world a more livable, more progressive, and more enlightened community of men and nations. However, the making of a better total society involves, along with the achievements of the immortals of history, the accomplishments of those who devote their lives to the advancement of humanity in the microcosms of the world—the cities, towns, and counties of our Nation.

While the names of renowned explorers, scientists, theologians, and artisans are emblazoned in the annals of world history, the deeds of men who make significant contributions to the betterment of life in their communities should also be duly recognized, acknowledged, and honored.

Mr. Speaker, it is for this reason that I bring to the attention of my colleagues in the Congress of the United States the plans being made by grateful citizens in Yonkers, N.Y., who are paying tribute to four distinguished gentlemen of the Westchester County area on the night of September 26, 1970. I am proud to join the citizens of Yonkers in honoring these men.

This occasion will hail the dedication and accomplishments of Mr. Arthur Natella, Bishop Joseph M. Pernicone, Dr. Virginio Minervini, and Judge Albert L. Fiorillo and will indicate that their life-long efforts in promoting the development of an enlightened, God-fearing, healthy, and just society have not gone unnoticed.

Their long years of unselfish devotion to their public have caused their names and accomplishments to be indelibly imprinted in the hearts and minds of neighbors as well as in the chronicles of their professions. The professions they represent—medicine, religion, education, and the judiciary—are as much honored by their service as are the men themselves by their community. And, it is in keeping with the occasion that the proceeds derived from this ceremony will be donated to the Enrico Fermi Scholarship Fund, a growing foundation dedicated to the education and development of the young in the area.

Mr. Speaker, may I summarize briefly the backgrounds of these four gentlemen?

DR. VIRGINIO MINERVINI, PHYSICIAN AND SURGEON

Dr. Virginio Minervini will be feted for his 57 years in the field of medicine. A 1913 graduate of the College of Physicians and Surgeons of Columbia University, he served as a U.S. Army orthopedic surgeon in France for 2 years during World War I, receiving the Silver Star

for gallantry in action. In 1920, he entered medical practice in Yonkers and was affiliated with the Yonkers General Hospital in all positions of the department of surgery as well as Director of Surgery. He is president of the hospital's medical staff and is a fellow of the American College of Surgeons and a member of the International College of Surgeons. He also served as president of the Yonkers Academy of Medicine. Dr. Minervini was awarded a decoration as Cavalier of the Crown of Italy by the late King Victor Emanuel. He also received awards from the American Committee on Italian Migration and the Yonkers Academy of Medicine for humanitarian and community service. Dr. Minervini served in various public education and health offices as well as in several municipal and civic organizations.

THE MOST REVEREND JOSEPH M. PERNICONE, D.D.,  
AUXILIARY BISHOP OF NEW YORK

Bishop Joseph M. Pernicone, Auxiliary Bishop of New York and titular bishop of Hadrianopolis, will be honored for 55 years of religious service. Bishop Pernicone studied at St. Joseph's Seminary in Dunwoodie, and was ordained to the priesthood on December 18, 1926, in the Church of the Annunciation, Manhattan, N.Y. He received a doctorate in canon law from Catholic University in Washington, D.C., and was elevated to Papal Chamberlain in May 1945. In May 1952 he was designated domestic prelate. He received the title of Titular Bishop of Hadrianopolis in honorarias and Auxiliary Bishop of New York in May 1954. Bishop Pernicone served in the Yonkers church from 1928 to 1932, the Church of Our Lady of Mount Carmel in Poughkeepsie from 1932 to 1944, and from 1944 to 1966, was pastor of the Church of Our Lady of Mount Carmel in the Bronx.

MR. ARTHUR NATELLA, EDUCATOR, ADMINISTRATOR AND AUTHOR

Mr. Arthur Natella, principal of Lincoln High School in the city of Yonkers is being honored for his contributions to education over a 36-year career as a teacher, administrator, and author. Mr. Natella is a graduate of the City College of New York with a masters degree from Columbia University where he also studied toward the doctorate. He joined the Yonkers Public School System in 1935. In addition to his public school affiliation, Mr. Natella has also been an examiner for the State department of education, and has served as educational staff editor of the *Selecciones del Reader's Digest*. Mr. Natella has written numerous articles on education as well as fine Spanish language texts for high school and college level instruction.

THE HONORABLE ALBERT L. FIORILLO, LAWYER AND JURIST

Former Westchester family court judge Albert L. Fiorillo will be honored for his 52 years of service in the field of law and judiciary. Judge Fiorillo was born in Caserta, Italy, in 1898 and came to the United States in 1904. He attended Fordham University School of Law and was admitted to the bar in 1922. He also served as justice of the peace, president of the board of aldermen, and city judge.

In 1962 he was elected judge of the family court of Westchester County from which he retired as senior judge after reaching the compulsory retirement age of 70. A veteran of World War I, he has served in many veterans and civic organizations. Judge Fiorillo has been honored several times by fraternal, business, religious, and cultural groups during his long career in the judiciary.

Mr. Speaker, in recognition of the cumulative two centuries of outstanding public service rendered by these representatives of the Italo-American community, it is especially fitting that the sponsors have designated the ceremony "200 Years di Buon Servizio." That they are all of Italian extraction is no accident. Dr. Minervini, Bishop Pernicone, Judge Fiorillo and school principal Natella are collectively the product of a prolific fountainhead of Italian culture that has poured forth a steady stream of contributors to the arts, the sciences, and the general commonwealth. Men of dedication, men of intellect, men of good will, the Minervinis, the Natellas, the Pernicones, and the Fiorillos of our country form a significant part of the substance that is America. Along with the greats of the world, they too shall be exempt from oblivion.

BAPTISTS, MORMONS, AND  
PROGRESS

**HON. JAMES M. COLLINS**

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 10, 1970

Mr. COLLINS. Mr. Speaker, one of the most progressive editors in the South is Dick West. His stimulating editorials point up the reasons for the South's rapid development.

A few weeks ago West wrote an editorial in the Dallas Morning News that clearly defined our greatest strength in Texas. It is said my congressional district is in the Bible belt. When you drive through Oak Cliff, Duncanville, Irving, Grand Prairie, Farmers Branch, and Walnut Hill on Sunday morning, you can see the strength of dynamic Dallas.

When West speaks of fundamentalist preaching, he is talking about the message received every Sunday by our neighbors.

When West speaks of Dr. W. A. Criswell at the First Baptist, my wish is that every Congressman could have the opportunity to hear a Criswell evangelistic sermon for its inspiration.

The churches moving forward are the progressive churches. They believe stronger than ever in hard work, tithing, opportunity for each individual, and freedom of choice. You can see why my friends at my Park Cities Baptist Church were so impressed with the following statement by Dick West in the Dallas Morning News:

If you are a doctor and a devoted member of your church, do you feel like kicking the pew on a Sunday morning when your preacher preaches socialized medicine from the pulpit?



Does the preacher have a right to do that and take your money in the collection plate—which means you are subsidizing your own destruction?

Does a man of God—or one who says he is—have a right to get up in the pulpit and advocate that America recognize atheistic Communist China whose only god is the communist state?

C. A. Tatum, one of Dallas' all-time greats who has spent a lifetime in the electrical power industry—how do you suppose he would feel if a preacher stood in the pulpit and praised the Tennessee Valley Authority, which is nothing but socialization of the power industry?

Does a minister have a right to take your money on a Sunday morning and pass part of it along to the Black Panthers who, in his opinion, are seeking "social justice"?

Does a preacher have a right to advocate that a known Russian spy, convicted in this country after a fair trial, be allowed to avoid the penitentiary and roam at will on the streets to destroy a country which permits said preacher to preach such garbage?

These are fair and pertinent questions for a newspaper column appearing every Sunday morning, because they lead to further comment on the nation's religious life in 1970.

Regular church attendance is way down, according to one of the nation's polls. Note that we said "regular."

More than 60 per cent of the American people belong, so they say, to some denomination—but less than 40 percent go regularly, and the latter figure is dropping alarmingly.

A recent survey disclosed that the only two denominations which are gaining consistently in both membership and attendance are the Southern Baptists and the Mormons.

Think that over, then ask yourself—why? Because more than any other denominations in America, the Mormons and Southern Baptists stick to pure doses of religion without dilutions of politics.

The vast "silent majority" you hear so much about is tired of "social gospel." It wants to hear the real gospel.

The silent majority is fed up with un-American deviations, demonstrations, destruction and disputatious doctrines.

Some Sunday at noon drive up Ervay Street, and you will see hundreds of happy faces coming out of Dr. W. A. Criswell's First Baptist Church—the largest of its kind in the world.

They will have heard the old-time religion from a master. They will have sung "What a Friend We Have in Jesus."

You're not likely to hear Dr. Criswell tell the C. A. Tatums of this world that private power companies are no-good crooks robbing pockets of the poor. Dr. Criswell is not likely to say Christ died on the cross so we could have the Tennessee Valley Authority.

You will not hear him advocate destruction of private medicine—and take money at the same time from doctors in the sanctuary.

You will hear him preach the practical message of Christianity: That virtue triumphs over evil, that the Bible means what it says.

If you think he is square and his followers are cornballs, how else do you explain the dramatic rise in Southern Baptistdom—and the gradual decline in those churches which advocate socialism under the guise of the gospel?

Not long ago the Executive Council of the Episcopal Church, in a controversial resolution, advocated the following:

There should be a special collection on Sept. 20 to support student strike activities.

All American troops should withdraw from Vietnam—which means total surrender to godless communism in that part of the world.

Support of the national student strike against "oppressive actions by the govern-

ment such as harassment of the Black Panthers and the killing of students on campuses by the National Guard."

The Rev. Dr. Beverly Madison Currin, noted Episcopalian rector in Pensacola, takes a dim view of such resolutions—adopted on high by a tiny minority who often lend the impression that they speak for every Episcopalian in America.

Dr. Currin challenged, as he should, the right of his church "to take a stand on issues where there is no clear-cut moral distinction."

Those who would have the church become an extension of the political arena, he added, "are simply avoiding the real issues of life and death, of sin and salvation."

It would be interesting if this same Episcopal council ever adopted a resolution in behalf of American boys defending the free world; or a resolution against mass murder and genocide by the Soviet Union and Communist China; or a resolution deploring black snipers in Chicago killing police trying to bring peace and order to the black ghetto.

Strange, isn't it, that so many resolutions by so many religious bodies (1) condemn America, (2) praise communism, (3) criticize free enterprise and (4) exalt Marxian socialism.

To conclude, no wonder the annual budgets of so many liberal, social-gospel denominations are almost in the red.

No wonder the National Council of Churches—worst offender of all—had an operating budget last year of \$19,000,000 but expects only \$14,000,000 this year.

In the meantime, evangelist Billy Graham has no trouble filling Madison Square Garden night after night with sermons on fundamentalism and Christian charity.

But the place would be bare if he tossed the Bible on the floor and preached on the glories of the United Nations.

## HJACKING

HON. THOMAS P. O'NEILL, JR.

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 10, 1970

Mr. O'NEILL of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, the recent multiple hijacking by Palestinian terrorists is a vicious international crime that threatens every innocent traveler. The four planes that have recently been hijacked during international transit and the attempted hijacking of the El Al aircraft are probably the most serious dangers to peaceful world travel that we have seen.

Hijacking is an extremely heinous crime. The perpetrators of these actions cloak themselves in very righteous words and boldly state their lack of concern for world opinion. But they have demonstrated an utter disregard for human life and the innocence of their victims. I am very disturbed to see the glamor that has been attached to the actions of these terrorists. Their crime is no better than kidnapping and is really not different even though the kidnapers are known. Innocent people have been abducted and held against their will and a price has been demanded for their release. The kidnapers have threatened to murder these innocent people unless their demands are met. There is no glamor in this. It is a despicable crime and is abhorrent to all civilized people.

The victims, passengers on international flights, bear no relationship to the Palestinians' purpose of destroying Israel. They are civilians, citizens of many countries, young and old, and are traveling for business and for pleasure. They are being held until various nations agree to release Palestinian terrorists presently being held for the commission of certain similar and vicious crimes. The ransom is not the release of innocent parties but of people who have committed serious crimes against innocent victims and have been duly convicted in courts of law.

The countries of the Middle East that are harboring these criminals bear a large degree of responsibility for their actions. They cannot wring their hands and protest their innocence and lack of involvement in these crimes. The hijackers are harbored in these countries and I am sure are encouraged because they have not been in the past punished for these crimes. Egypt and Jordan are sovereign states. They must bear responsibility for that which occurs within their borders. They cannot continue to refuse responsibility for acts of terrorism and international crimes.

I am sure that if the recommendation of the International Federation of Airline Pilots Associations to boycott international flights to those countries which harbor hijackers was adopted, the nations involved would soon find it possible to end such crimes.

On September 16, 1969, I sponsored, along with 42 other Members of the House, a resolution urging the United States to seek bilateral agreements with as many nations as possible for mandatory extradition of airplane hijackers to the flag country of the hijacked aircraft for prosecution. I still support such a move. But more serious steps must be taken. The Arab nations involved can control the terrorists and can no longer make solemn announcements of indignation while allowing criminals to retreat behind safe borders.

I am also disturbed by the terrorists' separation of Jewish and non-Jewish passengers. It is all too reminiscent of distinctions made another time in this century. All the terrorists' denial of anti-Jewishness is disproved by this callous separation according to religion. This is clearly true since women and children are being treated less severely, but not Jewish women and children. It is frightening that once again distinctions like these could occur after the tragic lessons of the Second World War.

MAN'S INHUMANITY TO MAN—  
HOW LONG?

HON. WILLIAM J. SCHERLE

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 10, 1970

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

Communist North Vietnam is sadisti-

cally practicing spiritual and mental genocide on over 1,500 American prisoners of war and their families.

How long?

#### TRIBUTE TO HOWARD HEIMBACH

### HON. HERMAN T. SCHNEEBELI

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 10, 1970

Mr. SCHNEEBELI. Mr. Speaker, on July 27, our distinguished colleague, the Honorable JAMES G. FULTON, called the attention of the House of Representatives to the death of Howard Heimbach, of Pittsburgh. His thoughtful remarks are most meaningful to me, for Howard Heimbach was a close friend.

I first became associated with him as a fellow Pennsylvanian and classmate at Dartmouth College. My respect for him stemmed both from college and our later business association.

Ever since I have been a Member of Congress, he was most helpful in his advice regarding business reaction to proposed legislation, showing unusual awareness and insight. Indeed, he was a forceful and effective influence on both

the State and National scenes, as exhibited through the chamber of commerce.

All of us who have had the privilege of knowing him shall miss his engaging and relaxed approach to his important assignments and many worthwhile voluntary activities.

It was with a great deal of sadness that I learned of his recent death. I join with our distinguished colleague and Howard Heimbach's many other friends in expressing my sincerest sympathy to his family.

#### IMPORTANT LEGISLATION PASSED

### HON. J. J. PICKLE

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 10, 1970

Mr. PICKLE. Mr. Speaker, because of a longstanding commitment in my home State, I was unable to be in the House Chamber today for several votes. I want, therefore, to register here my strong support for these measures and note that I saw that my vote was paired as in favor of all the bills that were considered today.

The first is H.R. 17795, the Emergency Community Facilities Act of 1970. This bill authorizes an additional \$1 billion

for grants for water and sewage facilities. In a time of growing population and pollution problems, I feel that this measure is one of high priority, and not an issue which can be shunted aside or funded on a haphazard or token basis. This is particularly crucial in rural areas and small cities, many of which are currently in desperate need of help in dealing with a mounting shortage of water and sewage facilities.

From my committee have come H.R. 17982, extension of financing for Corporation for Public Broadcasting; and H.R. 11913, Communicable Disease Control Amendment of 1970. Though in widely different fields, these two measures are both vital. The first hopefully will encourage the administration to propose a plan of permanent financing for the Corporation for Public Broadcasting. The second will fill a gap in our public health services by strengthening communicable disease programs. Committee testimony showed that there was a dangerous absence of programs operating in this field and that this lack presented a serious public health hazard.

In addition, I was proud to be able to support the several conservation bills from the Interior Committee. With the deep concern for our environment now pervading our thoughts, it was good to see this action taken.

## SENATE—Friday, September 11, 1970

The Senate met at 10 a.m. and was called to order by Hon. JAMES B. ALLEN, a Senator from the State of Alabama.

The Reverend Jimmy O. Phifer, pastor, Wesley United Methodist Church, Sikeston, Mo., offered the following prayer:

O God, our Father, help us, we pray, to love our country and to give to it our very best that America might become a blessing to the world.

We thank You, O Lord, for these Senators who provide leadership for America at such an important time in its history. We pray Your blessings on them. Give them strength and courage, we pray, to discharge their responsibilities.

Today we pray for our President, and also for him who will preside over the Senate.

We pray today, our Father, for the blessing of peace. It is our prayer that peace will come soon to all the world.

O God, our Father, bless Your church. Make her strong. Remove her weaknesses. Give to us duty and honor when You forgive us. Amen.

#### DESIGNATION OF ACTING PRESIDENT PRO TEMPORE

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will please read a communication from the President pro tempore of the Senate (Mr. RUSSELL).

The assistant legislative clerk read the following letter:

U.S. SENATE,  
PRESIDENT PRO TEMPORE,

Washington, D.C., September 11, 1970.

To the Senate:

Being temporarily absent from the Senate, I appoint Hon. JAMES B. ALLEN, a Senator

from the State of Alabama, to perform the duties of the Chair during my absence.

RICHARD B. RUSSELL,

President pro tempore.

Mr. ALLEN thereupon took the chair as Acting President pro tempore.

#### THE JOURNAL

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the reading of the Journal of the proceedings of Thursday, September 10, 1970, be dispensed with.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

#### COMMITTEE MEETINGS DURING SENATE SESSION

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. I ask unanimous consent that all committees may be authorized to meet during the session of the Senate today.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

#### THE CALENDAR

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate proceed to the consideration of Calendars Nos. 1178 and 1180.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

#### AMENDMENT OF THE NATIONAL AERONAUTICS AND SPACE ACT OF 1958

The bill (H.R. 16539) to amend the National Aeronautics and Space Act of

1958 to provide that the Secretary of Transportation shall be a member of the National Aeronautics and Space Council, was considered, ordered to a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD an excerpt from the report (No. 91-1161), explaining the purposes of the measure.

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

#### PURPOSE OF THE BILL

The purpose of the bill is to provide that the Secretary of Transportation shall be a member of the National Aeronautics and Space Council.

#### EXPLANATION OF THE BILL

Public Law 85-568, which was enacted on July 29, 1958, established the National Aeronautics and Space Administration and, in addition, established the National Aeronautics and Space Council. Public Law 87-26, passed April 25, 1961, amended section 201 of the Space Act of 1958 to provide that the National Aeronautics and Space Council (hereinafter called the Council) should be composed of:

- (1) The Vice President, who shall be Chairman of the Council;
- (2) The Secretary of State;
- (3) The Secretary of Defense;
- (4) The Administrator of the National Aeronautics and Space Administration; and
- (5) The Chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission.

The Department of Transportation was created by Public Law 89-670 on October 15, 1966, and almost immediately the question arose as to whether or not the Secretary of Transportation should be a member of the Council. The desirability of such a move was explored in hearings on "Aeronautical Research and Development Policy" held by the