

EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

OPERATION CORNERSTONE

HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, November 25, 1970

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, Cornerstone, HUD's controversial training program in Atlanta, Ga., is a classic disgrace in waste and wanton misdirection of taxpayer's dollars under the excuse of helping poor and unfortunate.

Even officials at HUD are concerned over continued subsidizing of revolutionary fronts providing an economic base for community organization activities to attack the American people and plot destruction of our country.

I include several memorandums from HUD officials and a story about "Cornerstone" by E. H. Rothschild from the January 1970 edition of Challenge, publication of HUD, Washington, D.C., at this point:

U.S. GOVERNMENT MEMORANDUM

(Confidential)

DEPARTMENT OF HOUSING
AND URBAN DEVELOPMENT,

October 15, 1969.

To: Richard C. Van Dusen, Under Secretary.
From: Cornerstone Participants Listed Below.

Subject: The Cornerstone Project—Some Reservations.

The purpose of this memorandum is to call to your attention several reservations which we, as Cornerstone participants, believe severely detract from what might otherwise be a useful training experience for Departmental staff.

The first and most important criticism is the extreme bias built into the Cornerstone program. The Cornerstone staff, representing one viewpoint, places every neighborhood problem into a preconceived radical ideological framework. We do not think it is an exaggeration to say that the Cornerstone program is designed to force the participant into a radical or "New Leftist" ideological mold. We submit that it is extremely difficult for participants to arrive at objective conclusions in such an unobjective atmosphere. We should like to make clear that our criticism is not of the staff members' personal opinions, that is their own business. Rather, we object to the extension of these opinions into every facet of the program without giving due, indeed any, consideration to opposing points of view.

Our second criticism is directed at the cost of the service (previously \$150, now \$300 per person) as compared with the staff time and energies devoted to putting together a quality program for participants. The Cornerstone staff now consists of six or seven people. However, it appeared to us that the time of only two people was devoted to the program while the remainder of the staff was either not working or engaged in "community organization" (see below) activities. While the "loose-knit," "open-ended," "unstructured," approach that was taken in planning activities has been praised by some participants, we feel that these words are euphemisms for "mismanagement" and that the term "mismanagement" would more aptly describe the current Cornerstone situation.

Our third criticism is that the staff appears to be spending a large percentage (70

to 80 percent) of its time in community organization, similar to the Office of Economic Opportunity's Community Action Program-type activities. We came away with the feeling that the participant portion of the project is primarily a device invented to provide an economic base for the community organization activities. These activities, according to our observation, have taken the form of non-constructive attacks on local, state, and Federal programs and/or agencies operating in the neighborhood. The key question which we feel you should be alerted to is: Does the Department of Housing and Urban Development wish to subsidize a group that devotes 70 or more percent of its time to community organization-type activities that are in direct conflict and competition with OEO and Model Cities programs in the area? Please understand that we do not desire to destroy citizen opposition to public/HUD programs (as if that were possible). We do, however, question the advisability of having taxpayers subsidize this opposition under the guise of an employee training/education program.

As you are already aware, a number of our colleagues enthusiastically support all aspects of the Cornerstone Project. We do not. We believe that the project presents only one point of view, is not well managed, and is non-constructively involved in community organization activities. Its continuance as a HUD funded employee training project should be subject to serious question.

In view of the fact that the Cornerstone Project has both its supporters and detractors, we feel that it would be highly desirable for you to examine the Cornerstone program as a participant so that you could arrive at your own opinion as to its worth. However, we recognize that more important matters compete for your time. We would, therefore, recommend that you request a person to attend Cornerstone whose impartiality you have come to respect and to provide you with a report on the merits and/or demerits of the project. We strongly urge that such action be taken before HUD engages in any long-term training arrangement with Cornerstone and before you move to further encourage Departmental staff to participate in the project.

We appreciate the opportunity to make these views known to you and we would be happy to provide you with any additional information or be of service in any way.

RICHARD LEHMANN.

LEE RUDD.

MARGARET L. LINDSAY.

CHARLES K. MATHENY.

EDWARD WISE.

[From Challenge, publication of U.S. Dept. of Housing and Urban Development, Washington, D.C., January 1970]

CORNERSTONE—FACE TO FACE WITH POVERTY
(By E. H. Rothschild)

Rickety green wooden steps that lead up to the porch of 97 Love Street give little clue that this 60-year-old frame house is headquarters for Project Cornerstone. There is no sign on the door. The house is like hundreds of others that line the mostly unpaved streets in the Summerhill ghetto of Atlanta.

Once inside however, the similarity ends. It matters little to Kelly Kidd, dungaree-clad Project Director, whether you are a mayor, GS-18, or a drunk who has stumbled into the dark living room. Pretenses and credentials carry no importance here.

If you're hungry, you'll probably be directed toward the kitchen. If you can find something to eat, you'll have to move the pile of dirty pots and pans filling the sink

to find a glass or dish, if you require such niceties. If you're tired, you may be able to talk your way into flopping for a while on one of the bunk beds covered by mattresses which resemble WWI Red Cross litters.

Randy Reynolds, a likable nineteen-year-old drop-out, flopped down six months ago, and is still around. Now a Cornerstone staff member, he receives room and board for varied chores such as carrying out garbage, painting the house, or acting as guide for participants who come to the Project from various Federal agencies.

HUNDREDS OF VOLUNTEERS

Hundreds of volunteers have come to Project Cornerstone in Atlanta since it was founded in 1966, for two-week seminars. Hopefully, they will learn what it's like to be a poor black American struggling to stay alive in a ghetto. Agencies such as HUD, HEW, Commerce and Labor send employees to introduce policy-making bureaucrats to what it's like looking up from the bottom.

Every day, 97 Love Street is crowded with 10 or 12 volunteers and three or four Cornerstone staff. Neighborhood children and adults seem to be drawn to the house and the friendly inhabitants. It takes a few days for a middle-class white newcomer to adjust to the cultural shock and lack of conveniences. Privacy, which most of us enjoy and take for granted in our own homes, doesn't exist in a house with one bathroom, two overcrowded bedrooms, a kitchen, a living room and front porch. But once settled, your attention is drawn away from yourself as you participate in the group activities.

"DO IT YOURSELF" BREAKFAST

A typical day at Project Cornerstone starts with a "do it yourself" breakfast. Afterward the group, dressed in casual attire, trudges up Love Street for a visit that may take it to the Mayor's office or a neighborhood bar. Brief trips to the emergency ward at Grady Memorial Hospital, the Model Cities Agency, the Southside Comprehensive Health Center and Juvenile Court permitted our group to observe first-hand how various Governmental programs and services were being dispensed.

Questions begin to get pointed after a day or two and pat answers are not left unchallenged very long. After lunch, discussions may last into the afternoon when participants once again go off to have a look at some other aspect of ghetto life.

None of the activity is tightly structured and this leaves great opportunity for initiative and personal search for both problems and answers. The intended course of a day's activity can change drastically from sunup to sundown.

Evenings, the project house comes alive as various speakers from organizations like the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), Tenants Union For Fairness (TUFF), or a representative from the Mayor's office speak and exchange views in what frequently turns out to be a rough and tumble verbal confrontation.

Those who take issue with a topic can expect plenty of give and take. Conversations get intense as the guts of emotional issues such as racism are cut open and spill out for all to examine.

TIME TO "BUG OUT"

After a few days it's impossible not to begin examining your own hates and prejudices. This is the time to pack up and "bug out" unless you are willing and prepared to come face to face with the fact that your own beliefs are being questioned by none other than you.

I was privileged to be among the earliest HUD participants at Cornerstone, a group that numbered 50 by the end of 1969. During my two weeks it was hot and humid in Atlanta; the temperature did not drop very much at night and sleep became elusive.

I remember our group visiting the Georgia Surplus Food Distribution Center on a day when it was 97 degrees. This one center serves the 200,000 poor people of Fulton County with surplus food such as flour, beans, soup and other staples. Prison labor cuts open the brown cardboard boxes and dispenses pre-determined amounts as people walk along pushing their food on a roller conveyor gathering their month's supply. A family of ten is entitled to 327 pounds of food. No one seemed to know or care how a poor woman, having waited in line for three hours, can carry 327 pounds of can goods in 97 degree heat across the city or county to her home.

DISCUSSING JAIL OVER LUNCH

On another day, we visited Magistrate Court and listened while Atlanta's lower court judiciary conducted hearings. Most of the cases involved drunkenness, beatings or relatively minor crimes. After the hearings, our group discussed the sentences over lunch and almost unanimously agreed that the white southern Magistrate was enormously fair in measuring the penalty to the crime of predominantly black defendants.

Another day was spent at the new OEO-funded Southside Comprehensive Health Center. This recently opened \$6 million outpatient clinic services 48,000 people who live in Summerhill and the adjoining communities of Peopletown, Mechanicsville and Pittsburgh.

The Reverend O. B. Davis, the full-time public relations director, patiently attempted to answer our questions and gave us a tour of an impressive clinic within what was once a mattress factory. Seventy-two percent of the clinic's employees live in the neighborhood and more than 1,000 patients are treated weekly. Unfortunately, the center's open hours are 8:30 a.m. to 5:00 p.m. and this limits treatment mostly to unemployed females, housewives and children. It seemed to us that a simple change in hours once or twice a week would permit working males to receive proper treatment without having to lose time or salary from their jobs.

PROMISES CLOAKED IN RHETORIC

By the second week, many of us began to display frayed nerves and irritability as a result of the heat, the long days of asking, seeking, arguing and just existing. This feeling combined with the little visible improvement that had taken place in the community made us begin to see and feel some of the frustration and hopelessness.

We began to see how many of the promises have been cloaked in rhetoric, and that the paternalistic idea of doing for the poor is not the total answer. You begin to realize that the poor is not the total answer. You began to realize that the poor must rise out of the ghetto, not by being badgered or bulldozed, but by having the equal opportunity in deeds, that middle-class whites believe exists, but which in fact does not.

We never learned, for instance, why fifty percent of the streets were not paved in that community and yet a pot hole in the better neighborhoods would receive repaving in a matter of days, if not hours. Or why our own Model Cities approach was massive relocation and demolition, when to our eyes it appeared vacant lots constituted more than half the land in Summerhill which with some imaginative planning and forethought could easily have held new homes. Or why no employee at the Model Cities Agency was responsible for seeking out job-creating industries to locate in an underemployed and undertrained community.

OUR CLIENTS ARE POOR PEOPLE

The lack of answers to questions like these and dozens more shocked and surprised us all. We began to realize that our clients are not seven HUD Regional Offices or several hundred Congressmen. Our clients are not the 1,000 Redevelopment Authorities or Housing Authorities across this land. Our clients, to a large extent, are those millions of poor people, black and white, out there in hot, depressing, dirty ghettos like Summerhill—trying, or at least waiting, to get a slice of the pie against odds that are overwhelming, in a game where the rules have been one-sidedly made through hundreds of years of prejudice and ignorance.

To say that Project Cornerstone was enlightening, emotion filled, educational and shocking is an understatement. It is all of these things and much more.

The hope is that participants come back a little more understanding and a lot more knowledgeable of the real problems at the roots of society. It is not designed to convert you into a raving liberal. The hope is that you are better prepared to help those people who you now know really exist, but who before Project Cornerstone were merely imaginary, or at best statistics.

And perhaps, if you are lucky, you will return to HUD, as many Cornerstone participants did, more resolved to be critical and outspoken when policy is discussed and passed around for review, determined to remember these black people in Summerhill, who don't know about advocacy planning or can't spell citizen participation, who are waiting for us to deliver better homes, a better community, and a better life, as we have been promising and promising and promising.

DEPARTMENT OF
HOUSING AND URBAN DEVELOPMENT,
May 13, 1970.

U.S. GOVERNMENT MEMORANDUM

To: Secretary George Romney.
From: Lester E. Ogilvy, Assistant to Special Ass't for Cooperative Housing.
Subject: Operation Cornerstone.

Having just returned from one of HUD's training programs, Cornerstone, in Atlanta, Georgia, my sense of loyalty to my country, to my President, and more particularly, to you, Mr. Secretary, compels me to report to you, (1) the deplorable physical conditions under which the participants live, (2) the outrageous communistic philosophy expressed in an obscene manner by the Cornerstone staff and its speakers, (3) the atrocious lack of a well-planned, constructive program, (4) the lack of an acceptable level of administration of the shamefully constructed program, and (5) the expenditure of Government funds which permits an anti-democratic philosophy to flourish.

Soon after receipt of the attached HUD Staff Bulletin 70-28, dated March 4, 1970, I volunteered as a participant for the session commencing April 19th. Having a Master's Degree in Social Service and having worked with poverty-stricken black and white families, together with my experience in housing programs designed to meet the needs of the low-income families, I believed this training program would be a productive experience—one in which I could contribute as well as learn.

Previous participants from HUD have attended Cornerstone with varying impressions as to the worthwhileness of the training program. Each participant is informed that he is not required to submit a written report, but should he choose to do so, he may record on tape his impressions of Cornerstone. Prior to my going to Cornerstone, I requested an opportunity to review impressions of earlier participants but was denied this request as it was believed that each

participant should go to Cornerstone with an "open mind." However, I did have the opportunity to discuss this training with a number of previous participants and received reports varying from "I would find it an 'interesting' experience," "you probably will be better able to get something constructive out of it than I did," to "it is a repulsive experience and HUD should stop its participation in it."

Since my return from Cornerstone, I have been given the attached memorandums, dated October 15, 1969, and November 19, 1969, to Mr. Richard C. Van Dusen, Under Secretary, which I am told have not been acknowledged.

Any one of the five reasons cited in the second paragraph of this memorandum is sufficient for HUD to cease its payment of \$300 per person to Cornerstone for so-called "lodging, meals and training." Each of the five reasons could be the subject of treatise; however, I want to concur with the October 15th and November 19th memorandums and cite only a few specific incidents I observed which confirm their feelings concerning the administration of the HUD training program, Cornerstone.

Kelley Kidd, co-director of Cornerstone, presented a two-hour lecture on the development of this country to the present time, which he describes as being in the third stage—the fourth stage being the revolution "when the blacks and the whites will be treated equally and the people are rightfully given that which is theirs rather than in the hands of the Henry Ford's, etc." He stated that there are really only three things in life: fornicating, defecating, and urinating, and we only need to contribute that which is necessary to make these functions possible. This theme was repeated time and again during his lengthy lecture. He hates two things in life, (1) hard work, and (2) doing anything unpleasant which he is told he has to do. Throughout my stay at Cornerstone, statements concerning "those _____, _____, Nixon and Romney" were uttered more frequently than I care to remember by most of the members of the Cornerstone staff, speakers and "guests" of the staff which addressed the eight participants (four male government employees, one male student from Oregon, and three female government employees). One member of the staff admitted he was a Communist and was ready to go to Washington and "burn the _____ place down."

It appeared to me that the scheduling of speakers on the Cornerstone promises was done to give an abundance of time to non-constructive-minded community personnel to present their views concerning Nixon, Romney, draft-dodging, and "non-violent activities (don't inflict physical harm—anything else goes)."

It was quite apparent little effort was given to stressing the importance of the constructive government operations (Comprehensive Health Center [OEO funds], Child Development Center [Model City funds], Model Cities and Emmaus House [Episcopal Church funds]). I was also aware that these activities were not clear as to the function of Cornerstone nor the purpose of our visit to their activities. Scheduling was so poor that four of the scheduled events were cancelled or substituted.

Collins McGee (black—picture attached) was intoxicated to the extent that concern was expressed by one of the Cornerstone guests about his driving the Volkswagen bus (owned by Cornerstone, bought with HEW funds). Our seminar leader of the Cornerstone staff, Joe Reagon, said, "He always drives drunk." When asked where Jim was (an Oregon student who was a participant), Joe replied, "He's up at the other house doing a job on my wife." When someone in the group said, "Anna Mary (Joe's wife) is

kind of drunk and maybe that's not a good idea," he replied, "Let them do their thing."

Jim (Oregon student) told me and participant, Mr. Kenneth Martin, Social Security Administration, Kansas City, that he grew marijuana in Oregon and had some with him and was prepared to furnish it for a party which he thought the group needed.

Mr. Martin told me that Jim said Kelley Kidd needed something stronger than marijuana and was on "speed". (Jim's comment got back to Kelley Kidd and he publicly denied at the outset of his two-hour lecture that he was on speed or LSD.)

On the evening of the 22nd, two men stopped their car in front of our house and inquired who owned the Volkswagen bus, that they had a good deal that the owner would be interested in. It was a brand new tire and rim they would sell for \$4.00. Kelley Kidd brought it.

One of the staff members brought two gallon jugs of home brew to Cornerstone and put them in the ice box for our use.

"Hippy" friends of the staff wandered in and out of the house at all hours of the day and night and consumed food allegedly for the participants and staff.

Living conditions were unbelievably filthy. The mattresses and pillows furnished all of the participants would be instantly burned by the Health Authorities. The bedroom which was about 18' by 18' housed the five male participants. One closet was provided for use of the five male participants. The one bathroom which was used by twelve people did not have a lock, merely a nail which was turned to provide security. The flooring was a rotted plywood, no shower, only an old small bathtub, a *torn paper curtain* provided the only means of privacy on the first floor window. The toilet seat was ready to come apart. Stokely Carmichael's picture was prominently displayed in the "living room."

Mice, rats, cockroaches and bugs and Rap Brown's picture were evident in the kitchen. We prepared our own breakfast and lunch. A *very mediocre* evening meal was served buffet style.

During the afternoon group discussion period of the 24th, I stated that I was aware of the position taken by the Cornerstone staff in supporting the garbage strikers and it would have been inconsistent for them to minimize the ill effects of their strike; however, I could not condone the staff making no effort to gather up the garbage and trash on the 23rd after the strike was settled at midnight on the 22nd. The *Co-Director, Collins McGee*, told me, "If the God-damn garbage bothered you so much, why didn't you do something about it?" I told him that it did, and worked as fast as I could that morning getting about 80% of it hauled out to the curb prior to the downpour and asked where he was during that time. I was told, "It is none of your damn business." The following day when I returned from downtown Atlanta about 10:30 p.m., I found my pillowcase, pillow, sheet and mattress saturated with urine.

Saturday was listed on our schedule as "Free time—Do your own thing." Four of the male participants had planned to get a shower and a good night's sleep at a hotel in downtown Atlanta but were told in very positive terms that it was not intended that any participants spend any evenings sleeping away from Cornerstone.

I believe that I approached training opportunity with a mature and open mind and that I have given a fair and, hopefully, a constructive evaluation of this program.

Although Cornerstone was conceived as an excellent opportunity to increase participants' awareness and understanding of urban poverty and racial prejudice, as administered during the sessions reported by HUD employees in October and November 1969 and during the session I attended, it is not accomplishing its objective. It is my sincere belief that this Department should not participate in its continuance. I know that sim-

ilar recommendations are being made by participants from HEW Headquarters Office and the Social Security Office in Kansas City.

I would be pleased to discuss this further with you should you so desire.

LESTER E. OGILVY.

VOLUNTEERS FOR PROJECT CORNERSTONE
(Staff Bulletin)

DEPARTMENT OF HOUSING
AND URBAN DEVELOPMENT,

March 4, 1970.

Project Cornerstone is a training experience designed to increase participants' awareness and understanding of urban poverty, racial prejudice, and institutional discrimination through personal exposure to these problems. It was started over three years ago as a summer training program to give professionals a first-hand experience with urban poverty. Cornerstone has expanded to a year round activity in Atlanta. The program participants include businessmen, government employee, labor union officials, clergymen, and educators. Participants live for two weeks in the heart of Atlanta's ghetto where they have an opportunity to meet and talk with residents, community leaders, and anti-poverty workers and where they can see and experience at first hand the problems of urban poverty and evaluate the effectiveness of current existing program at the lower level.

Last year fifty professional HUD employees participated in Project Cornerstone. They have returned with a heightened understanding of urban crisis and new insights as to how they might improve their job performance when involved in designing and developing HUD programs which affect the poor.

Since the experience proved so valuable HUD has increased its participation to 75 employees for calendar year 1970 and is seeking Volunteers (senior professionals GS-12 through 18) to participate in this program.

Interested employees should contact Noel Sweitzer, room 10014, extension 56648 or Mel Patterson, room 2154, extension 55473, for applications.

HUD will be sending three or four employees to each session. The calendar for the first 10 sessions is listed below. Applications should be submitted no later than March 16, 1970.

1970 SESSION OF THE CORNERSTONE PROJECT

March 29—April 10.
April 19—May 1.
May 3—May 15.
May 17—May 29.
June 7—June 19.
June 21—July 3.
July 12—July 24.
July 26—August 7.
August 9—August 21.
August 23—September 4.

MAN'S INHUMANITY TO MAN—HOW LONG?

HON. WILLIAM J. SCHERLE

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, November 30, 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?

PITTSBURGH INITIATES "THE WORLD OF CONSTRUCTION"

HON. WILLIAM S. MOORHEAD

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, November 30, 1970

Mr. MOORHEAD. Mr. Speaker, how many of us in this chamber today took woodshop when we were in grade school or high school? How many of us have had young sons come home displaying proudly the jewelry box or breadboard they had worked on so intently for several long weeks?

Woodshop and several other classes, such as metal shop or printshop, and so forth, came under the industrial arts category in the Pittsburgh public schools curriculum. But recently there has been a change and a change which I believe is a good one and one that many of you might want to suggest to your local school boards.

The traditional "shop" class has given way to a new subject. It is called "The World of Construction." The November 15 Parade magazine carries an excellent article by John G. Rogers on "The World of Construction" and how it is operating in Pittsburgh public schools.

Before introducing this article in the RECORD, let me quote a few of its paragraphs to show you what has replaced the birdhouse making in wood shop:

Construction is a broad concept. These youngsters "live" the whole of it. They buy land, make blueprints, close contracts, hire labor and then build scale-size sections of houses right down to plumbing and electric wiring that must pass strict inspection. They're getting a whole rounded picture, not just pounding a nail here and there in isolation.

The house-building, of course, is real while other aspects of the one-year class are simulated exercises—for example, buying property and bargaining over wage rates. But even the simulations are faithful to reality according to a given set of facts and the kids frequently get quite carried away. At a recent union-management grievance session, boys on both sides were pounding the table in anger as they sought to score points before an arbitrator.

I include Mr. Rogers fine article in the RECORD:

NEW COURSE FOR SCHOOL KIDS: HOW TO BUILD A HOUSE

(By John G. Rogers)

PITTSBURGH, PA.—Robert Allen is a building contractor who drives hard bargains when it comes to buying land for a big housing development. Ross Thomas is a union leader who gives Allen a rough time during wage negotiations. And Jeffrey Johnson is a master carpenter who hammers and saws on Allen's projects. All this is quite strange because Robert Allen, Ross Thomas and Jeffrey Johnson are students in a Pittsburgh junior high school.

The boys and their classmates are enrolled in a pioneering course: The World of Construction. It has replaced that traditional course called "shop," which had the youngsters building such uninspiring items as birdhouses.

"Birdhouses are now behind us," says Dr. Perry C. Olson, an assistant school superintendent overseeing the new course. "In the World of Construction the kids do learn

conventional skills with tools but it's all set against a backdrop of real life in the adult world around them, the world they'll be living in tomorrow.

"Construction is a broad concept. These youngsters 'live' the whole of it. They buy land, make blueprints, close contracts, hire labor and then build scale-size sections of houses right down to plumbing and electric wiring that must pass strict inspection. They're getting a whole rounded picture, not just pounding a nail here and there in isolation?"

The house-building, of course, is real while other aspects of the one-year class are simulated exercises—for example, buying property and bargaining over wage rates. But even the simulations are faithful to reality according to a given set of facts and the kids frequently get quite carried away. At a recent union-management grievance session, boys on both sides were pounding the table in anger as they sought to score points before an arbitrator.

THEY LOVE IT

Student enthusiasm for The World of Construction is obvious when you see the class in action. Whether the problem is pouring concrete or the principle of hoisting steel beams, concentration is intense and brows furrow as problems are grappled with. More than one boy will ask permission to come in on Saturday to keep his job up to date. In simulated routines, they take turns playing different roles. High praise comes from a Pittsburgh father:

"My son has learned more about the construction business in just a few months than I have picked up in my lifetime."

The World of Construction and a companion course, The World of Manufacturing, were developed by the Industrial Arts Curriculum Project (IACP), a team of Ohio State University education specialists, with cooperation from the University of Illinois. Private funds from organized labor and big business and \$1.4 million from the U.S. Office of Education have financed development of the two courses.

Pittsburgh's schools—the city entered the program last year in just one junior high but added six more this year—are among 250 schools in 40 states which either are still testing the imaginative courses or have adapted them as permanent curriculum. Among participating cities are Dallas, Chicago, Philadelphia, Denver, Salt Lake City, Seattle, Portland, Ore., Newark, N.J., and Long Beach, Calif.

John Luck, who used to teach conventional "shop" in Pittsburgh schools, is delighted to be teaching The World of Construction. "That old-fashioned shop used to worry me," he says. "A kid might spend a whole week just sandpapering some boards. What a waste of time and mind that was! In the same week in The World of Construction he comes up against maybe a dozen challenges he has to lick. And that goes on right through the whole course. Even the final act—tearing down the housing sections—is made into a lesson of demolition and salvage."

Just as enthusiastic as John Luck is Richard Cadwallader who teaches The World of Manufacturing. "We've got the same complete approach," he reports. "The kids form a corporation and there's a board of directors, personnel department, labor unions, the works. We sell stock in the company and the big project of the year is making high intensity reading lamps on an assembly line."

To give his students the concept of an assembly line, Cadwallader set one up the first week of school to make coat hangers out of heavy wire. In a few hours the line turned out 180 of them and only four were rejects.

A BIG PLUS

"The assembly line turned up some added benefit," Cadwallader recalls. "I had one boy who was constantly in a silent rage. He didn't

want to talk to anybody or ever take part in anything with anybody else. But when he saw that coat hanger assembly line start up without him he joined in fast and when the whole project was successful he felt that he, as part of the group, deserved part of the credit. And he did. Drawing that loner in—to me that by itself was a triumph."

Different school systems sometimes adapt the two "world" courses in different ways. For the Pittsburgh schools, Dr. Olson foresees 7th- and 8th-grade boys and girls getting a preliminary exposure to both in month-long required courses. Then, in the 9th grade, the full one-year courses would be elective for those students interested—probably just boys—and here the concept of vocational training for future employment would enter in. Another likelihood is that students will take both courses in the 9th and 10th grades.

SPECIAL TRAINING

IACP has a network of 18 colleges which train "world" teachers at special summer sessions. In addition to the expense of teacher-training, it's estimated that installing a "world" program for 125 students costs \$40 a head the first year, \$10 the second. During the developmental period, private contractors all over the nation have given strong support—paid for teacher-training, donated thousands in cash, even sent bricks and lumber for the kids to build with.

Endorsement of the "world" programs by hard-headed businessmen and labor leaders is testimony to their worth and it's surprising that these imaginative courses weren't thought of long ago. For the fact is—the jobs for more than one-third of the U.S. labor force are in construction and manufacturing and all of us are affected in many ways by what happens in those industries.

INDEPENDENCE DAY OF MAURITANIA

HON. CHARLES C. DIGGS, JR.

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, November 30, 1970

Mr. DIGGS. Mr. Speaker, the Islamic Republic of Mauritania celebrates the 10th anniversary of its independence on November 28. This young country of 1,200,000 people has been confronted with a difficult and often inhospitable climate and environment throughout its history. Since its independence, the Government has sought to overcome these natural obstacles by improving the lot of its people through its economic development efforts. It is gratifying to note that the signs of economic improvement are now being seen in the rise of per capita income and in an economic growth rate of approximately 9 percent annually. We can only wish the people of Mauritania continued good success in the future.

For the United States, this past year was notable in that diplomatic relations were reestablished with Mauritania on December 22, 1969, after the rupture occurring as a result of the 1967 Arab-Israeli war. We regretted the decision of Mauritania to break relations with us in 1967 and welcomed the return to normal relations. The United States hopes these relations will evolve and grow stronger over the coming decade.

ADDITIONAL LETTERS ON PROPOSAL TO CLOSE ARLINGTON NATIONAL CEMETERY

HON. JOEL T. BROYHILL

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, November 30, 1970

Mr. BROYHILL of Virginia. Mr. Speaker, the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of Wednesday, November 18, 1970, beginning on page 38010, contained my statement relating a 3-hour meeting I had held the previous day at which an overflow group in the meeting room of the District of Columbia Committee urged Mr. Robert E. Jordan III, General Counsel of the Department of the Army, to reject a proposal to close Arlington National Cemetery to all sightseeing buses, charter buses, schoolbuses, limousines, taxicabs, and tour guides with the exception of Landmark Tours, Inc., operating as "Tourmobile" under contract with the Department of the Interior.

In addition to the statements of principal spokesmen for the travel industry in the Washington area, a number of individual witnesses appeared. Others who were either unable to appear or to submit prepared statements have written to me expressing their own individual concern about the proposal. Still others have, since the time of his testimony, written to Mr. T. S. Trimmer, assistant vice president for operations of D.C. Transit System, Inc., with copies of correspondence to other of our colleagues who represent them. As all these communications serve to emphasize the concerted appeal of the industry against this proposal, and many contain specific concerns not included in the original testimony, I insert the text of these various communications at this point in the RECORD.

I again urge our colleagues to join me in fighting this proposal.

The material follows:

WASHINGTON, D. C.,
November 11, 1970.

House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. BROYHILL: As a licensed guide in the District of Columbia and one of the Representatives of Guide Service of Washington at the meeting held in your office on October 26, 1970, I was impressed by your concern for our plight at Arlington National Cemetery if indeed it were to be closed to all commercial vehicles. It is my deep conviction that if this did come to pass, many Americans as well as foreign visitors will be denied the privilege of visiting a National Shrine to honor our Unknown Soldiers due to lack of time, lack of money or lack of energy. Most of our school groups with their hard-earned travel time and money budgeted very closely could afford neither the two hours it would take to walk up the hill from the parking lot and back nor the seventy-five cents per person it would cost them to ride the proposed minibus. Our senior citizen group equally would be hard-pressed to manage the trek by foot or pay the \$1.25 it would cost them per adult to ride.

At present, the buses we bring into the cemetery cause no congestion by coming through the main gate and going up to the Tomb via Porter Drive. We lecture to our groups enroute and direct our bus drivers to unload in the bus parking lot there and con-

November 30, 1970

tinue back down the hill where we meet them with our group forty-five minutes later, walking downhill past the Kennedy gravesites. This has been a fine arrangement and one we hope will not be discontinued due to a misunderstanding of the services we perform or to a lack of consideration for the large groups which come to our Nation's Capital. Everyone of my tour groups has looked forward to visiting Arlington and without fail, each group has left it with all their high expectations realized.

Mr. Broyhill, we appreciate your efforts on behalf of guides and tour groups in Washington. Looking forward to meeting with you once again on Tuesday, November 17th, I am,

Very truly yours,

Mrs. JACK A. NEUBERGER.

SILVER SPRING, Md.,
November 12, 1970.

Mr. JOEL BROYHILL,
House Office Building,
Washington, D.C.:

I would like to thank you for the work you are doing in regards to the problem of Arlington Cemetery. I only wish that my Congressman and Senators in Maryland who I have corresponded on this matter would be the man that you are. I have called and written many letters to my Congressman and Senators but you, a man from Virginia, has come to my rescue. Most certainly I appreciate this with all my heart. I have told all my constituents of your interest in this matter

Sincerely,

EDWARD A. VANDERFORD.

NOVEMBER 12, 1970.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN BROYHILL: Speaking as a licensed guide for this area and having attended the meeting in your office October 20, I want to congratulate you on your re-election and also express my personal appreciation for your help in keeping Arlington Cemetery open. I am extremely concerned about the Tourmobile being given a monopoly and making it look like "Disneyland."

My husband is a retired Captain US Navy now working for the Atomic Energy Commission and he feels as I do concerning Arlington.

Sincerely,

JUNE HUMPHREY.

ALEXANDRIA, VA.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN BROYHILL: It is a source of great satisfaction and comfort to me, a licensed tour guide in the District of Columbia, that you have taken an active interest in the problems that confront us regarding the possible closing of Arlington Cemetery to all tour guides, buses, limousines, taxis, etc. Your support and encouragement is most sincerely appreciated by all of us in the licensed tour industry who recognize that the appropriation of Arlington Cemetery to itself by the Tourmobile will create far more problems than it will resolve.

I would like to point out to you for your serious consideration the particular plight of the foreign tourist, for it is with this tourist that I personally am most familiar since I act as guide for French and Italian speaking groups on charter buses.

The visit to Arlington is, without any doubt, the highlight of the trip to Washington for these tourists. They are not only eager to visit the Kennedy tomb—many say "Nous sommes Venus pour cela"—"We came for that"—but also to see the changing of the guard. But something *over and above* these two highlights comes out of their visit, when accompanied by an educated and trained guide who can speak their language and answer their questions. They learn a great deal about our Civil War. They learn a great deal about American customs in funerals, military and otherwise. The walk

from the Tomb of the Unknown down to the Kennedy graves provides an invaluable opportunity to answer questions on an individual or group basis, about many diverse features of American history, customs, even horticulture—for the trees and plantings in the cemetery are of great interest to the foreign tourist. The 30-45 minutes we spend with them in the cemetery—whose noble and serene atmosphere enhances this task—are truly valuable in giving us an opportunity to delineate the best in America and to put to rest many misconceptions with which any foreign tourist in any country is often laden.

This function, which I have only generally sketched, cannot in any way be performed by the operator of a Tourmobile. And I am not sure I know of any function more vital to mutual respect and understanding among countries than this person-to-person basis wherein we can attempt to set forth the best about our country and dispel many mistaken notions. This task is, also, a source of personal pleasure and of patriotic privilege for the educated and trained guide. Our greatest reward is to sense the new comprehension of America which emerges from this guided tour through Arlington. I am truly dismayed that the promoters of the Tourmobile have apparently never even thought of the foreign visitor, whose numbers are increasing tremendously each year. There is absolutely no way in which the Tourmobile can provide any sort of adequate service to the foreign visitor. And never could it perform this very personal service which the guides endeavor to do.

Those of us who specialize in the foreign tours are also called into service during the peak of the spring school-bus season, especially during Cherry Blossom Festival. Somewhat the same educational service is performed for our American school children, again often on an individual or group basis. The Tourmobile would be totally inadequate to this task. I question also the mechanics of getting 60 busloads of tourists up to the Changing of the Guard at a fixed moment if they must transfer on and off to a Tourmobile. The present system by which the charter buses drop them off at the bus stop near the tomb and then leave immediately for the lower parking area is far more flexible and permits tourists to arrive for the hourly ceremony with a minimum of time-wasting delay.

I will look forward to meeting with you on November 17—and in the meanwhile I hope you will have a moment to reflect earnestly on the services we can render our foreign tourists and how best these can be accomplished.

YOURS truly,

CAROLINE EMBRY TURNER,

Guide Service of Washington, Inc.

NOVEMBER 12, 1970.

ARLINGTON, VA.,

November 12, 1970.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN BROYHILL: I was one of the licensed guides who attended the meeting in your office on Tuesday, 20 October, seeking to keep Arlington Cemetery open and I want to thank you for your efforts in preventing the 1 November closing of the cemetery.

To allow Tourmobile a complete monopoly for sightseeing at "Arlington" is undemocratic. I do hope that this proposed plan will be resolved at the hearing on 17 November, Longworth House Office Building.

It is said that the increased traffic congestions caused this proposal—yet, the many times I have taken groups to Arlington Cemetery, I have not seen a traffic problem to warrant a monopoly by one agency. This solution would only create chaos; and would be a hardship on tourist traveling by chartered bus with limited funds.

Please do all in your power to see that the cemetery will remain open to free enterprise. Congratulations on your re-election!

Sincerely,

M. HARRERS.

WEST SPRINGFIELD, VA.,
November 13, 1970.

Re Arlington Cemetery and the Tourmobile
Hon. JOEL T. BROYHILL,
House of Representatives,
Rayburn House Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. BROYHILL: In letters to you September 23rd and October 20th from Mr. Irving Schlaifer you have been given many of the urgent reasons why the transportation and sightseeing industry of Washington feels it needs your help in keeping Arlington National Cemetery open and available to tourists (who are our second biggest industry!).

Since I am one of approximately forty women employed by Guide Service of Washington (all of whom are licensed guides), *not* relying on this work as my livelihood, but as a very welcome addition to our finances in this inflated economy, perhaps I could offer several different insights as to why Arlington National Cemetery would be a disaster for our visitors with only a Tourmobile.

1. We have an enormous number of foreign tourists; more every year. I speak German fluently and have escorted thousands of foreign visitors to Arlington. Mr. Broyhill, these international visitors come (at great expense—remember the conversion rates!) to see our Capital City, of course, but for them, the high point of the visit is the opportunity of seeing the Kennedy gravesite and the Changing of the Guard at the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier. It would be *unthinkable* to them to miss this part of their trip.

2. The same approach applies to the thousands of middle-aged and older United States citizens who come to visit Washington. How many times an elderly lady or gentleman has told me, "Mrs. Bellman, the only (or "main") reason I came on this trip was to see President Kennedy's grave!" These are the voters and taxpayers of our country, Mr. Broyhill, and they feel that Arlington Cemetery belongs to them.

3. Here's another set of circumstances:—in March, April and May, thousands of young people arrive on buses for their first visit to their Capital. In most cases, the class has raised the money to come with bake sales, car washes, service activities—one class painted a house!—and they're working on a very tight budget. So tight, in some cases, that it's been figured to the penny how much a child can spend for food. Having to pay \$1.25, or even 75¢, at Arlington will be the difference between having a nourishing lunch, or just drinking a coke to fill up that hollow space under every kid's ribs at noon-time!

4. The time factor is critical, too. During peak months in the spring and summer, I cannot conceive of a tourmobile being able to handle adequately the numbers of people coming to Arlington to see the changing of the Guard. Since the ceremony takes only a few minutes, arriving a minute after it's over is heartbreaking—and a group on tour *doesn't have the time* to wait the additional hour for the next one. Guides *always* plan their time so as to arrive at the proper time for the ceremony—you *know* how long it will take with your bus; how could you possibly judge this with the proposed tourmobile? How long would you have to wait in line?

5. Last, but certainly not in order of importance, many thousands of elderly people visit Arlington—and as I mentioned earlier, they come *mainly* for that reason. Many of them are not capable of walking very far—it is an enormous effort for them to walk downhill from the Tomb of the Un-

known Soldier to the Kennedy gravesite, and then downhill to the bus—they're pretty tuckered out when they get back. It would be physically impossible for many of these visitors to walk uphill from the parking lot to the gravesite, then uphill to the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier, and then all the way back down again to their buses . . . and this would almost certainly be the case, because guides could not time their arrivals at Arlington, knowing they must rely on the tourmobile's schedule. They would be forced to have the group walk . . . and walking, of course, would take from thirty minutes to an hour or more longer, which would cut into the time left for seeing Washington's other important sights. Many groups come for only a day, so this hour becomes critical!

During the six years I have been a guide in Washington, in both English and German, I have learned so many things from our visitors! . . . American's reactions to their Capital City, an international visitor's reactions to the United States and its citizens. But I've found there is a universal feeling about Arlington that does something special to all my groups of tourists. I sincerely hope they will not be deprived of this unique experience.

I've gone on at great length, Mr. Broyhill, but I hope the way I feel about Arlington will assist you in helping us.

There must be a better solution than a tourmobile—especially one that charges \$1.25! I know that many of my busloads of visitors, when they are told they will be charged \$1.25 to see Arlington Cemetery, or have the alternative of walking as I explained would be necessary, will elect not to visit Arlington, and go back home rather bitter about it—and this is what they will remember about Washington—not all the other historical and interesting things they've seen!

As Mr. Schlaifer said in his September 23rd letter, who stands to gain from this change? Certainly not the millions of visitors! Can we afford to lose the boost they give the economy of our metropolitan area—including the Tenth District?

Sincerely,

IRMA M. BELLMAN.

P.S.—If there is any change in the time set for the hearing November 17, 1970, 2:30 p.m., could I be advised, please? I plan to be there.

HYATTSVILLE, Md.,
November 13, 1970.

Congressman JOEL T. BROYHILL,
Rayburn House Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN BROYHILL: This letter is to express my support of the effort of the Emergency Taxi cab Committee in their attempt to keep Arlington National Cemetery open to commercial and private vehicles.

In my opinion, Landmark Services are trying to impose a monopoly on private and commercial transportation and it should be stopped. Situations like this restrict free enterprise, the very foundation of our country.

I ask your cooperation in keeping the Cemetery open.

Very truly yours,

CLYDE A. JORDAN,
Licensed Guide.

BALTIMORE, Md.,
November 13, 1970.

Congressman JOEL T. BROYHILL,
Rayburn House Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN BROYHILL: In regards to the decision of the Secretary of the Army and the Secretary of the Department of the Interior to close Arlington National Cemetery to vehicles connected with the Sightseeing industry, I would like to offer the following:

I am a non-resident sightseeing guide of nineteen years standing, employed by Monumental Motor Tours of Baltimore. I have been able to observe, first hand, the impact a visit to Arlington National Cemetery, to visit the Tomb of the Unknown Soldiers, has on people of all ages. My business is bringing groups to Their Nations Capital, to introduce them to Their Capital City and the many points of interest. Many thousands of these persons are school children of all ages. In many cases, teachers have been collecting nickles and dimes for months from children of families who can ill afford the expense. In many cases groups come to Washington from schools in districts where budgets are so tight the small fee of fifteen cents (15c) for the tour of the Capital Building is omitted from the "charge for the trip" as it may well be the difference between many children taking the trip or staying home. Imagine, please, the hardship that would be imposed if additional funds had to be included for such things as a tourmobile. And how about the many thousands of senior citizen groups who, likewise, would have to miss this principle feature of Their Capital for the lack of the ability to pay this additional fee.

In addition, sir, part of our skill in performing our job, is the ability to be in the right place at the right time in order to make the most of the time spent in our Capital City advantageous to our customers. Imagine if you can sir, the bottlenecks that would be created if it were necessary to "make connections" and "transfer" passengers and "meet a schedule run"! The resulting lines of waiting people, the endless line of tourmobiles (or whatever), the selling of tickets and giving of change would set up our greatest of memorials to our war dead for the Title of the Side Show Across the Potomac. Believe me, many people would leave Washington disappointed because they had to miss Arlington and the "Change of Guard."

I have seen a few changes at Arlington in my nineteen years. Closing the Fort Meyer entrance to buses was one of the first, restricting buses in other areas followed, special bus routes were established. In each case these changes were justified or appeared so. But sir, I never thought I would see the day that Arlington National Cemetery would have a concessionaire. I would have thought the thinking by those in decision making positions would be on a higher plane. I refuse to believe this problem to be so insurmountable as to necessitate such a drastic move.

Congressman Broyhill, my company is not in competition with Landmark Services or anyone else in business in Washington. I personally am not in competition with any of my brother guides in Washington. I join them in this effort to rectify what I consider an injustice for one reason, that reason being that I want to continue doing the best I can for my customer, the ultimate person, really, who will be the loser.

Thank you for the interest you have shown for this cause to date. I hope you will see your way clear to continue.

Sincerely,

V. FRED STORM.

ARLINGTON, Va.,
November 14, 1970.

HON. JOEL T. BROYHILL,
Rayburn House Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. BROYHILL: Thank you for your time and effort in keeping Arlington Cemetery open.

I was very impressed with your ability to handle the problem at the October 20 meeting. As one of your constituents, I am glad you will once again be representing us.

Your work on our behalf is greatly appreciated.

Sincerely yours,

WILLIAM P. O'FLINN.

SILVER SPRING, Md.,
November 13, 1970.

HON. JOEL T. BROYHILL,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN BROYHILL: As a Washington tourist guide, I want to thank you for taking the time out of your busy schedule to intercede on our behalf with regard to the situation at Arlington Cemetery. I am pleased with the postponement you were able to obtain, pending a hearing in this matter.

Having been a guide for many years in the Washington area, if this situation is allowed to continue, it will curtail my income and deprive me and my family of a means of support. It is too late in my life to turn to other means of support.

Looking forward to a just solution of this matter and thanking you again, I am

Sincerely yours,

MILTON J. BRANDON.

NOVEMBER 14, 1970.

HON. JOEL T. BROYHILL: I am objecting to the proposed closing of Arlington National Cemetery to the sightseeing industry.

My husband is a licensed guide for the past 20 years and makes his living doing so.

Hoping you will continue working for our cause.

Respectfully,

Mrs. PHILIP M. SPIVAK.

BLADENSBURG, Md.,
November 15, 1970.

Congressman BROYHILL,

DEAR SIR: I will not be able to make this meeting that is coming up on Nov. 17th between you and the sightseeing guides.

But I would like for you to know although I live in Md. I am sure glad that you made it back in for another term.

I have a summer home outside of Winchester, Va., and I spent a lot of time up there.

I expect to retire there within the next 4 years.

Mr. Broyhill this meeting with you is very important to us in fact it means our bread and butter. I can assure you of one thing if you can get all the cab drivers and sightseeing and bus drivers behind you. You will be one powerful man up on that hill.

I have been in the sightseeing business for 36 years, and I can assure you now that they are trying to drive us off of the streets.

I am quite sure you can do something about this.

We are all looking to you for help—I don't know if you know it or not, but there is ten thousand licensed cab drivers in D.C. alone.

We will thank you for whatever you can do.

Yours sincerely,

ELWOOD A. STINE.

NOVEMBER 15, 1970.

HON. JOEL T. BROYHILL,
Rayburn House Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SIR: It is comforting to me to see someone of your importance and stature to take time out of his busy work schedule and reach down and take the hand of the little guy on the street.

As a member of the sightseeing industry in the city of Washington I am angry at the way the government has stepped into private enterprise. It was always my belief that the bill of rights allowed the little man the right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. In pursuing my line of work I am no longer happy.

This so called "TOURMOBILE" has come in on the scene and achieved something that I as a native Washingtonian can't get. That is to achieve the right to run a bus over 7 passengers on the streets of Washington without having the WMATC approval or the ICC rights. After all I as a *Licensed* sightseeing guide would like to be able to secure rights as they are doing and ply my trade without this unfair treatment I am receiving at the hands of the government.

I happen to be very adept at my business and very proud to be in this line of work. I think it is important that we as guides be able to expound on the glory of our city which should reflect the American way. I take my trade seriously enough to be a member of several Historical Societies, and over a period of time it has become a hobby with me to be sort of a Washington buff. Show me somebody in the "Tourmobile" organization that can say the same.

One other thing, I just wonder what revenue the city derives from Universal Studios in the form of taxes and corporate dividends.

I want to again thank you for your efforts and am now ready to understand what makes you the valuable asset you are to your constituents.

Ever grateful and sincerely,
M. H. BAKER,
Licensed Guide, Badge No. 74.

TAMAGUI TRAVEL AND TOURIST
SERVICE,
Washington, D.C., November 16, 1970.

HON. JOEL T. BROYHILL,
Rayburn House Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

MR. CONGRESSMAN: We have been promoting tourism from Spanish speaking countries to Washington, for the past seven years and always considered Arlington Cemetery a must for the visitors. Their tour of the Nation's Capital will not be complete if the do not visit the Tomb of the Unknown Soldiers and The Kennedys graves. Now we hear that the Cemetery is going to be closed to other vehicles but Tourmobile and that they will charge \$1.25 for transportation in the Cemetery grounds. Really this additional charge will be too much for any visitor and specially for those coming to visit the United States from abroad.

We need your help in this important matter to prevent the closing of the Cemetery, so many people will be able to continue working on what has been their profession for so many years.

With our gratitude, we like to remain very truly yours,

JORGE TAMAYO,
Manager.

WESTERN GEAR CORP.,
Washington, D.C., November 18, 1970.

HON. JOEL T. BROYHILL,
Rayburn House Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SIR: As the Washington representative of my company, I have many visitors who come to this city, not only for business reasons, but also to see the Nation's Capital. Invariably they ask to visit Arlington Cemetery, which now threatens to be a restricted area, unless one chooses to either walk or pay to travel in the vehicles of a single private firm.

Additionally, my wife is an interpreter and accompanies groups of French citizens on guided tours. These people always ask to see our National Cemetery and invariably come away with a renewed respect and improved attitude for the American people, something that is becoming increasingly rare in these times, as you know so well. Other associates of my wife execute similar translations in other languages. It is apparent that the single private company which the Interior Department and the Army have already ap-

parently licensed (without benefit of competitive public bidding) will have little or no interest in appealing to these relative minority groups.

It seems to me, Congressman Broyhill, that aside from a purely national pride motive (which itself is important enough), the fact that one company has a monopoly control over access to a national monument for a profit motive is basically unfair, not to mention immoral and probably illegal.

I respectfully ask that you do what your conscience dictates, and that hopefully this will be to permit access to the cemetery of tour buses with their guides and interpreters, as well as the taxis and limousines that have themselves never created the alleged "traffic congestion" cited by the Army.

Respectfully,
E. C. COLLAR,
Corporate Representative.

FALLS CHURCH, VA.,
November, 19, 1970.

HON. JOEL T. BROYHILL,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. BROYHILL: As one of your constituents and a licensed guide I attended the hearing you held on November 17 in the Longworth Building.

If I understood Mr. Jordan and his colleagues, commercial traffic will be barred from the Cemetery because it causes traffic jams. However, the gentleman from the Army assured the parties present that there will be enough Tourmobiles at any time to take care of all the tourists.

Why won't 20, 30 or 40 (or whatever their number would have to be) Tourmobiles an hour running in two different routes—discharging people at far more stops than busses were permitted to make—create more of a traffic problem?

The parking lot at the Visitors Center which can hold 600 cars and which serves as a pick-up point for most of us after our tours through the cemetery has been crowded at times, and departures were occasionally delayed. This was at a time when busses, limousines and taxis were still permitted in the cemetery. Under the new plan you will not only have far more busses and cars in the parking lot, there will be the additional confusion of large crowds transferring from one vehicle to another, plus a continuous stream of Tourmobiles coming and going. The result would be a huge traffic tie-up on the approach to the cemetery during the season.

I would also like to raise a question now which I did not hear asked during the hearing: What provision has been made for the groups that have come to pay their respect at the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier by placing a wreath? This ceremony takes place by appointment only and punctuality is a must.

I hope you will be able to help our visitors—whether they are Americans or from abroad—to tour the national shrine that Arlington Cemetery is, without inconvenience, delay or extra charge.

Sincerely yours,
ALICE B. FORBES.

FAIRFAX, VA.,
November 20, 1970.

HON. JOEL T. BROYHILL,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

SIR: Your proposal to limit vehicular traffic in Arlington Cemetery certainly has some merit but I feel that you have overlooked one aspect of the situation.

My husband was a Vietnam casualty and is buried in Arlington, some distance from the main entrance. It would create a hardship for my sons and me if we could not drive into the cemetery. Perhaps your proposal should

consider this and provide for passes or windshield stickers for those of us who have reason for regular visits to the cemetery.

The carnival atmosphere that prevails due to the tour busses and hordes of curious is distressing to those of us who wish a quiet and dignified resting place for our loved ones. Certainly the cemetery should not be utilized as a short-cut for commuters.

Please take our position into consideration when you present your proposals.

Sincerely,
MRS. GERALD BURGNER.

ALITALIA AIRLINES,
New York, N.Y., November 16, 1970.

MR. T. S. TRIMMER,
Assistant Vice President, D.C. Transit,
Washington, D.C.:

Proposal, Secretary of Army, to close Arlington Cemetery to all vehicle traffic.

Forcing our thousands of visitors to use other media transportation other than charter busses could affect price wise or due walking discomfort of our future Washington packages.

CINCENZO URSINO,
Manager, Visit USA Department.

BURLINGTON NORTHERN,
November 16, 1970.

HON. ROBERT PACKWOOD,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR PACKWOOD: It has been called to our attention the fact that the Secretary of the Army proposed to close Arlington National Cemetery to all vehicle traffic on November 1, 1970. This order was postponed until after a public hearing on November 17.

We are very much opposed to such a move, and would appreciate your support in our behalf.

We have handled transportation for many school and church groups coming to Washington, D.C. on educational trip. The highlight is always the visit to Arlington Cemetery. The fact that our students have a geographical disadvantage means that it costs more to get there and are dependent upon local bus transportation when they arrive.

If the sightseeing buses are required to park outside the cemetery, it will mean additional expense and delay for our groups.

Again, any action on your part would be most appreciated.

Very truly yours,
A. T. MERCER,
District Passenger Sales Manager.

(Identical letters also received by Senator HATFIELD, Congressman WYATT, and Congresswoman GREEN of Oregon.)

OKLEY TRAVEL SERVICE,
Toronto, Canada, November 13, 1970.

MR. T. S. TRIMMER,
Assistant Vice President,
D.C. Transit,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. TRIMMER: Have just returned from the International American Society of Travel Agents Congress at which over 3000 Active and Allied Travel Agents met to discuss and promote Tourism.

"See America" was largely stressed, and by the enthusiastic publicity one gathered that from the President down, every one was uniting to make 1971 the biggest yet in tourism in the U.S.A.

You can imagine the shock I received on my return to learn that the Secretary of the Army had proposed that Arlington National Cemetery was to be closed to all Vehicular traffic except official cars and or funerals.

Arlington Cemetery and particularly the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier belongs to the people of the United States, the mothers and the fathers and families of the millions who had sons and daughters serving in foreign

Wars, and the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier might be the resting place of their son. It is unthinkable and unbelievable that such an idea could even be voiced.

Separate and apart from the proposed order that "Arlington National Cemetery only be to the 'upper brass' of the Army, because thousands of parents are now in the older bracket, and couldn't walk in from the gates, there are those of the younger generation, who look on Arlington National Cemetery as hallowed ground, and feel the natural urge to pay homage to the Great Men who have gone before them. If this proposed ruling is carried through, it could be another wedge driven in to the fabric of the Country to cause another opening for the continued dissatisfaction and unrest which has more than raised its ugly head.

Also what about the loss of money to the Tour operator and transportation firms who bring thousands upon thousands of people into Washington every year, and who want to visit the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier, President Kennedy's Grave and other great Americans.

Have they come up with any counter proposal? Are they suggesting to have an auxiliary transportation system. It won't work and one of the reasons is that prices have climbed so high, that to add an additional cost to a Tour, which can't be completed as it has been in the past, we would have to cut it out altogether because of the cost.

Is it possible that you can do something about this iniquitous proposed ruling.

Sincerely,

MRS. FERN OXLEY,
Coordinator of Group Tours.

TRADE AND INDUSTRY TOURS
ASSOCIATION,

New York, N.Y., November 16, 1970.

Mr. T. S. TRIMMER,
Assistant Vice President, D.C. Transit,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. TRIMMER: We understand that the Secretary of the Army has proposed to close Arlington Cemetery to all vehicular traffic.

As you know, we have hundreds of people from Europe every year that we bring to Washington for a weekend in order to see our beautiful capital. Part of the Washington scene is definitely Arlington Cemetery, since it has been widely publicized in Europe, not only after President Kennedy's funeral but even before, as a national monument.

Up to now, we have been able to include Arlington National Cemetery within our 4 hr. sightseeing tour through our capital and we feel very strongly that this would no longer be possible if our participants should be required to either take additional transportation at additional expense or walk from the parking lot to the Change of Guard and President Kennedy's grave. We would hesitate to omit a visit to Arlington Cemetery for our European groups, but we cannot possibly absorb additional charges to visit this national memorial and are sure that we cannot impose additional charges for a visit to Arlington Cemetery on our participants since anything else in Washington, D.C. is free of charge and can be visited any time within the posted visiting hours. It would be impossible to have the people walk the far distance involved to not only see the places mentioned above but also the grave of Mr. Dulles and many other corners that make American history come alive.

We urge you to bring to the attention of the panel represented at the public hearing that Europeans visiting the United States and taking advantage of the services that you offer have no time to spend about 2 to 2½ hrs. walking to visit this national shrine but that it would be imperative to be able to go to the present parking facilities close to the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier as well

as to other places of international interest without encountering a walk of 1½ to 2 hours.

We are sure that we are not the only tour operator that has been told by their European clients that Arlington Cemetery has always been a highlight of their Washington tour, but we are sure that every tour operator will not be able to include Arlington National Cemetery in the regular D.C. sightseeing, if transportation within the Cemetery will no longer be permitted.

May we point out to you that the U.S. tax payers are paying a great amount of money to bring Europeans to this country through the official U.S. travel service represented widely in Europe and that in many brochures Arlington National Cemetery is publicized as a great landmark, which indeed it is. We feel that the Secretary of the Army is not justified in having tax payers pay to publicize this American landmark to foreign visitors and then make them walk or maybe pay additionally in order to visit the historical sites so widely publicized.

We are confident that you can project the true needs of European visitors to whoever is responsible for such a detrimental order and we will certainly see to it that our Senator will be properly informed.

Yours very truly,

GUS W. BESSERER,
General Manager.

NYMAN & SCHULTZ/NORDISK,
New York, N.Y., November 17, 1970.

Mr. T. S. TRIMMER,
Assistant Vice President, D.C. Transit System, Inc., Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. TRIMMER: It is in deep concern we have found out that the Secretary of the Army has proposed to close Arlington Cemetery to all sightseeing and groups tours. As being one of the leading tour operators for traffic from the Scandinavian countries to the United States, we know by experience that one of the main things visiting foreigners want to do while in Washington, D.C. is to visit Arlington Cemetery. An eventual closing of the Cemetery grounds for public transportation would give the Arlington Cemetery as well as in some respect Washington D.C. an image of red tape, which would be quite difficult for visiting foreigners to understand. One should remember that a lot of Europeans are very thankful to what the American people have done for them during two world wars and many feel sort of obliged to pay a visit to among other things the Unknown Soldiers Tomb. If, as suggested by the Secretary of the Army, the ground would be closed a lot of elderly people etc. would not be able to pay their respect.

We really hope that your company and attorneys will be successful in the effort to convince the authorities of the necessity of having the Arlington Cemetery open for at least public transportation. It is our sincere hope that we even in the future will be able to take our many tours through the well managed Arlington Cemetery.

Kindest regards.

Sincerely,

BO W. LYCKE.

CHURCHILL TOURS,
Portland, Ore., November 13, 1970.

HON. MARK O. HATFIELD,
U.S. Senate,
Washington, D.C.

SIR: We should like to voice our disapproval of the Secretary of the Army's proposal to close Arlington Cemetery to all but special vehicular traffic.

We are of the opinion that this would be a mistake.

Aside from the strictly business outlook, in which, of course, we are very interested, there would be a tremendous loss historically to the public in general. Our nation has a

great deal in which to be proud and we feel that Arlington Cemetery plays an important part in this history.

Business-wise we would be affected two-fold. We send a substantial number of visitors to Washington, D.C. and arrange sightseeing for them . . . Arlington Cemetery is always included. Our Group Division would be seriously affected, since here again, our group tours visiting Washington, D.C. visit Arlington Cemetery. Even assuming that inter-cemetery transportation might be available (other than the tour buses which we normally use), the price of such a tour certainly would increase our costs.

It is our sincere hope that the Secretary of the Army will reconsider his proposal.

Very truly yours,

DICK RANIAN,
Manager, Group Travel Division.

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DICK RANIAN,
 Manager, Group Travel Division.

ALTALIA AIRLINES,

New York, N.Y.

Mr. T. S. TRIMMER,
 Assistant Vice President, D.C. Transit,
 Washington, D.C.:

Proposal by Secretary of Army to close Arlington Cemetery to all vehicle traffic forcing our thousands visitors to use other media transportation other than charter busses could affect price wise or due walking discomfort our future Washington packages.

VINCENZO URSINO,
 Manager, Visit U.S.A. Department.

THE FUTURE FARMERS OF
 AMERICA

HON. ED JONES

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, November 30, 1970

Mr. JONES of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, during the recent election recess, I had the pleasure of attending the 43d national convention of the Future Farmers of America in Kansas City, Mo. More than 12,000 members of this fine organization gathered in that city to conduct their annual business.

I do not recall ever having seen a better behaved group of young men, especially one so large. Everywhere in the city swarms of blue jackets could be seen, but the boys wearing the jackets always conducted themselves as true gentlemen.

I was pleased to be asked by the FFA to address the Friday morning session of the convention along with the star of the Daniel Boone television show, Mr. Fess Parker. However, when the organization awarded me its 1970 Leadership Plaque, I was truly honored.

FFA is directly affiliated with the vocational agriculture programs in schools all across the country. From FFA and the vo-ag programs, the boys are given expert instruction and encouragement in all phases of agriculture and agribusiness.

However, the FFA is also concerned with broader issues. For example, it is presently involved in a program called BOAC or Building Our American Communities. This program recognizes the problems created by the redistribution of our population over the past 25 years.

Our people have been leaving the countryside and settling in the urban areas in record numbers. In fact, nearly three-fourths of our people now live on only 2 percent of our land. Naturally, this gigantic shift in our population has created numerous problems both for the cities and for the rural areas.

To combat the problems which have arisen in the rural areas, the FFA's new program offers a comprehensive list of positive steps to be taken in each community. The idea behind the program is to make our rural communities so desirable that people will not be tempted to leave and that city dwellers will be attracted to return.

The program emphasizes not only the physical appearance of the rural areas, but also such things as education, recreation, health facilities, power sources, water supply, sewage disposal systems, and telephone services. All of these areas must be strengthened in rural America if further migration of our people is to be stemmed. The FFA is aware of this condition and is making a strong positive effort to do something about it.

If all Americans would involve themselves in such constructive efforts, there is no doubt in my mind that our country would be placed in a much better condition. It is easy to be negative and destructive, but to take positive steps in a constructive direction takes hard work and determination. There is no doubt in my mind that the boys of the FFA will

have the necessary determination and willingness to work which will lead to a better America. The rest of us would do well to follow their example.

PHILADELPHIA HISTORICAL COMMISSION EXPRESSES DEEP INTEREST IN H.R. 18161

HON. JAMES A. BYRNE

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, November 30, 1970

Mr. BYRNE of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, on June 22, 1970, I introduced H.R. 18161, to authorize the Secretary of the Interior to establish the Thaddeus Kosciuszko Home National Historic Site in the State of Pennsylvania.

Kosciuszko House is located in Philadelphia, within the Third Congressional District of Pennsylvania, which I represent.

I am very anxious that this legislation be enacted into law to honor the memory of the great Polish statesman, Gen. Thaddeus Kosciuszko, who did so much to assist the United States during the Revolutionary War era.

The Philadelphia Historical Commission has expressed their deep interest in this legislation by adopting a resolution on September 29, and I know this will be of great interest to my colleagues:

RESOLUTION

(Adopted September 29, 1970, by the Philadelphia Historical Commission)

Whereas, the preservation, protection, and enhancement of all historically significant buildings has done much to bolster Philadelphia's rich heritage involving the birth of our nation; and

Whereas, the brick house at 301 Pine Street, built by a member of the Carpenters' Company in 1775, was the last residence in America of General Thaddeus Kosciuszko, a hero of the American Revolution, and played an important role in his life; and

Whereas, the President and Congress of the United States and the Secretary of the Department of Interior are engaged in saving such historic sites as tributes to the contributions of individuals who have helped to make this nation what it is; and

Whereas, a number of Senators and Congressmen have introduced identical bills to authorize the Secretary of the Interior to establish General Kosciuszko's last residence in America as a national historic site; and

Whereas, the sponsors of this legislation and millions of their fellow Americans are anxious to restore the house in which Thomas Jefferson frequently visited General Kosciuszko in time for our Nation's Bicentennial Celebration; now, therefore, be it

Resolved, by the Philadelphia Historical Commission, That we hereby respectfully memorialize the President and Congress of the United States and the Secretary of the Interior to take all possible steps to obtain passage of H.R. 18161 and S. 4026 in this session of Congress; and be it further

Resolved, That the Chairman of the Philadelphia Historical Commission transmit copies of this resolution to the President of the United States, to the Speaker of the House of Representatives, to the Secretary of the Interior, to the House Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, to the Senate Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, to the two U.S. Senators from Pennsylvania and to each Representative from Philadelphia in the Congress of the United States.

IF MEN WERE ANGELS

HON. RICHARD H. ICHORD

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, November 30, 1970

Mr. ICHORD. Mr. Speaker, there are in the United States today a number of subversive organizations which advocate the use of revolutionary violence to accomplish their objectives. They strive in every possible way to disrupt democratic processes and to inculcate hatred and bigotry that breed violence. As chairman of the Committee on Internal Security, I have initiated comprehensive studies and investigations on the subject of revolutionary violence with a view to informing the Congress fully on this subject, and in the hope that appropriate legislation can be advanced.

An extremely interesting and timely speech entitled "If Men Were Angels" was delivered by William C. Sullivan, Assistant to the Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, at the United Press International Conference at Williamsburg, Va., October 12, 1970. Mr. Sullivan's speech has evoked very favorable responses. I feel that all American citizens should inform themselves about the real nature of the organizations in our midst which advocate the use of revolutionary violence, in order to develop a greater understanding of their goals and methods of operation. Such factual data will enable citizens to comprehend the true nature of the threat and thus be alert to the necessity to prevent these nefarious groups from making further inroads into our society.

I was most impressed with the content and approach of Mr. Sullivan's speech. In addition to setting forth a detailed, and therefore most useful, description of the current subversive movement, the speech emphasizes what is right about America, a subject too frequently ignored in the instruction of young people and forgotten by many long-time beneficiaries of our democratic system. A democracy cannot function in the midst of chaos. Internal order is essential if our lives are to be productive and meaningful. Director J. Edgar Hoover and Assistant to the Director Sullivan understand this principle very well. Mr. Sullivan's speech, thoughtful and exact in keeping with the high standards of the FBI, merits the widest possible distribution.

I would urge my colleagues to read Mr. Sullivan's speech and in order that it might receive wider dissemination, I am herewith inserting a copy of it in the RECORD:

IF MEN WERE ANGELS

(By William C. Sullivan)

"If men were angels, no government would be necessary. If angels were to govern men, neither external nor internal controls on government would be necessary. In framing a government which is to be administered by men over men, the great difficulty lies in this:

You must first enable the government to control the governed, and in the next place, oblige it to control itself. A dependence on the people is, no doubt, the primary control on the government, but experience has taught mankind the necessity of auxiliary precautions."—*The Federalist*, No. 51

Man is a finite being. He is bound by his limitations to be less than an angel. But his vision has always been to expand his boundaries, to extend his reach beyond his grasp. Forever falling short he yet inches upward, innately conscious that the impossible is still before him and acutely aware that the possible continues to be his world at hand.

It is in the context of the possible that man must weigh his achievements and his defeats. In the United States today, we are weighing and cataloging our gains and losses of 194 years to try to determine where we are as a nation and, more importantly, where we are going. Viewed objectively we must assert that there is a great deal that is good in America; we must also concede that there is much that is bad. It is important for us to examine our national posture in these terms and to see how the scales are weighted. It is also important that this be done in a spirit of optimism and with a sense that perfection is our goal despite the fact that we must always be imperfect.

This spirit and this sense were strong in the 19th century America of the great essayist Ralph Waldo Emerson who wrote, "This time, like all other times, is a very good one, if we but know what to do with it." Emerson was surveying a country afflicted with grave problems. It was seething with discontent and facing the agony of a great historical issue, the slavery question. And yet Emerson affirmed that it was a very good time because he recognized that a vital and dynamic people were in the process of forging a great nation.

The American people in Emerson's era were strong and optimistic—optimistic despite the many flaws that marred their society and made their lives difficult. They did not look for immunity from errors or inequities of the past, but tackled their problems head-on, making their own mistakes but always balancing out the bad with a greater good.

That spirit of optimism seems to burn low in our contemporary society. To many, Emerson's vigorous faith in the future may appear utopian. Besieged on every side with a flood of recriminations about what is wrong with America and confronted by a growing loss of faith in our democratic ideals, too many Americans have blinded themselves to what is good and right about our country. Pre-occupied with problems still unsolved and mistakes not yet corrected, they have lost sight of the hard-won progress we have made and the solid values of our system.

CHALLENGE THE DEFEATIST

Americans today must not cringe from expressing that optimism which bolstered our past or fear to declare that faith which inspired our forebears. We must challenge the defeatist; the ignorant critic; and the self-seeking protester whatever his motives. We must assert that whatever the Nation's problems, it is still deeply committed to social justice and to those common ideals which recognize the inherent dignity and worth of the individual. Cynicism must be met by proclamations of what is "right" in America, for there is much to proclaim.

First and foremost, is the basic concept of our democracy as embodied in the American Constitution, a document the British statesman William Gladstone once described as "the most wonderful work ever struck off by the brain and purpose of man." As a blueprint for government, the Constitution is especially remarkable because of the aim of its authors to construct a political system which would serve all the people. The 55 men who comprised the Constitutional Convention at Philadelphia in 1787 certainly did not represent all segments of American society at that time. There were virtually no spokesmen for vast numbers of small farmers or debtors or the unpropertied classes. By contrast, the great majority were part of the "establishment," representing the monied interests; 35 were lawyers and 15 were slaveholders.

But, this small group of men nevertheless produced a charter which has since served as a model of equalitarian political philosophy and under which this Nation has prospered for nearly 200 years. Our system of "checks and balances" among the executive, legislative and judicial branches of government, spelled out in the Constitution and well known to every schoolboy, has provided for a diffusion of political power which has for two centuries safeguarded us from totalitarianism and insured a political stability rarely matched in world history. Our system has time and again proven its flexibility and unique capacity to adjust to changing conditions and crises through lawful and democratic means. The ability of our form of government to weather the numerous economic, social and military challenges which have arisen throughout our history and to adjust to the vast cultural and technological changes which have occurred since 1776, represents prima facie evidence of its basic soundness and validity.

Perhaps most extraordinary is the fact that, despite the enormous complexity and dangers of 20th century civilization, we have been able to steadily enlarge the rights and freedoms of our individual citizens. At no time in history has the individual been blessed with more meaningful independence and liberty, at no time has he been so zealously protected against the interests of the government or the society as a whole, as in the United States of 1970. It is this concern for the individual, in fact, that has led to the overreaction described by former Ambassador Phillip M. Klutznick, as the elevation of "punks to idol worship while long-proved and dedicated workers in the struggle for equal opportunity have had to fight for their professional lives." How much has the press media contributed to this?

Second, in cataloging what is "right" about America, we need to remind ourselves of the impressive progress this society has achieved in the relatively short span of our membership in the community of nations. Our economic and technological accomplishments are almost too well known to be recited. Beginning from a modest agricultural society in the late 18th century, America has witnessed an industrial and technological development and an economic prosperity unparalleled in history. The American standard of living has far surpassed that of any other nation in the world and we have realized phenomenal success covering the whole spectrum of science and technology—medicine, space, cybernetics, transportation, and communications, mass production in both industry and agriculture—the list is almost endless.

What is even more significant, our extraordinary economic and scientific advances have been shared to an increasing extent by our entire population. Within our lifetime, there has been a dramatic improvement in the position of American labor, not only in terms of working conditions and wages but also with respect to labor's share in the national decision-making process. Union membership in the United States today numbers some 18 million strong, and it is no exaggeration to say that the American workingman has become a full-fledged partner with management in many areas of our economic life.

By almost any standard which can be applied, the American worker is highly privileged in comparison with his counterpart in other societies. A simple vivid illustration of this can be seen in the fact that the American worker's purchasing power for every hour worked is more than 10 times greater than his Soviet counterpart.

As well known as we have become for our material successes, American progress cannot be measured simply in terms of the Dow-Jones averages or life-expectancy rates. The quality of life in our society has been steadily improving—although we must certainly look beyond the headlines to appreciate this fact.

In the field of education, for example, the United States has witnessed improvements on a dramatic scale. In 1900 only four per cent—one out of twenty-five—of our youth graduated from high school. Today nearly eighty per cent of American youth graduate from high school and about half of these enter college. Even these figures do not tell the whole story. The quality of our education has improved equally as much in terms of method, diversity, and teaching skill. Currently, for instance, we are investing more than three times as much for every pupil as we did only twenty years ago.

Advances in education are only a part of a vast "knowledge explosion" which has characterized this country's growth. America today boasts nearly 2,000 daily newspapers with a combined circulation of well over 60 million; some 850 television stations and 7,500 radio stations with comparable audiences; as well as countless periodicals, publishing houses, and other outlets for the expression and interchange of ideas. For the free expression of ideas, let it be stressed—for this vast array of information media operates without governmental censorship.

In the area of civil rights certainly much remains to be accomplished, especially in terms of providing equal opportunities for blacks. But even on this score, while conceding past injustices, we can feel some encouragement from the recent record. Less than fifteen years ago only one eligible black American out of ten was registered to vote—today the figure has gone over the fifty per cent mark and is climbing rapidly. Fifteen years ago, only one in a hundred Southern school districts was desegregated—today we have finally achieved virtually complete desegregation. Within the last decade the enrollment of black youth at our colleges and universities has quadrupled and presently numbers approximately half a million. Black Americans are increasingly gaining positions of leadership and influence. Today, black men serve as mayors of three of our major cities, another sits on the Supreme Court, and another occupies a seat in the Senate. It is only a beginning in balancing the scales of past discrimination, but it is at least a hopeful and tangible start.

Contrary to the cliché-exaggerated picture of military influence in our society which has become fashionable in certain circles, the record clearly shows that from our colonial beginnings to the present we have successfully resisted military domination of our national policies. Our elected representatives in Congress retain clear-cut control of the purse strings of the military establishment. The Federal courts have reviewed the decisions and modified the practices of court-martial proceedings in the Armed Forces. The Reserve Officers' Training Corps program, which ironically has been singled out as a symbol of alleged excessive military influence, has actually served precisely the opposite purpose: to provide for the regular infusion of civilian influence into our Armed Forces and to preclude the development of an officer caste.

In the field of law enforcement, we can also find much that is right and which should serve as grounds for optimism. To a greater degree than most professions, law enforcement in recent years has witnessed a marked improvement in quality, training and professionalism of personnel on every level. Since 1935 when the FBI initiated its National Academy to assist in the training of local police officials, nearly 6,000 officers have been graduated of whom more than one-fourth are currently serving as executive heads of their respective departments. Once the neglected stepchild of government, law enforcement is now receiving an increasing share of both Federal and local funds to improve police training, attract better-qualified candidates, and adopt the most effective and modern equipment in the continuing strug-

gle against crime. Educational requirements of police applicants now include a college degree in many departments, and there has been approximately a 40 per cent increase in the average pay for law enforcement officers during the past five years. Police-community relations, especially in urban areas, have been heavily stressed and have already begun to pay dividends. Cooperation between various police agencies, as typified by the FBI National Crime Information Center, has further improved both the quality and effectiveness of law enforcement throughout the country.

We cannot minimize the crisis in crime—serious crime in 1969 increased 12 per cent over 1968—or suggest that it will be solved in the foreseeable future, but we should at least be encouraged by the steps being taken today to combat it. As an example of what can be accomplished, we need look no further than our Nation's Capital where, largely through improved training, administration and personnel, the trend toward a runaway crime rate has now been clearly reversed.

It has been often remarked that democracy is an inefficient form of government and some have declared that democracy is doomed to failure. It is believed that the record this country has made, which has just been touched upon, gives the lie to defeatist notions and offers ample reason for us to share Emerson's faith in the future. Through the exercise of the freedoms of speech, press, assembly and worship, this country has experienced a dynamic interplay of values and ideas throughout our history. The competition between conflicting values and ideas occasionally has been marked by bitterness and even violence. Despite our differences, however, we have survived and prospered.

Many centuries ago a wise man recommended: "In things essential, unity; in things doubtful, liberty; in all things, charity." This spirit has, I think, been that of the United States throughout its history.

Thus, we weigh the scales on the side of what is right in the country. Certainly it is apropos to raise these questions. Is there any other country in a world of 143 nations which exceeds the United States in personal freedom; in opportunity for individual expression and for self-improvement? These qualities of our life enhance the individual's freedom under law in areas of thought, action, inquiry, dissent, worship, and experimentation.

Now we must look at what is wrong, for clearly a great deal is not right in our society. The list of our problems is lengthy and all too familiar: the overcrowding and deterioration of our cities; the pollution of our environment; the growing spectre of drug addiction and crime; the stubborn endurance of poverty and discrimination; the problems of human identity in a mechanized society; and a dozen other issues equally as urgent.

Many of these problems are rooted in the neglect or failure of generations which preceded us. They have been passed along through the years, slowly gathering force, until they have burst upon our national consciousness in the last two decades. Others—student unrest (there were 530 public school racial disorders this last academic year); the breakdown in authority; permissiveness in society and the home—are uniquely our own by-products of our age of whirlwind economic and technological change. The swiftness of industrial development, the rapid shift of our economy from an agricultural to an industrial base and of our population from rural to urban areas have inevitably created enormous strains which have left large numbers of Americans stranded in the backwaters of our swelling prosperity. Millions of Americans, inadequately trained or poorly educated, still have incomes below that which we have defined as the poverty level despite

a staggering \$55 billion committed by the Federal Government to health and welfare programs and despite the additional billions being spent by private aid organizations.

The whirlwind of our technical progress among other factors has also produced an irrational tolerance for civil disorder in the Nation, much of it centered in our young people—students and professors. This tolerance for violence has now developed to the point where even a few clergymen have been involved in planning acts of violence. The issues underlying student disorders relate basically to demands for change: an end to the war in Southeast Asia; greater commitments to social justice; and a more meaningful educational experience based on university reform.

The consequences of these problems for our Nation are such that we cannot await the action of future generations to resolve them. They can be solved now, as can those which have been thrust upon us from the past, but only if we are willing to exert the effort and are ready to make the sacrifices required.

Pressing as these issues are, however, there is one that, by its very nature as a fundamental threat to our democratic concepts, demands our greatest effort. This is the growing commitment to violence on the part of small, willful, emotionally unstable, dangerous and destructive minorities of alienated groups and individuals. These extremists, who wield an influence far out of proportion to their numbers, have totally renounced our traditional system of rule by law and have launched a concerted, all-out effort to seize power by intimidation and terror.

Law enforcement has been a principal target of these extremists. The police are the most visible and the most available representatives of the system of law and moderation that they detest. And so we have seen a wave of unprovoked assaults on policemen in recent months, an intensification of a campaign that has been going on for years.

Law enforcement represents our first line of defense against the anarchy of the terrorist. Local police have borne the brunt of these attacks with 561 officers killed due to criminal action from 1960 through 1969. In 1969, alone, 17 out of every 100 police officers were assaulted. Other law enforcement personnel have not been immune. For example, there were 73 FBI agents assaulted while performing their official duties during the 1969 fiscal year. This figure jumped substantially the following year when 90 Agents were assaulted.

Who are these terrorists who use bombings, arson and murder as political weapons? They can be broadly catalogued into three segments: extremists of the far right, black extremists and youthful anarchists of the so-called New Left.

WHITE EXTREMISTS

White extremists opposing Negro rights and equality go back in our history to the colonial period. Their continuing deluge of libelous propaganda and readiness to resort to force, intimidation, and lawlessness represent a blemish on the Nation's record of numerous positive steps taken to correct racial inequities. While the membership in white hate groups that spread racial bitterness and engage in violence has waned in recent years, a hard-core of irrational diehards is still busy trying to irrationally extend constitutional guarantees to Negroes and is still practicing a virulent anti-Semitism.

Klan-type organizations, with a total membership of 4,300 in 18 separate groups, comprise the majority of organized white extremists. In the South, constant pressure by law enforcement, including the FBI, has detected plans or acts of violence, such as the killing of civil rights workers. The

courts have also convicted Klan-type individuals for their violent activities. Regrettably, however, there have been occasions when a court or a governor has caused the release of a convicted Klansman even though he was directly involved in the killing of civil rights workers. Nevertheless, legal action against the Klan has resulted in decreased membership in southern states. In the North, Klan growth has been minimal.

Akin to the Klan groups and equally vitriolic in its racist utterances is the small National States Rights Party with headquarters in Savannah, Georgia. Its newspaper, "The Thunderbolt," which spews hatred for blacks and Jewish people, makes a grotesque joke of the principles of justice and objectivity to which your profession adheres. Grinding out similar racial bigotry is the National Socialist White Peoples Party, the former American Nazi Party. Patterning themselves after the jackbooted storm troopers of Nazi Germany, members of this group strut about in their uniforms replete with swastikas. They regularly converge on the Nation's Capital from their Arlington, Virginia, headquarters to proclaim their antiblack, anti-Semitic beliefs.

The highly publicized Minutemen, a secretive band formed to collect and store weapons for use in combating an anticipated communist take-over, has virtually disintegrated following the arrest and jailing of its organizer and leader, Robert DePugh. He is currently serving a sentence after conviction for a violation of the Federal Firearms Act.

The American press can take pride in its exposure of Klan and similar groups as purveyors of terror and violence who openly and covertly flout the rule of law. Publicity of the abhorrent extremes used to foil Negro gains has undoubtedly contributed in large measure to the decline of white extremist groups in recent years. In performing this valuable service of presenting the facts on such lawless elements, the press has even had to face—unarmed except with the tools of its trade—the verbal and physical hostility which has often been directed against members of my profession by white extremists.

AIRCRAFT HIJACKING

Fanaticism knows no national boundaries. The impact of it is felt by our citizens both at home and abroad. Moreover, there often seems to be an attraction between some brands of fanaticism.

A case in point is the Palestinian commandos who are currently in the news.

In the past two and one-half years the Fedayeen—"Those who offer themselves for their native land"—have been responsible for attacks against aircraft and hijackings of airliners in more than a dozen cases. The most notorious, of course, was the series of hijackings on Sunday, September 6, when hundreds of innocent passengers were flown to Jordan and Egypt, and subjected to inhumanities, indignities, inconveniences and constant threats of death.

These Middle East terrorists are brazen in their planning and bold in the execution of their deeds. Within a month prior to their September 6 hijackings, they announced plans to hijack a Swissair plane carrying United States citizens. The declared purpose of these terrorists was to hold the citizens hostage in order to compel the United States Government to bring pressure on the Swiss Government to release criminals being held in Switzerland for an earlier attack on Israeli planes.

Hijacking is now, indeed, an international problem. Since January 1, 1968, a total of 80 American aircraft have been hijacked with 59 diverted to Cuba. The successes of such fanatics attract and impress other fanatics. Even now we are seeing among black extremists in our own country signs of an attrac-

tion to Arab terrorist methods. In August, 1970, for example, an article in the commando newspaper "Fatah" reported a group of Black Panthers from the United States was visiting Jordan to attend a meeting along with representatives of Communist China and North Korea. Moreover, there has been clandestine travel by black extremists, principally Black Panthers, to the Arab countries of the Middle East.

BLACK EXTREMISM

For decades there have been traces of black extremism on the fringes of the legitimate civil rights movement. Today, however, there are major black militant elements which represent an ominous threat to peaceful relations between various racial groups. More than that, these extremists pose a fundamental threat to the orderly processes of government in our Nation. Black extremists—along with the white supremacists—have received voluminous publicity for their hate-filled messages and their dangerous contentions that the laws of the land must be disregarded in order to achieve their goals. Unfortunately, publicity concerning these embittered black extremists often obscures the truly talented and responsible black spokesmen who see the reduction of inequality through legitimate acts within the framework of the rule of law—not through some sudden stroke of violence.

Black extremists have accelerated their terrorist tactics. One group was responsible for the August, 1970, bombings at the Portuguese and Rhodesian Embassies in Washington, D.C. Another, the Black Liberation Front, conspired to destroy, at Tyler, Texas, a school building and buses with Molotov cocktails. Fortunately, the FBI advised local authorities of this conspiracy, enabling them to seize 25 fire bombs and to bring charges against eight of the conspirators.

The vanguard of black extremism today is the Black Panther Party with its demonstrated proclivity for violence. The party was founded in 1966 ostensibly as a self-defense group against police officers. It has, however, been constantly on the offensive in keeping with its battle cry of "off the pigs"—Panther jargon for "kill the police." According to Panther thinking, the police are the first target in the program for "liberation" of the black community and the violent destruction of white America.

The Panther propensity for violence is well documented. On April 21, 1967, four carloads of Panthers, some armed with shotguns, rifles, and sidearms, appeared at the County Administration Building, Martinez, California, to demand an audience with the sheriff in connection with the shooting by police of a young black caught in the act of breaking into a liquor store. On May 2, 1967, some 25 Panthers carrying loaded rifles, shotguns, and pistols invaded the California State Assembly to protest the introduction of a bill outlawing the carrying of loaded weapons in public.

In August, 1967, Panther Minister of Defense Huey Newton in a press interview by "Ramparts" magazine reprinted in the "New York Times," was asked if he would kill an officer of the law. His answer was an unqualified yes. His intention was underscored two months later when he was involved in the first Panther killing of a police officer and the wounding of another. Newton's conviction in the Oakland officer's death was later overturned and he is presently free on bond pending pretrial hearing in connection with a possible new trial. Eight other police officers have been killed in Panther violence, making a total since 1966 of nine officers killed and 48 wounded at the hands of Panthers.

In 1969 one police officer was killed by a Panther firing a shotgun at point-blank range as the officer lay wounded and helpless on the ground. On August 12, 1970, an

Omaha, Nebraska, police officer was literally blasted to death by an explosive device placed in a suitcase in an abandoned residence. The officer had been summoned by an anonymous telephone complaint that a woman was being beaten there. An individual with Panther associations has been charged with this crime.

On September 16, 1970, the New Orleans Police Department attempted to investigate the savage beating of two police undercover agents by Black Panthers. Police were met with gunfire from Panther headquarters and only after returning fire and using tear gas were the police able to enter. Fifteen Panthers were arrested and charged with attempted murder. Many shotguns, rifles, and thousands of rounds of ammunition were recovered by police.

In Toledo, Ohio, on September 18, 1970, a police officer was killed by a Panther member shooting at point-blank range through a police van window. While apprehending the assailant, police were fired on by individuals in Panther headquarters. Armed with a search warrant, police later searched the Panther office and found three rifles, three shotguns, expended cartridge shells, much live ammunition, and some explosive materials. Generally omitted in press accounts was the fact that a judge was on the scene observing police and Panthers alike and issuing a search warrant for police entry into Panther headquarters.

While compiling a lengthy record of violence against authorities, the Panthers claim that they are being victimized by the police. Their attorney claimed, for instance, in December, 1969, that 28 Panthers had been killed by police officers since 1966. This false figure is still publicized by the Panthers despite the attorney's later reduction of the figure to 20. But even that figure is false. Of the 20, 10 were killed in gun battles with police. Of the other 10, four were killed by rival black extremists; two by unknown individuals; one by a store owner in an attempted holdup; one by his wife for consorting with a female Panther; one as a result of barbiturate intoxication, and the tenth, Alex Rackley, allegedly by fellow Panthers, one of whom has been convicted on a murder conspiracy charge in Rackley's death.

Panthers deny association with or responsibility for criminal activities. But, in 1969 alone, some 350 Panthers were arrested for serious crimes such as murder, armed robbery, rape, bank robbery, and burglary. In addition, police have found in Panther custody hundreds of firearms, including machine guns, sawed-off shotguns, rifles, pistols and grenades, as well as thousands of rounds of ammunition.

Hate-type propaganda of the Panthers has included Panther Christmas and greeting cards depicting scenes of Negro youths asking for guns and explosives for Christmas and conducting violent attacks on police. "The Black Panther," the weekly newspaper with almost 150,000 circulation at present, has carried diagrams and discussions of incendiary and explosive devices and has recommended the use of high-powered weapons against police. In the August 21, 1970, issue of "The Black Panther," a warning was issued to police to walk at night in "threes and fours because twos won't work anymore." The article said the Panthers were ready for the police "with everything from lye to lead."

The overwhelming hatred of this Nation expressed openly by the Panthers is evident in their attempts to secure sympathy and support from abroad. Panthers castigate the United States as an imperialist giant trying to oppress freedom-seeking people around the world. Panthers idolize "Che" Guevara, Fidel Castro, Ho Chi Minh, and Kim Il Sung (of North Korea) as revolutionary heroes.

Mao Tse-tung's "Red Book" of revolutionary tactics and goals has been revered for providing an "ideological framework" for the Panther Party. Lately, an International Section has been opened by fugitive Minister of Information Eldridge Cleaver in Algeria which has formally accorded the Panthers status as a "liberation movement." Cleaver and various traveling Panther functionaries have recently visited Asian capitals, including Hanoi. Moreover, Minister of Defense Huey Newton, in the "spirit of international solidarity," has offered the Viet Cong an "undetermined number of troops to assist" in the fight against "American imperialism."

Panther anti-Semitism has led to embracing the Arab terrorist movement in a bitter propaganda campaign which charges that Israel is a tool of the "imperialist" United States. The depth of the alliance between the Panthers and the Arab terrorists is described in a scholarly July, 1970, study of the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith entitled "The Black Panthers." The fugitive Panther official Cleaver is described as embracing and kissing Al Fatah leader Yasser Arafat in Algiers in late 1969. Cleaver, according to the official Algerian newspaper "El Moujahid," has also stated that "Zionists, wherever they may be, are our enemies."

In the 57 issues of "The Black Panther" published between June 1, 1969, and July 11, 1970, no less than 50 articles or references of an anti-Zionist or pro-Arab terrorist nature were published. Twenty-seven of these articles appeared in the first 21 issues of 1970. The articles appeared under such bold headlines as "Zionism (Kosher Nationalism) + Imperialism = Fascism," and are frequently illustrated by cartoons depicting "Zionism" as a pig, a characterization usually reserved for policemen.

Speaking in the May 19, 1970, issue of "The Black Panther," a New York City Panther said:

"We are anti-Zionist expansion in the world and Zionist exploitation here in Babylon (United States), manifested in the robber barons that exploit us in the garment industry and the bandit merchants and greedy slumlords that operate in our communities."

The recent justification by Arab guerrillas of their hijacking and destruction of jet airliners as "revolutionary acts" is directly akin to the Panther rationale that its criminal acts are political acts immune from retribution.

In concluding its recent study of the Black Panther Party, the Anti-Defamation League observed:

"In their all-out support for Al Fatah, the Panthers have attacked Israel with the rhetoric of Arab and anti-Semite alike . . ."

Despite open espousal of Marxist-Leninist revolutionary acts and goals, despite unprovoked physical attacks on authorities, despite stockpiling of weapons and explosives, and despite the criminal records of Panther leaders and members, Panther cries of repression at the hands of a Government "conspiracy" receive the sympathy and support not only of adherents to totalitarian ideologies, but also of those willing to close their eyes even to the violent nature of hoodlum "revolutionary acts."

Many individuals—commentators, educators, lawyers, clergymen, and socially prominent figures—have either failed or refused to recognize the primarily lawless nature of the Black Panther Party. This is unfortunate for two reasons: First, emotions have been permitted to prevail over facts. Second, the expressions of sympathy and support for the Black Panthers contribute to an atmosphere of contempt for our Nation's foundation of rule under law rather than to positive steps to improve the quality of our national life. Certainly, the torture-death of Alex Rackley, allegedly at the hands of the Black Panthers,

should reveal the criminal character of this group.

In May, 1969, Rackley, an apparently dedicated Panther from New York City, stood before a Panther "kangaroo" court in New Haven accused of being a police informant. Scalded with boiling water and beaten almost beyond recognition, he was judged to be guilty. His body was found by police shortly thereafter in a swamp.

After arrests of individual Panthers by local authorities, the gruesome details of the torture-killing eventually brought a strange reaction from some quarters of the academic community. Referring to the defendants in this case, a prestigious educator in April 1970, asserted publicly that he was skeptical of the chance for black revolutionaries to receive fair trials anywhere in the United States. While he soon moderated his stand by saying that no disparagement of the entire legal system was intended, the modification went virtually unnoticed in the wake of the publicity given to his first statement.

Prior to the New Haven trial, Panther demonstrations against the courts were a direct challenge to the rule of law. Threats were made that violence would break out in the streets in connection with the trial. The city became tense and uneasy. With good reason, too, for the Panthers were well-armed for a showdown with police, looking apparently for a bloody confrontation to draw attention to the trial. This tension was compounded by a vote at Yale University to close the university for a massive rally in sympathy with the Panther defendants.

Fortunately, in an effort to ward off violence, authorities arranged for sufficient law enforcement personnel. National Guard units, and Federal troops to be ready for immediate use in New Haven during the massive Panther rally on the first weekend of May, 1970. The result was that Panther leaders, to whom the array of force was readily apparent, departed New Haven earlier than planned. The show of force definitely kept the disruption to a minimum of sporadic incidents. Yet, some members of the press gave credit where it did not belong.

Obviously disappointed in the effective preparations to control outbursts of violence at the rally, the Panthers soon were to welcome Yale's hosting of a Panther-sponsored Black Student Revolutionary Conference, May 18-19, 1970. This was no ordinary talkfest. Excluding whites and white press coverage of the proceedings, the Panthers set up workshops on urban guerrilla warfare, including such subjects as means of sabotaging public utilities as well as the construction and use of explosive and incendiary devices. The conference discussed techniques of attacks on police. Many of the techniques discussed have been used in unprovoked racially motivated assaults on and murders of law enforcement officials.

The trial of the first Panther defendant began in July, 1970. Efforts of the Black Panther Party to create an emotionally charged atmosphere were to be expected. The potential for violence, however, in this volatile situation was increased by the interaction of several factors. These included the attacks on our court system, the massive rally, the revolutionary conference and diverse forms of sympathy and support from numerous sources. Much of that sympathy and support might have been withheld if those who extended it had examined with objectivity the true character of the Black Panther Party.

During the trial ending in the conviction of the first defendant, courthouse rallies in support of the Panthers were an almost daily occurrence. They were calculated to affect the outcome of the trial, an activity repugnant to the idea of fair and impartial trial. Nevertheless, the rule of law prevailed through the alertness of law enforcement and disruptions were kept to a minimum. And in a turnabout

statement the Panther defense attorney acknowledged at a news conference after his client's conviction that "anybody in a minority group can get a fair trial in this state."

The call of the Black Panthers for positive action in the form of force and violence against white society, especially the police, appears to have stimulated elements beyond the Panther membership. In June, 1970, the FBI furnished information to the Detroit Police Department which enabled them to thwart the plans of a group associated with the Black Panthers, the Black Liberation Army Strike Teams (BLAST), to ambush police. The "officer on the beat" has borne the brunt of the black extremists' attacks on our society. Since January 1, 1970, there have been 190 reported instances of racially motivated attacks against policemen, including 17 ambushes. As a result, 21 police officers have been killed and 159 others have been injured. Police have arrested 351 blacks in connection with the attacks, which include 104 assaults, 54 snipings, at least 7 bombings, and 4 incidents of arson.

During August, alone, there were 23 attacks by black extremists against police. These caused the deaths of 5 officers and injuries to 56 others. The terrorist tactics against police lead to the inescapable conclusion that the inspiration, motivation and techniques employed come not so much from the inflammatory rhetoric of the Black Panther Party as they do from its deliberate planning for such violent acts.

In California a group of black extremists were responsible for the August 15, 1970, murder of a state judge sitting in Marin County. Three of the blacks involved were killed at the time. They were eulogized by the Black Panthers as "courageous revolutionaries." Angela Davis, former University of California instructor who had earlier been given sympathetic treatment in some segments of the press, allegedly purchased the guns that were used in the killing of the judge. She has been a publicly avowed communist for some years and is now being sought under the Federal Fugitive Act following indictment for murder in California.

Currently, the Black Panther Party is planning a November, 1970, national convention in the Washington, D.C., area. Called the Revolutionary People's Constitutional Convention, it is to be a gathering of "oppressed people," white and black, for the purpose of rewriting the United States Constitution. Last month, in Atlanta, Georgia, the Congress of African Peoples held a conference attended by 2,500 black power representatives from 35 states and 21 nations. Dominated by extremists, the Congress established its objective as the creation of programs to destroy any progress toward integration. The Congress called for the establishment of a World African Party which would emphasize disruptive tactics against white institutions, including the police and the military, and stressed training in skills for engaging police in shoot-outs.

The extremism of both whites and blacks requires objective reporting in the press. Factual presentation of such activities helps to reveal the dangerous nature of those who take the law into their own hands. There have been, however, complaints that press exposure of the evil of white extremists has been exaggerated and overdone, while on the other hand black extremist activities have been condoned in many sections of the press. Some readers and commentators have questioned why some elements of the press believe it wrong for police to investigate and arrest Black Panthers for violating our laws when the record shows that the Panthers preach violent destruction of the Nation; have leaders and members with serious criminal records; threaten to kill those interfering with them, including President Nixon, former Supreme Court Justice Arthur Goldberg, California Judge Monroe Friedman, U.S.

District Court Judge Julius Hoffman, Senator John McClellan and Dr. Henry Kissinger; and have killed nine police officers since 1966.

Vigorous action by law enforcement against Klan-type individuals and other white extremists has generally been applauded in the press, but some press elements seem to contend that arrests are making martyrs of the Panthers and police should bend over backward in dealing with them. The question can logically be asked: does such criticism mean Panthers should not be arrested despite their criminal acts?

Of course, there are sociological factors involved, but a crime must not be ignored because of a man's urban, innercity background any more than it can be ignored because of a man's rural, white supremacist background. Referring to the riots in our cities, former Ambassador George F. Kennan declared in June, 1968, "... if there has been any excess here, it has been an excess of tolerance towards such things as arson, looting, sniping and the malicious harassment of police and firemen endeavoring to perform their duty."

The criminal acts of all extremists regardless of race, color, or creed, require the attention of law enforcement. When criminal activity goes unchallenged, the very foundation of our rule under law crumbles.

EXTREMIST MINORITY OF NEW LEFT

The more militant elements of the New Left, such as the Students for a Democratic Society, have, during the last year or so, been associated with the tactics of mass destruction, terror, and guerrilla warfare directed against this Nation. Since 1962, SDS has moved rapidly from a stance of protest through one of active resistance to its current position which urges acts of outright rebellion to overthrow the Government. The extremist elements of the New Left, with their campus orientation, pose a grave challenge to the stability and continuity of freedom of speech and to progress under law.

The university is viewed by the student rebel as a tool of the establishment. It accepts payment for engaging in war-making research projects, produces brainwashed students to keep the system going and thwarts students initiative through its security forces. It is viewed as a symbolic institution of American injustice.

Thus, the college campus has become a major target of extremist New Left attacks. The aim is to radicalize students and to use them to destroy the university's role within the establishment. At the same time, there is an aim to make the campus a base for political action directed against the social structure and ultimately against the Government itself. A small nucleus of professors occupy a very important role in this strategy. To date, this role has not been adequately treated by the press. The concept of an elite group above the law is alien to American society and it is the responsibility of the press to inform the citizen by exposing those who identify with this elitist concept.

Statistical evidence for the academic year 1969-1970 shows a sharp increase in the number of demonstrations on college campuses and corresponding violence. There were some 1,800 demonstrations on American campuses in that academic year. As a result of these demonstrations, many of which involved violence, 7,500 arrests were made and 462 injuries reported. Of this latter number, some two-thirds were police officers and college administrators trying to control the demonstrations. Tragically, eight deaths resulted from this campus violence. Sit-ins totalled 313 and there were 14 instances of bombings and 247 arson incidents. ROTC facilities suffered 282 attacks on campus. Damages approached \$10 million in campus disorders.

Since the end of the 1969-1970 academic year, additional campus disruption has occurred. The most tragic and repulsive, of

course, was the bombing of the Army Mathematics Research Center at the University of Wisconsin on August 24, 1970. Five minutes after an anonymous call that a bomb was in the center, a deadly blast ripped the six-story building, killing a research worker and injuring four others in the building. Property damage was estimated at \$3 million. The FBI has identified four suspects who have been indicted for sabotage and destruction of Government property.

Terrorist acts violate academic freedom and interfere with scholarly work. These insane acts of violence as well as instances of student anarchy, interfere with the right of professional, qualified persons to inquire, discover, publish, and teach within the field of their competence.

In addition to disruption and violence on the campus, some extremist elements of the New Left have left the campus to confront the establishment elsewhere.

The Weatherman faction, arising from a split of SDS at its 1969 national convention, called for terrorist tactics during a "National Action Week" in Chicago during October, 1969. Over 270 Weatherman members and followers were arrested in Chicago as they gained experience in revolutionary tactics. Noting the numbers arrested at the Chicago action, Weatherman leaders in December, 1969, outlined a different strategy. They planned a small, tough paramilitary organization designed to carry out urban guerrilla warfare which would bring about a revolution against the Government. In early 1970, Weatherman leaders called for their members to go underground and form commando-type units. Weatherman members were to engage in strategic sabotage directed against military and police installations using bombs, assassinations, and some direct confrontations with police.

Evidence of the new strategy was soon apparent. On March 6, 1970, three Weatherman associates were killed in a dynamite explosion in New York City of a townhouse "bomb factory." On March 30, 1970, sticks of dynamite and other explosives were found in a Chicago apartment rented to Weatherman activists. The dynamite, incidentally, was similar to that found unexploded on March 6, 1970, in two Detroit police installations.

In May, 1970, Bernardine Dohrn, top female Weatherman, issued a Weatherman "Declaration of War" which called for revolutionaries and youths to join in the "Weatherman revolution." She threatened that within the next 14 days, "We will attack a symbolic institution of American injustice." The New York City Police Department became the apparent target when a bomb exploded there on June 9, 1970, 15 minutes after a Weatherman anonymous call to the headquarters. Damage from the explosion was \$150,000, and eight persons were injured.

On July 27, 1970, a pipe bomb exploded at the Bank of America office in New York City. A New York City newspaper received a call five minutes after the blast stating, "This is a Weatherman... We have just bombed the Bank of America... Tell John Mitchell (Attorney General) that no matter what he does, we cannot be stopped."

On September 16, 1970, a Los Angeles newspaper received a letter purportedly from Bernardine Dohrn. That letter enclosed a letter from Timothy Leary who escaped four days earlier from a California prison where he was incarcerated on a local possession of marijuana charge. The Dohrn letter stated that Weatherman "commits itself to the task of freeing these prisoners of war." Leary expressed gratitude for the Weatherman underground aiding his escape and warned that he is armed and should be considered dangerous.

This strategy of terror through urban guerrilla warfare and violence on campuses has brought needless death and injury to many.

Too often, little attention is given to the grief-stricken families of innocent people killed or injured by the acts of arrogant extremists. Other victims of this strategy of terror are the parents and relatives of the terrorists themselves. Some must resign themselves to being apologists for these revolutionary wrecking crews of society. These wide-ranging facets of the results of such violence require more coverage in our press. So do the explicit utterances of the revolutionary leaders. Weatherman leader Bernardine Dohrn, for example, spoke last winter at a Weatherman conference. She in effect condoned the Sharon Tate murders in California with the revolting statement "Dig it, first they killed those pigs, they had dinner in the same room and then shoved a fork into a victim's stomach—wild!"

Several anarchistic groups reportedly have plans to kidnap Government officials. This kind of terrorism is especially ominous since many foreign heads of state will be attending the 25th anniversary of the United Nations in New York this month. Moreover, the widespread campaigning of Government officials in the United States this fall increases their vulnerability to be seized as hostages by extreme groups.

INTERNATIONAL TIES

The New Left movement is not strictly an American phenomenon. It exists in other countries and there are international ties. Many New Left leaders have traveled and conferred with their counterparts abroad. SDS leaders such as Mark Rudd, Bernardine Dohrn, and Thomas Hayden, for example, have visited Canada, Cuba, France, and North Vietnam.

Another foreign thrust of the New Left movement is the Venceremos Brigade which was organized in June, 1969, in this country to support Castro's Cuba by assisting in the 1970 sugar cane harvest. Openly defying a State Department ban on travel to Cuba, the Brigade has sent three contingents to Cuba in 1969 and 1970. Two of the most active recruiters for the Brigade were Weathermen Ted Gold and Diana Oughton who were killed in the explosion on March 6, 1970, of a Weatherman "bomb factory" in New York City. Curiously, some colleges and universities have offered academic credit to students participating in Brigade trips to Cuba.

New Left international ties also are evident in the antiwar movement in our Nation. After failing to attract large numbers of protesters to the demonstrations at the January, 1969, Presidential Inauguration, leadership of the primary antiwar group made plans for a summer conference to revitalize the movement on a broader basis. During May, 1969, New Left representatives attended a meeting of the Stockholm Conference on Vietnam where representatives of North Vietnam and the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam strongly supported the United States antiwar movement. The communist delegates emphasized the need for creating widespread public opinion to demand United States withdrawal from Vietnam in order for the Viet Cong and North Vietnamese to achieve victory in South Vietnam.

In June, 1969, a call went out for a National Antiwar Conference for the following month in Cleveland, Ohio. The conference, including Students for a Democratic Society, the Black Panther Party, the Communist Party, USA, and other Marxist groups, created the New Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam (New Mobe). It called for a massive November 15 march on Washington, D.C., to protest American involvement in Vietnam. One speaker, Irving Sarnoff of Los Angeles, reported his recent discussions in Paris with a North Vietnamese delegation which praised plans for the Cleveland antiwar conference.

The ties between the domestic antiwar movement and its foreign principals were revealed again prior to the November 15 demonstrations. New Mobe leaders attended another international meeting of the Stockholm Conference on Vietnam. Viet Cong and North Vietnamese representatives were present. Plans were made for a later international conference so that the November 15 demonstrations would not be seen as an end to the "peace" offensive that was to benefit the communist cause in Vietnam.

The broad effect of action by the extremist minority of the New Left has been measured in the September 9, 1970, issue of the "Liberation News Service." Following destruction of Selective Service files in Baltimore and Catonsville, Maryland, in 1967 and 1968, about 500,000 draft files have been destroyed by antidraft extremist groups of the New Left such as the Milwaukee 14, the Chicago 15, the Beaver 55, the New York 8, the Boston 8, and the East Coast Conspiracy to Save Lives. According to the above issue, the Beaver 55 raided Dow Chemical Company headquarters where they erased computer tapes storing all of the data from Dow's biological and chemical warfare research programs.

Another small militant group, the White Panther Party, which supports the Black Panther Party, has called for revolutionary violence, including bombings and sabotage. The White Panthers have also suggested the possibility of kidnaping high Government officials and United States ambassadors, demanding freedom for White Panthers now in prison in exchange for release of the officials.

Idealism Corrupted

The world-renowned psychiatrist Dr. Bruno Bettelheim, in writing about youthful revolutionaries in the September, 1969, issue of "Encounter" states:

"I have worked professionally with some militant leaders for years, and I know that student revolt permits the social isolate to believe temporarily that he is 'part of a community,' and offers an opportunity for the paranoid persons to act out his paranoia as could happen in no other niche of society . . .

"Unfortunately, most non-professionals do not know how persuasive paranoiacs can be in their unconscious appeal to the vague and fleeting paranoia of the immature and disgruntled. Paranoiacs are always persuasive in their appeal to any group of the population who rightly or wrongly feel persecuted."

These comments regarding psychiatric disorders bring to mind the observation of George Orwell that "revolutionary creeds are rationalizations of neurotic impulses."

It is absolutely essential to recognize and publicize the fact that each incident of violence committed by the most radical minority of the New Left—including the Weatherman—constitutes an increasing corruption of a youthful, student idealism which in the past held great promise. The perversion of that idealism by acts of terror is a tragic waste of our youthful resources.

In examining disruption by the New Left, it is easy to place the total responsibility on the extremist leaders and those young people who man the barricades with them. But this responsibility must be shared by others in our society who by their actions have been instrumental in encouraging this disruption. A small number of alienated and irresponsible faculty members have played important roles—openly and behind the scenes—in many of the worst campus disorders. These individuals, in their arrogance, count for nothing the rights of the students who want to attend class peaceably and to learn in an atmosphere conducive to study. Such faculty members seek only to politicize the campuses in support of their own elitist concepts and, in so doing, they have griev-

ously harmed academic freedom. Responsibility for the intensity of campus disorders must also be borne by those college administrators who have appeased the disruptors in the name of academic freedom and in surrendering their professional standards have only extenuated the student attacks.

Members of the Boards of Trustees of colleges and universities are also not free from blame. How many know what is going on in their colleges? How many are aware of the weaknesses of their educational administrators? How many have been appeasers to revolutionary professors and students, oblivious to the fact that you can no more appease them than Chamberlain appeased Hitler?

Joseph F. Ford, member of the Board of Trustees of Brandeis University, has expressed some thoughts on this subject which all members of Boards of Trustees could consider with benefit. Mr. Ford has in discussion emphasized that freedom of thought, expression and action plus fearless pursuit of truth must be guaranteed to all members of an academic community. Mr. Ford adds that this can be done only in a context of rationalism, order and good will. He concludes that it is the responsibility of the members of Boards of Trustees to contribute to this end.

The mass media, of course, has a fundamental responsibility for pursuing truth. It also has the responsibility to report in a rational and balanced manner. Unfortunately, certain segments of the media—either wittingly or unwittingly—have given impetus to student extremists through slanted coverage of their activities, or through excessive concern for the sensational in their reporting. Media must inspire its audience to arrive at reasoned conclusions based on facts impartially presented. A free yet responsible media is absolutely essential in providing a self-governing nation with an enlightened citizenry.

The excesses of left extremism, dangerous as they are in their own right, pose a far greater danger for the country in the reaction they can cause among the moderate majority. If the irrationalism, violence, destruction and lawlessness of the extremists of the left are allowed to continue, the people of this Nation, out of fear, anger and growing concern for themselves and their families, could veer away from the "vital center" and dangerously far in the direction of the extreme right.

NO SIMPLE ANSWER

If there is anything to be gleaned from this Nation's crisis of conscience of faith and of confrontation with extremism, it is that man, despite his immense abilities to harness his physical world, has still to learn how to harness itself. His genius for evil, for selfishness, arrogance and cruelty, continues to match his genius of spirit which has enabled him to put his footsteps on the moon and on the threshold of the forces of life itself. He is more aware of his capabilities than his limitations. What is possible within these capabilities and limitations?

There are no simple answers to America's problems of the 1970's. No permanent solutions will be found through legislation or law enforcement alone. Neither will shibboleths of the past provide us with a panacea. We must question old concepts and test them in the light of new realities. In fact, it has been well said that the recurrent shock of our age is the discovery that concepts and patterns of action of a more secure past no longer fit the present reality that change, challenge and conflict have created.

Americans today could agree with the thought expressed by Emerson—this is a very good time. But it is a time which calls for us to remain rational in an atmosphere of social flux and hostility and which compels us to search for solutions to our urgent problems with reason rather than emotion. This is a time for cool heads and unshake-

able courage. It is also a time for us to expand our capacity for moral and spiritual growth and to deepen our commitment to and understanding of the democratic principles on which this Nation was founded.

Alexander Pope could have been speaking just as well of the contradictions of the human condition of our time as his own when he wrote in his "Essay on Man":

"Born but to die, and reas'ning but to err;
Alike in ignorance, his reason such,
Whether he thinks too little or too much;
Chaos of thought and passion, all confused;
Still by himself abused and disabused;
Created half to rise, and half to fall;
Great lords of all things, yet a prey to all;
Sole judge of truth, in endless error hurled;
The glory, jest and riddle of the world."

The churning contradictions of good and evil in contemporary America challenge us as never before to raise the quality of life and achieve new goals of freedom and opportunity.

If men were angels this world would be different. Their ideals would be achieved. But men are not angels and, therefore, as Louis MacNiece wrote:

" . . . to the good who know how wide the
gulf, how deep
Between Ideal and Real, who being good
have felt
The final temptation to withdraw, sit down
and weep,
"We pray the power to take upon themselves
the guilt
Of human action, though still as ready to
confess
The imperfection of what can and must be
built,
The wish and power to act, forgive, and
bless."

This is a very good time for all of us, if we but know what to do with it. And, we will know what to do with it only if we recognize honestly and in depth both our human capabilities and human limitations and within this context pursue "the art of the possible."

Apropos of this, we can with profit reflect upon two related thoughts expressed by Mr. John Edgar Hoover, Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation:

"Long before we became a Nation there were those who questioned man's capacity to govern himself. The philosopher, Rousseau, who died in 1778, expressed his doubt in these words: 'If there were a people consisting of gods, they would be governed democratically; so perfect a government is not suitable to men.' We are not gods, but while we have faith in God and continue to make it our concern when our neighbor's wall is on fire, we shall confound the cynics and this Republic will survive."

"I am convinced that the heart and spirit of this Nation are sound and good. I believe one day the verdict of history will reveal that, in the main, today's Americans rose magnificently to meet a series of most formidable challenges."

MANY HAVE MUCH AT STAKE IN IMPORT BILL

HON. NICK GALIFIANAKIS

OF NORTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, November 30, 1970

Mr. GALIFIANAKIS. Mr. Speaker, I would like to share with my colleagues an editorial which appeared in my hometown newspaper, the Durham Sun, last Friday.

The content of this editorial stresses the vital importance of the passage of the Trade Act of 1970 to the people and the economy of North Carolina. I commend the Durham Sun for so accurately reflecting the thinking of the people of my congressional district and of our State.

The editorial follows:

MANY HAVE MUCH AT STAKE IN IMPORT BILL

Anyone who doubts that the textile industry in this country needs some protection against foreign imports, particularly from Japan, should take a look at the latest statistics of the U.S. Department of Labor.

In the last six months alone, at least 41 American textile plants have shut down and hundreds more have gone on reduced schedules, which means smaller paychecks to their employes. Most of this has been caused by inability to meet the competition of lower-priced imports, produced by people working for a low wage scale.

Around 17,000 workers in the Carolinas, 10,000 of them in North Carolina, have been caught in the squeeze since September 1969, and have been laid off their jobs. For the nation as a whole, textile employment in the past year dropped from 991,000 to 945,000, the unemployment ranks being swelled by 10,000 this past October alone.

But even more people have a stake in the future of the import quota bill now before Congress. Without some kind of assurance of trade protection, the industry in the United States is unwilling to spend large sums of money on expansion and needed modernization of their plants. If it is not provided, it is likely, as often has been predicted, to go outside of the U.S. and build new plants where labor and other costs will be cheaper.

Then it would be in a position to compete with unrestricted foreign imports. Industry leaders say that is the only way it could.

UNDERSTANDING WHAT IS GOING ON IN RURAL AMERICA

HON. JOHN M. ZWACH

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, November 30, 1970

Mr. ZWACH. Mr. Speaker, too many people, including, I am sorry to say, far too many Members of Congress, seem to lack an understanding of what is going on in rural America, what are the conditions under which our food producers work in order to give the American consumer the greatest food bargain in the world.

I have gathered some interesting facts from "1961 to 1970, The Farmers' Worst Nine Years" which I would like to pass along by their insertion in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

The author, Frank LeRoux, charges that the United States' greatest industry, agriculture, is being economically destroyed in an effort to please the consumer.

Here are some of his salient assertions:

Three million producing farms employ 4,600,000 workers. This is more than the combined employment in transportation, public utilities, the steel industry, and the automobile industry.

Total gross agricultural assets are \$307,000,000,000. This is two-thirds of the

value of current assets of all corporations in the United States and one-half of the market value of all corporation stocks on the New York Stock Exchange. It represents about \$50,000 in investment for each farm employee—double that of each manufacturing employee.

Three out of every 10 jobs in private employment are related to agriculture.

Eight million people have jobs storing, processing, and merchandising the products of agriculture.

Six million people have jobs providing the supplies farmers use.

No other industry in the United States does so much for the country and receives so little in return.

POW'S IN SOUTHEAST ASIA HAVE HAD LITTLE TO BE THANKFUL FOR ON THEIR THANKSGIVING DAY

HON. DAVID E. SATTERFIELD III

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, November 30, 1970

Mr. SATTERFIELD. Mr. Speaker, as this body meets today following a Thanksgiving recess, which most of us shared with family and friends, I call to the attention of my colleagues the Thanksgiving of our American POW's in Southeast Asia. Certainly they had very little to be thankful for on their Thanksgiving day.

It is my sincere hope that another day of Thanksgiving in these United States will not pass without all Americans having the opportunity to say, "We are thankful that our POW's have been returned."

It was my privilege and the privilege of our entire Virginia delegation in Congress to meet with a courageous group of wives of Virginia prisoners of war last week. They delivered to us a petition gathered by the Richmond Chapter of the American Fighter Pilots Association with the assistance of the Virginia Air National Guard at the annual State Fair of Virginia. The petition, signed by over 10,000 Virginians, is directed to the Congress of the United States.

On behalf of the Virginia delegation, those who signed the petition and especially the views of captured and missing servicemen, I invite the attention of my colleagues to the text of this petition and to a Richmond News Leader editorial dealing with its presentation which follow:

PETITION TO THE CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES

We, the undersigned, are greatly concerned about the condition of American prisoners of war being held captive in Southeast Asia. There appears to be more than ample evidence that the government of North Vietnam and its allies are not conforming to the terms of the Geneva Convention. We are disturbed that our nation has been ineffective in its efforts to bring about the humane treatment of these men. We, therefore, respectfully petition you to take immediate and positive action to the end that the government of North Vietnam and its allies provide a complete list of those held prisoner, repatriate

the sick and wounded, permit inspection of the prisons, and allow these men to correspond with their courageous and long-suffering families.

POW WIVES LEAVE SADNESS AND A WINCE IN THE HEART

The day began at 7 a.m., when the State airplane took off from Byrd Field on a swing around Virginia to pick up wives of Americans missing or held captive in Vietnam. The plane touched down at Lynchburg, Danville, Norfolk, and Langley Air Force Base. When it landed nearly four hours later at Washington's National Airport, six POW wives were aboard. They were met in Washington by three others who had come to Washington by car.

The group's purpose was to deliver a petition to Virginia's congressional delegation. The petition was sponsored by the Richmond chapter of the American Fighter Pilots Association. The 400-foot-long petition contained the signatures of more than 10,000 persons who visited the Virginia Air National Guard exhibit at this year's State Fair. It asked the Virginia delegation "to take immediate and positive action to the end that the government of North Vietnam and its allies provide a complete list of those held prisoner, repatriate the sick and wounded, permit the inspection of camps, and allow these men to correspond with their courageous families."

The wives presented the petition to the delegation on the steps of the Capitol. Every member of Virginia's congressional delegation was there—10 congressmen and two Senators. Fourth District congressman Watkins Abbitt, dean of the delegation, said it was the first time in his memory—and he has served in the House since 1948—that the entire delegation turned out to receive visiting group. After the presentation of the petition, the wives were guests at a lunch hosted by Dave Satterfield and attended by eight members of the congressional delegation. At the conclusion of the lunch, each wife told a little about her husband and her particular predicament.

The POW wives are:

Phyllis Galanti of Richmond, wife of Lieutenant Commander Paul Galanti, shot down over North Vietnam June 17, 1966; married seven years, no children; hasn't seen her husband for five years; has received nine letters from him.

Evelyn Grubb of Colonial Heights, wife of Major Wilmer Grubb, shot down over North Vietnam January 26, 1966; mother of four sons, the youngest of whom never has seen his daddy; never heard from her husband; two weeks ago Communist sources informed the Air Force that her husband has died in a North Vietnamese cell.

Mary Crow of Hampton, wife of Colonel Frederick A. Crow, Jr., shot down over North Vietnam March 26, 1967; mother of four children; received her first letter from her husband 10 days ago.

Jean Ellison of Lynchburg, wife of Commander John C. Ellison, shot down over North Vietnam March 24, 1967; mother of four children, the youngest of whom was two months old when his daddy left for duty in Vietnam; has reliable evidence her husband was taken prisoner; several days ago Communist sources informed her that the North Vietnamese never have heard of her husband.

Billie Hartney of Hampton, wife of Lieutenant Colonel James Hartney, shot down over North Vietnam January 5, 1968; never heard a word from him.

Valerie Kushner of Danville, wife of Major F. H. Kushner, a surgeon who was the sole survivor of an air crash in South Vietnam three years ago, now a prisoner of the Viet Cong; mother of two children, the youngest of whom never has seen his daddy; never heard a word.

June Nelson of Virginia Beach, wife of Lieutenant Richard C. Nelson, shot down over North Vietnam March 6, 1968; no children; married two days before her husband left for Vietnam, four months before he was shot down; never heard.

Leslie Palenscar of Virginia Beach, wife of Lieutenant Alexander J. Palenscar, III, shot down at sea off North Vietnam March 27, 1967; mother of two children, the youngest of whom never has seen his daddy; never heard.

Mary Webb of Hampton, wife of Major Ronald Webb, shot down over North Vietnam June 11, 1967; has received one letter from her husband.

They're all attractive, all intensely eloquent. And they do not fit the mental prototype of what they ought to be. Publicly at least, they are not emotional and weepy; they are not fierce. The airborne coffee klatch in the Governor's plane was like almost any other that takes place in countless houses every day; Women drawn together by common ties. But they know their arguments—God knows, they know them—and the arguments come through with piercing precision when the wives speak to the Virginia delegation. "Gentlemen, I would like to know whether I am a widow or not." We have been patted on the back enough and told enough times that we have your sympathy. We want something done."

As it ironically turned out early today, the announcement was made that something indeed had been done—the abortive raid on the POW camp at Son Tay. The feelings of the wives have not yet crystallized about it; they will be discussing it for months, wondering whether, had the raid been staged three weeks earlier, they now might have their husbands home. In general the wives are enthusiastic about the raid, but they are exasperated because Son Tay was empty. The raid fitted into what they have come to recognize as the awful pattern of this war—exasperation and tears.

Being with these gals is therapeutic. Their determination and unexpressed agony are contagious and fortifying. The clichés flood into the mind, but none really helps. And the quotes. From Dumas, were: "All wisdom may be reduced to two words—wait and hope." Surely these gals, in their ordeal of waiting and hoping—are wise well beyond their years, probably wiser than they care to be. From Goethe: "Happy is the man who has a good wife; he lives twice as long." These are good wives, good wives. If the capacity to extend lives can be transmitted across oceans and through jungles, these gals have transmitted it to their husbands. Because of these gals, these wives alone, their husbands may yet live.

At the end of the day one is left, as they are, with his private thoughts. If he were one of those poor guys over there, locked in a Communist cage, he would want a wife such as these. He comes away from them—how? Saddened. Strengthened. And with a wince in the heart.

ASSAULT AGAINST POLLUTION IN CAMDEN, N.J.

HON. JOHN E. HUNT

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, November 30, 1970

Mr. HUNT. Mr. Speaker, the week of November 8 through November 14, 1970, was recognized in Camden, N.J., as "Bag Your Trash Week" at the urging of the proclamation issued by Mayor Joseph M. Nardi, Jr.

While this was only a token assault

against the pollution by solid household wastes, such as are generated in the thousands of tons daily, it is to be hoped that the heightened awareness of the trash disposal problem brought about by the "Bag Your Trash Week" activities will cause everyone to be more mindful of the disposition of that kind of pollution within his control—namely, household trash.

The mayor's proclamation follows:

PROCLAMATION

Whereas, the state of our precious environment is threatened on all sides by many forms of pollution and we have fallen prey to tons of waste generated daily by our highly developed technology; and

Whereas, the amount of household refuse is expected to almost double within the next ten years due to modern developments in product packaging, including a deluge of paper products, tin cans and indestructible plastics;

Now, therefore, I, Joseph M. Nardi, Jr., Mayor of the City of Camden, New Jersey, do hereby proclaim the week of November 8 through November 14, 1970 Bag Your Trash Week and do urge all citizens to join in activities which will help further the effort to enhance your environment and to control the problem of mounting refuse through the conscientious use of plastic trash bags to contain all household waste.

In witness hereof, I have hereunto set my hand and the seal of the City of Camden, New Jersey, this 2nd day of November, 1970.

JOSEPH M. NARDI, Jr.,

Mayor.

RUSSIANS SEIZE DEFECTOR ABOARD COAST GUARD SHIP

HON. JOHN S. MONAGAN

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, November 30, 1970

Mr. MONAGAN. Mr. Speaker, I include the following as part of my remarks in the RECORD:

[N.Y. Times, Sunday, Nov. 29, 1970]

RUSSIANS SEIZE DEFECTOR ABOARD COAST GUARD SHIP

(By Robert D. McFadden)

At 2 P.M. last Monday, as the mother ship of a Soviet fishing fleet and a United States Coast Guard cutter rocked in the swells a mile off Martha's Vineyard, a Lithuanian seaman made a dramatic leap for political asylum.

The seaman, a radio operator known here only as Simas, hurled himself across a 10-foot gap from the Soviet vessel, the Soviet-skaja Litva, and onto the deck of the cutter Vigilant.

About 10 hours later, after a flurry of ship-to-shore radio consultations, the seaman was forcibly returned to the fishing ship by Soviet crewmen who had boarded the American vessel with the permission of the Coast Guard. The man, according to eyewitness accounts, was severely beaten by the Russians while the American seamen looked on.

DEMONSTRATIONS HELD

"Simas pleaded with [the Americans] to let him stay," a civilian who was aboard the cutter and witnessed the beating said yesterday. He added:

"He was crying 'help' and was on his knees praying and begging them to save his life. But the captain said he was just following orders."

The incident has led to a series of demonstrations here and in other cities, produced

conflicting statements by the Coast Guard and the State Department, and raised questions over a possible United States violation of the Geneva Convention protocol on political asylum.

About 100 demonstrators gathered in Times Square yesterday to protest what they called the denial of political asylum to the seaman and the violation by the United States of his human rights under the protocol, to which the United States is a signatory.

The peaceful, two-hour demonstration here, which included picketing and angry speeches, was one of a number of protests staged yesterday and Friday in Boston, Philadelphia, Cleveland and Chicago by Americans of Lithuanian, Estonian and Latvian ancestry over the incident at sea.

The demonstrators, many of them wearing black armbands, carried signs reading "Is State Department trading fish for human lives?" and "Russians and Coast Guard kill brave Lithuanian sailors."

The two ships had met in Vineyard Sound, in American territorial waters, for a conference on fishing off the Atlantic coast, a subject of continuing Soviet-American controversy.

A spokesman for the State Department yesterday acknowledged that the seaman had been forcibly returned to the 300-foot Soviet ship by crewmen who were allowed aboard the American cutters, a 200-foot-long vessel.

The spokesman said the incident constituted an apparent violation of Article 33 of the Geneva protocol, which governs political asylum, but he added that the State Department had not learned of the case until after the defector had been returned, and thus could take no action.

This was contradicted yesterday, however, by a spokesman for the First Coast Guard District in Boston, which had jurisdiction over the cutter in the authorized but unusual conference with the Russians.

The Coast Guard spokesman said that the decision to return the defector was ordered by the First District commander, Rear Adm. W. B. Ellis, but that both the State Department and the Coast Guard commandant in Washington had been apprised of the situation "early in the afternoon of the 23d," the day the incident took place.

DISCUSSIONS GOING ON

The spokesman said that "the decision to return the crewman was made in consideration of delicate international discussions which were being carried on regarding fishing problems." He added: "Their progress could have been endangered by any other course of action."

Admiral Ellis was reported yesterday to be recuperating from surgery and could not be reached for comment.

The meeting of ships during which the attempted defection took place was arranged at Soviet suggestion, according to the State Department, to take up the problem of "over-harvesting" the yellow-tail flounder along the North Atlantic coast.

The Russians had suggested that the matter could be dealt with "on the scene," the State Department spokesman added, and thus the Soviet factory ship was invited into United States territorial waters for the meeting, which took place about a mile west of Gay Head on the western tip of Martha's Vineyard.

SESSIONS CALLED CORDIAL

In addition to representatives of the Interior Department's Bureau of Fisheries, principals in the meeting at sea included representatives of fishing interests in New Bedford, Mass., including Robert Brieze, president of the New Bedford Seafood Products Association, and John Burt, an official of the New Bedford Fishermen's Union.

The spokesman for the State Department, which authorized the meeting, described it

as an "informal get-together" aboard the Soviet ship, "mainly for the benefit of regional people and fishermen from New Bedford." He added that the sessions were cordial and that there had been "a lot of visiting back and forth" between the Soviet ship and the Coast Guard cutter.

The ships were linked with hawsers and fenders were put over the side to prevent damage to their hulls at about 10:30 that morning. Mr. Brieze, Mr. Burt and the Government officials rode beeches buoys across to the Soviet ship. The conference took place in the Russian captain's quarters, according to Mr. Brieze.

OFFICER IS APPROACHED

Shortly before 2 P.M., Mr. Brieze said, the Lithuanian quietly approached one of the Vigilant's officers and told of his plan to defect. No action was taken on the information.

Ten minutes later the seaman leaped across the space between ships and tumbled onto the deck of the cutter. He carried various papers, letters, his wife's photograph and his passport, all of which were taken by the Coast Guardsmen. Mr. Brieze said when reached by telephone yesterday at his home in New Bedford.

"He is known to have two children," Mr. Brieze said. "He speaks English, German, Russian and Spanish as well as Lithuanian. All the communication with the Americans was in English."

Mr. Brieze said that when the Russian learned of the defection, they asked permission to speak to Simas. A flurry of radio communication followed between the ship and the First Coast Guard District in Boston, which says it notified the Coast Guard commandant in Washington. The commandant, in turn, notified the State Department, according to the First District spokesman.

NO OVERT ACT MADE

The Americans aboard the Soviet ship returned to the cutter at about 3:30 P.M., according to Mr. Brieze, and no attempt was made by the Russians to detain them.

Several hours later, after nightfall, the cutter's commander, Capt. Ralph E. Eustis, received Admiral Ellis' order to return the Lithuanian, and four Russian seamen were granted permission to come aboard to take him back.

"Simas pleaded with [the Americans] to let him stay," Mr. Brieze said. "He was crying 'help,' and was on his knees praying and begging them to save his life. But the captain said he was just following orders."

The Russians seized Simas just outside Captain Eustis' quarters aboard the cutter. Mr. Brieze said, and "beat him all up." Bloody from the beatings, in which the Americans did not interfere, Mr. Brieze said, Simas nevertheless broke free and ran up on deck.

In the darkness, it was believed that Simas had jumped overboard. Actually, he had hidden himself in the cutter's recesses, Mr. Brieze said.

BEATEN UNCONSCIOUS

Though the Russian seamen were still aboard, Captain Eustis drew the cutter away from the Soviet ship. Later, at about 11:30 P.M., the Russians found Simas and, according to Mr. Brieze, "bound him hand and foot and kicked and beat him until he was unconscious."

The Russians, at their own request, were then lowered with their prisoner and two American seamen in one of the cutter's lifeboats and returned to the Soviet ship, Mr. Brieze said.

"During all this time, not a single American sailor or civilian went to Simas' aid, even though all said what they had seen was against their grain," Mr. Brieze added.

The State Department spokesman who was asked about the incident yesterday said that, had the department been apprised of

the case in time, it probably would have asked the Coast Guard to handle it differently.

The United States policy, the spokesman said, was to grant asylum to persons from Communist-bloc countries "who manage to make it into our hands."

GOVERNMENT ASSAILED

Romas Kezys, chairman of the Ad Hoc Lithuanian-American Action Committee, which was formed last week to protest the handling of the incident, said the demonstrations had been organized after repeated appeals for information by telephone and telegram had been ignored by the State Department.

"We wish to draw public attention to this outrageous decision," he said.

The Baltic states of Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia have been part of the Soviet Union since 1940, when they were annexed, except for a time during World War II.

GODFATHER OF THE NEW LEFT: COULD IT BE HITLER?

HON. ELFORD A. CEDERBERG

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, November 30, 1970

Mr. CEDERBERG. Mr. Speaker, lately it has become fashionable for radicals of the far left to picture our society and its institutions as repressive and dehumanizing. The rule of law and the establishment of order is decried as being somehow inhuman and degrading to free man.

As one stands back a little and reviews this type of talk and, more particularly, the violent action which is prompted by the vocal advocates of the theory, one is reminded of the intolerant idealists of the past. The most recent example of this type of individual occurred in Germany of the 1930's. Adolf Hitler stands in history as one of the most successful of those who would have society give way to his idealistic utopia. He also stands as the most unsuccessful, and the entire world suffered as a result of his fanatical dream.

I believe that there is a lesson for us in all of this. The editorial comment which follows, taken from the November 28, 1970, edition of the Detroit News, makes the point rather well. I highly recommend this short article to my colleagues for their consideration:

GODFATHER OF THE NEW LEFT: COULD IT BE HITLER?

When we hear the spiritual guides and the disciples of the New Left outline their dream of a new society and their program for achieving it, we are stuck not by the newness but by the triteness of their schemes.

Utopia was a worn theme when Sir Thomas More revived it in the 16th century. The cynical attitude of intolerant idealism was far from new when Hitler assumed it in the 1920's.

Hitler a godfather of the New Left?

Theoretically, the extremes of left and right stand at the farthest possible distance from each other on the ideological globe. In practice, they occupy much the same position. As they circumnavigate, they meet one another coming from the other direction.

Naive youngsters sit enraptured at the feet of Herbert Marcuse or find themselves

transported by emotion when listening to a harangue by Huey Newton. They think of themselves as the participants in and beneficiaries of a noble experiment. The formula for the experiment comes down from the Nazis.

The New Left represents its program as a spiritual movement which, however, must be advanced by rocks and fists and the constant press of bodies against the Establishment.

Hitler wrote in "Mein Kampf":

"The young (Nazi) movement, from the first day, espoused the standpoint that its idea must be put forward spiritually, but that the defense of this spiritual platform must if necessary be secured by strongarm means."

The New Left preaches that the new society cannot be created within the prevailing society but must be constructed upon its ruins.

Hitler wrote:

"Since a philosophy of life is never willing to share with another, it cannot be willing either to collaborate in an existing regime which it condemns, but feels obligated to combat this regime and the whole hostile world of ideas with all possible means; that is, to prepare its downfall."

The New Left rationalizes its own intolerance as a justifiable means toward a desirable end.

Hitler wrote:

"The future of a movement is conditioned by the fanaticism, yes, the intolerance, with which its adherents uphold it as the sole correct movement, and push it past other formations of a similar sort."

Young persons unfortunately do not possess the perspective that develops from personally passing through a certain period of history. But persons who lived during the 1930's and observed the Nazis as they seized Germany and then turned their hungry eyes on the rest of the world will not soon forget the words and the techniques of Hitler.

Those words and those techniques—from the utopian promises to the marching in the streets—are revealed again in the movement of the militant New Left.

FROM VIETNAM TO CALIFORNIA— ROUND TRIP FOR \$350

HON. JEROME R. WALDIE

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, November 30, 1970

Mr. WALDIE. Mr. Speaker, I should like to call to the attention of this body a most magnanimous gesture on the part of my constituent, Mr. Ed Daley, president of World Airways, with headquarters in Oakland, Calif.

Mr. Daley has just received approval from the Civil Aeronautics Board to enable military personnel to fly round trip from Vietnam to California for \$350. World Airways, which operates a fleet of Boeing 707-320C fan-jet aircraft, is the largest charter carrier, and has operated scheduled air service in and to Southeast Asia for the military since 1956.

Last year World Airways flew almost 20 million miles for the Military Airlift Command, and recently received the USO Gold Medal Award for having safely transported more than 500,000 servicemen and women.

World Airway's plan will include: a. frequent flights from Vietnam to California; b. scheduled connections to all

parts of the United States; and c. financing arrangements so that all eligible military personnel will be able to take advantage of the new Vietnam leave policy. Mr. Daley will personally guarantee loans to servicemen who would otherwise be unable to pay for the trip or to borrow the necessary funds. Financial arrangements will be handled through the First Western Bank of Los Angeles.

I wish to take this means of commending to Mr. Daley upon this generous undertaking in the public interest.

BLACK PANTHERS OR JUST RED REVOLUTIONARIES?

HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, November 30, 1970

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, seemingly, the use of labels and slogans performs a great disservice to the right of our citizens to know—to be informed.

The communications media, redundant on reports of the recent Black Panther convention in Washington, played down the participants and attendees to the convention. The local press reported that the delegates were neither all black nor all Panthers—but merely all Red revolutionaries. For the most part, it was the same old misdirected civil rights groups, just under a new banner.

If these reports are true, many will question who it is that wants to foment racial agitation by misleading the American people to believe that all of the Black Panthers are black or that black people have a monopoly on violence.

It is ironic that those who rely on the Constitution of the United States for their protection would destroy that same Constitution.

I include several related newsclippings, as follows:

[From the Washington Post, Nov. 30, 1970]

PANTHERS END DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA CONVENTION

(By Ivan C. Brandon and Jim Mann)

Delegates to the Black Panther-sponsored revolutionary people's constitutional convention left Washington yesterday without a promised constitution and with little else to show for two days of apparently aimless activity on the sidewalks along 16th Street NW.

The participants, who numbered between 3,000 and 5,000 predominantly white young persons, arrived Friday from throughout the United States with the expectation that they would take part in workshop discussions and help write a document to replace the U.S. Constitution.

But the planned workshops were never held because the Panther organizers were unable to obtain an indoor convention site. Instead, the majority of the delegates spent Friday and Saturday afternoons sitting outdoors or wandering along 16th Street NW from Harvard Street to Newton Street.

When Saturday night came, the constitution was only outlined by Michael C. Tabor of New York City, who said the main elements were proportional representation, the outlawing of racial exclusion and the elimination of "elements of oppression." A Panther spokesman said yesterday that this outline

had been drawn up by the Panthers after a convention in Philadelphia in September.

However, Huey P. Newton, Panther minister of defense, said Saturday night the constitutional convention would have to be held at another time, after the revolutionary groups had "liberated" Washington.

A speech by Newton, who has made few public appearances since his release from prison Aug. 5, was almost completely inaudible to most of the delegates because of the garbling of the public address system as they listened outside the St. Stephen and the Incarnation Church while Newton spoke inside.

Many delegates walked away wondering aloud whether they had heard Newton or a tape recording, even though Newton was actually inside the church, where only a minority of the conventioners could fit.

The series of events left some of the participants unhappy.

One girl, from the Boston area said the weekend was enough to make her "want to leave the movement."

BEGAN EARLY

Another participant, a young student who was sitting outside Saturday afternoon with nothing to do, complained, "If they just wanted to read the constitution, why didn't they print it in next week's edition of the Panther newspaper?"

The convention's troubles began early in the week when Panther officials refused to meet a Tuesday deadline set by Howard University for the payment of a \$7,377.98 service fee for the use of the campus as a convention site.

The Panthers demanded that Howard allow them to use the campus without charge. But Howard President James E. Cheek refused, saying the school could not legally subsidize events sponsored by off-campus groups.

This action removed the Panthers' last hope for an indoor location. Earlier efforts to obtain the use of the University of Maryland and the D.C. armory had been futile, but Panther spokesmen still urged the delegates to come to Washington.

Those who arrived for registration Friday at the All Souls Unitarian Church turned out to be a disparate assortment: women's groups college students, the homosexual Gay Liberation Front, the Panthers, the Puerto Rican Young Lords, radical splinter groups and young white "street people"—many of high school age.

A larger percentage of delegates had come great distances than had participants in larger Washington rallies such as last year's Moratorium. Many were from Berkeley, Calif., and points across the Midwest.

All day Friday, they wandered the streets, bought and sold radical newspapers, and waited for information on planned activities. On Friday night, a rally in Meridian Hill Park attracted nearly 5,000 persons, the largest crowd of the weekend, to hear the Panther-oriented rock group, the "Lumpen," whose featured number is "Free Bobby."

Saturday morning and afternoon produced only more confusion. The only organized workshop was a gathering of about 700 women at Trinity College to discuss women's rights issues. The majority of the delegates remained milling outside along 16th Street.

Throughout the day, persons who said they were speaking for the Panther organization told reporters there should be no press coverage and asked film crews to leave. In at least three cases, camera film was destroyed.

At least three hours before the planned reading of the constitution, St. Stephen church was filled to its capacity of 600 persons and then sealed off. A public address system was set up on the church steps for about 2,000 people standing outside.

Newton's speech supported "world govern-

ment with proportional representation and a socialist framework." The Panther Party's immediate goal, he said, was "revolutionary intercommunalism," under which "oppressed communities" around the world would cooperate to destroy capitalism.

Yesterday, a spokesman for the Black Panthers said the organization felt the week end was a success.

"We think so because the whole mood showed that the will of the people was greater than mass technology. The people waited here (despite the obstacles)," the spokesman said, adding that the convention will continue indefinitely until a "liberated site" can be found.

[From the Sunday Star, Nov. 29, 1970]

NEWTON OFFERS PANTHER PARLEY ONLY REBELLION

Black Panther leader Huey Newton yesterday told several thousand activists gathered here for the Revolutionary Peoples Constitutional Convention that, since they had "lost everything," there is nothing left "but total rebellion."

In one of his few major appearances since his release from jail Aug. 5, Newton told the crowd gathered inside and around St. Stephen and the Incarnation Church, 16th and Newton Streets NW:

"We've been forced out of society. We've been forced out of equal protection of the laws, and human respect, and it leaves us with nothing to lose really and everything to gain, because we've lost everything."

"And, of course, when one has lost everything, nothing is open to him but total rebellion—rebellion against that force and those conditions which have stripped him of his very dignity as a human being."

"We've concluded that there's no room for us in the capitalistic system because of the overdeveloped nature of the country. We see that as far as autonomy of our community in any respect, as far as self-governing our institutions, this cannot exist under capitalism."

Newton's speech last night followed the reading of a "new" constitution to representatives of the Panthers and other New Left groups gathered at the church.

The church yesterday became the main meeting place for the convention, called to rewrite the U.S. Constitution to reflect the needs of "oppressed communities." Convention organizers earlier were refused space at Howard and Maryland universities and the D.C. Armory.

Most participants, whom the Panthers say numbered about 5,000, are bunking with area sympathizers. Many were fed in shifts yesterday at the church before hearing the provisions of the proposed constitution, which had not been voted upon late last night. The location of today's session remained uncertain late last night.

A comment by Newton near the end of his two-hour speech threw further confusion on today's activities. He said that the "new" constitution should not be put together until "after the revolution" and that the time for the revolution had not yet come.

"It's the wrong time to speak about anything like a constitution until you get rid of those institutions that symbolize fascism," Newton said.

His remark was heard by about 400 persons in the church, but apparently by few of those listening to loudspeakers outside.

Many participants milled around outside the church after Newton's speech unsure of whether action should be taken today on the proposed constitution, which was the main reason for the convention here.

The "new" constitution is not a governmental charter in the usual sense, but is mostly a declaration of ideological principles aimed at cementing the "oppressed commu-

nities" of blacks, Puerto Ricans, Orientals, women and homosexuals.

It reiterates the assertion that capitalism, imperialism and racism are linked, and proposes "a system of true communism where all people produce according to their abilities" and "determine their own destinies."

The sympathizers who came to the convention scheduled to run from Friday through today expressed different reasons for their attendance.

One college student from Fresno, Calif., had expected workshops to "rip apart" the Constitution and rewrite it "for all the people." The "new" constitution apparently was written in closed Black Panther sessions.

One elderly resident of the Woodley Hotel here passed by an impromptu "rap" session across the street from St. Stephen Church. She remarked to two delegates, "I heard you wanted to rewrite the Constitution."

"Well," she asked a tall black youth with a towering Afro haircut, "when did it stop working?"

Her query was met with silent stares and as she continued to walk down 16th Street one of the group remarked, "I guess she hasn't been tuned into the revolution."

Most of the delegates were members of such radical groups as Women's Liberation, the Young Lords (a New York-based Puerto Rican group), Gay Liberation and Youth International Party (Yippies). Other fringe groups included disenfranchised servicemen, Socialist party members and a West Coast-based Asian militant group.

Most said they came in support of the Panthers as "revolutionary people" and trusted the "constitution committee."

"Has the brother Huey ever did us wrong? We know he'll put down for all the people," shouted one youth from a group that took over a lawn in front of an apartment house in the 3300 block of 16th Street.

One white 82-year-old grandmother who said she lived on 125th Street in New York, the heart of Harlem, claimed, "I'm a Black Panther at heart and I just had to come here."

[From the Washington Post, Nov. 30, 1970]

FOURTEEN REMOVED FROM PLANE AS "UNRULY"

(By Stephen P. Caplan)

Fourteen persons identified with the Black Panthers were removed from an American Airlines 747 jet last night after they allegedly became "boisterous and unruly" as the plane was preparing to leave Dulles International Airport, according to a Federal Aviation Administration spokesman.

The plane, Flight 75 to Los Angeles, was taxiing down the runway at 6:30 p.m. when the decision was made by the pilot to return to the terminal, H. A. Taber, airport operations manager, said. There were 128 passengers and 13 stewardesses and crewmen aboard, an airport spokesman said.

All of the passengers were put on mobile lounges, but only the mobile lounge with the group of 14 actually returned to the terminal, Taber said. The others were driven around briefly and returned to the plane.

David Gelfin, FAA public affairs officer, said the pilot refused to fly with the group unless a sky marshal was put aboard. The recently formed force of armed federal agents has been riding numerous international and domestic flights, but none was scheduled on the Los Angeles flight and none could be obtained on such short notice, said Gelfin.

Exactly what occurred in the plane was not clear. The group of 14, which included nine men, three women and two children, was still sitting in the terminal four hours later, but would not talk to reporters. The 14, half of whom were black, had apparently attended the two-day revolutionary people's

constitutional convention here, sponsored by the Black Panther Party, officials said.

Taber said it was his understanding there had been a lot of shouting and swearing in the plane. Gelfin said the pilot had only told FAA officials the group was being "boisterous."

Gelfin said it was the first time he could recall that a plane had returned to the terminal in such a situation but that it is the prerogative of the pilot to do so if he feels it is necessary.

The pilot was not identified.

W. L. Helmantoler, a spokesman for American Airlines, said late last night that the group was asked to leave the plane but refused. All passengers were then asked to leave, the other passengers later being returned to the plane. He said the group was offered transportation into Washington but refused it.

A spokesman for the Black Panthers said early today that the group did not cause any trouble on the plane. They were sitting in the plane "when they were suddenly surrounded by pigs," the spokesman said.

According to the Panther information office, the only problem at the airport before the group was ejected came when a member of the group was entering the mobile lounge for the trip out to the plane and the door was slammed in her face.

[From the Sunday Star, Nov. 29, 1970]

TWELVE FROM GAY LIB FRONT RELEASED AFTER BRAWL

Twelve members of the Gay Liberation Front were released on personal recognizance yesterday on charges stemming from a bottle-throwing, window smashing brawl which erupted at a Northwest Washington restaurant after four homosexuals were denied service.

General Sessions Court Judge Sylvia Bacon released the defendants, most of them out-of-towners attending the Peoples' Revolutionary Constitutional Convention, in custody of the Rev. Jon Higginbotham, a District minister.

The 12 face several misdemeanor charges of simple assault, vandalism, and unlawful entry after the free-for-all late Friday night at the Zephyr Restaurant, 4912 Wisconsin Ave. N.W.

The incident began when four Gay Lib members, two of them arm-in-arm, entered and sat at a table. One of those arrested said the group waited several minutes without service before talking with the manager.

"The manager said he couldn't serve us," he said. "I asked him it was because one of us was black and he said no. I asked him if it was because we are homosexuals, I asked him three times and he wouldn't answer."

The four returned to American University where they are staying during the convention, he said, and decided to stage a sit-in. About 40 persons returned, he said.

The brawl occurred during the sit-in. The 12 were arrested later when their minibus was stopped by police several blocks away on Wisconsin Avenue.

[From the Washington Post, Nov. 30, 1970]

NEW ORLEANS POLICE SEIZE PANTHER GUNS

NEW ORLEANS, November 29—Police entered Black Panther headquarters today, the second time in less than a week, and confiscated weapons, explosives, electronic equipment and Panther records.

Six members of the local Panther group, called the National Committee to Combat Fascism (NCCF), had a brief gunfight with police Thanksgiving Day when their Desire Housing Project headquarters was raided. Police arrested the six and confiscated rifles, shotguns, explosives, gas masks and tear gas grenades in that raid.

"Since the successful raid on NCCF head-

quarters on Thursday morning, the building has been under close surveillance," said Police Chief Clarence Giarrusso.

"Three men with shotguns ran from the front of the building as police entered through the rear," Giarrusso said. He said they disappeared into the housing project, home of 11,000 Negroes.

In addition to rifles, shotguns and explosives, Giarrusso said officers confiscated tape recorders, short-wave radios capable of monitoring police broadcasts, gas masks and Panther records.

"This confiscated material will be helpful in the trials of those arrested earlier," Giarrusso said. "It will further demonstrate to this community the revolutionary purpose of this group."

Police arrested 31 Panthers and sympathizers last Wednesday and Thursday. Giarrusso said at the time he believed the "core" or "revolutionary cadre" of the group had been arrested.

They were booked on charges ranging from attempted murder to criminal mischief. The charges are being challenged in federal court.

[From the Washington Post, Nov. 30, 1970]

LENZNER AND POLITICAL REALITY

(By Rowland Evans and Robert Novak)

Deeply embedded roots of the furious debate over legal services in the government's antipoverty program are found in a Sept. 15 police raid in New Orleans on the National Committee to Combat Fascism (NCCF), a Black Panther front specializing in police-baiting.

Present at NCCF headquarters was Robert Glass, a lawyer for the federally funded New Orleans Legal Assistance Corp. (NOLAC), part of the national antipoverty program. Questioned by police, Glass invoked his client-lawyer relationship with the NCCF. Subsequently, 12 NCCF members charged with attempted murder, assault, and other felonies were represented by NOLAC lawyers.

Thus, taxpayer funds were used to defend a violence-prone black extremist organization. This clearly violated federal law barring antipoverty legal services from criminal cases (as were 24 per cent of all NOLAC cases) and violated federal policy requiring these services to be used directly by the poor and only the poor.

Herein lies the ugly dispute that surfaced Nov. 19 when Donald Rumsfeld, President Nixon's antipoverty czar, fired Terry F. Lenzner, 31, as head of the federal legal services program. Rumsfeld insisted that the program be tightly molded to aiding the poor in eviction and other tenant cases, welfare and consumer grievances, and school disputes. Lenzner envisioned a far broader mandate encompassing reform of the whole system, not excluding support for Black Panthers.

The legal services fight is, in microcosm, what's happening in the poverty program at large. Since its Great Society birth under R. Sargent Shriver, the program has swarmed with idealists, pushing political revolution. Since taking over in 1969, ex-congressman Rumsfeld has been guiding it back to the original congressional intent of helping poor people.

Indeed, anything more than that would not be tolerated by a conservative Republican administration and a hostile Congress. What Lenzner failed to understand is that Rumsfeld must control militant excesses or risk congressional obliteration of the antipoverty program—particularly its much-needed legal services, emasculated by the Senate last year but restored by the House under Rumsfeld's urging.

Consequently, Rumsfeld was appalled at the New Orleans office of NOLAC. For example, a legal services fellow connected with

NOLAC was an attorney-of-record defending SDS demonstrators. Further, NOLAC sought to obtain circulation at Louisiana State University of a pornographic underground newspaper (a recent copy of which contains a nude cartoon of President Nixon amid other indecencies). The recently resigned NOLAC director, Richard Buckley, says: "Legal services exist for the redistribution of wealth and power."

When Rumsfeld sent investigators to New Orleans, Lenzner denounced it as political interference. Tension was also high when Rumsfeld probed legal services in Los Angeles to state employees earning \$11,000-\$15,000 and in Dallas to an underground newspaper, the Dallas Notes, enjoined from publication because of obscenity.

The Dallas case is illustrative. Using federal funds intended to help the poor, legal services there defended the underground publisher, Brent Lasalle Stein, 27, son of a rich Dallas merchant. "It seems to me that's the kind of activity necessary to insure this kind of publication for the poor," says Frank Jones, fired as legal services deputy along with Lenzner.

In each of these cases, Rumsfeld felt Lenzner was dragging his heels by delaying action against the violations. The relationship rapidly deteriorated between Rumsfeld and Lenzner, a bright former Justice Department civil rights lawyer who was Rumsfeld's first senior staff appointment in 1969.

The final straw came Nov. 16, when Lenzner telegraphed the New Orleans office exonerating it of wrongdoing. Antipoverty officials say he acted in violation of explicit orders from Rumsfeld not to communicate with New Orleans without first informing Rumsfeld; Lenzner told us flatly he received no such orders.

Such nasty charges and countercharges will be aired before eager Democratic senators at hearings soon to begin. But the hearings likely will miss the poignancy of the dispute. If any program as naturally provocative as legal services for the poor is to survive in Richard Nixon's Washington, it must be kept in check by a cool-headed politician, fending off uncompromising idealists. Failing to comprehend that political reality put Terry Lenzner on his collision course with Rumsfeld.

[From Human Events, Dec. 5, 1970]

FORD FOUNDATION FUNDING HUEY NEWTON'S BIOGRAPHY

(From the Allen-Goldsmith Report)

The Ford Foundation is putting up \$13,130 for an autobiography by Huey P. Newton, supreme commander of the crime and violence-tarred Black Panthers.

Head of the immensely wealthy foundation is McGeorge Bundy, former Harvard dean and special foreign affairs adviser to Presidents Kennedy and Johnson.

In 1968 Newton was convicted of voluntary manslaughter for the killing of a police officer. Last summer this conviction was reversed on a technicality and a new trial ordered. He is now out on \$50,000 bail—posted by the Black Panther party and Charles Garry of San Francisco, Newton's white attorney.

The \$13,130 Ford Foundation grant for Newton's book was made to J. Herman Blake, black sociology teacher at the University of California, Santa Cruz.

This grant was reported by the Santa Cruz *Sentinel* in an article captioned "UCSC's Blake Receives Grant." It stated he had been given this money by the Ford Foundation "to assist him in studies toward a doctoral degree." Also, that such grants are administered by "bi-racial groups and are aimed at increasing the number of doctorate degrees held by members of minority groups."

But last month another California newspaper disclosed the real purpose of the grant—to finance Blake's collaboration with

Newton in compiling the Black Panther leader's autobiography.

Blake apparently is doing the "leg work" in gathering information for the book, and possibly ghostwriting it.

Newton himself is the source of this disclosure.

On October 6, the *Daily Pioneer*, a newspaper published at the California State College in Hayward, printed a letter by Newton stating that he and Blake are co-authoring a book about Newton's early life and the development of the Black Panther party.

Newton asked that anyone having information about his youth get in touch with Blake—whom he referred to as "professor of sociology, UCSC, Santa Cruz."

The book, Newton declared, "will be an important document in contemporary history."

How and why Newton selected Blake as his collaborator is not clear.

Obviously, Blake is on close terms with Newton and the Panthers—although there is no known record of his being a member of the latter. Certainly if he weren't trusted by both, Newton wouldn't have picked him for the book job.

Blake is on record as a militant dove. Last spring he was aggressively active in anti-Viet Nam demonstrations. The Santa Cruz *Sentinel*, reporting one campus demonstration, listed Blake as a speaker and as telling the students: "The only way to stop the war is to stop the normal operations of government."

Amplifying on that, he urged the students to "issue a statewide call to other university and college students to stage a rally at the federal buildings in San Francisco and Los Angeles and not permit people either to enter or to leave. Shut them down and force the machinery of government to halt. That's one way to make your demands felt."

Nothing came of Blake's provocative clamor.

California authorities have inside information that a considerable portion of the \$50,000 put up by Newton's ball came from contributions for the Black Panthers' widely touted "breakfast for children" program.

That plan has garnered a lot of publicity and contributions for the Panthers. Actually, the program is far from what it's claimed to be.

According to the Panthers, they are feeding "thousands" of children around the country. An authoritative survey disclosed that in reality only a few hundred are getting breakfasts—with heavy doses of hate propaganda.

This virulent racist indoctrination is a daily feature at every breakfast.

The children get a great deal more propaganda than they do food.

Graphically illustrative of what is taking place in this fanfare scheme is what is happening in the San Francisco area—location of the Black Panthers' national headquarters. Breakfasts are no longer being given children.

Charles Garry, white militant leftist Black Panther attorney, in an effort to picture them as victims of "police brutality," claimed 28 had been murdered by police since 1968. But in an accompanying press release, the Panthers had difficulty listing 20 who assertedly "were killed in cold blood."

Following is the incontrovertible record of the 20:

One was killed by his wife over an affair with a female Black Panther; one during a robbery attempt; another reportedly was tortured and killed by Black Panther members; and four were slain by other black extremists.

In a recent leading article, widely reprinted in Arab publications, the *Libyan daily*, *El Khuriya*, vigorously urged "Black Americans to mobilize in support of Islam and Arab

interests as a counter to Zionist in the United States."

Following are highlights from this significant pronouncement:

"There are more than 22 million blacks in the United States. In the state of New York alone, blacks could tip the scales in support of any candidate they choose. In the U.S. presidential election, the black vote could grant victory to the candidate of its choice. The Kennedy family understood this truth, and hence the Kennedys embarked on a calculated policy to build bridges to the blacks.

"The periodical of the Black Panthers is an outstanding defender of the Arab interests and an outspoken supporter of Arab nationalists, and condemning world Zionism, its expansionist ambitions and imperialism. Arab propaganda should exploit this support and establish a common front in opposition to world Jewry.

"We must actively help our black friends on that hostile continent. We can derive great propaganda from black Americans, a propaganda that is even more important than American investments in our country."

INVESTIGATION ON PROBLEMS OF BOXERS

HON. LESTER L. WOLFF

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, November 30, 1970

Mr. WOLFF. Mr. Speaker, recently my distinguished colleague (Mr. Biaggi) and I held an informal congressional hearing to determine what has happened in the past 5 years since the House of Representatives held hearings on how to improve protection of boxers and to remove unsavory interests from the sport itself.

A considerable number of boxers, referees, public officials, and sportswriters offered their views. Among them, were former heavyweight champion Floyd Patterson, former light heavyweight champion Jose Torres, New York State Boxing Commissioner Edwin B. Dooley; Madison Square Garden's President and General Manager Harry Markson, and New York State licensed referee Davey Feld.

Their testimonies on the problems of boxers as well as their views on the future of boxing were shocking. In effect, it was clearly pointed out that the American boxer remains the victim of exploitation from alleged powers that be, as well as continuing to be ignored in matters of medical exams prior to fights, no pension program and other such abuses. Moreover, the informal hearing clearly demonstrated that Federal legislation is necessary to correct the problems found within this sport if we ever hope to protect boxers and provide a better future for the sport.

I therefore would like to extend my remarks, Mr. Speaker, to include in the RECORD during the next several days the testimonies gathered at this hearing. I feel it justifies action from Congress.

The testimonies follow:

STATEMENT BY REPRESENTATIVE LESTER L. WOLFF, INFORMAL CONGRESSIONAL HEARING ON ESTABLISHING A NATIONAL BOXING COMMISSION

This morning, my distinguished colleague, Mr. Mario Biaggi, and I will reopen an issue

which has been debated time and again, but has yet to be resolved. It is the question of what can be done to rid boxing and its boxers of the specters of hardship and corruption which haunt them.

We will be hearing from a wide variety of views during the course of this informal hearing. We are hopeful that your opinions and experiences can be combined with Congressional efforts to solve the many mysteries which surround this sport. Moreover, we believe that this hearing will offer us a means by which we may determine if it is necessary to cure maladies of this sport by establishing a National Boxing Commission.

We do know that the American boxer must face more than the mere blows of his opponent in the ring. He has, in fact, far more serious and consistent problems.

Prior to each fight, he must wonder how physically fit he really is, since there is no uniformity among states with regards to pre-fight checkups.

His very rating as a boxer is inconsistent. It varies with the views of each magazine or association. For that matter, he is not even assured consistency of being licensed from state to state, even if he is a world champion.

He must continually face public skepticism as to his honesty and integrity, being part of a sport's history which has had its share of troubles.

Silently, he must live with the problem of "bunched income potential," approximately 7-8 years in which he can make money in the sport before health and success begin to fade. Unlike other athletes, once his decline begins, there is no source of security such as a pension fund to which he can turn.

The American boxer, for all intents and purposes, is out for the count almost before he has begun.

Referees, another important part of boxing, also face problems. For example, they have no rotation system to ensure that each licensed referee has a fair chance at refereeing the main bout of a match.

Today, we hope to unravel some of the mysteries and to try and understand what are the greatest hardships within this sport. By doing this, we should be able to take the right course of action regarding boxing.

It is also important to note, that these informal hearings are of a preparatory nature. If the material obtained here warrants a more intensive investigation, it will be turned over to the Committees of the Judiciary; Interstate and Foreign Commerce; and the Select Committee on Crime.

Boxing must rid itself of a troubled past, in order to maintain itself among other national sports. We therefore should not wait any longer to banish the inequities and distortions which surround both the sport and its boxers.

STATEMENT OF NEW YORK STATE LICENSED REFEREE DAVEY FELD

1. Boxers should have:
 - (a) A disability plan.
 - (b) A pension plan.
 - (c) Boxing rules that will be enforced by the Federal Government, with each state having the same medical tests for boxers and referees.
2. Trainers should be given a test to make sure they know how to fix a cut in the corner before being given a license. The trainers should be given instructions from the Commission doctor. In any given bout, when a boxer is TKO'd by a cut, he should be compelled to go to the Commission doctor and have his cut looked at and stitched up properly, and have all the tissue removed from that cut so the fighter can be protected and not go blind; or he can go to his own physician, but would have to report to the Boxing Commission doctor the following day for a look at the cut to determine

whether it was done correctly (with a medical report from his doctor to indicate that the scar tissue in the cut was removed). After having the cut taken care of properly, the fighter should be required to go to the Commission doctor for an examination before his license is continued as a professional boxer.

3. Fighters should be rated by the Federal Commission. They should be put into classes; for example, Class A, B, C, D; and a boxer could not fight out of his class unless he applies to be moved up. A boxer could and should be dropped down in class according to his wins and losses. In that way, a fighter could not be over-matched or mismatched. A boxer should be protected against unscrupulous managers in connection with his earnings; managers would be required to make sure the boxer received his full 66 2/3% of each and every fight. The manager should pay all expenses because he is getting a big cut of the boxer's earnings.

4. Scoring rules should be enforced throughout the U.S. so that there would be one uniform scoring system and the public would not be confused with all the different ways of scoring a match. New York, in my opinion, has the best scoring system.

5. Referees should have a rotation system and should be given ample notice of bouts they are to referee. A few days' notice should be given to a referee, not a few hours on the afternoon of the fight. If a referee cannot be trusted, he should not get a license.

6. A promoter, trainer, manager or fighter should not be permitted to dictate to the Commission who the referee should be to referee a given fight. Some managers know what referee would be good for their fighters. For example, the manager might feel that it would be to the advantage of his fighter to have a referee who breaks fast in the clinches and would therefore choose a referee who would do so, even though this might not be good for the opposing fighter.

7. If the Commission claims to be impartial, how can they give to one referee 32 assignments of boxing matches in 30 months?

8. Why should we have such favoritism for certain referees rather than a rotation system for all referees?

9. How is it possible that one referee could have 25 of his 32 assignments in Madison Square Garden in a period of 30 months?

10. Why should a referee receive 32 assignments in a period in which no more than 40 to 50 boxing exhibitions were held in the whole state, when other qualified and sometimes more experienced referees have gotten 80 to 90 percent fewer assignments during that period?

11. Doesn't this cry out for a rotation system, and ask and require an answer to the question "Why is such favoritism given?" Can't we also ask whether anyone is controlling the Commission in its choice of officials?

REMARKS OF EDWIN B. DOOLEY, CHAIRMAN, N.Y. STATE BAKING COMMISSION

I am pleased to give my views on what can be done to protect the integrity of the sport of boxing and to ensure a better future for boxing.

On September 14, 1966, pursuant to a request from Senator John A. Pastore, chairman of the Senate Sub-Committee of Communications, asking me to state my views with regard to H.R. 8635 passed in the House of Representatives on August 16, 1965, and pending before his Committee, which would establish a Federal Boxing Commission to exercise surveillance over professional boxing matches, broadcast or disseminated by wire in Interstate Commerce, I wrote the following statement which represents my thinking to date on Federal Control of boxing. I did not receive an answer to my letter nor has there been any public statement by the Senate Sub-Committee as to what action was taken on H.R. 8635.

Professional boxing has been subject to regulation in New York State since 1920, first as the State Boxing Commission, and presently under the New York State Athletic Commission.

Our Commission is charged by statute with the sole direction, management, control and jurisdiction of all professional boxing matches and wrestling exhibitions held within the state. The Commission grants annual licenses to boxers, wrestlers, managers, trainers, seconds, matchmakers, promoters and all persons involved in the actual conduct of matches and exhibitions, such as referees, timekeepers, judges and announcers, all in accordance with prescribed statutory standards of character, experience, fitness and financial responsibility. In addition, the Commission prescribes the form of contract to be used between boxers and managers and between boxers or their managers and promoting corporations. All such contracts must be filed with the Commission and the Commission must approve them.

The rules and regulations of the Commission specify in detail the manner in which matches and exhibitions must be conducted and the medical precautions which must be observed. Boxing bouts, for example, must be held only in premises approved by the Commission. Not later than five days after the bout, our rules require a licensed manager to file with the Commission on a special form a report of the expenses and division of the proceeds of the contest.

The Commission also exercises broad powers of investigation and of license suspension and revocation. Our rules also require that all contracts entered into by any licensee of the Commission or any and all amendments, changes or modifications calling for any motion picture, telecast or radio broadcast of any bout, must be promptly filed with the Commission for approval and no person or party may announce or conduct any such broadcast or telecast of any bout conducted under the jurisdiction of the Commission without first obtaining its approval.

Despite the scope of our Commission's activities and the relative effectiveness of our regulations, we share with the Congress its concern over the different standards of regulation which exist among the various states, also the lack of power of the states or federal governmental authorities to assure the proper utilization of communication facilities in connection with the coverage of professional boxing matches and to protect the integrity of the same. Generally speaking, we in New York are opposed to federal regulation of sports, but in the light of our experience and the material developed by the Senate Sub-Committee on the Anti-Trust and Monopoly and by the House Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, we agree that action at the federal level is needed to rid professional boxing on a nationwide basis of all taint of gangster influence and monopoly practices.

It is the purpose of H.R. 8635 to establish a Federal Boxing Commission with adequate authority to exercise continuing surveillance over professional boxing matches which are broadcast by television or radio (otherwise than as part of bona fide news broadcasts) or which are disseminated by wire in interstate or foreign commerce either to be received on home receivers or in theatres, arenas, or other places of public assembly. The surveillance extends to and only to the use of television, radio and other interstate and foreign communications, facilities and those professional matches held within the United States which are covered by means of said facilities.

H.R. 8635 would establish a Federal Boxing Commission consisting of three members appointed by the President by and with the advice and consent of the Senate. The terms

of office of the Commissioners would be six years except that two of the Commissioners first appointed would serve terms of two and four years respectively. The President shall designate one member of the Commission to serve as Chairman.

The operating costs of the Commission, insofar as practicable, are to be covered from fees from licenses to be issued by the Commission and toward this end the Commission is directed to prescribe an appropriate scale of fees.

The Commission is given a statutory authority to license professional boxers, boxing promoters, agents, fight managers, referees and judges, and any other persons participating in any other capacity in boxing matches as the Commission may by regulation prescribe; and corporations, partners or other business organizations participating in or connected with the coverage of any covered boxing match, except persons providing coverage who are licensed under the Communications Act of 1934, as amended.

In addition, contracts, agreements, arrangements, and understandings pertaining to the conduct, promotion, or coverage of covered boxing matches are required to be in writing and open to inspection by the Commission. Copies must be furnished to the Commission upon its request.

The Commission is further authorized to provide by regulation that such contracts, agreements, arrangements and understandings shall not contain provisions of nature which the Commission has determined to be contrary to the best interests of professional boxing and the best interests of the public. Finally, the Commission is authorized to prescribe and issue regulations with regard to the promotion, conduct and coverage of covered boxing matches.

The legislation provides criminal penalties for violations of the provisions of the Act and orders of the Commission. It further authorizes the Commission to issue orders prohibiting the holding, or coverage, or both, of boxing matches in connection with which the Commission has determined provisions of this legislation or the Commission's orders have been violated or where there exists reasonable grounds to believe that a proposed covered boxing match will be in any way affected by bribery, collusion, intentionally losing, extortion, racketeering, or the use of unlawful threats, coercion, intimidation or violence.

Finally, the Commission may by order prohibit the coverage in the United States of any boxing match proposed to be held outside the United States if it finds that such match would, if held within the United States, be a covered boxing match, and that there exists reasonable grounds to believe that such match is to be held outside the United States in order to avoid compliance with the provisions of the Act intended to protect the best interests of professional boxing and the best interests of the public.

Section 15 of the bill specifically safeguards the continued exercise by any state or local boxing commission or other agency of any of its powers, duties, or functions with respect to the regulation or supervision of professional boxing or professional boxing matches or any aspect of the coverage thereof. It reads as follows:

"NONINTERFERENCE WITH STATE BOXING AUTHORITIES

"Sec. 15. *Nothing in this Act shall prohibit any board, commission, or other agency, created by or pursuant to the law of any State or political subdivision thereof, Commonwealth, or possession of the United States from exercising any of its powers, duties or functions with respect to the regulation or supervision of professional boxing or professional boxing matches or any aspect of the coverage thereof.*"

It is my understanding that Section 15 permits the State of New York to continue its present statutory regulation without change. For example, if the rare occasion should arise when a federal license has been issued but the New York State Athletic Commission has refused to issue a license, the federal licensee would not be allowed to participate in a New York contest which is broadcast by television or radio. What HR 8635 would require, in the case of a boxing contest in New York to be broadcast by television or radio, is a federal license for the principal participants in addition to a New York license, a filing with the Federal Commission of certain contracts which would be filed with the New York State Athletic Commission—contracts which were either approved in advance by the Commission or on forms approved by the Commission—and the submission to the Federal Commission of an accounting similar to, but not necessarily identical with, the accounting required by the New York State Athletic Commission under the New York Law.

Where state requirements are high and effectively enforced, as they are in New York, this would involve unnecessary duplication at the federal level and certain aspects of state regulation. We would accordingly recommend an amendment to the proposed bill which would authorize the Federal Commission to issue a federal license on the basis of a state license and to accept duplicate copies of the accounting required by the State authorities where the Federal Commission finds that the standards of state regulation are at least equal to those imposed by the federal statutes and the rules and regulations promulgated under it.

Where there is no state regulation or inadequate state regulation, the requirement of a federal license and an accounting to the Federal Commission is necessary to combat evils which the Congress has found to exist in professional boxing. We are convinced, as I have stated, that there is a need in professional boxing for supervision which crosses state lines and the licensing of persons by the federal government connected with covered boxing matches in order to assure the observance of appropriate standards in the conduct of these matches and to prevent insofar as possible, collusion and other criminal activity which adversely affect the integrity of professional boxing.

We are particularly pleased with the provision in HR 8635 which requires the licensing of individuals and corporations who undertake to transmit by closed circuit telecast professional contests held outside of New York State a group of promoters over which we have no jurisdiction.

In conclusion, because of the material brought out in the hearings before the House Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce from July 6th through 8th, 1965, and our own experience, we find ourselves in agreement with the general approach and objectives of HR 8635. We support the bill, although we would prefer to see an amendment along the lines suggested.

MR. HARRY MARKSON, PRESIDENT, MADISON SQUARE GARDEN BOXING, INC.

Madison Square Garden Boxing believes that boxing—honest, wholesome, competitive boxing—is a part of and belongs in the mainstream of American sports. Boxing has made innumerable contributions to the sports tradition of this nation and it would be regrettable if it were allowed to pass from the national scene. But Federal legislation is desirable if the sport is to prosper.

Past events have demonstrated conclusively that State Commissions, however efficient they may be, cannot cope with problems arising from the interstate nature of our industry. Boxers, managers, promoters barred for good and sufficient reasons in one juris-

dition, are welcomed to perform in another; unqualified promoters, concerned only with making "a quick buck" and getting out, have been debasing the sport; champions contemptuously ignore State Commission denunciation of return bout contracts; boxers are signed to exclusive promotional contracts in defiance of governmental disapproval.

Corrective legislation can be accomplished only on a Federal level. This should be in the form of a nationwide licensing system centered in a Federal agency, a system that would contain investigative facilities and criminal penalties. The Federal agency or national commission should have jurisdiction to license all professional boxers, managers, matchmakers, promoters, and close-circuit television companies. (Regular television companies already are under various Federal regulations).

As a licensing agency primarily, such a Federal Commission would in no way preempt present State authority in regulating professional boxing, although it would be extremely helpful if such Federal Commission could seek to establish uniformity in rules among the several States.

As things stand now, we have a confused situation in which the rules in some States call for a referee and no judges; some have three judges plus a referee who has no vote in the decision; some have two judges and a referee. Some States have a so-called "10-must" scoring system; some have a "5-must"; some have a round-by-round system; some, like New York, combine round-by-round with a 4-point system. And even in so basic a boxing requisite as gloves, there is a variance in types used, with gloves that are outlawed in some States being accepted in others.

A Federal Commission could also seek to bring about uniformity in medical examination and medical standards to prevent the present distressing conditions which permits a fighter medically rejected in one State to perform in another.

A Federal Commission could encourage the furthering of such long-standing traditions as championship defenses within six months against worthy challengers and it could help set up a pension fund for retired or ailing boxers.

Through its licensing powers it could keep undesirable from entering the boxing business and it could prevent fly-by-night promoters from "setting up shop" for one-shop ventures.

In contrast to the situation in other sports which are opposed to the concept of Federal supervision; it has become painfully apparent that boxing's decline and fall can be halted only by the Congress. Those of us who are genuinely interested in the preservation of this industry appeal for remedial legislation on the Federal level.

Boxing is a sport that deserves to be saved. It is world-wide in its appeal and it knows no boundaries of race, religion, nationality, social status, wealth, education, or physical size. It asks only a measure of specialized athletic ability and a sincerity of purpose. Proper supervision can help in the rehabilitation and restoration of boxing as a glamorous and glorious sports activity in this country.

STATEMENT BY PETER HELLER

(Writer-editor-producer, ABC-TV News; Columnist, Boxing Illustrated magazine; Inspector, New York State Athletic Commission; Author of the forthcoming Simon & Schuster boxing book, "The Fighting Champions.")

Gentlemen, thank you for the opportunity to express my views regarding a National Boxing Commissioner. I want to point out that these are my views, and not in any way those of ABC, or the New York State Athletic Commission.

I strongly favor the concept of a Federal Commissioner to supervise boxing on a national level. Despite the beliefs of many uninformed people, boxing is not dead. But it is, I believe, in need of change, and an informed, imaginative, and innovative National Commissioner can, and should, play a major role in lending direction to that change.

We no longer have as much boxing in the U.S. as we once did. But anyone who follows the interest surrounding a heavyweight title fight in New York, or looks at the gate receipts for a bantamweight championship fight in Los Angeles can't say boxing is dead. Just this year, the gate and television receipts from the Frazier-Ellis contest and the All-Quarry bout serve as further proof of the nationwide and worldwide interest in boxing. And the projected receipts and already-growing interests in the proposed showdown between Joe Frazier and Muhammad Ali demonstrates further how healthy boxing can be when all the ingredients are right. Boxing's detractors say the days of Dempsey, Tunney, and Louis, Walker, Leonard, Ross and Armstrong are gone. That's true. But the fact is that today there are men like Emile Griffith, Dick Tiger, Muhammad Ali, Ruben Olivares and Ismael Laguna, who would have been standouts in any era. So boxing is far from dead. But boxing is, in many ways, in a state of near-chaos. And this is why I believe it needs competent federal supervision. A National Commissioner is needed so that boxers such as one I came across in the record book—and there are many just like him—with a record of 5 wins and 29 losses are given some close scrutiny before they are allowed to enter the ring as nothing more than men on whom other boxers build up their records. Boxing in America needs someone to unify a system of scoring for boxing, which now varies from state to state, and to unify the sanctioning of title bouts and championship recognition. Right now, everyone from individual state boxing commissions to groups such as the World Boxing Council and the World Boxing Association sanction their own championship bouts and recognize whomever they want to as world champion.

One need only look at each group's ratings of boxers each month to see just how much confusion these groups create on the boxing scene. The history of divided titles and partially-recognized champions is a long one which must end. It is even more absurd when you realize that many of the states who belong to these so-called World groups and lend validity to them by recognizing the champions they choose do not even have state boxing commissions, and often do not even have any professional boxing in the state at all. Clearly one champion, and only one, must be recognized in each weight division in all of the fifty states. And when that champion wins the title, a National Commissioner must see to it that he defends the title on a regular basis against the top contenders deserving of a shot at the crown, so that number-one men like Emile Griffith and Jimmy Dupree aren't deliberately bypassed.

A National Commissioner should also take the lead in introducing beneficial and innovative new programs in boxing. One should be to encourage young boxers to continue their education while they are fighting. Track stars, basketball and football players, swimmers, and many other athletes gain a valuable college education while becoming top athletes—an education whose benefits are demonstrated when their athletic days are over and they move into other fields. Why not boxers? There is no question that they should be directed and encouraged to do this. The only question is why they haven't been up until now. One way to encourage this might well be the re-establishment of inter-collegiate boxing and boxing scholarships, just like football and baseball. Boxing has always been a way toward upward mobility for the lower class. What better way

to provide this mobility than with scholarships in boxing, enabling young men to learn to box while getting an education they otherwise couldn't afford?

And, yes, a National Commissioner is needed—as in other sports—to police boxing. It's a fact that fixes have been a part of the game. They go back to the days of Jim Corbett and Joe Gans. They may be virtually non-existent today, at least in the big-time, well-supervised boxing centers. But a National Commissioner is needed to make sure that boxing is free of fixes and other collusion. I have crossed the country this past year from New England to California interviewing former world champions for a boxing book I'm writing for Simon and Schuster. I've been asked to present some firsthand information. So here then, from the hours of taped conversations I have had, are some first-person accounts of fixes—hopefully to serve to emphasize the need to have a Commissioner to see that they play no part in boxing's future.

(Tape insert: P. T. Story—1940's; Bat Battalino—1920's; Charley Phil Rosenberg—1920's; Jake LaMotta—1940's; and Don Jordan—1959.)

And finally, we come to what it's all about, after all—money. And this is one of the main reasons we need a Federal Commissioner. So that boxing can, at last, have what it so desperately needs: a national pension fund for retired boxers. Every other major sport from baseball and football on down have one—except boxing. Why? It is long overdue. A pension fund could provide, at least in a modest way, the security that all too many older fighters, as I have seen first-hand, need in their later years, when the public has forgotten about them. Boxing needs a pension fund because fighters, who go into the sport as little more than youngsters, are often not conscious of the need in those early years to provide for their futures, and some are not yet sophisticated enough to manage money properly. A pension fund is a must, and could prevent familiar stories like this one—of fighters who work for years only to learn they have little or nothing to show for it—told to me by my friend Bobo Olson, former Middleweight Champion of the World.

(Tape insert: Bobo Olson)

In conclusion, let me say that boxing is a good sport. It is, despite its critics, a way for a kid to learn discipline, conditioning, to make money, and to achieve recognition. Modern rules and modern medicine and stricter supervision have advanced boxing to a point where serious injury is probably much less frequent than in auto racing, football, and other sports. As for the men who box, I have met many in my travels, and virtually none regret the years they devoted to the sport. Boxing is a sport that tough kids go into, and most former boxers tell me that boxing is probably the one thing that kept them off the streets and out of trouble. And today it's the same. Many of the young fighters I know were once headed for trouble. Some had already been in it. But virtually all have one thing in common: the trouble ended when they found boxing, which gave them direction, and pride.

We need a strong, effective, imaginative National Boxing Commissioner—a modern man with modern ideas, who can change with the times. We owe it to boxing, we owe it to boxing's fans, we even owe it to boxing's critics—but most of all, we owe it to the young men who stand alone in the ring when the lights dim and the bell rings.

Boxing is a sport worth saving.

Boxing is a sport that needs change.

Boxing is a sport that needs a National Commissioner.

Thank you.

TAPED INTERVIEWS

One champion from the 1920's told me this:

"We had an idea of going through with (by next) fight, and (then) going somewhere else. You know—let them win the title, cause I was already on my way out. Pick up fifty thousand plus the purse. Somebody in Philadelphia . . . we were supposed to go to Philadelphia. I don't even know who we were going to fight, I'll be truthful with you."

A world champion from the 1930's told me this story of a proposed fixed title fight:

"I was supposed to take a dive, to tell you the truth. I didn't want to do it, but my manager and racketeers, they wanted me to take a dive. It was supposed to be a title fight."

Q. You were supposed to lose the title?

A. Yeah . . .

Q. Was your manager in with the racketeers?

A. He was one of the biggest racketeers . . . my manager wanted me to buy (my opponent's) contract, so it would be him and me business managers of my opponent.) I was supposed to throw the title, but I was disqualified . . .

Former world middleweight champion Jake LaMotta 1949-51 told of how he threw a fight in order to get a shot at the title:

"I purposely lost a fight to Billy Fox because they promised me that I would get a shot to fight for the title if I did . . . I never had a manager . . . I wouldn't trust nobody. I deserved a chance at the title, but because I had nobody to represent me, the right kind of people, so they say, I did things on my own. I was uncrowned champ for five years. Nobody wanted to fight me, so I thought this was the only way I could get a chance. I had to lose the fight, which I never wanted to do but I was only a kid and thought this was the way you had to do it. Later on it came out in the Kefauver Committee when they investigated boxing, and I admitted it . . . I was very ashamed when it was all over, but I did get a chance to fight for the title because I did something like that . . . Then when they finally gave me the chance, I still had to pay twenty thousand dollars more to get it. And I paid it, and I got it, and I won it. There was a lot of good fighters around at that time, but because they weren't on the 'in' they were left out."

Don Jordan, former welterweight champion, told me of his involvement with organized crime, and how he threw the title to Benny Kid Paret in 1960.

Q. What was it like winning the title?

A. It was the most awful experience I ever had in my life. I was involved in some situations, activities not to my advantage, shall we say. When I lost (the title) I was happy. I was more happy losing it than winning it. My wife was staying with certain individuals (on the night of the fight with Paret) I was in the ring, and they had a certain situation going. I threw it for one reason. I (could) beat the — out of him, and they told me, "If you do it, you're dead." Boxing is an organized monopoly. It's always been, always will be. I didn't know that. It controls you from the day a guy starts fighting until he quits fighting. I was approached by a certain character on this side of the mob who had an idea about something, and he expressed it. When I got back to St. Louis I was approached by another person who had another idea. He said, "If you do this, you know, we can help you."

Q. Which fights of yours did they try to arrange the outcome?

A. They never tried to arrange anything. They controlled it from the very beginning.

Q. Did you have fights coming up along the way in your career that were pre-arranged?

A. "Every fight I fought was pre-arranged before I got into the ring. I knew who was going to win and who lost. (Paret didn't win the title, I gave it to him . . . the deal was in. He had to win."

Bobo Olson, former middleweight champ

of the '50's, told me this story about money of his that was mismanaged:

"My manager at that time, who was Sid Flaherty, he was like a father to me, when I was making five, six hundred, two or three thousand, I was getting the money. He was square with me. But then I gave him power of attorney. He talked to me that he was going to take care of my thing and I wasn't going to end up broke. Everytime I had a big fight, he was putting my money in a trust fund and a pension fund. He told me this. Then after awhile I was worried. After I fought Archie Moore, I didn't get a cent for the Archie Moore fight. I says, 'Well, how come?' I found out I was about 125-, 150-thousand in back taxes. So I got to him and told him, 'How come I owe all his money. You were supposed to be taking care of me?' I found out he was using the money in a trust fund, a pension fund, and he put me in debt with the government . . . making bad investments and using my money. He had power of attorney. He told me I had like seventy-something thousand in the trust fund and in the pension fund I had 66-thousand. . . ."

ACTIONS TAKEN BY THE ADMINISTRATION WITH REGARD TO THE DISASTER IN EAST PAKISTAN

HON. ROBERT TAFT, JR.

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, November 30, 1970

Mr. TAFT. Mr. Speaker, it is unfortunate that some Americans seem to want to blame our country for every calamity and disaster that occurs in the world. The latest attempt to pull down all the problems of the world upon our heads is the unreasonable claim that the United States is somehow to blame for shortcomings in the relief effort in East Pakistan.

It is true that millions of people in East Pakistan are undergoing terrible suffering and deprivation. But it is equally true that the U.S. has met every request for aid by the Pakistan Government and, in fact, is going far beyond those requests in its effort to provide relief.

A recent issue of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD included a series of articles dealing with the disaster. The gist of all those articles is that responsibility for conduct of the relief effort lies squarely with the Government of Pakistan, which it should. Failures or successes must accrue to that Government.

I would not pretend fully to understand the internal problems of the Pakistan Government, but it is quite clear that the United States must work with that government in order to provide relief to the citizens of Pakistan. An attempt to set up an independent relief effort would surely compound the existing difficulties.

In short, I am confident this Government is doing everything possible within the confines of the situation. To imply otherwise, I believe, is a disservice to our Government and to the American people, who have manifested such a great compassion and concern for the suffering of our fellow men around the world.

The following is a list of administration actions taken thus far with regard to the disaster in Pakistan:

NOVEMBER 15

President Nixon sent to President Yahya a message of sympathy and an offer of help. The disaster occurred on November 13-14.

Ambassador Farland donated \$52,000 in local currency from his emergency funds. Food stocks were immediately released by American voluntary agencies in Dacca.

NOVEMBER 17

President Nixon announced the creation of a high-level interdepartmental Work Group on East Pakistan Disaster Relief, chaired by Maurice J. Williams, Deputy Administrator of the Agency for International Development—AID.

President Nixon directed the Working Group to initially provide assistance up to \$10 million through Public Law 480 and other programs for the immediate relief of East Pakistan.

Initial emergency air shipment of 10,000 AID-financed blankets and 1,000 tents dispatched to Pakistan.

Also in immediate response 50,000 tons of wheat valued at about \$5 million was authorized for early shipment to East Pakistan to replenish stocks being drawn down.

NOVEMBER 18

Three military cargo planes carrying four large Army cargo helicopters and crews were sent from the United States.

In addition, two helicopters which were in the vicinity in Nepal were instructed to proceed to Dacca.

NOVEMBER 19

A commercial plane was dispatched carrying 62,000 doses of typhoid vaccine donated by Church World Services.

NOVEMBER 20

Notified that packaged, high protein food was in short supply, a plane load of 90,000 pounds of high protein survival biscuits donated by the Office of Civil Defense was dispatched.

Also sent was a plane load of 90,000 pounds of canned meat, baby food and fruit donated by Care.

NOVEMBER 21

Three military cargo planes carrying four more large Huey helicopters and crews were sent to Pakistan.

Because internal transport is very difficult in the disaster area, 2 commercial planes were sent carrying a total of 50 16-foot motorboats provided by the U.S. Army. Such boats will be used to carry supplies internally in East Pakistan.

Two planeloads of concentrated food and plastic water bottles were sent.

Under continuing assessment, Ambassador Farland went to Dacca directly to administer the operation there and to allow for his own personal assessments. Under these assessments by the Ambassador and his staff, we are meeting requirements as they arise and as they are established.

Four more commercial flights with emergency supplies, mainly packaged food, are planned so far for this week. A decision will be made on sending U.S. military medical facilities to Pakistan as soon as our people—a special U.S. military medical team flown in with the last delivery of helicopters—complete their initial survey.

So far, we have spent about \$7 million

of initial \$10 million authorized by the President. Immediate requests have been met, and we will continue to do all that is possible to assist in dealing with the problem.

GOVERNMENT "OF THE PEOPLE" IS YOUNG LEGISLATOR'S GOAL

HON. THOMAS P. O'NEILL, JR.

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, November 30, 1970

Mr. O'NEILL of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, among the many Democratic victories in the recent elections, I am particularly pleased by the outcome of a local Massachusetts race. The successful campaign of Jon Rotenberg, State representative-elect from Brookline, Mass., pleases me for several reasons. Jon gives the young and old alike true representation; he is an exceptionally capable and dedicated young man; and his political philosophy holds that the purpose of government is to serve the people.

Since I first entered Congress in 1952, it has been my policy to have young people work in my office as research assistants and legislative aides. I have hoped this would enable them to see firsthand the workings of a congressional office and demonstrate to those young people particularly interested in serving the public that this can best be done within the legislative framework. It gives me a great deal of pride when these young people continue their interest in public service and particularly when they choose to stand for elective office and present their credentials to the voters.

One such young man is Jon Rotenberg, who at 23, has been elected to the Massachusetts House of Representatives as one of the youngest legislators in the Nation. The same qualities which marked Jon's tenure as legislative assistant will make him an outstanding State representative for Brookline. Jon is deeply committed to change through the governmental process, and he is dedicated to serving people. He possesses an enthusiasm and eagerness to help others that I have rarely encountered. Jon is a bright and capable young man, but it is the generosity of his spirit which sets him apart.

Ann Beierfield of the Boston Sunday Advertiser, has succeeded in capturing Jon's tenure as legislative assistance will his desire to be a true representative of the people. I know my colleagues will be interested in this excellent article on a young leader who delivers for the people rather than shouts for the few:

GOVERNMENT "OF THE PEOPLE" IS YOUNG LEGISLATOR'S GOAL

(By Ann M. Beierfield)

For young Jon Rotenberg, a political career was always a dream for the future—and then the shootings occurred at Kent State.

Suddenly the future was now. There was no more time for dreams.

Rotenberg, then only 22, decided to run for the office of State representative from Brookline. And he won. To become, at 23, one of the youngest men ever to serve on Beacon Hill.

Jon grins as he admits he is "green." He says his organization—mainly family, friends and enthusiastic citizens who listened to him on the streets and liked what they heard—was long on eagerness, but short on polish.

Jon's campaign was guided by the feeling that government is truly and personally "of the people," that youth must work constructively and that a representative must do more than spout platitudes—he must represent.

Rotenberg racked up 11,918 votes running as a Democrat in the race for three contested seats. He finished behind Republican incumbent Martin A. Linsky, but well ahead of the 8,861 votes polled by the other winner, John A. Businger, another Democrat.

"After the Kent State tragedy, I felt it was vital for young people to become active in politics," Rotenberg said, "mainly, because so many older people were saying we never try to work within the system; that all we do is rip down society or riot or sit down and cry when we can't get what we want."

"Well, maybe a small percentage of young people do behave that way, but most of us are really thinking. We want to work for, not against."

"Sure, there were voters who thought I was too young, but I never felt any resentment because of that. And I'll tell you something: I feel I reached the elderly in this campaign."

"And I reached them with more than words. I did something."

"For instance, a lot of older people wanted to go to the rent control meetings, but were afraid to leave their homes at night. I chartered two buses and brought them to the meetings—and I would have done the same for the landlords if they had needed a way to get there."

"I believe in doing things people can actually see," continued Rotenberg. "People don't mind spending their money if they can see results—see that it's working for them on a personal basis."

"That was the whole keystone of my campaign—a personal feeling for people. Government can't go on becoming so large that it ceases to be 'of the people.'"

The youthful bachelor is tall, lean and boyishly appealing, with clear, straight-forward eyes and a sheaf of heavy brown hair that he keeps trimmed and well-groomed.

He lives with his mother and two sisters in a big rambling home on Heath st., which served as his campaign headquarters, with his family working day and night.

Born and raised in Brookline, he attended elementary schools there before undertaking his "prep" studies at Winchendon School.

During his collegiate years at Ohio University—where he majored in government and interpersonal communications—he began to show the same dedicated social commitment that spearheaded his campaign.

"When I became president of the interfraternity council, I thought it would be good if the fraternities did something other than throw parties and drink beer," he recalled.

"I initiated a lecture series, and a big brother program at a school for mentally retarded children close by our campus. I thought, as long as the fraternity men have this brotherhood feeling, why not really make it mean something?"

While there, he won the respect and admiration of the university's president, Dr. Vernon R. Alden, who is now chairman of the Boston Company.

Dr. Alden publicly endorsed his candidacy as did Sen. Edward Kennedy, and Rep. Thomas P. (Tip) O'Neill, for whom the young man worked as legislative aide in Washington.

Rotenberg cast his lot with the Democrats, for whom he has worked "since about the age of 12," because he felt that party

matched his own philosophy of personal politics.

"It's more for the people," he says. "But that doesn't mean I will go along with the Democrats, straight across the barrel, right or wrong. I don't think anyone should do that."

Asked if he would call himself liberal, conservative or middle-of-the-road, he replied: "I call myself Jon Rotenberg. I'm not bound to any particular line of thought. It's the issue itself that matters."

"I'm for immediate withdrawal from Vietnam . . . the money could be spent so much better on social needs here. But I believe very strongly in law and order, and that policemen deserve our support. Without law and order there is chaos, and chaos means anarchy."

"I don't like to see government grow out of all bounds, and get into too many areas, but I do believe the state must push for more federal aid to relieve the welfare burden."

"Most of all, I believe in learning what the people want, what's on their minds. Too many legislators ignore the feedback from the public. I want to get out and look for the feedback."

"I have a card file of people who called during the campaign and the issues they spoke to me about."

"I'm going to go through these cards. And if I find, for example, that there are several people concerned about mental health, I'd like to call a meeting, invite a top legislator and maybe some administrators from mental hospitals, and we can talk about it, work at it together."

"One thing that's very much in my favor, I think, is that I can give this my full time."

"My sister, Judy, and I have been running an art gallery and a couple of other stores in Rockport the past few summers, and it's given me enough personal income so that I can give this new responsibility the kind of attention it must have. (His legislator's salary will be \$11,400.)"

"I want to be available to the people at all times. I'll have an office, but I'll talk to them in the streets, too."

TRIBUTE TO HON. PHILIP J. PHILBIN OF MASSACHUSETTS

HON. JOE L. EVINS

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, November 30, 1970

Mr. EVINS of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, permit me to take this means of paying a brief but sincere tribute to our colleague, the gentleman from Massachusetts, PHILIP J. PHILBIN, who is retiring from the Congress at the conclusion of the 91st session following 28 years of distinguished and dedicated service to our country.

PHIL PHILBIN is a ranking member of the powerful and influential Committee on Armed Services and has contributed immensely to the strength and security of the Nation. His legislative achievements and contributions are monumental. His devotion to duty has set an example of patriotic service.

PHIL PHILBIN has served his district, his State, and the Nation faithfully and well and he will be greatly missed—especially because he is one of the grand and great personalities of the Congress.

He is a great human being—warm, friendly, personable, genial, a truly beloved colleague. We shall miss him in the

House. As he seeks a well deserved retirement, I know that we wish for him every good luck, good health, and much happiness.

RETIRED USAF LT. GEN. IRA EAKER ANALYZES THE RED THREAT

HON. OLIN E. TEAGUE

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, November 30, 1970

Mr. TEAGUE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, my good friend, Lt. Gen. Ira Eaker, U.S. Air Force, retired, recently attended the American Ordnance Association's SAC-briefing on the Soviet-Chinese threat in Orlando, Fla., and was asked to analyze this threat from a military view. The following are General Eaker's remarks which I commend to every Member of this body:

THE MEANING OF THE RED THREAT

General Holloway, Mr. Wallace, Mr. Kohler, Members of the Symposium, Gentlemen: First, my congratulations to General Cordes of the Strategic Air Command Staff for the excellence and accuracy of his briefing highlighting the quantitative aspects of the growing Soviet strategic offensive and defensive forces and the emerging Chinese Communist threat.

His presentation of the size and composition of the nuclear delivery capability, of the Red land, sea and air power cannot be dismissed as an exaggeration for the purpose of creating a bigger SAC, more U.S. strategic power, as the pacifists and doves are sometimes wont to charge.

The totals of Red missiles, bombers, and ships presented in this briefing are confirmed by similar estimates recently made by The Institute of Strategic Studies, London, The Georgetown University Center for Strategic Studies and the National Strategy Information Center, New York.

A report of the Committee on Armed Services, House of Representatives released last October 7th entitled, "The Threat," gives generally the same estimates of Red strategic forces we have heard today.

As late as November 10th, last, General Goodpaster, the NATO Commander, warned, "The Soviet forces of today constitute a concentration of military power far beyond anything the world has ever previously seen. It is a force far exceeding their reasonable defense requirements."

These assessments of the Red threat clearly indicate that the USSR is now the number one military world power, the U.S. is now a second-class power and the disparity is still growing in favor of the Reds.

My assigned task in this symposium is "The Meaning of this Red Threat."

In a dramatic speech in the House on October 10th, the Honorable Mendel Rivers, Chairman of the Armed Services Committee, after detailing the size of the Red Threat said, "Mr. Speaker, never before in the 30 years of my membership in this body have I stepped into the well of this House with greater concern for the future of this nation." I share completely Mr. Rivers' concern and I do not believe he overstated the case when he continued, "I have no doubt that the Soviets are now building a nuclear submarine base in Cuba. Mark my words well—one of these fine mornings we are going to be told by the Russians, in most unmistakable terms, to get out of the Mediterranean."

Here are other quotes from this great speech which are of major significance, "The

7% portion of the gross national product which is now allocated to our national defense represents the smallest allocation of our gross national product to national defense purposes in 20 years. Surely no American would argue that we can put a price tag on the lives of our people. But I would rather be alive at 10% than dead at 7%."

He concluded, "The Soviet Union now has a nuclear strategic weapon capability in excess of ours and this superiority will continue to increase if we do not take dramatic action to stem the tide."

"In calendar year 1969, the United States spent a total of \$7.5 billion on strategic offensive and defensive weaponry. During that same period the Soviet Union expended approximately \$13 billion dollars in the same effort."

This speech should be read in its entirety by every thoughtful, concerned citizen, for Chairman Rivers is without doubt one of the best informed members of Congress on the National Security.

There are two decisive factors which give the Russians a tremendous advantage in any nuclear exchange with us. There are many more lucrative nuclear targets in the U.S. than in the USSR due to the fact that population and industry is much more concentrated here into urban areas. For example, if Russia hit the 50 largest U.S. cities it would kill 86 million Americans and destroy 55% of U.S. industry. On the other hand a nuclear attack against the 50 largest Russian cities would kill only 48 million Soviet citizens and destroy but 40% of their industrial capacity. Such attacks would result in the death of 42% of the U.S. population but only 20% of the Russians.

The other dangerous inequity lies in the fact that it is U.S. policy never to deliver the first nuclear strike. The only U.S. retaliatory nuclear capability would be that which survived an enemy nuclear attack. Present estimates of our weapons survival is between 15 and 20%. This policy makes it possible for the USSR to plan their nuclear first strike against the strategic forces of the U.S. Obviously the U.S. strategic capability which survives a Red first strike will not hit the nuclear delivery capacity of the Russians, since it would be senseless to target ICBM sites which have already released their missiles.

Since President Nixon expressed grave concern, when he was a candidate, about Russia's growing strategic strength coincident with our own unilateral disarmament, and since both have accelerated since he became Commander-in-Chief, it seems appropriate to examine this phenomenon.

This is my present analysis of the Nixon defense policy.

He went to the country recently in an effort to elect a Republican Congress, by reminding our people that he expressed the hope in his Inaugural Address that we are leaving a period of confrontation with the Reds and moving into a period of negotiation. Since he became President, therefore, he has reduced our defense budgets by more than \$10 billion and has not deployed a single new offensive strategic weapon, relying upon SALT (the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks) to provide for our security through negotiation. In the meantime, Mr. Nixon will continue to wind down the Vietnam War, reducing by more than half the extent and cost of that conflict and reducing our defense forces by about one million men, military and civilian.

Whether this plan will be politically effective, I cannot predict, not being a politician or political commentator. But I am certain, having spent fifty years as a Red watcher, that it will not favorably influence Kremlin policy. The USSR will never agree to return to strategic inferiority or parity at Vienna, Helsinki or anywhere else. There is no evi-

dence that they have abandoned their plans for world domination and they know that parity is not the route to success in that area.

Instead of the period of negotiation, for which the President hopes, we shall, I believe, have a period of Red nuclear blackmail. Taking advantage of their strategic superiority, the Reds will begin to show their muscle and make hostile demands. Already since achieving superiority they have become much more aggressive. Their air and sea bases in North Africa, their missiles and fighters in Egypt, their growing naval thrusts into the Mediterranean Sea and Indian Ocean, and their missile carrying subs off our coast provide unmistakable evidence of this.

On May 20th last their missile ships returned to Cuban waters and U.S. intelligence agencies report that Russian bombers are now using Cuban bases.

Faced then with positive evidence of Red truculence and blackmail, President Nixon will go to the American people in his own re-election bid in 1972 reminding our people and all the world that he bent over backward in an effort to support SALT. He even continued our own strategic disarmament for two years despite certain evidences of the Red strategic arms build-up. Since this effort failed, he proposes to begin at once to restore the strategic imbalance. He can point out that since we have twice the economic resources of the USSR we can and will do this without further delay. Such a campaign promise will be very effective as our people will by then have ample warning of the hazard in strategic inferiority, the loss of the credibility of our deterrent posture.

There is a terrible danger in the Nixon defense strategy I have outlined it. The Reds may not permit our rearmament. Over the Hot Line from Moscow could come this ultimatum: "As you know, Mr. President, we now have your land-based ICBM's well covered with our SS9's. Your own Secretary of Defense has told your Congress that we can destroy 95% of your ICBM capability in a surprise first strike. The only thing we now have to fear is your Polaris and Poseidon nuclear submarines. We now order you to send these vessels into the Black Sea where we can be sure they are disarmed. You will be wise to comply, since each of your subs at sea is now followed everywhere it goes by two of our killer subs."

In such a circumstance, when the USSR has about the same strategic superiority, four to one, which we enjoyed at the time of the Cuban Missile Crisis, the President may have no alternative but to comply with the Red ultimatum, as Khrushchev responded in 1961.

With loss of our No. 1 power position will go loss of world leadership. Many fateful consequences will inevitably follow.

One early and tragic result may be the destruction of gallant little Israel. The U.S. has been the only nation guaranteeing Israel. The U.S. has been the only nation guaranteeing Israel's continued status as a free nation, with the strength to enforce its pledge. This guarantee will be ineffective in the future with the U.S. a second-rate world power.

A second inevitable result will be the break-up of NATO. European leaders have realized for some time that the U.S. no longer was a dependable ally and assured protector, her people having lost the will and refused to provide the means for Free World leadership. This is why the leaders in Germany and France, have been recently to Moscow seeking some form of detente with the Kremlin. That also was the reason Greece and Turkey refused use of their bases to U.S. aircraft in the late Middle East crisis. Likewise it accounts for the recent defection of Canada, confirmed by her recognition of Red China.

The U.S. must now alter its strategy since its defense posture is such that its peace-keeping ability is no longer credible. When the U.S. was the No. 1 world power, so acknowledged by friend and foe, its earlier policies of massive retaliation and graduated response were effective.

A nation faced with an adversary having superior nuclear capability and strategic strength has only these options: It can strike first in a surprise attack in order to reduce the nuclear capacity of the enemy. It can await the enemy's first strike and then retaliate by launching whatever nuclear weapons survive upon the cities of the enemy. Or it can accede to nuclear blackmail, tantamount to surrender.

Our former allies of the Free World have but two options now. They can make the best deal they can get from Moscow or they can develop their own nuclear defenses. Britain and France have a nuclear start and Germany and Japan will no doubt be making that hard decision soon.

In the past, whenever U.S. defense appropriations were reaching dangerously low levels, the Reds always took some offensive action to alarm our people and warn our leaders. The blockade of Berlin, the invasion of South Korea and the Cuban Missile Crisis were such examples. The U.S. then acted promptly to restore the credibility of its deterrent posture.

The Reds have done the same thing this time. They have never been more aggressive than since gaining strategic superiority. Their fleets in all the world's oceans, their planes, missiles and troops into Egypt, their nuclear submarines patrolling our coasts and their sub base in Cuba have given unmistakable warning. But our people have not responded as in the past.

Some defense leaders credit this apathy to an unrealistic reliance upon SALT (the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks). The recent action of the House on defense appropriations cuts the ground from under SALT. Why would Russia agree to mutual disarmament when she has Congressional confirmation that U.S. unilateral disarmament is being accelerated?

You will recall that General Cordes told us "The Soviet Union is now about to seize world technological leadership from the United States." He also pointed out that they have already spent about three billion dollars more than we have on defense oriented research and that their annual expansion in their R&D effort has been 10% a year while ours has only been 4%, hardly enough to cover rising inflation costs.

I thought his comment on Soviet Research Institute growth was especially significant in this area. "The Soviets have established a technically-oriented society. As a measure of this growth, they have nearly doubled the number of research institutes over the past 20 years and quadrupled their graduated engineers. This technical manpower force is now six times the size of ours."

Dr. John S. Foster, Director of Defense Research and Engineering has repeatedly warned the Congress of the tremendous Red R&D effort and its dangerous consequences for us.

In Russia the scientists, engineers and technicians enjoy favored status, ranking right after the Party leaders in salary, housing, food and prestige. There are no unemployed scientists and engineers in the USSR, while we have today thousands of unemployed scientists and engineers. To me, this has ominous and obvious future consequences.

It means that the USSR will have superior strategic weapons in the future. Add this to their numerical superiority and our defenses lose their deterrent credibility entirely.

There is another grave significance to this Soviet technological superiority. They will ultimately control the markets of the world. Their consumer products will be better, cheaper and favored world-wide as were those of Britain in earlier times and as are those of Germany, Japan and the U.S. today. I foresee and fear the time when Russian technology joins the great industrial capacity of Western Europe to dominate the world's commercial markets.

The Reds also have caught this vision. That's why they are now building a vast merchant marine, able to deliver these merchandise cargoes to every people on every island and continent on earth.

There is another side to the USSR-U.S. inequity which disturbs me greatly. I have a sufficient acquaintance with history to know that more nations have fallen due to internal disorder and decay than from outside conquest. I see in our Country today many of the maladies which have been fatal to other peoples, other nations once great but which ultimately disappeared.

The apathy of our people to their defense establishment and forces passes all understanding. In 1962 there was strong popular support for President Kennedy when he ordered the Russians to get their offensive missiles out of Cuba. Contrast that reaction with the lack of popular concern when President Nixon told us that the Soviets were building a nuclear sub base in Cuba.

We also have in this country, as we all know, a large and growing group of traitors. By definition of long standing a traitor is one who gives aid and comfort to the enemy. During the Vietnam War many of our citizens, some in high places, have given aid and encouragement to the Reds, hiding behind the legal fiction that war was not declared by Congress.

When some historian of the future does the job on us which Gibbon did on Rome, I believe he will trace the beginning of our decline to our tolerance of treason. The Reds do not have that problem.

There is now much talk about national priorities. We are told that we must reduce defense expenditures in order to provide more funds for other pressing priorities. I submit that our first priority must be the national security for if that fails the other priorities do not matter. Our conquerors will take care of those.

There appears to be a considerable feeling in this country, which has been fostered by the intellectual-left, that the Reds no longer represent a serious menace since Russia and China are quarreling. I believe the USSR-ChiCom quarrel is like spats between husbands and wives. They can be bitter, but when third parties intervene, the couples promptly double up on the intruder.

Despite this heated oral controversy, I note both big Red powers have been supplying aid to North Vietnam.

In view of the present threat to our security, what should be the size and composition of our defense forces? While a detailed discussion of this subject lies outside my assignment at this symposium, I have compiled such a force list and can make it available to anyone who is interested. There are some facts and conditions relating to this question pertinent to my topic "The Meaning of the Threat."

No Free World leader knows what would deter an enemy from launching a nuclear first strike. Only the rulers in Moscow and Peking know that. We do, however, have some pertinent yardsticks. Our strategic superiority has kept the truce thus far. At the time of the Cuban Missile Crisis when our strategic superiority was four or five times theirs, they were deterred.

A nation whose policy is to survive a nu-

clear first strike and retaliate must be sure to emphasize all defense measures including the ABM and civil defenses, especially shelter programs and ample warning devices.

An adequate force, when on the defensive must also be much larger, more extensive and more expensive than a nuclear first strike force due to the frightful destructiveness of nuclear weapons. Incidentally, I never knew of any body who ever won while on the defensive.

The frequently heard argument against the great cost of our defense system is scarcely valid since whatever it costs is but a pittance compared to what we would lose if our defenses failed.

Here I want to suggest one caution to the military.

Sometimes in the past when defense appropriations were inadequate the Armed Services have engaged in heated controversy over the sparse funds which were available. That would be fatal now when it is open season on all things military. Every military leader must put national interest above any partisan or parochial advantage. The Joint Chiefs of Staff and all subordinates in uniform must speak with one voice resolving all issues in conference and creating no interservice rivalry headlines.

National security should never be a partisan or political issue. It is as non-partisan as safe streets and clean air. Since national security concerns every citizen, it should be a concern of every citizen.

One decisive aspect of the Red threat has not received the attention it deserves. That is the intention, plan and will of enemy leadership. Does anyone who has observed the truculence of the Kremlin during the years since World War II, when their strategic forces were inferior, doubt that they will be more difficult to deal with now that they are the World's No. 1 military power? Has anyone seen any evidence that Soviet leadership has abandoned its announced plan for World conquest?

Two things are necessary for world domination, the military power and the will or determination of national leadership to use it. Russia undoubtedly now has both.

When the U.S. was the No. 1 military power in the world this represented no menace to any people or nation on earth. Everyone here and abroad knew that our strength was defensive. Not since 1898 (the Spanish American War) has the U.S. been an expansionist nation or had an aggressive policy. Can any informed person say the same of the men in the Kremlin?

In 1914 the Kaiser and his Prussian War Lords had the will for conquest but not, as it developed, the military strength. In 1940 Hitler, Mussolini and the Japanese War Lords had the will but not the means. Now for the first time there is a nation with the strength and whose leaders obviously possess the will for conquest.

Finally, Gentlemen, I have observed that some of our people misunderstand why we recommend superior U.S. military strength. Recently, for example, Senator Brooke criticized General Ryan for saying our strategic forces must be able to disarm an enemy.

Frankly, I have little interest in retaliation or how many Russians or Red Chinese are killed after a massive nuclear attack on the U.S. Everything, everyone, every institution I cherish will have been destroyed.

What I want, what this country must have, is a strategic force of such size and composition that no enemy will ever dare to launch that massive nuclear first strike. We have had such a force, it has kept the uneasy nuclear truce for two decades. We have lost it. We must never cease our effort until we get it back. That is our highest national priority.

TOP PRIORITY: COMMUNIST WAR PLAN IN THE U.S.A.

HON. M. G. (GENE) SNYDER

OF KENTUCKY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, November 30, 1970

Mr. SNYDER. Mr. Speaker, recently the following bulletin published by the Christian Heritage Center of Louisville, Ky., came to my attention and I submit it for the attention of the readers of the RECORD:

TOP PRIORITY: COMMUNIST WAR PLAN IN THE U.S.A.

It is a rare event when you can read the outline of the Communist plan of attack inside the United States in clear and unmistakable language. But such is the case. In Political Affairs, October 1970, James J. Tormey sets forth Communist strategy under the title: "The Need for a National Defense Organization."

Make no mistake about it—it is a determined effort—based on careful planning to turn the flow of events toward revolution within the United States.

Gus Hall, General Secretary of the Communist Party gave this appraisal in his report to the National Committee:

"We must now set our course, fix our priorities, assign forces so that we work toward the crystallization of a broad people's alliance which will gather all the forces of rebellion into a coalition that will have the power to challenge the policies of the monopoly-military-industrial complex on all levels, on all fronts. That is the key link."

Hall further stated that "given proper leadership the democratic and radical forces are powerful enough to prevail."

If the Communist coalition of rebellion and revolution is not to prevail, it will be because a superior force is brought to bear against them. That is why it is so vitally important for us to be informed as to Communist plans and strategy. Therefore, as an American and as a Christian, we urge you to study carefully this battle-plan of the Communists. Here are key excerpts from Tormey's article:

THE ROLE OF COMMUNISTS

On this basis I see two concurrent massive drives in an effort to build a solid foundation for a broad people's alliance in the United States. One is a drive on the peace front aided by the founding of an Anti-Imperialist Peace Center with a full anti-imperialist program. The other is a drive on the democratic front, for the preservation and greater extension of democracy in the U.S. With respect to the latter, the essential need is to bring into being a new national organization as the center from which to conduct the fight. In regard to both centers the objective would be to infuse both movements, now floundering in terms of direction, with a working-class approach to their problems, and to project programs consistent with this. Such centers can become new homes for new radical forces where Communists and non-Communists can work together on programs that are mutually acceptable. This will serve to broaden the power base of the Left, to put forces, working-class troops of all races, at the command of the Left. Thereby the Left can help to bring about the necessary alliances and coalitions and to guarantee the kind of perspective that will help them to grow and serve our nation better.

Today there are huge numbers of forces at work in the fight-back against repression, but there is also much proliferation of effort. There are conflicting trends relative to the

fightback and the almost total lack of coordination around major cases nationally. While everyone has been "doing his thing," few have been defending the Communists or overtly fighting anti-Communism. This condition is a threat not only to our Party but also to the people's movement. At the same time, Communists in many places have been active in the movements which do exist, and have in most cases been responsible for bringing about a number of conferences against repression. Where this is taking place, some semblance of unity is being brought about.

The main thrust of our line in the fight against repression must be to build alliances and coalitions wherever we can influence events. However, the question arises how we can increase our power base in order to play an effective role in influencing the broader democratic movement to fight for the preservation of democracy and its extension to the millions who have never had it: the poor and especially the Black and other racial minorities. In this context there arises the question of whether and how to build a new national organization.

In this connection, it is clear that we Communists will not increase our ability decisively to influence the fight against repression without an effective fight for the legality of our Party. No one respects those who do not fight for themselves. No one will fight for us if we don't fight for ourselves. Our credentials to give leadership to others and our legitimate place in the general movement against repression can only be understood, and win respect of others, if we set an example, working in our own defense as well as in the defense of others.

Concretely, this means fighting against the indictment of Arnold Johnson. It means smashing the current attempt to revive the McCarran Act indicated by the Attorney General's efforts to haul the Young Workers' Liberation League and the New York Center for Marxist Education before the Subversive Activities Control Board (the school hearing is scheduled for November 13). It means a fight to repeal the McCarran Act. It means a fight for access to the ballot everywhere. It means a struggle to eliminate anti-Communist hiring restrictions in defense plants and government jobs. And it means a fight for the deletion of anti-Communist clauses in all union constitutions, and for the reinstatement of Gene Robel, who had successfully fought for the right of Communists to be employed in "defense" industries, to full membership in the IAM. In short, what is needed is a comprehensive campaign against anti-Communism in general, always associating our oppression as a political minority with the oppression of all other minorities.

A national organization to meet today's requirements should be composed of both Communists and non-Communists who subscribe to the concepts here outlined, with identifiable leaders of the Communist Party sharing leadership with others.

It should have a comprehensive program to meet the constitutional crisis. It should wrest the national banner, the American flag, from the bloodstained hands of the ruling class who have defiled it and from the ultra-Right who have pre-empted it. *It must be made for the first time in American history the banner of all the people.*

It should become an organization which understands that the fight against racism is absolutely central—the main ingredient in the attempt to achieve a people's unity against repression.

It must become a movement which seeks alliances with all the oppressed, based on the common denominator which exists among them and exposing the oppressor—the imperialist ruling class.

It must become a movement which, precisely because it is on the side of the oppressed, will fight for the rights and the legality of the Communist Party. And it will do so not alone from an abstract "rights" point of view but because the Communist Party is among the oppressed as well as the defender and champion of all oppressed peoples.

It should be a movement which will defend victims of repression both legally and through mass campaigns.

It should help to organize medical services and first-aid to victims of police brutality at demonstrations, or picket-lines, and strive to service political prisoners and their families.

It must have a young, vigorous and imaginative working class leadership of all races, with identifiable young leaders of the Communist Party sharing leadership with other progressive forces.

It was with the aim of reviewing the ideas set forth above that this writer was sent about the United States to talk with everyone we could reach and to try to see these problems through the "eyes of others." I talked with more than seventy-eight people in all walks of life, and I posed the following questions to each:

THROUGH THE EYES OF OTHERS

What is your estimate of the situation in the U.S. now with respect to repression?

Are there acceptable common denominators which could lead to greater unity of the repressed?

What defense can Communists expect, should the attack upon the Communist Party be stepped up?

When I met directly with a victim or a victim's family, I also asked how the Communist Party could help.

I saw only those who would see me as a member of the National Committee of the Communist Party. I was received with a great deal of interest and good will. Most of those I talked with were non-Communists. Some were themselves victims of repression or were members of the families of victims.

FURTHER CONCLUSIONS

The following are some further conclusions which can be drawn from the experiences of my tour:

First, most people fighting against repression agree with the estimate of our Party with respect to this matter at our National Committee meeting. They believe that millions of other people share our concern.

Second, many people realize that the present proliferation of effort of the democratic forces in the fightback is an obstacle to realizing the full potential power of the people's movement; yet most are unable to determine how unity can be achieved, and would take a lead from us were we to provide an answer.

Third, though there are ominous stirrings in ruling-class circles, in their efforts to revive red-baiting and to renew their attack upon our Party, a massive movement can be organized to oppose this.

Fourth, thousands of victims of repression in our country need our Party's experience and dedication in the fight against oppression. In respect to some of the current defense cases in the courts, there should be a national effort to free the victims. These are among the many reasons why there is a need for a national organization along the lines outlined above.

Fifth, we can learn much from the people engaged in the struggle for freedom, but we must develop a style of work which permits this.

Clearly, the forces of reaction can be defeated—the democratic and radical forces are most powerful—our task is to unleash this power by giving it able leadership.

FOREIGN TRADE BILL FOR U.S. JOBS

HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, November 30, 1970

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, the foreign trade bill, passed barely a week ago, has already received retaliation from many powerful lobbies in the United States who carry on as if unaware that America's largest consumer is the U.S. workingman.

The Federal Reserve System has become a bitter spokesman against job preferences for Americans. This was to be expected since it was the international banking cartel that initiated the "share the wealth for the world" program and which has been adamant in its goal to hold down progress in the United States in a compensatory blueprint designed to upgrade incomes in other countries of the world at the expense of U.S. taxpayers. It is noteworthy that the international lobbyists who over the years have exploited the working people with such promotional talk as more jobs, higher income, and better living conditions, now defend abolition of American jobs and American goods.

Threats of retaliation against Americans wanting at least a fair chance to manufacture goods for their own market are traceable to an emotional hysteria coming from other Americans striving to protect their investments and commitments outside the United States.

For the most part, the only American products now being exported are machinery and sophisticated weaponry and tools which foreign nations thus far have been unable to develop or manufacture themselves.

It must be understood that if U.S. products cannot compete price-wise in the United States against foreign imports, they most certainly cannot compete in foreign markets—unless we give them away or supply the purchasing capital through foreign aid programs.

We might ask, "Just what does Japan buy from the United States?"—Or, "Will Israel retaliate by not buying jet aircraft and tanks?" Foreign retaliation against farm products? The great mass of American farm commodities leaving our shores as exports are being sold to foreign nations under Public Law 480 which provides such liberal credit terms that certainly no nation could afford to retaliate against.

At hearings relating to the inspection of imported livestock products, a Mr. Ioanes of the Secretary of Agriculture's Office, testified that U.S. meat exports to foreign countries constitute roughly 700 million pounds, while foreign meat imports to the United States are estimated at 1,600 million pounds. As to meat, the American farmer would enjoy a greater prosperity from domestic sales in the United States than from exports.

To those vocal opponents of "Made in America by Americans" who would justify denying Americans jobs by saying they are for free trade why have they

never voiced opposition to the stringent trade prohibitions placed against all Americans on imports or exports to Rhodesia.

The weekend news reports that Prime Minister Heath of England will visit Washington, D.C., ostentatiously for the purpose of getting more U.S. tax dollars with which to buy more U.S. goods in the nature of sophisticated military weapons. This is hardly an indication of any trade retaliation from England.

As the international extremists continue to warble their fright-peddling against American labor and industry, it should become more apparent to those of us who supported the foreign trade bill that a vote for final passage was in the best interest of America—if it accomplishes nothing more than show the working people of America who are not their friends.

[From the Washington Daily News,
Nov. 26, 1970]

THE PRICE OF PROTECTION

Congress might as well turn loose an army of pickpockets in the land as pass a foreign trade bill that slaps restrictive import quotas on shoes and clothing.

Yet that is what Congress apparently intends to do unless the American consumer (remember him?) soon makes himself heard.

The trade bill now under discussion, for all its pretensions of preserving jobs by keeping out cheap foreign goods, could be the most damaging piece of import-export legislation since the tariff wars of the 1930s.

In addition to threatening the consumer with higher prices, it is a threat to more jobs than it possibly could save. All of our export business would be in immediate jeopardy—coal and farm products, aircraft and machinery, to cite a few.

The countries whose products would be restricted by the legislation not only are able, but obviously are ready and eager to apply similar restrictions on the products they buy from the United States.

This danger is seriously enlarged because the bill not only would clamp immediate import quotas on footwear and textiles, but it includes a triggering clause which could result in future quotas on as many as 70 other items, ranging from wigs and bicycles to tennis balls and television sets.

As for the consumer, the damage was spelled out in dollars and cents last week by Andrew F. Brimmer, a member of the board of governors of the Federal Reserve System.

By 1975, said Mr. Brimmer, import quotas on shoes and clothing could cost consumers an extra \$3.7 billion a year in higher prices.

Because of the quotas, there would be less competition, less selection for the consumer and less incentive for American firms to keep their prices low and their productivity high.

Some retailers say the trade bill could raise clothing and shoe prices 15 to 25 per cent, costing the family of four as much as \$200 a year.

It would be far better, Mr. Brimmer contends, to put the money into retraining and financial aid to workers displaced by automation and by competition they can't control.

No matter how you rationalize them, import quotas are a dubious and highly inflationary device. They invite retaliation against American goods sold abroad. In the end, like all artificial restrictions on trade, they tend to be self-defeating.

[From the Washington Star, Nov. 26, 1970]

PROTECTIONIST SENTIMENT HIT BY McLAREN

The head of the Justice Department's anti-trust division says that reducing imports

would be expensive to the United States in terms of prices, retaliation against U.S. goods and loss of business competition.

In a statement to the Tariff Commission, asst. atty. Gen. Richard W. McLaren yesterday opposed what he said is a rising protectionist sentiment.

McLaren did not specifically cite the House-passed trade bill, which would impose new quotas on imports of textiles, shoes and other products. The bill is awaiting action in the Senate where its prospects are now considered doubtful.

"If we insulate our markets against foreign goods, we insure that prices paid by the American consumer and by American industry for the things they need will increase or, at best, remain at relatively high levels," McLaren said.

"Another cost of protectionism arises from the likelihood—indeed the virtual certainty—of foreign retaliation," he said. "Loss of access to foreign markets will mean loss of jobs and profits in those very industries where we now enjoy, and should be exploiting, a position of strength."

"The costs of protection are real, not imaginary; these costs can be very high; and we may be temporarily protecting our less efficient industries at the permanent expense of the more progressive sectors of our economy," McLaren said.

HECKLER QUESTIONNAIRE

HON. MARGARET M. HECKLER

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, November 30, 1970

Mrs. HECKLER of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, now that the election is over and the Congress is in session, I am once again traveling almost every week between Washington and the 10th district.

The district as we all know is quite diverse geographically and economically. My Wellesley neighbors face different problems from cities such as Fall River, Taunton, and Attleboro. Nevertheless, they share common concerns. Every year I send a questionnaire to my constituents asking for their views on the vital issues facing all of us. The answers to this questionnaire have been very valuable to me. Thank you for your efforts, interest, and patience.

Many of the questions were difficult to answer with a simple "yes" or "no." This dilemma is similar to the problem a legislator faces voting for or against a bill which includes many pages and numerous complex provisions.

The following results of the questionnaire represent the views of constituents of the 10th district. Unfortunately, not all of the questions and answers could be reproduced here. Each area of concern relates to an issue involved with current or future legislation, and deals with the fundamental issue in our society of assigning national priorities, as follows:

The most critical problems: (Preferences ranked as follows:)

(Answers in percent of total out of more than 28,000 respondents)

| | |
|------------------------------|----|
| a. War in Vietnam | 64 |
| b. Inflation | 42 |
| c. Drug abuse | 38 |
| d. Crime in the street (tie) | 29 |
| Pollution (tie) | 29 |

| | |
|---|----|
| e. Rising cost of health care and hospitalization | 26 |
| f. Organized crime | 28 |
| g. Student alienation (tie) | 10 |
| Race relations (tie) | 10 |
| h. Urban problems | 9 |
| i. Transportation | 4 |
| j. Other | 3 |

In dealing with drug abuse, which approaches do you favor:

| | |
|---|----|
| a. Legalize marijuana | 10 |
| b. Strengthen penalties against "pushers" | 74 |
| c. Increase federal funds for drug rehabilitation and education | 52 |
| d. Crack down on illegal possession of drugs | 54 |

Do you support the following?

| | |
|---|----|
| a. Wage and price controls to control inflation | 36 |
| b. Welfare reforms which would provide work incentives and support for the working poor | 81 |
| c. Lowering the voting age to 18 | 38 |
| d. Draft deferments for students | 31 |
| e. Establishing an all-volunteer army | 44 |
| f. A national health insurance program | 45 |
| g. Automatic social security benefit increases as the cost of living index goes up | 67 |
| h. Creation of a new federal department with jurisdiction over all aspects of environmental quality | 35 |
| i. Large scale spending programs to combat pollution | 41 |
| j. Tax credits and/or government loans to small companies willing to install antipollution devices | 52 |
| k. Congressional representation for the District of Columbia | 42 |
| l. Further reductions in foreign aid | 58 |

Concerning Vietnam, which one approach do you favor:

| | |
|--|----|
| a. Pursuit of military victory | 8 |
| b. Vietnamization and phased withdrawal of all U.S. troops within a specified time | 45 |
| c. Vietnamization, with residual U.S. support troops remaining as necessary | 22 |
| d. Immediate withdrawal of all American personnel | 25 |

Concerning Laos and Cambodia and other Southeast Asian nations, which one approach do you favor:

| | |
|--|----|
| a. Full U.S. military assistance | 11 |
| b. U.S. air cover and military support but no ground troop involvement | 29 |
| c. U.S. provision of small arms only | 15 |
| d. No U.S. involvement whatever | 45 |

KAUFMANS CELEBRATE GOLDEN ANNIVERSARY

HON. PETER W. RODINO, JR.

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, November 30, 1970

Mr. RODINO. Mr. Speaker, Mr. and Mrs. Samuel J. Kaufman recently celebrated their golden wedding anniversary with their son and daughter-in-law, Mr. and Mrs. Norman K. ufman and grandchildren Paul E. Felson and Stephen, Kathy, and Peter Kaufman.

Mr. Kaufman, an attorney for 52 years in Newark, is chairman of the New Jersey Appeals Board of the Selective Service System, with which he has been associated for the past 27 years. Previ-

ously he served as law secretary and aide to Circuit Court Judges Edwin C. Caffrey and Daniel J. Brennan, assigned to the Essex County courts.

On the occasion of this milestone, I want to extend my warmest congratulations and good wishes to the Kaufmans for the continued enjoyment of life's blessings.

THE U.S. COAST GUARD
COURTS DISASTER

HON. ROMAN C. PUCINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, November 30, 1970

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, the U.S. Coast Guard has marred its magnificent history with one of the most disgraceful examples of cowardice and brutality that we have seen in the annals of our Nation.

I have reference to the bizarre episode which occurred on the U.S. Coast Guard cutter *Vigilant*, when the commanding officer of this American vessel permitted Soviet fishermen to board his ship and forcefully remove, in a barbaric manner, a Lithuanian refugee who jumped from a Soviet fishing vessel to the American cutter seeking political asylum.

We can look through the breadth and scope of American history and we shall not find an example to compare with this despicable behavior of an American Coast Guard commander or his crew.

Every American should be outraged at the conduct of this Coast Guard cutter commander, and we have a right to ask by what authority did he permit Soviet seamen to board his ship to remove one of their crew members from seeking political asylum.

I am calling today for the prosecution of the commander of this American Coast Guard cutter. He should be stripped of his responsibilities and his rank and should be driven out of the Coast Guard in dishonor. Unless we take this forceful action, it is my judgment that any indecision on the part of American authorities will set a precedent of piracy on the high seas which will court disaster for our entire fleet.

I know of nothing in recent history that compares with the cowardice of this commanding officer and I refuse to accept his excuses. He is the commanding officer of the *Vigilant*, and he alone has the full responsibility for the security and safety of that ship and the protection of American interests.

It defies credibility to conceive of the brutality of this whole episode: the captain and his crew standing idly by as the Lithuanian refugee is barbarically beaten into complete unconsciousness by Soviet fishermen and then brutally dragged off the American cutter unto the Soviet fishing vessel.

What kind of opinion will freedom-seeking people all over the world have about America as the great symbol of the land of the free when an officer of the U.S. Coast Guard permits this kind of

gangsterism on his ship and is too scared to lift a finger in protest.

I believe the captain of the Coast Guard cutter should be tried forthwith, for his crime is of no smaller significance than the crime at Mylai for which American officers are now being tried.

He had no right to permit foreign agents to board an American vessel in American waters on the high seas. His conduct is an act of unprecedented cowardice. The magnificent history of the American Coast Guard shall forever remain suspect until authorities deal properly with this irresponsible commander.

Equally important, in my judgment, is the need for a full-scale investigation of who really runs the Coast Guard of the United States. This whole bizarre episode is replete with question marks and serious doubts about the lines of communication and the lines of responsibility. The security of this country is seriously jeopardized when we see here a total lack of communications.

I am asking the appropriate committee of Congress today to launch an investigation of this whole episode and present to the Congress a full report with particular emphasis on what steps are being taken to prevent a reoccurrence of this hideous tragedy.

The commanding officer of the *Vigilant* has exposed to the whole world, and to Americans in particular, the serious gap which exists in our communications.

I am including in my remarks today an editorial which appeared in the New York Times denouncing the behavior of American authorities in denying this Lithuanian refugee the political asylum to which he was entitled.

I hope the New York Times editorial will serve as a basis for a congressional investigation, particularly as to the bizarre explanation offered by the Coast Guard spokesman that the removal of the Lithuanian was made "in consideration of delicate international discussions which were being carried on regarding the fishing problems."

This senseless spokesman, in concurring with the Coast Guard commander, obviously placed the rights of those who fish for yellowtail flounder above the rights of one individual seeking freedom and safety on an American ship.

The whole performance of the Coast Guard and the commander of the *Vigilant* is despicable and indefensible.

Every American has a right to ask tonight—at what point is this Nation going to regain its sanity? At what point are we going to restore dignity to the might and glory of the United States?

What a tragic chapter in American history it is when we have to tell our children that a gang of Communist fishermen can board an American Coast Guard cutter, barbarically beat a fellow seaman into unconsciousness and drag him onto their own ship, while our own American Coast Guard personnel stand by and watch this bizarre proceeding.

The conscience of this Congress cannot and must not rest until all the details of this tragic episode are brought

to light, and those responsible for this hideous decision are brought to the bar of justice.

The New York Times editorial follows:

LAND OF THE FREE

The forcible removal of a defecting Soviet sailor from a United States Coast Guard cutter with the cooperation of its American officers is surely one of the most disgraceful incidents ever to occur on a ship flying the American flag. It flouts the American tradition of granting political asylum and it may constitute a violation of the Geneva convention on refugees.

The seaman, Lithuanian in origin, sought refuge on the Coast Guard cutter *Vigilant* while it was negotiating with a Soviet fishing vessel in American waters off Martha's Vineyard. In brief, what then happened over a ten-hour period was that the captain of the *Vigilant* permitted Soviet sailors to come aboard the cutter, drag the defector from his hiding place, beat him senseless in the presence of American observers and finally transport him, in one of the American ship's lifeboats, back to the Soviet vessel.

An "explanation" offered by a Coast Guard spokesman was almost as bizarre as the incident itself. He said the decision to return the Lithuanian was made "in consideration of delicate international discussions which were being carried on regarding fishing problems." These talks, he said, "could have been endangered by any other course of action." To the Coast Guard, in short, the nation's obligations to those who fish for yellow-tail flounder exceed any obligation owed to human being seeking safety and freedom on an American ship.

The real explanation is surely craven stupidity in high places, possibly accompanied by lethargy. The damage is done; it now is impossible to save the Lithuanian who believed, with the weight of history and tradition on his side, that he would be safe once he had jumped to an American vessel. What is imperative now is to take action to insure against any repetition of this incredible train of events.

This nation has expended tens of thousands of lives and hundreds of billions of dollars to resist Communist tyranny. Defectors from totalitarian rule have been warmly welcomed from many parts of the world. Refugees have repeatedly undertaken hazardous flights to an assured safe haven in the United States.

The Administration should call all those responsible in this episode swiftly to account and a prompt investigation by the Congress might be valuable as a deterrent against any repetition—ever—of the affair of the *Vigilant*.

UNITED BLACK FRONT TAKES
GIANT STEP IN PITTSBURGH

HON. WILLIAM S. MOORHEAD

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, November 30, 1970

Mr. MOORHEAD. Mr. Speaker, minority entrepreneurship took a big step forward in Pittsburgh recently when the United Black Front and Alcoa, the Aluminum Company of America, announced that they were going to form a business that would produce aluminum nails.

Although many individuals had a hand in this venture, none played a greater role than Clyde Jackson, executive director of the Black Front.

Mr. Jackson, for the past few years, has endeavored to put job-creating businesses in the neighborhoods which his organization serves. He has labored diligently on behalf of his people and his community.

Mr. Jackson's actions, in this particular effort, have been mirrored by the far-sighted executives at Alcoa, who have matched with deeds rather than rhetoric, the work of the Black Front.

I hope that this economic union is a productive one and one which leads more minority-owned businesses. This is an area that big business knows best and an area that it can make lasting contributions, not only with short term capital but by lending on a sustained basis the economic know-how that have made their own corporation great.

I would like to put in the RECORD the announcement of the Alcoa-United Black Front agreement.

**UNITED BLACK FRONT TAKES GIANT STEP
IN PITTSBURGH**

PITTSBURGH, PA. November 12, 1970.—The United Black Front and Aluminum Company of America today jointly announced an agreement to form a Pittsburgh manufacturing concern to be owned, managed and operated by minority members of the community.

The new venture, Wylie Centre Industries, Inc., initially will employ 12 to 15 people in one-shift production of aluminum nails in a single-story building at 3228 Penn Avenue. Alcoa will lease, for one dollar, nail-making and auxiliary supporting equipment representing a quarter-million dollar investment, and also will provide the marketing expertise and production and management training for the undertaking.

Equipping of the plant and the beginning of production will get underway as soon as an application has been processed and a loan guaranteed by the Small Business Administration. Present plans call for installing machinery in January and starting nail production in February.

Formation of Wylie Centre Industries, which culminates months of planning and search for a suitable site, was proposed to Alcoa by Clyde Jackson, executive director of United Black Front, UBF, headquartered in the city's Hill District, is an organization dedicated to the improvement of job opportunities for black entrepreneurship.

Interim president of the company will be D. C. "Pete" Mathewson, an Alcoa career man with 30 years of broad experience in operating technology, management, and training both here and overseas. The concern initially will be managed by a five-man board of directors representing Alcoa and United Front, Inc., a subsidiary corporation of UBF. Pittsburgh National Bank will be the lending agency.

In addition to its lease of 18-high-speed nail making machines and equipment for cleaning, painting, applying washers and packing and shipping finished products, Alcoa also will back the fledgling company by initially utilizing at least 60 percent of the output through its own internal marketing channels.

Beyond this Alcoa will train employes in both production and management and provide engineering, purchasing and accounting services. Such assistance is expected to end in about two years when successful operation of the new venture should permit Alcoa to phase out its role, give the company its leased equipment, and send the concern on its way under experienced black ownership, management and production personnel.

UBF Director Jackson today said "This represents our first clear-cut chance to demonstrate that, given the opportunity,

Pittsburgh's black citizens can successfully own, manage and operate a manufacturing enterprise. With the help and encouragement Alcoa is providing with its loan of capabilities and resources, we're confident of achieving our goal of industrial growth within the black community. More than that, we regard this as a start on which we can build a solid pattern of future opportunities to achieve individual and collective stability within the economic framework."

In a similar vein State Representative K. Leroy Irvis, House Majority Leader and UBF board member, commented:

"This new venture could be the nucleus of a major aluminum fabricating operation and should provide expanded opportunities for black industry which could very well be the basis for economic stability. What is needed is this opportunity to attain experience. We honestly feel the Wylie Centre Industries project will fill that need. I'm confidently looking forward to future accomplishments by the United Black Front."

As Alcoa's spokesman, Mr. Mathewson said he shared the enthusiasm and complimented Mr. Jackson and his aides for their patient cooperation and willingness to accept challenge in a business completely new to them. "Such attitudes," he said "are essential to success. I feel confident we will achieve it together."

**ST. LOUIS MOURNS FORMER MAYOR
RAYMOND R. TUCKER, PIONEER
IN AIR POLLUTION CONTROL AND
URBAN RENEWAL**

HON. LEONOR K. SULLIVAN

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, November 30, 1970

Mrs. SULLIVAN. Mr. Speaker, one of the outstanding figures of American municipal government, former St. Louis Mayor Raymond Roche Tucker, who combined successful careers in education, engineering, and politics during a productive and humane lifespan of 74 years, died last Monday night, leaving our city and the whole Nation deeply in his debt. This is the man who proved to our city, and to all of our cities, that municipal smoke control could work effectively to remove the "midnight at noon" darkness from our great centers of industrial production.

St. Louis led the way more than 30 years ago to smoke control, and Ray Tucker, as the city's first smoke commissioner, was the man who accomplished the unprecedented and vastly difficult technical feat, under the leadership of another great mayor, Bernard F. Dickmann, later our Postmaster, who has been the father of the Jefferson National Expansion Memorial and the magnificent Gateway Arch, and whose political courage as mayor made it possible for Smoke Commissioner Tucker to make air pollution control effective.

ORIGINAL STATUTE WRITTEN BY JOHN
BERCHMANS SULLIVAN

I have enjoyed a long and close personal relationship with both of these great municipal leaders because my husband, the late Congressman John Berchmans Sullivan, before running for Congress, had been Mayor Dickmann's assistant and, with Commissioner Tuck-

er's engineering assistance, had done the actual legislative drafting work for the city's first smoke control ordinance, which became the vehicle for St. Louis' great civic revival and a model for Pittsburgh and numerous other cities to follow.

When the ordinance was being drafted and put into effect, those who were determined to restore sunlight to the city of St. Louis were often ridiculed as visionaries and impractical idealists who would destroy St. Louis as an industrial center. The very opposite happened. Thus, while Ray Tucker went on to earn an even greater reputation as a three-term mayor of St. Louis, during which time he led the way toward urban renewal of our downtown area, many of us will always think of him first as the Nation's first successful administrator of air pollution control.

Many Members of Congress will recall Ray Tucker's frequent appearances before House and Senate committees as a spokesman for the Nation's cities on national legislation. He was always a good witness, because he knew the technical facts and he was able to articulate them clearly and understandably. This skill undoubtedly came from his distinguished career as an educator at Washington University, where he taught in the school of engineering both before and after his political career.

EDITORIAL EULOGIES

The St. Louis Globe-Democrat concluded a highly laudatory editorial on Ray Tucker with these sentences, which I think everyone in St. Louis would agree with:

Complete integrity was something Ray Tucker took for granted as part of his contribution to public service, and so did everyone who knew him.

The community mourns his death. And its people willingly would write as his epitaph: Raymond Tucker, one of the most effective mayors and respected public leaders St. Louis has ever had.

The St. Louis Post-Dispatch said, in part:

The three Tucker administrations in City Hall constitute a standard by which all of his successors in the mayoralty can be measured. Under his leadership, vast stretches of the city were rebuilt. * * * Better than \$110,000,000 in public improvements were installed in the largest such construction program in the city's long history. The Mayor's ability to attract the two-thirds majorities necessary for authorization of so huge a spending scheme rested on the public confidence elicited by his scrupulous handling of public affairs.

Mr. Speaker, I will insert the full text of these two fine editorials at the conclusion of my remarks, along with several news accounts of his passing containing extensive biographical material. Many mayors have served with distinction in many cities during our Nation's history; this man was one of the greatest.

I want to express my deep-felt sympathy to Mrs. Tucker, who shared Ray's triumphs and went through with him the crushing blow of an election defeat, and to the members of their family, who have lost a man of honor, decency, humanness, integrity.

EDITORIALS AND OBITUARIES

Following, Mr. Speaker, are the full texts of the editorials I have referred to, and the obituaries in our two daily newspapers.

First, the editorial from the St. Louis Globe-Democrat of Wednesday morning, November 25, 1970:

FINE CIVIC LEADER—RAYMOND R. TUCKER

Few men in a community's history have, through their dedicated leadership and unswerving purpose, done as much to change the face and spirit of their city as Raymond R. Tucker, during his three terms as mayor of St. Louis.

Under his administrations, the whole structure of a decaying downtown was revitalized with the monumental Arch, the towering new buildings and stadium complex at the riverfront.

He would have been the last to assume the credit, and in fact many influential figures of the community were vitally instrumental in renewing the downtown area.

But Ray Tucker was a driving, determined factor in reshaping his city's facade to modern new beauty. He was in the forefront of every move to redevelop the city grown down at the heels, fast drifting into desuetude.

Even before Mr. Tucker became Mayor he was the key engineer in one of the biggest benefactions this city of "diurnal night" had long suffered. He was the father of the smoke abatement law that rid the community of a sooty plague such as modern-day ecologists may hardly imagine.

Raymond Tucker was a professor turned politician—an official whom the politicians mistrusted. He would not make trades at the expense of superior public administration. He was elected by going over the heads of the organized Democratic apparatus and always preserved his independence.

For years he taught in the School of Engineering at Washington University before entering public service. He was brilliant in his field and did a great amount of consulting work before he exchanged the classroom lectern for the mayor's desk at City Hall.

Not a single political foe—and no man can long serve major office without making some political enemies—ever cast personal or official blemish upon the Tucker stewardship in St. Louis.

Complete integrity was something Ray Tucker took for granted as part of his contribution to public service, and so did everyone who knew him.

The community mourns his death. And its people willingly would write as his epitaph: Raymond Tucker, one of the most effective mayors and respected public leaders St. Louis has ever had.

Next, Mr. Speaker, the editorial referred to from the St. Louis Post-Dispatch later the same day, November 25:

RAYMOND R. TUCKER

In a sense, Raymond R. Tucker never left the classroom, and St. Louis is the better for it. His conviction that the people make the right choices once they are aware of the facts led him time and again to consult the citizens directly rather than to operate in political back rooms and through regular party organizations. These consultations on public issues invariably became exercises in educating the public; and they were as honest, as straightforward and as free of gimmickry and calculated hard sell as his whole political life.

The three Tucker administrations in City Hall constitute a standard by which all of his successors in the mayoralty can be measured. Under his leadership, vast stretches of the city were rebuilt. The civic renaissance at-

tracted national attention and touched not only downtown and Mill Creek, at its height the largest urban redevelopment program in the United States, but the neighborhoods as well. Better than \$110,000,000 in public improvements were installed in the largest such construction program in the city's long history. The Mayor's ability to attract the two-thirds majorities necessary for authorization of so huge a spending scheme rested on the public confidence elicited by his scrupulous handling of public affairs.

Mr. Tucker personally solved the engineering problem of the riverfront train tunnel, which paved the way for construction of the Gateway Arch and the whole downtown rebirth that it stimulated. But he was more than a builder and administrator. He was a political leader in the highest meaning of the term. He stopped the neighborhood-destroying device of spot-zoning that had become a routine feature of almost every aldermanic meeting; he brought sanity to a traffic program in which the aldermen had installed more stop signs than in any city in the country, and by quiet persistence he led the aldermen to adopt civil rights ordinances covering fair employment, fair housing and equal access to public accommodations that at the time made St. Louis unique among the nation's major cities. The Tucker civil rights legacy may well have been why St. Louis avoided the racial troubles that afflicted Detroit, Newark, Cleveland and other troubled cities.

Some of his admirers argue that his defeat in the Democratic primary in 1965 grew out of his failure to assume control of the party apparatus earlier in his career, and they may well be right. But that was not his way. His preference was for direct consultation with his people, and he was faithful to it to the very end.

Following, Mr. Speaker, are news articles from both of our daily newspapers which outline the scope of Ray Tucker's many achievements in public life and his high reputation as a citizen and a human being:

[St. Louis Post-Dispatch, Nov. 24, 1970]

FORMER MAYOR TUCKER DIES

Raymond R. Tucker, the former Mayor of St. Louis who led the start of the city's downtown building renewal, died last night at Barnes Hospital. He was born in St. Louis on Dec. 4, 1896.

Mr. Tucker entered the hospital Nov. 9 after experiencing breathing difficulties and was placed in an intensive care unit. The cause of his death could not be learned.

The former Mayor died at 10:05 p.m. At his bedside when he died were his wife, Mrs. Edythe Leiber Tucker; their daughter, Mrs. Joan Marie Doxsee, and her husband, Leigh A. Doxsee, Jr.

Completion of funeral arrangements was delayed until the arrival today of Mr. and Mrs. Tucker's son, John, from his home at Greenwich, Conn. Surviving also is the former Mayor's brother, Dr. William J. Tucker, a physician at Ashland, Wis.

LUNG REMOVED

Mr. Tucker first suffered serious health problems from respiratory difficulties in 1961 when he developed a malignancy of one lung. He underwent removal of the lung. A hospital spokesman said today Mr. Tucker had developed a malignancy in the remaining lung.

Mr. Tucker was politician, engineer, educator and civil servant. He was the city's first smoke commissioner and directed civil defense for St. Louis while a member of the Washington University faculty.

He returned to Washington University in 1965 as professor of urban affairs after an unsuccessful campaign for a fourth four-year term as mayor.

Alfonso J. Cervantes, the present mayor, defeated Mr. Tucker in his final political campaign.

After his return to the Washington University staff in 1965, Mr. Tucker taught classes in architecture, law, political science and sociology.

FAREWELL SPEECH

In the former Mayor's farewell address to the Board of Aldermen on March 26, 1965, after his defeat in the March 9 primary election, he told the aldermen: "We have together worked out the biggest program of capital improvements in the history of our city, with benefits to every section of the community."

He praised the aldermen for their co-operation and did not mention the sometimes bitter opposition to some of his programs. Mr. Tucker noted that in his 12 years as mayor laws on civil rights and air pollution control had been approved. Rebuilding downtown St. Louis had begun.

In recent years, he and his family had lived quietly, away from the center stage where he had been for most of his adult life.

ENTERED PUBLIC LIFE IN 1934

Mr. Tucker had extensive experience in affairs of municipal government before he became Mayor in 1953.

His introduction to public life was in 1934 when he left Washington University, where he was associate professor of mechanical engineering, to serve as secretary to Mayor Bernard F. Dickmann.

Three years later he took over direction of the smoke elimination campaign. The assignment as the city's first commissioner of smoke regulation was "the toughest" of his career, he said in later years. It was a job of public education as well as law enforcement, and Mr. Tucker convinced businessmen and householders that elimination was not just an ideal, but a practical possibility.

He filled other posts under Dickmann. He served as director of public safety. He was a member of the commission that wrote and won adoption of the civil service amendment. He was secretary of a citizen's committee that made an intensive study of the city's finances and recommended steps to improve efficiency of the municipal government.

When the late Mayor William Dee Becker succeeded Dickmann, Mr. Tucker served another period as smoke commissioner. In 1941 he returned to Washington University to head the department of mechanical engineering, but while teaching he maintained an active interest in civic affairs. In 1949 he became chairman of a board of freeholders elected to draw up a new city charter. The charter was not adopted.

When development of a civil defense agency for St. Louis bogged down in 1951, the late Mayor Joseph M. Darst asked Mr. Tucker to take on the assignment. For two years Mr. Tucker served as director of civil defense while carrying on his work at the university.

DECIDES TO RUN FOR MAYOR

In 1953, physicians advised Mayor Darst to retire and the Mayor asked Mr. Tucker to run as his successor. It was not easy to give up teaching and engineering, and it took some time for Mr. Tucker to make up his mind. The delay had the effect of precipitating a bitter primary election fight among leaders of the Democratic party.

When Darst announced that he would not run again, the politicians got busy at once, recognizing the importance of getting a strong candidate to head the city ticket. By the time Mr. Tucker decided to run, most of the Democratic leaders were committed to Mark Eagleton, a former president of the Board of Police Commissioners.

With more than three-fourths of the ward leaders lined up behind Eagleton, Mr. Tucker turned to citizen's groups for support. Civic, business, neighborhood and women's organizations rang doorbells for Mr. Tucker, while the old-line politicians instructed their precinct workers to get out every possible vote for Eagleton.

Almost 107,000 votes were cast in the primary. Mr. Tucker received 54,200 votes and won the nomination by a margin of less than 1700.

In the election three weeks later, there was a landslide for Mr. Tucker, who received 144,000 votes and won by a record majority of 62,000.

MAKES DIRECT APPEALS

As Mayor, Mr. Tucker appealed directly to the citizenry for support in his efforts to solve problems that had plagued St. Louis for years.

Citizen assistance was asked in getting the Legislature to reauthorize the municipal earnings tax. Business and banking leaders called on associates throughout Missouri to cooperate as the new Mayor went all over the state to enlist the support of legislators. When the Legislature met, the necessary enabling act was passed.

The project for development of the Jefferson National Expansion Memorial had been stalled for many years when Mayor Tucker led citizen groups to Washington and got the Federal Government to reactivate the project.

Smarting under the defeat they had suffered at Mayor Tucker's hands in the 1953 primary, Democratic leaders long boycotted the Mayor's office. This enabled the Mayor to fill administrative jobs with officials who had no obligation to ward leaders.

Liaison between the executive and the legislative branches of the city government suffered as a result of this situation. Aldermen, highly responsive to ward committeemen, permitted important civic measures to gather dust in committee. Some of these measures ultimately were enacted, but only after prolonged delays and the mobilization of citizen pressure.

The aldermen enacted numerous "spot zoning" ordinances and authorized erection of many unneeded stop signs. When the Mayor vetoed these measures, the aldermen consistently overrode the vetoes, often without any discussion of the objections from the Mayor's office.

Mayor Tucker stood this for a time, but finally began fighting. Personally addressing the Board of Aldermen, he bluntly accused members of creating "blight by ordinance" and of "formalizing our own decay."

The strained relationship between the administrative and legislative branches continued to hamper the administration's program. The Mayor urged election of a board of freeholders to modernize the city charter, but the aldermen stalled month after month. Only when the Mayor set out to bypass the aldermen and organized a citizens' group to circulate petitions for a referendum on the election did the board finally pass an enabling ordinance.

CHARTER REVISION FAILED

After a year's work, the freeholders presented to the voters a new charter proposal calling for reorganization of municipal departments and the city's legislative body. Threatened with loss of jobs and considerable patronage, politicians conducted an intensive campaign of opposition and defeated the charter proposal.

Mayor Tucker then moved to modernize the governmental structure as much as possible by ordinance. The aldermen enacted bills streamlining some of the city departments. A series of charter amendments followed.

RELATIONS IMPROVE

During his second term as Mayor, the relationship between Mr. Tucker and the aldermen underwent a quiet but far-reaching change. A liaison was established with aldermanic leaders who were consulted on important problems, especially those relating to appropriation and tax measures. The executive and legislative branches finally began to function as a team.

Most members of the Democratic City Central Committee acknowledged Mayor Tucker's popularity and supported him in the 1957 municipal elections. On this occasion, Mr. Tucker's campaign committee made political history after the campaign by returning to donors about 11 per cent of their individual gifts, or a total of \$7300.

PROGRESS GAINS ATTENTION

Progress in St. Louis under the Tucker administration sky rocketed. Industrial development, urban redevelopment, neighborhood renewal and municipal reconstruction were emphasized by Mr. Tucker. Projects advanced included redevelopment of the Plaza area, clearance of the Mill Creek slum for redevelopment, rehabilitation programs on a number of old neighborhoods, plans for a downtown sports stadium and rehabilitation of the downtown riverfront.

NARROW ESCAPE IN PRIMARY

Mayor Tucker was re-elected for a third term by a substantial majority, but had a narrow escape in the primary, when he won re-nomination by a margin of only about 1200 votes. The close vote in the primary was attributed to overconfidence on the part of his supporters and to an unexpectedly large turnout of persons with grievances against the city administration.

His career of public service brought him many honors, including Doctor of Law degrees from St. Louis and Washington Universities and the presidency of the American Municipal Association.

In 1956 he was presented with the St. Louis Award for "going far beyond the usual obligations of his office" in making this a better city by rallying citizens to public causes. This was the first time that a mayor had been selected for the award. Mayor Tucker turned the \$1000 prize over to St. Louis and Washington Universities, which used the money for awards in government essay contests.

Mr. Tucker was born in St. Louis, the son of the late William J. and Ellen Roche Tucker. His father was a heating contractor and former city smoke inspector.

After attending public and parochial schools the son obtained his B.A. degree from St. Louis University in 1917 and his B.S. in mechanical engineering at Washington University in 1920.

He worked for a time as a safety engineer with Aluminum Ore Co., then became an associate professor at Washington University in 1921. Two years later he re-entered the business world and was associated with an oil company and an oil burner firm. In 1927 he returned to his professorship.

In 1928 he married Miss Edythe Leiber. The Mayor lived at 6451 Vermont avenue in the modest house that has been the Tucker family home since 1908.

CERVANTES, OTHER LEADERS PAY TRIBUTES TO TUCKER

Tributes to former Mayor Raymond R. Tucker were paid today by his successor, Mayor Alfonso J. Cervantes, and other public officials and civic leaders.

Mayor Cervantes said: "The community has suffered a serious loss in the death of Ray Tucker. His contributions to the community were twofold. As an educator, he prepared young men well in the field of engineering. As a public official, he became

a strong administrator who started St. Louis on the way back.

"My wife and I join in extending condolences to his family and our city, which benefited greatly from his leadership."

August A. Busch Jr., president of Anheuser-Busch and the baseball Cardinals: "I was chairman of the board of Civic Progress during the entire administration of Mayor Tucker.

"Few people knew him better and few knew of his great talent for administration and leadership, and his absolute devotion to every segment of this community. His integrity was a byword whenever his name was mentioned. He has set an example that few will be able to achieve."

Donald Gunn, probate judge and former President of the Board of Aldermen, said: "Ray Tucker was a man of great integrity and great courage. He was a fine administrator and had a deep knowledge of government, but most of all he was objective in his decisions. He always put the City of St. Louis ahead of himself and others. I am proud to have been his friend and I cherish that friendship deeply."

Aloys P. Kaufman, mayor from 1943 to 1949: "Mayor Tucker was a charming, selfless, competent, dedicated person. His terms of office closely paralleled my service as President of the Chamber of Commerce, and it was a pleasure and honor to work with him on many civic projects. His achievements are too numerous to recount here but they are many. He was truly a loyal, distinguished son of St. Louis and his record speaks for itself."

[From the St. Louis Globe-Democrat, Nov. 25, 1970]

FORMER MAYOR TUCKER FUNERAL MASS TONIGHT

Funeral mass for former St. Louis Mayor Raymond R. Tucker will be at 8 p.m. Wednesday at Sts. Mary and Joseph Catholic Church, 6304 Minnesota ave. Services will be followed by private entombment.

Mr. Tucker, who would have been 74 Dec. 4, died at Barnes Hospital at 10:06 p.m. Monday after being hospitalized Nov. 9 for congestive heart failure.

He is survived by his wife Mary Edythe Leiber; a daughter, Mrs. Leigh A. Dohsee Jr.; a son, John Thomas; a brother, Dr. William J. of Ashland, Wis., and eight grandchildren.

The grandchildren are Army Pvt. Leigh Tucker Dohsee; Judith Dohsee; Deborah Dohsee; Patricia Tucker, Timothy Tucker, Susan Tucker, John Thomas Tucker and Elizabeth Tucker.

The family requested that contributions be made to the Tucker Memorial Fund of Washington University, where he was on the faculty. Contributions should be sent to the university.

Mr. Tucker served three terms as mayor, from 1953 to 1965, but was defeated for a fourth term when he lost the Democratic nomination in the March, 1965, primary.

In June, 1961, while he was still in office, his right lung was removed because of cancer.

In his last illness, fluid had accumulated in his remaining lung.

During his 12 years in office, Mr. Tucker spearheaded the revitalization of downtown St. Louis with a \$110 million bond issue in 1955.

After his defeat in 1965, Mr. Tucker, who had been on the faculty of the School of Engineering at Washington University, returned to the university as professor of urban affairs and lecturer in political science.

Mr. Tucker was a Knight of St. Gregory, one of the highest honors for Catholic laymen.

Mayor Alfonso J. Cervantes, who defeated Mr. Tucker in the 1965 primary, Tuesday ordered flags on all municipal buildings flown at half staff in honor of Mr. Tucker.

LENZNER AND POLITICAL REALITY

HON. JOHN WOLD

OF WYOMING

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, November 30, 1970

Mr. WOLD. Mr. Speaker, the controversy involving the legal services of the Office of Economic Opportunity is the subject of a column by Rowland Evans and Robert Novak. Writing in the Washington Post of November 30, the columnists explore legal services practices in the context of the "Federal law barring antipoverty legal services from criminal cases," and note that the new Director of OEO, former Congressman Donald Rumsfeld, "since taking over in 1969 has been guiding it—legal services—back to the original congressional intent of helping poor people."

Director Rumsfeld is doing a highly commendable job of redirecting the programs of OEO to conform to the mandate of Congress which created the agency, and his efforts have drawn well-earned praise from the columnists.

Mr. Speaker, I include the Evans and Novak column, "Lenzner and Political Reality" in the RECORD with my remarks:

LENZNER AND POLITICAL REALITY

Deeply embedded roots of the furious debate over legal services in the government's antipoverty program are found in a Sept. 15 police raid in New Orleans on the National Committee to Combat Fascism (NCCF), a Black Panther front specializing in police-baiting.

Present at NCCF headquarters was Robert Glass, a lawyer for the federally funded New Orleans Legal Assistance Corp. (NOLAC), part of the national antipoverty program. Questioned by police, Glass invoked his client-lawyer relationship with the NCCF. Subsequently, 12 NCCF members charged with attempted murder, assault, and other felonies were represented by NOLAC lawyers.

Thus, taxpayer funds were used to defend a violence-prone black extremist organization. This clearly violated federal law barring antipoverty legal services from criminal cases (as were 24 per cent of all NOLAC cases) and violated federal policy requiring these services to be used directly by the poor and only the poor.

Herein lies the ugly dispute that surfaced Nov. 19 when Donald Rumsfeld, President Nixon's antipoverty czar, fired Terry F. Lenzner, 31, as head of the federal legal services program. Rumsfeld insisted that the program be tightly molded to aiding the poor in eviction and other tenant cases, welfare and consumer grievances, and school disputes. Lenzner envisioned a far broader mandate encompassing reform of the whole system, not excluding support for Black Panthers.

The legal services fight is, in microcosm, what's happening in the poverty program at large. Since its Great Society birth under R. Sargent Shriver, the program has swarmed with idealists, pushing political revolution. Since taking over in 1969, ex-congressman Rumsfeld has been guiding it back to the original congressional intent of helping poor people.

Indeed, anything more than that would not be tolerated by a conservative Republican administration and a hostile Congress. What Lenzner failed to understand is that Rumsfeld must control militant excesses or risk congressional obliteration of the antipoverty program—particularly its much-needed legal services, emasculated by the

Senate last year but restored by the House under Rumsfeld's urging.

Consequently, Rumsfeld was appalled at the New Orleans office of NOLAC. For example, a legal services fellow connected with NOLAC was an attorney-of-record defending SDS demonstrators. Further, NOLAC sought to obtain circulation at Louisiana State University of a pornographic underground newspaper (a recent copy of which contains a nude cartoon of President Nixon amid other indecencies). The recently resigned NOLAC director, Richard Buckley, says: "Legal services exist for the redistribution of wealth and power."

When Rumsfeld sent investigators to New Orleans, Lenzner denounced it as political interference. Tension was also high when Rumsfeld probed legal services in Los Angeles to state employees earning \$11,000-\$15,000 and in Dallas to an underground newspaper, the Dallas Notes, enjoined from publication because of obscenity.

The Dallas case is illustrative. Using federal funds intended to help the poor, legal services there defended the underground publisher, Brent Lasalle Stein, 27, son of a rich Dallas merchant. "It seems to me that's the kind of activity necessary to insure this kind of publication for the poor," says Frank Jones, fired as legal services deputy along with Lenzner.

In each of these cases, Rumsfeld felt Lenzner was dragging his heels by delaying action against the violations. The relationship rapidly deteriorated between Rumsfeld and Lenzner, a bright former Justice Department civil rights lawyer who was Rumsfeld's first senior staff appointment in 1969.

The final straw came Nov. 16, when Lenzner telegraphed the New Orleans office exonerating it of wrongdoing. Antipoverty officials say he acted in violation of explicit orders from Rumsfeld not to communicate with New Orleans without first informing Rumsfeld; Lenzner told us flatly he received no such orders.

Such nasty charges and countercharges will be aired before eager Democratic senators at hearings soon to begin. But the hearings likely will miss the poignancy of the dispute. If any program as naturally provocative as legal services for the poor is to survive in Richard Nixon's Washington, it must be kept in check by a cool-headed politician, fending off uncompromising idealists. Failing to comprehend that political reality put Terry Lenzner on his collision course with Rumsfeld.

APPALACHIAN PROBLEMS REMAIN UNSOLVED

HON. LEE H. HAMILTON

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, November 30, 1970

Mr. HAMILTON. Mr. Speaker, the following article by Ben A. Franklin of the New York Times documents the frustrations that accompany regional economic recovery schemes. Mr. Franklin gives credence to the French proverb that "the more things change, the more they remain the same" by noting that, in the case of the 10-year-old \$7 billion Appalachian recovery scheme, "The harsh irony of all—may be that those who needed help most never got it." I recommend his article to my colleagues:

IN APPALACHIA: VAST AID, SCANT RELIEF

(By Ben A. Franklin)

HAZARD, KY., November 28.—On a clear day here 10 years ago this fall, you could almost

see prosperity coming 'round the mountain to the hard, misty highlands of Appalachia.

It was the Presidential campaign season of 1960 and John F. Kennedy had just committed himself and the Federal Government to undertake the greatest regional economic recovery scheme ever attempted in the United States.

Hopes were high. In this bypassed land of isolated valleys and hollows, with an area and population equal to those of California, life was bone-poor and hungry, as stagnant as the coal industry, or in the mountain phrase, as "black as a wolf's mouth."

In the decades since then an extraordinary effort—a policy of favoritism to overcome prior neglect unmatched in American history—has brought some \$7-billion in public investment into the 13-state Appalachian region.

But for hundreds of thousands, perhaps a million of the poor in the nearly impenetrable ridgelands of Kentucky and West Virginia, opportunity is still like the rider of the six white horses in the old mountain song: perpetually coming "when she comes."

It was for them that the program was conceived. And yet 10 years later they remain largely untouched by it, while the north and south less impoverished fringe areas are making significant economic progress.

Looking back over the accomplishments and failures of the decade, Ralph R. Widner, executive director of the Appalachian Regional Commission, says that "any evaluation must begin with humility."

"There are still millions of people in Appalachia who do not have access to a good education, or to decent health, or to an adequate job, and who still live below a level of acceptable income," he said. "From their point of view, not very much has been accomplished to date."

Mr. Widner and other government officials responsible for the Appalachian program say that much of the "pay off" is still to come in the shape of new roads and facilities to attract new factories and to provide better schools to train workers.

As evidence for their optimism, they cite the first fruits of these benefits now appearing in rural counties of states like New York and Georgia, which have not experienced the long deprivation of the Appalachian highlands and which, accordingly, have made a convincing start at economic recovery.

But the officially encouraging comparisons of these areas also emphasize the fact that there are two Appalachias—the better-off "suburbs" to the north and south and the steep, hillbilly "ghetto" here in the highlands. The comparisons raise questions about why the boundaries of the region were drawn so generously that its \$7-billion in aid has come to only \$390 per man, woman and child over the last 10 years.

The answer, officials say, is that the need for sweeping, regional "scale" in planning, together with the need for Congressional support, has frankly required some "log-rolling." The addition of Mississippi, for example, "was dictated largely by the fact that Senator John Stennis of Mississippi is a key member of the appropriations committee," one official said.

DILUTION OF EFFORT SEEN

The result of the need to accommodate to political realities, those close to the program concede, has been a dilution of effort. During the decade of the nineteen-sixties:

Per capita income in all of Appalachia rose from 77 per cent to about 80 per cent of the national average.

But in the Appalachian portions of all but four states—New York, Pennsylvania, Maryland and South Carolina—per capita incomes are still 75 per cent or less of the national figure. Per capita income here in eastern Kentucky is still less than half the

national level, having climbed from 43 per cent in 1959 to 48 per cent last year.

New factories and jobs, spurred by an enormous investment in road building, have put 150,000 wage earners on payrolls that did not exist in 1960. Economic recovery has restored 750,000 more to jobs. Altogether, 6.6 million have work.

But unemployment figures here in hard-core Appalachia are still cruelly high, and they do not even reflect the plight of some 500,000 of the "disguised unemployed"—those who long ago gave up looking for work. Unemployment in Kentucky and West Virginia fell from 11 and 8.4 per cent, respectively, in 1961, when the national average was 6.7 per cent, to 7.5 and 5.5 per cent last year, when the national figure was 3.5. But in two counties, the 1961 to 1969 unemployment trend was up—from 11.4 to 16.6 per cent in Clay County, W. Va., and from 16.7 to 23.3 per cent in Magoffin County, Ky.

The population of the region has declined by 1.4 million to under 18 million people. The decline was one-third less than in the previous decade, but it has continued in the Appalachian portions of Kentucky, West Virginia, Ohio and Pennsylvania, according to the 1970 census.

In an area with the highest school dropout rates in the country—10 per cent higher than the national average—and one of the highest illiteracy rates—11.3 per cent in 1960, compared to 8 per cent nationally—Appalachia is still losing 90,000 of its high school students every year. The loss may total 1 million by 1980.

The program was conceived during the campaign of 1960 when Mr. Kennedy got his first look at Appalachia and was shocked by the stark poverty of the area and the number of able-bodied men who were idle. What he saw was largely the result of a drastic decline in coal mine employment, from 469,000 in 1950 to 116,000 in 1960.

Mr. Kennedy brought the promise of food, shoes, shelter, schools and jobs to the Appalachians and in the spring of that year supposedly anti-Catholic West Virginians gave him a crucial primary victory that diminished the impact of the religion issue nationally.

As his first official act in the White House, on Jan. 21, 1961, Mr. Kennedy ordered a massive ration of emergency food relief to the malnourished people of the mountain country.

Plans were laid for much more. Defense contractors in West Virginia were openly favored to generate jobs. There was a patchwork of short-term emergency programs, made-work "training" to bring income to the unemployed, deworming clinics for spavined children and high-risk Federal loans to induce industry to come in.

"BRICK-AND-MORTAR" PROGRAM

No one today can fix precisely the huge flow of supplementary Federal aid to the Appalachian highlands in the first five years before a system of regional planning was organized under the Appalachian Regional Commission in 1965. But estimates place the first five-year push of grants at \$1-billion.

With another \$1-billion channeled through the A.R.C. since 1965, expenditures of \$5-billion by state and local governments that otherwise would not have been made, raise the 10-year total to \$7-billion.

Commission officials concede that their program has not had much direct impact on poor people. "I never thought the commission was pork-barrelling or rat-holing money," says Ralph C. Sutton, the North Carolina A.R.C. coordinator. "But, unfortunately, it's a brick-and-mortar program rather than a people program."

This preoccupation with building facilities rather than working directly with poor peo-

ple dates to 1965, when Congressional strategists in the Johnson Administration decided then that Congress would not accept two antipoverty drives, one for Appalachia and another national one under the Office of Economic Opportunity. As a result, the so-called "human resources" part of the A.R.C. program was given to O.E.O.

The two agencies have scrapped bitterly since then. Many believe that these disputes have weakened the A.R.C. by disclosing that its constituents here in many cases are the same small town "Main Streeters"—merchants, bankers, coal industry leaders and civic boosters—from whom the O.E.O.'s antipoverty war has encouraged the poor to demand a better treatment. Some O.E.O. activists here see the Appalachian program as chiefly a boon for the rich and for entrenched political interests.

With A.R.C. aid, a 2,000-mile network of so-called Appalachian development highways has been started and more than 240 vocational schools and technical training centers have been built. A total of 160,000 people have been prepared for modern jobs, but thousands were "trained for export" because there were no local jobs open.

The A.R.C.'s strategy in Appalachia has been one of intensive public investment in selected small-town "growth areas." It is frankly an application of "trickle-down economics."

MUST COME TO TOWNS FOR HELP

To gain benefits, the isolated poor—a majority of the population here in central Appalachia—must come out of the creeks and hollows to revived employment centers. The trouble is that many either can't or won't.

A classic example is Pikeville, Ky. There, in a gritty coal town that follows a narrow strip of river bottom flatland around the point of Peach Orchard Mountain, the Federal and state governments have been persuaded to invest \$22.5-million in the construction of a huge mountain cut.

The vast channel will reroute a new four-lane highway, the Chesapeake and Ohio Railway tracks and the course of the Big Sandy River itself away from a congested center of about 6,000 people, thus opening 200 acres of land to be reclaimed and developed by the townsfolk.

Pikeville, chosen as a strategic "growth center" for the 60,000 people in the rural Pike County, would have continued to die without this vast effort. The project is putting the place on the map if only because the dirt to be moved is greater than the bulk of Grand Coulee Dam. But the effort has generated skepticism.

Among the "generally discouraging statistical facts" about central Appalachia reported to the A.R.C. recently by Checchi and Company, a Washington consulting firm, is the discovery that barely 12 per cent of the total population here is living in towns.

It is as if the population of Denver, Colo., had been distributed by helicopter throughout the Rockies, behind canyons inaccessible except by burro.

The McDowell County Board of Education has been sending a school bus to one such remote area, Coon Branch, near Iaeger, W. Va., this year for the first time since the opening of coal mines in 1891 brought the Norfolk and Western Railway and changed the mountains there from a horseback frontier.

Generations have grown up in Coon Branch cabins—and now in gaudy "mobile homes"—with no hope of going beyond the eighth grade, or sometimes only the sixth, in one-room schools.

"I went to the sixth grade and that's all because there weren't no way off the mountain," Mrs. Tootsie Powell told a visitor recently in Coon Branch. "Most here didn't get that far. The neighbor boy, he's 19, and he can't read nor write except what his mamma

taught him, and she can't read much herself."

Mrs. Powell is 27 years old and the mother of six children, none of whom is now going to the county school system.

In a bitter struggle with the county, the parents of Coon Branch are boycotting both the one-room school and the school bus. The bus comes up over a 14-mile back road to avoid the shorter but badly rutted route directly up the hollow. The school board says the shorter route would wreck its buses. The parents say the longer route is isolated and unsafe in winter.

Violence has marked the dispute. Both the one-room High Nob school and a church used for informal classes by the boycotting students have been burned to the ground at night. Now a dozen children are being taught by college-trained volunteers in an Army surplus cook tent. The bus runs empty.

Along the valley towns and roads, to which transportation does not bring the youth of Coon Branch, there are signs of the heavy public investment dating from 1960. But many of the 300 open miles of the A.R.C.'s planned 2,000-mile network of "development highways" pass in many places through a right-of-way of poverty, like urban freeways over a ghetto.

By fording the Kentucky River in a country doctor's Volkswagen and crawling in first gear a mile up Caudill's Branch near the ghost town of Blackey, Ky., a persistent visitor can still find the poplar-pole cabin of Mrs. Ruby Caudill. She is 45 years old and has 10 children and no teeth.

When she was interviewed in 1964, her 55-year-old husband, Spencer, who had never held a job, was working on a Federal "manpower training" program that paid him \$160 a month for "digging ditches and beating rocks." He quit that in 1966, Mrs. Caudill said recently, and the family now subsists on a garden and a pig.

Food is stored in a freezer, powered by the electric line that came up the hollow two years ago, and there is now a television set in the front room of the dirty, three-room cabin.

Mrs. Caudill said that since "someone told lies that we were moonshining" the family has received no welfare benefits. The only income is from a coal mine job of a son, Roger, which "barely pays the light bill." Her younger children rarely go to school.

CALLED A RURAL SLUM

In Mrs. Caudill's four-county development area, more than 90,000 people are crowded into remote hollows or rows of decrepit roadside coal camp houses—the peeling remains of mining company towns. It is the densest "rural nonfarm" population in the United States, and the Government-funded Eastern Kentucky Housing Development Corporation has described the people as trapped in "a rural slum reaching over 1,450 square miles."

More than half the houses were built before 1930 and 72 per cent of them are valued at less than \$5,000.

This is an area where, to avoid servicing them, outhouses are placed precariously along creek banks, some of them barely a hubcap's width from the surfaced road. When the streams recede after high water, the branches of trees and the hulks of abandoned automobiles strewn among them are festooned with toilet paper.

In the 60 worst-off central Appalachian counties of Kentucky, West Virginia, Virginia and Tennessee, nearly nine persons in 10 live where frontier history and the steep land left them—in the bottoms of inaccessible, slanting coves and hollows, many without usable roads and bridges.

They remain almost untouched by change. There would be no room for them now in the growth centers if they came. And often the barrier that holds them there is the

pride and privatism of people unable to compete outside the ancient kinships of the hollow.

A.R.C. CONCEPT ACCLAIMED

In spite of its acknowledged failures, the A.R.C. has become the most universally acclaimed new organ of government since the New Deal.

Its 13 state Governors exercise the same voting weight in allocating Federal appropriations as the single Federal chairman, John B. Waters, Jr., and the states now bear the staff costs.

The result is a happy regionality of planning and acting that moved Gov. Robert E. McNair of South Carolina recently to declare: "The last time we had 13 states showing this kind of unanimity was when we ratified the Constitution." The A.R.C. concept may be applied by the Nixon Administration to other regions.

But deliverance delayed much longer for central Appalachia may never come. According to John L. Sweeney, a former top administrator of the Commission and one of its architects, "The Appalachian fad is ending and in five years you probably won't be able to get Congress to vote a dime for it."

The A.R.C.'s current Congressional authorization expires next July 1, and its future is uncertain.

The Nixon Administration is considering applying the A.R.C. concept to the entire nation through a series of regional development commissions. This would tend to stamp the Appalachian recovery experiment as legitimate but would probably reduce the A.R.C.'s share of the available development money.

The harshest irony of all at the end of the most hope-filled decade in these 300-million-year-old hills may be that those who needed help most never got it.

THE LATE L. A. SCHREINER—THE PASSING OF AN AGE

HON. O. C. FISHER

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, November 30, 1970

Mr. FISHER. Mr. Speaker, one of the most remarkable men I have ever known was the late and lamented Louis A. Schreiner, of Kerrville, Tex.

The last surviving son of the late Capt. Charles Schreiner, "Mr. Louie," as he was affectionately called, was born in 1870 in Kerrville, and died there on September 17, 1970. Had he lived until December 31 he would have been 100 years of age.

A philanthropist of note, Mr. Schreiner was a community leader and for some 70 years played a prominent role in ranching and banking enterprises throughout the area where he lived. He was chairman of the board of the Charles Schreiner State Bank, established in 1869 by his father.

"Mr. Louie" lived an interesting life. He attended schools in Kerrville, Comfort, and San Antonio. In 1890 he attended Eastman Business College in Poughkeepsie, N.Y., for a year, taking bookkeeping, stenography, and banking.

He went to work as a bookkeeper in his father's bank in 1891. Four months later he became cashier, and soon he was vice president.

On January 19, 1919, Mr. Schreiner was made sole owner and president of the bank. The family bank was chartered as a State bank on January 1, 1959, and he was elected chairman of the board—a position he held until his death. Shortly before his death he celebrated his 80th anniversary with the bank.

This distinguished Texan was married to Mae Shiner in 1898. They had one daughter, Mae Louise, who was married to Edward Bennett Carruth, and both have passed away.

Mr. Schreiner was a man of many interests and had received many honors in his lifetime. He was an organizer of the local Rotary club and became a life member of it. Active in Masonic affairs, he was a member of the San Antonio Commandery and of Alzafar Shrine.

Among other activities, he was a life member of the National Forestry Association; a member of the Audubon Society; the Museum of Natural History in New York City; the Texas Lions Camp for Crippled Children; the National Wool Growers Association, and the Texas Sheep and Goat Raisers Association.

Mr. Schreiner became the only Texan among officers and directors of the National Wool Trade Association in 1939. His leadership in the livestock industry brought him the honor of having his portrait hung in the exclusive Saddle and Sirolo Club in Chicago.

On the subject of philanthropy, "Mr. Louie" donated much land and countless gifts of money for developing and improving the Kerr County region. He was named "Man of the Century" by the Kerr County Chamber of Commerce on May 27, 1964.

He and his family have been noted for their generosity. He built the Jane Flato Hall, a dormitory at Schreiner Institute—a school established by his father. He donated the land for the Antler Stadium, the Kerrville Municipal Airport, and with his family established the Schreiner Road and Bridge Fund. They gave the land on which the present Veterans' Administration hospital is built; and also the land for the building of high schools in Junction and Rocksprings. He gave the land for the construction of the State fish hatchery near Ingram.

These are but a few of the many benefactions at the hands of this great man. Active right up to the last, Mr. Schreiner throughout his long career was always available to give advice on financial matters when requested by his hundreds of friends.

On Sunday before his death he had been guest of honor at the first Schreiner family reunion held at the home of Mr. and Mrs. E. C. Parker, Jr., attended by more than 75 people who came to congratulate the man who had spent 80 years at the Chas. Schreiner Bank and was its chief executive for 71 years.

Mr. Speaker, Louis A. Schreiner was truly a great American. He loved his country, and was always deeply concerned about the course of our history. I have visited with him scores of times. He always wanted to know more about the issues of the day, and he maintained a remarkable understanding of the problems which beset us. He believed in the

dignity of honest toil and in the abiding strength of self reliance.

Funeral services for "Mr. Louie" were held at the Deitert Chapel on the Schreiner Institute campus, conducted by the Institute president, Dr. Andrew Edington and Rev. Marvin Bond, pastor of St. Peter's Episcopal Church.

In his eulogy, Dr. Edington said that rarely are we able to pinpoint the end of an age, but that "Mr. Louie's" life does mark the end of an age. Some of these attributes of his age were:

A man's word was his bond—the idea that profit is the reward of diligence and that satisfaction comes from something that is excellent—kindness was not tax deductible—if a man wanted to help someone in distress, he simply helped him.

Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks I include Dr. Edington's eloquent remarks in their entirety. The address follows:

THE PASSING OF AN AGE

About five or six weeks ago, I was in the Schreiner Bank and stopped to talk to Mr. Louie as my custom was. We have often talked of many things that I don't know much about, such as pumpkins, and many other things, but on this occasion, strangely enough, Mr. Louie brought up the matter of his funeral services. He said that he assumed that I would be handling affairs for this day and I told him that I had thought that was probably true some year or two ago but I had come to the conclusion that he was going to probably conduct my services; that he looked as if he had a better hold on longevity than I did. In our conversation, he said that he had nothing specific to say except one item. And he said, "You are a teacher." He continued, "There is nothing of any great significance or need that should be reiterated about me per se or about one thing or another, but you are a teacher and you use the occasion of my passing to teach."

Now we are going to take a brief look at an age that is gone. Rarely do we have occasion, any of us, in the scheme of things to actually be able to pinpoint the end of an age, such as the end of the neolithic period or the beginning of the renaissance. We assign an arbitrary date born of certain things. It is extremely rare that an opportunity comes when there is something very specific. I do not believe that anyone could question the fact that an age is gone. A whole system has vanished; the whole business is gone and the first thing that we must really teach today is that an age is completed.

Now let me mention a few characteristics of the age. The obvious things, I think, we can notice easily. The horse and buggy, the smoking fire engine, the express company horses, the cobbled streets made of wooden blocks—all of the many, many things that were part and parcel of the practical and physical life of Mr. Louie who lived during the entire time at one specific age—but we are going to look at what I believe 500 and a thousand years from now the analysts are going to specify certain little earmarks of the age and I want to mention them.

One of them is that a man's word was his bond. Now this worked. It didn't matter if it was for 50c or a horse or \$100,000. A man gave his word and they shook hands on it and it was done and there was no question about this. Practically throughout the knowledgeable years of Mr. Louie, this worked. Now I'm sure there are always some who goof up an age and create some kind of problem but this was a mark of the age. This is gone. We can't do it today—it just can't be done because you've got to have two copies for the government, at least two. You have to have records for the court. We just

can't do this any more. It doesn't matter how a man might feel within him. We have strictly prohibited this type of thing and it is just gone.

Now another thing that is gone is the idea that profit was the reward of diligence and that satisfaction came from the accomplishment of something that was excellent. A person took specific pride in his work, in the excellence of what he did, and he was recognized for it and if he worked hard enough, then he would profit from it. Now our world just doesn't absorb this. As much as we would like to say this is true, we cannot promise. This is not one of the features of the new age that starts tomorrow.

The third thing—kindness was not tax deductible. We don't think about these things until we have studied the age and attempted to lift out certain marks of it, but if a man wanted to help someone who was in distress, he simply helped. He gave him some money, he delivered some feed to him, he did all kinds of things and many of you here have fathers and grandfathers who have benefited from this very type of thing from Mr. Louie. This was the mark of the age. Tomorrow it must be tax deductible and the organization, if you give to an organization, must have its papers showing it is tax deductible. So passes an age. Now we are having a time today of sadness, in a sense, though in a sense it is not sadness; yes, Mr. Louie was anxious for this day to come. Yet we are seeing the passing of an age and I think we should take note of it.

Let there be a new age! Now this is what God has to say to us. This is where we have something to learn. He says this is the way life is created. God so made life that there are ages and there are great men in great ages. Greatness cannot possibly die with the great. Greatness to be complete must carry with it a challenge to the coming generation to be great in their own age. Let there be great men and great women here today. The great grandchildren, the great nieces and nephews, these fine Schreiner boys, now learn this. Greatness to be valid must be continued if we are to meet the challenge of greatness. This is the Lord's plan; this is not something that a committee developed. I want to read you a portion of Deuteronomy—it is not a very familiar portion. It is in the period of Moses and Moses has come to the end of his time. He is an old man, at the end of an age. He has led the children of Israel in mighty endeavors; he has been through difficulties and problems and now, stricken in years, his time has come and his age is gone. The age in which he lived, the system under which he operated, is gone, and he says something like this, "O Lord God, thou has begun to show thy servant thy greatness and thy mighty hand. At last I am beginning to see how the hand of God works in the affairs of man. For what God is there in heaven or on earth that can do according to thy works and according to thy plan? But I pray thee, let me go over and see the good land that is beyond Jordan, that goodly mountain at Lebanon. I want ten more years, or 15. I'm not asking to be the leader, I just want to see it. I ask to live long enough to see this new age jell and know its leaders." The Lord said to his great servant Moses, to this grand old man, "Get thee up into the top of Pisgah, this great high mountain, and lift up thine eyes westward and northward and southward and eastward, and behold it with thine eyes, for thou shalt not go over into Jordan."

You can look at it, and many of you here know that this is what Mr. Louie did. He liked to look in every direction at some of these new things. He liked to wonder what would happen. He has time after time asked me, "What do the young people think, what is this new age all about?" And God told Moses and He has told men historically, great men in great ages, you can take a look at

it and that's all. But what is he to do? This is why we teach today, right here, and teach this. Behold Joshua, there's a young fellow coming along, behold Joshua and encourage him and strengthen him for he shall go over before this people and he shall cause them to inherit the land which thou shalt see. Challenge the youngsters!

Now here is a new age and today you have been challenged. You have no obstacles. It matters not whether you are male or female. The word is wide open. We need a new nation under God in spirit and in fact, not just in words. We need new great men with great vigor and great dedication—high and holy men. The world cries out for new greatness in a new generation. In closing now we use the words so wisely used to the people of England in their time of great distress and great difficulty and great wonderment about what was to come. "I said to the man who stood at the gate of the year, 'Give me a light that I may go forth into the unknown' and he replied, 'Go out into the darkness and put your hand into the hand of God, for it is safer than a light and better than a known way.'" Amen. Let us pray.

LESS TIME, MORE OPTIONS: EDUCATION BEYOND HIGH SCHOOL

HON. ROMAN C. PUCINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, November 30, 1970

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, the current report of the Carnegie Commission on Higher Education makes some encouraging recommendations regarding our degree-centered society.

Basically, the members of the Commission have unanimously endorsed a system of education that prepares a student to enter the work force more readily. Acknowledging the phenomenal influence of television on the general awareness and sophistication of today's high school senior, the Commission recommends increased cooperation between the faculties of the secondary schools and the colleges to bring about a 3-year college degree. This would enable students to direct their energies and interests more specifically and would discourage the unnecessary or ambiguous courses that in so many cases serve only to fill time.

Mr. Speaker, I am highly encouraged by this report. In particular, I salute its forthright statements about the need for students to learn something of the world of work and to prepare for that world at the earliest opportunity.

Following is a brief article which appeared in the Christian Science Monitor today discussing the recommendations of the Commission. I call it to the attention of my colleagues today as an example of the practical thinking so needed in the academic community today:

CARNEGIE PANEL'S REPORT CONTROVERSIAL: RADICAL HIGHER-EDUCATION CHANGES URGED

(By David Holmstrom)

SAN FRANCISCO.—By 1980 the unwanted American commodity known as the student "dropout" may be changed into something attractive known as the student "stopout."

The California-based Carnegie Commission on Higher Education has called for an end to the often exhausting, expensive, and

boring way many students shuffle from high school to college and in great numbers drop out along the way.

Instead, it has called for a package of radical changes in higher education by 1980.

Eliminating one year of study from high school and from college.

More opportunities for students to "stop out" and mix academic education with work experience, thus encouraging lifelong learning.

More options in lieu of formal education. New degrees to be introduced at new levels of education.

RESENTMENT SEEN

"Students have great resentment over the steady grind of education, the years of sitting in classrooms when they want to be out and independent on their own," says Dr. Clark Kerr, chairman of the commission. He says resentment is a factor in campus unrest and the "generation gap."

Dr. Kerr acknowledges that the report entitled "Less Time, More Options: Education Beyond High School" will no doubt be controversial because "it could have great impact on every high school and college in the country. But if implemented, it would add up to the most significant reform since the modern system of higher education began a century ago.

WASTE OF TIME SEEN

The report asserts that "much more of education takes place before college, outside of college, and after college than ever before." It says that "much of the last year in high school is wasted," particularly for those already admitted to college.

The reason for this is the easy availability of television, films, and books. Students come to college with more general knowledge than did the same age group at the end of World War II, says the report.

Consequently, college today supplies a smaller proportion of lifetime knowledge. "It is one of many sources of knowledge and less a rare and onetime opportunity," states the report. "The approach to college need not be so much as it once was: Everything now and never again."

SAVINGS SIGHTED

The report insists that if the reforms are implemented the result could be "a reduction of operating expenditures for higher education by 10 to 15 percent a year below levels that would otherwise prevail in 1980, or \$3 billion to \$5 billion a year."

Dr. Kerr, former president of the University of California for eight years, was quick to point out that the report proposals were not recommended simply because of cost savings but rather because they would open up more opportunities for people to "study part time or return to study later in life, particularly for women and older persons."

"Society would gain if work and study were mixed throughout a lifetime" said the report, thus reducing the sense of sharply compartmentalized roles of isolated students vs. workers, and youth vs. isolated age, if more students were also workers, and if more workers could also be students. . . . if all members of the community valued both study and work, and had a better chance to understand the flow of life from youth to age."

VIEWS UNANIMOUS

The report, Dr. Kerr said, was adopted unanimously by the 18 commission members. These include Nathan M. Pusey, president of Harvard University; the Rev. Theodore M. Hesburgh, president of the University of Notre Dame; David D. Henry, president of the University of Illinois, and William Friday, president of the University of North Carolina.

The commission members would like to see an end to the "four-year modules" now offered on the way to the B.A. degree and Ph.D.

Instead, they would like to see a four-level structure—associate arts degree, bachelor of arts degree, master's degree, and a doctor of arts or Ph. D.—all broken down into two-year "planning modules."

CREDENTIALS ACCENTED

In this way students would be encouraged to reassess their plans every two years and not fall into a "prolonged aimless search for, and experimentation with, various lifestyles."

Dr. Kerr said America has been described as a "credential society," insisting on "degrees," which results in fewer "careers open to people of talent." He said employment officers "minimize the personal risks they encounter" by looking for degrees rather than relying on their own judgment in appraising maturity. He would like employers to do their own screening for talent and rely less on using a B.A. degree as the starting point.

STUDENTS POLLED

In support of the report's recommendations Dr. Kerr cited a recent Carnegie commission report in which a study of 1961 college graduates disclosed that three-fifths of the test group said they felt there should be "some stopping out either between high school and college or during college."

Dr. Kerr, the author of the report, said he expected "gradual acceptance of the report" and that it "would not be effective unless it was widely accepted." He said he thought students would like the proposed changes, but that it would mean major changes in high-school and college curriculums" and that includes faculty attitudes toward the awarding of degrees, "not renowned as an area of experiment."

NEW IDEAS TESTED

But a handful of the ideas in the report already have been implemented in scattered institutions throughout the country. The doctor of arts degree—designed primarily for the nonresearch teacher—is in effect at the Carnegie Institute of Technology and the University of Washington. At 75 other institutions it is being offered, developed, or under consideration.

California's vast community-college system—93 strong—offers associate arts degrees to all students completing a two-year course.

HAZARDOUS DUTY RETIREMENT URGED FOR FIREFIGHTERS

HON. JERRY L. PETTIS

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, November 30, 1970

Mr. PETTIS. Mr. Speaker, well over a month ago S. 578 was favorably reported from the Post Office and Civil Service Committee and placed on the Union Calendar. This bill will include Federal firefighters under the hazardous occupations retirement provisions now applicable to Federal police.

As many of you will recall, in the 90th Congress, the Senate passed similar legislation which was not acted upon by the House. I am strongly convinced that providing these brave men with hazardous duty retirement pay is fully justified and S. 578 merits our favorable consideration at the earliest possible time.

During a recent tour of my district, I spoke with a number of Federal firefighters who serve at the Marine Corps

Supply Center in Barstow, Calif. Pursuant to my conversation with these fine men, I received a letter outlining their support for the adoption of S. 578. The letter succinctly sets forth some straight information on the need for the provisions of this legislation and I insert it in the RECORD now and commend it to your attention:

OCTOBER 31, 1970.

HON. JERRY L. PETTIS,
U.S. Congress,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. PETTIS: As I promised you on your visit, here is some straight information.

This is a plea to support passage of S. 578, a bill for possible retirement of Fire Fighters at age 50 with 20 years' service.

So many arguments have been put forth pro and con, that it is extremely difficult to find a trustworthy statement, either pro or con.

Therefore, one must research for bona fide factual history on which one can prove the case again.

Let us first clear the cobwebs of many adverse shouters—on this issue S. 578, the Federal Fire Fighters Service is not trying to compare itself with metropolitan or any non-federal fire fighters.

We are comparing ourselves with the Federal Police that have 20 year service-50 years of age retirement. We have shown that if they rate it, then the Federal Fire Service deserves this benefit.

The U.S.M.C. Supply Center, Barstow, Fire Department has a 67 position ceiling and only on rare occasions have we enjoyed a full crew.

This Fire Department was staffed totally by civilians starting in 1957.

The turnover in personnel at this Department has been proved to be 193% since 1957 with only one man retiring. Two of the three that died while employed, did so of a heart attack—which is rated high among Fire Fighters.

Of the twelve on disability, four were injured on duty, five of heart attacks and one of lung trouble, the remaining two became ill while employed and were placed on disability.

The 45 transfers were mainly away from the fire service to other fields of endeavor.

Less than five of the 74 who resigned did so by request. Most had better opportunities.

Of those that transferred from the Fire Department to the other departments on this installation, all are making equal money, or more, and on a 40 hour week instead of the 72 hour week.

In this vein, one must acknowledge that the Federal Fire Service has no mass of records or positions of light duty to graduate to such as the Federal Police have. We, therefore, find men of 50 years or more that are assigned to duties totally incompatible to their physical capabilities, even in non-emergency conditions. For example, other shops do not assign loft and ladder work to the senior employees.

It has been extremely difficult to almost impossible to gain facts on either Federal Fire Service or Federal Police. It seems there is no control department that assimilates the information we all desire. In contacting the Federal Fire Council, it is found that the injury and casualty figures it gains is mostly voluntarily submitted. Perhaps in a few years when it is better established?

Much misinformation is put forth by some who oppose this issue, when they try to compare the Federal Fire Service with City, County and State Fire Fighters. However, we Federal Fire Fighters say, fine—IF when you compare, really compare! In other words, hours of duty, pay, fringe benefits, retirement, and last but not least—kind of duty, to keep in line with the factual theme.

We, being located far from any metropolitan area use the nearby small town of Barstow, California, Fire Department for comparison.

Because of our remote location, we are called upon for mutual aid and have responded to the City of Barstow for their major fires—the largest being a warehouse approximately 80 x 200 ft.

We are called upon to respond to truck and auto fires along the highway and to aircraft crash scenes, remote house and structure fires, farm and forest fires.

We hear much about comparability, but it is always directed at other Federal employees, and only by virtue of being classified employees do we receive a very limited advance to comparability.

In conclusion, it seems high time for some comparability for Federal Fire Fighters. The bill does not bestow retirement on all Federal Fire Fighters who reach age of 50 with 20 years of service—only those deemed physically unqualified to perform. This, we are sure, would cut the rate of injuries on the job.

Because of our record, it is time to afford faithful employees of the Federal Fire Service, that *qualify*, an equitable retirement.

Please accept my thanks and that of all the Federal Fire Fighters, especially those of the United States Marine Corps Supply Center, Barstow. You have our best wishes.

Most Respectfully,

R. J. STECK,
Federal Fire Fighter.

HIJACKERS OF FREEMASONRY

HON. WILLIAM LLOYD SCOTT

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, November 30, 1970

Mr. SCOTT. Mr. Speaker, the New Age, a monthly publication of the Scottish Rite Bodies for the southern jurisdiction of the United States, contained an article in its November issue by the head of these bodies, Henry C. Clausen, in response to a September 9, 1970, editorial in the Washington Post critical of the Masonic fraternity. Not being a regular reader of the Post, I did not see the editorial. However, the suggestion that the membership of this fraternity are antiestablishment is nonsense and I believe my colleagues may be interested in the response by the sovereign grand commander which follows:

HIJACKERS OF FREEMASONRY

(By Henry C. Clausen)

A Washington Post editorial of September 9, 1970, commented on the presidential ballot in Chile for a reported Marxist and Mason. It set forth this incredible claim:

"Dr. Allende, a medical man, is no ordinary doctrinaire ideologist. His anti-establishment attitudes may come as much from being a Mason as from being a Marxist."

That is Masonic-hijacking, for it is a distortion of the meaning of Masonry, tending to create fear and hatred and to divert public opinion into a false direction. The invidious nature of the mentioned "anti-establishment attitudes" is obvious from this and similar articles, including alleged socialization of the economy, confiscation of private property, suppression of the press and alliances with Cuba's Castro. Any American Mason knows that these attitudes of atheistic Marxism are diametrically opposed to those of our Deity-conditioned Masonry. The two simply cannot coexist. To claim otherwise indicates

either careless editing, woeful ignorance, or deliberate calumny.

Masonry in its history has been the victim of many unfair attacks. In some areas of the world, to paraphrase Shakespeare, slanderous tongues have done it to death. Often we have suffered in silence, content that:

"Be thou chaste as ice, as pure as snow, thou shalt not escape calumny."

Yet, fairness and justice impel the observation that the charge now made is so far from reality as to be an outrage. It is a low blow. It is cruelty to those patriot Masons who were responsible for the civil and religious freedoms we enjoy. At its worst it smacks of the rapacious greed and the "big lie" technique with which dictators have confiscated the properties and imprisoned the leaders of our brethren abroad. We have every right to cry foul!

Consider those who have persecuted Masonry and then ask why. One of the first acts of the Russian Bolsheviks in 1917, precursors to our present-day Communists, was to dissolve all Lodges. Bela Kun in 1919 proclaimed the dictatorship of the proletariat in Hungary and ordered dissolution of all Lodges. Spain's first dictator, General Primo de Rivera, abolished Freemasonry in 1925. Mussolini, who tried unsuccessfully more than once to join a Masonic Lodge, having established his regime, decreed in 1924 that no member of his Fascist Party could be a Mason, and proceeded in 1925 to exterminate the Lodges and imprison the leaders. The Nazis, on Hitler's rise to power, dissolved Germany's Grand Lodges and sent prominent dignitaries to concentration camps. Gestapo agents seized the membership lists, looted the libraries and the collection of Masonic objects. Much of this was exhibited in an "Anti-Masonic Exposition" started in 1937 by Goebbels in Munich. This poured over into Austria where Masters of Lodges were confined in notorious concentration camps, including the living hell of Dachau. Similar mistreatment was repeated on Hitler's takeover of Czechoslovakia, Poland, Holland, Belgium, Norway and Denmark. Nations subservient to Germany similarly were obliged to enact punitive laws against Masonry. General Franco of Spain in 1940 sentenced all Masons in his nation automatically to ten years in prison. When France fell the Vichy government dissolved the Lodges, seized their properties and imprisoned the leaders.

Misguided church hierarchies also have blasted forth Bulls from time to time, trickily directed not against individuals but against the whole Masonic Order, prompted primarily because they could not impose upon everyone their political, social, and religious dictates as long as there were freedom-minded people. They considered the Masons a bar to their desire to dominate. No wonder the Bulls frequently have been coldly received or ignored.

Masonry is tolerant and universal, embracing all men, and all religions with a belief in God. We therefore welcome, for example, a Christian, or a Jew, or a Buddhist, or a Mohammedan. There is no divisive dogma or creed. Many a member of the clergy who graced a pulpit has felt he was a better man and a better minister or priest because of his Masonry. They found in their Lodges high religious ideals amid centers of enlightenment and good fellowship.

Mason-baiting therefore has been the practice of the White Terrors, the Red Terrors, and the Black Terrors. The full sorrowful story includes murder, inquisitions, imprisonment, tortures, looting of treasures and charities and outlawing of organizations.

Why? Why this fanatical hatred? Why this misdirected animus? The answer is simple. It is demonstrated in Masonry's history and purpose. For centuries Masons have opposed intolerance and bigotry, spiritual despotism

and political tyranny. They have stood for integrity, for freedom and for individual dignity. They refrain from meddling in politics. They believe in a Divine Power, in morality and in a practice of charity, the teachings of which are derived in Lodge meetings with similar minded men. It is not a secret society. Its design, its object, its moral and religious tenets and humanitarian doctrines are as open and available as the obvious places where we meet. It is not a religion. It is dedicated to bringing about the Fatherhood of God, the Brotherhood of Man and the making of better men in a better world, wiser men in a wiser world, happier men in a happier world.

As individuals, enlightened Masons have advanced the cause of human progress and its republican institutions. They laid the intellectual and spiritual foundations of America. The authors of the great first Encyclopedia—Diderot, d'Alembert, Condorcet, Helvetius—were Masons. When Benjamin Franklin went abroad as an envoy to France and met there with his brethren in Masonry, it was with the moral strength gathered in Masonic Lodges for individual action outside the Lodges. Similarly, George Washington, his most trusted generals and Alexander Hamilton, Robert Morris, Paul Revere, John Marshall, John Hancock, and many of the cosigners of the Declaration of Independence were Masonically so inspired.

When Voltaire went to Paris, the year he died at 79, he was initiated into Freemasonry. The ceremony climaxed with Benjamin Franklin handing Voltaire the Masonic apron that the great Helvetius had worn. Voltaire then kissed the apron. As he did so he must have remembered the hounding and killing of Masons who met in the sewers of Paris just before the French Revolution in 1789.

Masons historically have been in the forefront of movements that fired the imagination of freedom-loving people throughout the world. Goethe, Mozart, LaFayette were enthusiastic Masons as was the great Hungarian hero of democracy Kossuth, who found temporary refuge in America. Garibaldi was a Thirty-third Degree Scottish Rite Mason and a Grand Master. Leaders of the Young Turkish Committee that in 1908 forced Sultan Hamid "the Damned" to give their nation a parliamentary form of government were Masons. In Latin America the great liberators, Bolivar, San Martin, Mitre, Alvear, Sarmiento, Juarez, were active members who put into practice their Masonic humanitarian ideals. They were charged in Lodges with teachings that enabled them to become individual champions of democratic progress and of religious and civil liberty.

The hatred of the Nazis, the Fascists and the Communists was not merely emotional. It went deeper. The cleavage was a fundamental divergence of creed, namely, the totalitarian super racial versus the Masonic ideal of equality and freedom and the fulfillment of man's destiny as an individual.

From "the time whereof the memory of man runneth not to the contrary," Masonry always has championed the highest ideals of civilization. When permitted to flourish, those ideals have come nearest to realization and in a climate of the highest living standards. Conversely, when suppressed, the humanitarian ideals and freedoms and the welfare of the people have deteriorated.

Perhaps we can best sweep away the rubbish of anti-Masonic ravings with the words of a great Mason and guardian of American freedoms, the man who in 1793 while our first President wore a Masonic apron and laid the cornerstone of the Nation's Capitol in Masonic ceremonies—George Washington:

On August 22, 1790, he wrote this letter to King David's Lodge in Newport, Rhode Island:

"Being persuaded that a just application

of the principles, on which the Masonic fraternity is founded, must be promotive of private virtue and public prosperity, I shall always be happy to advance the interests of the Society, and to be considered by them as a deserving brother."

Today our four million plus Masons in the United States happily and proudly join in this sentiment. They number among them prominent statesmen, scientists, businessmen, artists, writers, clergymen, government officials, professional men, military men, rich men, poor men, lawyers, doctors, professors, mechanics, laborers, democrats, republicans, butchers, bakers, and candlestick makers, strong exponents of Americanism all.

We could list hundreds whose names, brilliant in history and fame, adorn schools, streets, and municipalities, the halls of our lawmakers and the executive offices of our government. In this setting, the Scottish Rite of Freemasonry enjoys amazing success and popularity, at home and abroad, symbolizing to all people the ideals and principles of freedom, the independence from fear and archaic superstition and serfdom, the dynamic Masonic leadership and action, and the onward march of a free, a wise and a happy humanity. We proclaim in our Scottish Rite what we believe is right and true and honorable and pay homage to our great national heritage and to the beneficent Deity that gave us life. Consequently since a lie never fits a fact and facts are stubborn things, the attempts at Masonic-hijacking will never succeed. Long may our Masonry live and flourish in the free soil of a free world!

PRESERVATION OF WILDLIFE

HON. LAWRENCE J. HOGAN

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, November 30, 1970

Mr. HOGAN. Mr. Speaker, it was a distinct pleasure for me to participate today in a luncheon ceremony honoring one of the outstanding citizens of Prince Georges County in my congressional district. He has been dedicated to conservation and has created a wildlife sanctuary for Canadian geese on the banks of the Patuxent River.

It was a particularly special personal privilege for me since one of my first jobs, at age 14, was working in the bindery at the printing company of which this distinguished gentleman is president.

Mr. Speaker, I refer to Mr. Edgar A. Merkle, an outstanding conservationist whose example should be emulated by others in the private sector concerned about the deterioration of our environment and the decimation of our wildlife.

I insert a resolution presented to Mr. Merkle today in the RECORD at this point:

NATIONAL CAPITAL PARK AND
PLANNING COMMISSION,
Riverdale, Md.

RESOLUTION TO EDGAR A. MERKLE

Whereas, the generosity and individual efforts of Edgar A. Merkle have contributed to the preservation of wildlife on the Patuxent River; and

Whereas, in the face of advancing urbanization, for nearly three decades Edgar A. Merkle has maintained an ecology on a portion of the Patuxent River that has perpetu-

ated the migration of wild Canadian Geese and other waterfowl; and

Whereas, Edgar A. Merkle has created a unique waterfowl sanctuary that contributes to the natural resource value and the recreational value of the Patuxent River; and

Whereas, this wildlife sanctuary complements The Maryland-National Capital Park and Planning Commission's park acquisition program designed for the protection of the Patuxent River; and

Whereas, efforts made by Edgar A. Merkle have influenced conservationists to assume a permanent and perpetuating responsibility to the wildlife in the Patuxent River Region;

Now, therefore be it resolved, that Edgar A. Merkle be publicly commended for his individual generosity and farsighted effort to protect and preserve the wildlife on the Patuxent River; and

Be it further resolved, that the Prince George's County Planning Board of The Maryland-National Capital Park and Planning Commission pledges to pay tribute to the dedication of Edgar A. Merkle by continuing to work toward the protection and preservation of the Patuxent River and the wildlife along the shores of the River.

This is to certify that the foregoing resolution was adopted by the Prince George's County Planning Board of The Maryland-National Capital Park and Planning Commission, Monday, November 23, 1970.

ROBERT C. McDONELL,
Executive Director.

THE LOST CRUSADE: AMERICA IN VIETNAM

HON. EDWARD I. KOCH

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, November 30, 1970

Mr. KOCH. Mr. Speaker, I should like to bring to the attention of our colleagues a review by Nelson Seitel, associate publisher of the New York Law Journal, of "The Lost Crusade: America in Vietnam," by Chester L. Cooper.

The review follows:

THE LAWYER'S BOOKSHELF (Reviewed by Nelson Seitel)

In his classic work on military strategy, Baron Von Clausewitz asserted that war is too serious a business to leave to the generals. An arresting, unarticulated corollary to that assertion emerges from "The Lost Crusade: America in Vietnam," by Charles L. Cooper: Peace is too serious a business to leave to the diplomats.

Reviewing aborted diplomatic searches for a peaceful settlement of the Vietnam tragedy, Cooper paints a picture of diplomats pacing through intricate, elaborately staged choreographies, with the diplomatic set more concerned with the modalities of the craft than its objectives. With peace in Vietnam so elusive a pursuit, the diplomatic performance all too frequently comes off with the grace of an elephant executing an entrechat.

Cooper writes about America in Vietnam from the unique perch of an important participant at the highest levels of policy formulations without being saddled with responsibility for policy decisions. That unique vantage point includes Cooper's membership on the United States delegations to the 1954 Geneva Conference on Indochina, the 1961 Geneva Conference on Laos, the 1966 Summit Conference in Manila, and stints as White House assistant for Asian affairs and

as special assistant for Vietnam negotiations to Ambassador Harriman.

As one who had no direct responsibility for policy making, Mr. Cooper dissects the complex issues of Indochina with the cool detachment of a skilled professional, without misgivings as to his own role, and without rancor as to the part played by major protagonists. His style is enlivened with flashes of wit and sardonic humor over the follies and foibles, the pretensions and posturings of his colleagues in the diplomatic service.

"Questions as to whether the United States or any particular administration was right or wrong in Vietnam," Mr. Cooper observes, "premature or tardy, too soft or too rough at any particular point in time, are interesting and relevant. But they are not crucial. Vietnam is not an area isolated and insulated from events and trends in the rest of the world. And the Decade of Vietnam is not an experience shared only by miserable Vietnamese and tortured Americans. Our involvement in Vietnam has gone well beyond Vietnam itself, beyond it in terms of area and beyond it in terms of time."

Cooper's narrative begins with the occupation of Indochina by the Japanese in 1940 and ends with the stalemated peace talks in Paris, with the various delegations awaiting the inauguration of Richard M. Nixon as President. Between the beginning and the end of the volume, Cooper traces the history of American involvement in an area that was unknown to most Americans but two decades ago, but has since become a most pervasive fact in the lives of Americans.

That history begins with a commitment by President Harry S. Truman to aid France in its efforts to subdue the Communist-led Vietnam, a policy that collapsed with the fall of Dien Bien Phu. Events, not men, shape the destinies of peoples and of nations. So American concern in Indochina was resumed by efforts of President Eisenhower and Secretary of State Dulles to certain Communist aggression in Vietnam through a policy anchored to the "Domino Theory" that successful Communist penetration there would result in the total sway of Communism in Southeast Asia. That first beginning was advanced by the Kennedy Administration through a "counter-insurgency" theory followed by a virtual declaration of war through adoption by Congress of the Gulf of Tonkin Resolution at the urging of President Johnson. In the interval, the token force of military advisers in Vietnam increased the American presence in Vietnam to more than a half million troops.

Cooper details the tragic consequences of poor orchestration in Washington in formulating Vietnam policies, with the Department of State, the Department of Defense and the Joint Chiefs of Staff playing their own themes at conflicting tempos resulting in a dissonance in which the dulcet instruments for peaceful negotiations were invariably drowned out by the percussive thunder of bombs exploding over Hanoi. This label of voices in Washington opened opportunities for meddlers in all parts of the globe, from charlatans to Nobel Peace Prize aspirants, to seek moments in the international sun by promising to open channels of communication between Washington, Saigon and Hanoi. The frenetic diplomatic activity generated by some of these meddlers smacks of high comedy except for the tragedy of events that include diplomats seeking hidden meanings in "messages" with the fever and casuistry of a medieval theologian or a Talmudic scholar.

"The Lost Crusade" is must reading for those who want a clear and precise history of the events that brought America ever deeper into the morass of Vietnam. "In the short term," Cooper concludes, "the American venture in Vietnam may be judged a lost crusade. . . . The observer can only hope that

the experience in Indochina will help America meet the challenges ahead more effectively and less traumatically."

Only time will tell whether the future will so well remember the past that it will not be condemned to repeat it. More than two thousand years ago Herodotus wrote that mankind will always prefer peace to war, because in times of peace sons bury their fathers, but in times of war fathers bury their sons. America in Vietnam is a lost crusade because fathers continue to bury their sons.

FULL INVESTIGATION NEEDED INTO DEATHS OF ST. LOUIS POST-DISPATCH NEWSMAN TIM BLECK, WTOP SOUND MAN ROBERT STUCKEY

HON. LEONOR K. SULLIVAN

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, November 30, 1970

Mrs. SULLIVAN. Mr. Speaker, everyone on Capitol Hill was shocked by the deaths of two young men in the news media who died from liver complications after participating with nearly 2,000 Capitol Hill employees in a Public Health Service project involving the use of an antituberculosis drug, isoniazid. One of them was Tim Bleck, who at age 30 was already building a reputation as a hard-digging and highly effective reporter in the Washington bureau of the St. Louis Post-Dispatch; the other fatality among participants in the antituberculosis drug project was Robert Stuckey, a news film sound man for WTOP-TV.

Following these deaths, the Public Health Service has been investigating any connection between the drug and liver damage, and has advised the men and women on Capitol Hill who were taking the drug under PHS supervision to stop taking it, at least until further information is available.

It is my understanding, Mr. Speaker, that many of those who were given daily dosages of the drug were advised in orientation lectures that the drug had a remarkable record for safety, and was the most effective medication for establishing immunity from tuberculosis for those who had at some time in their lives been exposed to the disease as shown in skin tests, but whose X-rays were negative. There is controversy over whether the persons participating in the program were warned adequately of the nature of side-effects to watch for.

Mr. Speaker, I knew Tim Bleck as a reporter deeply devoted to his craft and anxious to comply with the highest standards of integrity on a newspaper famous for its crusading spirit and complete independence. I was not only shocked by his death, but deeply distressed that it might have been attributable to a possibly insufficiently controlled mass medication program instituted by a Government agency. There must be a full and straightforward investigation into this matter to see if these two deaths were merely coincidental to the use of the drug, or were caused by it.

In the meantime, I am sure all Members of Congress share the concern

which those of us who knew either of the men who died feel about these cases. I did not know the gentleman from WTOF but I know that Tim Bleck's death cannot help but leave a gap in the Washington bureau of the Post-Dispatch, where he was well liked and respected. I am informed that friends of Tim Bleck have established a fund for the education of his three children 2 to 7 years of age, administered as the Timothy Bleck fund by James H. Erickson, assistant to the president of Bradley University, Peoria, Ill., 61606. I am sure contributions sent to the fund will be put to good use.

**FB-111'S PLACE FIRST AND SECOND
IN SAC'S ANNUAL BOMBING COM-
PETITION**

HON. OLIN E. TEAGUE

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, November 30, 1970

Mr. TEAGUE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, last week in Orlando, Fla., two FB-111's placed first and second in the Strategic Air Command's annual bombing competition. This is the plane which has suffered untold unfavorable publicity around the country. However, SAC's headquarters recognize its worth as evidenced by the following article which appeared in the Omaha World Herald for November 20, 1970. It is hard to understand why this feat has received so little publicity when one considers the fact that this is the first time in the history of bombing competition where an aircraft weapon system won the top bombing honors before the aircraft became fully tactically operational.

The article follows:

UGLY DUCKLING PACES SAC BOMBERS
(By Howard Silber)

ORLANDO, FLA.—An ugly duckling was transformed Thursday into the beautiful bird of the Air Force.

The transformation began Sunday when two FB111 bombers were entered in the Strategic Air Command combat competition which was flown from McCoy Air Force Base here.

It ended with an announcement Thursday that the controversial plane had won an important part of the contest.

The FB111, which closely resembles and has shared many of the problems of the trouble-plagued F111 fighter-bomber, was declared the winner of the SAC bombing trophy.

The two swing-wing SAC planes competed against 27 SAC B52s and two Vulcan bombers of the British Royal Air Force in a test of precision bombing that was scored by radar.

FB111 VICTORY

The two-man FB111 crew of Lt. Col. Robert S. Russell, Paterson, N.J., and Maj. Arben R. Ely, Portland, Ore., scored the highest point total.

SAC's FB111 unit, the Ft. Worth-based 340th Bomb Wing, could not compete for the big prize, the Fairchild Trophy, because it does not yet have tanker aircraft, and an exercise in tanker navigation is one of the requirements.

In fact, the FB111 will not officially become part of the deterrent force until the middle of next year. The current mission of the

340th is testing the new bomber and training crews to fly it.

UNPRECEDENTED

The entry of the FB111 in the competition was unprecedented in that the contest which began in the 1950's had never before been opened to aircraft which were not available for tactical use.

SAC did not deny that the FB111 was entered in the hope that it would win at least part of the competition and, thus, begin to overcome a serious image handicap.

The bombing trophy victory was a big plus for an aircraft which has encountered many minuses, including the grounding of the entire fleet of more than 400 F111s and FB111s for the most rigid testing program ever undertaken by the Air Force.

The planes were grounded after a series of crashes.

OVER THE HUMP

Gen. John D. Ryan, Air Force chief of staff and a defender of the plane, arrived here shortly after the announcement was made. "We are over the hump," he said. "This is going to be a real fine airplane for us."

Gen. Bruce K. Holloway, SAC commander-in-chief, was equally enthusiastic. "The FB111 is working very well," he said. "It represents significant technical advances in electronics and bombing and navigation systems."

The SAC chief was an early project officer for the TFX, which became the F111 and the SAC variant, the FB111.

HAPPY CREW

Perhaps the greatest enthusiasm was demonstrated by the two 35-year-old members of the winning crew. Russell and Ely were assigned to fly an airplane which is regarded by some persons and, they said even their wives—as unsafe and unreliable.

But they insisted that the plane has been maligned.

"It is simply magnificent," said Russell. "It does just about everything for you. It is the only plane that SAC has that can do the job."

Russell said that by "the job" he meant the penetration of Soviet air defenses.

"Structurally it is small. It isn't seen easily on radar. It flies very low and very fast," Russell explained.

The FB111 can move in on a target at a level of 200 feet above the terrain—too low to be readily tracked by radar, the pilot said.

Ely, the navigator-bombardier, described the plane as "the finest there is from the standpoint of being capable of doing what it was designed to do."

Present plans call for SAC to receive 70 operational planes along with a few spares and training aircraft.

ANOTHER TREASON HIGHWAY?

HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, November 30, 1970

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, announcement that the International Development Association had granted a \$9.3-million credit to finance a paved road in Africa between Rwanda and Uganda will remind many of a similar road constructed in conjunction with the Soviets in Asia and labelled by some as the "Treason Highway."

Similarly, many will ask if the road in Africa cannot also be used as a transport artery for tanks and convoys in military operations in Africa.

Time alone will tell whether the highway will be used against the Portuguese, South Africans, and Rhodesians, or whether it will prove of benefit to the indented victims.

I insert a pertinent newsclipping at this point:

[From the Evening Star, Nov. 26, 1970]

RWANDA GETS GRANT FOR UGANDA ROAD LINK

KIGALI, RWANDA.—The International Development Association has granted Rwanda a \$9.3 million credit to help finance a paved road that will link Kigali, the capital, to the road network of Uganda. Landlocked Rwanda is 1,085 miles from the nearest port.

The project, costing \$10.9 million, is scheduled for completion in 1974.

**ETHNIC STUDIES AND
"CIVILISATION"**

HON. ROMAN C. PUCINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, November 30, 1970

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, an editorial in the Washington Post yesterday discussed the phenomenal success of a series of programs currently being shown on television that chronicle some of Western man's more edifying works and deeds.

This series is entitled "Civilisation" and is written and directed by one of Great Britain's most notable historians, Sir Kenneth Clark. I was particularly gratified by Lord Clark's statement concerning the series' popularity in the United States. He said:

Americans seem to feel in need of something to hold on to. They have a store of undirected belief and a need to feel that they are part of history, part of a continuing process.

Earlier this year, I, together with 17 of my colleagues, introduced the Ethnic Heritage Studies Centers bill in the Congress. We held extensive hearings on this legislation in the spring and summer of this year. In every instance, the witnesses who appeared before us—scholars, sociologists, teachers, parents—repeatedly stressed the need for greater information in the schools about who we are and where we came from and how, through the diverse elements, traditions, and governments that preceded us, we have forged the United States of America.

Mr. Speaker, I have high hopes for the ethnic heritage bill. It would assist school systems throughout American to develop and disseminate information about the many cultures and races that are represented in this great Nation. We need to know more about our origins so that we can have a renewed appreciation of our common future.

Mr. Speaker, the Post editorial follows:

"CIVILISATION" AND CIVILIZATION

Sir Kenneth Clark's television series on "Civilisation," though it brilliantly illuminates the achievements of 6,000 years of Western culture in 650 minutes (which comes out to 30 seconds per century), stops short of illuminating civilization in our own time, in part, we suppose, because Lord Clark feels that the less is said about that, the bet-

ter. Yet Lord Clark, as a man, his superb show, the way it is brought into the homes of the multitudes, and the way the multitudes are responding, are, of course, very much a unique accomplishment of the 20th century and thus, we like to think, in themselves an indication that all is not lost—civilization-wise.

This cheering thought was further confirmed for us at a press conference in the Renaissance Gallery of the National Gallery of Art last week, where we found Lord Clark, a youngish, dapper-looking man, seated on a richly carved 16th century Savonarola chair behing a 13-foot-long walnut table from the Davanzati Palace in Bologna, ca. 1500, toying with a medal with the self-portrait of Leon Battista Alberti, the writer, critic of human affairs and Renaissance architect, who keeps bobbing up in the "Civilisation" series. The room was packed with almost as many reporters and TV cameramen as most White House news conference. They learned that thanks to a grant from the National Endowment for the Humanities and the Xerox Corporation, the "Civilisation" films will be made available to as many as three million college students in places like Coons Rapids, Minn., and Devils Lake, N.D.

When it came to Lord Clark's turn to answer questions, he carefully put Alberti down and faced the reporters with the same thoughtful and gracious enthusiasm with which he might address a group of his peers. He spoke with the clear, effortless, silvery fluency of a mountain brook. Yes, he said, he was "surprised—indeed, astonished by the exposure the series is having in America." The reception is even more enthusiastic than in England and on the continent. "Americans," he said, "seem to feel in need of something to hold on to. They have a store of undirected belief and a need to feel that they are part of history, part of a continuing process."

It is comforting to know, he added, that in the past there were people "who were just as clever as we are, and sometimes cleverer, yet they, too, often believed in and did rather absurd things."

TRIBUTE TO HON. JOHN O. MARSH,
JR. OF VIRGINIA

HON. JOE L. EVINS

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, November 30, 1970

Mr. EVINS of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, as the 91st session of the Congress approaches adjournment I want to take this means of paying a brief but sincere tribute to our colleague, the gentleman from Virginia, JOHN O. MARSH, JR., who is retiring after this session following 8 years of distinguished and dedicated service.

Congressman MARSH has been a member of the Subcommittee on Independent Offices and Department of Housing and Urban Development Appropriations which I am honored to serve as chairman. He has served on my committee for a number of years and has been diligent, able, and conscientious in his work. He has made a splendid contribution to the work of our committee.

JACK MARSH has represented his district—the Seventh District of Virginia—and his State, and the Nation well and faithfully in the House. We shall miss

his presence on our committee and in the Congress as he takes his leave and seeks retirement. I congratulate him as he concludes an outstanding career in public service in the Congress.

JOB CORPS: THE ADMINISTRATION'S
BROKEN PROMISE

HON. WILLIAM F. RYAN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, November 30, 1970

Mr. RYAN. Mr. Speaker, the fate of Job Corps under this administration has been a dismal one. On July 1, 1969, 59 Job Corps centers were closed. When the closings were announced, 53 of my colleagues joined me in introducing House Resolution 381, and companion resolutions (H. Res. 382, H. Res. 383, and H. Res. 390) in an effort to prevent this action.

The irony of the situation was that on April 11, 1969, then Secretary of Labor Shultz admitted that a number of the basic premises of Job Corps were sound—such as complete residential services for youths from disrupted environments, and intensive supportive services—for example, remedial education and work orientation.

The palliative for the administration's closing of the centers was to be 30 new "mini centers." Then Secretary of Labor Shultz promised that 10 of these new centers would be opened by September 1969. The remaining 20 were to be opened by July 1970.

The promise of new Job Corps centers has been broken. Today, November 30, 1970, there are in fact only nine new centers in operation. And two of these—that in Hawaii and that in New Jersey—are really old centers under the names, with new contractors.

This default of the administration is very cogently discussed in the following article by Tom Littlewood which appeared in the November 29 edition of the Chicago Sun-Times:

JOB CORPS FUTURE SHAKY AS U.S. LAGS ON
NEW CENTERS

(By Tom Littlewood)

WASHINGTON.—The Labor Department is lagging far behind its announced plans to substitute a network of urban "minicenters" for the 59 Job Corps training camps that were closed almost two years ago.

Shortly after taking office, the Nixon administration shut down 59 of the 113 Job Corps facilities.

George P. Shultz, then secretary of labor, said it made more sense to create smaller residential centers closer to the places where the unemployed inner-city youths would live and work.

He gave Congress a timetable calling for the planned development of 30 new centers—10 by September, 1969, and 20 others by July, 1970.

Now, nearing the end of 1970, there are only nine in operation. The projects in Chicago, New York City and Detroit are still being planned.

Severe federal budgetary pressures, and the administration's goal of freeing the states from Washington's rigid job-training direc-

tions, suggest that the future of the Job Corps social experiment is precarious indeed.

Started in 1964 as part of the "war on poverty," the Job Corps was administered initially by the Office of Economic Opportunity under Sargent Shriver.

PUBLICIZED TO DEATH?

The idea was to take the most troublesome youths—social outcasts between the ages of 16 and 21 who had dropped out of school at an early age—and make them job-ready, beginning with make-up book learning, at a location far removed from their familiar neighborhood.

There were difficulties. Many of the youths were unwilling to stay long enough. Vocational courses were not always related to the job opportunities in the city where the trainee would return. The medical and educational deficiencies of the hard-core unemployed in the slums were underestimated; the costs ran much higher than had been expected. And, of course, there were the much-publicized "community relations" incidents resulting from the introduction of young ghetto manhood into the pastoral countryside.

A recent report by Sar A. Levitan and Robert Taggart of the Center for Manpower Policy Studies at George Washington University concludes that the Job Corps was publicized to death. Its successes were exaggerated by officials who wanted to justify the large economic investment by some form of cost-benefit analysis. Its failures were amplified by political critics who insisted on comparing the \$8,000 annual cost per enrollee with the cost of a Harvard education, pretending that the two were somehow comparable.

One critic, then-presidential candidate Richard M. Nixon, said in 1968 that the Job Corps was a failure and should be eliminated. It sounds good, he said, but costs too much to train a man for a job that may not exist.

The program had its defenders in Congress. So Shultz apparently persuaded the President to be more selective and not to use the shotgun approach on the Job Corps. But Levitan and Taggart say the decisions on which camps to close were made on political as much as analytical grounds. A surefire cost-benefit analysis for inner-city manpower programs simply does not exist. The most costly operations were shut down in 1969, regardless of whether or not they might be effective.

BUDGET SLASHED BY \$100 MILLION

For the following fiscal year, the Job Corps budget was reduced by \$100 million. Administration was transferred from the OEC to the Labor Department.

The new centers in operation, averaging about 200 enrollees each when they are at full capacity, are at Edison, N.J.; Washington, D.C.; Portland, Ore.; Phoenix, Ariz.; Atlanta; El Paso, Tex.; Cincinnati, San Francisco and Honolulu.

So far, according to Levitan's assessment, the minicenters are more rhetoric than reality. In at least one case, Honolulu, a center that was closed in 1969 has been reopened and labeled a minicenter, he said.

Although overgrown size was given as one of the weaknesses of the old system utilizing Army camps, the four men's centers that are still open—at Gary, Tex.; Breckinridge, Ky.; Atterbury, Ind., and Clearfield, Utah—have higher enrollments now than before. The Texas installation has more than 3,000 young men. The more enrollees, the lower the per capita cost.

William Mirengoff, a career manpower official in the Labor Department and the new Job Corps director, offered this revised schedule for the minicenters:

To be opened next spring—New York (Long Island); Hartford, Conn.; Jacksonville, Fla.; Detroit; Tulsa.

To be opened by mid-1971—Chicago; Rochester, N.Y.; Norfolk, Va.; Pittsburgh.

To be opened eventually—San Jose, Calif.; St. Louis; Milwaukee; West Virginia (site undetermined); Richmond, Va.; Baltimore; Davenport, Iowa.

Nine opened and 16 more scheduled makes 25. What about the other five?

"I guess you have to say the five others are not identified," explained Mirengoff, which seems to translate that the plans for 30 centers have now become plans for 25 centers.

SITE SELECTION CONTROVERSIES

Controversies over site selection caused delays in Chicago and a few of the other cities.

Shultz felt that the training should occur close to home, but not too close. He wanted the centers located away from the distractions of the ghetto, presumably on the outskirts of the metropolitan area, close enough to come home on weekends.

A seminary for sale in Du Page County, an upper-income suburban county west of Chicago, was chosen first. The neighbors panicked at the thought of having unmanageable innercity blacks nearby. Political necessities soon put an end to that and alternative suburban sites.

Finally, a less controversial location was discovered about as far from suburban as one can go without getting one's feet wet—the Stone-Brandel complex at 1500 S. Indiana Av. on the inner edge of the South Side ghetto.

It is considered important that the enrollee live at the center and go home only on weekends. However, when the facility is located downtown it becomes more practical for some of the trainees to commute, a situation that Levitan and Taggart say has not worked successfully for this type of problem learner in the past.

PITTSBURGHER REMINISCES ON U.N.'S 25TH BIRTHDAY

HON. WILLIAM S. MOORHEAD OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, November 30, 1970

Mr. MOORHEAD. Mr. Speaker, many of us still hold the spirit of the United Nations as a necessary and desirable element in today's world politics.

When it was born 25 years ago, it was hoped the U.N. would keep the powers of the world from blowing our globe to pieces. Well, we still have a world; it has yet to be disintegrated in a nuclear war; however, we have not exactly been free from martial discord in the past two and one-half decades.

One of those who believed, and still believes, in the U.N. is Dr. Daniel Cheever, of the University of Pittsburgh.

Dan Cheever was an original staff member of the International Secretariat. He was a navy lieutenant in 1945 and after being given to the State Department by the Navy, Dan Cheever found himself at the U.N. meeting the world's greatest diplomats.

The November 13 Pittsburgh Post-Gazette carries a story about Dr. Cheever and his experiences at the U.N. and what he thinks the fate of the world body is. I would like to introduce this article into the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD for the information of my colleagues:

HE REMEMBERS WHEN: UNITED NATIONS' WORLD OF THE FUTURE (By Zora Unkovich)

In anticipation of Pittsburgh's part in the 25th anniversary celebration of the United Nations' University of Pittsburgh professor, Dr. Daniel S. Cheever, and Mrs. Cheever leafed through the special limited edition charter of the United Nations.

Written in five languages, English, Russian, Chinese, French and Spanish, it brought back many memories to Dr. Cheever.

He's a past president—his wife is current president—of the United Nations Association of Pittsburgh which will hold its anniversary celebration at Webster Hall Tuesday. Glenn Olds, U.S. representative to the Economic and Social Council of the UN will be the speaker.

But at the moment, Dr. Cheever was thinking of 1945—not long after the death of President Roosevelt—when many of the world's great were in San Francisco in another hope of a world peace organization. He reminisced:

"I was a member of the International Secretariat of the United Nations. Actually the Navy loaned me to the State Department for that purpose. In the Navy I was simply a deck officer and lieutenant.

"Many Americans believed that World War II came because the United States was isolationist and Hitler was sure we never would join the alliance against him.

One of the first persons he met in his new post was Ralph J. Bunche—also a member of the staff recruited from the State Department . . . and later to represent his country in the U.N.

Another was Andrei Gromyko, who for many years was Russian ambassador to the U.N.

Among Lt. Cheever's job in San Francisco was the assembling of speeches as a memorial to Franklin Delano Roosevelt.

Gromyko, who was late in preparing his speech, told Lt. Cheever with a wry smile:

"I will have it. Do not condemn me to death!"

Another of the world figures Lt. Cheever encountered in those days was Lord Halifax, British Ambassador to the United States. He recalls:

"He was a reminder to me of the appeasement period between the two wars when he was in the government of Sir Neville Chamberlain. I was struck by the fact that in 1945 he felt a collective security organization was essential to future peace—especially in view of the failure of the League of Nations."

In Dr. Cheever's opinion, the most important achievement of the United Nations is the fact it still exists in spite of the shaky, conflict-ridden world.

"We now know," he explained, "that a great many problems facing all mankind today require international cooperation in a global framework.

Examples he named are the fighting of pollution, maintaining population levels, improving social and economic developments. These environmental, economic and social problems are what compel nations to cooperate. For instance, he said, no nation, alone, can integrate a plan to monitor the global environment. In fact, the United States and Soviet Union, he points out, are "very cooperative in the scientific fields, particularly in Marine science.

With the oceans covering 70 per cent of the earth's surface, its uses must be regulated, Dr. Cheever emphasized, adding that "this is the world of the future." Collective actions to maintain peace should be seen simply as holding operations."

It is in this field that he finds the significance of the current United Nations' activities during the 25th year of its existence."

In the Cheever's household in Shadyside, guests from any part of the world are likely to arrive anytime—for a meal, maybe for the night. The guest room is always ready.

Leaf through their guestbook and you'll find names like J. Lewankowski, Warsaw, Poland, who attended the first UN conference on problems of urbanization held in Pittsburgh. Year was 1965 and his hosts recall how thrilled their guest was to find so many Polish compatriots in Pittsburgh . . . many of them friends of his friends back home.

Paul Marc-Henry, author of *Africa Aeterna*, is another of the names. So is Joseph E. Johnson, president of the Carnegie Endowment for Peace.

Dr. Cheever is author of "Organizing for Peace" and co-author with Milton J. Esman, former Pittsburgher, of "The Common Aid Effort."

Before her marriage, Mrs. Cheever, a Radcliffe graduate, worked in military intelligence for the duration of World War II. Later she was in the Washington office of Little Brown & Co., so diplomats and officials were an accustomed part of her life.

In their work with the UN Association of Pittsburgh both Dr. and Mrs. Cheever are especially proud of the group's record . . . of the \$25,000 raised for UNICEF . . . of the Student UN Model Assembly for which the Association supplies judges and awards certificates (some 1,500 students in 60 schools participate) . . . of the work of volunteers . . . of the way the office in Webster Hall serves as a service and information center for all the city.

"Gen. DeGaulle," Dr. Cheever concluded, returning to news of the day, was interested in the technical side of the United Nations much more than the political. In this respect he was wise."

NOTICE TO MEMBERS OF COURT VIOLATION OF PRIVILEGES OF HOUSE

HON. RICHARD H. ICHORD

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, November 30, 1970

Mr. ICHORD. Mr. Speaker, on November 17 I circulated the following letter to all Members of the House of Representatives. The issues involved in the controversy mentioned therein should be of great interest to all students of the American political system. Today, it is a Federal judge of one philosophical persuasion restricting the rights of a congressional committee under the speech and debate clause. Tomorrow, it can well be a judge of the opposite philosophical persuasion suppressing the report of another committee.

The letter follows:

WASHINGTON, D.C.,

November 17, 1970.

DEAR COLLEAGUE: On Wednesday, October 13, Judge Gerhard A. Gesell of the U.S. District Court for the District of Columbia entered a temporary restraining order enjoining the Public Printer and others from printing and distributing a report of the House Committee on Internal Security which was ordered to be reported to the House with one dissenting vote. At the time of the temporary order, the report was not yet filed with the House but in some way unknown to me

had come into the possession of Lawrence Spelser, Director of the Washington, D.C., office of the American Civil Liberties Union, who filed the complaint in this action.

The report was filed with the House on October 14, shortly before the recess for the General Election. On October 28, Judge Gesell modified his original temporary order but did permanently enjoin the Public Printer and Superintendent of Documents from printing and distributing the report, declaring that any publication of said report at public expense was illegal.

On Tuesday, November 17, I placed in the Congressional Record copies of the court proceedings and would respectfully urge your study of the same. Judge Gesell's decision demonstrates disrespect for and judicial encroachment upon the Freedom of Speech expressly granted to Members of the House by the Speech and Debate Clause of the United States Constitution, the principle of separation of powers, and the privileges of the House. It also reveals an ignorance of legislative procedures (for example, he confuses the Congressional Record with the House Journal). His decision should be of grave concern to every Member of this House regardless of his political and philosophical persuasion, for if the court has the power to prohibit the printing of this Committee report on alleged constitutional grounds, it has the power to prohibit the printing of any Committee report on the same grounds.

Heretofore, the courts have held that the Speech and Debate Clause of Article I of the Constitution was an effective bar to an action to enjoin the Public Printer from printing a Committee report. See *Methodist Federation for Social Action v. Eastland*, 141 F. Supp. 729 (D.D.C. 1956), in which a three-judge court for the District of Columbia dismissed a complaint seeking to enjoin the publication and distribution of a report of the Senate Subcommittee on Internal Security, holding that:

"Nothing in the Constitution authorizes anyone to prevent the President of the United States from publishing any statement. This is equally true whether the statement is correct or not, whether it is defamatory or not, and whether it is or is not made after a fair hearing. Similarly, nothing in the Constitution authorizes anyone to prevent the Supreme Court from publishing any statement. We think it equally clear that nothing authorizes anyone to prevent Congress from publishing any statement. 141 F. Supp. at 731.

However, without facing the issue, Judge Gesell sought to evade the impact of the clear pronouncement of this case by ruling it "has been in effect overruled" by the recent Supreme Court case of *Powell v. McCormack*, 395 U.S. 486 (1969), although the above issue decided in *Methodist Federation* was not presented or decided in *Powell*.

Stripped of all its legal verbiage, Judge Gesell's decision holds that revolutionary activists, many of whom are advocating the violent destruction of our government and its institutions, have the absolute right of free speech, while a Committee of Congress does not possess the full right to comment on such activities. Judge Gesell, a non-elected public official, has asserted and enforced his alleged right to supervise, censor and restrict the dissemination of the speech of Members of Congress.

The purpose of this letter is to advise you that I have instructed the Committee staff to prepare a second report on the same subject, and intend to lay the report before the Committee for its action. If the document is ordered reported to the House, there is a possibility that this report might be construed by Judge Gesell as a "restatement" of the prior report within the prohibitions of

his injunction. Therefore, I am preparing a privileged resolution for consideration which by its terms will enjoin any person from interfering with the public printing of the second report. It is my intention to provide each Member with a copy of the report and resolution prior to a consideration of the resolution.

In light of the legislative powers exclusively conferred on the Senate and the House by the Constitution, and the precedents of the House on this subject, there should be no doubt that the encroachment of the judiciary upon the functions and procedures of the House involves a question of highest privilege. Accordingly, in my opinion, this resolution which I am preparing should be clearly a privileged resolution and considered as such.

I plan to reserve a Special Order for the purpose of discussing the ominous implications of Judge Gesell's decision prior to a consideration of the second report. I will notify you of the time of the reservation and express the hope that you will participate in the discussion.

Sincerely yours,

RICHARD H. ICHORD,
Chairman.

CLAY REFUSED TO SUBMIT TO DRAFT

HON. JOEL T. BROYHILL

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, November 30, 1970

Mr. BROYHILL of Virginia. Mr. Speaker, my friend and constituent, Gen. Bruce C. Clarke, U.S. Army, retired, recently advised me that Dr. Tarr, head of the Selective Service, had, at General Clarke's suggestion, released information to Lee Stillwell, a Scripps-Howard staff writer, about the man who moved up to take the place of Cassius Clay when Clay refused to submit to the draft.

General Clarke feels, and I agree, that this is a story the American people should read. I therefore request permission to insert the Lee Stillwell column of October 15, 1970, at this point in the RECORD:

CLAY REFUSED TO SUBMIT TO DRAFT (By Lee Stillwell)

WASHINGTON, October 15.—As Cassius Clay, convicted of refusing to submit to the draft, prepares to return to fame and fortune in the boxing ring, the man who moved up to take his place in the army and served in Vietnam is broke and looking for a job.

Selective Service records indicate that Isaac T. Price Jr., of Louisville, Ky., was the man next in line to be drafted when the former champion began his battle against military service.

Price, who like Clay is black, was drafted less than a year after his graduation from Central High School in Louisville and served two years and five days before receiving an honorable discharge from active duty as a specialist four in May of last year.

He became an Army cook, went to Vietnam, volunteered to become a gunner on an Army helicopter, and saw action. His efforts earned him the National Defense Service Medal, Good Conduct Medal, Vietnam Service Medal, Vietnam Campaign Medal, and Overseas bar.

Price is not bitter toward Clay, who will fight Jerry Quarry Oct. 26 in Atlanta while Clay's lawyers continue their battle to have his convictions reversed. They contend he should have received a ministerial as a Black Muslim or should have been declared a conscientious objector.

"I don't knock anybody for their beliefs," Price said, in a telephone interview from his home.

Price said he wasn't happy about being drafted but "didn't want to go to jail and didn't have the funds to fight like that man (Clay)."

Of his Vietnam duty tour he said: "There's a hell of a lot more togetherness there, than here as far as the races go. Everybody learns to get along."

Price admitted he has had a hard time readjusting to civilian life, but he's philosophical about it.

"I feel I learned something in the Army," he said. "I benefited from it. I done everything right. I went to Vietnam."

"I figure I can say I'm a man. I have done something for my country and that makes me feel good."

All he wants to do now, Price said, is get a steady job so he can marry his fiancée and take care of his baby daughter who has been ill with pneumonia.

Price said he hasn't had steady work since his Army discharge and is living with his parents at 1607 S. 39th St., Louisville. He said his only income comes from singing with a local group when there is work.

"I would go anywhere . . . it makes no difference," said Price about his efforts to get a job.

Although Clay has not fought since refusing to step forward to be inducted in Houston—after transferring his case from Louisville—the boxer has traveled around the country making public appearances.

Clay's case is now back before the Supreme Court for a final ruling after having been sent back before the District Court in Houston to determine if wiretapping was involved. The lower court ruled it wasn't. Clay's case by now is more than three years old.

Ironically, even if the Supreme Court upholds the guilty verdict, Clay still may get a chance to escape prison. A Selective Service statute permits a person convicted of draft evasion and sentenced to prison to volunteer for military service.

If the Selective Service director and the attorney general approve the prisoner is then paroled to serve in the military.

PERSONAL ANNOUNCEMENT

HON. EDWARD I. KOCH

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, November 30, 1970

Mr. KOCH. Mr. Speaker, I would like to note that I was in New York City meeting with constituents at the time the House considered and voted on the Occupational Safety and Health Act of 1970. I supported the committee bill and in rollcall No. 365 on the substitute offered by the gentleman from Wisconsin (Mr. STEIGER), I was paired against the amendment. On final passage, rollcall 366, I was included in a general pair; had I been here I would have voted "yea."