

## EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

## THE WORDS OF YOUTH

## HON. JAMES HARVEY

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 6, 1970

Mr. HARVEY. Mr. Speaker, so much has been said and written about the generation gap and the communication gap. What a pleasure then it was for me to be introduced to the written work of Miss Marilyn Croucher, a graduate last June from Douglas MacArthur High School in Saginaw, Mich.

I can assure every Member of Congress that there is meaning, tenderness, and awareness in a special research paper written by Miss Croucher on her visits to a patient, a veteran receiving care in the Saginaw Veterans' Administration Hospital.

Miss Croucher, who now is in the nursing training program at Delta College, near Saginaw, is by coincidence spending her first semester in training at the Saginaw VA Hospital. Miss Croucher, who resides with her parents, Mr. and Mrs. Oscar J. Croucher, 4850 Coralberry, Saginaw, entitled her research paper: "Old Age's Affect on Personality."

I commend her paper, as did her teacher who wrote at the end of the essay:

Marilyn—A most beautiful, descriptive and understanding account of your experiences. I hope you continue through life with the same regard for people as you have now. The world is made of people; people are what it's all about.

We have every right to be particularly proud of the millions of young people who do not ordinarily get a lot of our attention. They are busy in school, at their work, and their play, and they are busy pulling their weight—helping in many ways.

One of the ways they are helping is to serve as volunteers, as Marilyn did, in our Veterans' Administration hospitals throughout the Nation. Patients in our VA hospitals are admirably served by the thousands of dedicated VA employees who give of extra time and effort to help wounded and ill veterans. Supporting these employees in their tremendous task are additional thousands of volunteers.

In all of the 166 hospitals operated by the Veterans' Administration, volunteers of all ages contribute their time and effort to insure that hospitalized veterans will get that extra share of attention that they deserve and need. The need is a very human need, for no matter how high the quality of medical care provided, there is a need for companionship and association with family and friend. Very often that friend is a volunteer. And very often also that volunteer is a young person.

Here is Marilyn Croucher's paper:

OLD AGE'S EFFECT ON PERSONALITY  
(By Marilyn S. Croucher)

I have done a case study for my research paper and presented it in discussion form.

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The method I used was talking to the man, whom I have been visiting for over nine weeks, and after saying, "Goodbye," I dashed to the first floor and jotted down all that I could remember.

When I visited him in his room I noticed what type of mood he was in by whether the window shade was pulled down or left up or whether there were any flowers on his dresser. This helped me to know how I should approach him: With exuberance or caution (I most always used the former).

I have gathered some information of his past life which contributes to his basic personality now.

August Roemer was born on March 1, 1889, and raised in Bay City, himself being the middle child of two older brothers and two younger sisters.

Twice, Mr. Roemer was kidnapped and once he laid on the railroad track as a train went over him (so he says, and he may be fantasizing or imagining himself doing those things which he could never do physically now). These two facts account for his caution of strangers and his impulsive move.

Doing railroad work, working on an assembly line for cars, and being in the Army during World War I is how he spent his "growing up" years.

For years, August has been a member of the First Presbyterian Church in Bay City where he used to sing in the choir. He still has an ear for music and knows most any church hymn "by heart."

He has never spoken of his wife so I know nothing about his marriage, although now he has one son and two daughters presently living in Bay City. In the four years Mr. Roemer has been in the hospital his children have visited him twice: Once at the request of the VA Chaplain and once more by a volunteer who got upset with them because they never went to see him.

August now is recovering very, very slowly from Infantile Paralysis which he had when he entered the hospital. After four years he has reeducated certain muscles in his legs and arms, he can walk in therapy slowly between the parallel bars and "on the floor" when he has a nurse on both sides.

He tells me how happy he is when I'm there with him and I believe him because it is so obvious. I'm very privileged and happy to be a part of bringing sunshine into a man's life who is in need of it!

I took the elevator up to the fifth floor and when the door opened I saw "my little old man" sitting in his wheel chair across from his room. As I walked up to him I saw that Mr. Roemer was asleep. Bending over I said, "Hey, Sleepy, wake up!" I shook him a little, and repeated my words. His head slowly came up and as he recognized me a broad smile came across his face and he said, "Well, and what's with you?"

"Oh, not a whole lot. I brought the newspaper, though. What would you like to hear about?"

"Oh, I don't care, you decide," he said with a look of abstractness.

"Reverend Williams said that you pulled a fast one on everybody and slipped out after chapel, this morning. How come you didn't stay for coffee and rolls?"

"Oh," he said, with a voice that went from high to low, "I just had breakfast a couple of hours before and then a couple of hours after that I'd be eating lunch. And besides, I don't like people waiting on me all the time. I'm not the only one to look after. They say that they don't mind, but goah, I know they'd like to be doing other things."

"If they say that they don't mind," I said desperately, "then I'm sure they don't. That's

why they're here: To help out and they enjoy it. I come here because I enjoy being with you. I have lots of other things to do but I like this and it's important to me."

"Well, I'm glad you came," he said in his hard-to-understand-words voice, "no one else ever does. I've been here four years, the same thing every day. I wish I could do something."

When I asked him what he meant, he answered, "Well, something like . . . something for someone else. I can just sit here."

"And look at all you're doing for me! You see a smile on my face, don't you? You make me happy when I talk to you and I know others around you enjoy your company. Some people do for others with their hands and their strong bodies, but you bring joy to those around you by talking and just being there. There's got to be both kinds."

I looked at him and he was trying to move his hands.

"For as long as I've been here I have improved some. Before I couldn't even walk and now I can with help. I sit under the sun lamp, too."

"I noticed your lovely tan," I said, as I moved my hand next to his, "and you're even darker than me."

This brought a smile to his face but still his eyes didn't twinkle as they had before when I first came.

After this I read to him about the jet liner that was hi-jacked from Japan. Halfway through the article I mis-pronounced a few Japanese names. As I looked up rather sheepishly he was starting to laugh. So I did it on purpose the next time and he really enjoyed the English pronunciation I gave to names. Then I read the mail call by Frank Kootz. I read about the truck-drivers' strike and he mentioned rather angrily that when he was younger he took the wages given to him. "People are sure dissatisfied with the world today," he said.

We talked for a while until a nurse came and said that she had noticed I was there. August said that I was his sweetheart and came in and read to him all the time. This shows how strong is his need for affection and a sense of belonging.

After assuring him I would come again, I stepped into the elevator.

Since that visit, I have gone back several times on Sundays and as many times on weekdays. Each time he is very happy to see me, and never wants me to leave.

I suggested singing once because I knew how much he enjoyed it. Before long, we were both singing and humming our favorite hymns. That same evening when we were discussing religion he struggled to free his hand from under the covers and covered my hand with his. I smiled at him and we continued our conversation.

I feel that an elderly person will forget many of his problems of old age if he is in an environment of young people. Youths have such an overflow of exuberance and activity that sometimes it "rubs off" just by conversing. Elderly people enjoy company of any sort. They'll talk to anyone who'll listen about their past; childhood and adulthood and what "they'd do if."

This last Sunday I went to chapel with Mr. Roemer. After the service we had coffee and rolls and then I took him to the lobby where the sun was shining. After this, on the way up to his room, I took a bag of lemon drops from my purse and presented them to him. He said to me that I shouldn't have gotten them just because he said he liked them, he had tears in his eyes while saying this.

Events like these, words of gratitude, and looks that are pregnant with meaning are the best types of rewards ever to be had. So much

can be learned by sitting, listening and communicating with others. In this case, I have learned something of the personality of an individual; his habits, his hobbies, mannerisms, and some of his hang-ups.

Mr. Roemer shows signs of senility every so often. The stage of melancholia is often observable to me especially on a Sunday when the other visitors have their families with them.

Many times as he reminisced about the past (which is another sign of old age) he became sentimental about his children, or the fact that he used to be so active and he's not now. As he'd be talking, he'd come to a mental block and sometimes say something like, "Gee, that's been such a long time ago, I really can't remember."

What he can remember is remarkable and he's able to carry on an educated conversation, because he knows what is going on "outside."

I can only conclude that it is necessary for people to feel that they are needed and wanted. They must have faith in some goal to work for. Love, affection, and communication, above all, is what is really needed in this world of changing times!

#### SAN ANTONIO'S MCCOLLUM HIGH SCHOOL RECEIVES NATIONAL BELLAMY AWARD

### HON. RALPH YARBOROUGH

OF TEXAS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, October 6, 1970

Mr. YARBOROUGH. It gives me a great deal of pleasure to announce that McCollum High School, San Antonio, Tex., has been named the recipient of the 30th annual National Bellamy Flag Award. This award, which is given in honor of Francis Bellamy, author of the Pledge of Allegiance, is bestowed upon those high schools which display an unusually high level of academic accomplishment, dedication to the principles of good government, and leadership in fostering and promoting brotherhood and human understanding.

McCollum High School can take special pride in the fact that it is the youngest high school in the country ever to be selected for this fine award, a fact that adds special significance to an already impressive list of accomplishments. I join with all Texans in congratulating the students, faculty, and staff of McCollum High School, and extend to them my best wishes for continued success in the future.

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

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

#### MCCOLLUM HIGH SCHOOL IN SAN ANTONIO GETS NATIONAL AWARD

McCollum High School—a facility of the Harlandale Independent School District—has been named to receive the 30th Annual National Bellamy Flag Award for the State of Texas in 1971, an honor established in memory of Francis Bellamy, who authored the Pledge of Allegiance to the Flag. McCollum becomes the youngest school to ever receive the coveted honor, which is given annually to one high school deemed out-

standing in its accomplishments and representative of all quality public schools in a different state each year. The San Antonio school was selected from among 177 Texas high schools originally considered to receive the honor.

Making the award announcement Thursday was Dr. Margaret S. Miller, Director of the National Bellamy Award Program, who was in San Antonio. She spoke at a pre-schools-year session of Harlandale District teachers Thursday morning. Also attending were San Antonio civic leaders.

The award is represented by a large outdoor United States flag that has flown over the nation's Capitol, and is given in recognition of the accomplishments of public high schools.

In announcing the award, Dr. Miller noted: "The National Bellamy Award makes no pretense at selecting a 'best school' in a state. It simply selects a school that is representative of all fine public schools in a chosen state. Thus McCollum High School has been chosen and designated as the standard bearer for all Texas schools. It will retain that honor for a fifty year period in the distinguished group of outstanding and representative secondary schools throughout the nation."

Noting that schools are chosen largely on the basis of long, impressive records of accomplishments, awards and the manner in which they stress the American Way of Life as patterned by the nation's founders, Dr. Miller said: "McCollum is a very young school, a youthful school. Its history is short but its scope is broad; its rate degree of optimism for its future high."

McCollum opened its doors in September, 1962. Its first principal was George Vahey, who was followed by Pat Shannon, still in that position.

Actual presentation of the award will be at formal ceremonies scheduled October 15, 1971, at the school. At that time school officials will receive the award flag that will have flown over the nation's Capitol on May 18, 1971, the birthday of Francis Bellamy.

In the meantime, a delegation from the school district will be guests at the presentation of the award for 1970 to the state of South Dakota in Lead October 13 through 17.

"It is difficult for us at the Harlandale School district to convey what we feel in one of our schools being named to receive this award," said District Superintendent Callie W. Smith. "Selection of McCollum High brings honor to all youngsters of the Harlandale District as well as to San Antonio as a whole."

"We feel that selection of McCollum to be the standard bearer for all Texas schools says a lot for the educational program of our district and the fine youngsters of our community."

The Bellamy Award is granted annually to honor the memory of Francis Bellamy, help young people renew and rededicate themselves to the democratic ideals explicit in the Pledge, acknowledge the vital role of the public school in helping mold and realize the ideals of the United States, confer public recognition on a representative high school of a state and to help broaden and deepen the meaning of the Pledge of Allegiance.

#### MAN'S INHUMANITY TO MAN—HOW LONG?

### HON. WILLIAM J. SCHERLE

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 6, 1970

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

Communist North Vietnam is sadistically practicing spiritual and mental genocide on over 1,500 American prisoners of war and their families. How long?

#### AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION OPPOSES ORGANIZED CRIME CONTROL ACT—S. 30

### HON. WILLIAM F. RYAN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 5, 1970

Mr. RYAN. Mr. Speaker, the Organized Crime Control Act of 1970—S. 30—will shortly be considered by the House. I believe that this bill fails to attack effectively its ostensible target—organized crime—and it succeeds in drastically infringing upon the Constitution.

The American Civil Liberties Union has prepared a thoughtful, cogent, and careful analysis of this bill. The conclusion of this report is that—

The American Civil Liberties Union believes that the good in S. 30 is far outweighed by the bad, and that it ought not pass.

This report, ably prepared by Lawrence Speiser, director, Washington office, American Civil Liberties Union, and Mrs. Hope Eastman, assistant director, is an important document which I urge every Member to carefully consider. It follows:

#### WASHINGTON OFFICE, AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION,

Washington, D.C., October 2, 1970.

Re Organized Crime Control Act—S. 30.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN: Very soon you will be called upon to cast your vote on S. 30, the so-called Organized Crime Control Act, the stated purpose of which is to destroy the power of organized crime groups. We share this goal, but believe the bill goes far beyond it. In the guise of pursuing this objective, it would make drastic revisions in our entire system of criminal law, state and federal, which would jeopardize the civil liberties of everyone.

The American Civil Liberties Union believes that the good in S. 30 is far outweighed by the bad, and that it ought not pass. We urge you to give serious consideration to our reasons for this conclusion before deciding how you will vote.

#### TITLE I—SPECIAL GRAND JURY

Title I authorizes special federal grand juries to report: "concerning noncriminal misconduct, malfeasance or misfeasance in office involving organized criminal activity by an appointed officer or employee . . ."

We are not alone in the conclusion that it is highly undesirable to give federal grand juries the power to criticize public officials and employees where there is not enough evidence to indict and try them in a criminal trial. A number of Bar groups have come to a similar conclusion. An individual accused by such a grand jury has no real way to clear himself of charges levied by this body which speaks with the authority of the government and which has secured its information by using compulsory testimony in secret proceedings.

Although a person named in a report is given an opportunity to testify and present a "reasonable" number of witnesses, the value of that right is critically undercut be-

cause he cannot know the identity of his accusers, cannot compel the attendance of witnesses or cross-examine, and cannot compel the production of documentary evidence. Moreover, he receives this limited opportunity to appear only after the grand jury has decided to report on his guilt. The provision for judicial review is also largely illusory. A report may be made public if it is supported by nothing more than "a preponderance of the evidence" and a detailed record of the proceedings need not be kept. These procedures are totally inconsistent with that fundamental fairness guaranteed by the Fifth Amendment.

As a final note, we point out that the Judiciary Committee amended the Senate-passed version of S. 30 to eliminate the grand jury's power to report on the conduct of elected officials. The Committee's unwillingness to permit Congressmen to be subjected to this kind of public smearing, but to allow it to be done to appointed officials, raises a serious question about a double standard. Surely what should be sauce for the goose should be sauce for the gander.

#### TITLE VII—LITIGATION ON SOURCES OF EVIDENCE

If one title of S. 30 had to be singled out as the most dangerous, Title VII would have that very dubious distinction. As the fine dissenting views of Congressmen Mikva, Ryan and Conyers point out, "it demonstrates an antipathy towards, and impatience with, the exercise of constitutional rights which reflects another grim chapter in the attempts to uplift expediency to the level of constitutional legitimacy."

Title VII does two things to earn this clearly deserved condemnation. First, it sets a statute of limitations on complaints that evidence was obtained by illegal electronic surveillance. Such statutes of limitation, whatever role they might play in forcing litigants or the government to file suit or criminal charges in a timely manner, have no place in the defense of constitutional rights. To deprive the defendant of constitutional defenses which only become necessary to assert when he is later brought to trial is an extraordinarily dangerous inroad on rights we have long worked hard to protect.

Second, Title VII seeks to reverse the ruling of the Supreme Court in *Alderman v. United States*, 394 U.S. 165 (1969), that the defendant must be shown all tapes of electronic eavesdropping conducted by the government in order to determine whether those activities tainted the prosecution's evidence. Title VII attempts to substitute "in camera" inspection by the court which would determine which tapes might be relevant and turn only those over to the defendant. This is precisely the procedure which the Supreme Court rejected. As the Court said in *Alderman*, we believe that only full inspection by the defendant will "provide the scrutiny which the Fourth Amendment exclusionary rule demands." 394 U.S. at 184. It is ironic that Title VII is proposed as a remedy for "time-consuming court proceedings, yet would require the judge to examine the often voluminous records himself before turning them over to the defendant.

#### TITLE X—SPECIAL OFFENDERS SENTENCING

*Imposition of Sentence.* Title X authorizes a special sentence of up to twenty-five years for any person convicted of a federal felony who is also found by the sentencing judge to be a "dangerous special offender." This term includes any person from whom the public needs the protection of an extended sentence and who has (1) been convicted of two other felonies, one within the past five years, or (2) committed the present felony as part of a "criminal pattern of conduct" (a) from which he derived substantial income and in which he had special skill or

(b) which was part of a conspiracy of three persons in which he played a more than passive role.

A number of the provisions of Title X violate both substantive and procedural due process of law. Many of the definitions, for example, are vague and do not give the defendant adequate notice of the conduct which will subject him to these lengthy new sentences. Also, in determining whether the defendant is such an offender, the judge can rely on information supplied by sources which he need not disclose to the defendant. Moreover, he can consider an unlimited variety of information, whether or not constitutionally acquired. Lastly, he need only find that "a preponderance" of this information supports the allegation before imposing the special sentence.

However, even these very serious obstacles to the defendant's ability to clear himself pale in the face of our basic objection to Title X. It is clear from the definition of "dangerous special offender" that Congress wishes to impose lengthy sentences on those found to have engaged in the conduct included therein. However, Title X does not create a new federal crime which makes that conduct punishable. It authorizes the judge to consider information which would support the conclusion that the defendant has engaged in such conduct in fashioning the sentence. In this way, the government avoids having to prove beyond a reasonable doubt in a criminal trial that the defendant has committed the acts for which he is to be punished.

The Supreme Court has recognized that this type of special sentencing provision is subject to a higher standard of due process than the normal sentencing procedure in which the judge is given broad leeway. *Specht v. Patterson*, 386 U.S. 705 (1967). The Court recognized in the *Specht* case that a Sex Offender Statute involved the court in "the making of a new charge leading to criminal punishment." 386 U.S. at 610. We believe that this statute must be governed by an even higher standard of due process than was required in the *Specht* decision. To the extent that the sentencing judge must determine whether the defendant committed certain acts, the inquiry cannot be distinguished in any way from the criminal charges which must be proved in a criminal trial. We do not believe that the Constitution will permit this obvious attempt to permit the government to sentence a man for allegedly committing acts which the government could not prove beyond a reasonable doubt in a criminal trial with full due process safeguards for the defendant.

*Appeal of Sentence.* Title X authorizes the government to appeal the length of a special offender sentence and have it increased. It may also seek reversal of a trial court decision that a defendant is not a dangerous special offender.

While the ACLU has long favored appellate review of sentencing as a means of controlling abuses in the trial court's discretion, we strongly support the recommendation of the Advisory Committee of the American Bar Association Project on Minimum Standards for Criminal Justice that no appellate court should be empowered to set a harsher sentence than that imposed by the trial court. We join with them in the belief that such a procedure raises serious questions under the double jeopardy clause of the Constitution, especially where the defendant is in effect "acquitted" of the charge of being a "dangerous special offender." Moreover, we share their fear that the government will wrongly use this power to persuade defendants to plead guilty or to refrain from appealing either their sentence or the underlying conviction.

#### TITLE II—IMMUNITY OF WITNESSES

Under the Fifth Amendment, no person may be compelled "in any criminal case to

be a witness against himself." Since 1892, it has been the federal rule that in order to compel a person to testify, he must be "afforded absolute immunity against future prosecution for the offense to which the question relates." *Counselman v. Hitchcock*, 142 U.S. 547, 586 (1892). Title II would greatly water down that protection, permitting the government to compel the witness to testify in exchange only for a guarantee that that specific testimony will not be used against him, directly or indirectly, in a future criminal trial.

As we outlined in our testimony before the House Judiciary Committee, this lowered standard is not a constitutionally adequate substitute for the privilege against self-incrimination. There are too many ways to make evidence look as if it were independently obtained even though the compelled testimony has really led the government to find it. Thus the defendant will in fact be compelled to contribute to his own prosecution in direct violation of a privilege which the framers of the Constitution thought important enough to include in the Bill of Rights.

#### TITLE III—CONFINEMENT OF RECALTRANT WITNESSES

Title III gives the court the power to confine witnesses who refuse to testify in a court proceeding or before a grand jury. The Judiciary Committee has somewhat revised this Title, so that persons who refuse to testify during grand jury proceedings cannot be confined more than eighteen months. However, they left open the possibility of open-ended confinement for one who refuses to testify during "court proceedings." As we pointed out in our testimony before the House Judiciary Committee, "still pending in the federal court is a civil case which began on January 29, 1940 . . . and a criminal case filed in May, 1921." A clear time limit should be added to this provision.

Such a limit may also be constitutionally compelled. If a person has refused to speak for a long time, there is little likelihood that he will change his mind. Further confinement becomes punitive, not coercive, and should not be permitted without a complete trial for criminal contempt of court. See *Bloom v. Illinois*, 391 U.S. 194 (1968).

#### TITLE V—PROTECTED FACILITIES FOR HOUSING GOVERNMENT WITNESSES

Title V, which authorizes the Attorney General to provide facilities for the safety and security of government witnesses concerning organized criminal activity, appears to be a useful tool for securing needed testimony. However, in light of the House Internal Security Committee's recent refusal to repeal provisions for federal detention facilities under the Emergency Detention Act of 1950, it would be desirable to make it perfectly clear that no witness can be unwillingly confined or detained in such facilities.

#### TITLE VI—DEPOSITIONS

Title VI attempts to deal with a problem often associated with the prosecution of organized crime cases—that of the witness who changes his mind about testifying against the defendant at trial because of intimidation, threats, or physical abuse or disappears entirely. Title VI would permit the government to take a deposition of this witness. We doubt whether this procedure will achieve the desired goal. As the defendant must be notified in advance of the deposition, we suspect that those who wish to keep witnesses from testifying against them will make evidence look as if it were independently obtained even though the compelled testimony has really led the government to find it. Thus the defendant will in fact be compelled to contribute to his own prosecution in direct violation of a privilege which the framers of the Constitution thought important enough to include in the Bill of Rights.

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Even assuming this practice would preserve some useful testimony, we object to its adoption in its present form. If the government is going to be able to use this evidence at trial, the defendant must have a meaningful opportunity to cross-examine the witness during the deposition. At trial, this opportunity exists because the defendant already knows the nature of the prosecution's theory of the case which he will have to meet with his own evidence. At the deposition stage, the defendant will still be in the dark as to the lines of questioning he should pursue. We strongly urge that Title VI be amended to give the defendant expanded pre-trial discovery rights in those cases where the taking of depositions is contemplated, so that he will not be prejudiced at trial by the use of paper testimony obtained in the absence of meaningful cross-examination.

#### TITLE IX—RACKETEER INFLUENCED AND CORRUPT ORGANIZATIONS

Title IX seeks to improve government ability to stem organized crime's infiltration of legitimate business through the use of civil and criminal sanctions derived from the antitrust field. Unfortunately, the value of this innovative approach is marred by overly broad and ambiguous provisions which permit application of Title IX to a man who

twice wins \$1,000 in a friendly gambling game, as well as the most professional racketeer. Moreover, Title IX creates federal law in an area where state laws have traditionally operated, but it does not deal adequately with conduct which may be lawful in one jurisdiction and unlawful in another.

We are also troubled by the power given to the Attorney-General to issue civil investigative demands requiring the production of documentary material wherever he "has reason to believe" that material might be relevant to a Title IX investigation. No neutral magistrate is placed between this prosecutor's request and the potential defendant. In addition, the almost unlimited scope enables the government to engage in vast "fishing expeditions."

Although Title IX clearly contemplates that the records obtained in this dragnet fashion may be used in subsequent criminal as well as civil proceedings, no provision in the statute safeguards the individual's Fifth Amendment privilege against self-incrimination in a later proceeding. If material acquired in connection with a civil investigation can be used in a subsequent criminal case, any Fifth Amendment privilege would thereby be destroyed. The Supreme Court has very recently made it quite clear that a person fearing criminal prosecution has a constitutional right to assert his privilege against self-incrimination in responding to a civil investigative demand. *United States v. Kordel*, 38 U.S.L.W. 4153 (Feb. 23, 1970). Unless this privilege covers all prosecutions which result from the gathering of this information, broad civil investigative powers in an area involving criminal activity would clearly be unconstitutional.

#### CONCLUSION

Organized crime is a serious problem deserving the attention, imagination, and industry reflected in S. 30. However, serious constitutional problems cannot be brushed aside in a zealous pursuit of organized criminals. Its impact, moreover, can affect many others. Political dissenters, police who deprive others of their civil rights, Congressmen who take bribes, businessmen who violate tax laws, gamblers, or commit other "white collar" crimes—all these could be considered "dangerous special offenders." In light of growing illegal use of wiretapping and other electronic surveillance, almost anyone could be subject to this invasion of privacy and then be deprived of a constitutional defense by Title VII—in any kind of federal trial for the smallest offense. The list could go on indefinitely. No one can safely assume that this bill will only affect someone else or really evil people. Its derogation of constitutional rights threatens us all.

The Judiciary Committee has added a new title which would establish a National Commission on Individual Rights. A six year study, which will undoubtedly face the same fate as too many other Presidential commissions, does not make up for the immediate loss of individual rights which will come with S. 30. We urge you to join in its defeat.

Sincerely yours,

LAWRENCE SPEISER,  
Director, Washington Office.

#### EULOGY OF SENATOR DIRKSEN BY MR. JOHN H. ALTORFER

#### HON. ROBERT H. MICHEL OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 6, 1970

Mr. MICHEL. Mr. Speaker, one hears many fine eulogies during his years in

Congress. However, I was particularly impressed by the warm words of my good friend John H. Altorfer praising the late, beloved Senator Everett McKinley Dirksen at the State Republican convention in Peoria, Ill., this year.

The late Senator was a great friend of mine over the years and Mr. Altorfer's memorial speech brought back a flood of memories about this great American statesman.

It is not often a man is able to say so eloquent yet so simply what is in our hearts concerning loved ones. Mr. Altorfer's eulogy of Senator Dirksen is one such example and I insert it in the Record at this point:

#### MEMORIAL SPEECH BY JOHN H. ALTORFER

Over the past many months since September 7, 1969, when our good friend Senator Everett McKinley Dirksen passed from this world into the next, men and women from all walks of life have eulogized and memorialized his life and work with an eloquence reserved for only those who are great among us.

To surpass these tributes would be impossible—nor is that our purpose here today—rather we—here today—were unique in our relationship with Everett McKinley Dirksen. And because I believe in immortality—I know that today he is watching these proceedings from his celestial chair in Heaven, and so I'd like to try to put into words what I feel many of us are thinking.

Dear Ev, the marigolds are beautiful this year, and today is the first convention of the Republican Party since you led us two years ago in our meeting in Springfield. And as we meet, in convention as a whole, each of us remembers with an inner glow our own personal experience and relationship with you.

We remember that over the past many years you traveled the width and breadth of our State visiting us in our cities, in our schools, and in our churches, and in our homes.

Today we left those communities to come here and meet in union only a few short miles from where you were born, reared, and grew into manhood.

We miss you today—for as a group we remember our anticipation as you would stride to the podium—looking intently into the sea of friendly faces, and then waiting until the thunderous applause quieted—leaning into the microphone and saying "It's good to be home again" or your equally thrilling "home-folks". For we knew at that moment Ev Dirksen was ours—our very own—in a very intimate and unique sort of a way.

And then we would sit back and relax as we were consumed by your message, and when you began one of your stories to illustrate a point we would begin chuckling and then laugh out loud at the punch line no matter how many times we had heard the story before.

Ev, it would be nice if we could say that all is Right with the World—but we can't—many of the problems that faced you as both a Republican and leader of our nation—still face us today.

And so—this body assembled—representing every area of the State of Illinois—even as we rejoice in your memory—we rededicate ourselves to your basic beliefs in the Republic form of government—in your respect for the individual—in your deep and abiding love of America, and in your unwavering faith in God All Mighty.

The immortality of a man is not only in his heavenly home—but also in the people who witness to his life here on earth—and thus it is the inspiration and example that you left with us that will sustain us in our work that lies ahead.

For most of us, as we try to express our feelings—we feel inadequate and futilely search for the proper words and expressions to say that which we feel in our hearts.

But we remember Ev—we remember how you used to say "I need more troops in Washington" and then you would go on and explain the importance of electing Republicans to both County and State offices.

Well, Ev, we're here today to tell you we're going to win in November. We are going to win—not so much because we are Republicans—but because in a very real sense the future of the Republic is at stake.

You used to say—that you were "just an old fashioned garden variety Republican"—who believed in the Constitution, the Declaration of Independence, and Abraham Lincoln. So do we!

But to that we will add—Everett McKinley Dirksen.

Forever yours,  
THE REPUBLICAN PARTY OF THE STATE OF ILLINOIS.

LEGISLATIVE RECORD OF REPRESENTATIVE CHARLES A. VANIK IN THE 91ST CONGRESS, 1969-70

HON. CHARLES A. VANIK

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 6, 1970

Mr. VANIK. Mr. Speaker, as the 91st Congress draws to a close, I feel that I should state in the Record, for the benefit of my constituents, a description of the principal legislation which I have introduced in 1969 and 1970.

I believe that an examination of the bills which I have introduced or joined in cosponsoring gives a fairly complete picture of my political philosophy, and of

my hopes for a greater America and a better world.

The legislation which I have introduced has generally been directed toward the protection of the average citizen and his family. It has been directed against unfair taxation and against tax privilege. It has been designed to provide protection during retirement years through adequate social security, and medicare. It has been directed against pollution and the forces which threaten our environment. It has been designed to provide protection and higher standards in employment and urban life. It has been directed toward honest dealings in the marketplace and a more responsible democracy in a world at peace.

I am pleased to report to the people of the 22d Congressional District of Ohio than an exceptional number of bills which I have introduced have been either totally or partially enacted. Others are in the process of being passed. Others may be ahead of their time—but their time will come and I am confident that they will be enacted.

As one looks at the record, several areas stand out.

First, because of the structure of Congress, any individual Member's greatest influence for good lies in his committee work. I have tried to take an active part in every issue that has come before the Ways and Means Committee of the House. It has been a busy Congress for my committee. My chairman, WILBUR MILLS, said on September 10, 1970, that—

I think it is fair to state that the Committee on Ways and Means has had as heavy a workload in this 91st Congress as it has ever had in its entire history since its creation as a standing committee in 1802, and certainly the responsibilities which the com-

mittee has carried this Congress have been as heavy as those carried by any committee of the House.

It is for this reason that the major proportion of the bills I have introduced and with which I have had success have been bills before my own committee dealing with tax reform and social security-medicare coverage.

Second, it is clear that while more could have been, and should have been, done the 91st Congress is one of the first Congresses to make a major response to the environmental crisis. I have tried, as a Representative from a desperately polluted area of the Nation, to make contributions in this area.

Third, while the House of Representatives has traditionally taken a minor role in foreign affairs, bowing to the Senate which has the constitutional duty to approve treaties, the House of Representatives in the 91st Congress has been very active in this area. I have tried to contribute to that debate and dialog in an effort to bring greater peace and stability to the world.

I have tried to maintain an excellent voting and attendance record. I believe my constituents should know where I stand on every issue that comes before the House. According to the tally clerk of the House, between the beginning of the 91st Congress and September 15, 1970, there have been a total of 609 roll-calls—344 votes and 265 quorums. I have been recorded on 96.8 percent of the votes and was present for 95.1 percent of the quorums. Almost without exception any rollcall that I missed was due to pressing public business in the 22d District.

Below is the principal legislation which I introduced and on which action was taken.

SOCIAL SECURITY AND TAX REFORM LEGISLATION

House number	Date	Short title	House hearings	House passage	Senate hearings	Senate passage	Conference	Law	Notes
H.R. 6558	Feb. 6, 1969	Single Persons' Tax Reform Act.	X	X	X	X	X	Public Law 91-172	House passed head of household concept of Vanik bill, Senate substituted new rate schedule for single persons.
H.R. 8582	Mar. 11, 1969	To expand and liberalize rules on deductible moving expenses incurred by an employee.	X	X	X	X	X	Public Law 91-172	
H.R. 8637	do	To increase from \$600 to \$1,200 the personal income tax exemption.	X	X	X	X	X	Public Law 91-172	Modified version of Vanik amendment was accepted, increasing personal exemption to \$625 in 1970, \$650 in 1971, \$700 in 1972, and \$750 in 1973. Vanik led in obtaining 172 signatures of House Members supporting Senator Gore's efforts in this area.
H.R. 9479	Mar. 25, 1969	To lower oil depletion allowance from 27½ to 15 percent.	X	X	X	X	X	Public Law 91-172	A modified version of the Vanik amendment was accepted. The House lowered oil depletion allowance to 20 percent; Senate to 23 percent; compromised at 22 percent.
H.R. 9893	Apr. 2, 1970	Repeal of investment credit.	X	X	X	X	X	Public Law 91-172	Terminated as of Apr. 18, 1969, resulting in tax saving of over \$3,300,000,000 to Treasury while cooling off one of the most inflationary sectors of the corporate economy. Vanik offered motion accepted by Democratic caucus of April 16, 1969 placing party on record for repeal.
H.R. 9896	Apr. 2, 1970	To terminate oil depletion allowance on drilling in foreign countries.	X	X	X	X	X	Public Law 91-172	House passed Vanik amendment. Senate rejected it. Conference compromised by lowering foreign depletion allowance from 27½ percent to 22 percent.
H.R. 11112	May 8, 1970	To increase social security benefits 15 percent.	X	X	X	X	X	Public Law 91-172	Offered motion accepted by special Democratic caucus on Oct. 7, 1969 placing party on record in support of 15 percent increase. Proposal for 15 percent increase accepted even though administration proposed only 7 percent and later raised that to only 10 percent.
H.R. 12162	June 16, 1969	To provide tax deduction for cost of work transportation of disabled persons, plus an additional income tax exemption for disabled taxpayer or spouse.			X	X			Portion of this amendment dropped in conference on Tax Reform Act. Action still needed.
H.R. 12473	June 27, 1969	To permit State agreements for coverage under medicare.	X	X	X				Portion of Vanik amendment accepted in form of allowing uninsured individuals, such as teachers, to buy medicare coverage at age 65. Senate action pending.

## SOCIAL SECURITY AND TAX REFORM LEGISLATION—Continued

House number	Date	Short title	House hearings	House passage	Senate hearings	Senate passage	Conference	Law	Notes
H.R. 14913	Nov. 20, 1969	To calculate a man's average monthly wage for social security purposes at age 62 rather than 65 and to provide 1 additional dropout year for each 40 quarters of coverage.	X	X	X				Part of Vanik amendment accepted by permitting men to compute benefits at age 62 rather than age 65. Measure pending in Senate.
H.R. 18310	July 6, 1970	Members of the Armed Forces serving in Cambodia or Laos shall be treated as serving in combat zone.							Failure for Laos and Cambodia to be considered combat zone has meant economic hardship for families of men killed in action. IRS ruling of Aug. 8, 1970 corrected problem.
H.R. 18537	July 20, 1970	To show amounts of Federal tax on airline tickets.	X						This amendment has been incorporated in bill raising airline tax to pay for anti-hijacker guards.

## ENVIRONMENTAL PROTECTION LEGISLATION

H.R. 2184	Jan. 6, 1969	Water Quality Improvement Act.	X	X	X	X	X	Public Law 91-224	Most of the provisions of H.R. 2184 incorporated in H.R. 4145 which became law Apr. 3, 1970. Also testified before House Public Works Committee in favor of bill Feb. 26, 1970. Introduced students from Shaker Heights, Cleveland Heights, Laurel, Hathaway Brown, University School, Hawken School who also testified before committee.
H.R. 6557	Feb. 6, 1969	Relating to dumping of polluted dredgings into navigable waters.							In message to Congress Apr. 15, 1970 (1 year and 2 months after Vanik bill introduced), President supported concept of placing polluted dredgings in areas where they would not pollute the Great Lakes. Legislation pending before Public Works Committee. First charged in May of 1965 that corps dumping of dredgings created extra pollution. Years of work with Public Health Service, Interior and corps has finally resulted in Presidential recognition of problem.
H.R. 8426	Mar. 6, 1969	To allow an incentive tax credit for the construction of air and water pollution devices.	X	X	X	X	X	Public Law 91-172	Offered by Representative Vanik as an amendment to the 1969 Tax Reform Act, this measure designed to channel capital into construction of pollution control devices was accepted in a liberalized form.
H.R. 9382	Mar. 24, 1969	To establish a pollution disaster fund.		X	X	X	X	Public Law 91-224	A modified version of this bill was accepted on the House floor as the Vanik amendment to the Water Quality Improvement Act. This section of Public Law 91-224 provides \$20,000,000 for research and demonstration projects on ways to end pollution on the Great Lakes.
H.R. 11874	June 4, 1969	Establishment of national severe storms service and warning system.							Introduced 1 month before severe storms struck Lake Erie unexpectedly. Action still needed. Better radar and radio and staffs provided in Northeast Ohio now.
H.R. 13340	Aug. 5, 1969	Prohibit use of DDT except under emergency conditions.							Congressional pressure resulted in Agriculture Department order of Aug. 18, 1970 banning future use of DDT.
H.R. 13370	Aug. 6, 1969	U.S. protection of shorelines against erosion.	X						Action needed in this area. Parts of Lucid and Cleveland eagerly shoreline eroding rapidly. Corps has general national shoreline study underway.
H.R. 15934	Feb. 17, 1970	Environmental Quality Education Act.	X	X	X	X			Designed to help schools teach environmental problems, passage into law likely in near future.
H.R. 16995	Apr. 14, 1970	Detergent Pollution Control Act of 1970 (banning phosphates).			X				Phosphates in detergents one of major sources of eutrophication of Lake Erie. Action needed. Gov. Rockefeller planning to ban such detergent in New York.
H.R. 18980	Aug. 13, 1970	Air Pollution Abatement Act of 1970.							Designed to strengthen Clean Air Act which passed House June 10, 1970. Many features and concepts included in strong Senate bill which passed Sept. 22.
H.R. 19453	Aug. 24, 1970	National Air Abatement Act of 1970.							Identical to Senate passed clear air bill. Sponsored to indicate support on House side for strong Senate air pollution control bill rather than weaker House version. Vanik has obtained, to date, nearly 30 co-sponsors.
H.J. Res. 1120	Mar. 9, 1970	To establish a Joint Committee on Environment and Technology.	X	X	X				This committee is needed to coordinate congressional action on environmental issues. Passage likely soon.
H.R. 19259	Sept. 16, 1970	To prohibit dumping of toxics in ocean without prior approval of Council of Environmental Quality.	X						Action needed to provide for safer disposal of nerve gas and similar items. Department of Defense dumping of deadly gases prohibited by amendment to Military Procurement Act. Just passed.

## CRIME CONTROL LEGISLATION

H.R. 5585	Jan. 30, 1969	To prohibit interstate movement of switchblades.							As a result of congressional pressure Customs Bureau has banned importation of certain new categories of foreign switchblade-gravity knives.
H.R. 13168	July 29, 1969	Return of unsolicited pornographic advertisements.	X	X					Similar legislation discouraging unsolicited obscene mail has passed House. Final action likely soon.
H.R. 16495	Mar. 16, 1970	Explosives control.	X	X					Variation of Vanik amendment to be included in organized crime control bill. Final passage likely shortly.
H.R. 18401	July 9, 1970	Suspension of foreign aid to countries failing to take adequate action to control narcotics.							Stronger version of this concept included in Trade bill of 1970 as the Vanik amendment.
H. Res. 122	Jan. 13, 1969	Creation of House Crime Committee.	X	X	( )	( )	( )	( )	Committee has been in operation and holding hearings since May 1, 1969, and has offered a number of constructive amendments.

## FOREIGN AFFAIRS—PEACE AND MILITARY ISSUES

House number	Date	Short title	House hearings	House passage	Senate hearings	Senate passage	Conference	Law	Notes
H. Con. Res. 100	Jan. 28, 1969	Urging President to increase relief aid to Biafra.							Total of \$103,000,000 sent in relief aid to Nigeria and Biafra through June 30, 1970
H. Res. 227	Feb. 6, 1969	Condemnation of Iraqi Government for secret trials and public executions and request for U.N. Security Council meeting.							
H.R. 11950	June 9, 1969	General Accounting Office reports on cost overruns.							Congressional action has resulted in cooperation between Department of Defense, General Accounting Office, and Armed Services Committees to review cost on major weapons systems.
H. Res. 444	June 19, 1969	Urging U.S. ratification of Geneva protocol on chemical and biological warfare.							1 year and 2 months later President sent message to Senate on Aug. 19, 1970 urging approval of protocol.
H. Con. Res. 535	Mar. 10, 1970	Urging President to work for international cooperation against hijackers, including sanctions against those countries which fail to act against hijackers.							House has just approved legislation implementing U.S. obligations under Tokyo Convention on Offences and Certain Other Acts Committed on Board Aircraft.
H. Con. Res. 556	Mar. 23, 1970	Urging President to terminate assistance to belligerent Arab nations and sell Israel aircraft necessary for her security.							Vanik spoke in support of sec. 501 of the Military Procurement Act which authorizes President to transfer to Israel, by sale, credit sale, or guarantee, aircraft and equipment needed to counteract and meet aid to other Nations in the area given by other powers.
H. Res. 964	Apr. 30, 1970	Urging that United States refrain from any military action in Cambodia.				X			Responsible for removal of troops from Cambodia within 30 days. Vanik spoke in opposition to Cambodian invasion.
H. Res. 1003	May 12, 1970	Urging withdrawal from South Vietnam during fiscal year 1971.							Similar proposal (McGovern-Hatfield) defeated in Senate.
H. Con. Res. 687	July 16, 1970	Urging better treatment of U.S. POW in North Vietnam and reform of South Vietnamese prison system to eliminate tiger cages at Con Son.							Also sent letter to leaders of North Vietnam urging humane treatment of U.S. POW's.
H. Con. Res. 744	Sept. 22, 1970	Urging end of persecution of Jews in the Soviet Union and freedom of emigration.							
H.R. 19483	Sept. 28, 1970	To provide boycotting and denial of landing rights to aircraft of Nations which fail to take action against hijackers.							
Floor amendments to H.R. 17802	June 3, 1970	Increase in public debt.							Vanik offered motion to strike \$5,000,000,000 from public debt and impose expenditure ceiling on Department of Defense expenditures. Motion defeated, 273 to 85.
H.R. 17399	May 4, 1970	Inter-American Development Bank, supplemental appropriations.		X					Amendment to prohibit intrabank loans to Bank personnel so as to stop scandals reported by Columnist Jack Anderson. Amendment accepted.

## EDUCATION, MANPOWER, TRANSPORTATION, AND HEALTH LEGISLATION

H.R. 16430	Mar. 11, 1970	Improvements to the National Foundation on the Arts and Humanities Act of 1965.	X	X	X	X	X	Public Law 91-346	
H.R. 9661	Mar. 27, 1969	To establish an urban mass transportation trust fund.	X		X				Testified in support of bill before House Banking and Currency Committee. Supported expansion of Urban Mass Transportation Act with hope that this amendment could have provided permanent expanded financing.
H.R. 16390	Mar. 11, 1970	To include Great Lakes ports in Merchant Marine Act of 1936.	X	X	X	X	X	Public Law 91-1080	Included in Merchant Marine Act of 1970. Adopted Oct. 6, 1970.
H.R. 17301	Apr. 28, 1970	To simplify passport applications.	X						Testified before committee on logjams in Cleveland passport office showing need for such simplification. House hearing has caused Passport Office to experiment with simpler application process.
H.R. 11620	May 26, 1969	Manpower Act	X		X	X			Provides better, more coordinated manpower training programs as well as public service employment.
H.R. 16660	Mar. 25, 1970	Senior Citizens Skill and Talent Utilization Act							To be included in Manpower Act listed above.
H. Res. 563	Oct. 2, 1969	To create a House committee to study reconversion needed to maintain economy during peacetime.							It should have been obvious to administration that as wind-down in Vietnam spending occurred a special manpower plan was needed. This is still a need as unemployment continues to rise.

## CONSUMER PROTECTION LEGISLATION

H.R. 6037	Feb. 4, 1969	To establish a Department of Consumer Affairs.	X		X				It is important to establish some form of independent agency for the protection of the consumer rather than creating a consumer office within the already over-worked Department of Justice.
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## CITIZEN PRIVACY LEGISLATION

H.R. 3780	Jan. 16, 1969	To limit categories of questions in 1970 census answerable under penalty of law.							As a result of congressional pressure, sample questionnaires were simplified.
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## CONSTITUTIONAL AND LEGISLATIVE BRANCH AMENDMENTS

House number	Date	Short title	House hearings	House passage	Senate hearings	Senate passage	Conference	Law	Notes
H.J. Res. 197	Jan. 7, 1969	Direct election of President and Vice President.	X	X	X				Testified before House Judiciary Committee in support of Amendment on June 6, 1969.
H. Res. 807	Jan. 28, 1970	Record votes in the Committee of the Whole of the House of Representatives.		X					Included as part of the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1970 as part of anti-secrecy reforms.
Floor amendment to H.R. 17654	July 28, 1970	Amendment to Legislative Reorganization Act to indicate that seniority need not be the sole criteria in determining Committee Chairmen.							Floor amendment rejected on a teller vote by 73 to 160.

Following, by categories, is a listing of additional legislation I have introduced or co-sponsored, but on which little or no action has been taken in this Congress to date. It is my hope that much of this legislation will be favorably considered in the coming Congress.

## SOCIAL SECURITY AND TAX REFORM LEGISLATION

House No.	Date	Short title	Notes
H.R. 699	Jan. 3, 1969	To provide that disabled persons be eligible for medicare coverage regardless of age.	This must be one of the priorities of the new Congress.
H.R. 3347	Jan. 14, 1969	To allow a tax credit for expenses incurred in education and training mentally retarded or physically handicapped children.	Do.
H.R. 9894	Apr. 2, 1969	Equalizing retirement income credit between social security and railroad retirement beneficiaries.	An amendment important to the retirement income of former railroad workers.
H.R. 17114	Apr. 20, 1970	To increase credit against tax for retirement income.	This bill would equalize tax treatment for social security beneficiaries and people not in social security.
H.R. 18167	June 22, 1970	To exclude from income tax certain student scholarship and fellowship assistance.	Bill needed to help working graduate students finance education.

## ENVIRONMENTAL PROTECTION LEGISLATION

H.R.	Date	Short title	Notes
H.R. 17436	May 5, 1970	To create national environmental data bank.	Needed to coordinate research and activities within 1 center. House passage likely in early October.
H.R. 18429	July 13, 1970	Environmental Protection Act of 1970.	Testified in support of bill before Judiciary Committee on Aug. 6, 1970. Senate has also held hearings. It provides citizens access to courts to sue for damage caused by polluters.
H.R. 18988	Aug. 13, 1970	Prohibit interstate sale of no-deposit no-return beverage containers.	Legislation needed to stop solid waste pollution caused by containers. House hearings have been held.
Committee amendment		President's excise tax proposals.	Amendment to increase tax on cars which fail to meet certain emission standards.
H. Con. Res. 705	Aug. 11, 1970	To establish moratorium on auto style changes and use money saved to develop cleaner propulsion system.	Billions spent on styling changes; only millions spent on pollution control.
H. Con. Res. 735	Sept. 16, 1970	That U.S. delegation to 1972 U.N. Conference on the Human Environment propose international ban on dumping of pollutants in oceans.	Legislation desperately needed to encourage worldwide cooperation on ending pollution.

## FOREIGN, PEACE AND MILITARY ISSUES

H.R.	Date	Short title	Notes
H.R. 6501	Feb. 6, 1969	The Peace Act.	Bill provides for a coordination of American agencies working for international peace and cooperation.
H.R. 13652	Sept. 8, 1969	To permit certain active-duty callups to count toward VA educational benefits.	This bill would extend certain existing programs of VA benefits.
H.R. 14398	Oct. 16, 1969	U.S. Peace Academy Act.	Legislation needed to train diplomats and experts in conflict resolution.
H.R. 16816	Apr. 7, 1970	To improve military justice in accordance with constitutional procedures.	Bill would help meet certain problems in military justice that have recently been discussed.
H.R. 18613	July 23, 1970	Voluntary Military Manpower Procurement Act.	In line with several Presidential Commission reports, this bill moves toward creation of volunteer army. Hearings have been held in the House.

## CITIZEN PRIVACY LEGISLATION

H.R.	Date	Short title	Notes
H.R. 17990	June 9, 1970	To limit the sale or distribution of mailing lists by Federal agencies.	Specialty advertisers and "junk mailers" have been obtaining mailing lists from U.S. Government.

## EDUCATION, MANPOWER, TRANSPORTATION, AND HEALTH LEGISLATION

H.R.	Date	Short title	Notes
H.R. 17425	May 4, 1970	To provide assistance to regional research libraries.	Bill designed to help regional libraries meet the cost of acquiring necessary volumes.
H.R. 7355	Feb. 20, 1969	To allow reduced rate air fares for youth, elderly persons, and military personnel.	With so much unused seat capacity, bill would allow these categories of persons—generally of reduced income—special fares.
H.R. 19190	Sept. 15, 1970	Conversion Research and Education Act of 1970.	Legislation to ease the country and labor force from an expanding military budget to a peacetime economy.
H.R. 19144	Sept. 10, 1970	The Health Security Act.	As health costs spiral and health services face collapse, long-range plan to provide health care at reasonable rates needed.

## CONSUMER PROTECTION LEGISLATION

H.R.	Date	Short title	Notes
H.R. 6041	Feb. 4, 1969	To assist State and local offices of consumer protection.	To assist local government makes much-needed improvements in consumer protection services.
H.R. 11863	June 4, 1969	To provide Federal grade standards for bacon.	Because of widely varying water and fat content, bacon can be one of the most expensive and deceptive products on the grocery shelf. Government and military purchase requirements relating to bacon should be extended to consumer.
H.R. 17134	Apr. 15, 1970	To require clear dating of perishable foods on grocery shelves.	Presently most perishable foods are dated, but with a code known only to a few. The consumer has a right to know the freshness of the product being bought.



**CONGRESS BUILDS STRONG RECORD IN FIGHT AGAINST CRIME AND LAWLESSNESS**

**HON. JOE L. EVINS**

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 6, 1970

Mr. EVINS of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, Congress has passed some 20 laws within the past 5 years relating directly to strengthening law enforcement, improving the judicial processing of criminal cases, and assisting the corrections system—a strong record for law and order.

In this connection and because of the interest of my colleagues and the American people in this most important matter, I place my recent newsletter on this subject in the Record.

The newsletter follows:

CAPITOL COMMENTS, OCTOBER 5, 1970

**CONGRESS BUILDS STRONG RECORD IN FIGHT ON CRIME AND LAWLESSNESS**

Congress has passed much legislation designed to assist law enforcement agencies at the local, state and national level in combating crime, violence and lawlessness. In the past five years Congress has enacted twenty laws relating directly to strengthening law enforcement, improving the judicial processing of criminal cases, and assisting the corrections system. These laws include:

The Crime Control and Safe Streets Act of 1968—This act authorized grants to strengthen and improve state and local police departments and law enforcement agencies and modifies some Supreme Court decisions favoring defendants in criminal cases.

The Antiriot Act of 1968—This bill establishes criminal penalties for crossing state lines to incite a riot and prohibits the manufacturing or instruction in the use of explosives or firearms for illegal purposes.

The Law Enforcement Assistance Training Acts of 1965 and 1966—These bills authorized Federal demonstration grants for implementing new law enforcement techniques and methods to suppress crime and violence.

The Federal Judicial Center Act of 1967—This act establishes a center within the judicial branch to streamline judicial administration and conduct training programs for improving and speeding justice.

The Federal Judgeship Act of 1966—This act provides for appointment of 45 new Federal judges to meet increased courtroom workloads.

The present Congress—the 91st—has continued this strong support for measures designed to curb crime and violence. This Congress has enacted the Crime Control and Safe Streets Act Amendments of 1970 authorizing additional funding of grants to assist and strengthen local law enforcement agencies—\$650 million for 1971; \$750 million for 1972 and \$1 billion for 1973.

The Obscene Advertising Mail Act was also recently enacted, banning the interstate transporting and mailing of unsolicited obscene materials and smut publications. A detailed, comprehensive act providing new enforcement and legal weapons against bombings and organized crime has been reported by the House Committee on Judiciary. The House is expected to act soon on this measure which has already passed the Senate.

Both Houses have passed much legislation strengthening our laws against trafficking in drugs and some fourteen additional anti-crime bills have passed the House. Six of these bills have passed both Houses of Congress and are now the law of the land. Certainly the Congress is acting to combat crime and lawlessness. If our

society is to remain free and orderly, the challenges posed by crime and violence must be met. Congress by its actions is meeting this challenge. Law and order must be maintained.

**CONGRESSMAN ANNUNZIO SUPPORTS S. 3822 TO PROVIDE INSURANCE FOR MEMBER ACCOUNTS IN STATE AND FEDERALLY CHARTERED CREDIT UNIONS**

**HON. FRANK ANNUNZIO**

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 6, 1970

Mr. ANNUNZIO. Mr. Speaker, yesterday the House passed S. 3822 which provides insurance for member accounts in State and federally chartered credit unions. I wholeheartedly supported this legislation.

I am well aware that the organized credit union movement has expressed its strong opposition to the premium rate established in S. 3822 for participation in the national credit union share insurance fund.

The Credit Union National Association, with which over 92 percent of the 23,000 credit unions of this Nation are affiliated, has presented some well documented statistics that a rate of one-twentieth of 1 percent of the total amount of member accounts is entirely adequate to meet the obligations and operating expenses of the fund within 5 years' time, and after that will build the fund reserves to the required level established by this legislation.

However, since no provision was made in the bill for an original capitalization of the fund, as was done in the case of other Federal insurance programs for other type financial institutions, there has been a natural tendency to favor the higher rate which has been standard for the other Federal insurance programs.

Thus, the higher rate will build the fund more rapidly to the point where it would be capable of meeting all of the demands which might be made upon it. As pointed out by the Credit Union National Association, losses of credit unions over the years have been relatively small. For example, during the period 1934 to 1969, actual losses for Federal credit unions were \$1,716,211. Net losses from scale downs have amounted to \$1,643,330 during this same period. Donations to liquidated Federal credit unions and Federal operating credit unions have totaled \$1,016,467 and \$606,337, respectively. Thus, total losses for all Federal credit unions for the last 36 years have amounted to less than \$5 million but actual losses to members have amounted to only \$3,359,541 because of donations and assistance from State credit union leagues.

In 1970 the anticipated losses for Federal credit unions have been estimated by the National Credit Union Administration to be \$389,179. This figure, however, assumes that no assistance would come from State credit union league stabilization programs.

The assets of the national credit union

share insurance fund, as projected for 10 years on a one-twentieth of 1 percent basis and considering only Federal credit unions, indicates that at the end of the first full year of the fund's operation the net worth of the fund would be \$3,135,461. In the fifth year, income from the investment of surplus funds will be adequate to cover anticipated losses as well as operating expenses of the fund, and the same holds true for successive years.

While I believe the lower rate of one-twentieth of 1 percent, rather than the one-twelfth of 1 percent stipulated in S. 3822, is well justified, I feel that credit unions can live with the higher rate in order to get this program started. Furthermore, as the House Banking and Currency Committee report points out—

Future experiences of the fund may well dictate a reconsideration of this figure. The bill also provides that when the fund reaches a 1-percent "normal operating level" of all insured accounts, the Administrator may reduce the annual rate of premium from the one-twelfth of 1 percent to a level he deems sufficient to maintain an adequate insurance fund.

With the considerations in mind, I believe the legislation is basically good, and I therefore supported it in the knowledge that changes may be desirable as credit unions develop experience operating under the fund program.

**THE MASSACHUSETTS VOTER REFERENDUM AND THE 19-YEAR-OLD VOTE**

**HON. MICHAEL J. HARRINGTON**

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 6, 1970

Mr. HARRINGTON. Mr. Speaker, as election day draws near and Bay Staters begin to concern themselves with the congressional and State contests in their districts, one issue in this election must not be forgotten. For this time, the people of Massachusetts will have the opportunity to make their views known on a subject whose importance involves the entire Nation.

November's ballot will contain a referendum question which each voter must consider carefully; proposed is an amendment to the State constitution which would reduce the minimum age for voting in Federal and State elections from 21 to 19.

Although provisions in the Voting Rights Act of 1970 would allow those in the 18- to 20-age group to vote, it is not certain that this statute will be declared constitutional by the Supreme Court. Indications are, however, that the law will be accepted by the Judiciary. In the first test case, a Federal tribunal in Washington, D.C., found that the legislation did not contradict historical precedent and, therefore, could be accepted.

In considering the question of the referendum, we must not be content to wait for the findings of the Court. Our Nation is a prosperous one and yet we are

seriously suffering from a mood of discontent which threatens to destroy the spirit of the country. Many of our young people are distressed with our values and leaders and their frustrations have sometimes led them to resort to violent measures which cannot be condoned by the public. We can make positive use of their energy and zeal by granting them actual participation in the Government, now.

By giving a new group the power to vote in Massachusetts' elections we will not solve all of the problems that the Nation or even the State faces. But we will be making a start. Our representatives will not be able to dismiss the protests of our youth without considering their substance. And our younger citizens will be forced to temper their cynicism for our system with the knowledge that they can indeed change it. Long after our current legislators have passed out of office, this constitutional amendment will still be influencing the affairs of the State.

It seems inevitable that one day soon a larger bloc of the public will be voting; Massachusetts can lead the Nation by reforming her voting laws so that her now frustrated and disenfranchised youth can take fruitful political action to change our country by legal means.

I urge every voter to consider the amendment carefully and then to vote in favor of it so that we can restore a sense of relevance to our young, and vigor to the State of Massachusetts.

#### HISTORIC MARITIME CEREMONY UNVEILS NEW TRAINING PROGRAM

HON. EDWARD A. GARMATZ

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 6, 1970

Mr. GARMATZ. Mr. Speaker, on Thursday, October 1, 1970, I was privileged to attend and participate in a fascinating and historic ceremony conducted in the finest maritime tradition.

Held in New York City, the activity was divided into two phases. The first consisted of the formal unveiling of plans to establish a \$10 million upgrading school for licensed deck officers of the American merchant marine. The second phase, which was most colorful and impressive, was held in Trinity Church, a famous religious edifice long associated with maritime activities.

During a special religious service within Trinity Church, a dedication of the new constitution and bylaws of the International Organization of Masters, Mates, and Pilots was presented.

The new training program which was unveiled October 1 is known as the MATES program; it deserves recognition and commendation, especially because this is a joint program that is the result of a magnificent cooperative effort between the labor and management segments of an industry which is often criticized for its fragmentation. Together, these two segments are demonstrating how a united industry can make outstanding contributions to our merchant marine and our Nation.

In addition to my own participation in the ceremonies outlined above, a number of other well-known personalities played a role. These included: Stephen Maher, administrator, MATES program; Edwin Link, inventor of the world famous Link trainer; Thomas W. Gleason, president, International Longshoremen's Association; Lloyd Kelly, vice president of Singer-Link Corp., which has developed sophisticated training equipment for the MATES program; Capt. Stig Wiebe, president of the Deck Officers Association of Sweden; Rear Adm. Edward J. O'Donnell, U.S. Navy, retired, president of the New York State Maritime College; and Martin Hickey, vice president of the T. M. Service Corp.

Mr. Speaker, because I feel so strongly that the MATES program represents a momentous step forward in our Nation's efforts to produce the best seamen in the world, I want to call attention to a descriptive article which appeared in the Baltimore Sun, and to a program describing the impressive convocation ceremonies at Trinity Church. I recommend their reading to my colleagues. The items follow:

[From the Baltimore Sun, Oct. 2, 1970]

#### MARITIME UNION TO OPEN RETRAINING FACILITY IN AREA

(By Joseph S. Helewicz)

NEW YORK, October 1.—The International Organization of Masters, Mates and Pilots formally unveiled plans here today to construct a \$10 million facility in suburban Baltimore for the retraining of deck officers serving aboard American merchant ships.

Construction on 50 acres of land near the Linthicum section of Anne Arundel county is expected to begin in about 30 days. The facility will retrain the deck officers by using highly sophisticated simulation equipment. The first class is expected to begin by the fall of 1971.

#### FINANCED BY CONTRIBUTIONS

To be known as the Marine Institute of Technology and Graduate Studies, the facility, which is expected to take about 10 years to complete, will eventually house 100 students and faculty; a laboratory for oceanographic study and experimentation; a marine library; a nautical technological library; a maritime museum, and a planetarium.

The entire project will be financed by contributions from American steamship lines with which the union has labor contracts.

Today, before representatives of labor, management and government, Capt. Thomas F. O'Callaghan, president of the mates union, said the establishment of the school is based on the need to acquire "considerably greater technological skill than previously existed."

He explained that the development of container ships and automatic loading equipment, coupled with the development of Lighter Aboard Ship (LASH) cargo carriers, "represents substantial investments in the future of the American shipping industry."

#### REFRESHER TRAINING

He said the maritime industry is becoming so advanced that "men should go down to the sea in simulators before they go down to the sea in ships."

The new program is not intended to provide basic training to prospective deck officers, nor will it be involved in recruitment activities, Captain O'Callaghan said.

"Things are tight enough as it is" he said, referring to current shipboard employment conditions.

Instead, the program will be a requirement for refresher and updating training for some 6,000 to 7,000 deck officers.

The first course, scheduled to begin in

about a year, will concentrate on radar systems. Approximately \$6.5 million of the \$10 million to be spent on the facility will be invested in electronic equipment, including, a collision avoidance radar simulator, and an automatic bridge-control trainer, designed by the Link Division of Singer-General Precision, Inc., of Silver Spring.

Approximately 20 students will be trained in each one-month course.

Both the bridge-control trainer, and a liquid cargo loading trainer will be used in later courses. Captain O'Callaghan estimated that the second phase of the project will begin in about 15 months, and the third and final phase two years from now.

#### FACULTY NOT YET CHOSEN

In addition to the simulator training, new communications techniques are scheduled to be taught along with training in meteorology, rules of the road, personnel management, and ship's business planning.

No faculty appointments have yet been made, nor has a head been chosen for the school, Captain O'Callaghan said.

#### CONVOCATION

(For the dedication of the new constitution and bylaws and the installation of officers of the International Organization of Masters, Mates, and Pilots held in Trinity Church in the city of New York at 4 p.m., Oct. 1, 1970)

#### THE PROCEDURE

(Except for the hymns all will remain seated.)

Organ Music.

Address.

Reading of the Scripture.

The Vicar of Trinity Church.

THE DEDICATION OF THE CONSTITUTION AND BY-LAWS

Captain O'CALLAGHAN (holding constitution high for all to see). It is with a sense of great pride that we inaugurate these new Constitution and By-Laws voted into law by the membership of the International Organization of Masters, Mates, and Pilots, and accept the duties and authorities set forth. These Documents commit the officers receiving Canon Woodward's blessings to its complete and dedicated fulfillment—Protection of Assets of Entire Membership; Job Security; Union Democracy and Democratic Safeguards; Unity and Strength of Purpose and Organization.

It is fitting and proper that Trinity Church, the traditional haven of seafarers, grace us and our membership in this historic hour of inauguration and installation.

I present this new Magna Carta of the International Organization of Masters, Mates and Pilots, and call upon the esteemed Vicar of Trinity Church to formally dedicate this document (to all to see).

The Vicar, O God, who in dividing the earth from the sea, has created the habitation of man's common abode, we ask you to set apart, and to give your blessing to this new Constitution and By-Laws of the International Organization of Masters, Mates and Pilots, to be a new guide for our dominion. Help us to be faithful to the purpose it sets forth, and to the ordinances it contains. Guide us into new understandings. Keep us alert and watchful for new signs, and help us speedily to adopt them, that this instrument may be a living evidence of our dependence upon you, and a sure guide to the future.

Captain O'CALLAGHAN. I now declare that this Constitution and By-Laws are in force, and is the instrument which directs all our life and endeavors.

Anthem: "Confirm Us, O God." Jacob Handl.

#### THE INSTALLATION OF OFFICERS

THE VICAR. Sir, you, Thomas F. O'Callaghan, have been elected President of the International Organization of Masters, Mates and Pilots.

Do you solemnly promise to support and to maintain the Constitution and By-Laws of this Organization, and to in all ways submit yourself to its provisions and ordinances?

Captain O'CALLAGHAN, I do.

The VICAR. Will you further promise to demonstrate in your life the ideals and purposes of this organization, that by your example you may inspire, not only those who come immediately under your command, but be an example of leadership for all people?

Captain O'CALLAGHAN, I do.

The VICAR. May God bless and strengthen you in this resolution.

Using the same form, The Vicar installs the other Officers.

Hymn 512, "Eternal Father, strong to save":

Eternal Father, strong to save  
Whose arm hath bound the restless wave,  
Who bidd'st the mighty ocean deep

Its own appointed limits keep:

O hear us when we cry to thee

For those in peril on the sea.

O Christ, whose voice the waters heard

And hushed their raging at thy word,

Who walkest on the foaming deep,

And calm amid its rage didst sleep;

O hear us when we cry to thee

For those in peril on the sea.

Most Holy Spirit, who didst brood

Upon the chaos dark and rude,

And bid its angry tumult cease,

And give, for wild confusion, peace;

O hear us when we cry to thee

For those in peril on the sea.

O Trinity of love and power,

Our brethren shield in danger's hour;

From rock and tempest, fire, and foe,

Protect them whoso'er they go;

Thus evermore shall rise thee

Glad hymns of praise from land and sea.

Amen.

Prayers.

Antem: "Lead Kindly Light," John B. Dykes.

The Participants: The Reverend Canon

Donald R. Woodward, The Vicar of Trinity

Church.

The Officers of The International Organization

of Masters, Mates & Pilots: Thomas F.

O'Callaghan, Charles M. Crooks, Joseph B.

Galer, Price L. Mitchell, John F. Beirne,

Patrick J. King, Morris Weinstein, William

K. Beach, John Handley, Henry M. Stegall,

Robert L. Jones, Robert N. Polumbo, William

E. Dyson, Allen C. Scott, Robert E. Durkin,

R. J. Soriano, and Robert H. Nelson.

#### SCHOOL DISRUPTION REPORT BY OFFICE OF EDUCATION

### HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 6, 1970

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, the latest taxpayers' financed study on disruption in urban high schools comes to us from HEW. Unlike other reports this one lacks widespread publicity.

This report shows that 85 percent, or roughly 600 out of 700 surveyed high schools, have indicated some type of disruption during the past 3 years and concludes that disruption is positively related to integration.

The report further concludes that racial factors figure in a large number of the incidents.

The study concludes that disruption is

positively related to integration and more likely to occur in a racially mixed school. After making a case for freedom of choice or segregated educational facilities, the Commission concluded:

This might suggest a policy of apartheid (segregation) as a solution to disruption, but this option is unavailable. Among other drawbacks, it is unconstitutional.

The report further reads, "a society polarized between white and black would be almost impossible to manage without even raising the moral stature of the nation as a question. A segregated educational system would hardly train the young for an integrated future when they become adults."

Our intellectual brethren, upon spending the taxpayers' money to investigate the cause of student disorder, arrived at a conclusion that the majority of the people have known all along, viz, that the only workable solution to the race situation demands separate and equal facilities. Anything else is destructive of education, suppressive of freedom, and just downright cruelty.

Strangely, the professors imply that the moral question favors further disorders rather than stable classroom conditions and quality education. If true, we have a strange set of morals to continue forcing people into unnatural environments which they do not want and are not accepting.

Perhaps the strangest conclusion—in the interest of progressive education and academic freedom—is the rationalization of the authors that even were they to recommend separate educational facilities, the option is denied because segregation is unconstitutional. Who ever heard of college professors solving a problem and then dodging the issue? One wonders how they could have read the U.S. Constitution and not be aware that our society for over 190 years, under the Constitution, had separate facilities where so desired and were chosen by the majority of the people in their State or community. Further, that during those 190 years, we had no record of unrest, violence, or animosity among the races such as we now find under our new federally forced integration program. These professors had the answer to the problem but lacked the courage of their convictions.

Today's paper bears out the findings of the Commission with a brief announcement from Pontiac, Mich., that four white students were shot and wounded, one seriously, in a clash with young blacks at the Pontiac Central High School. This is a classic example of under reacting.

Additionally, a few courageous newsmen, such as David Warren Ryder, are more interested in education and order in society than in popularity or profit. Mr. Ryder, in a recent column in the Charleston News Courier, concludes that the price of forced integration is demonstrably a price which neither race can afford to pay.

Mr. Speaker, the citizens over the Nation call out for freedom and justice, yet thus far their cries of anguish are being ignored because of the fear by our leaders that to serve our people and let them

know the truth would chance to brand them as racists—the Communist-coined trigger word which in itself is destructive of individual liberty as well as free speech. For if the American people collectively are accused of being guilty of racism, consider the accuser.

The atomic bomb—feared by all—can be of minor destructive force when compared to the potential of this growing national problem manifesting itself all over the country.

We must be responsive to the needs of our people by looking for answers to relieve the pressures, frustrations, and anxieties—not by more force laws and mythical solutions but by letting the people solve their problems locally and in their States.

Matters of social justice are best left to appeal to conscience—but if made law can become tyranny.

Mr. Speaker, I include several news clippings in the RECORD:

[From The New York Times, Oct. 4, 1970]

UNREST IN URBAN SCHOOLS LINKED TO RACE

(By Leonard Buder)

A federally commissioned study has found that 85 per cent of nearly 700 urban high schools recently surveyed had experienced some type of disruption during the last three years and that racial factors figured in a large number of the incidents.

Dr. Stephen K. Bailey, chairman of the Policy Institute of the Syracuse University Research Corporation, which made the study for the United States Office of Education, said that "a widespread and volatile situation" existed in the nation's urban secondary schools.

Dr. Bailey, describing the report as an "unsettling story of an unsettling reality," warned that the number and intensity of disruptions would "continue to increase unless met head-on with some imaginative programs."

#### FINDINGS OF THE STUDY

Among the findings of the study, made public yesterday, were the following:

Racially integrated schools are more likely to experience disruptions than those that are almost all white or all black. (The report emphasized, however, that it was not urging segregation as a solution to the problem of disruption.)

The center's report, based on a study of the attitudes of 7,000 students attending urban and suburban junior and senior high schools in Greater New York and Philadelphia, suggested that most of the tensions and conflicts were over issues of school governance and individual rights.

However, other studies on school disruption have pointed to race as an important factor.

Integrated schools with high percentages of black students are less likely to be disrupted if these schools also have high percentages of black staff members. In those schools where the percentage of black students exceeds the percentage of black staff members, disruptions are not only more numerous but take on a more racial tone.

The traditional punitive ways of dealing with student school disruptions—suspension, expulsion, police arrest, in-school detention and referral to parental discipline—often produce "perverse and counterproductive results."

The Syracuse report's conclusion that "disruption is positively related to integration" appears to be in conflict with the findings of another study, also financed by the Office of Education, that was made public last month, by the Center for Research and Education in American Liberties.

Last February in Washington, a House subcommittee on general education released the findings of a survey based on responses from more than half of the nation's 29,000 public, private and parochial high schools. Eighteen per cent of the schools reported they had experienced "serious protests" during 1968-69. Racial issues were factors in more than 50 percent of the protests in schools with more than 1,000 students and in 30 per cent of the smaller schools.

The 130-page Syracuse report dealt extensively with the causes of disruption, both in school and in society at large, observing: "The causes of high school disruption run on a circular continuum from the wider society through the school and back to the wider society."

#### VIOLENCE HELD A CAUSE

The causes cited ranged from "violence in America" and growing expression of racial and ethnic pride among "America's most oppressed minorities" to lack of student involvement in school policy-making and "cross-cultural clashes" between white and black students and between older white teachers and black students in schools that have changed ethnic character.

#### REFUSES TO BLAME SCHOOLS

A Syracuse researcher, commenting on the finding that disruption and integration were linked, said:

"The troubles in urban high schools these days are often racial—fights between white and black students, the demonstrations and protests that arise from minority groups feeling that some school practices or perhaps some members of the school administration or faculty are racist—so they would naturally be more pronounced in those schools where you have a mixed student body."

Going into the causes of disruption, the report asserted that it would be equally absurd "to lay all the blame for disruption on the schools" or to contend, as have "a few very defensive schoolmen, that a school is merely a receptacle for problems it does not create and cannot be responsible for."

The report pointed to many contributing causes, among them the success of civil rights protests; the effects of atom life; the impact of minority-group pressures on traditionally middle-class oriented public schools, and "the ripple effect on high schools of repeated college and university disruption." The study's field researchers also found evidence at some schools they visited of a factor that the report calls "black revenge."

"It may be an unpleasant subject," the report said, "but no honest observers of the urban high school scene could bypass the phenomenon of black revenge. We found it, but psychologically understandable when numbers of black high school students told us one way or another that 'it's Whitey's turn to take some heat.'" We note that most urban black young people are fully aware of the long ugly centuries of disgrace in which they and their kind were oppressed purely on the basis of color . . .

"We found that much of the physical fighting, the extortion, the bullying in and around schools had a clear racial basis. This was particularly apparent where the student mix was predominantly but not wholly black."

Causes of disruption inside the schools most often involved dissatisfaction over social codes, including dress and grooming regulations, and policies governing participation in extracurricular activities.

The report said that while the general practice of requiring students to reach a certain grade level before they can take part in athletics and student government activities was based, "at least in the North, on educational motives, nonwhite students often regard it as a 'racist practice.'"

Student demands for a role in school

curriculum planning are "rapidly becoming a third major issue," the study found.

In discussing strategies for preventing or minimizing disruptions, the study said that Berkeley High School (West Campus) in California had reported some success with young adult security personnel who came from the same neighborhoods as the students, while Kettering High School in Detroit had used regular policemen who were young, specially trained and well educated.

The report cited special schools set up to help disruptive students, such as New York City's so-called "600" schools for disturbed youngsters.

Also mentioned were efforts to overcome school "bigness" and to reduce "academic rigidities," such as those undertaken at the new John Adams High School in Portland, Ore., which is organized into four sub-schools, called "houses," with 300 students each.

The report called upon educators to make greater efforts to understand and honor cultural differences, to make possible greater student involvement in school matters that concern them.

The project staff expressed the opinion that "all things being relatively equal, it is a wise policy to promote or recruit a black teacher or administrator rather than a white one in a predominantly black school. Two-thirds of the principals who took part in the survey, the report noted, also agreed with this view.

The report also suggested some "strategies" for coping with disruption based on apparently successful programs and practices at some schools. These range from the introduction of more flexible educational programs to the use of paid "community aides" as school security personnel.

An official of the Policy Institute in Syracuse, who did not want to be identified, said that the Syracuse report went beyond earlier studies of school disruption by its "comprehensive and candid" treatment of causes and its attention to strategies.

The Syracuse study was requested last spring by Dr. James E. Allen Jr., before he left the post of United States Commissioner of Education.

The completed report, based on interviews and observations by field research teams sent to 27 high schools in 19 cities [not including New York City] and responses to a detailed questionnaire by principals of 683 urban high schools, was submitted recently. There has so far been no public comment on it from Washington officials.

#### DISRUPTION IS DEFINED

Dr. Bailey, who directed the project, is Maxwell Professor of Political Science and former dean of the Maxwell Graduate School of Citizenship and Public Affairs at Syracuse University. He is also a member of the New York Board of Regents, the state's highest education policy-making body.

The Syracuse report defined for its purpose, school disruption as "any event which significantly interrupts the education of students." By that it meant strikes or boycotts by teachers or students, property damage, including arson and vandalism; rioting and fighting; physical confrontations between students and staff; picketing and parading; the presence on campus of unruly, unauthorized non-school persons, and "that catch-all phrase—abnormal unruliness among students."

In connection with the study's finding that disruption was more likely to occur in an integrated school, the report declared:

"This might suggest a policy of apartheid as a solution to disruption, but this option is unavailable. Among other drawbacks, it is unconstitutional. . . .

"A society polarized between white and black would be almost impossible to manage without even raising the moral stature of the nation as a question. A segregated edu-

cational system would hardly train the young for an integrated future when they become adults."

[From the Washington Post, Oct. 6, 1970]

#### MOMENT OF FEAR

Pontiac, Mich., woman ducks to floor of car as rocks and bottles are hurled through the window on a street near Pontiac Central High School during a student disturbance. About 400 persons gathered around the school after four white students were shot and wounded, one seriously, in a clash with young blacks.

[From the Charleston (S.C.) News and Courier, Sept. 26, 1970]

#### WARNINGS COME TRUE: PRICE OF FORCED INTEGRATION TOO HIGH FOR EITHER RACE

(By David Warren Ryder)

In an article for The News and Courier seven years ago, I asked the question, "What Price Integration?"—meaning compulsory integration. The article forecast disastrous consequences.

Although it attracted sufficient attention to prompt the editors to make 5,000 reprints, it did not create so much as a ripple on the surging flood of approbation which hasty judgment and misguided sentiment unloosed in support of the Supreme Court's unprecedented decision in Brown vs. Board of Education.

Throughout large areas of this country, men who should have known better—and would have known better had they fettered the dictates of false sentimentalism and allowed reason and logic to prevail—applauded compulsory integration as (1) the "righting of ancient wrongs," and (2) "necessary and desirable for both whites and blacks."

Amidst what approached a deluge of sloppy sentimentality and utopian stupor, the lessons of 100 years of settled experience were arrogantly dismissed. A practical, workable, racial accommodation that had required a century of good-will and patient, diligent endeavor to work out, was summarily rejected.

In the cacophony of the callow, and the raucous uproar of the unreasoning, the voices of sanity and common sense could not be heard—or if heard, they were unheeded—as we rushed pellmell to attempt to do overnight by judicial and legislative fiat something which the lessons of history showed could be done, if at all, not in a few days or months or years, but only over decades.

It ought to have been realized—and would have, had reason prevailed—that the only kind of integration which can be lived with by either blacks or whites, or by which either of them can truly and enduringly benefit, is natural, or voluntary, integration. This is something that can come about only through the gradual, natural processes of evolution and education.

As for the other kind of integration—the kind we have been vainly attempting to effectuate by force in the forms of judicial decrees and legislative enactments—as for this, the question asked earlier in these columns has now been emphatically answered.

It has been answered by words, but not so much by words as by the stentorian roar of events. Now we know the colossal exorbitant cost of compulsory integration from reading the price-tags in newspapers and periodicals, and witnessing the devastating effects in the day-by-day courses of our lives. But every criterion known to man, the price is demonstrably too high for either race to pay.

Twice in this writer's lifetime, in bursts of utopian ardor to "do good," our country has sought by legislative enactments and judicial decisions to change deep-seated human nature and the ingrained habits, customs and conventions of mankind overnight.

Twice we have tried this, and twice we have ignominiously failed.

The first was in the 1920s with Prohibition. The second was in the 1950s and 1960s with compulsory integration. Both such attempts proved to have been monumental blunders. Both were colossal costly failures. Besides all of the state laws outlawing the sale of liquor, in an idealistic frenzy and a burst of fanatical zeal, we riveted this ill-begotten embargo onto the U.S. Constitution through state ratification of the 18th Amendment.

The consequences are well known. Despite an army of agents and snoopers, and the expenditure of hundreds of millions of the taxpayers' dollars, the state laws and the Constitutional Amendment could not be enforced and ultimately became a scandalous laughing-stock.

Even that was not the worst. Besides a spate of liquor and an orgy of corruption that debauched police departments and infected even higher echelons, Prohibition brought into American life something that in all our history we never had before—an epidemic of gangsterism, which, half a century later, is still plaguing us.

Just as prohibition begot gangsterism and, finally, general lawlessness, so the attempts to enforce involuntary integration have set race against race in every sector of this country, raised racial barriers higher than ever and made a shambles of our public schools.

The gangsterism and lawlessness which Prohibition incubated is still very much with us half a century later. It may well require that long, or longer, for our schools to recover from the intellectual degradation and moral devastation that compulsory integration has wreaked.

As all of this was done in the name of good, the words of Lord Acton ring in our ears, "Throughout man's whole history," Acton writes, in his "Essays on Freedom," "he has done much more evil innocently than he ever has malevolently contrived!"

Herbert Hoover characterized Prohibition as "An Experiment Noble in Purpose," and there is no doubt that most of those who sponsored and supported it, did so innocently and with good intent. This is equally true of most of those who sponsored and supported involuntary integration.

But good intentions alone are not enough. There must also be the wisdom out of which accrues awareness of what can—and what cannot—be done by legislative or judicial action; and the realization that ideas, beliefs, customs, habits and conventions ingrained in man through centuries cannot be eradicated by legislative or judicial ukase.

Awareness, also, that our public schools—if they are to survive as schools—cannot be employed as instruments of social reform. Granted that social reform may be desirable, even necessary. But our schools cannot be used to effectuate it because, in so doing, they must inevitably and automatically cease to perform the purpose for which they were created and exist, which is to educate.

The proponents of involuntary integration appear not to know, or to have unfortunately forgotten, that in a free society there are limits on the amount of coercion that government can reasonably—and morally—exert. When it exceeds those limits, the free society succumbs to dictatorship and tyranny.

Today we hear much about the need for "racial balance." The subversion of public schools in attempts to achieve this goal is playing a heavy part in their ruination as educational institutions. Actually, "racial balance" is neither a static nor a finite condition, and, in practice, is proving that it can be a prelude to re-segregation. It is definitely not an assured blessing for minority groups because its effectuation, even if possible, would defeat the purpose it is supposed to serve.

Furthermore, it is becoming increasingly apparent that this is not anything the vast

majority of the Negro people desire. What they really desire is quality education for their children. Evidence is accumulating that they believe this objective can be better—and sooner—attained in unmixed schools than in mixed ones.

Actually, it is only a few paid leaders of relatively small organizations who continue to agitate for racial balance. They protect their vested interest in push jobs.

The exorbitantly high price of compulsory integration—especially in the public schools—is being paid as much by the Negroes as by the whites. Both races would benefit immensely and enduringly if all attempts to compell it ceased. In the final analysis the price of compulsory integration is demonstrably a price which neither race can afford to pay.

PHYLLIS GEORGE: MISS DALLAS,  
NEW MISS AMERICA 1970

### HON. JAMES M. COLLINS

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 6, 1970

Mr. COLLINS. Mr. Speaker, we in Texas grow prouder each day of our new Miss America. This young lady has goals and ideals that represent to the highest the spirit of many young people. I am speaking of the former Miss Dallas—then Miss Texas—and now our Miss America—Phyllis George.

Phyllis George's story is one that holds a message for many in this age of instant expectations and immediate successes. For Phyllis the road to becoming Miss America was coupled with success and disappointment, wins and losses; but the important thing is that she never lost her motivation and sense of devotion to others.

Phyllis' first contest in 1967 in Denton ended in defeat. Neighboring Denton is her home where she was 1967 Miss Denton High School. Two years later, 1969, saw Phyllis as second runnerup and Miss Congeniality of the Miss Texas Pageant. Representing Denton, Tex., at the time she was a student at North Texas State University until receiving a scholarship from the pageant which required her to attend Texas Christian University. When asked this year by the Dallas officials to participate in the city contest she almost refused because she was so involved with student teaching. Persuaded at the last minute Miss George polished up her act for another bout—this time to emerge as Miss Dallas. Her vibrant personality, beauty, and warmth of response to others, coupled with talent and a unique ability of expression combined to make Miss Dallas the blue ribbon winner with the Miss Texas title.

And special she was, as she began to shine in the Miss America Pageant in Atlantic City. But again, the road to success was riddled with excitement and disappointments. Phyllis, won the preliminary swimsuit contest as the 5-foot 8-inch brunette, is a beautiful girl. Runnerup in other events her total points moved Miss Texas up to become Miss America—the top representative of young women in the country.

The outstanding thing about Phyllis is that she did not become Miss America

overnight, but her spirit never failed to be less than that of a winner. This is evidenced by the people who knew her best. Dr. Sciotti, her piano teacher, says:

Phyllis loved to practice and she had always done her practicing.

Her high school principal remembered her as belonging to several school clubs as well as being on the student council and a junior class cheerleader. At North Texas she was an active member of Zeta Tau Alpha Sorority.

Yet the true secret to what makes Miss George a Miss America lies within her personality. Mrs. Stoneham, the last Texan to attain the Miss America title, said of Phyllis:

I think she is a beautiful girl inside and out.

Phyllis evidenced this at the pageant when she won the hearts of a group of handicapped children from Pennsylvania who had come to view the pageant. How did she do it? By taking the time to stop and visit with the children even though she was in a rush to get ready for the night's competition. The children completely switched their loyalties from their home State to make signs for Miss Texas and root for her all the way. They never had a doubt that she would win. Phyllis so inspired one child after talking to him that he tried to walk once more after having given up for months.

And now—Phyllis' goal during her reign—to visit underprivileged, handicapped, and retarded children.

This is the spirit of Miss America—of a girl whose aspirations were 4 years in the making, of a girl who never failed to work for the highest and to believe in herself—Phyllis George—Miss Dallas, Miss Texas, and our Miss America.

### MARYLANDER DIES IN VIETNAM WAR

#### HON. CLARENCE D. LONG

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 6, 1970

Mr. LONG of Maryland. Mr. Speaker, Cpl. Frederick R. Killmon, a courageous young man from Maryland was killed recently in Vietnam. I should like to honor his memory by including the following article in the RECORD:

MARYLANDER DIES IN VIETNAM WAR  
Corporal Frederick R. Killmon, 21, was killed on August 31 as a result of a bullet wound in the head. He was a squad leader when his 11-man patrol was ambushed near Da Nang.

#### ENLISTED LAST YEAR

A graduate of Delmar High School, he enlisted in the Marines in March, 1969, and was sent to Vietnam seven months later.

He was due to return home later this month, according to his mother. "We were looking for him to arrive when we heard the sad news," she said yesterday.

In his last letter to his parents he wrote about the war being a "hopeless cause and how he was fighting for his life." Except for the war, "he liked being a marine," his mother said.

Survivors besides his parents include his grand-parents, Mr. and Mrs. Weldon A. Berry, of Hopeton, Va.

## FEDERAL NONTAXPAYER

## HON. SAMUEL N. FRIEDEL

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 6, 1970

Mr. FRIEDEL. Mr. Speaker, it is unfair for the Federal Government to be exempt from the payment of real estate taxes on property, other than military installations, which it owns in cities throughout the United States. Our badly debt-ridden cities and counties could well use such tax revenues. Moreover, there is no reason why other property owners should be burdened with the Federal Government's rightful share of this local tax obligation.

This inequity, as it pertains to Baltimore City, is fully discussed in an article written by Mr. Stanley A. Blumberg which appeared in the Baltimore Evening Sun on May 14, 1970. I offer the text of his review and commend it to your attention:

FEDERAL NON-TAXPAYER  
(By Stanley A. Blumberg)

Here's an annoying fact for consideration as the budget goes to the City Council. The harried taxpayers of Baltimore are, in effect, subsidizing the Federal government at an annual rate of \$1,772,478.

The city relies primarily on the revenue received from the real estate tax for its operating expenses. In return the owners of Baltimore property are furnished with schools, libraries, police and fire protection, sewer, water and other public services. It's a fair bargain, but now for the hitch.

When property owners here, and this includes the Federal government, are exempt from real estate taxes, their share of the burden is shifted by an increase in the tax to owners of taxable real estate. This constitutes a subsidy, and it is not inconsiderable.

The Baltimore Bureau of Assessments lists 25 tax-exempt properties that are owned by the United States government with the total assessment of \$35,880,140. Since the city tax rate now stands at \$4.91, the Federal government is exempt from paying \$1,772,478 in Baltimore real estate taxes (this represents between 5 and 6 cents on the tax rate). The assessment is usually 58 per cent to 60 per cent of appraised value. The highest assessment, \$13,517,100, is on the Federal Office Building at 31 Hopkins Plaza. The lowest assessment, \$80, applies to a 21-by-21-foot lot known as 5450 Quarantine road.

The writer has not attempted to determine the assessed value of all Federal government properties tax-exempt in Maryland. But Dale Anderson could certainly use the proceeds of Baltimore county taxes on the Social Security Building in Woodlawn. Payment of taxes on the National Security Agency complex in Anne Arundel would be appreciated by Joseph Alton and the taxpayers there. Other facilities abound, notably the Goddard Space Center in Prince Georges county.

In President Nixon's veto of the Health, Education and Welfare bill last year, he pointed out that one of the wealthiest counties in the country, Montgomery county, would receive, under the bill's impacted aid section, monies far beyond the county's need. If the Federal government paid real estate taxes on the property it owns in Montgomery county, there would be no need for Federal contributions under the aid for impacted areas program.

Many structures used in Maryland by the Federal government are leased. They are pri-

vately owned and pay local taxes. Since the government can borrow money at more favorable rates than private investors, this method of leasing instead of owning initially involves a lower capital outlay but is more costly in the long run.

Congress has authorized the Federal Reserve Board to pay taxes on the properties the board owns. In Baltimore the board owns and occupies a bank structure on Lexington street, corner of Calvert, that is assessed at \$1,930,500. It pays taxes to Baltimore city in the amount of \$94,032. Here is an interesting precedent.

It is commonly acknowledged that the cities are in need of Federal assistance. Their taxing powers are limited to sources of income that are relatively static and are not adequate to meet their needs now, to say nothing of the future.

President Nixon's tax-sharing proposal is extremely modest and will yield to the city of Baltimore in its first year of operation only \$800,000. The following year this amount will double.

Most mayors and county commissioners would prefer to receive their assistance directly from Washington, bypassing their state governments. There does not seem to be any logical reason why a bank building owned by the Federal government pays real estate taxes and an office building, though with the same ownership, does not. Congress could direct payment of real estate taxes on all property the government owns to the political subdivisions in which the properties are located. In this manner the government would no longer unfairly impose the burden on local governments for providing services for Federal structures.

Political subdivisions compete for Federal installations. Government employees are well paid and enjoy long-term tenure. Their buying power helps business and the community prosper.

It can be adopted that if Washington adopted a policy of paying real estate taxes it would tend thereafter to build in areas of lower taxes. But this objection could be overcome by a provision which directs that the tax rate in any political subdivision would not be a factor in determining the location of any new Federal structure.

Most members of Maryland's congressional delegation are deeply concerned with the financial plight of the political areas they represent. This proposal is not a substitute for the administration's tax-sharing plan but is simply a recognition of an existing obligation that should be honored.

## A RUGGED LIFE

## HON. KEITH G. SEBELIUS

OF KANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 6, 1970

Mr. SEBELIUS. Mr. Speaker, since many of us are now weekend warriors on the campaign trail, I thought my colleagues would enjoy the comments of Mr. Bob Fairbanks, editor of the Great Bend Tribune regarding our "rugged way of life."

Mr. Fairbanks had just completed his coverage of yet another political meeting and has become somewhat amazed at the rugged doggedness of political candidates. At this time of year, when there are too many hands to shake, endless barbecues, countless speeches and all of the rest, Bob Fairbanks' editorial, I am sure, is most appreciated by all political candidates. His editorial follows:

## A RUGGED LIFE

Great Bend had a couple of political candidates campaigning Friday and Saturday. There'll be more visits from other candidates before the November election rolls around.

This is the season of the politician. Whether he is an office holder or is hoping to be one, the name of the game is get around and shake hands. It can be a tiring routine . . . cut a ribbon here, attend a picnic there, walk around Main Street, stop at good old Joe's house for a coffee, make a speech before the East Overhoe service club. If you're in office it is sometimes difficult to make arrangements to get around as much as your opponent. If you're not in office, there's a matter of making a living while trying to campaign.

One would not be too far remiss in an observation that politicians must be hardy persons. They have to be to meet the rigorous schedules of traveling and talking which they all must go through every couple of years. A look at the salary schedules involved in some of the offices, especially the state legislature, one might wonder if the whole thing is worth it. There are many things besides the salary which motivate men to seek public office, one of these has got to be a great desire to serve.

It's a good thing that there are those who want to serve. Most of us would rather spend our leisure time fishing, playing golf or just enjoying the fine Kansas weather and leave the politicking to somebody else.

## HON. JOHN SLACK'S ADDRESS BEFORE THE SECOND CONFERENCE ON X-RAY IDENTIFICATION OF COAL WORKERS' PNEUMOCOCCIOSIS

## HON. JOHN H. DENT

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 6, 1970

Mr. DENT. Mr. Speaker, one of the most conscientious and effective Members of this House is my good friend, the Honorable JOHN M. SLACK. Congressman SLACK has always acted in the finest traditions of an outstanding public servant, by representing his West Virginia constituents with sincerity and dedication.

One of the great satisfactions of my own legislative career was the enactment of the revolutionary new Federal Coal Mine Health and Safety Act of 1969. I had the honor of being chairman of the labor committee with jurisdiction over that legislation.

I shall always remember—and always be grateful for—the tremendous assistance and effort put forth by JOHN SLACK in seeing to it that the bill contained strict and meaningful health and safety standards to protect our Nation's coal miners; as well as the provisions that makes Federal payments available to miners suffering from the dread "black lung" disease and to the widows of those who have died because of it. JOHN SLACK was tireless in his efforts to help coal miners then, and has never relented in his drive to see that their problems were met by Federal action. Without his leadership, I doubt that we would have as good a law as we do have.

Recently, Congressman SLACK addressed the second conference on X-ray identification of Coal Workers' Pneu-

mocoiosis, sponsored by the American College of Radiology at Charleston, W. Va., on September 12, 1970. He was introduced by the conference's moderator, Dr. W. Paul Elkin. The introduction by Dr. Elkin and the keynote address of Congressman Slack follow. They merit the attention of us all:

#### INTRODUCTION OF KEYNOTE SPEAKER

My friend and neighbor, John Slack has represented us since 1958 as the member of Congress for the third district of West Virginia. During his 12 years in Washington, he has shown himself to be keenly aware of the needs of his constituents in this area, and the needs of the state of West Virginia and the convergent needs of the nation. This awareness, of course, includes the past, current and future problems of the coal industry which is so vital to West Virginia. It also includes the needs of our people for good health care, concomitant with the advances in medical science. He has been aware of the efforts of medical organizations to work toward solutions to these problems and he has supported federal programs to provide necessary logistical and manpower support for medical research and education.

His colleagues in the House of Representatives have recognized his service by appointing him to the extremely important House Committee on Appropriations. By keeping us happy with his service for 12 years, he has become a senior member. As such, he has a key role in appropriations for all federally supported health and medical research programs. He found a natural merger of both these vital interests for West Virginians in co-sponsoring and supporting the Coal Mine Health and Safety Act of 1969. He is further demonstrating his concern for these areas by coming to keynote our meeting here today. Here is my friend and congressman, the Honorable John Slack.

#### SLACK'S ADDRESS

We all know that our bodies are amazing structures. We also know that they are finite in strength and subject to the ailments of age, use and abuse. Though we know our clay is mortal, most of us—who are not of the medical profession—tend to view age and infirmity as something to happen to someone else. We know that sickness, injury and disability may come, but we fail to understand or accept when it comes to us. And so we turn to our physicians sometimes in hope and sometimes in despair.

When men go down in the earth to dig coal, they most often come to their physicians in despair. The physical hazards are great. The bruises, cuts, fractures and lacerations are a known and accepted daily price to be paid in a dangerous craft. But there is an insidious hazard, the dread black lung, more fearful in its silent invasion than the quick threat of accident or disaster.

To this problem you direct your attention today. We who wrote the law last winter know that your skills cannot reverse the progress of black lung. But you can detect its presence and give us the firm indications needed to change the miner's status as a way, hopefully, to retard its development into disabling diseases.

Thus, when my colleagues and I turned our attention to the health and safety problems of underground mining, we found that two areas were significant. The most obvious was the matter of making a coal mine a safer place to work. This involves physical changes in the environment of the mine, including definite efforts to reduce the dust levels. Our charge also involved doing something about the miners who have been victimized by black lung as a result of working for an extended period in an underground mine.

To meet this need, we wrote into Public Law 91-173, a provision for black lung bene-

fits. We spelled out an obligation for mine operators to provide a means for determining the presence of black lung in a miner. As you know, the chest x-ray examination was specified as the basic required medical procedure. The Public Health Service and its Bureau of Occupational Safety and Health were designated as the agency to put this legislative intent into a functioning system.

I am happy to say that this session and the several others like it are firm evidence that our intentions can be accomplished thru your cooperative efforts.

I am told that the performance of the chest x-ray examinations to detect the presence of black lung requires a level of skill not needed for many of the other chest examinations which all of you perform. Many of the films which can be made by clinics and physicians are not adequate to find the evidence of dust disease.

Fortunately the government agencies responsible for the program quickly found that the medical profession is concerned about this problem. And more than being concerned, it is willing and able to take real leadership in solving it. All of you are here today as a result of that leadership on the part of the American College of Radiology.

As you know, the College responded to the problem last winter by organizing this whole effort toward physician education and qualification. We should commend the College for focusing its prestige and its interest and we should commend the Public Health Service for its appreciation and support of this voluntary effort. If more of our health problems received this combined attention from professional groups and matching public agencies, we would have much less furor about alleged defects in delivery of health services.

I am told that this is the second one of these conferences. The first one last June was held on an experimental basis in Washington. Others are to follow. I deem it appropriate that this series begin in the capital of West Virginia. To a greater extent than any other state, West Virginia has been bound to the mining industry. Our state has made commendable efforts to control the black lung problem. But it has lacked the resources which are now available.

Many of you are West Virginia physicians. You know about black lung and what it does to your patients and to their families. You know that the problem can only be solved by prevention, if at all. You know that this program upon which we are embarked is only a start. But is a good start.

Those of us in Congress are aware that our public trust involves us in drafting legislation which involves not only legal obligations but also the willing cooperation of vital groups. Legislation must specify and require by threat of penalty. But we all know that such means are less effective than the willingness of responsible groups to work toward a preconceived common goal.

We have such a goal in the good health care of coal miners. In a specific way, it may be the responsibility of the operators and the government. In a general sense, it is your charge. So I salute the Public Health Service, the American College of Radiology and all of you here as physicians in the finest sense of the term. I wish you all success in your efforts.

#### REMARKS BY AMBASSADOR BRUCE

#### HON. L. MENDEL RIVERS

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 6, 1970

Mr. RIVERS. Mr. Speaker, following my usual practice of placing into the

RECORD the remarks made by our Ambassador at the Paris Peace Talks, I present for your consideration the remarks made by Ambassador Bruce on September 24, 1970, regarding the prisoner-of-war issue:

#### REMARKS BY AMBASSADOR BRUCE

From your remarks here this afternoon, it is evident that you refused to understand the comments I made on your proposals in my statement today to the effect that your fundamental demands remain unchanged. I suggest that you read my statement again.

In the meantime, on the subject of the treatment of prisoners of war, your evasive and unsatisfactory statements ignore the basic humane considerations that I have brought to your attention. Under the terms of the Geneva Convention on prisoners of war, on the basis of commonly accepted standards of civilized behavior, and with cognizance of the inhumanity of your actions toward the men in your hands, your attitude is unacceptable and universally condemned.

You have never adequately explained why you refuse to identify all the prisoners of war you hold or to provide information about the fate of men missing in action.

You have never adequately explained why you refuse to release sick and wounded prisoners of war and those held for long periods of time.

You have never adequately explained why you do not allow a truly free and regular flow of mail between all prisoners of war and their families.

You have never adequately explained why you do not permit inspection of prisoner of war camps by impartial observers to ensure humanitarian conditions and treatment.

These are well-established requirements in international law and practice. Our side accepts these requirements and puts them into practical effect.

As I have said, we await action on your part. There is no reason for you not to do so. There is every reason for these necessary measures to be taken now and not await discussion or settlement of other issues involved.

#### BROTZMAN QUESTIONNAIRE RESULTS

#### HON. DONALD G. BROZTMAN

OF COLORADO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 6, 1970

Mr. BROZTMAN. Mr. Speaker, because of the importance of the many issues which are confronting the Nation and Congress, I recently sent a questionnaire to the residents of the Second Congressional District of Colorado asking their opinions on some of these matters. The returned questionnaires have been tabulated, and I am pleased to include them in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD for the benefit of my colleagues.

This poll is important for two reasons. The results of such a sampling prove invaluable in my task of representing the people of the Second District in Washington. But also, Mr. Speaker, I would like to point out that Colorado voters have traditionally mirrored national trends.

More than 40,000 persons from a 6-county area participated in the Second Congressional District opinion poll.

Response to the poll was one of the highest in its 6-year history, and par-

icipation was the greatest in the Nation among more than 100 congressional polls of this type. The fact that so many Second District residents took the trouble to register their opinions and mail the ballot cards speaks well of my constituents.

In order to encourage maximum participation, I provided each mail box in the Second District with a computer card containing separate columns for men and women. In most cases the responses were nearly identical, with perhaps the most striking differences occurring on two of the Southeast Asia war alternatives.

While 19.2 percent of the women called for an immediate and unconditional pullout of all U.S. troops, only 15.6 percent of the men concurred. On the other hand, 18.2 percent of the men believe in escalating military action to achieve an outright victory, with just 15.0 percent of the women respondents in agreement. Support of the administration's current disengagement policy drew almost identical endorsement, with 43.9 percent of the men and 43.8 percent of the women behind it.

Mr. Speaker, I also call attention to the following additional highlights of my 1970 poll:

An overwhelming majority of Second District residents—82.9 percent—believe Federal grants and loans should be denied students who participate in illegal disturbances.

Nearly as many—78.7 percent—believe that an annual dollar limitation should be placed on Federal subsidy payments to individual farmers.

Support for an all-volunteer military except in times of grave national peril is strong, with 70 percent of the Second District residents favoring this concept.

The results of the questionnaire follow:

TABULATION OF COLORADO'S 20 CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT 1970 OPINION POLL

	(In percent)		
	Men	Women	Total
1. Do you favor proposals for an all-volunteer military except in times of grave national peril?			
Yes.....	69.6	70.5	70.0
No.....	23.6	21.0	22.2
Undecided.....	3.6	5.4	4.6
No response.....	3.2	3.1	3.2
2. Should Federal grants and loans be denied students who participate in illegal disturbances?			
Yes.....	82.3	83.6	82.9
No.....	11.3	10.7	11.0
Undecided.....	3.8	3.7	3.8
No response.....	2.6	2.0	2.3
3. Should the Federal Government share a fixed percentage of income tax revenues with schools, and local and State governments, for use as they see fit?			
Yes.....	49.2	49.4	49.3
No.....	25.8	21.5	23.8
Undecided.....	17.2	15.6	15.8
No response.....	2.8	3.4	3.1
4. Do you favor an annual dollar limitation on Federal subsidy payments to individual farmers?			
Yes.....	81.8	75.3	78.7
No.....	7.8	7.5	7.6
Undecided.....	6.5	12.1	9.4
No response.....	3.9	4.7	4.3

(In percent)

	(In percent)		
	Men	Women	Total
5. Should Communist China be admitted to the United Nations?			
Yes.....	43.3	39.8	41.7
No.....	43.7	42.2	43.1
Undecided.....	10.8	14.8	13.0
No response.....	2.2	2.2	2.2
6. The war in Southeast Asia is one of the most pressing issues facing the Nation today. Which of the following courses of action do you think would best serve our commitments and our national interest?			
(a) Immediate and unconditional pullout of all U.S. troops.....	15.6	18.2	17.2
(b) Escalation of military action to achieve outright victory.....	18.2	15.0	16.7
(c) Gradual withdrawal of U.S. troops contingent upon the ability of the South Vietnamese to assume total conduct of the war.....	43.9	43.8	43.9
(d) Setting of a definite but future deadline for U.S. troop pullout without regard for other considerations.....	16.4	15.0	15.8
(e) Undecided.....	3.2	4.2	3.7
(f) No response.....	2.7	2.8	2.7

### IMPRESSIVE BEAUTIFICATION PROGRAM

#### HON. LAURENCE J. BURTON

OF UTAH

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 6, 1970

Mr. BURTON of Utah. Mr. Speaker, residents of the city of Roy, Utah, have recently conducted a campaign to improve the appearance of their city. Their industrious and highly successful endeavor could, in broader application, produce notable benefits on a national scale.

The mayor's landscape improvement program and the citizen volunteers involved have carried out a praiseworthy project with impressive achievements.

Following is an article from the Ogden Standard Examiner of recent date enumerating details of the project:

#### MORE BEAUTIFUL ROY

The City of Roy and its progressive citizens have certainly achieved success in their efforts to make their community a more attractive place in which to live.

The Mayor's Landscape Improvement Program, with Dennis Chugg as chairman, has just tallied its major gains of the 1970 beautification campaign.

It's an impressive list! More than 50 obsolete structures, long eyesores to both Roy residents and their visitors, have been removed. More than 700 homes, barns and sheds have been repainted, along with more than 100 fences. Sixty business places engaged in repair, renovation, and painting projects.

Hundreds of tons of trash were hauled away, including more than 800 junked automobiles. Nearly a thousand new trees and shrubs were planted.

Nearly 10,000 of Roy's 15,000 residents were directly involved in the program, most of them on a volunteer basis.

Roy, in setting the beautification pace for

Weber County, should certainly be a strong contender for national honors in the 1970 "Cleanest City" competition.

### AT ISSUE: A FAIR APPROACH TO JOB SAFETY

#### HON. JOHN N. ERLBORN

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 6, 1970

Mr. ERLBORN. Mr. Speaker, indications are that this body will have an opportunity during this session to enact legislation to promote occupational safety and health. Our choice will be between H.R. 16785, which has been approved by the House Committee on Education and Labor, and H.R. 19200, a substitute proposal coauthored by Representative ROBERT SIKES, and WILLIAM STEIGER of Wisconsin.

At issue is whether we want workable legislation that will fulfill its intent in a manner fair both to labor and to management. The Sikes-Steiger substitute offers this path, as is clearly spelled out in a September 1970, article of Nation's Business. I submit this article as recommended reading for our colleagues, and I commend Congressman SIKES and STEIGER for their industrious, competent, and distinguished leadership in providing this constructive solution:

#### AT ISSUE: A FAIR APPROACH TO JOB SAFETY

Businessmen who watched glumly as the House Labor Committee approved a bill giving the federal government unprecedented power in the occupational safety and health field now have their eyes on a substitute bill they feel would be far more reasonable.

Either would have an enormous impact on the day-to-day conduct of American business [see "Warning: 'Safety Hazard,'" June]. A crucial choice between them will be made soon on the House floor.

The bill approved by the Committees is sponsored by Rep. Dominick V. Daniels (D.-N.J.) and traces its origins to Johnson Administration recommendations which Congress rejected in 1968.

Outside of areas such as coal mining, which are covered by separate legislation, it would give the Secretary of Labor sweeping powers to set health and safety standards, inspect and investigate for compliance, preside over hearings on alleged violations and render the verdict.

He could, if he desired, get into such fields as hours of work, the number of people needed for specific jobs and worker qualifications. An inspector who held there was "imminent danger" could summarily close a plant for up to five days. In some cases, employers would have to keep on paying workers who went on strike over claims the law was being violated.

On the other hand, Rep. William A. Steiger (R.-Wisc.), a member of the Labor Committee, hopes the House will accept in place of the Daniels measure a bill which he says not only will be more fair to both employers and employees but will actually do a better job of promoting occupational safety and health.

Rep. Steiger had a leadership role in drafting the substitute bill, which evolved from recommendations President Nixon made to Congress last year.



In this interview with a *NATION'S BUSINESS* editor, Rep. Steiger discusses the legislation and its significance for businessmen:

Would you start, Congressman Steiger, by describing your general approach when you took up this issue of occupational health and safety?

When the hearings began in 1968 on the original bill sent up by President Johnson, it became readily apparent that this was an issue in which there could be very real disagreement over the best means to achieve the greatest degree of safety and health. It also became apparent that the original Johnson bill was a mess—badly drafted, done without any reference really to people in the field, such as the management groups, or to any of the National Safety Council, or to any of the management groups. There was some checking with labor groups, but even they hadn't been involved very much.

There arose a number of questions that must be asked about an occupational health and safety bill:

First how effective is it? Secondly, how fair is it? How much of an opportunity is there for equity for both sides—management and labor? And lastly, who should have the responsibility for setting the standards, carrying out the investigations and enforcing orders?

What is the principal difference between your bill and the Daniels bill from the standpoint of effectiveness?

I think our bill is more effective because, first, it provides for an independent health and safety board with a body of expertise in the field of standard-setting—which, in my judgment, is an absolute necessity if you are going to have well-designed, reasonable, strong health and safety standards. Under the Daniels bill, the Secretary of Labor would have sole power to set standards. Isn't there a provision in the Daniels bill that an employer must keep on paying workers who claim there is a safety hazard and strike over it?

Yes. I think it is a bad provision. It would be a very bad precedent to set. We don't provide for that in our bill.

Employers naturally are most concerned about the power that would be given to close their plants. How do the bills measure up as to fairness on that issue?

There is a major difference. The Daniels bill enables an inspector, on his own volition, to shut down a plant in order to correct what he declares to be an imminent harm situation. We don't do that way. No order of closure can come from anyone but a District Court judge; I think that is equitable for all parties concerned.

We do provide that an inspector has the right to—and I think he should—inform management and labor of the fact that he is going to a District Court to ask for a temporary restraining order or an injunction to close down a plant or working site.

Both management and labor then are aware of the judgment of the inspector that there is a problem. But the order has to come from a judge. Under the Daniels bill, an inspector is under no restraint whatsoever from acting on his own.

Also, I am afraid the Daniels bill can impose a very heavy burden upon employers to meet the requirements for equipment to monitor health and safety.

Our bill provides that the small plant, which has to meet new safety and health requirements, could get Small Business Administration assistance in meeting the burden.

Why aren't you so eager, as backers of the Daniels bill are, to turn this closing-down authority over to the central government?

I don't think the record of the federal government in the safety field constitutes a recommendation for the Labor Department

to both set the standards and assess the penalties.

What does the record show?

The federal government has a poorer record than many major industries in this country in terms of safety and health and accidents. This is one reason why I think you need this new board to set standards and why you need to involve the states if you are going to do the job well or at all.

How does your bill compare with the Daniels bill from the standpoint of fairness in general?

I feel our bill is fair because it separates standard-setting from investigation and enforcement. It does this by having an independent board set the standards, having the Labor Department carry out the inspections and investigations and having an independent safety and health commission determine the penalties.

This contrasts vividly with the Daniels bill, where you have everything wrapped up under the Secretary of Labor. That makes him the judge and the jury and the prosecutor all at one time.

We favored our approach after two years of hearings, after listening to witnesses who are experts in this field—the health and safety professional organizations, including the National Safety Council. All of them made the point that they felt it was imperative that no single agency of government have all this responsibility, that you ought not to have one man trying to do all of it.

The substitute is a fairer bill because it provides for judicial review at all stages—in the standard-setting, in the inspections and in the penalties. I think you have to have that.

And I think it is fairer, frankly, because it does not impose the "general duty" requirement that is in the Daniels bill.

"General duty?" Would you elaborate on that?

The Daniels bill says in Section 5, Paragraph 1, that the employer "shall furnish to each of his employees employment and a place of employment which is safe and healthful."

This means that regardless of any standards that are promulgated and even in areas in which no standards have been promulgated, an inspector can go into a plant and make a determination on his own that it isn't safe and healthful. The employer would have no way of knowing under such a vague requirement whether he was complying with the law. And yet the inspector could cause him to suffer a penalty. I think that is an impossible burden.

The substitute bill provides a specific duty to maintain a place of employment free from imminent harm that is readily apparent.

Do the two bills differ in other ways about violations?

The Daniels bill, in its violations section, is terribly complicated and confusing in terms of when an employer is violating and what penalty will be assessed against him. Ours is drafted in a way so that there is no misunderstanding. Every violation, unless it is very minor, is subject to penalty.

There would be no question in the mind of an employer that if he doesn't follow the standards, he would face the penalty.

What over-all impact on business would the Daniels bill have?

I think it could be very negative. One, it would slow down the effective safety and health programs that are already under way in a number of industries and throughout the country.

Secondly, it would have a very negative impact on labor-management relations. There are those on the Committee who talk about what we ought to do with Taft-Hartley, who want to attack the provisions of Taft-Hartley.

That is up to them, but I don't think we ought to do it through the back door, and I think this is what is being done in the Daniels bill.

There is a third impact. Knowing that we are all for better safety and health, will the Daniels bill really achieve safer, more healthful working conditions? In my judgment, it will not.

Where does it go wrong?

In the standard-setting, for example, it sets out a very slow, cumbersome procedure—the appointment of an advisory committee, for example.

Actually, this would stand in the way of good standards being set swiftly, effectively. I don't think that is beneficial either to labor or management.

Have you discussed your bill with union leaders?

I have told union representatives I think organized labor in this instance is being very short-sighted.

If it truly is interested in passing a good safety and health bill, I think the vehicle is the substitute, not the Daniels bill.

I might also say that in the safety and health field, organized labor pretty clearly is attempting in many ways to have government do the job that collective bargaining should have done.

Surveys that have been made indicate safety and health takes a place right after the coffee break in terms of importance in labor-management negotiations. The AFL-CIO has never even created a safety and health department.

How do you appraise your bill's chances? I think there is at least a 50-50 chance that it can be adopted.

In large part, it will depend upon the efforts of a lot of people to call the attention of members of Congress to the problems and weaknesses in the Daniels bill, and to the reasons why the substitute offers the best chance for a really good health and safety bill in this session.

## THE ROLE OF THE AIR ACADEMY

HON. WILLIAM G. BRAY

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 6, 1970

Mr. BRAY. Mr. Speaker, a week or so ago I received the following letter from Cadet Larry W. Baker, one of my appointees to the U.S. Air Force Academy.

I was tremendously impressed by Cadet Baker's letter. In our age where, it often seems, everything connected with the military is despised and downgraded, and detested by American youth.

This reaffirmation of faith in the American Republic, and its institutions, is reassuring and heartening to us all.

The letter follows:

U.S. AIR FORCE ACADEMY,  
Colorado.

HON. WILLIAM G. BRAY,  
Rayburn Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SIR: It has been a long hard summer and the challenges came thick and fast, but now, after having been accepted into the cadet wing and academies already started, I can look back and see the purpose of all this training. This place has a reputation for making men and no one really knows how that purpose is achieved until he goes through the program. I know that I'm not even half through yet, but I think I will be

able to look back on this year in retrospect and say that 1970-71 was the year I became a man.

I know I've told you this many times before but now that I've actually come here and have somewhat of a feel for the program, I would like to thank you once again for giving me the opportunity to come to the Academy.

Sincerely yours,

Cadet LARRY W. BAKER.

**WILSON DISCUSSES U.S. POSTAL SERVICE AND MANAGED MAIL PROCESSING**

**HON. CHARLES H. WILSON**

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 6, 1970

Mr. CHARLES H. WILSON, Mr. Speaker, as a member of the Post Office and Civil Service Committee, I have been deeply involved in the evolution of the new U.S. Postal Service. While I supported the concept of a quasi-independent postal service, I had and have some reservations concerning some of the innovations that have been put forth by the Nixon administration.

A present area of concern is the reduction of mail service to our citizens. Even though the U.S. Postal Service is still in its infant stage, our Committee on Post Office and Civil Service has received a number of complaints from many parts of our Nation protesting the reduction in postal service. In reaction to these complaints, our Committee on Post Office and Civil Service, under the able leadership of THADDEUS J. DULSKI, is planning a thorough investigation of the alleged reduction of postal service.

On the other hand, Mr. Speaker, there is some good that is already coming out of the new U.S. Postal Service. I specifically refer to the new program known as "Managed Mail Processing"—that is to manage the handling of mail to provide for more efficient processing in the postal stream.

Managed mail processing has been implemented at all of the 554 postal sectional center facilities and approximately 30 additional post offices.

The program, which began this year, provides that:

First. First-class letters going beyond normal range of overnight surface delivery will be airlifted.

Second. They will receive only a single, primary sort on letter-sorting machines at the originating office.

Third. Further "sorts" will be made at offices in States to which the letters are addressed.

For example, mail originating in a major east coast city for various cities in the West will no longer need multiple sortations down to the exact city in the western State—or the exact sectional center—for which it is destined. Instead, all this eastern mail is processed to the State for which it is destined.

The new procedures streamline numerous existing steps that have applied in the past. Since the mail no longer requires so many handling steps at the

originating city, it can be processed faster and make key evening flights which might be missed if multiple sorting steps were required.

Also, the new program means that more mail sorting can be performed during daylight hours of duty. This, in turn, means more desirable work hours for more employees.

It also means fewer "missorts" and delivery delays resulting from erroneous handling. To illustrate: employees in California are more familiar with California distribution patterns than those in Philadelphia and are less likely to make mistakes in the secondary sorting to exact destinations.

This program has been developed to provide improvements in delivery patterns as well as in the internal handling procedures, and I sincerely hope that it is an indication of a new vitality and efficiency in our postal service now.

**DOUBLE WHAMMY FOR WIDOWS**

**HON. KEITH G. SEBELIUS**

OF KANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 6, 1970

Mr. SEBELIUS, Mr. Speaker, I have often remarked that the press in my district in Kansas, the "Big First" district, is the best example of grass roots journalism in America. With 15 daily newspapers, 41 radio or television stations and 85 weekly newspapers, citizens of the "Big First" are not only informed, but also enjoy a wide range of views and political opinion.

The dean of "our press corps" is the editor of the Salina Journal, Mr. Whitley Austin, whose prose and political commentary have been compared to Kansas legendary William Allen White. In a recent editorial in the Salina Journal, Mr. Austin wrote about a national problem that is most acute in my district—and he tossed in some political comments to spice up his point.

No other part of our Nation suffers so bitterly from inflation. In industrial areas, where wages go up along with prices, inflation may be tolerable. But, in the "Big First" district, everyone—farmers, housewives, wage earners, small businessmen, and especially those on a fixed income—is being hurt by this cruel and hidden tax.

Many times we in public office are prone to discuss answers to problems like inflation in simplistic and in many cases, political tones. In this regard, Whit Austin has pointed out two vital points. Government spending is not necessarily the only cause of inflation and, no matter what kind of rhetoric comes from politicians, the folks who live on a fixed income, while trying to live as best they can, are in need of immediate help.

Mr. Speaker, Mr. Austin's editorial follows:

**DOUBLE WHAMMY FOR WIDOWS**

At least one group of citizens may be warranted to riot in the streets, burn photo-

graphs of Lyndon Johnson and throw eggs at Richard Nixon's campaign posters.

They are the widows and pensioners of the nation.

They have been dealt a double whammy. Their dollars buy less because of inflation.

The investments on which their incomes or pensions often are based have shrunk between 15 and 30 percent because of the stock market collapse.

Fewer dollars that buy less: such is the fruit of their frugality.

What have the politicians to do with such economic problems?

They are quick enough to claim credit for an upturn.

They constantly are tinkering with all the machinery of commerce, starting with fiscal policies.

Keith Sebelius, our congressman, blames inflation on government spending and claims reduced spending would stop it. This is, of course, an over-simplification; his clients in the First district are not quite that simple.

The billions down the drain for the Vietnam futility certainly are a major factor. Spending for war produces nothing useful. It is a form of violent waste that yields no return. But it should not be considered in the same class with spending for schools, housing and highways, etc. These are long-term investments that yield a social profit as well as an economic one.

Other factors, aside from the vitally important ones of government management of the money, supply, interest rates and selective taxation, include:

Tariffs and quotas that restrict international trade and jack up domestic prices.

Diplomatic barriers that curtail or regulate investments and extension of American sales abroad.

The sundry commissions and boards that in effect boss much of our transportation and communication systems.

The federally enforced union labor leverage that is now giving the nation a wage-price inflation of the most virulent kind. This may be the most important factor of all today and it has created a dilemma no one seems able to solve.

As prices go up, organized labor, quite understandably, wants wages to equal them plus an additional increase to cover an uncertain future. Higher wages, in turn, result in higher prices. This is particularly true when there is no marked increase in productivity. So we suffer a spiral, with wages and prices chasing each other toward the sky.

And the politicians look to the votes. They increase their own salaries and expense accounts to meet inflation. But that's no comfort to the widows and pensioners or even to those of us who thought we were saving for a rainy day only to discover the downpour is at hand.

**OVERSEAS CREDIT UNION MILESTONE—A TRIBUTE TO CONGRESSMAN MINISH**

**HON. WRIGHT PATMAN**

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 6, 1970

Mr. PATMAN, Mr. Speaker, at the end of July, the military credit unions operating overseas passed two 100,000 milestones. In less than 2 years, the credit unions had signed up more than 100,000 members and had made loans of more than \$100 million.

Both of these are indeed impressive figures and are a tribute to the hard work of Congressman JOSEPH MINISH of New Jersey.

Congressman MINISH was the head of a special subcommittee of the Banking and Currency Committee which visited major military installations in the European and Pacific Commands on several occasions to press for the establishment of the credit unions. Prior to Congressman MINISH's efforts servicemen stationed abroad were at the mercy of the money lenders who were able to extort interest rates as high as 60 and 70 percent. In addition, our gold flow problem was hindered because servicemen, for the most part, had to borrow from foreign-controlled loan and finance companies.

The first overseas credit unions were opened in Germany in late 1967, and from there, credit unions were opened in England, Italy, Korea and the Philippines. Overnight these credit unions were a success. Servicemen who had been paying interest rates as high as 70 percent for loans were now able to obtain low-cost loans. For instance, if a serviceman borrowed \$1,000 to purchase a new car and used the car for collateral for the loan, he would pay back only \$45 above the original amount borrowed for a 1-year loan. This works to 3/4 of 1 percent a month on the declining balance, or an annual percentage rate of 9 percent. On a personal loan of \$1,000, the serviceman would pay back only \$60 above the amount borrowed for a 1-year loan. This works out to 1 percent a month on the declining balance, or an annual percentage rate of 12 percent. These loans are now being made to servicemen of all ranks, from the lowest ranking enlisted man to officers of the highest rank.

The credit unions forced the loan shark and the fast-buck operators to close their doors. And, for the first time, our servicemen overseas were not treated as second-class citizens in their financial dealings.

Mr. Speaker, a great deal of credit for the success of the overseas credit unions must go to the gentleman from New Jersey (Mr. MINISH) who worked long and hard to expose the fraudulent operators who were bilking servicemen and then to fight for the establishment of credit unions as the answer to the problem. There were many obstacles placed in his path and much red tape to be cut through. In many countries, it required detailed diplomatic negotiations before the credit unions could be established. In other situations, it required long hours of convincing skeptical officials that the credit unions could survive. But, throughout the fight, Congressman MINISH held fast in his belief that the credit unions would not only hold their own, but would become an important part of the serviceman's life. The success of the credit unions has borne out Congressman MINISH's foresightfulness and has rewarded his efforts.

The work of Congressman MINISH in this important area has received far too little attention for, I think, he has performed one of the greatest services imaginable to our men and women in uniform, and as the overseas credit unions reach for their second 100,000

members and second \$100 million in loans, I salute Congressman JOE MINISH for his efforts.

"QUO VADIS?"

### HON. DURWALD G. HALL

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 6, 1970

Mr. HALL. Mr. Speaker, Thayer A. Smith, M.D., writing in the magazine *Private Practice*, has composed a chilling yet not unbelievable article entitled "Malpractice 1984."

Dr. Thayer has endeavored to look into the future of medicine based on his knowledge of trends in medicine today.

After reading Dr. Thayer's short story, one is led to ask—*Quo Vadis, America?* The article follows:

MALPRACTICE, 1984

(By Thayer A. Smith, M.D.)

Sam Kupperman paced nervously back and forth in the hotel room. It was only seven weeks ago that the nightmare had begun, but it seemed like a distant day in the remote past. Early in March, 1984, he had been notified of the malpractice action against him, his first. The case had gone to trial and he had lost. Because the judgment contained some extraordinary provisions concerning Constitutional guarantees, and because of urgent circumstances surrounding the execution of judgment, Sam's attorney Charlie Pickett had pursued vigorously the matter of appeals through the appellate chain, and succeeded in getting it before the Supreme Court with unprecedented dispatch.

So on a pleasant spring afternoon in Washington, D.C., in May 1984, Sam numbly waited for word from Charlie, after the justices had heard the case, and had retired for deliberation. *Peters vs. Kupperman*. The cold legal nomenclature saddened Sam a little, particularly the "versus." A compassionate and conscientious physician, he was not prone to be "versus" anyone very often. He would fit, except for his youthful appearance, the prototype of the lamented and nearly extinct family doctor of the turn of the century. Yet for all his warmth, he was held in highest respect for his skill and knowledge by his colleagues, who know these things.

Married toward the end of his residency, he had settled in a suburb of Chicago in 1970 to practice internal medicine and raise a family. He was doing well in both. Not previously had any patient even threatened litigation. But it seemed like almost a betrayal for Sylvester Peters to be doing this thing to him, for Sy had been a patient almost since his first year of practice.

As a matter of fact, since the first \$100,000,000 malpractice award in 1980, there had been something of an unspoken, unofficial moratorium on malpractice actions. Various reasons had been advanced, the least probable of which was that the award was never paid, the doctor and insurance company having gone bankrupt. More cogently, 1981 was the year that Congress passed the 100% tax bill, which left very little fluid capital in private hands.

Sylvester Peters, a middle aged accountant, had come to Sam as a patient in 1971, liked him, and stayed with him. Sam had seen him through several coronaries, not too bright a picture for a generally semi-cooperative patient given to excesses of almost all sorts. But recent events were heralding the end of the road for Sy. His myocardium was

now largely scar tissue. He had been on monitor for the past year, and in the hospital for the last two months on the big inpatient monitor with the automatic defibrillator, which was being activated several times a week. In short, Sy's heart had hit it.

So the malpractice action had been brought by Sy, and won. Sam was impressed with the Supreme Court justices when Charlie had presented his arguments in Sam's behalf. All nine justices were on hand to deliberate, and probed searchingly. Their backgrounds were varied—some had been in economics, some in sociology, some in political science, one had been an archeologist, and one an attorney. Sam was rather surprised at this, but Charlie explained that during the 70's nearly all the justices with legal backgrounds had died or resigned and had been gradually replaced with men of other disciplines. This resulted from the general observation of previous decades that a knowledge of law was not necessarily important or desirable in interpreting the mandates of the Constitution; instead, a social consciousness was the key attribute sought in a candidate for the position.

Sam pondered the future of medicine. Collectively physicians had for two decades been progressively harassed and subjugated. Medical school enrollment had dropped alarmingly. His oldest boy had once evinced an interest in a medical career, but lost it when the \$100,000,000 judgment in 1980 hit the headlines. Since his bar mitzvah last fall he seemed to be renewing interest—that is, until this most recent setback.

Sam looked at his watch, and continued the to and fro pacing of the caged lion. Where was Charlie? He should have been back by now with news of the judge's decision.

There were repeated and successful campaigns in mid-century for federal health programs. And then skirmishes in the mid 60's which resulted in the first sweet smell of success for the planners of federalized medicine. A favorite son was swept into the Presidency in 1976 on a pledge of "free medical care for all." He had also promised a fivefold increase in Social Security benefits, a reduction of the retirement age to 50, and a lowering of the voting age.

The "free medical care" gimmick was the logical implementation of a dogma widely promulgated in previous decades—that medical care is a basic human right. With a canny realization that the "general welfare" clause of the Constitution had been somewhat overworked over the years as a sanction for myriad legislative activities, and might actually be restricted by a proposed Constitutional amendment to define it more clearly, the promoters pushed an amendment of their own. It was ratified during the President's first year in office, 1977, and was the "health care," or 27th amendment. It enlarged on and updated the original Bill of Rights by stating that health care was an inalienable right of every citizen and further defined health care as "the free provision of the highest level of medical services currently enjoyed by the most opulent of the citizens."

Critics of the proposed amendment before its ratification acidly pointed out that many fortunate citizens might live a long and healthy life without any medical care whatsoever; but that none could live long without food, and that living would be somewhat austere, albeit possible, without clothing or shelter. So from the standpoint of universality of need, ought not the right to food supersede the right to health care?

The planners thanked the critics for this logic, and promptly drew up the 28th, known as the food, clothing, and shelter amendment, which was ratified by the States six months after the 27th. It guaranteed every citizen the inalienable right to food, cloth-

ing, and shelter, and further specified that the food must be decent, clothing decent, and that all housing provided must be decent, and in a decent neighborhood.

By the end of the President's first term in office, federal activity in the economic affairs of man had burgeoned so enormously that the percentage of federal employees to the total work force had reached 63 percent. Expenses of the gargantuan welfare projects had soared beyond all planned projections, and financing them was becoming a matter of urgency. However, raising money by increased taxation in 1960, an election year, was not considered by the President or Congress to be a politically adroit move, as it never had in millennia past. The federal employees were voted a substantial pay increase instead, and the President sailed through elections to a second term.

In the next session of Congress, at the President's urgent request, the total withholding revenue bill was passed. This provided that all wages and salaries, and all earnings and profits from individual businesses and professions, be channeled directly to Internal Revenue. Admittedly, there was less need for money, now that all citizens' basic needs, and most of the services, entertainment, and luxuries, had either been federalized or were soon to be. However, there were still some services and amenities that had not been nationalized, such as barberships and beauty shops, pencils, toothpicks, and chewing gum, for example, for which a small amount of pocket money was needed. It was rumored that certain ladies in an entertainment profession which had not been federalized still insisted on cash from their furtive male visitors. The provision of a certain rebate of the confiscated income was therefore necessary, and after heated debate as to whether it should be a certain percentage, say 5 percent, or a fixed dollar amount, the latter won out. It was successfully argued that the same debate, set at \$20 monthly, would be more democratic than the percentage of income.

And so, in the early 1960's, life went on, but each new right bestowed on the citizen seemed to drain something from him. Only a few like Sam Kupperman, whose patients were still people and could not be changed, took pleasure and satisfaction in their work, and were able to rise above the despair and apathy of the privileged masses.

Charlie Pickett came in the room, and Sam knew immediately by his expression that the news was bad. "I'm sorry, Sam—we did the best we could. We have no place to go." He handed him the copy of the Supreme Court ruling.

"What is at issue here is not the liability of the defendant. Evidence is preponderant that the defendant was the plaintiff's physician, for a period of years, and that the plaintiff saw no other physician; that during that time he negligently and wrongly allowed the plaintiff to develop a heart condition which has gravely affected the health of the plaintiff, and today threatens his very life. The doctrine of *res ipsa loquitur* which compels this conclusion, has been firmly established for many years.

"What is at issue is the defense plea that the execution of the judgment of the trial court would constitute a violation of the defendant's civil rights.

"The Court notes that while medical science has made great strides in the development of implanted mechanical hearts, the refinement of the heart transplant procedure has developed even further. We note that while the reliability factor in the mechanical heart wanes markedly after five years, the forestalling of immunologic rejection responses of recipients of human heart transplants has been advanced to ten to fifteen years, and seems likely to improve further in the future.

"The plaintiff is presently in urgent medical need of a new heart, and clearly has a Constitutional right, under the 27th Amendment, to surgical replacement of his diseased heart, as does any of his fellow citizens. Furthermore, he is entitled to the best available replacement, not the next best; to wit, a human heart.

"The Court has duly noted the evidence submitted by the plaintiff that the defendant has a reasonably healthy heart, as determined by the examination ordered by the trial court, including physical, electrocardiographic, X-ray, and cineangiographic findings, as well as other evidence such as good family history, favorable serum cholesterol, triglyceride, and uric acid levels and other criteria.

"The contention of the defendant that the compulsory donation of his heart to the plaintiff in redress of a grave wrong, would violate his Constitutional rights, and in fact result in the loss of his life, the Court finds specious. Death need not necessarily result, and the trial judge intended no such punishment. The defendant can readily acquire a mechanical heart to replace his own, and should get good service for at least five years. At that time undoubtedly superior replacements will be available, and the possibility always exists that the defendant might be fortunate enough to obtain a human heart.

"The Court notes ample precedent for the proposed remedy, going back as far as the Code of Hammurabi, in which a skillful physician was rewarded, and a miscreant penalized. Far from being offensive to the Constitution, we find the judgment of the trial court to be rather Solomonic in wisdom.

"The ruling of the trial court is hereby affirmed, and the defendant ordered to immediately submit to donor surgery."

And so it was that on May 12, 1964, was performed the first cardiectomy in the world on a living, healthy human being, and it was successfully transplanted into Sy Peter's chest. Sam Kupperman had all his life put his heart into his work, little dreaming that society would one day insist he give it up.

#### WHAT ARE THE FACTS?

#### HON. JOHN E. HUNT

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 6, 1970

Mr. HUNT. Mr. Speaker, it should be greatly disturbing to any decent American that Larry O'Brien, chairman of the Democratic National Committee continues to play fast and loose with the truth as he campaigns for Democrat candidates around the country.

In a recent speech to a Democratic rally in Newark, N.J., Mr. O'Brien is quoted in a United Press story as saying that unemployment is up, housing is down, and profits are vanishing. It might be worth taking a look at each of these statements to see what the facts are:

First, unemployment has stabilized. In fact, the unemployment rate for August was about one-half million below the figure for January 1970, and the percentage of unemployed is less than any time during the Kennedy administration.

Second, housing is not down as Mr. O'Brien claims—but up. Housing starts for July and August were running about 21 percent above the first quarter of 1970 and are continuing to climb.

Third, profits are not vanishing. The Federal Reserve Index of Industrial Production has been unchanged since May.

Further, real gross national product actually rose in the second quarter.

Political rhetoric is expected in an election year, but most campaigners try to base their speeches on facts. Mr. O'Brien apparently is an exception.

#### REPORT TO CONSTITUENCY

#### HON. CRAIG HOSMER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 6, 1970

Mr. HOSMER. Mr. Speaker, in order to provide those whom I am honored to represent in the Congress with current legislative data I am circulating the following letter under date of October 1970:

DEAR FRIENDS: Before coming home for Congress's election recess I wanted to report to you on some of the major national issues and about things I have been doing recently as "Your Man in Washington."

The Middle East remains a powder keg. Arab governments (or their Soviet mentors) seem determined to shun peace. President Nixon reacts with wisdom and calm courage to protect our interests without military involvement. In S.E. Asia Vietnamization of the war goes well. Our troop pullout is ahead of schedule.

But, as the war fades away many West Coast defense jobs disappear. Also winding down is America's space program—made successful by so many brilliant Southern California scientists and engineers. To help ease the situation I have sponsored legislation aimed at turning this great pool of technological manpower loose on pollution, crime prevention and other domestic problems.

Meanwhile the long battle against inflation is being won. Spending cuts and credit curbs were strong but necessary medicine. They have worked and laid the foundation for stable prosperity in the 1970's. However, to avoid reighting inflationary fires Congress must resist deficit spending on politically popular programs.

The House and Senate finally got around to passing tough anti-drug and anti-crime laws. They're not expected to change things overnight, but already the crime rate in Washington, D.C. is down a bit.

Many of us who for years have worried about the quality of our environment welcome the recent surge of public interest in this vital subject. Aroused public opinion can help loosen up the money needed to clean things up.

Our modern country needs power, transportation, chemicals, medicines and a host of other things that can be polluting when mishandled. But we can have all of them clean if we are willing to pay for them that way. And, I say, let's do it.

The General Election is soon—Nov. 3rd. Vote as you please, but please vote! If you cannot get to the polls you may use the form on the back of this letter to request your Absentee Voter's Ballot.

Cordially,

CRAIG,

P.S.—When you feel like it, write me about the issues or if I can be helpful with a Federal problem.

In order that voters who will be absent from the polls on election day may still have the privilege of the ballot I have reproduced on the reverse of my letter appropriate ballot request forms for both Orange County and Los Angeles County. Portions of each of these counties are located in my congressional district.

Any resident of either of these counties may simply copy the proper form from the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD if need be, in order to request the ballot by mail.

October 5 was the first day Californians could apply for the absentee ballot and October 27 the last day. The two forms follow:

last several years, I commend this article to law enforcement and corrections officials across the Nation, and insert it in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD:

Ray E. Lee  
Registrar of Voters Office  
808 North Spring Street  
Los Angeles, California 90012

[FROM FBI Law Enforcement Bulletin,  
October 1970]  
LAW ENFORCEMENT CONSOLIDATION FOR  
GREATER EFFICIENCY

(By Dale G. Carson, sheriff, and Donald K. Brown, undersheriff, Jacksonville, Fla.)

Dear Sir:  
I, \_\_\_\_\_ am a voter of Los Angeles County.

My registered address is: \_\_\_\_\_

1. I am presently residing at the above address \_\_\_\_\_

(If answer is "yes", do not complete item 2 below.)

2. If answer to item 1 above is "no", indicate date of move and check appropriate box:

Permanent move from registered address  Temporary move (will return to Los Angeles County)

The only reasons a voter may vote an absent voter's ballot are as follows:

I expect to be absent from my election precinct.

I will be leaving \_\_\_\_\_

Because of physical disability, I will be unable to vote in my election precinct.

The tenets of my religion will prevent me from attending the polls throughout that day.

I reside more than 10 miles from polling place by the most direct route for public travel.

I am therefore making application for an absent voter's ballot for the above named election.

If mailing address is different than residence address, enter here: \_\_\_\_\_

Date of signing \_\_\_\_\_ Signature of applicant \_\_\_\_\_ (Do not print) \_\_\_\_\_ Sign as registered \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_ Social Security No. \_\_\_\_\_

If you have registered within the last 60 days, please give date of registration and affidavit number.

Date of registration \_\_\_\_\_ Affidavit number \_\_\_\_\_

Important: This application will not be accepted without the proper signature of the applicant.

To: W. E. St. John, County Clerk  
P.O. Box 11298  
Santa Ana, Calif. 92711

I hereby apply for an Absent Voter's Ballot for the General Election, Nov. 3, 1970. I will be unable to go to the polls for reason checked:

Expect to be absent from my precinct on election day.

Because of physical disability.

I reside more than 10 miles from nearest polling place.

My religion prevents me from attending.

I reside within a controlled precinct—U.S./30 or less.

First name \_\_\_\_\_ Initial \_\_\_\_\_ Last name \_\_\_\_\_

Residence address as shown on affidavit of registration, \_\_\_\_\_

City \_\_\_\_\_ State \_\_\_\_\_ Zip \_\_\_\_\_

Mailing Address \_\_\_\_\_

City \_\_\_\_\_ State \_\_\_\_\_ Zip \_\_\_\_\_

MAIL Ballot

Signature: \_\_\_\_\_ Applicant must sign here \_\_\_\_\_ Date: \_\_\_\_\_

If your residence address is other than that shown on your Affidavit of Registration, you must complete the following:

I moved on \_\_\_\_\_ month \_\_\_\_\_ day \_\_\_\_\_ year from the address that is shown on my affidavit to:

New address \_\_\_\_\_ Street \_\_\_\_\_ City \_\_\_\_\_

On October 1, 1968, the city and county governments of Jacksonville and Duval County combined to form the new consolidated city of Jacksonville. Our "Bold New City of the South" covers an area of 832 square miles with a population of 513,000. This vast area makes it the largest city in the Western Hemisphere. Our new police department is responsible for policing more people than live in the States of Alaska, Delaware, Nevada, Vermont, or Wyoming.

Prior to consolidation, the city of Jacksonville had a population of 190,000 and an area of 31 square miles. Its government was of the commission-council type, with the police and fire departments under the supervision of the mayor-commissioner. (This form of city government, formerly used by most American cities, lost its popularity in the 1930's. As far as we know, Jacksonville was the only large city still using it in 1968.) The police department was staffed by 391 sworn officers and 83 civilians.

PRECONSOLIDATION

Duval County covered an area of 795 square miles exclusive of the cities of Jacksonville, Jacksonville Beach, Atlantic Beach, Neptune Beach, and the town of Baldwin, with an estimated suburban population of 300,000 (1970 census 513,000 minus estimated 190,000 in Jacksonville and 23,000 in Baldwin and the beach cities). The county was governed by five county commissioners and the usual constitutional officers. Police protection was a function of the sheriff's office which included 225 sworn personnel and 36 civilians in supporting roles. The per capita cost of this protection was low mainly because of a critical personnel shortage. Although the usual low rural crime rate was rising, there seemed little hope of obtaining additional men because of the lack of an adequate tax base.

NEEDS CITED

In 1966, the Local Government Study Commission of Duval County released the following information on the proposed consolidation in its publication, "Blueprint for Improvement," page 100 et seq.:

"Historically the original design of police protection in Florida was a sheriff who would act as an enforcement arm of the State at the county level. Generally, he presided over a large rural territory where he served process papers of the courts and acted as court bailiff. He also provided a jail. He provided only minimal patrol or beat protection. This limited protection was not sufficient for densely populated areas; thus, municipalities provided additional police protection for which their residents were separately taxed. Because of the need for greater regulation as population becomes congested, municipalities pass law enforcement ordinances more stringent than those necessary for sparsely populated areas. . . . With the advent of rapid population growth, pressures have arisen which have outdated this 19th century design. Particularly, the automobile has transformed the traditional role of the sheriff into the counterpart of a big city police chief.

"Although the sheriff often finds himself faced with many of the same problems and responsibilities as a city police chief, he lacks three important tools with which to do the job.

"First, the county level of government has no ordinance-making power; all laws must

JACKSONVILLE CONSOLIDATION HELPS LAW ENFORCEMENT

HON. CHARLES E. BENNETT

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 6, 1970

Mr. BENNETT. Mr. Speaker, the city of Jacksonville, Fla., my hometown in the Third Congressional District, has just celebrated its second anniversary as a consolidated city. On October 1, 1968, the city and county governments merged into one consolidated unit, a unique experiment in local government.

In the October 1970, issue of the FBI Law Enforcement Bulletin, two former agents of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, Jacksonville Sheriff Dale G.

Carson, and his undersheriff, Donald K. Brown, have written a most informative and interesting article, "Law Enforcement Consolidation for Greater Efficiency."

The article spells out how the merged city and county law enforcement agencies have functioned as one body since October 1968. These dedicated and responsible officials in Jacksonville report that they have a more effective and efficient anticrime and corrections program through consolidation, and they suggest that such a merger of local law enforcement agencies might work in other American communities.

As a supporter of the Law Enforcement Assistance Act and a sponsor of anticrime legislation in the Congress, which has brought over a million dollars in Federal funds into Jacksonville in the

emanate from a State legislature . . . not normally concerned with the day-to-day problems of law enforcement in urban areas.

"Second, the sheriff's enforcement tools are cumbersome. Cities have municipal courts which often meet daily and dispense justice rapidly. The Florida county has no counterpart . . . ; the State courts were not designed to handle a large volume of misdemeanor violations.

"The third, and perhaps most serious, shortcoming facing the sheriff is . . . inadequate . . . financial support. The sheriff's department is primarily supported from countywide ad valorem taxes. Increased pressure on county expenditures, particularly for education, has made it very difficult for sheriff's departments to receive adequate appropriation. Once the sheriff goes beyond traditional duties, he is in effect providing 'municipal' type police protection. The cost creates a tax imbalance to the disadvantage of city dwellers, who then naturally oppose increased expenditures for the sheriff's department. Concurrently, municipal police departments have been severely restricted in carrying out their functions. Crime is not bounded by city limit lines. The amount of law enforcement needed is often determined by influences . . . beyond a city's control. . . . Not only does the economic life of the metropolitan area center in Jacksonville, but also does crime; . . . with less than 40 percent of the county's population, approximately 60 percent of the county's crime occurs within the city limits. In addition, there is the tremendous burden of traffic control within the city. Suburban dwellers contribute their share of crime and traffic control problems to the 'core' city, but . . . make no direct financial contribution towards abating them. Even if the problem of financial support were solved, city police departments are still handicapped in their functions by artificial barriers resulting from arbitrary city boundaries. . . ."

"A unified countywide department will insure the following goals:

Uniform law enforcement.  
Increased crime prevention and traffic control.

An adequate financial support base. . . .  
Better utilization of manpower and facilities.

Cohesive planning to meet current and future law enforcement needs."

#### FORMER CITY AND COUNTY GOVERNMENTS ABOLISHED

The new consolidated charter abolished the former city and county governments and set up a strong mayor-type government with an elected 19-man council, a sheriff, clerk of court, tax assessor, tax collector, and supervisor of registrations. All the agencies of the former governments were combined into these offices plus several appointive boards and authorities.

The new charter placed all law enforcement responsibilities under the office of the sheriff and continued the elective status of the office.

For the first time, all law enforcement and correctional personnel and functions were to be combined into one organization. As organizational plans were developed, it became apparent that the close working relationships developed in the past would be enhanced by the creation of many opportunities for personal advancement. With 15 new top appointive positions and a reorganization of responsibilities, we have been able to advance our men to these positions and to fill numerous positions of sergeant. The charter provided that no employee would lose any right or benefit he had enjoyed prior to consolidation, which meant that all employees went to the highest level in each benefit category. The former city officers were given a raise of \$1,300 to bring them to the level of the former county men, and the county men were granted paid holidays, hos-

pitalization, insurance, and several other fringe benefits which they did not have before.

Combining the two departments has eliminated many duplicate functions. The two communications centers were joined into one more effective unit. The consolidation of records and identification units has proven to be of great benefit to the organization; a check of one central index now gives all the information we have on a particular case or individual.

One larger investigative division is proving to be much more effective and efficient. It makes little difference now where the thieves operate; their activity is followed by one group of investigators. The vast background knowledge city and county investigators brought together has increased our crime solution rate substantially.

#### BACK UP THE MAN ON THE BEAT

The new organizational structure is patrol oriented and designed to back up the man on the beat. The rest of us are here to serve him and make his work more effective. We believe our new Department of Traffic and Patrol is rapidly developing into one of the best in the Nation. The Patrol Division of this department is divided into three rotation shifts and a special enforcement unit working during the high-crime period, generally from 7 p.m. until 3 a.m. We also have a group of evidence technicians assigned to the patrol. These men are specially trained in crime scene processing, latent print developing and photography. They work in uniform, use marked cars, and participate in aggressive patrol when not performing their specialty. Beat patrolmen of the Patrol Division investigate routine traffic accidents.

The Traffic Division handles special traffic enforcement details and problems through the use of a team of hit-and-run investigators, a special squad using three-wheel motorcycles for congested area traffic control, men specifically assigned to the control of abandoned cars and trash dumping on streets and highways, safety education specialists, and traffic analysts.

#### SPECIALLY DESIGNED HELICOPTERS PLANNED

In the near future, the Department of Traffic and Patrol will begin utilizing helicopters specially designed to assist in street-level law enforcement functions.

Our community service unit has developed a police youth patrol which involves some 700 teenagers of the community. These young men ride with officers on patrol to gain an understanding and appreciation of the work and problems of the police officer. Under this program the officers get to know the people in the neighborhoods they patrol and develop a better relationship with them. This unit has also recently inaugurated an "Officer Friendly" program in our schools.

#### A PRERELEASE SYSTEM

Unlike many police departments, we also have the responsibility for a correctional system presently handling a thousand inmates a day in four facilities. We have work release programs, vocational guidance courses, and a detoxification center in the planning stage. With consolidation we are gradually alleviating the correctional officer shortage common to most institutions.

To bring this formerly onerous position to the level of professionalism it deserves and demands, our office has cooperated with the local junior college in instituting a degree program in correctional science and administration. The U.S. Veterans Administration has instituted an 18-month on-the-job training program in this area, an innovation which is unique in the State of Florida.

Consolidation has given us the opportunity for experimentation and innovation. We have taken a new look at police organiza-

tions and have not been bound by old methods. Some of our new techniques have been implemented and others are still being tested. Our planning and research unit is constantly examining new procedures and revealing weaknesses and strengths. We have reorganized beat structures and are now assigning men by computer on a predicted-crime basis.

#### INCREASED PROTECTION

Consolidation has not effected a savings to the taxpayer, but no monetary value can be placed on increased protection to life and property.

If consolidation is being discussed in your area, no doubt the proponents are pointing out the savings such a move would be for the taxpayers. This may well be true in combining the work of some duplicate governmental functions, but it is rarely true for law enforcement. The reason for this is simple. Most police agencies are already undermanned and underfinanced. When you combine two police agencies, too often you create one large undermanned and underfinanced department. The citizen will get more for his tax dollar, but he will still be taxed. Money will be saved in some areas, but it will be needed in others. Our first combined budget of \$8 million was about \$50,000 less than the two separate budgets, but some funds had to be spent to accomplish consolidation. For example, our new communications center calls for additional equipment costing \$800,000. We spent \$175,000 for new uniforms and \$125,000 to remodel the police station. So do not let anyone sell you on the idea of saving money through law enforcement consolidation. You can promise them a much more efficient operation, but adequate law enforcement is expensive.

We think consolidation has been good for Jacksonville. It may or it may not work in your area; but just look around your political subdivision and add up all the money in the various police budgets. If all this money and manpower were placed in one agency, no doubt a better job could be done. There would be no dispute over jurisdictional lines, no interagency jealousy, and the men could work when and where they are most needed. There is only so much money available in any metropolitan area for law enforcement, and we believe consolidation offers the most efficient way to use these limited funds.

#### CCC CORN SALES

HON. PAUL FINDLEY

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 5, 1970

Mr. FINDLEY. Mr. Speaker, the Commodity Credit Corporation will not sell corn during October at prices less than September.

A high official in the U.S. Department of Agriculture in Washington has given me that assurance by telephone. The statement made to me, was:

You can't quote me personally, but I can tell you that the government is not planning to sell corn in October at prices lower than September.

The assurance was given after I had relayed rumors that CCC officials will begin selling Government corn this month for 16 cents a bushel less than Government sales in September.

October 1 began the new crop year, and some people in the grain trade made the assumption that this would mean that

a year's carrying charges—which come to approximately 16 cents—would be dropped by CCC in computing the price at which Government holdings of corn would be offered for sale.

My telephone conversation confirmed what I believed would be the policy of the Nixon administration; that is, to show the utmost restraint in marketing old corn now that the new harvest is coming in. It is true that the law permits the Government to sell corn this month at a price considerably below the figure it got last month, but I am confident this will not occur.

In fact, the law permitted the Government to sell corn 10 percent below its September offerings, and I feel the administration should be congratulated for this restraint. Many corn farmers, especially those in my district, are harvesting a corn crop that is dismal by normal standards, so they will be glad the price they get during the height of the harvest season for the short crop will not be depressed by Government sales.

**FARM LOSSES DURING JURISDICTIONAL STRIKES HURT EVERYBODY**

**HON. BURT L. TALCOTT**

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 6, 1970

Mr. TALCOTT. Mr. Speaker, in the fabulous Salinas and Pajaro Valleys of California have been enduring a jurisdictional strike between two farm labor unions.

There has been trouble and tension, threats and intimidation; violence, property damage, and personal injury has occurred often.

Millions of dollars in wages, earnings and profits have been lost. Tons of lettuce, celery, strawberries, broccoli, and other vegetables have spoiled and been lost.

The soil has been damaged. Personal hatreds and suspicions have developed.

Most of the dissension, hate, and losses have been caused by foreign persons who have tried to inject themselves into our community, our industry and our fields for their own selfish purposes—not in the best interests of the farmer, the farmworker, the unions, the agricultural industry, or the consumer.

Outside growers, outside agitators, outside pickets, outside unions, outside churchmen, outside workers have caused the trouble.

They have swooped in to profit from our valleys, our past efforts and our accomplishments; when they have eeked out their selfish objectives, and wreaked their damages, they vanish, leaving the local grower, worker, union, citizen, and churchman to rehabilitate the lands, absorb the losses, repair the damage and reestablish interpersonal goodwill.

I am as anxious as anyone to improve the working and living conditions of the farmworkers of our Nation. They deserve better. Nevertheless, I am proud that the unskilled farmworker can earn more money in my district that he can

earn anywhere else in the world doing anything else.

Those organizers, churchmen, and do-gooders who sincerely want to help the farmworker improve his working and living conditions could do much better by invading other agricultural areas where wages are 100 percent less.

Typical, representative examples of the earnings of a farmworker in an average lettuce harvest field crew is tabulated as follows:

LETTUCE HARVEST WORKER EARNINGS APR. 28, 1970 THROUGH AUG. 18, 1970

Week ending—	Crew No. 1		Crew No. 2	
	Week's pay	Hours	Week's pay	Hours
Apr. 28	\$228.23	64	\$233.62	62
May 5	157.88	64	175.73	53½
May 12	125.88	40	134.88	39½
May 19	279.80	62½	269.17	60
May 26	204.25	51½	191.29	48½
June 2	200.55	52	203.77	51
June 9	184.32	43	185.75	43
June 16	164.89	39½	159.91	41
June 23	169.40	42½	187.21	43½
June 30	166.45	45	180.49	47
July 7	181.48	47	203.51	47
July 14	268.04	58	270.66	62
July 21	52.23	15	60.58	16½
July 28	138.13	22	138.83	22
Aug. 4	174.20	38½	163.30	38
Aug. 11	132.55	30½	130.94	30
Aug. 18	132.39	26	129.59	25
Total	2,962.08	731	3,024.23	729½

This was the week the Teamsters' strike started:

Average per week	\$174.24
Average rate per hour	\$4.05
Total wages earned	\$5,596.31
Total hours	1,460½
Average per week	\$176.07
Average rate per hour	\$4.10

The individual unskilled worker earned an average of \$4.10 per hour—not too bad.

In spite of the worker's greatly reduced hours of work per week because of the strike, the unskilled farmworker was able to earn \$176.07 per week—again not too bad under the adverse circumstances.

The pity is that these unskilled workers who desperately needed the work and the earnings were deprived from earning about 50 percent more.

When the strike is over, the harvest is over; there is no more work and no way to recoup the lost work or to recover the damages.

No union will accomplish more than what the worker already receives by the strikes, pickets, threats, or intimidations.

The losses in the various crops have been enormous. Several farmers were bankrupted; others will never recoup. Some will abandon farming.

These losses do not affect only the producer—everyone suffers from these losses, the worker, the allied industries.

The consumer is a major loser in any strike. Recently the price of lettuce increased from 18 to 20 cents per head to as much as 59 cents per head. The farmer shared very little in this unnecessary price increase.

When prices increase, the persons who can least afford the increase suffer most. Nutritional food is denied to low-income families by a strike in the agriculture fields.

Losses in the Salinas Valley during one 4-week period, August 24 to September

19, 1970, during the jurisdictional dispute are reliably estimated as follows:

Lettuce:

Expected production based on previous 3-year average comparable period Aug. 24-Sept. 19 (cars)	5,389
Actual production 1970 comparable period Aug. 24-Sept. 19	3,632
Loss (cars)	1,757
1,757 cars equals 3,029 acres lost. Growing cost \$400 an acre (loss)	\$1,229,000

Celery:

Expected production based on previous 3-year average comparable period Aug. 24-Sept. 19 (cars)	476
Actual production 1970 comparable period Aug. 24-Sept. 19 (cars)	248
Loss (cars)	228
228 cars equals 150 acres lost. Growing cost \$1,000 per acre transplant (loss)	\$150,000

Tomatoes:

Expected production based on previous 3-year average comparable period Aug. 24-Sept. 19 (cars)	418
Actual production 1970 comparable period August 24-Sept. 19	189
Loss (cars)	229
229 cars equals 1,015 acres lost. Growing cost \$500 per acre (loss)	\$507,500

Cauliflower:

Expected production based on previous 3-year average comparable period Aug. 24-Sept. 19 (cars)	91
Actual production 1970 comparable period Aug. 24-Sept. 19	27
Loss (cars)	74
74 cars equals 120 acres lost. Growing cost \$425 per acre (loss)	\$61,000

Strawberries:

Expected production based on previous 3-year average comparable period Aug. 24-Sept. 19 (crates)	600,000
Actual production 1970 comparable period Aug. 24-Sept. 19	0
Loss (crates)	600,000
1,000 acres lost. Growing cost \$1,600 an acre (loss)	\$1,600,000

Broccoli:

450 acres lost. Growing cost is \$450 an acre (loss)	\$180,000
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**UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN ACTION AGAINST STUDENT DISRUPTERS**

**HON. WILLIAM A. STEIGER**

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 6, 1970

Mr. STEIGER of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, on September 23 the gentletyady from Oregon (Mrs. GREEN) included as part of her remarks in the RECORD, a report compiled by the Office of Education which showed the number of students, by university, whose Federal assistance was terminated during the period July 1,

1969 through June 30, 1970 because of their participation in riots or major campus disruptive activities. The report showed no action taken by the University of Wisconsin and the gentleday noted this fact in her remarks.

On September 24, University of Wisconsin vice president, Robert Clodius, sent the following telegram to the gentleman setting forth the disciplinary actions which the university has, in fact, taken against 25 students to date:

Press reports indicate that you are not aware that in 1969 and 1970 to date some 25 students have been suspended or expelled by the University of Wisconsin for actions which violated our conduct rules. They lost not only their rights to financial aid but also the right to attend classes or even come on campus during the period of their suspension or expulsion. As a part of our disciplinary hearing procedures we review each case in relation to both federal and state laws which may apply and make a determination in each case.

The gentleman has told me that she has as a result of this telegram taken steps to ascertain if the Office of Education report was in error or whether the disciplinary action taken by the university was beyond the scope of the Office of Education report.

I did, however, want to point out to my colleagues that the University of Wisconsin has taken strong disciplinary measures against students who have violated conduct rules and to set the record straight on its behalf.

### THE FLEET IS SINKING

#### HON. JOHN G. SCHMITZ

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 6, 1970

Mr. SCHMITZ. Mr. Speaker, in the following article, I address myself to the warning given by our colleague, Chairman L. MENDEL RIVERS, about the state of our military strength. I hope every Member of this body gives serious thought to its implication. My comments follow:

#### THE FLEET IS SINKING

"The Soviets are capable of starting tomorrow the biggest war there has ever been, and I am frankly not confident the outcome of such a war would be in our favor."—Vice Admiral Rickover (Testimony before Joint Committee on Atomic Energy, 1970)

Admiral Rickover is the father of the United States' nuclear submarine program. He is a man of vision. His forecast for the future of our nation, if present trends decreasing our defensive capability are not reversed, is ominous. The Admiral felt his testimony before the Atomic Energy Committee this year to be the most fateful of his long career. The situation is grave.

Two weeks ago longtime Chairman of the House Armed Services Committee, L. Mendel Rivers, rose on the Floor of the House to deliver a similar message. He gave one of the finest, and surely the most significant, speeches it has ever been my good fortune to hear. He agrees with Admiral Rickover. The nation is in dire jeopardy.

Congressman Rivers, who has been intimately connected with all aspects of national defense for thirty years, gave a concise and well balanced picture of our present defense

situation and the consequences of further delaying actions and cuts in the defense budget. "I only hope that someone, somewhere in the smoldering ruins, if it makes any difference, will say 'Old Rivers did the best he could!'" The ruins of which Chairman Rivers spoke are our cities. He was not being overly dramatic.

The Chairman of the House Armed Services Committee presented a thoroughly documented case for the fact that the Soviet Union has now surpassed the United States in military might. He gave particular attention to the deteriorating state of our Navy and the growth of the Soviet fleet.

The Navy is an essential component of our national defense forces. The United States is basically an island located between two great oceans. In the past this position of isolation from the rest of the world has been our protection. Our remoteness from the areas where ideological wars have swelled into great wars has preserved us from direct attack on the continental United States. Today, successful attack is no longer as much a function of distance to be traveled as it is a function of what stands opposed to the attacking forces at the beginning of the war. The sea, minus a strong Navy, has become a corridor for invasion rather than a shield.

At the present time there is no city in the United States which is more than ten minutes away from the nuclear missiles poised on Soviet submarines deployed off both our East and West coasts. Coastal cities, to which the Senate denied ABM protection, can be devastated in less time than that.

The fact that the United States is basically an island, in a world more than 70 per cent covered by water, means that the seas are in effect the arteries of our nation. The Navy protects these vital lines of life in peace and in war. Many people seem to believe that the United States can simply isolate itself from the rest of the world, mothball our fleet, and continue business as usual. This is not the case. If we scrap the fleet and cut ourselves off from the rest of the world, we will not be able to continue business at all.

One reason for this is that there are resources we must import. In fact 66 of the 76 raw materials on our strategic stockpile list are imported wholly or in part. The United States has no significant domestic production of chrome (for jet engines), cobalt (high strength alloys), manganese (steel), thorium (critical in space and military programs) or zircon (critical in nuclear programs), to mention just a few of the critical materials and their uses which we must bring in by sea. If the Soviets control the oceans we will be denied these resources. Those who advocate a "fortress America" have not taken this into account. A fort denied the necessary material to provide for its defense is useless.

The Soviets are working hard to secure control of our life lines. Let us take but one of many examples of Soviet naval expansion. The Soviet Union now has 350 submarines, 80 of which are nuclear powered. The United States has 147 operational submarines, 88 of which are nuclear powered. All of the Soviet subs are less than 15 years old, while almost half of our submarine fleet is over 16 years old. The Soviets are currently building nuclear submarines at the rate of 10-14 per year, and their latest models are significantly faster than we had expected. The House Armed Services Committee actually had to fight to add enough to the Defense Department request for Fiscal Year 1971 to start construction on a United States submarine which, hopefully, will be able to cope with chillingly unexpected Soviet capability. To put this in perspective, we should remember that the German submarine fleet nearly won the Battle of the Atlantic in the

early days of World War II with only 57 diesel-powered submarines.

Pious homilies on the blessing of world peace will not slow down the Soviet drive to dominate the seas—and the world. The fact that Soviet nuclear weapons are back in the Caribbean should remind us all that there is no place to hide. Our safety lies in prudent defense preparations, our security in strength, and our freedom in our own hands.

### SEVENTY-FIFTH ANNIVERSARY, 1896-1971: JEWISH WAR VETERANS OF THE UNITED STATES

#### HON. JAMES A. BURKE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 6, 1970

Mr. BURKE of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, I would like to take this opportunity to call to the attention of the House of Representatives the recent election of Albert Schlossberg, of Milton, Mass., as the national commander of Jewish War Veterans, the oldest veterans organization in the Nation.

Membership in the National Jewish War Veterans organization is open to all honorably discharged Jewish men and women who served since World War I. The national headquarters is located here in Washington, D.C.

Commander Schlossberg served in the U.S. Navy in World War II in naval air operations and immediately upon his discharge joined Boston Post No. 22, the oldest Jewish War Veterans post in New England. After he served as senior vice commander and commander of his post, he was elected department commander of Massachusetts. During his tenure he coordinated efforts in the Metropolitan Boston area initiating the formation of the Mattapan, Dorchester, and Roxbury district councils—JWV—serving as commander of the council.

The commander began his early education in Boston, attending the public schools, and broadened his knowledge by attending the New England School of Arts, the Modern School of Design, Massachusetts College of Arts, and the Boston Institute of Funeral Directing.

In 1956, Albert Schlossberg was elected commander of the New England region No. 1. He has served the Jewish War Veterans national organization as a member of the national executive committee, national policy committee, national editor, and at the 75th annual convention was elected the national commander.

He is also active in civic and fraternal causes serving as a member of such organizations as: Executive Committee of the National Jewish Community Relations Advisory Council, treasurer of the Boston Jaycees, vice-chairman of the Boston Chapter of the American Jewish Committee, board of directors of the New England Histadrut, Milton Post 114-American Legion, Milton Lodge B'Nai B'rith Milton Fare Housing Committee, and past president and active member of Temple Shalom.

Commander Schlossberg is a recog-



nized expert in urban affairs and was appointed by Mayor Kevin White of Boston to serve on the Mayor's Task Force for "Urban Affairs." In 1966 he was co-recipient of the B'Nai B'rith "Man of the Year Award."

Commander Schlossberg is presently associated with his brother in the family profession, the operation of several funeral chapels in the Boston, Brookline, Newton, and Canton areas.

He resides in Milton, Mass., with his wife, Eleanor "Smith," and his son, Bruce M., a student at Boston University.

An older daughter, Barbara, is married and the mother of two children.

The New England delegation had the privilege this morning to host a breakfast honoring Commander Schlossberg. I am pleased to insert in the RECORD the "Resolutions and Policy Statements" which were adopted by the Jewish War Veterans at their 75th annual convention, August 16-23 in Atlanta, Ga.:

**RESOLUTIONS AND POLICY STATEMENTS ADOPTED AT 75TH ANNUAL CONVENTION, ATLANTA, GA., AUGUST 16-23, 1970**

**Vietnam Veterans**

Those who pay the heaviest price for a controversial war are the returning servicemen who bear the physical and psychological scars of combat in Vietnam. Unlike World War I and II veterans, their role is too little appreciated and in too many instances misinterpreted. In the din and anger of confrontation and national debate, their problems of readjustment and rehabilitation are in danger of fading from the public attention they so richly deserve.

We must not lose sight of the nation's obligation to each of its sons who have been fighting in a war, suffering casualties at an unprecedented rate and are returning home to a country diverted to the other pressing problems that beset us. The Jewish War Veterans pledges its full energies and resources to the mobilization of public support of the entire spectrum of programs that could assist this deserving group of young veterans to achieve their rightful place in American life.

The Veterans Administration medical system must be funded at a level that will insure high quality care in fully equipped and staffed VA hospitals. We are distressed to learn that cheap economies have adversely affected the quality of that care. There is more than sufficient justification for the expansion of the system in order to meet inevitably increasing patient loads.

The Federal establishment and the organized veterans community must encourage, in every way possible, maximum use of GI educational benefits. In a society that places so high a premium on formal education, schooling must be made easily accessible to this new pool of young manpower. Especially is this true for Black veterans returning in such large numbers. Subsidized education and training can rescue these battle hardened veterans from the dismal prospect of a disadvantaged existence. It can provide the Black leaders in the professions and business we so desperately need to uplift our society.

The Jewish War Veterans urges the renewal of an active GI housing program on a permanent basis. The present housing market is much too far beyond the reach of young families. By assisting the returning Vietnam vet we could as well provide sorely needed stimulation to the entire homebuilding industry.

What the country must do and what we in the Jewish War Veterans of the U.S.A.

urge is a national commitment to do the thing for those returning veterans.

**MIDDLE EAST**

The very existence of Israel, the conquered former Arab territories, radical Arab states against moderate ones, legitimate Arab governments threatened by fedayeen, opposing American and Russian interests—are all elements of conflict that feed the tension in the Middle East. None, however, is as directly responsible for the crisis as the direct intervention of the Soviet Union.

Having focused on the Middle East as a prime area for expanding its influence, after ten years of consistent economic and military support, in 1967 Soviet machinations and miscalculations inspired Egypt and Syria into the aggressive posturing and threats to Israel that brought on their dismal defeat. Its allies smashed on the field of battle, the Soviet Union nonetheless has continued to provide Nasser a war making capability with escalating military steps to reinforce the communist political strategy to obtain pre-eminent power in the Middle East.

From the delivery of weapons and planes, Russian assistance to the UAR has moved to the posting of technicians and advisers, then to Soviet military cadres and still later to Russian pilots flying their own combat planes. Soviet intervention has accelerated to the threshold of the next logical step—full scale combat. Apparently, American reluctance to ship Phantoms this spring was interpreted by the Soviets as an indication that its support to Egypt would remain unhindered.

Concerned as we are for the national interest of the United States and the survival of Israel, the Jewish War Veterans call for forthright positive action by our own government, on the one hand prevent the Suez Canal from becoming a functioning extension of the Iron Curtain, and on the other, to disassociate itself from the foolish and dangerous notion that in the Middle East a military balance can be maintained safely in conventional terms. The latter merely hastens the destruction of Israel as a viable state since in a war of attrition to which Arabs are publicly committed, Israel would be exhausted of manpower. Conceding legitimacy to the Russian presence in Egypt serves up to Moscow, its prime target, a reopened Suez Canal.

The Jewish War Veterans of the U.S.A. urges the implementation of the following as elements in an American Middle East policy that will remove ambiguities in the past that have permitted others to misinterpret our role in that critical part of the world:

1. Provide immediate military and economic assistance to Israel.
2. Influence fellow NATO members to cut off supply to the Arabs.
3. Delay U.S. troop reductions in Europe until all Russian military personnel are out of the UAR.
4. Maintain posture of credibility and strength to discourage brinkmanship.
5. Warn the Russians against their combat participation in the Suez area.
6. Pressure for a negotiated Middle East peace with a contractual agreement between the parties guaranteeing the territorial integrity and sovereignty of Israel.

**MIDDLE EAST CEASE-FIRE**

The agreement of Israel and the United Arab Republic to a ninety day cease-fire raised hope that there is a desire on the part of Nasser and the Russians to achieve a peaceful settlement between the Arabs and Israel. A clear indication of the government of Israel's desire to be a party to such an agreement was the high political risk taken by Prime Minister Golda Meir and Foreign Minister Eban in resolutely promoting positive Israeli participation despite a degree of

political disaffection from the national cabinet.

Having been assured by the United States and the Soviet Union that the 90-day cease-fire period there would be a stabilization of boundaries and that no military buildup would be permitted within a thirty mile zone on each side of the Suez Canal, Israel's assent demonstrated good faith despite the stream of Russian military hardware moving in to build up Nasser's war potential.

Having ascertained that the Egyptians moved Russian missiles into the "standstill" zone after the cease-fire had gone into effect, Israel appealed to the United States to take cognizance of this ominous development, which seriously jeopardizes her military situation and which also undermines her faith in the agreement itself.

The Jewish War Veterans of the U.S.A., mindful of the Administration's desire to move the negotiations along, nevertheless looks askance upon utterances by responsible public officials that minimize or dismiss lightly evidence of incursions and violations of the agreement between the parties. We feel that our government must recognize the high military and political risk undertaken by its ally Israel with at least the same degree of commitment, intensity and belief the Soviet Union places in its client, President Nasser.

In our view, it hardly speaks well for our government to minimize the threat of missiles pointed at Israel and its army after our own experience in risking a confrontation with the Soviets over missile sites aimed at our own country.

We look to our government to act more responsibly and forcibly in its role of Middle East peacemaker. Unless we speak and act forthrightly in assuring that all parties live up to the agreement, there will be a series of matching violations that inevitably lead again to hostilities. The United States has an obligation to act and speak firmly to assure Israel that its concerns are our concerns. Anything less will be interpreted by the Arabs and the Russians as a green light to continue their military buildup.

We urge the President of the United States to establish American credibility as a serious peacemaker while respecting Israel's grave concerns over threats to its national interest.

**CIVIL DEFENSE**

The Jewish War Veterans, from the inception of Civil Defense as a Federal program, has encouraged active participation of all echelons. Where it has been necessary to assume local leadership of the civil defense effort, we have not hesitated in taking such responsibility as well as in bringing organizational support.

The Office of Civil Defense is charged with the responsibility for revising Federal programs to strengthen state and local functions in the development of operational plans for disasters of all types, natural or man-made.

The Jewish War Veterans believes that the Office of Civil Defense should in its programs emphasize the similarity between planning, preparedness training and emergency operations for wartime disasters, and other types of disasters and urges more support to local Civil Defense programs which relate to disasters other than caused by an enemy.

**SUPPORT FOR USO**

As beneficiaries and former "clients" of the United Services Organizations who during military service enjoyed the USO entertainment, USO clubs and USO help with an assortment of problems, the Jewish War Veterans of the U.S.A. conveys hearty greetings, profound appreciation, and fervent wishes to the USO in celebration of thirty years of service to members of the armed forces. Moreover, we urge all of our echelons

and our fellow citizens to support in every possible way the fine work performed by the USO on behalf of all Americans interested in making military service more comfortable, and in general a more meaningful personal experience.

#### CRIME

The alarming rise in the rate of violent crime is an accurate measure of the increasing fear among those who work, visit and live in American cities. As a direct consequence of this condition, portions of our cities are becoming fortresses that divide residents into armed warring camps and widens the gap that is polarizing city and suburb, black and white.

The storekeepers are becoming more concerned about their personal safety than about merchandising, volume of trade and other normal business. The elderly, the very young and women have become fair game for hoodlums. Contempt and disdain for the law becomes an acceptable attitude in areas where there is a singular lack of law enforcement and where criminal justice is often denied or meted out inequitably.

No society can survive unchecked violence and crime. Responding, at last, to citizen pressures, various levels of government are now giving highest priority to the complex and often frightful problems that compose the sordid picture of crime in American life. We in the Jewish War Veterans salute those efforts being made to clamp down on criminal activity but in so doing we are mindful that law and order must be tempered with justice.

The effective use of law enforcement personnel and methods demands a reordering of priorities in that activity. The prime function of a police force is to protect the community; it is not clerical work nor is it traffic control. Since a sophisticated society increasingly demands better educated and trained police, in-service educational opportunities leading to college degrees should be universally instituted. Salary levels must reflect the willingness of the public to pay more for better performance.

We are equally concerned about the state of criminal justice. If justice delayed is justice denied then the manifest need for more judges, speedier trials and changes in our penal system is evidence that the quality of criminal justice is questionable.

The Jewish War Veterans encourages all echelons to participate in local efforts to make communities more secure and to enhance the quality of law enforcement and criminal justice.

#### DISSENT AND FIRST AMENDMENT RIGHTS

The mood of dissent has become an all pervasive phenomenon of national life. It appears unlikely that there will be much change in this condition that is commonplace in our cities, colleges as well as the Nation's capital. From our American heritage as written in the Bill of Rights, consistent with the teachings of Judaism, the Jewish War Veterans of the U.S.A. recognizes the right to dissent as essential to the preservation of freedom. No market place of ideas can function meaningfully unless opinions and viewpoints are exchanged freely.

When militant dissent, however, degenerates into mindless violence good sense and good order must prevail. Too often in the absence of self restraint, violent protest begets in response brutal repression, a tragic situation in which everyone loses—institutions, authorities and individuals.

We reject, out of hand, the notion that violence may be a legitimate form of dissent. No cause benefits, in this country, from the use of guns, or by threats or use of bombs, or by disrupting court proceedings or by destroying property. More often than not, innocent bystanders become the victims of the repression that inevitably must follow.

The National Commission on the Cause of Violence has condemned all violence as being incompatible with the survival of a democratic society. The Commission addressed itself particularly to the problem of the violation of rights of those who have suffered interference in meetings, religious services and even demonstrations, on the one hand, while on the other, the abuse by public and law enforcement officials of their legal prerogatives by harassment of lawful assemblies.

Since there is no present Federal law to afford remedy for private violation of the first amendment the right of religion, speech, press and assembly, there has been introduced into the Congress proposed legislation pursuant to the Commission recommendations. This bill proposes protection of individual First Amendment Rights by the courts. The Jewish War Veterans of the U.S.A. urges favorable consideration of this proposal to protect the rights of others. In our view it would not hamper dissent; rather, it would protect the vigorous exercise of existing constitutional rights.

In an age of confrontation politics the clear need is for ground rules that will at the same time protect dissenters and preserve the rights of all. We believe the rights of protesters and those who speak out against protesters are both deserving of protection.

#### EXPRESSION OF APPRECIATION

Our organization wishes to express to the Department of Georgia-South Carolina its grateful appreciation and sincere thanks for a most outstanding convention site. The facilities, sociability and personal involvement of our members in Atlanta and other parts of Georgia was superb. This has been a most successful convention to highlight our 75th Anniversary, and we extend our gratitude to the City of Atlanta for its warm and gracious hospitality.

#### VIETNAM

Never before in this century has there been such a manifest need to unify the country. Clearly aggravating the corrosive division and noisy dissent pervading American life is the continued presence of American military forces in Vietnam. Part and parcel of the war has been the furor triggered by the draft that has resulted in torn up campuses and outrageous behavior contrived to dramatize and shock. This has further widened the gaps in a polarized society already divided by age, race, and economic status.

Mindful of the critical situation at home, the President has expressly committed himself and his administration to U.S. withdrawal from the field of combat in Southeast Asia. From the beginning of his presidency, the Jewish War Veterans has expressed to the President our support for his efforts directed toward de-Americanizing the Vietnam War.

In large measure, our position has been based upon the hard reality of the Vietnam conflict and its effect at home. The American people indicate a desire to end the loss of American lives. The Jewish War Veterans in addition is concerned that the credibility of our armed services is threatened by the continuation of hostilities to which we as a nation are not strongly committed. Further compounding the national mood is the alarming acceleration of the needs and frustrations here at home that have moved the U.S. posture abroad to a secondary position in the role of national priorities.

Sensitive to the state of national disunity and fearful of its possible disastrous social and political consequences, the Jewish War Veterans of the U.S.A. re-emphasize its policy of de-Americanization of the Vietnam conflict and for the rapid withdrawal of American troops as expeditiously as same may be effectuated, consistent with protecting our men in that area. We are confident that such measures are clearly within the national interest, as much for preserving the

excellent image of American fighting men as for the possible salutary effect upon domestic well-being.

#### WELFARE REFORM

Misunderstood, mismanaged and maligned, the public welfare system, unless reformed, is in danger of caving in under attacks from its alleged beneficiaries, the poor as well as from those shouldering its enormous financial burden, the American taxpayers. In the words of President Nixon, the present system is "a colossal failure".

As presently constituted, welfare is an excessive drain on the taxpayer, seemingly designed to perpetuate the dependency of welfare clients while failing to meet the real needs of the poor. Moreover it is a mischievous breeding ground for myths based on narrow prejudice and similar base motivations that reflect and exaggerate differences between Black and White and young and old—the most insidious being the fallacious notion that it is a give-away or dole.

Welfare is not limited to public assistance. Work incentives, job training and job opportunities are essential elements even in the present hodge podge of ineffective locally run welfare programs. The need for an immediate overhaul of the present welfare system is painfully manifest.

As American veterans committed to equal opportunity and equal treatment dedicated to a strong viable, productive and secure country tempered by a tradition of concern and aid for the less fortunate, the Jewish War Veterans supports the effort of the President and the Congress to achieve a just, humane and efficient welfare system. We recognize that the problems of poverty require more than public assistance; that a new approach to family assistance would create conditions and attitudes conducive to the implementation of other useful reforms and ideas.

Families must be preserved. Too often, in order to meet present standards, they are broken up simply because of the presence of an unemployed or poorly paid father. Such rules penalize rather than ameliorate conditions of poverty. Almost one-half of America's poor are children. We believe it is in the long run interest of national unity and domestic tranquility to break the cycle of poverty that presently result in second and third generations on welfare. These children must receive the type of assistance that will help free them from the stigma of the inert poor to create self respecting, productive individuals with a vested interest in the future of the United States. To do less is to sow divisions among us that threaten the disintegration of all we hold dear.

#### AMERICAN PRISONERS OF WAR

Transcending the debate over the Vietnam War and uppermost in the conscience of their fellow Americans is the fate of approximately 1500 Americans believed to be held Prisoners of War by the North Vietnamese.

The Jewish War Veterans of the U.S.A. early expressed its concern for these men who along with our combat losses represent the most important investment our nation has made in this conflict. We are not unmindful that the reluctance of Hanoi to reveal the names and the condition of our men held prisoners has caused an inordinate strain and burden on their families at home. The despair of these families can be substantially alleviated if the North Vietnamese would abide by the terms of the Geneva Convention of which it is a signatory.

Jewish War Veterans echelons are urged to cooperate with approved national campaigns undertaken to petition other governments and to write to the government of North Vietnam to pressure its adherence to the Geneva Convention in its treatment of prisoners of war. In addition, we are pledged to assist the President and the Congress to

explore incessantly every means and channel towards achieving the same desired end.

#### ECOLOGICAL

Environmental degradation and massive overpopulation are a serious threat to the survival of mankind. The pollution of air, land and water coupled with the destruction of wildlife and natural resources has grown at a rate that lends plausibility to predictions of national suicide in the not very distant future.

To the serious depletion of our fresh water supply and the heavy strain on other natural resources is added the accelerating urban population with its increase in human misery and disruption of our institutions. Our ecological system is being swamped by pollution of the atmosphere; as an example, we send more carbon dioxide into the air than can be absorbed in natural life cycles.

The Jewish War Veterans of the U.S.A., committed as we are to human survival by deed, as well as by belief in reverence for life, will participate in the total effort to preserve the earth and its varied life for generations yet unborn as well as for our own sake. All JWV members and echelons are urged to engage in efforts, public or private, mounted to advance a respect and adherence to the natural balance of our total environment.

#### ROTC

The most convenient and accessible target for student wrath generated in campus protest against the Vietnam involvement has been the Reserve Officers Training Corps, prime supplier of officer personnel for the armed forces. As a direct consequence of the protest, many universities are reviewing their ROTC programs. What is being produced is a patchwork of programs tailored to the subjective determinations of individual college administrators concerned, as they rightfully are, with their own unique problems on their own campuses.

Believing as we do in the citizen-soldier military component, as essential to the democratic process, the Jewish War Veterans believes that ROTC necessarily must be continued as a source of officer personnel for our defense manpower needs. We do recognize, however, that changes must be made to restore the program under a cohesive national structure rather than the local improvisations currently devised on individual campuses. In addition to our belief in an officer corps aware of both civilian and military aspects of national life, the Jewish War Veterans recognizes the value of ROTC as a provider of a high percentage of junior officers, as well as the relatively low cost of using college facilities for training the 20,000 officers commissioned annually by ROTC instead of expanding existing OCS and OTC facilities or building new service academies.

Accordingly, the Jewish War Veterans encourages and supports efforts in the Congress and the Department of Defense to study and recommend necessary reforms in the current ROTC structure which will permit the healthy restoration of a viable ROTC program. One important aspect to satisfy university and student objections is to have educational officials determine the status of the course, i.e., credit/non-credit, voluntary/non-voluntary. It must be capable of fulfilling military security requirements in a uniform but enlightened manner cognizant and capable of meeting the obstacles placed in its way by the complexities of an unpopular war and a concerned student body.

#### AIR PIRACY

The recent capitulation of the Greek Government to Arab blackmail encourages further acts of terrorism against the safety of international air travel.

Forced to promise release of Arab thugs under duress and fear for the lives of innocent passengers and crew, the government

in Athens was under neither moral nor legal compulsion to free the convicted murderers. The Jewish War Veterans is convinced that this distressing display of weakness encourages others to engage in hijacking for political purposes. Threats of reprisals against Greece or any other nation have little impact, since all international aviation stands to suffer the consequences of hijacking for purposes of political blackmail.

Arab states, clearly implicated by virtue of providing a safe haven and a warm welcome in Cairo for the hijackers compounding the earlier permission to embark with weapons and grenades despite electronic detection devices at the Beirut airport, must be considered as accessories to these heinous crimes.

The Jewish War Veterans urges the application of international sanctions to penalize the complicity of the United Arab Republic and Lebanon in international hijacking through the imposition of a boycott by international air carriers and a refusal of landing rights for the air lines of these countries.

In addition, the Jewish War Veterans of the U.S.A. urges our own government to seek a United Nations reaffirmation as well as an invocation by appropriate action of the Nuremberg precedents, to formalize the international crime of hijacking. Since the holding as hostages of civilian passengers in a neutral country is a war crime, as well as a crime against humanity, the granting of a safe haven for the hijacking crew makes the host government a participant in the criminal act.

Strong and purposeful measures must be taken now to put an abrupt halt to air piracy.

#### WORLD YOUTH ASSEMBLY COMMENTARY

### HON. JOHN J. McFALL

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 6, 1970

Mr. McFALL. Mr. Speaker, during the month of July one of my young constituents attended the World Youth Assembly held at the United Nations Headquarters in New York City.

Mr. Dennis Michael Warren, son of Mr. and Mrs. Frank G. Warren of Stockton, Calif., was one of five Americans selected from 30,000 applications to attend and represent the United States at this assembly.

I wish to share with my colleagues, Mr. Dennis Warren's observations and comments following the World Youth Assembly and respectfully request that his comments be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD:

A COMMENTARY ON THE UNITED NATIONS WORLD YOUTH ASSEMBLY\* BY DENNIS MICHAEL WARREN, DELEGATE FROM THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, AUGUST 1970

#### SUMMARY

The World Youth Assembly was an event of major importance in terms of reflecting the sentiments of the majority of the world's youth and in establishing contact between future natural and international figures. The Assembly saw the emergence of skillful manipulation of delegates by "professional youths" and the use of techniques that can

only be described as those of "left fascism." The Assembly was both a warning and a sign of hope. It was a warning that there are those youthful forces who are devoted, like their elders, to stamping out the freedoms and principles to which this nation and its youth are dedicated. It was a sign of hope that the majority of the world's youth desire to better understand one another in order to further the causes of peace and to improve the quality of global life.

#### GENERAL OBSERVATIONS

1. The Conference manifested a strong and urgent opposition to all forms of oppression and exploitation and a corresponding solidarity with all movements of people's liberation.

The major thrust of this opposition surfaced in the form of bitterness and ideological hatred for the United States Government and the U.S. corporate structure. The prevalent sentiment was to equate the United States Government with capitalism with imperialism with exploitation and oppression.

2. The Conference members opposed the oppressive conditions existing in Eastern Europe, but at the same time were quite willing to align themselves with the Soviet Union as long as it appeared to be profitable to do so. The common link of alliance was the belief in Marxist or Neo-Marxist theory of revolution as a liberating force.

3. The Eastern European and Arab countries came with the intent of manipulating the Conference and its reports for world propagandistic purposes. This goal was thoroughly thought out and expertly planned. While their efforts were not wholly successful, the packing of the World Peace and Security Commission insured a partial success in producing an Anti-American, Anti-Western commission report.

4. The techniques of suppressing free speech and opinion in the World Peace and Security Commission by the Eastern European and Arab countries can only be described as being those of "left fascism." Among other things:

a. representatives of Taiwan, South Korea and South Vietnam were shouted down and not allowed to express their views;

b. several delegations were being coached by representatives of their governments on the commission floor;

c. the speaking order in the commission was tampered with in an attempt to deny American representatives the opportunity to express their views;

d. "professional youths" as old as forty-four years of age were allowed to participate in the commission; and

e. the commission was packed to such an extent that no motion could successfully pass without the approval of the aforementioned block.

Those who came idealistically seeking communication in the World Peace and Security Commission were crushed by leftist oppression. Those who came with the intention of "playing fair" suffered the same fate.

5. The Anti-American, Anti-Western report of the World Peace and Security Commission, while representing the views of the majority of the participants, was unbalanced and will be used as a strong propaganda tool by those who oppose the United States of America. The Anti-United States and Anti-Western forces had so effectively mobilized support within the Assembly that it was only with great difficulty that this writer was finally able to begin the mobilization of participants to condemn the oppressive move of the Soviet Union into Czechoslovakia. Because this writer had adopted a policy favoring a non-propagandistic balanced report expressing opposition to all forms of exploitation and oppression by all parties, this aspect of the Assembly was particularly distressing.

Note: The World Peace and Security Commission tended to be extremely rigid in its statements of policy. The Commission, for ex-

\*NOTE: The World Youth Assembly was held at the United Nations Headquarters in New York City during July, 1970, with representatives present from one hundred and six countries and one hundred and twenty-six nongovernmental organizations.

ample, condemned all U.S. involvement in South East Asia while this writer was of the opinion that U.S. policy became misdirected when U.S. troops began fighting a South East Asian land war during the nineteen sixties.

6. The real importance of the Assembly lies in the person-to-person communication that took place between prominent youth leaders. In many cases this was the first opportunity for youthful national leaders to meet and discuss mutual interests. The future importance of this first meeting can not be stressed too heavily.

7. The Conference participants expressed a strong desire to continue and enlarge upon the communication that had begun in New York. Exchanges between youthful leaders in different countries are now being discussed. This writer, for example, is in the initial stages of planning a tour of the Soviet Union to meet with her youthful leaders at the invitation of that nation's central youth bureau. Support for future smaller conferences including those on environment in Ottawa in 1971 and in Stockholm in 1972 was expressed.

8. Three of the four commissions of the Assembly (Education, Environment and Development) dealt at length with substantial issues in an atmosphere of cooperation and friendship. This is where the truly productive work of the Assembly took place. The final reports of these commissions represent general "international bills of rights" and are the work of representatives of one hundred and six countries.

#### IMPLICATIONS

Youthful U.S. forces are taking an increasing role in the process of change. It is essential to this nation's future that these youthful forces be well informed and thoroughly knowledgeable about both the threat and the hope that their overseas counterparts represent. Lines of communication must also be opened between youthful leaders here and abroad. Where communication exists there is a potential for cooperation and understanding. Where no communication exists there is doubt and suspicion. Several steps should be taken to this end:

1. Seminars, conferences and lecture series should be conducted to better inform youth in general of the nature of the world of international relations they are inheriting.

2. Exchanges between youthful leaders and organizational persons here and abroad should be arranged at regular intervals to establish a working relationship between future national and international figures.

3. Small international conferences or small national conferences including youthful foreign observers should be held on a regular basis. The international conferences in Ottawa in 1971 and in Stockholm in 1972 and the national White House Conference on Children and Youth in 1971 are meaningful first steps in this direction.

4. A single, unifying organization must emerge to act as a "national switchboard" to connect groups here and abroad to facilitate the aforementioned projects. This may mean the bolstering of current yet faltering youthful organizations or the creation of a new and independent center. Regardless, a "switchboard" must emerge to fill the void of communication that now exists between youthful leaders and organizations here and abroad.

#### CONCLUSION

The happenings of the United Nations World Youth Assembly must not be ignored. They strongly emphasize the crucial importance of equipping our youthful leaders to operate effectively in the international forum tomorrow by giving them experience and guidance today.

NOTE: By the end of the Assembly the members of the U.S. Delegation held differing opinions concerning the happenings in

New York. These differences stemmed from differences in political and philosophical outlook. This report, then, represents only the personal opinions and observations of the writer.

DR. LESTER R. HUSSEY ASSUMES  
PRESIDENCY OF AMERICAN OPTOMETRIC ASSOCIATION

### HON. THOMAS S. FOLEY

OF WASHINGTON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 6, 1970

Mr. FOLEY. Mr. Speaker, a few short weeks ago, the Spokane Spokesman-Review, and the Spokane Chronicle each carried an account of the inauguration of a native Spokane resident as president of a major national professional organization.

I would like to register my congratulations and best wishes to the man who, on July 4, 1970, assumed the presidency of the American Optometric Association. He is Dr. Lester R. Hussey, an optometrist who attended high school in Spokane and is a graduate of Whitworth College there.

As soon as Dr. Hussey was awarded the doctor of optometry degree by the Los Angeles College of Optometry in 1938, he promptly returned to Spokane. There he established his practice, which has grown and prospered over the years, providing high quality vision care to many persons from every walk of life and every economic level.

Through diligent and dedicated service, Dr. Hussey made significant contributions to his local and State optometric organizations, and on various committees of the organization he now heads. Following 5 years of service on the American Optometric Association board of trustees, he was elected vice president in 1968 and last year was chosen president-elect.

Dr. Hussey has been an active civic leader, serving on the Spokane Central Lions Club Blind Aid Committee; as president of the Spokane Rehabilitation Center; president of the Washington Society for Crippled Children and Adults; chairman of the Spokane "Employ the Handicapped" Committee; and a number of other city and State-wide civic and service groups.

Along with all this activity, Dr. Hussey has compiled a long record of service as lay leader of the Spokane District United Methodist Church. One of his two sons is preparing for the Methodist ministry, attending the Claremont, Calif., College of Theology as a graduate student. Another son has completed the first year of pre-optometry at the Optometry School of Pacific University in Forest Grove, Ore.

I am proud to say that Dr. Hussey typifies the kind of leader Washington State has consistently produced. I feel sure the 15,000 members of the American Optometric Association and the millions of Americans they serve will benefit from the leadership exercised in the year ahead by Dr. Lester Hussey.

AUTO SAFETY: BUMPERS NO. 1

### HON. FRED SCHWENGL

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 6, 1970

Mr. SCHWENGL. Mr. Speaker, Dr. John T. Holloway, vice president, Research for the Insurance Institute for Highway Safety, testified at the hearing held by the National Highway Safety Bureau on the question of bumpers. His remarks provide a clear analysis of the problem, and should be read by all who are interested in this problem. His remarks follow:

#### STATEMENT BY DR. JOHN T. HOLLOWAY

The Insurance Institute for Highway Safety has reviewed the discussion paper regarding the Exterior Protection (Bumpers) Standard by the Federal Highway Administration and National Highway Safety Bureau. We are pleased that action has begun toward implementation of a standard of this type intended to reduce losses of life, limb and property incurred in low-speed crashes—losses that can be greatly reduced and in many cases eliminated entirely by proper exterior design.

To expedite adoption and also to increase the effectiveness of such action, we recommend that the Bureau consider the following points:

#### IMPLEMENTATION

To develop and implement the test outlined in the discussion paper will require a long time, probably well over a year, even if based on a modification of the existing SAE pendulum test. It would seem much more expedient to use, at least as an interim measure, already available techniques, such as uniform crashes into the SAE J850 barrier, as the Bureau has indicated it will do with its prototype Experimental Safety Vehicle. This would not only result in faster implementation, but also would provide useful practical information needed as a prerequisite to the design, development and test of the proposed pendulum device—which would appear to require infinite adjustability in weight and center of percussion—or any other new device.

The Institute would recommend that serious consideration be given to utilizing the SAE rigid barrier, with add-on contoured impact face is necessary, while more sophisticated test procedures are being developed and validated.

#### REQUIREMENTS

In our opinion, the requirements suffer from serious deficiencies:

Most striking is the absence of limitations of the accelerative forces which may be experienced in and by the passenger compartment—the forces most likely to injure the occupants.

No mention is made of engine damage or expensive secondary damage to sheet metal or other structure by displacement of the bumper system or by shock transmitted through rigid members to other parts of the car.

Breakage of glass, except in lamps and reflective devices, is not interdicted.

No limit is placed on the amount of structural damage which may be suffered by the bumper system itself.

These omissions are particularly distressing in view of the present state of the art of shock attenuation which we believe is fully adequate to prevent all damage at collision speeds well above the 5 miles per hour specified in the discussion paper.

## IMPLICATIONS AT OTHER CRASH SPEEDS

The requirements as stated—at speeds in the vicinity of 5 miles per hour—might conceivably be met by a "brute force" technique such as a very sturdy substructure and an effectively rigid bumper device. But with such a system, which does not dissipate large amounts of energy harmlessly, damage to property might be appreciably increased at higher collision speeds and injury probability might be increased even at the low test speed specified. Such a system would clearly violate the intent of the bumper system outlined in your recent Request For Proposals for the prototype Experimental Safety Vehicle, and we assume that no incompatibility is intended between the provisions of that RFP and the present discussion paper.

We would urge that an acceptable bumper system be described as one that meets appropriate requirements at 5 miles per hour or greater, but does not contribute to increased injuries at any speed. Provision should be included to preclude bumper systems which, although meeting the requirements of the standard under discussion, result in any increase over conventional current vehicle design in the forces transmitted to the passenger compartment at any collision speed. This might be prevented by establishing, concurrently, a limiting curve for passenger compartment accelerations, as was done in the Experimental Safety Vehicle RFP.

## PEDESTRIAN SAFETY

Increased pedestrian protection in crashes should be an intent of the suggested standard. Cars striking men, women and children on American roads result in one-third of a million pedestrian injuries annually, most of them non-fatal. There is good reason to believe that the extent and severity of many of these injuries can be lessened by appropriate front-end design.

It is conceivable that some bumper systems which meet the test criteria of the discussion paper or of the interim barrier test suggested above could aggravate pedestrian injuries. Obviously this must be avoided; Configurations should be precluded that would aggravate child or adult pedestrian injuries, and exterior characteristics that would minimize such injuries should be required.

## RESTORATION OF FUNCTION

The discussion paper states that successive impact tests of the vehicle's bumpers shall be conducted to traverse the width of the vehicle, but does not specify maximum or minimum time intervals between tests or the extent to which the bumper system may be renovated between impacts.

Clearly the intent should be to work toward minimizing damage and injury in all collisions during the life of the automobile, including those occurring in rapid sequence, with the least possible maintenance, renovation, replacement or repair of the bumper system, since the state of the art now permits development of low- or no-maintenance systems having quick self-restoring characteristics.

## INTERVEHICULAR COLLISIONS

The discussion paper provides that the bumper shall be tested at heights of 14" and 20" above the normal road surface with the vehicle at rest. This concern regarding variance in bumper heights and sizes is certainly desirable. However, it is not clear that this will provide the necessary override/underide protection under extreme conditions of acceleration and/or deceleration that commonly occur during intervehicular collisions.

We would favor a provision similar to the override/underide conditions specified for the Bureau's Experimental Safety Vehicle, which use the same bumper height test range of 14" to 20" but require that it be met under dynamic extremes of acceleration and deceleration.

## CONSUMER INFORMATION

Since the discussion paper does not prescribe "no damage" performance during the proposed tests, an important byproduct of the requirement will be the generation of information as to exterior and other parts damaged in the test crashes, replacement costs of those parts and materials, and hours of labor necessary to perform needed repairs. This information will be obtainable by the manufacturer for every car tested under the requirements. The Institute believes that if a bumper standard and test are adopted, consideration should be given to promulgation of a new requirement under the Motor Vehicle Safety Regulation titled "Consumer Information, Part 375," directing that repair cost and labor information generated in the tests be made available by manufacturers to car purchasers and prospective purchasers, as well as to the Department for inclusion in its annual compilation of consumer information data.

It is further suggested that information be made similarly available regarding actual upper limits on passenger compartment acceleration which are not exceeded at test collision speed, thus allowing comparisons among systems of different design which may all meet minimum requirements but may offer considerably different margins of safety above that minimum.

## VULNERABLE PARTS NOT COVERED

Some examples of vulnerable automobile parts and components that would not be covered by the 5 mile per hour pendulum crash damage requirements of the bumper standard "discussion paper" of the National Highway Safety Bureau:

Windows and Windshields; Engine Mounts; Internal Engine Parts; Drive Trains, including Transmissions; Suspension Systems; Air Conditioners; Doors; Sheet Metal, Trim, Grille Elements, etc., not directly impacting the pendulum face; Frames; Bumpers.

FREEPORT KAOLIN SCIENTISTS  
WIN ACCLAIM

## HON. JACK BRINKLEY

OF GEORGIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 6, 1970

Mr. BRINKLEY. Mr. Speaker, we of the Third District of Georgia, are proud of the operation of the Freeport Kaolin Co., a division of Freeport Sulphur Co. at Gordon, Ga. Two scientists employed by this company, Dr. James P. Olivier and Mr. George K. Hickin, were recently named in ceremonies in Chicago as winners in an annual competition sponsored by Industrial Research, Inc. These brilliant and talented gentlemen have invented an instrument which sharply reduced the time formerly required to determine the particle size of pigments, clays, and other colloidal substances. The significance of this new instrument is that it will enable research and quality control chemists, not only in analysis of kaolin substances, but also in many other industrial fields, to use their time more fruitfully than is now possible because of the tedious and time-consuming particle analysis work.

I wish to take this opportunity to compliment not only Dr. Olivier and Mr. Hickin but also Freeport Kaolin on this excellent achievement, outlined in the Macon, Ga., Telegraph on September 20, 1970, and I would like to share that article with my colleagues:

## TWO MACON INVENTORS WIN ACCLAIM

The invention by two Macon scientists of a device for measuring and analyzing tiny particles of matter is being hailed as one of the year's most significant developments in industrial research.

Dr. James P. Olivier of 1871 Flintwood Drive and George K. Hickin of 3008 Clairmont Ave., both in research and development at Freeport Kaolin Co.'s Gordon, Ga., operations, are the inventors of the "Sedigraph 5000 Particle Size Analyzer," named in ceremonies in Chicago Thursday as a winner in an annual competition sponsored by Industrial Research, Inc.

The instrument, which sharply reduces the time formerly required to determine the particle sizes of pigments, clays, and other colloidal substances, is being manufactured and marketed by Micromeritics Instrument Corporation, Norcross, Ga., under a license obtained from Freeport Kaolin.

The award, presented in Chicago's Museum of Science and Industry, was accepted by Warren P. Hendrix, president of Micromeritics.

"This is the happy culmination of several years' search to find a more rapid, accurate way to determine particle size," Dr. Olivier said. "The significance of the new instrument is that it may enable research and quality control chemists in many industrial fields to use their time more fruitfully than is possible when so many hours are tied up in particle analysis work."

He explained that chemists will be able to use the new analyzer to run particle size distribution curves in as little as 10 minutes instead of the eight hours now required.

Current techniques for measuring "sub-micron" particles range from direct counting through microscope observation to electronic-device analysis. Time requirements have been coupled with other limitations in these methods.

The instrument invented by the Maconites measures the sedimentation velocities of fine particles as they settle through a liquid suspension. The analysis involves the use of X-ray beams to determine particle concentration.

The Macon men last year received a patent on the invention after a prototype of the analyzer had been built and operated in the Freeport research lab in Gordon. Micromeritics completed the development, manufacture, and marketing arrangements. The solid-state, table-top instrument is now one of several devices manufactured by the Norcross company for characterizing the physical properties of materials.

Dr. Olivier went to Gordon in 1961, following two years of post-doctoral work in colloid science at Rensselaer, where he received his Ph. D. in chemistry in 1959. Hickin, an engineer, joined Freeport Kaolin's operations in Georgia in 1964, after serving within the diversified parent organization—Freeport Sulphur Co.—in several capacities, including design and development work in a large nickel project in Cuba. He is manager of process development for Freeport Kaolin.

NEED NONMILITARY ACTION  
TO STOP COMMUNISM

## HON. JOHN J. DUNCAN

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 6, 1970

Mr. DUNCAN. Mr. Speaker, at this point I would like to place in the Record a good speech by Maj. Gen. William R. Douglas of the Tennessee Military Department.

Speaking before a Spanish-American War Veterans and dependents convention in Memphis, Tenn., General Douglas pointed out the need for nonmilitary action to halt the spread of communism. He called on veterans organizations to organize an assault on the expansion of this ideology. I was very much impressed with his suggestions, and think this speech should be read by all Members of Congress as well as veterans throughout the Nation.

The speech follows:

**SPEECH BY MAJ. GEN. WILLIAM R. DOUGLAS**  
 "Remember the Maine" Remember the Alamo??? Remember Pearl Harbor??? Remember when a few words united a United States with spine-tingling patriotism??? Remember how this unity prevailed until glorious victory was ours???

You are here today to remember the Maine and you are here to remember and pay homage to those who served their nation and freedom by taking part in the Spanish-American War. Americans in that military action rallied behind that one slogan—"Remember the Maine." Americans then easily smashed an enemy bent on maintaining slavery on the island of Cuba. Ironically, the last decade saw that island fall to another enemy, and that enemy has imposed another kind of slavery, one enslaving the mind and individual will. This same enemy, communism, poses a threat to freedom everywhere. The threat to freedom outside the United States has another form of irony. . . . It seems to be pinned to another slogan: "Yankee, Go Home!" We seem to be doing just that. The "Go-Home" cry continues today outside Guantanamo Naval Base in Cuba, in Asia, everywhere.

It is interesting to note that the Spanish-American War's conclusion included the acquisition of the Philippines from Spain for a monetary payment. As we did with Cuba, we gave the Philippines their independence. In the Philippines today is the same go-home cry on the one side and on the other a type guerrilla action which took place in Cuba before Castro and communism took over. Any military leader will be quick to point out that our military action in Indochina includes the protection of the Philippines. A protection to prevent communism's cancerous spread to the Philippines.

Communist guerrilla activities like that which preceded the recent fall of Cuba and in South Vietnam before we sent forces there eleven years ago are now in progress not only in the Philippines, but also in Thailand. You know and I know it led to overt aggression in South Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos. Even as this all began, we had certain liberals scoffing at warnings of the domino theory in Southeast Asia. Some still do. I can only tell them that the red glow on the horizon in that part of the world is not only the dawn of another day for communism, but the sunset for democracy.

While we pick up our marbles and leave as the apparent losers in Cambodia, Laos and South Vietnam in the months ahead we can say only that we complied with "Yankee-Go-Home" demands from within and without. We have pulled out completely from Cambodia and Laos. We are pulling out of South Vietnam, and we are reducing our forces in South Korea and the Philippines. I can see no way to prevent the Communists in the near future from winning the biggest game of dominoes ever staged on the face of mother earth.

Ladies and gentlemen, I want to emphasize a vital point here in our review of current military actions. The South Vietnam warfare pits Vietnamese against Vietnamese because of the old strategy of divide and conquer. We have South Korea pitted against North Korea.

Cambodians are fighting each other. The same thing in Laos. East Germany is on one side and West Germany the other. Cubans lost to Cubans. And the point I bring up is this: Enemies to freedom today and throughout history have not been particular human beings. It always has been the ideology which first handcuffed a particular people within a country and that country's greed then spread outwardly for world conquest. We fought for and won our independence from England which since has been our main ally in all military actions. We fought Germany, Italy and Japan in World War Two, while Russia and China were our allies. Today we confront Russia and Red China as enemies while allied with Japan, Italy and West Germany. Yes, history also shows we even fought among ourselves. In the war we commemorate today, we fought the Spanish, just a few weeks ago we signed a five-year agreement with Spain allowing our continued use of four military bases there, an agreement which is described in a joint statement as initiating "a new era in partnership between the United States and Spain."

So you see, a particular race or nationality has nothing to do with the cause of war—it is the ideology. And the struggle today is communism versus democracy.

To show you that danger which communism has slammed against the world, just glance at history of this, the 20th century. In 50 years it has handcuffed one-third of the earth's surface. It has affected more persons in 50 years than has Christianity in 2,000 years. And while humanity still shudders at the Genocide of 7,000,000 by the Nazis in World War II, communism has claimed some 50,000,000 lives by assassination, execution and starvation.

Despite this massive imbalance of Genocide, the unprecedented propaganda control by Communists has brainwashed so much of the world they completely ignore condemnation. And we even hear columnists and Congressmen belittle the Red peril. For those who somehow are led to believe the Communist threat is disappearing, let me read an interesting item which has circulated for many years. It reads, and I quote:

In May 1919, at Dusseldorf, Germany, the Allied Forces obtained a copy of some of the "Communist Rules for Revolution". Now, 50 years later, the Reds are still following them. While reading this list, consider each item and compare it with the present day situation around the Nation. Here are quotes from the Red rules:

"A. Corrupt the young: Get them away from religion. Get them interested in sex. Make them superficial. Destroy their ruggedness.

B. Get control of all means of publicity and thereby:

1. Get people's minds off their Government by focusing their attention on athletics, books stressing sex, plays and other trivialities.

2. Divide the people into hostile groups by constantly harping on controversial matters of little or no importance.

3. Destroy the people's faith in their natural leaders by holding the latter up to contempt, ridicule and disgrace.

4. Always 'preach' true democracy, but seize power as fast and ruthlessly as possible.

5. By encouraging Government extravagance, destroy its credit and produce fear of inflation with rising prices and general discontent.

6. Incite unnecessary strikes in vital industries; encourage civil disorders and foster a lenient and soft attitude on the part of Government.

7. By specious argument cause the breakdown of the old moral virtues: honesty, sobriety, self-restraint and faith in the pledged word.

C. Cause the registration of all firearms on some pretext with a view of confiscating

them at a later date, thereby leaving the population helpless."

This is quite a list, isn't it? Now stop and think—how many of these rules are being carried out in this Nation today?

How much is coincidence?

End quote.

Let's analyze some of these points. Corrupt the young—how much of this, for instance, could be applied to drug abuse? Look at the rock festivals where open defiance of the law is practiced, public smoking of marijuana or taking speed, exposing one's self in the nude, engaging in sex acts. Look at the defiance of law on campuses, the seizure of offices, window-smashing, burning down buildings. Look at the business sections where so-called democratic protest marches include overturning and burning vehicles, tossing fire bombs into business establishments, looting. Get them away from religion, it says. We see this everywhere with atheism accelerating by leaps and bounds among the young. The gurus, the cultists, the drugs. . . . they are the new religions. Get them interested in sex, it says. Lift the skirt and toss away the bra.

Just look at the books and magazines of today. Just go to a movie, anywhere, anytime. And, yes, we even are in a movement not only to have sex education in schools, but in churches. Make them superficial, it says. So what is the most popular statement among the young of today? I need to find myself. I don't know where I'm going. Destroy their ruggedness, it says. And junior needs the car to go one block to school. He stumbles over himself using every means to get out of the draft. Young women drive to the grocery to get a TV dinner for their husband.

Let's turn to the most serious of all. It says get control of publicity. . . . it lists seven reasons why so let's take them one by one:

One—control publicity to get people's minds off their government by focusing their attention on athletics, books stressing sex, plays and other trivialities. Percentage of time and space allotted sports in the news media has doubled in the last two decades. Stories on books stressing sex are hitting the front pages and their authors are interviewed in lengthy television or radio programs. "Calcutta" and "The Hair" are bare examples of plays. Trivialities. . . . the woman's liberation movement, the nerve gas shipment, cyclamates, ocean and gulf oil slicks, and many more. These ordinarily may have been trivial matters, but the press made them front page issues.

Two—constantly harp on controversial matters to divide the people into hostile groups. Biggest here, of course, is Vietnam. Then there is the A.B.M. issue. . . . school integration. . . . housing. . . . the draft. . . . pollution. . . . women's lib. . . . yes, divide the males and females, whites and blacks, hawks and doves, labor and management, and, above all, widen the generation gap. That's the Commie design.

Three—get control of publicity to destroy the people's faith in their natural leaders by holding the latter up to contempt, ridicule and disgrace. This was done to President Nixon on Cambodia. . . . they are trying to do it constantly on his Vietnamization program. They shot him down on his statement concerning the Manson murder trial. . . . they continuously hound Spiro Agnew on his golf and tennis accidents, on his criticism of the press, on everything they can. And it doesn't stop at the executive branch, either. . . . look what they did to Supreme Court nominees. . . . look at criticism of Congressmen and on down the line.

Four—always preach true democracy, but seize power as fast and ruthlessly as possible. No better example of this is there than Cuba where the American press even praised Castro before he dumped communism on the coun-

try after military victory was attained. Castro promised free elections and democracy and the press throughout the world went right along with him.

Five—encourage Government extravagance, produce inflation with rising prices and general discontent. This needs no example. We all know what has happened here.

Six—incite unnecessary strikes in vital industries; encourage civil disorders. Maybe not so much the first of these, but the second certainly falls in line with the design. The past ten years have involved more civil disorder than any of us have seen in our entire lifetimes.

Seven—by specious argument cause the breakdown of old virtues . . . specious meaning, of course, what on the surface seems good, but only on the surface . . . my examples are sex education, legalizing marijuana, the all-volunteer army, Paris peace talks, campus freedom, and so forth.

Finally, and not included in the publicity group, the agenda lists the registration of firearms as a pretext so that such registrations could be used under communism to confiscate all weapons and thus leave a populace helpless. And we know Congress continuously gets legislation seeking such registrations.

On the control of publicity, I do not intend to say that communism has such in the United States. They do behind the Iron Curtain and that is a major factor in maintaining control over the people there. Because of it, most Russians, Red Chinese, East Europeans and so forth actually think they are the free people and we are not. Communism so orients its subjects.

I said I did not think communism had control of publicity in the United States and I sincerely believe that. Infiltration into the press ranks may be little or none. Influence? That is another thing. I feel certain that there are untold areas in which publicity is influenced by Communists. What is the most disturbing thing on the news media, on the entertainment industry, among some church organizations, and in the education system that there appears to be a "this-can't-happen-to-me" attitude. The news media bristles spontaneously when any criticism is hurled its way. The news media, as an industry, feels it is completely immune to danger or criticism within its ranks. I think the press should examine itself in order to protect their basic right of freedom of the press. It's the first freedom to fall to communism.

As I speak of criticism, and I have offered much here today, I would like to point out a firm belief which I hold in this area. To columnists, commentators, editors, demonstrators, dissenters, and all who criticize, I make this challenge: never criticize without providing your own suggested solution to the problem. It's easy to say this or that is wrong, but don't stop there. In return, suggest how it should be done. And to those who read or hear criticism, I suggest you pay no attention unless the critic offers his own answer.

Well, I have confessed to criticism and I am going to suggest some answers. What can be done to combat communism? We have met their military actions with defensive military action and in this I feel it has to be done. Should aggression not be stopped in one area, it will only continue to other areas. History proves that victory has only whet the appetite of any aggressor and that this nation, under democracy, has never been an aggressor, only the defender. It now occurs to me that too little has been done to avert the spread of communism through non-military action. So, I am hereby making suggestions on this side of the fence. I propose nonmilitary action to join military action in halting the spread of communism.

Since your group is among veterans organizations and since these organizations have

done more than any non-governmental organization in the world to preserve freedom, I suggest that you, the American Legion, the Veterans of Foreign Wars and other veterans' organizations form a study group which would explore possibilities of a "new front" in the battle against that ideology. I propose they undertake a project which would do the following:

First, the group would challenge the news media—radio, television and newspapers to conduct—a seminar in which it will come up with some program of its own within its own industry to preserve freedom. I do not see any way it could do this without including a mammoth, continuous and unprecedented public service program for informing all Americans, all others in the free world, and others behind the Iron Curtain of the evils of communism . . . past, present and future evils.

Next, I challenge youth to enter the picture. Maybe they won't turn on the broadcasts of the above-thirty people, so they must tell each other. We need to seek young heroes and young heroines who will tackle a freedom preservation, America first, free enterprise, true democracy movement that will put all the anti-this, anti-that movements to shame in loud-and-clear, obey-the-law, non-destructive and moral efforts. And I don't see how this can be done without informing themselves on the evils of communism.

The third challenge would be for churches to return to religion and drop politics. I suggest they study what happens to religion under communism and then take steps necessary to prevent it happening here.

A fourth challenge would be for the entertainment industry and book publishers and magazine editors to take a good hard look at what they might do to avoid contributions to the communist movement.

Finally, I suggest the veterans groups urge the Health, Education and Welfare Department make available to all levels of education even for classroom study—some forms of printed materials, films, tape recordings and visual aids telling the truth about communism . . . these would show the atrocities, restrictions to freedom, aggression, political reprisals, treaty deceptions and violations, and other truths about communism". The good book says know ye the truth and the truth shall make you free and that's just what we are speaking of here today, freedom and how to preserve it.

While prayer in schools has been eliminated because of just one dissident individual, and while a few others would have us eliminate the pledge of allegiance and the playing of the Star-Spangled Banner, I contend we think first about eliminating from the education system those educators who would teach that communism is better than democracy. I say this because the communists want to eliminate us and eliminate freedom. And I think voters should eliminate from government those who aid and abet this enemy and I think we should eliminate from serving on the Supreme Court those who would do the same thing. Getting back to the truths about communism and let's include the truths about democracy. Let me bring up some other points.

I am disturbed that so many of the young people of today are turning on . . . turning on the wrong broadcast. It seems there is too much turning on to that which is trying to broadcast the ills of democracy while a deaf ear is turned to that which spells out the ills of communism.

There are those who seem to forget that our system, our establishment has in nearly 200 years created the world's highest average standard of living. That system, that establishment has a structure of law providing more freedom to the individual than has ever been provided in any nation. We have an education program second to no other na-

tion. Our system developed technology which has placed the only humans ever to walk on the face of the moon. And that establishment had military know-how which in this century twice prevented all of Europe and maybe the world falling to Germany. The second time it prevented Russia herself from falling to Hitler. The military know-how at the same time returned all of southeast Asia to their original governments after they fell to Japan and Tito. That includes China. The military-industrial complex has since saved West Berlin, South Korea, South Vietnam and other nations from the jaws of communism. I speak of an establishment and system which has saved millions in other nations from starvation, which has hurled billions of dollars to other nations following earthquakes, storms, floods or other disaster. While you hear of maybe less than one thousand persons who have fled this system, this establishment—usually because they face criminal charges or maybe military service—while you hear of this, you don't hear of the hundreds of thousands who have fled communism and were welcomed on our own soil right here in the U.S.A. And, no, you don't hear of the millions who have fled communism to other free world countries, including nearly one million to South Vietnam from North Vietnam. I'm not sure, but I believe it's estimated that 20,000,000 persons have fled communism in the past fifty years. Doesn't this alone tell you something? Should not youth of today be told this over and over and over again so they can see the light in the difference between communism and democracy.

I mentioned that in 200 years we attained the world's highest standard of living, about \$3,500 per person per year. After 470 years the workers-of-the-world Russians united and now get an income only equal to our poverty-income figure, \$1,200 a year per person. And after 3,470 years the per capita income in Red China today is only \$100 per person. Doesn't this tell you something? Should we then change our system, our establishment as they would have us do? I'm open for certain changes, but I don't want one part of their type government. When those persons on relief in this Nation, those getting welfare checks, those getting social security, those in the ghettoes, when these people have an equal or better standard of living doing nothing than those who work for a living in all of Asia, all of Africa, all of South or Central America. . . . Yes, when our productivity, management and free enterprise endeavors can keep the poor richer than the rich in most other nations, then we have a damn good system, a damn good establishment and I don't want to see it lay down in the gutter with others.

The advancements Communists are making in this world are in territory, military offensive power, and in twisting the minds of the young. And they are doing a good job on each. We must answer this with military action against aggression, a substantial defensive arsenal and a "new front", non-military program to tear down all phases of Communist propaganda.

Free world efforts to curb the cancer of communism have been limited too much to military defensive action.

I said a critic should not criticize without offering answers. This I have tried to do. And we hear every day talks just as this I have given today, without many doing anything about it. But I don't like the talk, not-do format and I am going to send copies of this speech to the American Legion, the V.F.W. and Disabled American Veterans. And I'm leaving copies with your officers today. Let's hope someone somewhere will pick up the ball and run toward the goal line.

It has been a privilege to speak to your organization. I understand you have five thousand veterans whose ages average 91

years. And I'm sure each has seen many threats of world conquest. But I also feel each would agree that at no time in man's history has there been such a threat as that we face today, a threat not just for land conquest, but for conquest of man's mind and freedom. Let's fight that threat. Let's unite in these United States. Let's remember the Alamo, the Maine, Pearl Harbor, and our heritage. Let's not forget those who died then for a cause. Let's win the hot wars and cold wars. And let's make sure those today and yesterday did not die in vain.

Thank you.

#### UPSALA COLLEGE PRESIDENT'S CONVOCATION

### HON. JOSEPH G. MINISH

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 6, 1970

Mr. MINISH. Mr. Speaker, in these difficult times for America's colleges and universities, it would be well for all to pause and consider the goals which should be met by these institutions in the 1970's. Dr. Carl Fjellman, of Upsala College, East Orange, N.J., recently outlined a series of vital questions with a view to setting priorities for his own school's future. I believe Dr. Fjellman's thoughtful remarks provide valuable concepts for other institutions of higher learning, and for all concerned by the current crisis in education, to ponder and to apply. I insert Dr. Fjellman's statement at this point in the RECORD:

PRESIDENT'S CONVOCATION, SEPTEMBER 15, 1970

The theme of this Convocation is Priorities for the 70's. Specifically—Upsala's priorities. The setting of priorities is a matter of determining how close to the heart of things any given activity or program is; a matter of distinguishing between those things which are necessary and those which are only desirable. The decisions are of course more difficult than this might imply, because we are not apt to be pushed to the bare necessities; and will have to make careful, discriminate choices among those things which are desirable.

An analogy of concentric circles might be used in thinking about the determination of priorities. The inner circle being the central purpose of the College and those things which are essential to the fulfilling of that purpose. The outer rings representing a series of questions such as the following:

Does it enhance (significantly augment) the central function of the College? Does it make it more effective?

Does it enrich the lives of the members of the campus community? That is, does it add to, and make fuller, in an important way the total experience of those who make up Upsala? Or:

Does it extend the benefits of the College's work and contribute to society generally?

Simply reciting these questions is not in itself very helpful; on the other hand, it is not the purpose of this Convocation to spell out the answers. This rather is an occasion to invite all members of the College family and invited guests to take part in serious thinking about the priorities of the College as we will face them in the decade ahead. I do extend such an invitation. Opportunity will be provided, for all who wish to do so, to participate in discussions of this topic. My purpose is to suggest a way in which this discussion might be approached, to offer

a framework which might prove helpful in the exploration of the question of priorities. I will not hesitate to use examples, but the examples should not be misinterpreted as determinations already made. Let's look at the suggested questions again, and be more explicit about them.

First. Is it essential for the purpose of the institution? The purpose of Upsala is to maintain a college of liberal arts and science, of fully accredited standing, that is in keeping with the intentions of the sponsors of the institution. For a college simply to be a college the chief requirement is people. And for this reason, those who make up the Upsala community of people necessarily, as a group, have the highest priority.

But this does not take care of all needs for the pursuit of an academic program in the 70's. There are other things, and some of them must rate as essential. No college worthy of the name could function without the resources associated with a library. For some fields of study, laboratories or studios may be as necessary as the library. Although there are great differences evident among the space needs of the various disciplines, it can be assumed that all areas, because of weather conditions if nothing else, will require some kind of building to house them.

We do not approach the 70's with unconditional freedom. We do not start from scratch. Commitments made in the past (one or more may even have been wrong) continue to make demands on later years which cannot be shaken off. These demands are often directly financial in the form of construction debts, and sometimes indirectly financial in terms of the cost of maintaining buildings. We, and many other colleges, are at a point now where we should consider further building expansion. Until there is a very significant improvement in the financial situation for educational institutions—not just in terms of the capital funds needed for initial construction but also the additional current funds that would be needed to maintain the buildings.

It is because certain kinds of space are essential for specific disciplines that we took action during the past summer to acquire a church building just two blocks north of the campus to house the program of instruction in art. This program has struggled in cramped and inadequate space for all of its years and the chance to acquire good space for this function was deemed a necessary move in spite of the tight financial situation. Fortunately, we were given a very large boost in this project by a grant of \$25,000 from The Schultz Foundation to meet the entire cost of the down payment on this facility. The total cost to the College for the acquiring of the property is \$60,000, the balance payable over a number of years. (East Orange guests will be happy to note there is no loss to the tax roll, since as a church property it was not previously taxed.)

The second question suggested was, Does it enhance, or augment in important ways, the central functioning of the College? Does it make the college's work more effective? Some buildings which would not classify in the strictest sense as essential, would fall into this category. Certain types of equipment, including instructional aids, could also be classified here. The services associated with certain positions might also be viewed as augmenting and enhancing, rather than being essential.

It remains our intent for Upsala to offer an academic program that is strong and effective, and consequently many things that would be placed in the second group are viewed as having great importance for the College. It could be well argued that unless we can continue with an academic program that is well above the bare necessities of essential function we ought to consider seriously whether the College should continue or not. I share that view, and with the conviction

that our program will continue to be strong and effective.

The third question suggested: Does it enrich the lives of the members of the Upsala community? The word "enrich" is a much abused one, but the fact that it is used in a variety of ways makes it a good choice here. Enrich in what way? Culturally? Socially? Religiously? By extending the range of human experience? By expanding human sympathies? By offering diversion, perhaps in the form of entertainment?

When questions of dollar duress come upon campuses, it is usually not long before the question of intercollegiate athletics is introduced into the conversation. The cause is apparent. Whatever the reasons that may be given for encouraging physical activity on the part of students, intercollegiate competition on most campuses has reached the point where participation by students is quite limited and the sports serve mainly as a form of entertainment for the bulk of the student body. If this is true, what does it say to the priority value of intercollegiate athletics for a college in the 70's facing financial difficulties? N.B.: Athletics is not the only area in which students are chiefly spectators. Concerts and lectures would usually fall into this category. Being an auditor at a concert or lecture is by no means a bad thing, in fact some would argue that it comes close to being a necessity for a vital academic community. Having aesthetically pleasing surroundings is clearly desirable, but just how desirable when translated into terms of allocated resources? This question would concern the more or less permanent surroundings of buildings and grounds, but also the changing aspect in terms of exhibits.

The fourth question: Does it extend the benefits of the college's work and have special value for society at large? The special sessions of the College, the Division of General Studies and the Summer Sessions, are cases in point. They extend not only the hours and days of our work, but increase greatly the variety of people that are able to be served by the college's educational program. Seminars and institutes, for example the one in the insurance field beginning soon, have such an extending effect. Such interchanges with the larger community is of great importance to the College. If there ever was a time when colleges and universities were isolated communities, that day is definitely past. There is good reason to believe that society needs more than ever before the influence of critical study and analysis which should characterize an academic community. It is equally true that colleges and universities are coming to recognize more fully their interdependence with the business, industrial, governmental and cultural forces of society.

At the same time the questions noted here need to be explored, there are interlocking considerations that overlay this set of questions. One of the more obvious ones being that of finances.

So far budget difficulties have been mentioned only in an incidental way. These difficulties are by no means incidental and are a direct part of the motivation for giving consideration to priorities for the 70's. Upsala is very much in the swim of college and university life in that it shares with many, if not most, private institutions, and a number of public ones, the unfortunate experience of living with a deficit. The total current fund deficit for 1969-70 was approximately \$160,000, bringing the accumulated current fund deficit to a little over \$500,000. These dollars can be made to appear small by comparing them with the millions in deficits talked about by Columbia, Yale and Princeton universities, or, in the public sector, with the City University of New York. But if such a comparison is followed up correctly and figures are viewed proportionately, it will quickly become evident that Upsala's



deficit is a sizeable one. The reason that deficit figures for colleges and universities have reached the news media with such force recently is probably that, as in our case, the time finally comes when a further increase in the deficit can not be tolerated. When that time comes, hard thinking is the order of the day and courage for difficult decisions.

When the dollar question is raised, it can be shown that decisions about a given program or activity cannot be made on the basis of cost figures alone. Some programs are income producing, as in our own instance the special sessions, in the evening and summer. The overhead expenses incurred specifically by these programs are relatively small, since the buildings and other facilities are already here, and consequently these programs can function to the benefit of the College financially. This is so even though it remains true that if all overhead expenses were allocated proportionately to the special sessions, no one of them would operate with income in excess of true cost.

Other activities which are not in themselves income producing may still be gift inducing. Some service projects and special aid programs would fall into this category. There is a problem here: Can colleges and universities make gifts to Society? We are dependent on gifts—yet society puts great pressure on colleges to provide services of considerable expense without providing money for their support.

Another general consideration that must be kept in mind in connection with priority questions is the effect a given decision would have on the ability of the College to attract students and faculty. Since students are marked by an unusual seriousness of purpose in these years, it seems fair to assume that a college which attempts to give the greatest emphasis to that which is truly important will have an advantage in attracting and holding the loyalty of students. But the best students have a genuine concern for the quality of life on campus, and for living conditions that are conducive to academic work. This means that our responsibility to students does not end when we have provided a classroom in which they can meet with a well qualified teacher. It is incumbent upon us to make sure that our dollars are well spent in terms of the quality of the total educational opportunity that we provide.

A college can attract and retain a strong faculty only if there is continual concern for professional growth. We cannot afford to cut corners here. Leave programs and research support are not optional. It is not necessary to do more than mention that salaries must remain competitive if we are to retain the professional competence that has been built up over the years in both faculty and administration.

The general consideration at stake here is the viability of the institution in the educational marketplace. If we are over-extended, the College may very well founder for lack of sustenance. If we are short-sighted and unwise in any retrenchments that may be necessary, the viability of the College in a competitive educational world may be jeopardized.

Most, and perhaps all, of what has been said is in the nature of the obvious. In time of stress, however, it is appropriate to recall ourselves to that which is fundamental, and fundamentals are seldom news. So I'll comment on some other things that are no doubt self-evident.

The stringency of the times is such that we must seek to capitalize on those assets that are intrinsic to our educational mission. It may sound discouraging in some ears that we are not in a position to incur all kinds of new expenses for interesting new ventures. This does not mean, however, that there can be no change. As long as the Col-

lege remains alive, even if the budget is severely limited, there will always be change. The assets of the College with which we have to work may remain much the same, but we can still think creatively about the ways in which these assets are to be put together. We are generously supplied with competent students and a well qualified faculty, and we have good facilities. How should we put these elements together? The way in which they are put together has a very direct bearing on institutional costs. The present departmental arrangements and course offerings are not fixed by an immutable law. They are among the things which are at the heart of the institution's purpose, but this is not to exclude them from serious investigation, for the heart too must be healthy. The teaching-learning arrangements expressed in terms of curriculum and schedules also need to be subject to continual review. And they are. Anyone who has followed curricular developments at Upsala will be aware of the fact that not many things have remained unchanged. But a valuable new idea may still be suggested next week or next month or next year. A couple of suggestions have come my way recently and (who knows) might be among those that would find general support. One suggestion was that of the "mini-course". This idea was no doubt prompted by the fact that our recent change to a four-course program resulted in the enlargement of most courses in our curriculum and a proportionate cut-back in the number of course offerings. The mini-course would be a half-course, running for only half a semester, and would focus attention on a specific problem or topic for intensive but shorter range consideration. The other suggestion is one that has found acceptance on many campuses, that of an "all-college course". Such a course seeks to bring the perspectives of many disciplines to bear on a single problem and to engage the whole college community in its exploration.

One of the strong emphases at Upsala in recent years has been the fuller utilization of our urban environment. To stress our urban location does not mean that Upsala becomes simply an extension of city life, but rather that we take advantage of our exceptional opportunity to study what urbanization means—to people, to institutions, to government, to various agencies, to business and industry. It has been encouraging to note that many friends of Upsala who do not themselves reside in this metropolitan area still see as one of our prime assets our location in an urban center. Our emphasis on this front to date has resulted in the development of intern programs in education, and in cooperation with social institutions and agencies, both public and private. Mention was made earlier of an institute in insurance education which is being offered cooperatively by insurance companies in this vicinity and Upsala. No matter where our students come from, and no matter where they go after graduation, they will be better prepared for the demands of our urban age if they have participated in one of these programs.

The development of still other ways in which we can enhance our service to society and take increased advantage of the resources of this metropolitan area can lead to a significant increase in our effectiveness without adding demands to an already overtaxed budget.

We have a number of invited guests taking part in the Convocation this morning, and I have spoken for the most part as though they were not here. They will be given an opportunity to participate in a discussion following the Convocation, and we are anxious to have their suggestions as to ways in which the College can be of greater service and also as to ways in which the areas

they represent might be brought into a closer cooperative relationship with the College.

Priorities yes. But what about the 70's? Do we know anything about them? If they are anything like the 60's, they will be a time of coming apart.

Things have come loose, and so we talk about priorities. But are we really looking for stability? Are we asking, What will stay put? Shall we try to restore a pastoral society? Some experiments in community living would seem to imply this. Is peace only in the past? Will we only discover the good life by going backward?

A college has a responsibility to provide balance:

To help people see the perplexities of the present in the light of past experience—but never to bind them to the past. Rather it is our task to give a sense of roots, of perspective.

We will not stop change.

The 70's will probably see several "periods" in a decade. Ten years from now we may be saying we should have spoken of the early middle and late 70's. One of the changes causing upheaval is the emergence of minority groups to strong self-consciousness and assertiveness. A major priority for us must be to further the cause of full justice for all people—in our own society—and be ginning at home. For this country, this city, this college in this time, this means especially black people. I cannot speak of the "black experience," but we must listen to those who can. Upsala for the sake of its educational mission, must be a place where men and women of all colors and backgrounds can learn together and from each other.

Reference was made earlier to the purpose of the College and the intentions of the "sponsors".

This is a church sponsored college, and life at Upsala shows clearly that this is not a restricting factor. An early attraction of Upsala for me was the way the College combined a quiet and confident affirming of its Protestant Lutheran heritage with openness to people of all faiths. A part of the strength of this college rests in the diversity of faiths and convictions that find a home here. A proper reflection of religious sponsorship in an educational institution is the promotion of free inquiry into man's religious heritage. The full development of man should include this. As a College of liberal arts we could not do otherwise than make it a focus of our educational effort.

There is a further lesson here for consideration of priorities. A church sponsored college will seek to give centrality to those concerns which are most deeply human, for it is here one engages the spirit.

But, at the same time a college must remain open to the varieties of individual response. So it is with the college's proper role as academic institution:

full, free, open, critical inquiry, and always responsive to the individual.

I conclude with a personal view that may have nothing to do with priorities. I am at times disturbed by those who seek some kind of undefined, unifying element for the life of the College. Is this a "hang-over" from days of mass pep rallies—and everyone out for the game? It is no doubt related to the fact that colleges and universities have stimulated strong institutional loyalties. This can be good and a source of strength. Upsala owes much to such loyalties. It can also be a narrow, sophomoric attachment. An academic institution has the loosest kind of ties—but also the strongest. The ties are based on respect for truth—for learning—for scholarly pursuit—all a part of a "lonely" kind of life. A college's unique kind of community may seldom show in an external manner—except when threatened.

These are difficult times that pose very real threats, and you are all encouraged to make common cause for a strengthened college which will have a long and healthy life—for all the right reasons.

COMMUNITY EFFORT IN FORT WORTH, TEX., TO ASSIST THE WIVES AND FAMILIES OF PRISONERS OF WAR

HON. OLIN E. TEAGUE

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 6, 1970

Mr. TEAGUE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, on the 13th of July a letterwriting campaign was launched in Fort Worth, Tex., in an effort to seek better treatment for the prisoners of war in Southeast Asia. The campaign was a success, receiving 125,000 letters, because of the many people who gave of their time and efforts. We are grateful to each and every person involved—to name a few:

Martha Hand, Jim Marr, Star Telegram, Dick Osborne, Cal Druzman, Joe Holstead, KXOL radio station, Don Woodard, Mickey Hunt, Don Whitley, Mike Moncrief, John Lamond, action ambassadors; Ed Kaufman, chamber of commerce; Comdr. M. D. Short, U.S. Navy, retired, William Hicks, Fort Worth businessman, ladies auxiliary of the VFW; J. D. Wilson, Roger Duvall, Everman Jaycees; Charles Curtis, Hugh Kirby, Explorer Post Scouts; Jan Stullenberger, Vicki Eigenmann, Texas Tech College students; high school students throughout the city of Fort Worth volunteered their time to help open the mail.

Mr. Speaker, the following material comprised the handout which was used as the spark for the letterwriting campaign.

THE SITUATION

There are 1,600 American servicemen listed as Prisoners-of-War or Missing-in-Action in Southeast Asia. More than 200 of those identified as captured have languished for more than five years in North Vietnamese prison camps. One Navy Flier began his seventh year of captivity on August 5, 1970. Prior to the Vietnam conflict, the longest any American spent as a Prisoner-of-War was three years and nine months. Nearly 500 men are known by our government to be prisoners. Out of the 1,100 listed as Missing-in-Action, only Hanoi or its allies knows their fate.

The men in the prison camps have been subjected to torture, abuse, malnutrition, untreated wounds and disease. They have been humiliated and subjected to public degradation. Their diet has been pumpkin soup, pig fat and water. Lt. Robert Frishman lost 50 pounds in almost two years. Seaman Douglas Hegdahl lost 70 pounds in two and one-half years. How much does a man weigh who has been there five or more years? Only Hanoi knows! Many spend long, lonely years in isolation, some so badly wounded that they are unable to care for themselves. What about the families who are left alone for years wondering if they are relatives or mourners. They, too, are victims of Hanoi's torture.

THE GENEVA CONVENTION

Standards for the treatment of Prisoners-of-War are outlined in the Geneva Convention of 1949. The governments of North Viet-

nam, South Vietnam, United States and 120 other nations have ratified these Conventions as binding international law.

Ratifying Nations are required to:

1. Allow inspection of prison facilities by an impartial humanitarian body such as the International Red Cross.

2. Properly and immediately identify all prisoners.

3. Release the sick and wounded.
4. Provide an adequate diet and medical care to prevent weight loss.

5. Refrain from subjecting prisoners to mental and physical duress or torture.

6. Allow a free exchange of mail between prisoners and their families—two letters and four postcards per month is the minimum.

North Vietnam has failed to abide by the Conventions. They say that since this is not a declared war the Conventions are not binding. However, Article II of the Geneva Conventions states that these Conventions, "shall apply to all cases of declared war or to any other armed conflict which may arise between two or more of the High Contracting Parties, even if a state of war is not recognized by one of them." This was further clarified last year in a unanimous resolution by 114 nations, at the 21st International Conference of the Red Cross held in Istanbul. It called upon all parties "to abide by the obligations set forth in the (Geneva) Convention and all authorities involved in an armed conflict to insure that all uniformed members of the regular armed forces of another party to the conflict and all other persons entitled to Prisoner-of-War status are treated humanely and give the fullest measure of protection prescribed by the Convention."

Also last year, U Thant, Secretary General of the United Nations, stated, "It is the view of the Secretary General that the Government of North Vietnam ought to give an international humanitarian organization such as the League of Red Cross Societies access to the Americans detained in North Vietnam."

Marcel Naville, President of the International Red Cross, stated that his organization has been given free access to South Vietnam's prison camps. He said the Red Cross has also received full information about captives taken by both sides in the Middle East Conflict. Only North Vietnam has refused to furnish prisoner information or to open its camps to international inspection.

PUBLIC OPINION

The Vietnamese have shown themselves to be sensitive to public opinion. Since the plight of the Prisoners-of-War has been publicized, their families have received more letters in the last 9 months than all of the preceding 5½ years. The North Vietnamese have changed their image of picturing prisoners being beaten and dragged through the streets of Hanoi to that of participating in holiday festivities. Lists of prisoners, even though incomplete, have been released. Why are the North Vietnamese doing this now and not six years ago? They are trying to appease the growing worldwide concern.

North Vietnam relies on a good public image for its livelihood. It is a poor country and requires massive aid to carry out its war objectives. Thus it needs good international relations to maintain the flow of aid to support its efforts. Hanoi is also trying to generate enough sympathy in the U.S. to cause our withdrawal from Southeast Asia. The last thing Hanoi can afford is bad publicity.

THE ROAD TO SUCCESS

We will get results when Hanoi feels the effects of worldwide condemnation for its disregard of basic human decency and its flagrant violation of international law. Much of the groundwork for the mass indignation has already been established, but many of the efforts in the past have been

semi-private. There is no scoreboard of how many letters have been written to Hanoi. What we need now is a massive co-ordinated public display of concern.

We believe the best place to generate this response is in Paris. Our plan is to deliver, en masse, millions of letters and petitions from Americans to the North Vietnamese Embassy in Paris during the Christmas holidays. Sample letters will be read to the world press which will publicize the outcry of millions of people. This, in turn, will generate the outcry of millions of other people throughout the world.

Hanoi will now face two alternatives. Either make concessions concerning the prisoners being held or face the threat of more bad publicity. It is our feeling that Hanoi will yield on the prisoner issue when they find that now the prisoners are a liability to their public image.

HOW CAN YOU HELP?

We are organizing a co-ordinated statewide petition campaign during the week, November 19 to 25. The California State Junior Chamber of Commerce, with 11,000 members, is our co-sponsor. We want other organizations to participate. To reach our goal of millions of concerned letters, we need as many people as possible to man petition and letter tables throughout the state.

In your local area, contact service clubs, the mayor, congressmen, churches, the Junior Chambers of Commerce, retail stores, etc., to join our week-long letter-gathering campaign. Enclosed is a sample letter and petition.

Have the company you work for and service organizations in your local area run off copies of this or their own letter. At the end of the drive collect all the letters, petitions and donations and send them to Concern For Prisoners-of-War, Inc., or The San Rafael Junior Chamber of Commerce, P.O. Box 869, San Rafael, California, 94902. We will in turn deliver your letters to the North Vietnamese Embassy in Paris during the Christmas holidays.

Use all news media to take editorial positions on the Prisoners-of-War.

Contact outdoor advertising companies and get billboard space donated.

Write letters to the editors.

Ask the company you work for to print Prisoner-of-War information in their company newsletters.

Write U.S. Senators and Representatives to be more aggressive in using their positions to gain the release of the Prisoners-of-War.

Have your local newspaper print a copy of our letter or one of their own directed toward Hanoi, which can be clipped out and sent to Concern For Prisoners-of-War.

The Chamber of Commerce can give you a list of the most active civic and social groups in your community.

Every voice is needed because every example of silence on this issue only proves to Hanoi that Americans do not care. North Vietnam has shown itself to be both sensitive and responsive to public opinion. You are public opinion.

For further information contact: Concern For POW's Inc., P.O. Box 9117, San Diego, California 92109, telephone: (714) 235-6677.

THE PRESIDENT, DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF VIETNAM, HANOI, NORTH VIETNAM

As an American I would like to express my deep concern over your treatment of Prisoners of War.

Being a nation in the world community, you are obligated out of humanitarian considerations to afford those whom you hold the minimum standards of existence. Your ratification of the 1949 Geneva Conventions relative to the treatment of Prisoners of War requires you to:

- (1) permit neutral inspections of all prison camps;

(2) publish a complete list of all men that you hold;

(3) release the sick and wounded; and  
(4) allow a free flow of mail between the Prisoners of War and their families.

My fellow Americans share this grave concern over the desperate plight of the Prisoners of War, those Missing in Action and their families.

Sincerely,

#### THE CONSUMER IN THE TURBULENT SEVENTIES

### HON. DON H. CLAUSEN

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 6, 1970

Mr. DON H. CLAUSEN. Mr. Speaker, yesterday Dr. Carl Madden, chief economist of the Chamber of Commerce of the United States, spoke before the annual meeting of the Consumers Bankers Association at Williamsburg.

In my judgment, Dr. Madden has presented an extremely rational and practical evaluation of today's economy and the future for the seventies. For those who have had any doubts about the future of this country's economic system, they need only read Dr. Madden's remarks to have those doubts completely dispelled.

Dr. Madden received his B.A. and Ph. D. from the University of Virginia and attended Stonier School of Banking at Rutgers University. He is a former dean of the School of Business Administration at Lehigh University and taught at the University of Virginia and Stonier School. He is a former staff member of the Senate Banking and Currency Committee and served 4 years on the staff of the Federal Reserve Bank in New York. He has been on the staff of the U.S. Chamber since 1963, and is generally recognized as one of the most articulate and respected analysts of our economic system.

I am placing Dr. Madden's speech in the Record at this point and I urge my colleagues to read what he says carefully:

#### THE CONSUMER IN THE TURBULENT SEVENTIES (By Carl H. Madden)

The prospect for the American consumer during the 1970's are glowing. His glowing prospects show the astonishing power and creativeness of the U.S. economic system.

Whether the consumer's glowing prospects are realized in full during the decade depends on how our institutions adapt to the possibilities and imperatives of a new, post-Renaissance era that is gathering force in this country and the world. The seventies will be a decade of social change as one institution after another is forced to adapt to the demands of the new era.

Today, we hear most about a long catalogue of problems, old and new, that face our civilization. Abroad, we hear news of war, revolution, earthquake, and terror. At home the headlines are full of the crisis of our cities, their smog, corruption, and inhumanity; inflation, strikes, and unemployment; crises in welfare, education, health care; violence and disruption in our streets

and on our campuses; racism and the decline of religion; the rising traffic in crime and drugs.

We hear, too, about the young who have lost confidence in our business system or who would make "revolution for the hell of it." We see business sometimes attacked indiscriminately in the guise of consumerism or in the name of cleaning up the environment. Some are blaming business and the enterprise system for all the sins in our society.

Yet, beneath the headlines, the story of American progress in income, output, and purchasing power is unmatched elsewhere on the globe. And the adaptiveness of the U.S. business system to change is nowhere better demonstrated than in our post-World War II gains in income and wealth, which have laid the groundwork for further advance. Whether the advance is achieved lies squarely in the hands of the U.S. political and social system, built for orderly change by wise men more than 150 years ago who foresaw the continuous onslaught of new knowledge against outmoded institutions.

#### THE CURRENT ADJUSTMENT

By now the economy has bottomed out from the readjustment imposed to combat the guns-and-butter inflation of the late 1960's. An early look at 1971 shows a basic shift from an economy dominated by a decade-long capital spending boom, rising defense spending, and accelerating government outlays for welfare to one dominated by consumer spending, housing, services, and a shift in government priorities from defense to human resources spending.

Business and consumer confidence, while rebounding from the deep gloom of late spring, remain sensitive to each new foreign development in Southeast Asia or the Middle East, and to such domestic areas as money market conditions, the battle against inflation, campus violence, and social unrest. The auto strike against General Motors may slow the pace of the fall upswing but is unlikely to alter the established move towards moderate growth now getting under way.

It becomes increasingly clear that the government's anti-inflationary efforts are making real progress. The policy of gradualism has braked the growth of demand, created moderate economic slack, and punctured the inflationary psychology of business and consumer, while avoiding either deep or prolonged recession. The burden of readjustment has been widely and moderately distributed through stock prices, profits, sales, and unemployment.

The declines in industrial production and "real" GNP have been very small compared with postwar recessions, but taken with an expanding labor force and growing plant capacity, have generated the slack needed to check the accelerating inflation. The process has taken longer and the inflation has proved more intractable than earlier anticipated, but policy errors have fallen on the side of caution, equity, and a staged approach to a difficult but needed readjustment.

Now, it seems unlikely to all that the economy will dip into a 1957-58 type of recession (which lasted 9 months). Whether 1971 will see a renewal of the inflationary upsurge depends now on governmental policy, and, given a mounting federal deficit, rests mainly on the shoulders of the monetary authorities.

There are two issues to be resolved. One is the unknown strength of a long period of credit restraint. A time-lag of 9 to 11 months between restraint and full economic effect would have placed the biggest impact of restraint on prices during last summer. In fact, the consumer price rise has flattened out since last April. The other issue is how much the economy has to catch up in its growth to overcome the gap in output caused by our present slack and also to get back on the long-term trend of our economic potential.

One calculation is that, to get back "on track" by the end of 1971 would require a growth rate of 9 per cent next year—5 per cent to close the gap and 4 per cent to maintain the long-term growth trend. By this reasoning, inflationary pressures would seem unlikely to resume from the foreseeable growth of about 6 per cent now expected for next year.

#### GROWTH PROSPECTS FOR THE 1970'S

In any event, the economy will emerge from its current readjustment to achieve a high rate of real growth in the 1970's if we match our economic performance to our potential. A larger and better-educated work force, a plentiful supply of technology, and a large and growing stock of capital goods justify the growth prospects we can see ahead, barring major catastrophe.

Our real living standards are already the world's highest. Median family income in the 1960's, expressed in constant 1969 dollars, rose from \$6,800 in 1960 to \$9,400 in 1969, a gain of \$2,600 in 1969 dollars. Projections by the private National Planning Association for 1980 indicate that half of all consumer income will go to families with \$15,000 in 1967 prices, compared with 25 per cent in 1966. Today, to buy a suit of clothes in Soviet Russia takes 183 hours of work, in France 75, in Great Britain 45, and in the U.S. only 24. In the U.S., one farm worker can feed 42 people, in France about 6, in Italy 5, and in China only one.

Our economy can grow during the 1970's at a rate of 4.3 per cent, in real terms compounded, without experiencing inflation. This would double the gross national product in current dollars to \$2 trillion and would be four times the output of 1960. It is likely during the 1970's that, although consumption will rise, it will become a smaller proportion of this vast output. Led by a boom in construction, investment will claim a larger share along with government at all levels.

#### THE PEOPLE PROSPECTS

The U.S. people will be better off, better educated, and more productive by 1980 if they wish to be. The 1970 census only confirms well-known trends in depicting the U.S. as more urbanized, more suburbanized, more metropolitanized, and more attracted to the coastal regions of the Southeast, Southwest and Far West than ever before.

The United States in the 1970's will become a nation of Megalopolis—huge super-cities with strange name tags, that stretch for hundreds of miles. There is Bos-Wash, an unbroken stretch of people, homes, factories and the like from Boston to south of Washington; there's ChiPitt, the crescent of heavy industry along the Great Lakes from Chicago to Pittsburgh; there's SanSan, from San Francisco to San Diego; and there's JamMI, the fourth megalopolis along Florida's east coast from Jacksonville to Miami. These human agglomerations will be of a size, complexity, and extent never before known.

The people of the United States will be different in the 1970's. For one thing, the decade will see an unprecedentedly large number of new entrants into the labor force. Most of the growth in population will be among people under 35. Those over 65 will increase in number. But people between 35 and 44 in 1975 will be one million less in number than in 1965. This hourglass shape in age distribution means that either we will be managed by grey beards or by those younger than our earlier experience. One out of seven new workers in the 1970's will be nonwhite. The average age of the nonwhite population is nearer 21 years than the 28-29 years of whites. One out of six jobs in the economy is now located in three states—California, Texas, and Florida. The biggest single change in the labor force in recent years has been the increase in women as a share of the total.

## THE CONSUMER AND CONSUMERISM

The increase in the number of young adults in our population, the sharp increase in young married couples, the rise in the number of old people, and the fewer numbers in their forties—all these trends, along with the increase in nonwhites—have obvious impacts on consumer spending. Taken with the prospect of rising incomes, they are favorable impacts.

Right now, the consumer is in a good financial position and people generally speaking, can finance whatever spending they wish to undertake in 1971. Despite the decline in stock prices the consumer is richer, more liquid, and less debt-burdened than at most times in the past. With interest rates past their peak and monetary policy easing moderately, the prospects for credit availability if not cost are improving. The slowdown in consumer borrowing has reflected a lagged response to the readjustment, a rise in savings rates that has reduced the burden of consumer debt, and prudent restraint in the face of consumer uncertainty.

The consumer of the 1970's will double his outlays of goods and services and shift expenditures to luxury items—such as recreation, durable goods, and services. Young marrieds in larger numbers among consumers will buy more consumer goods that go with household formation, such as cars, housing, home furnishings, home entertainment and the like. The young marrieds will grow from 43 million in 1970 to 58 million in 1980, and they will be more ready to meet their needs through the use of credit than their parents.

The 1970's consumer is unlikely, however, to be docile or passive in the marketplace for goods and services or for credit. Much, both good and bad, has been said about consumerism, but above all it should be said that consumerism is here to stay. If you think this is surprising, you should—as the TV bit says—think harder. It is, after all, the most open secret of the free enterprise system that its success stems from the great freedom of interaction between buyer and seller. We in business have long said that we favor the informed and rational consumer because he spurs us to better performance.

Certainly, the consumer should be protected from fraud, deceit or misrepresentation. Certainly, he should have access to adequate information for intelligent choice. Certainly, he should be able to rely on the performance of modern products of complex technology on which he risks his life, safety, health or comfort and that of his family. Certainly, he should have a wide range of choice in the marketplace. Those who argue otherwise, including businessmen, do indeed need to think harder; they do not understand the great ideals of the free enterprise system.

Now, this is not to say more than Congress and the President in both administrations have already written into law. It is not to say, also, that business should not vigorously advocate its viewpoint on specific proposals nor speak freely and loudly to condemn proposals in the name of consumerism which truly threaten the enterprise system either with cumbersome restrictions or with unscientific legislation.

Business should be proud of its responsiveness to the changing values of the U.S. consumer which have led to demands for higher standards of business performance. Business, to judge from its record of performance, has little to fear in adapting to the valid demands of consumer advocates. As I look around the business world, I see that it is firms of the highest standards of competence which prosper today. How much more so will this be true in an age of global electronic communications, and scientific revolution?

## THE KNOWLEDGE EXPLOSION

It is in fact the scientific revolution through which we are moving that generates

most of our social turbulence. I cannot emphasize too much that this revolution is profound and pervasive. It cries out for understanding, and with understanding comes hope for the future of this country and mankind. One recent author has suggested that we suffer today in too many numbers to "future shock." The scientific revolution produces future shock to people unable to assimilate powerful new ideas about the universe, the globe, and mankind. Each of us has some responsibility to interpret our times in the sweep of history and to grasp the implications of things present and things to come. This much, I believe, is required of mature leadership.

The tides in our world are conflicting: it is an age of profound transition. Our age lies, it is said, between the post-Renaissance world of the Industrial Revolution and a new age—the age of the global village, of electronics, of cybernetics, of nuclear energy, of biological engineering, of space science. It is an age of discontinuity. One tide is the ebbing of the Renaissance and its values, including the ugly aftermath of the Industrial Revolution. The other is moving in—the flood tide of a new age. Society's task in the 1970's is to avoid tidying up a dying age and to search for the flood tide currents of the new age aborning.

The central fact, gathering force in our era, is that for the first time in history mankind possesses the power to live at peace and in relative plenty on this earth. Equally central is the lesson of the 1960's that rapid economic growth may not only fail to yield social tranquility but may itself threaten the earth, air, and water which make up the thin envelope of our physical capital. Ecology thus teaches us a new dimension of scarcity. Up to now our Renaissance relationship to our environment was one of exploitation; we have seen the environment as a source of riches to be extracted. Now we begin to see dimly that we are limited by mounting pollution and unexpected effects on a complex ecological system of thoughtless intervention in the processes of nature. Having begun to grasp ecological knowledge, mankind will never be the same again.

Indeed, the explosive growth of knowledge destined ours to be a learning society only in order to maintain our culture and civilization. Our young people and scientists live in a sea of knowledge—new knowledge—which cries out for assimilation and demands unprecedented adjustments in thinking. The struggle to assimilate this new knowledge and to evaluate our institutions in its light produces extremes of distortion of our values in the New Left, of avoidance of change in the New Right, and of withdrawal from reality in the drug cultures of both poor and middle class flower children.

The knowledge explosion so paralyzing to will is indeed awesome. We now know that we live in a universe at least 8 billion years old, far bigger than the distance light travels in 2.5 billion years at 186,000 miles per second. Given the hundreds of millions of galaxies, each with more than a billion stars, it seems statistically almost sure that life exists elsewhere in the universe. We now know that in a few moments of intense effort using germs or nuclear fire we can destroy life on earth in all that narrow band of fertility needed to support civilization.

We know that man or his erect relatives have lived on this planet 4 million years. We know it took that long to produce a population of one billion, up to about 1830; that by 1950 world population reached two billion; that by 1990 it will be three billion; and that at present rates by the year 2000 it will be seven and a half billion. We know that man, judging from his behavior, is significantly a naked ape in instinct with some of the territorial instinct and social ranking behavior of primates. We are learning the adverse effects on such animals of crowding

which produces group disorganization, degenerative disease, destruction of nurturing instincts, and early death. We see no evidence that modern man is much if any advanced over Neolithic man in genetic make-up. We know now that man can change his genes, personality, intelligence, and mental state in predictable ways with drugs.

We know that man can now build machines to calculate, play chess, compose music, make management decisions, learn from errors, and formulate general rules for learning from experience—all at the speed of electrical motion. We know now that man can dot the sky with satellites, communicate simultaneously throughout the world to billions of his fellowmen by TV, travel to the planets, view the universe from the clear atmosphere of space, see in his living room the globe of earth as viewed from the moon.

There is going on a parallel but less spectacular or well understood shift in concepts now familiar to scientists, theologians, and many young people, including the radical left. It is a shift from thinking about the world in the linear, cause-effect style of Newton to the simultaneous, inter-acting style of Whitehead and Einstein. It is a profound shift from seeing the world as matter, resting in time and space, or moving through them, to seeing the world as energy flowing in events through processes of change. It is a shift caused by concepts of measuring information flows and analyzing complex systems that challenges the structured cause-effect evaluations of the past. It is a shift from the isolated linear world of Gutenberg type to the simultaneous, tribal world of television. The reality of life is seen as action in a process rather than the manipulation, outside the process, of what Norman Mailer has called "the-logic-of-the-next-step."

Because of the pace and sweep of change, more people are thinking in an organized way about the future. These "futurists" do not wish to be the unwitting victims of the future; they wish to develop more explicit methods by which to understand the outline of the future and to participate in inventing the future. While risky business, such speculation about the future can be useful as an early warning device and as a management tool to illuminate understanding, participation, and choice.

## THE SEARCH FOR QUALITY

The knowledge revolution produces a search for quality in the performance of one institution after another. In the 1970's the concern for quality in jobs, products, services, social services, professions, and the environment will dominate domestic social and economic debate. The institutions of the social economy—professional, medical, education, business, and labor—are likely to face challenges to change in response to new values and concerns made possible by advancing knowledge and technology. Consumerism is rooted in this broad concern for quality. Up to now, we have taken for granted the pursuit of high levels of employment, production, and purchasing power; this is the hard-won mandate of the Employment Act of 1946. But today, boasts that the U.S., with 6 percent of the world's population and 7 percent of its land area uses one-third of the world's resources have a boomerang effect in reflecting the creation of polluting waste and the rapid depletion of high-grade resources. Likewise, boasts that U.S. car registrations total 80 million, or one car for every 2½ persons, run up against new knowledge about the cumulating effect of exhaust emissions.

In banking, the search for quality was reflected in the 1950's in the invention of consumer credit. This powerful financial innovation rested for its validity on the rising wealth of the country, the shift of people off farms and into cities and from wealth ownership in land with much payment in kind to wage and salary payments as a source of income from jobs. In the 1970's

consumer credit granting will have to adapt to new developments.

One development is technological; it is the inevitable coming of the checkless, cashless society. Futurists are confident that in the coming decades money will come to consist of binary digits (0, 1) in memory drums of bank computers. Income of individuals will consist of transfers of binary digits from the employers' to the employees' accounts. Automatic payment through home-based computer terminals will prevail. The ordinary credit card will either take over or be supplanted by thumbprint identification from ubiquitous and inexpensive TV cameras to the central computer storage.

Does anyone doubt that consumers will insist on high standards of ethics and confidentiality in bank handling of crucial personal financial information? Can it be believed that legislators steeped in constitutional law will fail to adopt the right of privacy against unscrupulous use of credit files having the remorseless memories of computers? Should business, as a champion of personal freedom and consumer satisfaction, be identified as truculently opposing the protection of people's rights against the invasion of their privacy by either business or government? Personally, I think not. Furthermore, I believe it will be possible—it must be possible—to avoid hamstringing business decision-making by denying relevant information exchange between private parties to contracts. I would suggest, however, that the weight of political opinion and the law will fall on the side of developing the right of privacy. Lovers of freedom both for business and individuals will favor that approach.

Another development in banking caused by the knowledge advance is the development of a greater capital shortage in the 1970's. A strong case can be made, as Tilford Gaines of Manufacturers Hanover Trust has argued, that interest rates will remain high, leaving aside the impact of inflation, because of the tremendous demands for funds. Financing will be needed to repair and maintain the environment, to broaden welfare, to renovate and rebuild the cities, to maintain defense, to meet our housing goals, to finance consumer credit buying, to restore the liquidity of corporations and provide for the renewal and expansion of our industrial capacity. Leaving aside the question of inflation and the lender's premium it exacts because of this expectation of being repaid in cheap dollars, there is likely to be a rise in the true or normal rate of interest.

Just as the shift from farm to city laid the basis for the invention of consumer credit, so the needs of the 1970's will call for new financial innovations. Certainly the need is great to review existing institutional arrangements, as the President's appointment of a financial commission suggests. Needs seem likely for innovation in financing state and local governments, such as are anticipated by the idea of urban development banks, of providing an adequate secondary mortgage market, of examining the present financing and tax arrangements for corporate earnings, of restructuring Federal instruments to achieve social priorities, of providing the means to banking to use their competence in computer-oriented services to avoid urban concentration of banking resources, and in other areas.

#### THE DIRECTION OF POLICY

The need for institutional change is perhaps greater in other areas of our social life than in banking. In the 1970's we are likely to see far-reaching proposals addressed to or health care and educational systems, our means of governing metropolitan centers, our federal system of government, our welfare system, and our international eco-

nomic relationships. All these proposals for institutional change stem ultimately from an increasing power to organize and rationalize human activity. These are the problems of a dynamic, learning society capable of achieving stable and solid social advances.

New policy concepts will be needed, however, if advance is to be solidly based. The time has passed in social affairs for ad hoc experiments of desperate New Deal days or for the loose rhetoric of piecemeal reform based on scanty or episodic knowledge of society. A deeply important task in the 1970's is to construct and operate a vastly more scientific and responsive system of information for understanding environmental and social developments. We now observe the weather with far more sophistication and care than we observe urban developments. For urban understanding we have no weather bureaus; therefore we rebel at decennial census findings which only each ten years accurately observe flows of population, migration, household changes and the like. We have the capacity to apply systematically the tools of scientific method and computer technology to creating a nationwide system of social and demographic, as well as economic, indicators. We have data and technology to model the impact of local tax changes or of industrial growth, to stimulate growth of metropolitan areas, to stimulate transportation policy and the like.

Indeed, it can be argued that the impact of the knowledge revolution on social and economic policy-making is only beginning. If so, in the 1970's our society will have to learn—and can learn—far better than ever before to respect, organize, and use social and economic knowledge in policy-making. Society will have to—and can—learn to bring its resources systematically to bear in social affairs the way we use our resources systematically in scientific and technological applications. I am convinced that few people in our society understand either the scope of this task or the tremendous rewards in reducing social ills and leading the way to orderly solutions to social difficulties which such a development would provide. It is not that we need more information; we need different information, differently organized. This is the message which information systems analysis has long since brought to business.

Otherwise, we will remain victims of mythology about racism, crime, urban ills, violence, and a host of other problems now portrayed by mass media not organized to provide valid and accurate understanding of events.

A great philosopher, Alfred North Whitehead, perceived that the greatest invention of the nineteenth century was the invention of the method of invention. We have an analogous lesson: to learn in the last third of the twentieth century about innovations in social and economic affairs.

Finally, perhaps the most optimistic development in the 1970's can be increased recognition that U.S. business has begun the process of creating a world economy, an event of tremendous import to banking and finance. The extraordinary growth of multinational corporations since World War II has produced a fundamentally new phenomenon. Our increasing capability to organize human effort allows us now to assess world-wide competing opportunities to allocate resources economically and rationally. Economist Judd Polk has calculated that, of the crudely estimated \$3,000 billion of world output, the internationalized component comes to one-sixth of all activity. Without doubt, the primary international economic interest of the United States is the correct international allocation of resources. This implies a need in the 1970's to achieve with the less developed countries of the world productive relations comparable to those already achieved with industrialized market economies.

The growing world-wide orientation of a large share of world production has implications of basic significance to our present concepts of the balance of payments and of trade and economic policy. For the first time in history, man is now able to treat the world itself as the basic economic unit. This is happening. Its implications to our economic policy are basic. Placed into relationship with the consumer, the growth of the world economy means more than just the expansion of travel and trade by U.S. consumers with all parts of a one-day world created by advances in the technology of TV and jets. It means the breakdown of national barriers to the powerful rewards the consumer gains from imports and the potential gains in living standards of people the world over who satisfy each other's wants.

#### CONCLUSION

In this review of the consumer in the turbulent seventies, there are valid grounds for cautious but deep optimism. The U.S. consumer faces a glowing potential of rising wealth and income. The U.S. consumer, more affluent, more educated, and younger, stands on the threshold of a new era of scientific revolution which represents the fruits of centuries of struggle towards understanding and good will. The U.S. consumer is heir to the best our civilization has produced through great minds in search of understanding and adaptation to this small global piece of an awesome universe. No one who perceives its grandeur and loneliness can believe in instant perfection or ignore the risks of destruction and death which inhere in its structure. But who can deny the sweep of adventure in the ideas of our civilization—the bracing stimulus of freedom, the power of initiative, the competition of ideas, products, and services in our political and economic system, or the majesty of our ideals for humanity?

Yet how could optimism be more than cautious in such a turbulent era? There are some who, beset by today's rhetorical overkill, advocate that business respond in the best traditions of the Old West and come out fighting, knock a few heads together in the name of Americanism and optimism. The cry is American—love it or leave it. The age-old cry of those beset by new ideas and the challenge of change is to defend the status quo by cloaking it with holiness.

Another answer to new ideas is to hew to the line of our solid values, to rely on the ultimate majesty of reason and law in coping with violence, to display the social grace of good will and courtesy. The scientist's contribution to our civilization's social style is to have made beliefs open to revision from new ideas and facts. This is not an adversary method, so it is not subject to the lawyer's sophistry or the heroics of combat. But Thomas Jefferson understood it, when he said, more than 150 years ago, "... laws and institutions must go hand in hand with the progress of the human mind. . . . As new discoveries are made, new truths disclosed, and manners and opinions change with the change in circumstances, institutions must advance also, and keep pace with the times."

NIKOLA PETKOV

HON. GERALD R. FORD

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 6, 1970

Mr. GERALD R. FORD, Mr. Speaker, I am honored to join with those aspiring to freedom for Bulgaria in marking the 23d anniversary of the judicial murder of the Bulgarian national hero, Nikola Petkov.

For more than two decades the Bulgarian people struggled desperately in a bid for freedom. Their efforts are appropriately memorialized in this tragic anniversary which was observed on September 23.

Bulgaria is one of the captive nations—the peoples imprisoned within Communist states. The deep desire for freedom within Bulgaria and the efforts of freedom-loving Bulgarians everywhere to break the bonds of Communist domination of Bulgaria should be an object of admiration on the part of all Americans.

I firmly believe in the right of self-determination for all peoples. The only government worthy of that name is that which governs by the consent of the governed. I will therefore never be happy until Bulgaria and other nations enslaved by Communist governments are free not only in spirit but in fact.

I salute freedom-loving Bulgarians on this 23d anniversary of Nikola Petkov's supreme sacrifice and share with them the hope that their aspirations for Bulgaria will one day be realized.

DR. ROBERT CUSHMAN MURPHY  
ADDRESSES LONG ISLAND PRESS  
DISTINGUISHED SERVICE AWARD  
DINNER ON ENVIRONMENTAL  
NEEDS

### HON. OTIS G. PIKE

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 6, 1970

Mr. PIKE. Mr. Speaker, recently I was privileged to attend the annual Long Island Press Distinguished Service Award Dinner at which tribute is paid each year to an outstanding American for his contribution to some vital cause.

This year the recipient was a man who has devoted his life to a cause which was not a popular cause when he was a young man, or even in his middle years—the cause of preserving our environment. Dr. Robert Cushman Murphy is now 83 years old, and he has lived both to see some of his earlier dire predictions come true, and to see the cause for which he was a lonely champion become the most popular cause in America.

Dr. Murphy's remarks at the dinner are so significant not only for my own area but for all those devoted to the cause of conservation that I take great pleasure in inserting them in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD at this point:

#### REMARKS OF ROBERT CUSHMAN MURPHY

All of us are concerned about numberless regrettable things going on all over our earth, most of which is surfaced with water. Only 29 per cent of it is land. The still smaller proportion that we can call habitable reduces our scant living space even more, and yet the human species seems bent on filling this up with his own kind at a faster rate than ever. We are all aware of the multiplicity of problems that darken the future, particularly this problem called the "population bomb." Each of us tries, more or less in vain, to think up a solution.

I once heard Governor Rockefeller tell a story that illustrates the diversity of opinion

that is possible among God's creatures. He reported on the conversation of a pair of fish, *de profundis*. One said to the other, with understandable alarm, "Do you realize that more than a quarter of our world is covered with land?"

Man's heritage of both earth and sea is being corrupted by an infusion of alien chemicals. Thor Heyerdahl, who has recently crossed the North Atlantic in a craft built of papyrus, found the Sargasso Sea so polluted that his crew was reluctant to wash in it. He encountered a continuous stretch of 1400 miles filled with masses and gobs of asphalt-like oil.

When I went in the other direction under sail across the Sargasso, from the West Indies to Africa, 58 years ago, lowering my dory almost daily, it was then the purest and most pellucid water in the world, actually more transparent, as determined instrumentally, than any spring, or pool of melted snow, or mountain tarn, and completely devoid of continental dust.

But the ocean today has more to degrade it than petroleum. Into it from all inhabited shores go pesticides, herbicides, defoliants, fertilizers, detergent residues, radioactive poisons, and salts from irrigation, not to mention ordinary sewage. Some of these, like DDT and radioactive ions, are carried to the very ends of the earth because small ocean animals ingest vegetable cells and also eat one another. Nor is the land any better off. The concentration of DDT in the milk of many human mothers already exceeds the amount permitted in interstate shipments of food products. But still the number of people climbs toward infinity, and the means of distributing food leaves many without it.

Children are the main victims of overpopulation. The United Nations tells us that 500 million of them are chronically hungry, and that 12,000 die of starvation every day. Nevertheless, between now and this time tomorrow, the population of the world will increase by 190,000 souls.

Under these circumstances the declamation of animal life might hardly seem worth mentioning except that among them it means in many cases not only the death of individuals but of the very species. In North America we know of eighty kinds that are gone forever, and an equal number is now threatened by human heedlessness and the pollution of the environment. Outside our own continent the outlook is worse, at least in the tropics.

Of about one and a half million tons of DDT that man has produced, it is estimated that two-thirds are still chemically active. We shall be seeing its devastations for a long time to come. If enough of our most magnificent birds, from eagles, peregrine falcons and lesser birds of prey to pelicans and flamingoes survive, ultimately to repopulate their former ranges, we shall be luckier than we deserve. The woodcock is the latest reported victim.

To go on with statistics that only rub in what we already realize: two hundred million tons of contaminants are added annually to the atmosphere over the United States. Every second of the 24 hours about two million gallons of sewage and other fluid waste pour into the nation's waterways. Every major stream in the country is polluted. Not every district is equally filthy: some are "more equal than others," so to speak. Mr. Robert Moses kindly sent me a few days ago his booklet on the sewage of Chicago, which concerns him because the water in which it swims affects the supply released through the Great Lakes to the St. Lawrence Canal. This publication paints a most appalling condition, but we are all moving toward the same end faster than we are working for betterment.

During five years beginning with 1964 the New York metropolitan area dumped two

million tons of solid waste off western Long Island. This was a far cry from the enlightened decree of Edmund Andros, Governor of Colonial New York in the 1670's, that citizens are forbidden to cast any dung, dirt, or refuse from the city in the harbor or off the neighboring shores, under penalty of forty shillings. Such a quaint regulation, long disregarded, brings us back to Long Island, which is probably what you came here to consider.

The question of water cannot be separated from that of sewage disposal, and in both we face difficulties that will require the best engineering brains and a great deal of money. As an undergraduate I studied bacteriology all four years, and in that connection took my only course in the engineering school of Brown University, namely sewage disposal. I shall never forget the first sentence of Professor Johnny Hill's first lecture. After striding to his desk with a brisk, "Good morning, Gentlemen," he contrived to fix our attention for the whole course by solemnly proclaiming, "Sewage contains more bacteria than any other known substance except—milk!"

Well, Long Island Sound is in a fair way to become a sewer. The friendly and intelligent porpoises which have made it a summer playground for the last eleven thousand years or so, apparently don't come into it much any more. Hitherto the evil condition of the water that makes the porpoises shy away has been true only of the western Sound, but, since the establishment of the State University at Stony Brook, the sewage of that rapidly growing institution has been pumped to a small primary treatment plant in Fort Jefferson and then emptied into the harbor. The beautiful sheltered yacht haven of former years is already closed by the Department of Health to swimming and clamming. The bacterial count of the water has risen to the order of 24,000 per cubic centimeter (still quite a way behind milk!)

The totally inadequate remedy for the situation, as presently contemplated, is for the University, later, to put its sewage through secondary treatment, remove the sludge, and afterwards discharge the effluent into the Sound via a mile-long, two and a quarter million dollar pipe off Old Field Point. Do we want to see the Sound become as foul and dead as Lake Erie?

Ladies and Gentlemen, this is all planned backwards foremost. Long Island can't afford a daily drain into salt water of millions of gallons of fresh water, let alone its load of filth. The proper disposition is to return it to the underground aquifer. The effluent should go through tertiary treatment, and the resulting crystal clear water filtered for re-use through the soil of inland country to the south of the University site. The trick has been demonstrated at Lake Tahoe, Pomona, Santee, and Oxford, California, and a plant of the same type is being constructed at Rock River, Ohio. The New York State Health Department has mandated similar plants for Syracuse, Poughkeepsie, and Cortland, and it can be accomplished for everybody's benefit right here. Physico-chemical treatment would cost less than the planned method, according to estimates obtained by Charles F. Schne, M.D. of Strong's Neck. The argument that phosphates and nitrates in the detergents used by washing machines makes it necessary to pollute the Sound, where it would do much more damage than in soil, is false. Manufacturers of soap substitutes have been frantically working on the phosphate foam problems and have it licked. It will very soon be a thing of the past.

But still another proposition is afloat to deplete the water of Suffolk County, namely to pipe it westward to make up the deficit in Nassau, which now wastes half its own daily increment.

This is the most outrageous folly yet. Long

Island ends in a pair of narrow flukes, and the only reason that eastern Suffolk retains sufficient water for its own use is that it still enjoys the smallest population of any district on Long Island.

Suffolk, the leading agricultural county of New York State, needs its water for its tilled fields and its coming population. Like any Long Island area, it requires an outward pressure in its water table. This provides the optimum dilution in the shellfish zone. To learn what would happen to Suffolk County if its water were tapped for Nassau, look up the important monograph on "The Underground Water Resources of Long Island," published as long ago as 1906. This shows what has been happening for more than a century. If Nassau is to draw off Suffolk water, the infiltration of sea water, which is the bane of western Long Island, will soon be under way. The first sign would be the killing of trees in the marginal lowland by salt from the Atlantic.

Primitive Long Island abounded with springs and brooks. Let me read a paragraph from Seno C. Scott's *Fishing in American Waters*, which was published in 1875, or only twelve years before I was born. "There is not within any settled portion of the United States another piece of territory where the trout streams are . . . so numerous and productive as they are throughout Long Island. It is scarcely possible to travel a mile in any direction without crossing a trout stream, whether from Coney Island to Southampton on the south side, or from Newtown to Greenport on the north side . . . The value of the Long Island trout streams to New York City is inestimable, for each of them is approachable by railroad in a few hours."

Those were the happy days when every barefoot, one-galled boy had it better than a member of the Southside Sportsmen's Club.

We know the subsequent history of the drying up of hills and springs. In my own lifetime, I have seen the headwaters of Carman's River vanish. The reasons are two: the vast increase in population, and sheer waste. The effect began about the middle of the 19th century. Wait Whitman tells of returning to the farmstead of his mother's family, the Van Velsors, near Cold Spring Harbor, after years of absence, and of noting that "the copious old spring and brook seem'd to have mostly dwindled away." I could show you many traces of waterways that are no more, stream beds with every telltale mark except water.

One reason for the transformation that began before the direct sluicing away of precious water, was the widespread filling up of kettle-holes that remained from the Ice Age. Some of these, like Lake Ronkonkoma, contain meres and ponds, but many hundreds of smaller kettle-holes have dry bottoms offering rainfall and run-off the quickest and surest route to the water table. An example in Setauket tells an all too familiar story. A few years ago a developer bought the tract of land, erected a dozen tasteful residences and, of course, filled in a beautiful kettle-hole with rubbish topped by good soil, thoroughly tamped down. After the next heavy storm, the whole vale, including the highway through it, was flooded and the basements of several homes were full of water.

The builder had not foreseen this, but he knew how to take care of it to his own satisfaction. He merely trenched both sides of the street, laid down large concrete pipe, diverted the water by the shortest route to the Sound, and his troubles were ended. But by thus shunting water out of his property, he robbed annual precipitation which should be holding the water table am thus working for the inhabitants.

This is the kind of local mismanagement that Mrs. Murphy, for fifteen years, exposed

in every issue of the Bulletin of Conservationists United for Long Island.

The general spraying with DDT in the spring of 1957 has wrought damage from which we can probably never fully recover. Birds, amphibians, crustaceans, and beneficial insects were among the innumerable victims sacrificed to no purpose. Chimney swifts, nighthawks and whilppoorwills—all three mosquito-eaters—were virtually wiped out; kingfishers and scores of other species sadly reduced. The decimation of fiddler crabs in the salt marsh (where a gypsy moth has never been seen) was followed by the disappearance of the clapper rail and other marsh birds. We hardly ever hear nowadays, the pleasant trill of the gray tree frog, which used to inform us, according to folklore, that rain was coming. Last summer a country woman said to me excitedly, "I saw a hop-toad this morning." Twenty years earlier she would not have mentioned the incident unless she had seen a thousand toads.

The alleged reason for that spraying was to eliminate the gypsy moth. The more likely real reason was to expend five million dollars so that a renewed appropriation would not be denied by Congress to the U.S. Dept. of Agriculture. The task failed in its alleged purpose. The 37 infestations of gypsy moth which the Department had plotted, some of them confined to a single tree, could have been sprayed from the ground instead of a drenching from the skies. Today we have upwards of 500 infestations instead of 37.

The whole campaign was one of brazen misstatements throughout. One story, still repeated, is that the spraying was not primarily for the sake of Long Island but for fear that the moths might spread to and destroy the great forests of the Appalachians. Ladies and gentlemen, the Appalachian Mountains have had infestations of the gypsy moth for the past sixty years, and nobody knows this better than the United States Department of Agriculture.

How fortunate it is that we have newspapers like the Long Island Press to point out such simple and truthful information to violators of Nature's regime, and to those who err through ignorance and are willing, as are many of the builders, to mend their ways. For a score of years, David Starr, the Editor, has been a champion of good conservation practice. His efforts even antedate the time when it began to be fashionable. Helped by his team of informed and enthusiastic reporters and feature writers, including Charlotte Ames, Roger Caras, Sy Marks, Leonard Victor and others, this newspaper and its staff have won an extraordinary number of awards for effective writing about malpractice in the environment.

Americans have often employed science and technology arrogantly, forgetting the precept of the Elizabethan, Sir Francis Bacon, who warned that "Nature is not governed except by obeying her." The spraying of Long Island with DDT in 1957 was a terrible example of that mistake.

To select another instance now under discussion for early decision, I believe that we should have the benefit of more experience before building another at Shoreham. Nuclear fission has not yet proved better for power production than fossil fuels, whereas the first costs have been very much higher. And the safe disposal of radioactive waste is still largely unsolved.

Several existing plants have gone awry, notably the one named for Enrico Fermi. The first electricity that flowed through the Detroit Edison lines from Fermi was also the last. A safety device, ironically enough, started a core meltdown in the 70 million dollar reactor and scared the daylight out of the authorities. The plant has since been out of action.

A large proportion of the specialists in nu-

clear physics, as well as those in pertinent medical science, say that such installations should be placed underground. These include Doctors Teller and Lilienthal, the last, a former chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission. He says, and it is astonishing that his fears should be so lightly brushed aside, that he would not live in a residence anywhere near such a plant. If you want a categorical opinion, ask a hard-headed insurance man about the dangers. You will find his rate sky-high and his liability limited.

The proponents of Shoreham make much of the unlikelihood of ecological damage by the coolant water. Temperature changes will be only slight, they say. Well, temperature change responsible for many great cosmic effects is likewise slight. Climatologists tell us that a decrease in average annual temperature of the northern hemisphere of only 5° C., which would hardly be detectable to human sense organs, would within a hundred years start another Ice Age.

Three winters ago, I witnessed the destruction of an incalculable number of young menhaden, which had been lured by warm water discharged from the plant of the L. I. Lighting Co. in Port Jefferson Harbor, but probably not heat that killed the fish, but rather deoxygenation. Water at 70° F. holds only half as much oxygen as water at 35° F. But they were just as dead, whatever the cause, and had to be carted from the shores by many truckloads, aside from those eaten by thousands of Bonaparte's gulls attracted by the holocaust.

The supply of fossil fuels will not be exhausted for several human lifetimes. So why the rush for further nuclear power stations until we have had twenty-five years or so to see how the present ones are functioning?

There are only a few other matters of which I want to speak briefly.

We need on Long Island a Pine Barren State Park—a good big one, which would preserve forever one of our most fascinating plant associations, the pitch pine, bearberry, pink mossassin power, and many examples of a flora brought south by the glaciers, or that has spread from the southern coastal plain. These zones overlap on the Long Island barrens. If of sufficient size, the park might enable us to keep the hermit thrush, the most heavenly singer of all North American birds and one that breeds at low altitudes only on Long Island and Cape Cod. This must be now, or never!

The sand and gravel companies should once and for all accept the fact that their harbors or open coasts are no longer their field. The place to extract this needed building material is from the inland glacial moraines. The work is not a slightly prospect there, to be sure, but exhausted pits can be put to good use as future parks. After a floor of topsoil has been laid, their depth below ground level offers exceptional shelter for many kinds of tender trees and shrubs. The exhausted gravel pits could be adapted so that many a Long Island village could have its own little botanical park.

The Port of New York Authority plans to extend Kennedy Airport into the 12,000 acres of Jamaica Bay Preserve. It would like to begin work soon, and looks for approval this autumn. Will this solve New York's airport problem? It will not. Kennedy Airport is already too big, and air traffic over the city has passed the limit of reasonable safety. A fourth airport is mandatory in the near future.

The plan would delay, or end as hopeless, efforts to clean up the waters of Jamaica Bay, and would mark the finish of fishing and recreation. In the center of this largest of city parks is one of the most astonishing sanctuaries where, all within a few years, snowy egrets and other herons, as well as glossy ibises, have come to nest in good-sized colonies, and where ducks and geese assemble confidently. There is no place like it short of

Stone Harbor down near Cape May, N. J. It is tragic to exchange it for big business, which will soon have to seek another site anyway. Only last week, Dr. René Dubos of Rockefeller University, reported in the New York Times that the proposal would "destroy irreversibly, one of the few and most attractive aspects of the Natural World in New York City."

Ladies and Gentlemen: recent decisions by the courts have made it simpler for the people to acquire what they value most. Last week a bill in New Jersey gave the Commissioner of Environmental Protection jurisdiction over any wetland one foot above mean high tide. The Environmental Defense Fund has found it possible for any citizen to sue an individual, a corporation, or a division of the Government if he thinks his rights are being infringed. It was not formerly so. When I was testifying about the millions of dead fiddler crabs in Flax Pond after the spraying with DDT in 1957, I was asked by an attorney for the defense how much of my property bordered that marsh, and when I answered, "none", my testimony was thrown out of court. The Conservation Bill of Rights will make it still easier for the protesting individual to gain his ends.

Ours is a time of revived hope for the material resources of the world. There is a new spirit for safeguarding the lands, the rivers, the forests, the seas and the wild life from the insatiable demands of despoilers. In this atomic age, when we all live under threat of total disaster, people, especially the young, have suddenly realized that even if the likelihood of war were to disappear, pollution of air and water and destruction of the life of land and sea could only presage the impoverishment, or even the end of human life as well. So there is a new interest in cooperating with nature, a new trend that in the long run may give us another chance.

We can only hope that the using up of our natural resources is ending, giving place to husbanding these indispensable gifts. In all probability, the wealth of the sea is just as exhaustible as that of the land. Even though the world ocean contains 329 million cubic miles of water, man, with his constantly increasing population, is capable of draining its riches as surely as those of the continents.

"When Daniel Boone goes by at night  
The phantom deer arise  
And all lost, wild America  
Is burning in their eyes."

#### NATIONAL DEBT NOW \$395 BILLION

### HON. GRAHAM PURCELL

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 6, 1970

Mr. PURCELL. Mr. Speaker, recently I ran across some figures that attempted in a highly effective manner to show just how large was our national debt. As the writer, Mr. John C. Leslie, points out, if we attempted to pay on the debt at the rate of a dollar a minute, we would certainly have a long time to go before a significant reduction would be made in its size.

I think this section of the Casual Comments page of the Insurance Record is worthy of mention, and I hereby insert it in the Record at this point:

WE TRY TO SHOW JUST HOW BIG A BILLION IS, AND THE U.S. OWES 395

At the recent meeting of the Pioneer Club of Dallas we cited some figures to show just how big a billion is, and to remind our

friends, in this election year, that the United States owes 395 of them.

Counting the minutes in a day from the beginning of the Christian era, 1970 years ago, when do you think the world passed its first billion of them? Ten years, 100 years, 500 years? It was during the latter part of 1902. Recognizing that recorded history dates back some 6,000 years, the world is drawing close to the end of its third billion of minutes.

Yet the Congress adds several billions of dollars each year to the public debt with the nonchalance of a wastrel son signing his father's name to a dinner check. Let somebody else pay the bill.

Now assuming that the Congress should decide to fund the debt, and would set aside one dollar for each minute: It would take 752,000 years to pay the debt; \$100 per minute, 7,520 years; \$1,000 per minute, 752 years, or \$10,000 per minute it would take 75.2 years.

The interest on the debt this year will pass \$20 billions, and this fixed and increasing annual charge compares to a total debt of \$25.2 billions at the end of World War I and \$39.3 billion at the beginning of World War II. The many political deals, beginning with The New, have come since.

Try these figures on your aspiring politicians and watch them squirm.

#### THE ADMINISTRATION APPROACH TO THE OIL CRISIS—THE OIL LOBBY WINS AND THE CONSUMERS LOSE

### HON. ROBERT N. GIAIMO

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 6, 1970

Mr. GIAIMO. Mr. Speaker, why will there be a critical shortage of fuel oil in the Northeast this winter?

Why will thousands of homeowners be forced to pay outrageous, highly inflated prices to heat their homes?

Why will factories and public institutions which have converted to quality heating oil in order to comply with new air pollution standards be unable to obtain adequate supplies of that oil?

Why must New Englanders continue to bear the burden of an unnecessary, inequitable, and inflationary system of oil import quotas which could be changed or ended today by the President?

Why must the American consumer pay for the protection of one of America's wealthiest industries, the oil industry?

Throughout this session of Congress, I have warned of this impending crisis. I have explained that the oil import program is the real cause of inadequate oil supplies and ridiculous prices. I have urged the President to act in behalf of the American consumer by ending unnecessary import quotas.

Instead, Mr. Speaker, what has the Nixon administration done? Despite an obvious shortage of oil, it has reduced imports from Canada. Despite the recommendations of its own Task Force on Oil Import Control, it has stubbornly refused to scrap the present import quotas. The few inadequate steps it has taken are aptly described by the New York Times as "more designed to take the political heat off the administration than to provide real heat to anyone else."

Why has this administration bent over backward to retain oil import quotas, Mr. Speaker? Why has it remained so indifferent to this crisis? Why has it continued to support this special interest program at the expense of the American consumer?

You do not fight inflation by continuing a program which costs consumers billions of dollars in inflated fuel oil prices. You do not protect the environment by arbitrarily creating a shortage of cleaner, higher quality fuel. Yet the Nixon administration, by its refusal to take meaningful action to end this crisis, has proven that its rhetoric and promises do not matter where the oil lobby is concerned.

During this session of Congress, I introduced two measures to help alleviate this situation. The New England States Fuel Oil Act provided temporary relief by assuring the availability of home heating oil at reasonable prices without regard to existing quotas. My proposed amendment to the Trade Expansion Act offered a permanent solution, the systematic elimination of oil import quotas. Unfortunately, the House Ways and Means Committee saw fit to ignore the crisis in the Northeast and the overall inequity of the oil import program. In the Trade Expansion Act reported by that committee, oil import decisions were left in the hands of the President. Judging by the Nixon administration record in this area, the committee's decision was a victory for the oil lobby and a setback for the American consumer.

Mr. Speaker, the fact is that the Nixon administration could end the shortage of fuel oil and lower inflated heating oil prices today. By not doing so, it is doing a disservice to consumers in general and New Englanders in particular. I will continue to fight for a change in this irresponsible oil import policy.

On October 2, a New York Times editorial stressed the fact that this is indeed a manmade crisis and that the Nixon administration is guilty of indifference and irresponsibility by refusing to come to grips with it. I insert this outstanding editorial at this point in the Record:

#### MAN-MADE FUEL CRISIS

It comes as a stunning surprise to most Americans to realize that a temporary shortage of coal, oil and natural gas may produce power blackouts and brownouts this winter. That surprise is heightened by the state's notice to New Yorkers that fuel rationing might be necessary here for the first time since World War II. The ordinary citizen's astonishment is justified. If ever there was a man-made crisis, this is it.

There is no shortage of coal, oil and gas as such. The nation's reserves of all three are still enormous. Foreign sources are also available. But several special circumstances have developed at the same time to cause disruptions in the normal marketing of these fossil fuels.

The United States is a coal-exporting country, and coal exports have risen this year. Heavy exports have tied up railroad coal cars at seaports where they wait for days to be unloaded. The new Federal Coal Mine Safety Act—long overdue and still slackly enforced—has pinched production because companies are closing small mines rather than making the capital investment necessary to



bring them up to the new Federal safety standards. But, basically, the shortage is not of coal but of railroad cars.

The international oil market has been upset because Libya is restricting production in an apparent effort to get a higher royalty for its oil. Syria, bringing pressure for higher transit fees, has refused since May to repair a break in a major pipeline. But the United States could easily overcome these adverse factors if domestic oil production were not rigged low to keep the price stable and imports from Venezuela not rigidly restricted.

Natural gas has moved temporarily into short supply, partly because gas producers and distributors did not foresee the extent to which the public outcry for clean air would send the demand for their product skyrocketing. Unfortunately, however, another part of the explanation is that the major oil companies, which own the lion's share of gas leases, are not averse to an artificially induced gas shortage which would heighten the pressure for a hefty increase in gas prices.

The Council of Economic Advisers' first "inflation alert" noted that fuel prices have been advancing with "exceptional rapidity" this year. The cost of bituminous coal climbed at a 34.4 per cent rate in the first quarter, then shot up at an 81 per cent rate in the second quarter. Residual fuel prices went up at a 36 per cent pace in the first quarter and 60 per cent in the second.

The Administration's instinctive response to this many-sided problem was to let it drift. Dr. Paul W. McCracken, the President's chief economic adviser, said several weeks ago: "I think the most helpful solution from what very little I have been able to see of this problem at the moment would be to pray for a benign weatherman this winter."

With the seriousness of the problem become more apparent every day, however, the White House has now announced some small measures. They seem more designed to take the political heat of the Administration than to provide real heat to anyone else.

The Interstate Commerce Commission has doubled the charge for railroad cars standing idle in loading zones. The import quota of 40,000 barrels a day on fuel oil used for home heating on the East Coast is to be doubled in the first quarter of 1971, but with a compensating reduction in the last nine months of next year to maintain the over-all average. Other import restrictions are eased in minor ways. "In view of numerous uncertainties, no one can now be sure that these steps will be adequate," the Administration spokesman observed.

The Administration has spent a year and a half marching up the hill and then down the hill on oil import quotas. It is time to march back up the hill and stay there. Oil import quotas make no sense at any time, as the President's own task force has made plain. In a time of fuel shortage, they constitute nothing less than an attack by the Federal Government on the welfare of millions of its own citizens to safeguard oil industry profits. The Eastern Seaboard should routinely meet much of its energy needs by imports of oil from Venezuela. The quota changes announced this week amount to mere trifling with the issue.

The regulatory commissions in the oil-producing states could be prodded to increase the number of days on which oil is pumped from existing wells. The doubling of charges on idle railroad cars is a step in the right direction, but the Department of Transportation could work with the coal-carrying railroads to devise new procedures and, if necessary, new incentives and stiffer penalties to get them to cut their "turnaround time" on unloading coal cars.

If fuel rationing is necessary this winter, homes and stores will have to take precedence over heavy industry. But this is a

choice which should not have to be made. Aggressive Government leadership can still make it unnecessary.

## LISTEN, WHITE LIBERAL: DO NOT PICK MY HEROES

### HON. LOUIS STOKES

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 6, 1970

Mr. STOKES. Mr. Speaker, white liberals are often perplexed by the negative reactions their pronouncements sometimes evoke in the black community. Solidly confident of the purity of their motives, the liberals become very distressed when hostility and resentment greet a well-intentioned act or statement.

This need never be the case. But it will continue to occur—at least until our white friends finally comprehend the distinction between supporting black solutions to black problems and dictating the substance of those solutions. Nowhere is this pedantic tendency more apparent than in the continual efforts of the white liberal press to decide which blacks are capable of leading their own communities.

We have recently seen another example of this irritating habit in a New York Times magazine piece indicating that Whitney Young has somehow deserted the black cause. That article prompted an understandably angry response from my close friend, Columnist Carl Rowan. Mr. Rowan's article not only points out the absurdity of the charges leveled against Mr. Young, but also accurately relates the high degree of black vexation with such unsolicited meddling in black affairs.

I feel that it would be helpful for all of my colleagues to have the opportunity to digest Mr. Rowan's remarks:

[From the Plain Dealer, Sept. 27, 1970]  
IN DEFENSE OF WHITNEY YOUNG: LISTEN,  
WHITE LIBERAL: DO NOT PICK MY HEROES  
(By Carl T. Rowan)

WASHINGTON.—Few things burn me more than white liberals arrogating to themselves the right to decide which black man is a soul brother and which is an Uncle Tom.

Most irritating and destructive of all those in the communications media who snidely feed the suicidal notion that the essence of manhood is an angry black youth with a rusty rifle, holed up in a sandbagged out-house, challenging the National Guard to a shootout.

The New York Times magazine was guilty of just this kind of liberally intentioned madness last Sunday when it ran a piece which would lead readers to believe that Whitney M. Young Jr., director of the National Urban League, is the biggest Uncle Tom in America.

Burying Young in a grave of shallow praise, the Times writer said, oh, so subtly, that Young may be not a black leader but an "oreo cookie—that is, black on the outside but white inside."

What are the 49-year-old Urban League leader's sins?

1. He "saunters along the corridors of power," hobnobbing on a first-name basis with Henry Ford II and other kingpins of

the establishment, author Tom Buckley tells us.

As far as I'm concerned, the "white liberal" who indicts a black man for reaching this level is revealing his low regard for blacks. For he is saying that no black man is smart enough, witty enough or otherwise gifted enough to socialize with the cream of the whites—unless he has "sold out."

2. Young is also suspect because he has increased the National Urban League's budget fiftyfold, with most of the money coming from whites to whom Young supposedly is beholden.

The argument is absurd for many reasons. Even the Black Panthers get most of their money from whites—at home or abroad—for the simple reason that most of the surplus money is still in the hands of whites. If heavy dependence on "white money" is utterly compromising, then all the effective civil rights leaders have a streak of Uncle Tom running from wallet right up through spine.

The truth is that Young deserves little credit or blame for the fact that corporations, foundations and government agencies suddenly pumped millions of dollars into an organization which once operated on a shoestring. The looters and burners scared hell out of the establishment, and tycoons suddenly began looking for ways to spend some conscience money and to undertake some fear-induced employment of blacks.

Are Young and the Urban League to be condemned because they were shrewd enough to maintain contact with the power structure and thus become a channel for long-overdue resources once the leaders of business and industry woke up?

3. Then this all-wise white liberal author condemns Young and other civil rights leaders as "accommodationists" who got so close to and friendly with Lyndon B. Johnson that they became tainted by the Vietnam war.

What the typewriter theoretician forgets is that Johnson was a true friend of black equality. He was browbeating Congress into passing the law that makes it possible today for Nobel-prize-winner Ralph Bunche or Supreme Court Justice Thurgood Marshall to go to New Orleans or Jackson, Miss., and not worry about where he will sleep. Johnson was giving Negroes real "black power" in government and at the polls, all over the nation.

Since when is it a matter of contempt to cooperate with a president who is the friend you have sought for a century?

4. The article hints that blacks are, or ought to be, outraged because Young on occasion has publicly made statements that give the Nixon administration the benefit of the doubt. The article insinuates that Young was bucking to become "Mr. Big Black Man" in the Nixon administration, a glaring contradiction with the article's earlier assertion that Young "has turned down governmental appointments that would have provided the capstones for eminent careers."

Young would be a fool to join this administration as its link to the black community, but the truth is that the Nixon administration and black people both need a black man in the White House who has intellect, guts and the respect of the black people.

There will never be such a man if publications like the Times continue to push this absurd notion that any black man who "fraternizes" with the power structure is unfit to be called a black leader.

What this Times article suggests (as do a lot of self-styled white saviors of the down-trodden black man) is that for a black man to prove his mettle today he must show suicidal instincts—with a violence of both rhetoric and action.

The black man's search for freedom is too

complicated for any such madness. Black people need a multiplicity of leaders mounting attacks on a wide variety of fronts. With-out the Youngs along with the Stokely Carmichaels, the Roy Wilkinsons, along with the Rap Browns, the Julian Bonds along with the Bobby Seals, the Jesse Jacksons along with the Eldridge Cleavers, the black man isn't going anywhere.

Surely the last thing black people need is white liberals sowing seeds of division, distrust and strife among blacks.

So I say to hell with the white media know-it-alls who insinuate that unless we are all Bobby Seales and Angela Davises we forfeit the right to be called black—or men.

Tom Buckley and the Times can pick their own heroes; we black people will pick the black ones.

#### A REPLY TO THE SCRANTON REPORT

HON. ROBERT H. MICHEL

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 6, 1970

Mr. MICHEL. Mr. Speaker, declaring that the Nation and its campuses face a crisis of violence and a crisis of understanding, the President's Commission on Campus Unrest then goes on to draw some very naive and very wrong conclusions from its investigations.

The Assistant Attorney General for Civil Rights, Jerris Leonard, in a Chicago speech, has set the record straight

by laying the blame for campus disorder on the doorstep of those truly responsible instead of on the present administration.

The following Chicago Tribune editorial of October 6, 1970, puts the issue of campus unrest in proper perspective and rebuts the fuzzy contentions of the Scranton panel, and I include the editorial at this point in the RECORD:

#### A REPLY TO THE SCRANTON REPORT

Jerris Leonard, assistant attorney general for civil rights, has provided the administration's first formal reply to the Scranton commission's report on campus unrest. Speaking at a meeting of the Council of Community College Boards in Chicago, he said that the federal government is "not in the business of keeping peace on the campus."

"The primary responsibility for maintaining order in our colleges and universities," he said, "rests with administrators, faculty, and you, the trustees. And the plain truth is that in many cases those who administer our universities simply have not had the foresight to respond to the legitimate needs of their students, or the guts to stand up to the illegitimate and illegal activity of a small percentage bent on tearing down every one of our institutions."

No doubt Mr. Leonard will be accused of passing back to the universities the buck that the Scranton commission had passed to the administration by calling on the President, as its first recommendation, to exercise his "reconciling moral leadership."

The buck belongs where Mr. Leonard has put it. The Scranton commission's report fails to distinguish adequately between dissent and violence; it seems to suggest that to stop violence it is necessary to remove the

causes of dissent. Removing the causes of dissent has been the goal of democratic governments for as long as they have existed. To remove them would be to create a Utopia, and it is a delusion to think that this can be brought about now or perhaps ever. There is always going to be dissent.

The commission is probably right in saying that the war is the chief cause of unrest on the campuses today; but to suggest that the President should end the war in order to end the dissent is begging the question. The issue is not whether to end the war but how to end it, and polls show that most Americans are satisfied with the way the President is going about it. Does the Scranton commission want the government to alter its policies to meet the objections of a minority of the people? If so, it is preaching the submission to special interest minorities which is abhorrent to most of us and to the liberals above all.

What, then, is the President to do? He can't remove the causes of dissent, he can't appease the dissenters, and neither must dissent be stifled. What is called for, clearly, is to stop confusing dissent and violence. The very name of the commission contributes to this confusion, because "unrest" is a vague sort of word halfway between the two, one that suggests that violence is an inevitable manifestation of dissent. In parts of its report, the committee itself doesn't seem to be quite sure what it is trying to stop.

It is violence that must be stopped, not dissent. The commission has made several concrete and sensible suggestions for dealing with violence, but they all call for action by college administrators or local officials—not by the President. To put the primary responsibility on the President, whose moral leadership means little to the terrorists, is to divert attention from what has to be done.

## HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES—Wednesday, October 7, 1970

The House met at 12 o'clock noon. The Chaplain, Rev. Edward G. Latch, D.D., offered the following prayer:

*Restore unto me the joy of Thy salvation: and uphold me with Thy free spirit—Psalm 51: 12.*

O God of peace, who hast taught us that in returning and rest we shall be saved, in quietness and confidence shall be our strength: by the might of Thy spirit lift us, we pray Thee, to Thy presence, where we may be still and know that Thou art God.

Strengthen and sustain us that the tensions and trials of this tumultuous time may not break our spirits, nor cause us to give up the struggle for life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness for all.

Bless these Members of Congress who represent our people, who would serve Thee faithfully, and who would maintain order in our land and peace in our world. Grant that they may prove to be true to every task committed to their care. We ask it in the name of Him for whose kingdom we pray. Amen.

#### THE JOURNAL

The Journal of the proceedings of yesterday was read and approved.

#### MESSAGES FROM THE PRESIDENT

Sundry messages in writing from the President of the United States were communicated to the House by Mr. Leonard, one of his secretaries.

#### MESSAGE FROM THE SENATE

A message from the Senate by Mr. Arrington, one of its clerks, announced that the Senate had passed without amendment bills of the House of the following titles:

H.R. 140. An act to authorize the establishment of the Andersonville National Historic Site in the State of Georgia, and for other purposes;

H.R. 4172. An act to authorize the Secretary of the Interior to provide financial assistance for development and operation costs of the Ice Age National Scientific Reserve in the State of Wisconsin, and for other purposes;

H.R. 9548. An act to amend section 15-503 of the District of Columbia Code with respect to exemptions from attachment and certain other process in the case of persons not residing in the District of Columbia;

H.R. 10837. An act to provide for the conveyance to Pima and Maricopa Counties, Ariz., and to the city of Albuquerque, N. Mex., of certain lands for recreational purposes under the provisions of the Recreation and Public Purposes Act of 1929;

H.R. 12960. An act to validate the conveyance of certain lands in the State of California by the Southern Pacific Co.;

H.R. 13125. An act to amend section 11 of the act approved February 22, 1889 (25 Stat. 676) as amended by the act of May 7, 1932 (47 Stat. 150), and as amended by the act of April 13, 1948 (62 Stat. 170) relating to the admission to the Union of the States of North Dakota, South Dakota, Montana, and Washington, and for other purposes;

H.R. 15012. An act to authorize a study of the feasibility and desirability of establishing a unit of the national park system to commemorate the opening of the Cherokee

Strip to homesteading, and for other purposes; and

H.R. 18410. An act to establish the Fort Point National Historic Site in San Francisco, Calif., and for other purposes.

The message also announced that the Senate had passed with amendments in which the concurrence of the House is requested, a bill of the House of the following title:

H.R. 18731. An act to increase from \$20 to \$40 per day the per diem allowance authorized in lieu of subsistence for members of the American Battle Monuments Commission when in travel status.

#### COMMUNICATION FROM THE CHAIRMAN OF THE COMMITTEE ON PUBLIC WORKS

The SPEAKER laid before the House the following communication from the chairman of the Committee on Public Works; which was read and, together with the accompanying papers, referred to the Committee on Appropriations:

WASHINGTON, D.C.  
September 24, 1970.

HON. JOHN W. MCCORMACK,  
The Speaker, House of Representatives,  
The Capitol.

DEAR MR. SPEAKER: Pursuant to the provisions of Section 2 of the Watershed Protection and Flood Prevention Act, as amended, the Committee on Public Works has approved the work plans transmitted to you which were referred to this committee. The work plans involved are the following by State, watershed, Executive communication number, and approval date: